“For He Was Made Man That We Might Be Made God:” Visualizing the Path to Theosis in Vat. gr. 1927

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Abstract

The late-eleventh century Byzantine psalter MS Vat. gr. 1927 is illustrated with complex and enigmatic narrative images unique to Byzantine art. Vat. gr. 1927 departs from almost all other illustrated Byzantine psalters by having at least one large prefatory image on a lavish golden background planned for each psalm and ode rather than a few select illustrated psalms and odes or marginal vignettes spread throughout. Vat. gr. 1927 has been called a literal psalter as many of the individual components in its images evoke the text of the psalms. But numerous illustrations portray contemporary para-liturgical practices, images taken from other literary genres or compositionally reworked liturgical festal scenes, and many men dressed as Middle-Byzantine monks in the Byzantine monastic habit. Closer examination of the so-called "literal" scenes reveals that the planner of these prefatory illustrations often combined images based literally on psalm verses in complex ways to both evoke numerous patristic and contemporary commentaries and texts on the psalms, and to create didactic, moralizing compositions related to the monastic life with the ultimate aim of guiding the viewer to *theosis*, which is a union with God in this life.

Guiding the viewer through the visual lessons of the psalter is King David, who has been put in the position of a monastic spiritual father, to whom one would tell all thoughts and actions and then follow the lessons and advice given. While the practice dates back to the earliest days of

monasticism in the Egyptian desert, it became more common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for lay people to rely on the guidance of spiritual fathers. King David as spiritual father is found nowhere else in Byzantine art, making this manuscript an important witness to developments in Byzantine thought and pious practice that might not otherwise have survived. In many didactic images King David acts directly as spiritual father and guide. With King David as a fulcrum around which action occurs, the "literal" illustrations are used to impart moralizing lessons to the viewer, who is directed by David's gestures in the proper viewing and interpretation of the overall image and message. Theophany abounds in Vat. gr. 1927, which uses multiple visual strategies to portray Christ, who appears on earth as an active agent in the economy of salvation. Christ also appears enthroned and in unique reworkings of Resurrection imagery to personally direct the fates of mankind in images that conflate present and future to visualize the Second Coming on the pages of the psalter.

Internal evidence in many of the images points to its production at the important Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople under the auspices of the famed abbot and intellectual Niketas Stethatos. This evidence demonstrates that many of the images, lessons, and even visual strategies employed in creating the illustrations, rely on the writings and theology of Symeon the New Theologian, for whom Niketas was a posthumous devotee and compiler/publisher of his writings and saint's life. Symeon the New Theologian's thoughts on experiencing God in this life, which may be found subtly expressed in visual form throughout Vat. gr. 1927, became central to pious thought and practice in the Late-Byzantine period. This dissertation reveals vital new insights into the dynamism of theological thought and artistic production of the early period of the Komnenian imperial dynasty in the late-eleventh century.

Table of Contents

Abstract iii

Acknowledgments vii

Dedication x

List of Figures xi

Notes and Manuscript Abbreviations xx

Introduction 1

Chapter 1. Elements of the Manuscript and its Historiography

- Introduction 9
- Codicology 10
- Paleography 15
- Historiography 20
- Elements of Style 35
- Comparanda 41
- Patronage and Monasticism 44

Chapter 2. Christological Theophanies — Agency and the Economy of Salvation

- Introduction 51
- Reconfiguring the Anastasis 54
  - Psalm 81 56
  - Psalm 43 62
  - Psalm 7 65
  - Psalm 11 71
  - Canticle of Hannah 74
  - Hades and the Economy of Salvation 77
  - Psalm 128 82
- Christ as Judge and Executioner 84
  - Psalm 9 85
  - Psalm 15 90
  - Psalm 74 92
- Christ's Contemporary Agency in Heaven 96
  - Psalm 96 96
- Christ: Visual and Visionary 99
  - Psalm 4 99
  - Psalm 5 104
  - Psalm 23 105
- Conclusion 107

Chapter 3. Climbing the Ladder in the New Covenant: Monks and Monastic Iconography
Introduction 111
Monks: "Ὅσιοι" in the New Covenant 112
Psalm 15 112
Psalm 30 117
Psalm 49 122
Psalm 127 127
Psalm 149 131
Living the Life of the Psalms: Illustrating Middle Byzantine Monastic Practice 135
Psalm 31 136
Psalm 144 144
Attempting the Ladder 149
Conclusion 157

Chapter 4. King David as Monastic Spiritual Father
Introduction 158
David on his Journey to Spiritual Fatherhood 158
The Wilderness as Spiritual Training Ground 160
David as Spiritual Father 181
David and Symeon 201
Conclusion 208

Conclusion 210

Appendix
Contents 220
Original (O) and Replacement (R) Folios 221
Physical Description 221

Bibliography 230

Figures 249

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To my father

Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη

List of Figures

Figure 1: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 8v

Figure 2: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 33r

Figure 3: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 136r

Figure 4: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 84v

Figure 5: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 207v

Figure 6: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 228v

Figure 7: Remains of base, Column of Marcian, Istanbul

Figure 8: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 268r

Figure 9: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 4v

Figure 10: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 135r

Figure 11: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 123v

Figure 12: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 1v and 2r

Figure 13: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 1r

Figure 14: Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Vatopedi Cod. 879, f. 227r

Figure 15: Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Vatopedi Cod. 879, Colophon

Figure 16: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Urb. gr. 2, f. 17v

Figure 17: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 75v

Figure 18: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 41r

Figure 19: Figure 19: Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, cod. OLDP, F6, f. 33r

Figure 20: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr 1927, f. 234v

Figure 21: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 38r

Figure 22: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 215v

Figure 23: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 274v

Figure 24: Messina, San Salvatore 51, f. 44r

Figure 25: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 17r

Figure 26: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 18r

Figure 27: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 15v

Figure 28: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1613, p. 49

Figure 29: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 187r

Figure 30: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 187v

Figure 31: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 172v

Figure 32: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 289r

Figure 33: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, ff. 53v and 54r

Figure 34: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 21r

Figure 35: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 4, f. 8r

Figure 36: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Barb. gr. 372, f. 5v

Figure 37: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 4, f. 113r

Figure 38: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 29v

Figure 39: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 191r

Figure 40: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 394, f. 33r

Figure 41: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 747, f. 173r

Figure 42: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 146v

Figure 43: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 463, f. 87r

Figure 44: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 587, f. 135r

Figure 45: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou 587, f. 34v

Figure 46: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 260v

Figure 47: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 218r

Figure 48: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 51r

Figure 49: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 3v

Figure 50: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 136v

Figure 51: Triumph of Christ panel, Door, Sta. Sabina, Rome

Figure 52: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56, f. 13v

Figure 53: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 1, f. 1v

Figure 54: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 550, f. 5r

Figure 55: Princeton University Library, Cod. Acc. 30.20

Figure 56: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec. 923, f. 68v

Figure 57: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 152r

Figure 58: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS. D. 129, f. 6r

Figure 59: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 12v

Figure 60: Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, Pantokrator Cod. 61, f. 24v

Figure 61: British Library, Additional MS. 40731, f. 21v

Figure 62: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 11v

Figure 63: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 20v

Figure: 64: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS. D. 129, f. 82v

Figure 65: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 77r

Figure 66: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 77r

Figure 67: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 55r

Figure 68: Ivory book cover, Bibliothèque National de France, MS Latin 9384

Figure 69: Raising of Lazarus, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Figure 70: Raising of Lazarus, Panagia Phorviotissa tis Asinou, Nikitari, Cyprus

Figure 71: Icon with the Raising of Lazarus, Byzantine and Early Christian Museum, Athens

Figure 72: Rising of Anonymous Dead, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome

Figure 73: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 699, f. 89r

Figure 74: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 44v

Figure 75: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 42v

Figure 76: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 273r

Figure 77: Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη Ελλάδος, MS 7, f. 237v

Figure 78: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 139, f. 428v

Figure 79: Moscow Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 153r

Figure 80: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 463, f. 101r

Figure 81: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1162, f. 30v

Figure 82: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 145v

Figure 83: Mosaic of the Anastasis, Daphni Monastery, Greece

Figure 84: Ivory of the Crucifixion, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.44

Figure 85: Bibliothèque National de France, MS Coislin 239, f. 121v

Figure 86: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 8v

Figure 87: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 31v

Figure 88: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 102v

Figure 89: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 48r

Figure 90: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 51v

Figure 91: Anastasis with Hades, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome

Figure 92: British Library, Additional MS 40731, f. 18r

Figure 93: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 65, f. 11v

Figure 94: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 239r

Figure 95: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 12r

Figure 96: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 9r

Figure 97: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 9v

Figure 98: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 8r

Figure 99: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 97v

Figure 100: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 74r

Figure 101: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 181v

Figure 102: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, 177r

Figure 103: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 4r

Figure 104: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 3v

Figure 105: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 7v

Figure 106: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 5v

Figure 107: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 38r

Figure 108: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 22r

Figure 109: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 11v

Figure 110: London, British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 13v

Figure 111: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 12r

Figure 112: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 14r

Figure 113: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 48r

Figure 114: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 49v

Figure 115: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 26v

Figure 116: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 49r

Figure 117: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 32v

Figure 118: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 33v

Figure 119: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 34r

Figure 120: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 88r

Figure 121: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 48v

Figure 122: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 62v

Figure 123: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 238v

Figure 124: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 220v

Figure 125: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 170v

Figure 126: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 73v

Figure 127: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23, f. 146v

Figure 128: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 396v

Figure 129: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 445v

Figure 130: London, British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 35r

Figure 131: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr 1927, f. 256r

Figure 132: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 256v

Figure 133: Refectory, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos,

Figure 134: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 434v

Figure 135: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 366r

Figure 136: Morgan Library, MS 639, 294r

Figure 137: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 22v

Figure 138: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 96r

Figure 139: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 106v

Figure 140: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 108v

Figure 141: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 77v

Figure 142: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 214r

Figure 143: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 247r

Figure 144: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 65v

Figure 145: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 250v

Figure 146: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 24v

Figure 147: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 66r

Figure 148: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 128r

Figure 149: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 45r

Figure 150: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 76r

Figure 151: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 294r

Figure 152: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 125v

Figure 153: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 127r

Figure 154: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 42v

Figure 155: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 24r

Figure 156: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 28r

Figure 157: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 82r

Figure 158: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 82r

Figure 159: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 57v

Figure 160: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 45v

Figure 161: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 79v

Figure 162: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 204r

Figure 163: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 113r

Figure 164: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 150r

Figure 165: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 191r

Figure 166: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 190v

Figure 167: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 149v

Figure 168: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 150v

Figure 169: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 192r

Figure 170: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 181r

Figure 171: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 8v

Figure 172: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 9r

Figure 173: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 11r

Figure 174: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 587, f. 19v

Figure 175: View of the naos and apse, Hagia Eirene, Istanbul

Figure 176: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 31r

Figure 177: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 12r

Figure 178: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 75r

Figure 179: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 72v and 73r

Figure 180: Holes from previous bindings, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 120v and 121r

Figure 181: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 148v

Figure 182: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 3v

Figure 183: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 128v and 129r

Figure 184: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 175v and 176r

Figure 185: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 83v

Figure 186: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 84r

Figure 187: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 85r

Figure 188: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 263r

Notes and Manuscript Abbreviations

All dates are Common Era (C.E.) unless otherwise specified.

Greek transliteration is prioritized over Latin transliteration. For example, Pantokrator is preferred to Pantocrator. Names and terms commonly given in a Latinized form have been retained—John Climacus is used rather than Ioannis Klimakos. When another author's work follows differing conventions, any discrepancies in transliteration are maintained to allow for proper reference and location of the cited work.

Certain manuscripts are primarily known in both popular and academic parlance by given names rather than shelf marks. The following manuscripts will be referred to by name throughout the dissertation:

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372: Barberini Psalter

London, British Library, Additional MS 40731: Bristol Psalter

Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129: Chludov Psalter

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1613: Menologion of Basil II

Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Pantokrator Psalter

Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 20: Paris Psalter (marginal)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56: Rabbula Gospels

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23: Stuttgart Psalter

London, British Library, Additional MS 19352: Theodore Psalter

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32: Utrecht Psalter

Introduction

The illustrations to Vat. gr. 1927, an illustrated Byzantine Book of Psalms, have presented an enigma to art historians since its introduction to the field by J. J. Tikkanen in 1895.[1] Dating to the late eleventh-century, the original manuscript was designed to have one or more complex images with gold backgrounds prefacing each psalm and ode, making it one of only two of its kind among extant illustrated Byzantine psalters. It has often been called a "literal" psalter, as many iconographic elements in each image draw on specific psalm verses which were then truncated and written around or on the illustrations as captions or legends. Not all of the images, however, take this form. Vat. gr. 1927 contains scenes of contemporary paraliturgical or sacramental practices, as well as images that are not found elsewhere in extant Byzantine art. The presence of many male monastic figures in their *schema* (habits) and an illustration of the "Heavenly Ladder" indicates that Vat. gr. 1927 was produced for an audience of male monastics or for someone with great interest in the monastic life.

At first I hoped that a thorough stylistic and paleographic analysis would allow a more reliable dating of the manuscript. I in turn expected that a more secure date would establish a better understanding of the manuscript's constellation of images and determine a specific socio-cultural milieu for its production. It quickly became apparent, however, that for a variety of reasons to be discussed in chapter one, this was a fruitless task. Moreover, it was clear that the complex illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 were designed to have deeper, more specific meanings predicated on deep familiarity with a wide variety of texts. More than anything, the psalter is a

[1] J. J. (Johan Jakob) Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter. Bd. I. Die Psalterillustration in der Kunstgeschichte* (Helsinkei, Finland: Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft, 1895), 91–99.

didactic manuscript devoted to promoting a life leading to *theosis*, the communion with God in this life and the ultimate goal of the monastic life in Byzantium. An investigation of Middle Byzantine monastic writings and practice indicates that the manuscript is based on not only the writings and practices, but also on the life and memory, of Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), a monk and rabble rouser who at one point was banished from Constantinople, and whose prolific writings and thoughts on visions and light eventually became the roots of the Late Byzantine practice of *hesychasm*, which is a practice of inner prayer in which to experience God and the unmediated light of Mount Tabor in this life. On the basis of the psalter's style, iconography and paleography, but more importantly, the social and cultural history of eleventh-century Byzantium, this dissertation makes the case for the production of Vat. gr. 1927 at the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople under the auspices of its *hegoumenos* (abbot) Niketas Stethatos. Assuming this localization is accepted, Vat. gr. 1927 can be dated to the late 1080s or early 1090s when Stethatos would have been able to marshal the resources for and direct the production of such a manuscript.

My methodological approach to this monographic dissertation lies at the intersection of the history of art and the history of theology. As will be discussed in the first chapter's overview of the scholarship on Vat. gr. 1927, most early publications focused on basic iconographic identification or attempted to trace the specific model or models from which the illustrations supposedly had been copied, leading to all sorts of suggestions for the origin of Vat. gr. 1927: copied without much thought from a rotulus or even from massive, yet no longer surviving wall paintings, or perhaps even related to the famous Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32) if one jumps from model to model far enough back in time. This dissertation, however, deliberately sets aside the speculation over

artistic models for Vat. gr. 1927, and instead, in keeping with newer approaches that stress extant works over lost prototypes, employs iconographic and iconological analysis to argue that Vat. gr. 1927 represents a highly original, indeed unique production of the late eleventh century. Although Byzantines often copied manuscript illustrations, frequent iconographic overlaps for particular psalms better indicates long-standing illustrative traditions rather than slavish, direct copying from models.

Rather than shift the locus of meaning from the manuscript to its ostensible models, this dissertation focuses on the prefatory illustrations in Vat. gr. 1927 as products of a particular time and place. A common critique by those unfamiliar with Byzantine art is that everything "looks the same." A kernel of truth may indeed be found in this stereotype of Byzantine art. But by working within a somewhat rigid system of image production, designers and artists created new meanings and possible interpretations within these images through multiple, complex, and often quite subtle iconographic variations. Moreover, artists did in fact create new images, and Vat. gr. 1927 is replete with such illustrations. The psalter's images most often draw directly on a selection of psalm verses. To fully understand its images, however, a deep knowledge of patristic and later Byzantine theological texts, from commentaries on the Psalms to homilies, advice literature such as the *Apothegmata Patrum* and monastic instruction manuals such as "The Ladder of Divine Ascent" of John Climacus, is required, as well as broad familiarity with the Middle Byzantine historical and socio-cultural milieu within which these texts were read and transmitted. Given that the prefatory illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 combine images taken from select verses of the Psalms and Odes in order to invoke other texts or historical events, applying

iconographic and iconological analysis without neglecting a consideration of the viewer and viewing processing to Vat. gr. 1927 is appropriate and effective.[2]

The first chapter of this dissertation, with its corresponding appendix, provides a full codicological analysis of Vat. gr. 1927. It corrects the few codicological omissions that remain following Paul Canart's detailed analysis and description in the entry for Vat. gr. 1927 in the updated catalogue of Greek manuscripts at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.[3] It then provides an analysis of the psalter's paleography, the quality of the scribe, and a discussion of some manuscripts that have similar qualities in an attempt to narrow the range of dates for the production of the manuscript. The following section reviews the scholarship on Vat. gr. 1927, which for the most part mines the manuscript's images for examples of specific iconography. Prior to this dissertation, there have been only two manuscript-length dedicated studies of the psalter: a volume largely containing transcriptions of image captions and basic iconographic identification, and a master's thesis predominantly focused on stylistic analysis that also provides

[2] This approach was outlined most directly by Panofsky. See Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), 26–54. Many scholars have critiqued part of all of Panofsky's approach. For recent critique see especially Georges Didi-Huberman, who argued against Panofsky's *intuitive synthesis*, and called for a greater focus on viewers and the processes of viewing. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, trans. John Goodman (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 170–94. Another strong critique may be found in Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), esp. 112.

[3] Paul Canart, ed., *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manu Scripti Recensiti (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970). Canart's analysis corrected the many codicological errors published found in Ernest T. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, vol. 1, 2 vols., The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941).

an overview of scholarship on Byzantine psalters.[4] Following a discussion of the style of Vat. gr. 1927's images, comparanda in other genres of illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries are discussed. Finally, the chapter explores possible patrons for the manuscript.

Chapter two delves into the large group of Christological images found in this manuscript. Most illustrated Byzantine psalters primarily show Christ in scenes from his life or depicted as if in an icon or roundel, although there are certainly exceptions to be found in many of these manuscripts. Vat. gr. 1927 also contains scenes from the life of Christ, including important festal scenes such as the Entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion. It differs, however, in how little he appears either historically or in an icon. Instead, Christ is most often shown in theophany—as judge, or in common compositions reworked to create new, specific meanings. His active presence, both on earth and in heaven, is constant and vital to the understanding of Vat. gr. 1927 and its overarching message of *theosis*, which is a union with the divine in this life. The second chapter is divided into several sections. The first investigates the multiple reworkings of *Anastasis* iconography and composition found throughout the psalter and how the reworkings of this iconic image shift the iconographic meaning in significant ways. Large heads of Hades in pits representing the entrance to the underworld often accompany Christ in these images. Therefore, the second section is devoted to the development of Hades' image in Byzantine art and how he is made to play a different type of role in Vat. gr. 1927 than usual: one that requires him to be an active and even positive participant in the economy of salvation. Christ also appears as both judge and executioner, which is the focus of the third part of the chapter. As enthroned

[4] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*; Michael A Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927: The Study of a Twelfth-Century Byzantine Monastic Psalter" (MA Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1990).

judge his presence intimates his *Parousia* (the second coming of Christ). But he also personally metes out punishment in highly unusual ways that will be explored. The fourth section of the chapter turns to Christ's involvement with and interest in earthly activities while he appears in heaven, sometimes even leaning so far out of the blue arc demarcating the heavenly zone of the image that it appears he could tumble to the earth at any moment. The last section of the chapter turns to the other way Christ is portrayed in Vat. gr. 1927: in pen and ink outline that allows the gilt background to shine through him, rather than in paint with opaque colors for flesh and clothing. In this way the planner and artist of the manuscript were able to distinguish true theophany, a visual experience, from a visionary experience. This clear distinction in type of vision, as well as the overall emphasis on seeing Christ found in Vat. gr. 1927, is related to the writings and experiences of Symeon the New Theologian.

Chapter three introduces any overtly monastic iconography found in Vat. gr. 1927. It begins with the group of prefatory images containing monks as exemplars, often chosen to illustrate the holy ones (ὅσιοι) in the text of a particular psalm. How their presence creates new and important meanings, especially for a monastic viewer, is analyzed. The chapter then turns to two illustrations that introduce contemporary Middle Byzantine monastic practices. One, the prefatory image to Psalm 31, has the unusual image of a monk of high rank having heard Confession from a group of men. Iconographic and compositional elements strongly imply that their confession rose to the level of a sacrament and was blessed by Christ himself. Such an image is related to the writings and beliefs on the practice of monastic confession by Symeon the New Theologian and Niketas Stethatos. Psalm 144 has two prefatory images showing the paraliturgical practice of processing from the narthex of the church to the *trapeza* (refectory) for the communal meal. More importantly, it introduces King David in the role of a monk

participating in, and in fact, leading, this procession. King David as a monastic figure is the subject of the fourth chapter. Finally, the prefatory image to the longest psalm, 118, is analyzed. An image of the "Heavenly Ladder" of John Climacus, the relevance of this image for a monastic viewer and to this psalm in particular is discussed. It is then related to the life of Symeon the New Theologian, as his *bios* declares this work to be the seminal reason for his decision to fully apply himself to the angelic life.

Chapter four is devoted to King David and his unique depictions in this manuscript. He appears with great frequency, even for a highly illustrated psalter. David finds himself inhabiting a role unique in both Byzantine art and text: that of a monastic spiritual father. The first two sections of the psalter discuss his preparation for inhabiting this role in his retreat to the wilderness—a training ground for monastics, especially in the earliest years of Egyptian monasticism. His flight to the wilderness, training, and testing, is explicitly paralleled with that of Anthony of Egypt in an image in which he is attacked by a horde of demons while in prayer. Upon return to civilization, David takes on the role of mentor and guide for the viewer. The images of Vat. gr. 1927 are often composed around him. It is his position, gestures, and glances that help the viewer unpack the iconography and relate it to the proper psalm verses in order to discern the second level moralizing messages that the images build off of the Psalms to create. In another image, an attack on him is specifically composed and related to the text, to reference the difficulties another spiritual father, Symeon the New Theologian, faced as the *hegoumenos* of the St. Mamas Monastery in Constantinople and with some members of the Byzantine ecclesiastical authority. In essence, David stands in for Symeon, or even metaphorically becomes him.

Between its poor state of preservation and the eccentric nature of its illustrations, the psalter Vat. gr. 1927 has been an outlier in the extensive scholarship produced on Byzantine

psalters from Tikkanen's pioneering work to the present day. This dissertation, however, demonstrates that it is no mere product of a literal-minded artist or patron. Instead, it is a vital witness to the evolving connection of art and Byzantine monastic spirituality that increased and flourished in the eleventh century and beyond. Its previous lack of a true monographic treatment has now been rectified, and the lacuna left in our understanding of Byzantine monastic art, spirtuality, and manuscript illustration from its lack of thorough study has now been filled.

Chapter 1: Elements of the Manuscript and its Historiography

Introduction

Despite its lavish materials, unique format, and complex iconography, the psalter MS Vat. gr. 1927 has been the subject of only two partial studies that focus primarily on iconographic identification and stylistic analysis, with only passing attention to issues of codicology and paleography.[5] This chapter will provide a sound foundation for further study of the manuscript by providing, first, a codicological overview of the manuscript. Such an analysis is necessary because in its present state the psalter includes many replacement folia and areas with lacuna or misbound folia.[6] No less critical to understanding the manuscript is an analysis of the psalter's paleography, in particular the determination of its date. Although the manuscript cannot be dated with precision, certain similarities between its script and that of numerous other codices permit the date of production to be narrowed to a fifty to seventy-five-year period.

Pinning down the manuscript's stylistic affiliations proves as challenging as determining its date. Whereas some elements point to a late eleventh-century date, others seem to fit more comfortably in the early twelfth century. This chapter reviews the most important of these elements to situate the manuscript more precisely within manuscript production of the time. Finally, the manuscript's exceptionally complex iconography and lavish materials, perhaps its most distinctive features, would seem to indicate, if not unproblematically, that it was planned by or for a well-educated and wealthy individual with an interest in the monastic lifestyle and achieving *theosis*: said person could be a monk or a lay individual. This chapter will conclude

[5] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*; Ernest T. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, vol. 2, 2 vols., The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941); Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927."

[6] See the appendix for a detailed codicological analysis.

with a discussion of the type of person who might have commissioned the psalter, and introduces a possible patron and planner of the manuscript and its extraordinarily erudite iconography.[7] Subsequent chapters will examine a multitude of iconographic elements and visual strategies. Many of these relate to the theological writings, monastic practices, and life events of Symeon the New Theologian, in toto resulting in a compelling case for production at the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople under the auspices of Niketas Stethatos shortly before the end of his life in 1090.

Codicology

Codicology is basic and fundamental to the study of manuscripts. Often, a codicological study will change our understanding of manuscripts and the technical processes involved in their creation. John Lowden, in his study of Byzantine Octateuch manuscripts, was able to closely examine the differing distributions of their many images to determine the interrelationships between the six known illustrated Octateuch manuscripts.[8] Kathleen Corrigan's investigation of BAV, MS Vat. gr. 394 demonstrated that the scribe, Constantine, was also the painter of the manuscript, and that he worked out relative placement of text and image as he progressed through its creation.[9] Likewise, the in-depth codicological study of Vat. gr. 1927 presented in the appendix has yielded important information regarding the process of design and execution.

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[7]This dissertation avoids describing the illustrations as a "program," a term that can be problematic and ahistorical. For a discussion of this issue see the papers in Jean Marie Guillouët and Claudia Rabel, *Le programme: une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art médiéval?* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2011).

[8] John Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

[9] Kathleen Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394," *Word & Image* 12, no. 1 (1996): 61–93.

Vat. gr. 1927 is not overly large and can be read while held in one's hand. It is not, however, of a size allowing for easy carrying on the person. There are dichotomies to the materials and execution of the psalter. While the manuscript was created with copious quantities of gold leaf, paint, and expensive pigments, and the text executed by a skilled scribe, the original parchment is of poor quality and the miniatures were often executed in a sloppy fashion. Mistakes in the layout of text and image between folios or gatherings suggest that the scribe and artist were two different individuals.[10] The incursion of several elaborated initial into the area for the painting, as well as the overlap of paint onto some initial letters, suggests that the illuminator and painter were not the same individual (Figure 1). It is impossible to determine if the scribe also illuminated the manuscript.

The manuscript suffered damage and was given replacement folios (Figure 2). These are formed from better-quality, though not excellent, parchment. Annotations in both Greek and Latin appear on multiple folios, both original folios and the later replacement folios following the manusript's damage; the Greek annotations date to the late-thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Among the annotations is an invocation ("ὁ θ ὁ ἁγιος," *sic*), and the *troparion* "τὸν προ αἰώνων ἐκ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα."[11] The Latin annotations are the first few words of each psalm and were

[10] See the appendix for an overview and analysis of each mistake.

[11] "Begotten of the Father before the ages." This *troparion* is adapted from the Nicene Creed. Several other words of the invocation can be made out on f. 136r (Figure 3). The incantation appears to be, in part, taken from the "Prayer of the *Trisagion* Hymn:"
"ὁ θ(εὸς) ὁ (*sic*)…
άΓιος ὁ ἐν …
τρϊάδΗ(*sic*) (?)…
(?) καὶ ὑπὸ…
τῶν σερα-
φὶμ (*sic*) ανψ… (ἀνυμνούμενος?)
(?) σῶσαν
(?)μας ὡς φ…
λάν(θρωπ)ος…"

likely used as a finding aid.[12] These Latin annotations appear only for the first few psalms. Their fifteenth-century date, suggested by Canart, would coincide with the migration of Byzantine manuscripts that occurred around the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1445) and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, providing a reasonable likelihood that Vat. gr. 1927 found its way to Italy through this migratory route. Barring the discovery of new archival evidence, the exact journey taken by the manuscript will never be known. What the annotations do give us is a general time period for its transfer into Latin-speaking and -writing hands in the fifteenth century.

When the folios of the manuscript were replaced, most likely due to water damage found throughout the original folios, a decision was made to replace only the text and not the images. On three replacement folios the blank areas of parchment resulting from this lack of images were filled with what appears to be pen and ink drawings of triumphal columns (Figures 4, 5, 6). The base of the column on f. 207v bears a striking resemblance to the base of the Column of Marcian

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Canart suggests σῶσαν ἡμας ("save you" pl.), although σῶσαν ὑμας ("save us") would make more sense here, and he does not identify parts of the incantation with the *Trisagion*. Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:694.

The beginning part of this invocation bears certain similarities to the prayer found in the *Euchologion* (one of the primary liturgical books of the Eastern Orthodox churches that contains the parts of the service recited by bishops, priests, and deacons) in two places. One iteration with the rubric "Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου, ἣν ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς λέγει" ("Prayer of the *Trisagion* Hymn, which the priest says silently) begins: "**Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν** ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. ὁ **τρι**σαγίῳ φωνῇ **ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφεὶμ ἀν**υμνούμενος…" (bolded letters accord with the invocation on 136r). R. P. J Goar, ed., *Euchologion, Sive Rituale Graecorum Complectens Ritus et Ordines Divinae Liturgiae*, Venice: Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730 (Reprint: Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 137. The other iteration bears the rubric "Τοῦ δὲ χοροῦ ψάλλοντος τὸ τρισάγιον, ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται μυστικῶς. Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου μυστικῶς" ("The *Trisagion* with the chorus singing, the priest prays silently. Prayer of the *Trisagion*, silently"). Goar, 55.

The second part of the prayer approximates to "As a lover of man, save us."

[12] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:Introduction.

in Constantinople (Figure 7). Michael Tomor, whose MA thesis represents one of only two substantial studies of the psalter to date, indicates that Anthony Cutler was planning to investigate these columns, although any research that might exist was never published.[13] These drawings indicate that between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the manuscript was at some point in the hands of someone who had great familiarity with the monuments of Constantinople, and that it was probably in Constantinople itself in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.

At some point inscriptions/captions, which often take the form of truncated psalm verses, were added to the margins and often over the paintings themselves. These inscriptions constitute an integral component of the paintings although it is unclear whether they were added at the time the manuscript was made or somewhat later. The magenta ink's use as part of the iconography in several miniatures suggests that the inscriptions were added around the same time as the manuscript was created (Figure 8). In many cases the inscriptions are badly abraded to the point of being illegible. Small symbols allow legends to correspond to their respective parts of the illustration for several of the very large and complex miniatures, a system not unknown in Byzantine psalter illustration, especially for the marginal psalters.[14] Canart proposed a twelfth-century date for them on paleographic grounds, though some letter forms show similarities with the titles and glossing in red ink, primarily in the catena portion, of the eleventh-century

[13] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 24, n. 11.

[14] Such a system was not confined to psalters. For example, a heavily illustrated copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (BnF ms grec 550) uses a similar system to demarcate quotes and parts of the text specifically linked to images. See Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 61–62.

Octateuch BAV, MS Vat. gr. 747.[15] Blue ink predominates in the first half of the manuscript; starting with f. 202v exclusively magenta-purple ink is used, although multiple miniatures contain both colors. One legend for Psalm 4 was originally written in blue, but was overpainted and extended in magenta, suggesting the order to the use of the two inks (Figure 9).

Overpainting occurs on some of the miniatures, generally in a thick, opaque red paint strikingly similar to the one used for initial letters in the replacement folios, suggesting that such interventions took place around the same time (Figure 10). There is very heavy damage to most of the miniatures. With some exceptions, how that damage occurred can only be generally inferred. As mentioned above, the manuscript experienced water damage at some point in its life, likely just before the major repairs were undertaken in the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Other damage might have come from acts of devotion such as touching the image or inscriptions.

A few images, however, show intentional damage, either in the form of smears, abrasion, or small parallel scrapes, as if by a comb or serrated blade (Figure 11). This form of targeted vandalism is largely carried out on images of nefarious people or beings such as idols or demons. Similar forms of effacement, which have been referred to as "pious barbarism," are often found in Byzantine art.[16] Psalter Vat. gr. 1927 has a dense population of pagan idols, evil demons, heads of Hades, and terrible sinners such as Judas Iscariot. The erasure of carefully painted elements begs the question of why such things were illustrated here in the first place if the

[15] Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:694. It is difficult to discern if the hand that wrote the legends is the same as that for the principle text due to the difference in script.

[16] Vasileios Marinis, "Piety, Barbarism, and the Senses in Byzantium," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven, 2014), 321–40. Michael Camille has written on this practice in the Latin West. Michael Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 139–54.

manuscript's recipient, perhaps also the patron, intended to efface them afterwards. The most likely explanation is that the images were effaced at a later date when the manuscript was in new hands.

Paleography

In addition to the codicology, a paleographic study might provide some clues to the place and date of production of Vat. gr. 1927. First, errors and omissions in the paleography of DeWald and Canart's studies of Vat. gr. 1927 must be corrected. The first folio of the manuscript is a replacement though Canart's catalogue entry makes no note of it. That it is a replacement is evident on f. 1v, where the script and ink differ in several significant ways from f. 2r (Figure 12). While the ink of Vat. gr. 1927 is a warm toned medium-brown color that in many places has faded to a light yellow-brown, the ink of f. 1v is very dark and more closely resembles the black ink used on the replacement folios. The script also differs in several ways, having a more complex system of diacritical marks including a doubled grave above ἄν on line twelve that is not seen elsewhere in the text of the original folios. The large gilded dot that indicates the end of each verse in the original folios is also missing. The script is more florid and ligatures more often than does the script in the remainder of the text, as can be seen on line fourteen. The first folio's script contains elements in common with the original script, such as the wide and rounded omega found on f. 1v, line thirteen; said elements become plentiful in the twelfth century, and are less common but not entirely unusual in Byzantine manuscripts of the eleventh century. None of the letter forms provide positive evidence for folio 1 being original to the manuscript.

Folio 1r opens with an almost completely abraded miniature that once contained at least one figure and likely more (Figure 13). From other headpieces, an image of David surrounded by

four musicians would be a reasonable supposition for the original image.[17] The elaborated frame with flowering-vine inserts and floral finials is one of only two frames on miniatures in the entire extant manuscript and is the more elaborate of the two by far. The f. 1r miniature's position of importance, marking the beginning of the Psalms, could have accounted for such elaboration and also for the application of color within the opening initial M, the traces of which may still be seen. All other incipit letters are gilded and distinguished by size and embellishment of form. It is unclear whether f. 1 was created as a replacement for a damaged original first folio, or whether a folio with a quatrefoil prefatory image from a different psalter was used instead. Although the script on the replacement f. 1r resembles the original script, as seen on f. 2r, the former scenario seems more likely as the text flows perfectly from f. 1v to the original f. 2r and there is no evidence of scraping under magnifying glass, raking light, or UV light with magnification.[18] That being said, the ink and enlarged initial letters of the first folio do not match the black ink and cinnabar colored paint of the replacement folios that occur throughout the rest of the manuscript.

The original text of The Psalms and Odes of Vat. gr. 1927 was written by one hand in a clear, even *Perlschrift*. Although there are notable characteristics in this hand, such as a loosely rounded uncial *omega* form, a ligature of uncial *epsilon* and the frequent use of uncial letters such at *eta*, *pi*, and *epsilon*, nothing stands out as striking or unusual except for his total lack of

[17] Illustrated Byzantine psalters often, but not always, began with either an image of David or scenes from his life as he was the author of the majority of the Psalms. This is especially true for the so-called aristocratic psalters. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 166–67; Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, 1984), 9. The quatrefoil-in-square headpiece with floral finials of f. 1r resembles the abstracted initial headpiece of Lavra cod. B 25, a fourteenth-century psalter with commentary by Euthymios Zygabenus. Cutler, 22–23, 140 fig. 43.

[18] An examination looking specifically for evidence of scraping and prior text was undertaken in June 2017.

the use of uncial *alpha*, a lack that is an extraordinary feature.[19] When speaking of the script, Canart has stated that securely dating the hand is very difficult due to the skill of the scribe.[20] Discussion with other paleographers has resulted in similar non-conclusions. The script exhibits characteristics found in manuscripts ranging from the mid eleventh century through the mid twelfth century. The scribe of Vat. gr. 1927 deployed all minuscule forms for each letter. Certain small preferences emerge, such as for uncial *eta*, and while he includes a variety of flourishes and small elaborations to letter forms, they are quite varied and nothing stands out as being unique to this particular scribe.

Despite extensive investigation of exemplars, no matching hand is evident. Prior investigators such as Canart and Parpulov, the latter of whom has inspected over 700 psalters, have also failed to find a matching hand. Given the obvious skill of the scribe that produced Vat. gr. 1927, indicating a high degree of practice, it seems reasonable to expect that this individual did produce other manuscripts. Two main sources of comparative material to date have been Lake's ten-volume set of Greek minuscule manuscripts securely dated by colophon or Easter Tables prior to the year 1200, and the three-volume *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*.[21] Narrowing the date is particularly difficult because the script of Vat. gr. 1927 shares characteristics with both eleventh and twelfth-century manuscripts, the result of a trend in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in which scribal hands tended to become more uniform. The

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[20] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 21, n. 3.

[21] Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, eds., *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200. Indices, Volumes I to X* (Boston, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1945); Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium Der Griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

twelfth century shows an increase in the disproportional enlargement of certain uncial letters, which Vat. gr. 1927 exhibits to some small degree, although this also appears in the eleventh century.[22]

Though an exact match is lacking, some similar hands have been found. Vatopedi 879, an *Evangelion* produced in 1151 based on its dedicatory colophon, is one such example for similar elements such as the form and ligatures of the *delta* and the unusual form of the *omega* (Figures 14, 15). However, the size of some letters, such as *epsilon* and *tau*, are far more exaggerated than those of Vat. gr. 1927, as are the enlarged circumflex accents, two characteristics more commonly found in the twelfth century, which indicates a later date for Vatopedi 879 than that of the psalter Vat. gr. 1927.[23]

Another similar, but not identical, hand may be found in MS Vat. Urb. gr. 2, the *Tetraevangelion* produced for Emperor John II and painted by the Kokkinobaphos Master (Figure 16).[24] The gilded ornament and initial letters also resemble those found in Vat. gr. 1927. However, this does not necessarily indicate that Vat. gr. 1927 was produced in precisely the same context, nor painted by the Kokkinobaphos Master. An additional comparative is Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery cod. 65, a psalter with other texts cobbled together from two different manuscripts. Parpulov reports that the psalms and odes of Dionysiou 65 are written in a hand very similar to that of MS Vat. Urb. gr. 2; he dates it to the second quarter of the twelfth

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[22] Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), xix–xx.

[23] Barbour, xx.

[24] Kathleen Maxwell, "Illustrated Byzantine Gospel Books," in *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. Vasiliki Tsamakda, Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 279; Kallirroe Linardou, "The Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts Revisited: The Internal Evidence of the Books," *Scriptorium* 61, no. 2 (2007): 384, 390.

century.[25] Dionysiou 65 has a cycle of miniatures relating to the fate of a monk's soul that shares characteristics of early to mid twelfth-century Constantinopolitan painting of the Kokkinobaphos group.

The comparative manuscripts from the twelfth century noted above all exhibit slightly wider and more rounded variants of the script found in Vat. gr. 1927. Connections can also be made to Vat. gr. 752, a very large psalter with *catena* that was produced in 1058-1059, possibly at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. Vat. gr. 752 exhibits in the copying of the psalm's text two hands (scribes A and D) that form letters such as *nu* in a square-like fashion, more so that the above twelfth-century examples, and do so in a way that presents similarities to the script of Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 17). The individual referred to as Scribe A of Vat. gr. 752 has been identified by Parpulov as the scribe of Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, MS Taphou 53,

[25] Parpulov also noted that the miniatures stylistically resemble those in a copy of the *Panoplia Dogmatica.* Georgi Radomirov Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2004). Dionysiou 65 was dated to 1313 on account of its Easter Tables until it was determined that these and several other texts were a later addition. See Chrysanthē Mauropoulou-Tsioumē, "Οἱ Μικρογραφίες Τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου Ἀρ.65 Τῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου," *Klēronomia: Periodikon Dēmosieuma Tou Patriarchikou Hidrymatos Paterikōn Meletōn* 7 (1975): 131–71; Irmgard Hutter, "Scriptoria in Bithynia," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. Cyril A Mango, Gilbert Dagron, and Geoffrey Greatrex (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), 394-395 and n. 44, 45. Spatharakis dated the core text of Dionysiou 65 to the early-mid twelfth century and primarily to the hand of Sabas, a monk from Kalatha in Nicomedia who wrote the ex-libris and versified colophon, and who is most likely pictured in several images in the cycle on the fate of a monk's soul after death. He thought that Sabas had collaborated with other scribes in the writing of this psalter. See Ioannis Spatharakis, "The Date of the Illustrations of the Psalter Dionysiu 65 (Πίν. 94-99)," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 26 (1976 1975): 173–77. Spatharakis agreed with Lazarev on the stylistic relationship of these miniatures those of Synod. gr. 387, located in Moscow's Historical Museum, and dated the latter to the second half of the twelfth century on stylistic grounds. Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 128–29; Viktor Nikitich Lazarev, *Storia Della Pittura Bizantina* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1967), 251, n. 44.

another psalter with *catena*.[26] Both Taphou 53 and Vat. Gr. 752 date to approximately the same time, the 1050s, and both illustrate the text with small images appearing on a golden background. Additionally, their illustrations, which are unique to each manuscript and illustrate the *catena* (Vat. gr. 752) or the *tituli* (Taphou 53) rather than psalm verses, share some similarities to that of Vat. gr. 1927, such as gold backgrounds, and a few stylistic elements. These elements, along with certain similarities in paleographic style, suggest a potential link with the Stoudios Monastery's scriptorium. The later date for Vat. gr. 1927 proposed in this dissertation, in the 1080s or around 1090, and a production site of the Stoudios scriptorium, would explain its interesting mix of paleographic characteristics spanning the approximately one hundred years of time separating Vat. gr. 752 and Vatopedi 891.

Historiography

The date of Vat. gr. 1927's deposition in the Vatican Library remains unknown. The library's records regarding its accession are unclear. It appears in a list of manuscripts found on f. 159v of a catalogue of the Vatican Library's Greek manuscript holdings and letters from Cardinal Francisco Barberini (BAV, Barb. gr. 202).[27] The list indicates that the manuscript was in possession of the Vatican by the reign of Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644).[28] Any other

[26] Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters," 89–92, 178 n. 46.

[27] The manuscript contains a catalogue of the Vatican Library's Greek manuscript holdings and letters from Cardinal Francisco Barberini.

[28] Salvatore Lilla, *I Manoscritti Vaticani Greci: Lineamenti Di Una Storia Del Fondo* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004), 69; Timothy Janz, "Lo Sviluppo Dei Vaticani Greci Tra Fondo Antico e Accessioni Seicentesche," in *La Vaticana Nel Seicento (1590-1700): Una Biblioteca Di Biblioteche*, ed. Massimo Ceresa, Claudia Montuschi, and Antonio Manfredi, Storia Della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 3 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014), 525–26.

information regarding its history prior to its arrival at the Vatican can only come from internal evidence.

The manuscript Vat. gr. 1927 has not been easily accessible to scholars until very recently. It was not available on microfilm outside of the Vatican Library, and until it was digitized and made publicly available online in July 2015, only two color images from it were in print.[29] While the digital facsimile now available on the Vatican Library's website is a valuable resource, especially in making the text publicly available for the first time, the digital copy itself is not of a very high resolution despite having been significantly improved in a 2016 update. Further, the Vatican's digital watermark occasionally overlaps important elements of the miniatures.[30] Paul Canart's entry in the Vatican's catalogue on the Vat. gr. 1927 psalter has until now contained the most complete and accurate published codicological and paleographic information, though with several small omissions discussed earlier and in the appendix.[31]

Vat. gr. 1927 was first noted in modern scholarship by J. J. Tikkanen in a comparative study of medieval psalters published in 1895.[32] He considered it both unique and odd, as it did

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[29] http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1927; Aksiniia Dzhurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen: Schätze Der Buchmalerei Vom 4. Bis Zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell+Steiner, 2002), 192 and fig. 124; Kathleen Anne Corrigan, "Early Medieval Psalter Illustration in Byzantium and the West," in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. Koert van der Horst, William Noel, and Wilhelmina C. M Wüstefeld (Tuurdijk, Netherlands; London: HES Publishers; Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), 97.

[30] See in contrast, for example, the relative quality of scanning for the manuscript Vat, gr. 747 http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.747, an Octateuch manuscript of far greater size whose miniatures tend to be of comparable size to those of Vat. gr. 1927.

[31] Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:693–95.

[32] J. J. (Johan Jakob) Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration Im Mittelalter*, trans. James Brockway. (Soest: Davaco, 1975); Reprint of *Die Psalterillustration Im Mittelalter. Bd. I. Die Psalterillustration in Der Kunstgeschichte* (Helsinki, Finland: Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft, 1895).

not fit into either of his illustrative psalter "categories." The first category, "aristocratic" psalters, are those that have single miniatures prefacing certain psalms and odes, while the second category, "monastic" or "marginal" psalters, contain a high volume of small marginal vignettes throughout the manuscript. Perhaps the "unique and odd" characteristics of Vat. gr. 1927 are among the reasons why no scholar took up a study of this psalter until 1941, when Ernest DeWald published a monograph in English with Princeton University Press.[33] DeWald included black and white photographs of the 132 extant original miniatures and their legends. Dating the manuscript to the middle of the twelfth century, DeWald included a basic iconographic description of each miniature and a final overview outlining some general iconographic trends.[34]

Shortly thereafter, Dimitri Tselos, an art historian at the University of Minnesota and the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, published an extensive review in *The Art Bulletin* in which he corrected some of DeWald's errors and made a few suggestions for additional iconographic interpretation.[35] He was notably critical of DeWald's decision to use the King James version of The Bible for his English translations of the Greek text, as it is based on the Masoretic version of the text, whereas the Byzantines used the Septuagint.[36] Tselos also disagreed with DeWald's tentative dating of the Vat. gr. 1927 psalter to the second quarter of the

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[33] DeWald was an art historian at Princeton University until taking a leave of absence to fight in WWII. He became part of the unit known as the Monuments Men. https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/the-heroes/the-monuments-men/dewald-lt.-col.-ernest-t.

[34] See n. 4, supra.

[35] Dimitri Tselos, "The Illustrations in the Manuscript of the Septuagint; Volume III: Psalms and Odes, Part I: Vaticanus Graecus 1927," *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (March 1942): 104–7.

[36] Tselos, 105. As he notes, the Greek for Psalm 20:4 "στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου" translates to "crown of precious stone," not the "crown of gold" of the King James version. These inaccuracies could have serious ramifications for proper iconographic interpretations.

twelfth century, suggesting instead a late eleventh-century date based on comparisons with several of the illustrated Byzantine Octateuchs.[37] Since Tselos's publication, the Octateuch manuscript he claimed as a close comparison for Vat. gr. 1927, the Seraglio Octateuch (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS G[ayri] I[slami] 8), has been securely dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[38]

Aside from the updated entry in the Vatican Library's catalogue by Paul Canart, then the curator of Greek Manuscripts at the Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1927 was not the subject of another dedicated study until the 1990 unpublished MA thesis of Michael Tomor at the Pennsylvania

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[37] His identification of the manuscript given by DeWald as an iconographic and stylistic comparison, Vat. Urb. gr. 2, with the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos is incorrect. Vat. Urb. gr. 2 is a *Tetraevangelion* containing a full-page miniature of Emperor John II Komnenos and his son Alexios being crowned by Christ. The correct shelf mark of the homilies is Bitblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1162.

[38] Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 83–114. The Seraglio Octateuch contains a paraphrase of the "Letter to Aristeas" by its patron the Sebastokrator Isaac (1093-post 1152), youngest son of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. The manuscript is damaged, especially severely on these folios, and also suffers from extensive purple mold damage, rendering the first few lines of the paraphrase difficult to read. The paraphrase was reconstituted and translated into Russian in Theodore Uspenskij, "L'octateuque De La Bibliothèque Du Sérail À Constantinople," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople* 12 (1907): 1–14. Anderson gives the English and a slightly modified transcription of the Greek in Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," 84 and 84, n. 10: "The Preface to the Old (Testament), Lengthy and Obscure, Which Aristeas Set Before Philocrates, Kyr Isaac, Born in the Purple and Son of the Great Emperor Kyr Alexius Comnenus, Reduced to a Shorter and More Lucid Version." Most recently, however, John Lowden demonstrated that the original text could not have contained "Κὺρ Ισαάκιος" between πορφθρογ[ένν/ητος] and καὶ υἱὸς. He gives the following transcription: "Τὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς προοίμι(ον) ὅπ(ερ) ὁ Ἀ[ριστέ/ας] πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκράτ(ην) ἐκτέθεικ(εν) μακ[ρη/γορίᾳ] καὶ ἀσαφεὶᾳ ὁ δὲ πορφθρογ[ένν/ητος] καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλ(ου) β(ασιλέως) κ(ὺρ) Ἀλε[ξίου] τοῦ Κομνην(οὺ) εἰς συντομί(αν) μετερύθμι/σε καὶ σαφήνει(αν)." See John Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 111, nn. 18, 19, 20. My own examination in July 2015 of the digital facsimile, available only at the Topkapi Palace Library, supports Lowden's conclusion. Even without his name, the information provided in the introduction continues to allow for the identification of the patron as the Sebastokrator Isaac.

State University.[39] Tomor was chiefly concerned with narrowing the possible date of the Vat. gr. 1927 manuscript via stylistic analysis, beginning with an argument to ascribe all the miniatures to a single artist. In his extensive stylistic analysis, Tomor chose to restrict his positive comparisons solely to a few manuscripts in the Vatican, and to the Seraglio Octateuch, all known to be painted by the famous Kokkinobaphos Master, thus indirectly insinuating that Vat. gr. 1927 was created by an artist very closely associated with him.[40] His decision to restrict the remaining pool of comparanda to a few late eleventh-century examples, also generally in the Vatican Library, ignores much manuscript evidence from both the eleventh and twelfth centuries and limits the use of his study. Tomor also very briefly touched on the issue of patronage in an iconographic analysis of select miniatures. Finding an unusually large number of monks and related imagery, he concluded simply that the patron was a monastic residing in a cenobitic monastery.[41]

Vat. gr. 1927 has also appeared in a large number of publications where it is employed as a comparative exemplar for style, iconography, or both. Within these publications, only a few have attempted any sort of significant iconographic interpretation of a particular miniature within the psalter. For example, one recent article directly compared the Vat. gr. 1927 miniature depicting what could be interpreted as an iconoclastic council to the corresponding image in the

[39] See n. 4, supra.

[40] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 27–68. The manuscripts chosen for stylistic similarities are Vat. Urb. gr. 2, Vat. gr. 1162, and Seraglio 8 (Painter C). This artist has been identified as the Kokkinobaphos Master (see n. 37, supra). His primary exemplar of a manuscript with a differing style is Vat. gr. 394, a late eleventh-century copy of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (also known by the title *The Heavenly Ladder*) by John Climacus.

[41] Tomor, 116.

Kiev Psalter (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, cod. OLDP, F6) (Figures 18, 19).[42] Another Vat. gr. 1927 miniature was examined in a dissertation on the Ancient of Days (Figure 20).[43] Sahoko Tsuji analyzed the Vat. gr. 1927 paintings prefacing Psalms 23 and 117 (Figures 21, 22) in an article devoted to an analysis of Byzantine conceptions of the entrances to hell and paradise or heaven.[44] In particular, Tsuji focused on the Vat. gr. 1927 miniature of Psalm 23, part of which is executed in pen outline over a gold background. This portion of the image depicts Christ in a mandorla elevated by two angels next to a ladder connecting heaven and earth on which angels ascend and descend. This image Tsuji describes as "Plus originale et difficile à interpreter," before musing over some of the textual evidence for the ladder and the association of this psalm with the Ascension.[45]

In his study of the iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk, Christopher Walter acknowledged the sophistication and often subtlety of the illustrations in Vat. gr. 1927, calling its miniatures the "most developed" of the illustrations of the Ode of Habakkuk (Figure 23).[46] Walter proposed that the Vat. gr. 1927 illustration drew inspiration from the eleventh-century commentaries on the Psalms by Theophylact of Ohrid (ca. 1055—after 1107), the archbishop of

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[42] Yiannis Vitaliotis, "Le Conseil Des Impies Dans Les Psautiers 'Vaticanus Graecus' 1927 et de Kiev," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 43 (1995): 153–62.

[43] Gretchen Kreahling Mckay, "Imaging the Divine: A Study of the Representations of the Ancient of Days in Byzantine Manuscripts" (PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1997), 67–68, fig. 23.

[44] Sahoko Tsuji, "Destruction Des Portes de l'Enfer et Ouverture Des Portes Du Paradis. A Propos Des Illustrations Du Psaume 23, 7-10 et Du Psaume 117, 19-20," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 31 (1983): 5–33.

[45] This ladder references Jacob's Ladder (Gen. 28:10-19). Tsuji, 17–19.

[46] Christopher Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," *Revue des études byzantines* 47 (1989): 256.

Achrida (modern Ohrid, Bulgaria) and a prolific letter writer and commentator on the Bible.[47] In the Vat. gr. 1927 image, the prophet kneels before a mountain upon which rests a bust of the Theotokos with Christ. Walter makes the following comment:[48]

> It was inevitable that at some time a rapprochement should be made between the phrase κατασκίου δασέως of the Ode and the phrase δύναμις υψίστου επισκιάσει σοι of the account of the Annunciation (Luke 1,35). Yet no commentator of the Ode seems to have done this earlier than Theophylact of Ohrid (before 1050—ca 1108). He refers the dark shady mountain explicitly to the power of the Most High overshadowing the Virgin, and thus makes Habakkuk a prophet of the Annunciation. The same rapprochement may be found in the Menaia, for example in the office of the Forefathers. However the only surviving miniature inspired by it seems to be that in Vatican gr. 1927.

Theophylact also associated line 11 of the Ode of Habbakuk ("The sun was exalted") with the exaltation of Christ on the Cross.[49] Both the image associated with the ode in Vat. gr. 1927 and the commentary of Theophylact make a typological interpretation in positing Habakkuk as a prophet of the Messiah, one that does not often occur in illustrations of this ode.[50]

Annemarie Weyl Carr is the only scholar to consider any special use of the Vat. gr. 1927 psalter's images in personal devotional piety (Figures 24, 25, 26).[51] Though primarily referencing illustrations of caves from the psalter in her discussion of the Oktoechos Messina, San Salvatore 51, she mentions the potential performativity of Vat. gr. 1927's many miniatures

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[47] See PG123-126 for a nearly complete corpus of his work.

[48] Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," 256. For commentary see Theophylact, *Expositio in prophetam Habacuc*: PG 126:880.

[49] Habakkuk 3:11, "ἐπήρθη ὁ ἥλιος." Theophylact, "Habacuc," PG 126:889.

[50] Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," 256–57.

[51] For a more extensive examination of the use of psalters and their images in personal pious devotional practices see Georgi R Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 77–105.

of King David in *proskynesis*, or prayer, thus providing a visual model for the reader to reproduce in his or her own prayers.[52]

> The major exception is the cycle of Vatican, gr. 1927, a psalter with framed miniatures containing both literal and interpretive images before most of the psalms. It resembles Messina 51 closely in its method of illumination, balancing images that explicate with prominent images of David performing the text in postures of prayer. By comparison with the marginal psalters, it is notable for the repetitive, preemptive prominence of David images. The emphasis is not so much on the content of the text as on its performance—whether by showing it spoken, or by illuminating it with the icon of the figure or festival in whose veneration it was used. This approach was a concomitant (be it cause or effect) of the "liturgizing" of Middle Byzantine art, and tended to attenuate the relationship of text and miniature.

Following in this vein, other studies occasionally invoke Vat. gr. 1927 in studies of specific iconography.[53] Vat. gr. 1927 is mentioned in studies of the Utrecht Psalter, a Carolingian

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[52] Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Illuminated Musical Manuscripts in Byzantium: A Note on the Late Twelfth Century," *Gesta* 28, no. 1 (1989): 51, n. 50. The images of David reflect, and were used in, pious practice, but his prominence in this psalter cannot solely be ascribed to such use. His complex behaviors and images will be discussed in great length as part of chapter 4. It is also important to note that the phrase "framed images" is a misleading descriptor of the psalter's paintings. Only the miniatures prefacing Psalms 1 and 8 are given a border, with f. 1, containing the illustration prefacing Psalm 1, not original to the manuscript.

[53] See, for examples, Einhorn's mention of the unicorn that appears on f. 170v in his study devoted to the unicorn as a sign of death, or Dinkler's note in an article on Peace that it is one manuscript in which one may find an image of personifications of Justice and Peace kissing. Jürgen Werinhard Einhorn, "Das Einhorn als Sinnzeichen des Todes: Die Parabel vom Mann im Abgrund," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972): 388; Erich Dinkler, *Eirene: der Urchristliche Friedensgedanke: Vorgetragen am 29. Januar 1972*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften., Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter: Universitätsverlag, 1973), 14, n. 18. For its use as comparanda to other manuscripts and manuscript genres see John Rupert Martin, *The Illustration of The Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 18f., 85, 91, 152, 159, Fig. 296; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge: Londres, Add. 19.352*, vol. 2, Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 5 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1970), 78 nn. 9, 99–102, 103 16, 104, 105 29, 106; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937), 108, 120, 208, 211; Anthony Cutler and Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3. An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400," *Revue des études Byzantines* 34, no. 1 (1976): 281–324.

manuscript produced between 816 and 833 at the Benedictine abbey of Hautvillers (Altumvillare) in the diocese of Reims (Figure 27).[54] Many scholars have proposed some manner of ultimate common archetype for the Utrecht and Vat. gr. 1927 psalters, though often wildly disagreeing as to possible date, locale, and degrees of separation between the two.[55] Benson and Tselos' attempts to identify pre-iconoclastic, and preferably Late Antique, prototype(s) for the Utrecht Psalter and Vat. gr. 1927 are indicative of a type of art-historical investigation into the evolution of image cycles that reached its culmination in the work of Kurt Weitzmann.

Weitzmann's methodology for the study of Byzantine manuscripts was influenced by approaches used in nineteenth and early twentieth-century textual criticism and assumed a certain "degradation" of images and image cycles over time.[56] As artistic styles changed over time, they were seen as departing from their original, "Classical" appearance. Such an approach

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[54] Koert van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David," in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. Koert van der Horst, William Noel, and Wilhelmina C. M Wüstefeld (Tuurdijk, Netherlands; London: HES Publishers; Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), 23–24.

[55] Gertrude R. Benson and Dimitri Tselos, "New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter: I: The Latin Tradition and the Reims Style in the Utrecht Psalter," *The Art Bulletin* 13 (1931): 12–79; Dimitri Tselos, *The Sources of the Utrecht Psalter Miniatures* (Minneapolis, MN: printed and published privately, 1955); Dimitri Tselos, "Defensive Addenda to the Problem of the Utrecht Psalter," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 334–49; Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: sources et apport Carolingien* (Paris: Ophrys, 1978); Suzy Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers médiévaux à illustrations intégrales issues du texte* (Paris: Association des amis des etudes archeologiques byzantines slaves, 1978).

[56] Kurt Weitzmann, "The Relationship between Text Criticism and Picture Criticism," in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), 182–92. He believed that cycles of images followed the same lifespan as those of texts, degrading over time through the process of copying to produce recensions of the original work. The end of this approach was to determine what he believed was the prototypical cycle of images for a particular text, one supposedly created in full centuries earlier, by comparing all its extant variations.

explains the contempt displayed by Benson and Tselos for later Byzantine manuscripts, when they declare:[57]

> The low level of technical execution to which such derivative manuscripts as the various Octateuchs and Gr.1927 have descended, the many apparent amputations and the congestion of scenes, indicate not only that these were not created or eclectically compounded in their own period but that they were copied from earlier, richer, and technically superior manuscripts.

Benson and Tselos also condemn the Menologion of Basil II (MS Vat. gr. 1613), an early eleventh-century manuscript commissioned for an emperor and lavishly executed in its high quality of painting and extensive use of gilding (Figure 28). In the case of Vat. gr. 1927, however, Benson and Tselos were not entirely incorrect about a less-than-consummate level of execution, which will be discussed below and has ramifications for the potential identification of both artist and patron.

Suzy Dufrenne's *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers médiévaux à illustrations integrals issues du texte* of 1978 does not provide illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 but is vital to any comparative study of the "marginal" psalters.[58] The publication contains her notes on each image or image group per psalm, psalm verse, and ode in comparative fashion for fifteen different psalters including the Byzantine marginal psalters, Vat. gr. 1927, the Utrecht and Stuttgart (WLB Cod. bibl. 23) psalters, the Serbian psalter Cod. Slav. 4 in Munich, and the Bulgarian Tomić Psalter (Moscow Historical Museum, MS 2752). What this resource does not do is provide more than very general iconographic identification, and thus important nuances and differences between the same iconographic image for the same psalm verse across the various psalters is

[57] Benson and Tselos, "New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter: I: The Latin Tradition and the Reims Style in the Utrecht Psalter," 62.

[58] See n. 54, supra.

often overlooked. Dufrenne's work remains, however, a necessary reference for a scholar considering the iconography of any of these psalters. Her tables also vividly demonstrate the marked similarity of general iconography per psalm and verse across these psalters, indicating some common illustrative traditions and sources for psalter illustration that almost certainly date back to Late Antiquity.[59]

None of this indicates that Vat. gr. 1927 was directly copied from an earlier model, although Tselos believed the illustrations were divided up for adaptation to the codex format from some sort of illustrated rotulus, citing their lack of frames and "painted frieze-like" appearance, pointing especially to the two illustrations for Psalm 103 (Figures 29, 30).[60] It is certainly possible that individual paintings such as this might have been taken from a larger work, whether a rotulus, mosaic, or wall painting, amongst possible options. This hypothesis, however, is something that can never be proven, and focusing on making such an argument does not contribute much to an overall understanding of this psalter and the impetus for its creation.

That Tselos came to such a conclusion was due in large part to the number of images with groups of individuals placed away from the center and often turned toward the left or right margins of the image, especially toward the right side of the image, in a seemingly incongruous fashion. An example of this may be found in Vat. gr. 1927, 172v (Figure 31). The majority of these groups have in common the tendency to be sinners or images of the violent persecution of martyrs by sinners. In contrast, the center of said images often contains David or other holy figures under arcs of heaven with or without the figure of Christ. This compositional peculiarity,

[59] van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David," 75.

[60] Tselos, "The Illustrations in the Manuscript of the Septuagint; Volume III: Psalms and Odes, Part I: Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 107.

then, should be considered an illustration of a moving away from what is holy, rather than nonsensical compositions resulting from the unthinking copying and transposition of rotulus illustrations or monumental paintings into codex format.

That Vat. gr. 1927 has predominantly been used by modern scholars for individual stylistic and iconographic comparisons with so many disparate genres of illustrated texts indicates the artist creatively drew on a wide variety of sources for inspiration.[61] Vat. gr. 1927 also contains images that are otherwise unknown in extant Byzantine art, such as that of Christ-Emmanuel following the Beatitudes to end the manuscript on f. 289r, which also suggests that Vat. gr. 1927 was a new creation and not simply a direct copy from some sort of model (Figure 32). While art historians still investigate issues of models and the relationship between manuscripts, they do so based on extant materials, often with very fruitful conclusions.[62] Seeking the traces of a lost pre-iconoclastic copy whose existence can never be confirmed is no longer the primary goal in Byzantine manuscript studies. Instead, scholars now attempt to situate manuscripts and their contents within their contemporary milieu.[63]

Such is the case for the most recent scholarly engagement with Vat. gr. 1927, which appears as a chapter by Nicolette Trahoulia in a 2016 volume devoted to the holistic study of the

[61] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 85–88.

[62] For an example of how a careful study of extant manuscripts can reveal their relationship to one another, or lack thereof, see Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*.

[63] For an overview of Byzantine manuscript scholarship in the post-Weitzmann era see Ioli Kalavrezou and Courtney Tomaselli, "The Study of Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts since Kurt Weitzmann: Art Historical Methods and Approaches," in *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. Vasiliki Tsamakda, Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 23–34.

psalter Vat. gr. 752 (Figure 33).[64] As mentioned above, Vat. gr. 752 is a large psalter with small illustrations on a gold background interspersed through its *catena*. DeWald published Vat. gr. 752 alongside Vat. gr. 1927 in his *The Illustrations of the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*.[65] Trahoulia's work, and the volume edited by Crostini and Peers in which it appears, stem from a 2012 conference and reflects current approaches to the study of Byzantine manuscripts, which are now examined as whole objects, with their texts and materiality considered to be as vitally important as their illustrations.[66] In the volume edited by Crostini and Peers, nineteen scholars explore the codicology of Vat. gr. 752, the texts including the *catena*, and multiple facets of its illustrations.

When DeWald initially published the two psalters together in 1941, he almost exclusively included the images, reprinting text only insofar as it seemed directly relevant to any associated iconography. Trahoulia takes up the questions of whether Vat. gr. 752 and Vat. gr. 1927 are related in some way and why DeWald chose to publish them together as number 3 in Princeton's series "The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint." As Vat. gr. 752 might be a product of the Stoudios Monastery, Trahoulia suggests that Vat. gr. 1927 was also a product of its scriptorium, possibly produced ca. 1090 under the auspices and programmatic planning of the scholarly *hegoumenos* and follower of Symeon the New Theologian, Nicholas Stethatos.[67] A

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[64] Nikoletta S. Trahoulia, "Vat. Gr. 752 and Vat. Gr. 1927: Related Manuscripts?," in *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex of Texts and Images in Vat. Gr. 752*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Glenn Peers (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), 547–68.

[65] See n. 4, supra.

[66] Barbara Crostini and Glenn Peers, eds., *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex of Texts and Images in Vat. Gr. 752* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016).

[67] Trahoulia, "Vat. Gr. 752 and Vat. Gr. 1927: Related Manuscripts?," 567.

closer examination of her arguments will be presented later in this chapter when possible patronage is considered.

The scholarly trajectory on Vat. gr. 1927 is a manifestation of the larger scholarship surrounding Byzantine psalters and manuscripts since Tikkanen's pioneering nineteenth-century study.[68] Early work focused on compiling images for study and on utilizing Weitzmann's methodology to reconstruct supposedly original illustrative cycles. Without these compendia of images it was exceptionally difficult for scholars to work on the material, which is spread through numerous libraries across Europe, Asia, and the United States.[69] Interestingly enough, it was only in 1984 that the first compilation of images from the "aristocratic" psalters was published, although many of these psalter were well known.[70] Lowden then utilized this compilation to consider general questions of date, size, and related to size, possible function amongst illustrated psalters.[71]

Given the primacy of psalters and the Psalms in the monastic offices, where set groups of psalms are chanted at fixed points throughout the day, and in the liturgy, changes in liturgical practice are of great importance for the study not only of Byzantine psalters, but also of many other genres of illustrated Byzantine manuscripts, as the illustrations might embed liturgical

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[68] See n. 1, supra and Georgi R Parpulov, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination: Past, Present, and Future," *Paleoslavica* 21, no. 2 (2013): 202–22.

[69] In some cases it remains virtually impossible to gain access to this material. For example, women are not allowed access to the monastic center Mount Athos, and thus may only directly examine anything from the rich collections of its many monasteries when a manuscript or other object is sent from the mountain to an outside exhibit.

[70] Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*.

[71] John Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 2 (1988): 242–60.

apparatuses.[72] Building on the work initiated in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars such as Maria Evangelatou continue to find fertile ground by examining liturgical strata in psalters and other genres.[73] Other scholars, including Christopher Walter, have turned to different textual sources such as commentaries on the Psalms, notably those of the patristic period, as inspiration for psalter illustration.[74] Scholars have found that psalter illustration could also exhibit elements commenting on contemporary concerns such as iconoclasm or unsavory imperial behavior.[75] Generally, these studies have focused on the most famous and lavishly illustrated of psalters. It was only in 2004 that a groundbreaking attempt was made by Georgi Radomirov Parpulov to study the overall history of Greek psalters and their contents, both text and image.[76] Parpulov's dissertation illuminates how widely varied and complex psalter contents can be. For example,

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[72] Anthony Cutler, "Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980): 17–30. For an overview of studies on liturgical manifestations in Byzantine manuscript illustration see Kalavrezou and Tomaselli, "The Study of Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts since Kurt Weitzmann: Art Historical Methods and Approaches," 26-27 and n. 21.

[73] Maria Evangelatou, "The Illustration of the Ninth-Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters: Layers of Meaning and Their Sources" (PhD Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2002); Maria Evangelatou, "The Exegetical Initials of Codex Parisinus Graecus 41: Word and Image in a Twelfth-Century Byzantine Psalter," *Word & Image* 24, no. 2 (2008): 199–218; Maria Evangelatou, "Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 59–116.

[74] Christopher Walter, "Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century," *Revue des études byzantines* 44 (1986): 269–87.

[75] Respectively see Kathleen Anne Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Ioli Kalavrezou, Nicolette Trahoulia, and Shalom Sabar, "Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter Gr. 752.," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 195–219. For a differing interpretation of imperial iconography in Vat. gr. 752 see Dirk Krausmüller, "Codex Vat. Gr. 752: Some Remarks about Its Pictorial Programme and Its Historical Context," in *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex of Texts and Images in Vat. Gr. 752*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Glenn Peers (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), 179–92.

[76] Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters."

while Vat. gr. 1927 contains only the Palms, Odes, and Beatitudes, others contain *catenae*, individualized prayers, and other texts.[77]

This historiographic overview demonstrates that illustrated Byzantine psalters have and continue to provide rich fodder for the understanding of Byzantine illustrative practice, liturgy, and personal piety. Many of these manuscripts are manifestations of the milieu in which they were produced. Vat. gr. 1927's dynamic cycle of images provides valuable insight into the pious concerns and interests in late eleventh-century Byzantium.

Elements of Style

Studying an image's stylistic elements can shed light on its date and place of creation. But one must be careful to do so in a manner that does not inadvertently overlook important exempla. Tomor's positive invocation of comparative manuscripts and manuscript images only painted by the Kokkinobaphos Master suggests, but does not state outright, that a closely associated painter carried out the illustration of Vat. gr. 1927, though he does discuss a number of the stylistic differences that appear between the group and Vat. gr. 1927.[78] To address the style of Vat. gr. 1927, it is first necessary to note that this psalter departs materially from manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos Master group, which lack the flaking of paint and gilding often associated with Byzantine manuscripts. The paint from manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos

[77] Parpulov, 8–22. Examples of additional texts include the early-Christian *Gladsome Light*, full *horologia*, short hymns called *troparia* (often penitential in nature), prayers ascribed to saints or church fathers, calendars, and Easter Tables.

[78] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 136.

Master group is applied in a thick fashion, notably on the faces and garments, which is at odds with the thinner washes of color seen in the best-preserved miniatures of Vat. gr. 1927.[79]

These differing aspects of their materiality already suggest that in terms of paint composition, paint application, or preparation of the parchment, the work of the Kokkinobaphos Master was constructed in a different fashion than Vat. gr. 1927 with its thinly painted grass, mountains, and garments where green can often be spotted under red and orange. In some areas of the Vat. gr. 1927 miniatures, this transparency is certainly exacerbated by the moisture damage suffered by the manuscript in its history, but the transparent quality is consistent throughout, including undamaged areas of paint.

The execution of Vat. gr. 1927's miniatures also betrays a degree of what may be called carelessness in the execution of painting that one does not see in the manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos Master group. One example is the many instances of figures lying on the ground appearing to have largely green heads, legs, or hands due to their being painted over the green of grass or architectural backgrounds, which then shows through due to how thinly the flesh-toned paint is applied (Figure 34). Occasionally the paint filling in a piece of clothing, architectural feature, or arc of heaven does not extend to the outline in a way that does not relate to damage. This inexact application contrasts with the Kokkinobaphos Master and others of the group, who are noted for the precise execution of their paintings.[80]

[79] Jeffrey C. Anderson, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production" (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1974), 4.

[80] Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," 89.

Vat. gr. 1927 presents several initial letters with knots similar to those of the Canon Tables of Vat. gr. 1162.[81] Knotted columns are found in later manuscripts such as the Canon Tables of Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 4, a gospel book in the Interregnum subgroup of the decorative-style manuscripts first identified by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Figure 35). Both she and Hugo Buchthal have noted the extensive impact of the Kokkinobaphos Master's ornament on the ornamental style of the decorative style subgroup of manuscripts.[82] But the knotted columns are also found earlier, such as in the late eleventh-century Barberini Psalter (BAV, Barb. gr. 372) (Figure 36). Dionysiou 4 has anthropomorphic and zoomorphic initial letters totally lacking in Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 37).[83] Vat. gr. 1927 also does not reproduce such elements as "the love of patterned figures and architecture, the lavish ornament, the historiated initials and headpieces and the love of zoomorphic motifs" that are endemic to the manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos Master's group and those related to them.[84]

The aforementioned knot, present in a number of Byzantine manuscripts including Vat. gr. 1927, is very specific in form and meaning. It is the Hercules knot, which relates to

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[81] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 15.

[82] Annemarie Weyl Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 92, 103; Hugo Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century," *Jahrbuch Der Berliner Museen* 25 (1983): 27–102; Kathleen Maxwell, "The Afterlife of Texts: Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2014), 33.

[83] Knotted columns appeared in architecture and other objects as a framing device from the tenth century. For more information on the history of knotted columns see Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Byzantine Knotted Column," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis, jr. (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1985), 95–103; Plates I-IV.

[84] Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition*, 160, n. 36.

Solomon's temple columns and the Byzantine iconostasis in churches as an apotropaic device, where it often made its appearance in actual architecture.[85] The knot's frequent appearance in art and architecture going back to antiquity means that the presence of such a form in an initial letter cannot effectively help localize the date of its creation or truly suggest an association or influence of a particular group's work on said letter. Knotted columns on canon tables and in architectural settings associated with the Virgin in the illustrated homilies would carry a charge of meaning related to architectural spaces and functions. Such a charge does not necessarily carry over to an initial letter, especially one already filled with multiple twists and turns; there the presence of such a knot might serve a purely decorative function.

In general, most scholars have chosen to hedge their bets when it comes to fixing a date for Vat. gr. 1927, and so refer to it as a late eleventh or early twelfth-century manuscript. Tomor, however, devoted much of his thesis to situating the manuscript stylistically and iconographically in the twelfth century and, more specifically, in the second quarter of the twelfth century. He also wished to use Vat. gr. 1927 as a case study by which he could isolate characteristics of twelfth-century Constantinopolitan painting.[86] The evidence presented by

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[85] Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Byzantine Knotted Column."

[86] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 44–64. While certain manuscripts may be confidently localized in Constantinople, just what constitutes evidence for a manuscript being produced in Constantinople rather than some other area (such as Palestine, Cyprus, or Sinai) can be debatable. There has been a tendency to assume that most of the well-executed and lavish manuscripts have been produced in Constantinople largely because of their quality and expense. While this center/hinterland model of production and distribution is not entirely untrue, the situation was far more complex and certain MS that have always been considered Constantinopolitan products are now having their provenances reconsidered. Such is the case for the psalter Vat. gr. 752, which shares certain characteristics with Vat. gr. 1927. In a recent publication on the manuscript, Francesco D'Aiuto calls into question whether or not it is a product of the capital or of the periphery. D'Aiuto, Francesco, "Vat. Gr. 752: Fattura materiale, scrittura, mise en page (con qualche osservazione sul salterio Hierosol. S. Sepulcri 53)," in *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex of Texts and Images in Vat. Gr.*

Tomor cannot truly secure this manuscript within a particular quarter century or localize it in Constantinople, especially given the limitations of Tomor's sample group, while this dissertation lays out an argument for a late eleventh-century date on multiple artistic and textual grounds.

Vat. gr. 1927 also shares elements of style with eleventh-century manuscripts. One such manuscript is Vat. gr. 752, mentioned above. Along with Vat. gr. 1927, it is one of the few psalters to depart from standard Byzantine patterns of psalter illustrations. In her chapter, Trahoulia argues for a late eleventh-century date for Vat. gr. 1927. Her argument is based on several grounds, the first being paleographic. She states that both the text of the Psalms and the legends are written in a late eleventh-century script, but provides no evidence for departing from the twelfth-century date given by Canart.[87] As mentioned above, Vat. gr. 1927 contains paleographic characteristics of manuscripts from a range of dates.

Discussing the possible relationship between Vat. gr. 752 and Vat. gr. 1927, she then notes a number of iconographic and stylistic similarities between them. One striking example is

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752, ed. Barbara Crostini and Glenn Peers (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), 127–28.

[87] Trahoulia, "Vat. Gr. 752 and Vat. Gr. 1927: Related Manuscripts?," 550, n. 9. In this footnote Trahoulia refers to the script as "somewhat artificial" without providing an explanation for this assertion. There is no other indication as to where this claim originated, nor any mention of it in any chapters on paleography in this book. She also states that almost all of the legends are in blue ink, which is not accurate. While both psalters contain images with legends, those of Vat. gr. 752 are usually clearly laid out at the top of each image and thickly painted within it on empty gilded background utilizing the same red paint as that for the borders of each image, leaving the impression that these were carefully planned to be a part of the miniatures and to introduce the scenes below. The legends for Vat. gr. 1927 are in blue or magenta ink, are heavily abbreviated, and are squeezed into areas on or around the miniatures, opening up the possibility that they either may not have been part of the initial plan or that their primary purpose was not to introduce the scene, but perhaps to provide prompts by which the viewer might recall and recite particular psalm verses while examining the various parts of each image, thus integrating text and image in a very different manner than that of Vat. gr. 752. The gilded psalm titles of both manuscripts also depart from one another in style, with the letters of Vat. gr. 752 being far more even and generally lacking the enlarged letters and flourishes of Vat. gr. 1927.

that neither psalter uses many New Testament scenes, nor do they generally make the sorts of visual typological analogies between the words of the Psalms and the New Testament that are so common in marginal psalters. Additionally, neither psalter establishes a visual typological relationship between Christ and David.[88]

Turning to style, Trahoulia suggests some similarities in the proportion of the heads and bodies, the shape of hair, the linearity of drapery, and the use of reds, blues, and violets in the garments of certain figures.[89] These similarities, however, are not consistent. Human figures in Vat. gr. 1927 have a relatively large head in relation to their bodies, while the same cannot be said of those throughout Vat. gr. 752 (Figure 38). Hair, described as "rendered in a square-ish wig-like manner" in both manuscripts, is not consistently rendered in this way throughout Vat. gr. 1927, especially in the case of figures in profile, though again they share similarities (Figure 39). Trahoulia acknowledges that the linearity of drapery found throughout Vat. gr. 752 is not consistently found in Vat. gr. 1927.[90] These two stylistic features are found in manuscripts in both centuries and are not specific enough to further narrow the date of production for Vat. gr. 1927. That being said, her proposal that the two psalters share enough stylistic qualities to have the same or a similar point of origin is not out of the question. Style here simply does not provide a sufficient ground through which to make such an argument.

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[88] Trahoulia, 549–50.

[89] Trahoulia, 550. David's characteristic garb in most of Vat. gr. 1927's images consists of a blue chlamys over a red tunic with an occasional gilded bottom edge. Christ does appear in a number of images wearing purple, though he is often shown wearing other colors, most notably a bright yellow.

[90] Trahoulia, 550.

Comparanda

Vat. gr. 1927 shares certain visual characteristics with a number of different genres of manuscripts. A few of these book genres acquired cycles of illustration for the first time in the Middle Byzantine period, and especially around the general time of production of Vat. gr. 1927. One such group is the corpus of illustrated manuscripts of *The Heavenly Ladder*, or *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, a seventh-century monastic treatise by John Climacus outlining the thirty steps a monk had to take to experience divinization, or oneness with God.[91] Martin determined that the text was first illustrated with a true cycle of images, and not simply a ladder, in the eleventh century.[92] Vat. gr. 1927 includes a Heavenly Ladder and other monastic imagery, as will be discussed further in chapter 3. In other parallels to Vat. gr. 1927, a number of the images in the eleventh-century "Heavenly Ladder" manuscript Vat. gr. 394 share the same stylistic emphasis on line as well as the gilded background lacking a border. The images of Vat. gr. 394, however, are more detailed and finely rendered than those of Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 40).

Another group of manuscripts that received extensive illustrative cycles in the Middle Byzantine period, with most surviving examples dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are

[91] The original Greek title of the work is simply "Κλῖμαξ," meaning "Ladder." Saint John Climacus was a monk at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in the late-sixth and early-seventh centuries. What little is known of his life comes from his writings and an ancient vita by Daniel of Raithu. John, abbot of Raithu, commissioned the work. For a recent revised translation see John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, Rev. ed. (Boston, MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 2012).

[92] Martin, *The Illustration of The Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, 150–61. Two important and heavily illustrated examples of this genre are the eleventh-century manuscripts Vat. gr. 394, written and illustrated by the scribe Constantine, and MS Garrett 16, completed in 1081 by the scribe Joseph. See Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394"; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Aesthetics of Landscape and Icon at Sinai," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 65–66, no. 1 (2015): 207–10.

the Octateuchs.[93] They share with Vat. gr. 1927 emphasis on narrative detail and action-filled scenes with complex composition set within elaborate environments of hills, rivers, and architectural elements. The Octateuch BAV, MS Vat. gr. 747, dating to approximately the third quarter of the cleventh century, contains depictions of fortifications representing city walls and gates that are remarkably similar to those found in Vat. gr. 1927.[94] In certain cases, the gates of cities depicted in these two manuscripts are virtually identical (Figures 41, 42).

Another text given an enlarged cycle of images at this time was *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. In this extra-Biblical tale ultimately based on the life of the Buddha, Barlaam, a monk, converts Prince Ioasaph to Christianity. Ioasaph is eventually able to convince his father to stop persecuting Christians and convert him. Following his father's death, Ioasaph rules for a few years before eventually withdrawing with Barlaam to the desert to live as hermits. The Greek version was translated from Georgian by Euthymios, co-founder of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos, shortly before 1000. There are six known illustrated Greek texts of this story, with the earliest, such as Iviron cod. 463, dating to the second half of the eleventh century.[95] Thus, shortly

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[93] Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon," 109–10. Weitzmann, and recently his collaborator and posthumous publisher on the publication of all Octateuch images, Massimo Bernabò, traced the phenomenon of illustrated Octateuchs to the mid-third century using his now largely discredited method derived from textual criticism. See Massimo Bernabò and Kurt Weitzmann, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton, N.J., 1999). There is no actual evidence for the existence of illustrated Octateuchs before the Middle Byzantine period, and Lowden, along with Martin, believes that they were first illustrated during this time.

[94] Vat. gr. 747 is dated on paleographic grounds. See Irmgard Hutter, "Paläologische Übermalungen Im Oktateuch Vaticanus Graecus 747," *Jahrbuch Der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972): 139–48; Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, 14.

[95] The scribe of Iviron 463 was the monk Constantine of the Louphadion Monastery in Constantinople. He was also responsible for the Climacus manuscript Vat. gr. 394 and a copy of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery Cod. 61). This attribution was made on paleographic and stylistic grounds. See Corrigan, "Constantine's

after it became available in Greek the story was already being lavishly illustrated, another example of the drive to visualize textual material during this time period. Iviron 463 also shares stylistic and compositional elements with Vat. gr. 1927, including a gilded sky (though in this case there are rudimentary borders drawn on the images of Iviron 463), and attention to architectural and environmental elements (Figure 43).

Mount Athos, Cod. Dionysiou 587, a mid eleventh-century Constantinopolitan lectionary, also shares some very similar characteristics with Vat. gr. 1927.[96] It contains two images of

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Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394"; Francesco D'Aiuto, "Su alcuni copisti di codici miniati mediobizantini," *Byzantion* 67, no. 1 (1997): 25–34.

[96] Multiple scholars have addressed the issue of the date and provenance of Dionysiou 587. See Kurt Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Gospel Illustrations," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies: The Materials and Making of a Critical Apparatus*, ed. Merrill Parvis and Allen Wikgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 151–74 and 215–19. Reprinted in Kurt Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Gospel Illustrations," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 151–74 and 215–19. Kurt Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature Painting and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," in *The Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford. 5-10 September, 1966*, ed. Steven Runciman and Dimitri Obolensky (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 207–24. Reprinted in Kurt Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 271–313. In all publications Weitzmann attributed the lectionary to c. 1059, as that was the date that Emperor Isaac I Komnenos abdicated and entered the Stoudios Monastery as a monk. Weitzmann suggested the possibility of production in an imperial atelier as a donation upon entry to the Stoudios Monastery. Christopher Walter entertained the idea of a Stoudite provenance for production, but believed the dating based on the abdication of Isaac I to be too pat. He suggested instead that initial letters found more similarity with the late eleventh-century initial letters studied by Jeffrey Anderson. See Christopher Walter, "The Date and Content of the Dionysiou Lectionary," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 31 (1988): 188–89. Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 2 (1979): 167–85. Cotsonis expresses skepticism regarding Weitzmann's dating and the possibility that the lectionary was produced for the Stoudios Monastery, noting its inclusion of images related to the cathedral rite. John Cotsonis, "On Some Illustrations in the Lectionary Athos, Dionysiou 587," *Byzantion* 59 (1989): 5–19. More recently, Dolezal agreed with a later date and suggested the manuscript was produced for the Patriarch of Constantinople due to the correspondence of its images with the liturgy of Hagia Sophia. Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Cod. 587)," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 12, no. 1 (1996): 23–60. Her work

Christ preaching while sitting on a *synthronon*, one of whom is depicted as Christ-Emmanuel (Figure 44). The semicircular *synthronon* with its clearly contrasting steps, Christ's bodily position, and the gesture with his right hand while holding a scroll in his left, are strongly reminiscent of the final image of Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 32). Dionysiou 587's image of Christ and his apostles in Gethsemane illustrates Christ praying to God, who is depicted bust-length in a golden garment with white hair in an arc of heaven (Figure 45). His gold nimbus lacks a cross indicating the Ancient of Days. Vat. gr. 1927 also contains a miniature in which an image, likely of God, is depicted bust-length in a golden garment with white hair in an arc of heaven (Figure 46). The Dionysiou miniature is in excellent condition, leaving no indication that the figure of God ever had a cross-nimbus. Damage to the Vat. gr. 1927 image prevents such certainty in discernment of a cross-nimbus, although it does not appear as if one were originally present.

Patronage and Monasticism

Monastic imagery found throughout the miniatures of Vat. gr. 1927 has led to suggestions of a patron with great interest in that type of life. Trahoulia proposes production in a monastic scriptorium, perhaps under the auspices and programmatic planning of Niketas Stethatos in the Stoudios Monastery around the time of his death in 1090. She suggests his patronage for both Vat. gr. 752 and Vat. gr. 1927. Trahoulia proposes that the prominence of certain stylite saints in Vat. gr. 752, which has relatively few images of saints when compared to other psalters, might be an indication of Stethatos' involvement in creating the manuscript's iconography—his mentor Symeon the New Theologian endorsed the cult of Symeon the Stylite

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overlapped with that of Tomoyuki Masuda, who also arrived at similar conclusions regarding the Dionysiou 587 lectionary as a patriarchal manuscript. See, for example, Tomoyuki Masuda, "Liturgical Illustrations in the Byzantine Lectionary Cod. 587 in the Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos," *Orient* 41 (2006): 91–108.

and joined the Stoudites on the recommendation of his spiritual father, the Stoudite monk Symeon Eulabes (the Pious).[97] Vat. gr. 752 has long been suggested as a Stoudite product, though as mentioned above, its provenance has now been called into question. That being said, this suggestion is certainly plausible.

In his life of Symeon the New Theologian, Stethatos wrote that *The Heavenly Ladder* was the abbot's favorite ascetic text. He also edited Symeon's "On Confession," a text supporting the right of unordained monks to hear confession and give absolution. Trahoulia suggests that these texts might be the impetus for two unusual illustrative choices in Vat. gr. 1927: an icon of the Heavenly Ladder prefacing Psalm 118, and an abbot hearing confession as part of the illustration for Psalm 31 (Figures 47, 48).

Without more rigorous investigation, these images might simply be indicative of an interest in monasticism and contemporary monastic practices of the eleventh and twelfth centuries rather than those of Stethatos specifically. Notably, while monks appear in the images of Vat. gr. 1927 as exemplars of "good men" or as the "saints" of psalm verses, they are not singled out by the illustrator for a distinguished rank with the head covering for high-ranking monks known as the *koukoulion*. In the illustration for Psalm 31, the monk hearing confession wears the *koukoulion*, suggesting a deliberate effort to indicate that he is an abbot (*hegoumenos*). Confession to the abbot appears in *typika* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the practice gained prevalence as time went on. It might have appeared as early as the ninth or tenth century in the rule of the Stoudios Monastery, although the section about confession is not clear as to

[97] Trahoulia, "Vat. Gr. 752 and Vat. Gr. 1927: Related Manuscripts?," 565–66. In this passage she refers to Symeon Eulabes as "another stylite." This appears to simply be a typo for "Studite," as Symeon Eulabes certainly did not adhere to the ascetic practice of living on top of a column.

whether or not this was heard in its sacramental form.[98] That being said, more extensive and detailed analysis of these and other images in later chapters strongly supports Trahoulia's basic supposition for the patronage and place of execution of Vat. gr. 1927. An abbot of a monastery would be a prime candidate to have commissioned a luxurious psalter such as this. The Theodore Psalter (British Library, MS Additional 19352), commissioned for an earlier abbot of the Stoudios Monastery in 1066, demonstrates that lavishly illustrated manuscripts were not considered out of bounds for a monastic who was supposed to be leading an ascetic life.

Vat. gr. 1927 could also have been commissioned by a lay person with a particular interest in monasticism. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, wealthy members of the nobility increasingly founded monasteries as pious acts and as locales for the retirement of themselves and members of their family. Members of the immediate imperial family established monasteries, such as the Pantokrator, founded by the Emperor John II and Empress Eirene Komnenos in the early-twelfth century. Members of the aristocracy often gave lavish gifts to

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[98] John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), 107. Section 22 of BAV, MS Vat. gr. 2029 states the following: "It should be known that at each matins service the superior leaves the choir at the beginning of the fourth ode, and taking his seat, receives the brothers who come forward for confession and ministers to each one of them for their benefit." Rosemary Morris and R. H Jordan, *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th-12th Centuries): Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), 221–22. The foundational documents for the Evergetis Monastery, dating to the eleventh century, became the basis for many future monastic foundations. Section 7 of the *typikon* deals with confession. Section 20 of the Pantokrator *typikon* calls for confession to the abbot. In certain extreme cases in which a monk is too ashamed to confess to the abbot, an elderly monastic spiritual father could be appointed by the abbot to care for the wayward monk and hear confession in his stead. John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), 750.

monasteries. One such example is that of Constantine Paphnoutios, who gave a generous grant to the Monastery of St. John on Patmos in 1197.[99]

The interest in monasticism extended beyond the founding of monasteries. Monastic treatises by John Climacus and Maximus the Confessor were very popular for devotional and scholastic study. For example, both Isaac the Sebastokrator, older brother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, and the intellectual Michael Psellos, studied and wrote on Maximus the Confessor in the eleventh century.[100] And, as mentioned above, it was in the eleventh century that full cycles of illustration were invented for the manuscripts of Climacus and other monastically oriented texts.[101]

Certain evidence for the patron of Vat. gr. 1927 might be found in the manuscript itself, despite a lack of colophon, Easter Tables, or any text outside of the Psalms and Odes. The few marginal prayers may or may not have been written by the original owner. But what we can tell is that the patron did not employ the best artist or materials available; whether this was by design

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[99] Annabel Wharton Epstein and Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 90. In exchange, Constantine's life at the monastery was made easier by the allowance of a servant and the assignment of easier tasks.

[100] Paul M. Blowers, *Maximus the Confessor: Jesus Christ and the Transfiguration of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 295–96.

[101] Martin, *The Illustration of The Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, 150–61; Maria Evangelatou, "The Heavenly Ladder," in *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. Vasiliki Tsamakda (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 407. See the introduction by Kallistos Ware for a discussion of its reception in John Climacus and Kallistos Ware, "Introduction," in *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 1–70. For the addition of moralizing images to the Physiologos see Kathleen Corrigan, "The Smyrna Physiologos and Eleventh-Century Monasticism," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis, 1050-1200*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1997), 201–12; Plates 18-30.

or out of necessity is also difficult to discern. That being said, it is highly unlikely to have been a commission by a member of the imperial family of Constantinople. A number of manuscripts commissioned by the imperial family are known. The quality of the parchment is generally quite high, lacking large holes, unevenness, and obvious hair and skin sides. The images are also of very high-quality execution. Two examples of this are Vat. Urb. gr. 2 and Vat. gr. 1162, commissioned from the Kokkinobaphos Master for Emperor John II Komnenos and the Sebastokratorissa Eirene, sister-in-law of the emperor, respectively.

In contrast, Vat. gr. 1927 has parchment of middle to poor quality, an artist that did not bother to extend the paint to the outlines and painted flesh in thin layers above deep colors, thus allowing them to show through, and rough edges to its gilded backgrounds that overwhelmingly and rather unusually lack borders.[102] The manuscript, however, originally had more than 160 richly pigmented images with skies made of gold leaf, and gilded initial letters beginning every psalm verse. Although in physical dimensions this is not comparatively among the largest of psalters, it falls on the larger end of the spectrum and made use of quite a bit of parchment.[103] While not as well-executed as the finest quality Constantinopolitan manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1927 was nevertheless a tremendously expensive undertaking in terms of materials alone.

It is also worth noting, as will be seen in the chapters discussing iconography, that whoever directed the illustration of this psalter was exceptionally well versed in commentaries to the Psalms from all eras, in patristic homilies, and in various monastic texts. This person was also not afraid to create unusual and in some cases unique illustrations that could be considered a

[102] The only original extant image with a border is that of Psalm 8 which shows Christ's entry into Jerusalem. If any other images had borders they are now lost and the remaining images lack borders.

[103] Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," 245–48.

bit risqué. For example, a likely God the Father appears in at least one illustration, lacking the 'IC XC' and cross-nimbus that are usually used to specify that it is truly the Second Person of the Trinity conflated with the Ancient of Days being depicted and not, therefore, a heretical image of the First Person of the Trinity (Figure 46). Depictions of God the Father, while relatively rare, are not unknown in Byzantine manuscript illustration, but such a choice indicates a certain lack of stringent adherence to Byzantine image theology.[104] Vat. gr. 1927 also contains one of the few rape scenes in Byzantine art, that of the rape of Tamar for Psalm 3 (Figure 49).[105]

Furthermore, the final image in Vat. gr. 1927 is highly unusual. Following the Beatitudes, itself an exceptionally rare inclusion in Byzantine psalters, is an image of Christ-Emmanuel in a trefoil space purposely evocative of a *synthronon*. Holding a scroll and raising his hand in a gesture of blessing, he is surrounded by Jews and Apostles. DeWald identifies this as an illustration of the Sermon on the Mount (Figure 32).[106] It cannot truly be considered as such, especially with its collapsing of time and space. This image, and why it its audacious iconography indicates that the patron was one willing to take textual and iconographic risks, will be analyzed in full in the dissertation's conclusion.

Although the exact patron of Vat. gr. 1927 may never be proven without a doubt barring an archival discovery, internal evidence in the manuscript tells us that the patron was a highly educated, wealthy individual. The inclusion of monks, contemporary monastic practices, and visual references to popular monastic texts suggests that this person was a male and had a

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[104] Georgia Michael, "The Origins of the Iconography of God the Father and the Holy Trinity in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts 850-1200." (MA Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005).

[105] Their embrace, indicating the act, is relatively tame.

[106] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:49.

particular interest in the monastic life, even if he was not a monk.[107] As we will see in the following chapters, the patron of Vat. gr. 1927 had a particular interest in visualizing the path to salvation that one might achieve via the Psalms, the monastic life, and the following of a Spiritual Father. He had a keen interest in the writings and life of Symeon the New Theologian. As will be demonstrated, that person was most likely Niketas Stethatos of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople. What resulted from his interests is a product unique in the world of illustrated Byzantine psalters, one that overlays the literal words of the Psalms with a multitude of texts and events to create visual narratives that emphasize the way to salvation and becoming one with God in complex and dynamic ways, and that responds to the milieu and events of the late eleventh century.

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[107] The complexity and detail for most of the illustrations, the presence of iconography unique to Byzantine art, the special "tweaks" given to certain interpretations of the psalm verses (such as the painting of monks as "holy ones"), and the oblique or direct reference to various commentaries and homilies on the Psalms, indicate that the designer of the manuscript must have given explicit instructions to the painter as to iconography. Whether the patron and the designer of the manuscript are the same person is impossible to definitively conclude. Given the complexities of this manuscript's illustration, it is likely that, as also proposed by Trahoulia, the patron is the designer. It is also possible that the scribe and patron are one and the same. Direct evidence for the structure of Byzantine manuscript production is rare. In some instances, the scribe and artist were the same person. See Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394"; John Lowden, "An Inquiry into the Role of Theodore in the Making of the Theodore Psalter," in *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*, ed. Charles Barber (Champaign, IL: University of Illinios Press in association with the British Library, 2000), 1–20. A scribe or patron might also contract out and organize painters. For one notable example, see Ihor Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962): 243–76. There is evidence for patrons working closely with scribes and artists, or for the patron of illustrations to be the scribe of the manuscript. Parpulov notes that Michael, Abbot of the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktermon* (the All-Merciful) in the late eleventh-century, added several gatherings to the psalter London BL Additional 36928 written in his own hand, but with paintings executed by a different person. Michael also commissioned the illustrated psalter MS Vat. gr. 342. Both psalters share the image of King David in a quatrefoil-in-square frame surrounded by musicians. These were not executed by the same painter, indicating that Michael placed a specific order with each individual. Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters," 187–89.

Chapter 2: Christological Theophanies — Agency and the Economy of Salvation

Introduction

Psalters of the aristocratic and marginal types do not routinely feature theophanic images of Christ as a major component of their cycles of illustration. When Christ appears, it is generally in one of three ways: in biblical scenes illustrating his life, within an icon, or in front of David as a prophetic image. Vat. gr. 1927's Christological imagery differs significantly from this standard. Christ appears far more often than in other psalters, and when he does so it is often as an active participant in the economy of salvation. In many cases Christ manifests himself and acts as a protagonist within the illustrations, interacting with David and the other characters in the scene. In other instances, Christ appears in an arc of heaven, but engages with the earthly realm below him or shows an interest to the degree that in one example has him practically falling out of heaven as he inclines his ear to the action below (Figure 50). In other words, while the illustrations of Christ can often be considered prophetic and anagogic in nature, they can at the same time be didactic in guiding the viewer through the economy of salvation.

Although the Psalms were commonly read by Christians as foretelling the coming of Christ, in only a few other Byzantine psalters does Christ appear in an active form rather than in scenes from his life or in an icon or roundel. Two of these are related psalters from the middle of the eleventh century (Vat. gr. 752 and Taphou 53), both possibly produced at the Stoudios Monastery.[108] In the illustrations of Vat. gr. 752, Christ appears on earth and interacts with other

[108] Parpulov has identified the hand of scribe A in Vat. Gr. 752 in both. See Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters," 89–92, 178 n. 46; D'Aiuto, Francesco, "Vat. Gr. 752: Fattura materiale, scrittura, mise en page (con qualche osservazione sul salterio Hierosol. S. Sepulcri 53)," 72. These psalters share a few characteristics with Vat. gr. 1927, notably in their innovative illustrative choices and use of a gold background for most of their images. But these manuscripts depart from Vat. gr. 1927 in that they have *catenas* and illustrations drawn from them or the psalm titles, whereas this psalter illustrates the psalms themselves. They also embed these

people, in many cases anachronistically with historical figures of various eras, such as the Sons of Kore or Pope Sylvester.[109] Taphou 53's illustrations draw on the titles of the Psalms for inspiration and most often show the author of the particular psalm writing or in prayer.[110] In Vat. gr. 1927 Christ acts as judge, appears enthroned directing salvation or damnation, and, in one very interesting case, metes out punishment directly. Images of Christ such as that showing him dumping a cup of wine on the head of a sinner are very unusual, if not unheard of, in Byzantine art (Figure 10).

In addition to the unusual Christological iconography, Vat. gr. 1927 is one of only two psalters with prefatory images to the text of each psalm and ode, the other being the late-twelfth century Benaki 34.3. The latter's images, however, are stripped of extraneous detail and contain only enough visual information to indicate one event. Within the Benaki 34.3 illustrations, the figures loom large against their backgrounds, often to the point that they are shown only from the waist up in iconic fashion. The Benaki 34.3 miniatures suggest they were created for contemplation on one particular event or individual (such as Christ, David, or the Virgin) in relation to a particular psalm. In contrast, the illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 evoke a myriad of

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images within the text, with Vat. gr. 752 often having multiple illustrations interspersed throughout each psalm's *catena*. Vat. gr. 1927, on the other hand, almost exclusively contains single prefatory illustrations before each psalm and ode. Finally, these are very large manuscripts (Vat. gr. 752 measures 33x27 cm.) that could not have been used as a personal book of prayer. While Vat. gr. 1927 is not small, it fits comfortably in the hand and is easily carried around. Its detailed and often small illustrations call for physically close examination. Vat. gr. 752, on the other hand, is bound in two volumes, each of which is extremely heavy.

[109] Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "Silvester and Keroularios," *Jahrbuch Der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, no. 5 (1982): 453–58.

[110] Suzy Dufrenne, "L'illustration des psaumes dans le Psautier de Jérusalem, cod. Taphou 53; Rôle des tituli," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Doula Mouriki, Christopher Frederick Moss, and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton, NJ: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1995), 347–55.

associations, most notably with textual sources such as contemporary and ancient monastic texts and commentaries on the Psalms. In short, whereas the Christological illustrations of Vat. gr. 752 could be characterized as pseudo-historical in nature and those of Benaki 34.3 as primarily contemplative and devotional, those of Vat. gr. 1927 are essentially anagogic and didactic.

This chapter will examine the ways in which Christ manifests himself on earth within the illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927, as well as the contexts and conditions which permitted for the creation of such innovative iconography. To do so, it examines a discreet subset of images in which Christ appears in a pose taken from a variant of the Anastasis that invokes the Last Judgment. These images, which are linked to specific psalm verses, play with the composition and iconography of the Anastasis in ways that create new visual meanings related to the economy of salvation.

Amplifying the soteriological theme, large heads of Hades in pits appear alongside Christ in a number of images in Vat. gr. 1927. The illustrations characterize Hades not so much as a fearful or bumbling character, as in the marginal psalters, but rather as an active participant in the economy of salvation. These heads also appear in images of Christ's theophanies in which he harshly judges sinners and occasionally metes out punishment directly, a role he is rarely assigned in Byzantine art. Continuing in this vein, the chapter examines several images in which Christ appears as judge and/or executioner. But Christ did not have to manifest on earth to engage with the world. He is also repeatedly shown as a provocateur from heaven, several instances of which will be considered.

Vat. gr. 1927 takes great pains to distinguish between what is visual and what is visionary, such as the use of line drawing in pen to portray visionary experiences, rather than the fleshed out painted images that occur when a physical theophany takes place. These visual

strategies may be associated with descriptions of mystic visions in the writings of Symeon the New Theologian, a link that helps to localize patronage and provenance for this manuscript. Finally, the chapter concludes by considering why the patron of the psalter might have considered it so important to construct new and highly complex imagery that places such great emphasis on, not just Christ's agency in the economy of salvation, but also on actually seeing him. All such considerations have important implications regarding the milieu that produced such an unusual illustrated psalter.

Reconfiguring the Anastasis

The Anastasis is the term used by the Byzantines for the Resurrection of Christ. In Byzantine art, the Anastasis is depicted as Christ's Harrowing of Hell, an iconography developed in the post-Iconoclastic period that remains in use to the present day. The most basic version of the scene depicts Christ, often carrying the Cross, about to liberate Adam and Eve from hell at the moment of his resurrection. Variations of the scene might include Christ impaling Hades with the Cross, the shattered gates of hell, and other figures also due for release such as King David, King Solomon, and Abel. Christ's pose varies in this image. Sometimes he stands upright while Adam and Eve raise their hands in supplication, while other times he leans over and grasps Adam's hand as if to physically pull him out of hell.[111]

In another form of Anastasis iconography, Christ appears frontal and static. He might bless with his right hand while holding the wrist of Adam in his left, or can appear with arms outstretched displaying his stigmata. Anna Kartsonis refers to this latter version of the Anastasis in Vat. gr. 1927, in which Christ prominently displaying his stigmata, as the third type of

[111] Kartsonis traced the origins and iconographic development of the Anastasis in her book on the topic. Anna D Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

Anastasis.[112] This pose recalls early images of what Kartsonis refers to as a "traditional apocalyptic type of Christ known from many Early Christian works," including the Triumph of Christ panel from the fifth-century door of Sta. Sabina and his Ascension in the Rabbula Gospels (Figures 51, 52).[113] Kartsonis traces the first instance of this "mature" third type of Anastasis to the lectionary from Iviron (Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 1, f. 1v), usually dated to the eleventh century (Figure 53).[114] It may also be found in BnF, ms. grec 550, an illustrated copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus usually dated to the twelfth century, and a psalter leaf (Ca. 1090-1100) now located in the Princeton University Library (Cod. Acc. No. 30.20) (Figures 54, 55).

Christ's frontality and the prominent display of his stigmata strongly associate the third type of Anastasis with the Last Judgment. A very early example of this association occurs in the Paris *Sacra Parallela* (BnF, MS grec 923) (Figure 56). Christ sits enthroned in heaven as judge while prominently displaying his hands' stigmata; the elect are gathered in the zone below him while the damned burn in fire at the bottom of the page. The third type of Anastasis recalls this composition, notably in separating Adam and Eve from Christ as Christ no longer pulls Adam from his sarcophagus.[115] Byzantine homiletic and exegetical literatures also associate the Anastasis and Psalm 81 with the Last Judgment.[116]

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[112] Kartsonis, 152–64.

[113] Kartsonis, 153.

[114] Anthony Cutler, *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1975), 100. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 153.

[115] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 154–55.

[116] Photius associates the raising of Adam/Man with both re-creation and the Last Judgment in Homily 12, while the *Suda* explicitly states that the Anastasis refers to the Last Judgment. See

Psalm 81

A small subset of illustrations in Vat. gr. 1927 includes Anastasis imagery of the third type to emphasize eschatological dimensions found in the Psalms. The illustration to Psalm 81 contains an overly life-sized Christ in a purple tunic and blue mantle appearing to float in the air on the left side of the image (Figure 57). Holding a scroll in his left hand, he raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. To the right, three idols stand on a yellow hill. On a second red hill a demon reaches out to a a man in a purple tunic who is being pulled away by a larger figure in a red tunic with blue trim. Under them are wrapped corpses laid out horizontally. Finally, a second, smaller Christ stands at the far right wearing an identical purple tunic and blue mantle as in his first depiction on the left side of the image. He is shown in the position of the third type of Anastasis. This iconography stems from the caption taken from verse 8: "Arise, O God, and judge the earth."[117] Lack of damage to this particular portion of the miniature allows the viewer to discern a clearly demarcated stigma on Christ's left hand.

The man being pulled away from a demon, and more importantly, from three idols, refers with the inscription above to the poor man in verse 4. The psalm verse from which the inscription is taken, "Rescue the needy, and deliver the poor out of the hand of the sinner," calls for such deliverance.[118] The two men are situated directly above the group of wrapped corpses

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Photius I, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. Cyril A Mango (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 215. For exegesis on Psalm 81 and its anticipation of the Last Judgment see Hesychius, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, PG 93:1260C-D and Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, trans. Robert C. (Robert Charles) Hill, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 57. See also Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 155–57.

[117] "ἀνάστα ὁ θ(εό)ς, κρῖνον τ(ὴν) γ(ῆν)…"

[118] The Greek text used for psalm verses is from the Septuagint and was originally edited by Alfred Rahlfs. This text uses the numbering of the Psalms from the Septuagint, which differs from the Masoretic recension of the psalter. Rahlfs version of the text with a facing English

who receive a caption taken from verse 7: "but you die as men."[119] The composition creates a twofold visual contrast. The first is vertical and contrasts the living men rushing from idolatry and a demon towards the risen Christ and the promise of resurrection and salvation through his sacrifice and the grace of God with the dead below. In the second, the wrapped corpses act to set up a v-shaped composition between the idols and demon on the left and the smaller Christ on the right that draws the eye back and forth between the two. A viewer's glance shifts from one to the other as if to impart a visual choice. It would perhaps not be too much to suggest that the composition subtly suggests the scales of judgment so common in Byzantine images of the Last Judgment or the weighing of the soul if those scales were flipped upside down.

As called for in Psalm 81:1, a large and magisterially imposing Christ appears on the left. His size emphasizes not only his superiority over the false gods in the image, but also over Old Testament judges, scribes, and Pharisees as interpreted by commentators to the Psalms.[120] Other gods, those represented by the idols, shall die and fade away as they have been judged wanting by Christ, the Second Person of the Trinity. They will die, as have the wrapped corpses below them that balance the scene and provide a visual fulcrum between the idols and the risen Christ.

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translation (not done by him), may be found online at https://www.ellopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/chapter.asp?book=24&page=1. Inscription: "(ἐξέλ)εσθ(ε) πένη(τα) (καὶ) πτωχ(όν) ἐκ χειρ(ὸς) (ἁμαρτω)λ(οῦ) ρύσασθ(ε) αὐτ(όν)."

[119] "ὑμεῖς (δὲ) ὡς ἄν(θρωπ)οι ἀποθνήσκε(τε)…"

[120] Verse 1, "God stands in the assembly of gods" ["Ο θ(εὸ)ς (ἔστη) ἐν συναγωγ(ῇ) θεῶν"]. This verse is often interpreted as a reference to the rulers/judges of the Jews, as they fulfill on a human scale the divine quality of judgment that is ultimately the province of God. Euthymius Zygabenus interprets this line as a prefiguration of Christ judging the Scribes and Pharisees. See Euthymius Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, trans. John Raffan (unpublished, 2017), 472. John of Damascus, however, interprets this verse as indicating that God's divine grace is present in saints and their images both before and after their deaths (*Apology* 1:19). John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies Against Those Who Attack the Holy Images*, trans. David Anderson (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 27.

The wrapped corpses remind us that all men must die. Unlike the pagans, however, who will die a lasting death, those who believe in Christ take the steps toward him and thus will be resurrected upon the day of judgment, as Christ was resurrected. Unlike idols, Christ did not die a permanent death, but is the God who lives. The man who is rescued from the idols thus tips the scale, so to speak, in the direction of the resurrected Christ and eternal salvation for those who have faith. His *theosis* in salvation is also directly spoken to in verse 6 of Psalm 81: "I have said, you are gods; and all children of the Highest."[121]

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[121] "ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ῾Υψίστου πάντες·" Christ quotes this line in John 10:34. Following John 10, patristic commenters on the Psalms generally interpreted Psalm 81 in its entirety as referring to the divinization of man via salvation. It must be noted, however, that the Byzantine theologians developed the concept of *theosis* beyond that of the early patristic fathers. See Theodoret, *Psalms 73-150*, trans. Robert C. Hill, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 57. In his *Adversos Haereses*, Irenaeus of Lyon quotes verse 6 and discusses an early notion of divinization is his treatise against the Valentinians: "I said, You are all the sons of the Highest, and gods; but you shall die like men. He speaks undoubtedly these words to those who have not received the gift of adoption, but who despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defraud human nature of promotion into God, and prove themselves ungrateful to the Word of God, who became flesh for them. For it was for this end that the Word of God was made man, and He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man, having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God." Irenaeus of Lyons, *St. Irenaeus of Lyons Against the Heresies*, ed. John J Dillon, trans. Dominic J Unger, Against the Heresies (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992), 3:92–93." Clement has a similar interpretation while finding the ultimate fulfillment of promised deification via salvation in the Resurrection. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedogogus I*, ed. Alexander Roberts et al., trans. William Wilson, vol. 2, Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), para. 6, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/02091.htm. Athanasius used verse 6 to declare that Christ was always homoousios with the Father, while the subjects of the verse attained such grace via the incarnation, death, and resurrection. See David M. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria: Bishop, Theologian, Ascetic, Father* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 73. Athanasius, *Discourse 1 Against the Arians*, ed. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Kevin Knight, trans. John Henry Newman and Archibald Roberston, vol. 4, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892), 1.38-39, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/28161.htm; Athanasius, *On the Incarnation*, ed. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Kevin Knight, trans. John Henry Newman and Archibald Roberston, vol. 4, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892), 4, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2802.htm. See also Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 474.

Christ's pose, frontal with arms outstretched and hands open to prominently display his stigmata, is the same in every instance of his pose in the third type of Anastasis illustrated in this psalter save one, which will be discussed below.[122] His pose departs from that in other psalters containing multiple iconographic variants, notably those involving Christ in motion, usually grasping Adam by the wrist to pull him out of hell while Eve shows her obeisance. The marginal psalters utilize a version of the Anastasis for Psalms 67, 81, and 106. Although Vat. gr. 1927 is missing the illustrations for Psalms 67 and 106, given general illustrative similarities with the marginal psalters, it is likely that some form of Anastasis was present in the images for these psalms as well.

In some of the instances in which Vat. gr. 1927 contains a variant Anastasis, the marginal psalters contain an indirect illustration of the Resurrection. At Psalm 7 the Chludov (Moscow Historical Museum, ms.gr.129) and Barberini (BAV, MS Barb. gr. 372) psalters show David prophesying the Resurrection (Figures 58, 59).[123] This is also the case for Psalm 11. Such a scene might be illustrated in a variety of ways, even among related groups of marginal psalters. The Pantokrator (Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61) and Bristol (London, British Library, Additional MS 40731) psalters illustrate David prophesying Christ's Resurrection by showing David pointing to Christ as he emerges from a building reminiscent of the elaborated architectural structure now covering the cave-tomb within the Anastasis Rotunda in the Holy

[122] A variant of the Anastasis occurs in the illustration for four psalms and one canticle in Vat. gr. 1927: Ps. 7 (ff. 8v), Ps. 11 (ff. 17r), Ps. 43 (ff. 77r), Ps. 81 (ff. 152r), Canticle of Hannah (ff. 273r). The proliferation of Anastasis imagery in this psalter is highly noticeable and included to construct additional and specific salvific meanings within both text and image.

[123] For the facsimile of the Chludov Psalter see M. V. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoĭ Psaltyri: Grecheskiĭ Illiustrirovannyĭ Kodeks IX Veka* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977). Fol. 5v of the Theodore Psalter contains a ¾ view of David praying to an icon of Christ to indicate his prophesy of Christ's resurrection in Psalm 7.

Sepulchre in Jerusalem, creating for the viewer a complex composite of remembered and learned historical and liturgical time (Figures 60, 61).

Dufrenne interpreted the illustrations in the Theodore and Barberini psalters as representations of David prophesying the Resurrection because of the particular verse being illustrated: "now I will arise," "νῦν ἀναστήσομαι" (Figures 62, 63).[124] Both find David standing with a gesture of speech in front of a seated Christ who blesses him. The baldachin-topped structure behind Christ intimates a holy space, perhaps that of his tomb, though the illustration is far more oblique and dependent on its direct association with the specific verse via the symbol used to indicate their link.[125] Even when David is present in Vat. gr. 1927, such as at Psalm 7, Christ's theophany in a pose of a variant Anastasis, and not his intimation or a visionary experience of him, actualizes the event for the viewer in a way that the other psalters do not (Figure 1). The proliferation of similar imagery in the psalter represents one of its salient features and is included to construct additional and specifically salvific meanings within both text and image and directly for the viewer/reader.

Kartsonis identifies the first known instance of the third type of Anastasis as the illustration for Psalm 81:1 in the Chludov Psalter, the same psalm with which it is illustrated in Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 64).[126] Psalm 81 also marks the first time the Anastasis is associated with a

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[124] Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 11.

[125] For a discussion of the canopy in relation to physical locations and structures such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see chapter 5 in Jelena Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 264–94.

[126] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 152–53. In his discussion of the first example of this imagery in Vat. gr. 1927, Psalm 7 (f. 8v), DeWald refers to the iconography as an early Anastasis, though later Kartsonis would determine that this third type occurs, though not in its final form, in extant examples beginning in the ninth century. In his comments on Psalm 7,

psalm having a role in Easter liturgical celebrations. Psalm 81:8 is chanted during the Holy Saturday Vigil, marking the vigil's change in focus from the Baptism to the Resurrection.[127]

The illustration for Psalm 81 in Vat. gr. 1927 differs from other examples of the third type of Anastasis in one very important way: it has been divorced from markers of place and time that localize the image as a direct visualization of the events that took place between the time of Christ's Crucifixion and his bodily resurrection on Easter Sunday. For example, in the lectionary Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery cod. 1, Christ stands atop the overly large head of Hades and the relatively small, destroyed, gates of Hell; meanwhile, Adam, Eve, David, Solomon, and John the Baptist are located underneath and to the sides of Christ, situating the visualized moment as one in which Christ has just stormed the underworld to take Adam and Eve out with him (Figure 53).

The Princeton leaf is closer to several versions of the Anastasis in Vat. gr. 1927, notably those in which Christ appears over a cave leading to the underworld (Figure 55).[128] The Princeton leaf's image abstracts from the temporality of the Anastasis in a way the lectionary image does not. In referencing this cave, the image implies that Adam, Eve, and Christ are on earth rather than in the underworld. The small, ruined gates within the cave indicate that the harrowing of Hell has already occurred and is somewhat distant in time and place, as opposed to other images of the Anastasis that are clearly identified as within the underworld by the coffins

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DeWald identifies resonances of the Last Judgement in this type of image. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:5.

[127] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 156, n. 107.

[128] The idea that a cave marks the entrance to the underworld is not only found in Greco-Roman mythology but in many spiritual and mythological traditions throughout the world. The Byzantines were intimately familiar with mythological and literary examples of this cave, the most famous of which may be found in Book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid.*

of the dead and the gates of hell impaled upon Christ's cross, showing the moment of his triumph before his return to earth.

The localizing markers of Adam and Eve and the gates of hell remain present in the Princeton leaf. This is not the case for the illustration to Psalm 81 in Vat. gr. 1927. Here, the pervading theme of salvation for those who follow the true God comes into play in a far more generalized form. Elements of the typical Anastasis scene are carefully transformed to fit the words of the psalm and create a new visual message of salvation through prayer and belief. Adam/Everyman is illustrated as the poor man of verse 4. He is dragged by another towards the risen Christ as Judge, inevitably calling to mind Christ dragging Adam out of Hell and towards salvation. The dead, shown as corpses, lie below, a visual reminder of the bound and chained Hades under the cross and feet of Christ. Finally, Christ once again triumphs, not over Hades as in the typical Anastasis, but over the pagan idols and beliefs invoked by Psalm 81 that will one day be destroyed and be forgotten once and for all in the *Parousia*. It is in this capacity that Christ appears a second time in the illustration, overly large and in fact floating above the surface of the earth while holding a scroll and raising his hand in a gesture of blessing.

Psalm 43

The instance of Christ's Anastasis illustrating Psalm 43 in Vat. gr. 1927 again contains elements reminiscent of the Last Judgment, invoking Christ both at his historical Resurrection and at his second coming (Figure 65). Christ appears at the center of the image in a blue tunic and golden yellow mantle with his hands outstretched, standing in a brown half-circle reminiscent of a cave. Above him is a legend from verse 24: "Awake, why are you sleeping, O Lord?"[129] To the left, King David gestures at Christ with his right hand while pointing with his

[129] "ἐξεγέρθ(η)τ(ι)· ἱνατί ὑπνοῖς κ(ύρι)ε;"

left to a group of elders. Saint George is shown being tortured on his wheel by two men, and then beheaded, on the right side of the image.

The iconographic strategy of illustrating Christ in the pose of the third type of Anastasis has the effect of preventing the events of the illustration from being localized within a particular time or place. In contrast, other psalters tend to specifically illustrate historical events surrounding Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection. The Barberini Psalter, for example, shows the *myrrophores*, the Marys, visiting Christ's tomb on Easter Sunday while David stands on the other side of the tomb, raising his hand to intimate that he speaks the words of Psalm 43 (Figure 66). Once again Christ's tomb, as illustrated, is reminiscent of that at the Holy Sepulchre. Immediately below this image, soldiers sleep as the *myrrophores* prepare to depart, indicating the immanent occurrence of Christ's Resurrection.[130] Both the Theodore and Barberini psalters also contain images of Saint George on his wheel very similar to that of Vat. gr. 1927, suggesting a possible relationship between the manuscripts.

The Theodore Psalter intimates the correctness of David's prophesy and Christ's historical resurrection in a more immediate fashion: David points to an opened sarcophagus from which Christ emerges in an iconography almost identical to that of the Raising of Lazarus (Figure 67).[131] While the marginal psalters visually refer to the later structure covering the tomb of Christ during the Byzantine period (indeed, such a structure has covered the tomb for most of its history and continues to do so in the modern era), and thus may be localized to one specific

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[130] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 19–24, 134.

[131] Examples of the Raising of Lazarus evoked by the Theodore Psalter include the sixth-century Byzantine ivory book cover of ms Latin 9384 at the BnF (Figure 68); the sixth-century mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (Figure 69); the twelfth-century fresco at Asinou (Figure 70); and the twelfth-century double sided icon located in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens (Figure 71).

spot in the Holy Land, the cave found in Vat. gr. 1927 refers to the entrance to the underworld. With Christ's particular pose, this might also intimate a location where he could manifest at the *Parousia*. This is emphasized by the elimination in Vat. gr. 1927 of temporal markers such as the *myrrophores* in all instances of Anastasis imagery.

As in the image for Psalm 81, Christ in the illustration for Psalm 43 appears in the variant Anastasis position in the earthly realm, having again shed the position's original associations with the underworld and Hades. Here, as in many of the psalter's illustrations, the narrative occurs in a unified earthly realm, established by green grass and an architectural feature, even as the narrative scene draws upon multiple points in the economy of salvation. A unified scene allows for the visual construction and relation of meanings that cannot be fully presented when spread out as marginal vignettes over several gatherings of parchment. Thus, as in so many others, the illustration for Psalm 43 in Vat. gr. 1927 takes up standard iconographic elements and reworks them to place great emphasis on the economy of salvation and man's place within it.

In the illustration for Psalm 43, Saint George is roasted on his wheel to the right of Christ as two persecutors cause it to spin; on the far right of the image he is about to be decapitated. This part of the image is captioned above by a portion of verse 23: "for your sake we are killed all day long."[132] To the other side of Christ stands David in his position as interlocutor, teacher, and prophet. The men at left are identified as "our fathers" by the legend near them, which is taken from verse 2 of the psalm.[133] These men, therefore, stand in the economy of salvation as

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[132] "ὅτι ἕνεκά σου θανατούμ(ε)θ(α) ὅλην τὴν ἡμέ(ραν)."

[133] Caption: "οἱ (πατέ)ρες ἡμ(ῶν)." "O God, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us, the work which you wrought in their days, in the days of old." "Ὁ Θεός, ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ἡμῶν ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν ἔργον, ὃ εἰργάσω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις ἀρχαίαις."

the elders of the tribes of Israel to whom the psalm immediately refers—as witnesses to the God of the Old Testament who smites enemies and brings justice to his faithful. But they also stand in as the faithful for the viewer, as models for belief and behavior. And, as the Psalms are prophetic and prefigure the era of Christ, they also stand as witnesses for what is prophesied at the beginning and end of the psalm: the rising of Christ both at his Resurrection and at the Last Judgment, the destruction of unbelievers, and the salvation of man, especially of those who have suffered in his name, as we may see in the scene's graphic depictions of martyrdom.[134] Time, geography, and historical events collapse in this narrative even as the literal space of the image collapses disparate narrative elements into one, thus adding multivalent layers of meaning to this illustration that do not exist in the disparate vignettes of the marginal psalters.

Psalm 7

The prefatory image to Psalm 7 also includes Christ in a variant of the third type of Anastasis (Figure 1).[135] Christ, resplendent in his golden robes, floats above a dark cave reminiscent of the entrance to the underworld with arms outstretched and palms facing the viewer as in previously described images from this psalter. Damage to the image makes it impossible to determine whether his hands bore the stigmata, though their presence in other illustrations would suggest that the artist included them here. On either side of the cave two groups of souls, young and old men, rise from open sarcophagi. These two groups of souls are

[134] There are many commentaries for Psalm 43, verse 24. It is telling that the commentary of Euthymius Zygabenus for part of verse 24, "Ἔξεγέρθητι" ("awake") is simply "Εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ λαοῦ σου" ("to avenge your people"). Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 257.

[135] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:5. He refers to Christ as "in the manner of an early Anastasis," though later Kartsonis demonstrates that the mature expression of this third type of Anastasis occurs in the eleventh century. See Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 152–54.

not identified by a legend and seem to represent the anonymous dead.[136] David stands at the center of the image, hands raised in supplication, with his entire body turned toward Christ on the right. On the left, angels swoop down from Heaven, shooting spears at sinners who fall into a ditch in an amalgamation of verses 13 and 16.[137]

The rising of the anonymous dead as an iconographic element in the Anastasis is arguably found as early as the eighth-century frescoes in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum (Figure 72).[138] According to Matthew 27:52–53 the anonymous dead, here identified as saints or holy persons, also rise at the moment of Christ's death on the cross.[139] Though this became a popular motif in Latin Christian art, Byzantine art far more commonly portrays the rising of the anonymous dead at the Last Judgment, which may be found as early as the sixth century in the Vatican Cosmas (BAV, MS Vat. gr. 699) (Figure 73).[140] The presence of

[136] There is a badly effaced inscription, but it is closer to David than to the group of souls on the left. DeWald suspects that this legend was a truncation of verse 2: "Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα." "O Lord my God, I have hoped in you." DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:5.

[137] In the margin next to the angels, from verse 13: "…τὸ τόξο(ν) αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἐνέ(τεινε)ν…" "… he has bent his bow…" In the margin next to the sinners, from verse 16: "…κ(αὶ) ἐμπεσεῖτ(αι) εἰς βόθ(ρον)…" "…and he will fall into the ditch…"

[138] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 75–76, n. 111, n. 112. Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome* (Rome; Spoleto: Panetto & Petrelli, 1968), 43–49.

[139] "The tombs also were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised. 53 After his resurrection they came out of the tombs and entered the holy city and appeared to many." "καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεῴχθησαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων [b]ἠγέρθησαν, 53καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς."

[140] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 157. The rising of the dead at the Crucifixion may be found on f. 90r of the Utrecht Psalter, while that of the Last Judgment may be found on f. 89r of Vat. gr. 699.

the unidentified souls reaching out from their sarcophagi in the illustration for Psalm 7 in Vat. gr. 1927, coupled with Christ's pose, further suggests that this is an image conflating the Anastasis and the *Parousia*.

Folio 44v of Vat. gr. 752 contains a hybrid Anastasis/Last Judgment with the anonymous dead illustrating Psalm 12 (Figure 74). Christ is firmly situated in an arc of heaven, indicating a Last Judgment, while below him Adam and Eve raise their hands as supplicants on either side of a cave in which Hades grasps a soul, thus also tying the image to the Anastasis. In the register below, the anonymous dead, visually associated with the soul held by Hades by the strikingly patterned garb worn by the dead souls, rise as supplicants out of their sarcophagi.[141] The inscription above them states: "The dead too shall arise in Christ."[142] As Kartsonis points out, the use of the future ties the resurrection of these anonymous dead to that of the second coming and not that of Christ's resurrection or his descent into the underworld.[143]

At the center of the illustration for Psalm 7 in Vat. gr. 1927 stands David, who is larger than the other human figures in the illustration to emphasize his role as mediator between the viewer and the image. Here David turns body and face towards Christ with his hands raised in a gesture of supplication. He turns his back to a group of sinners being punished, which will be discussed next. This didactic image bluntly informs the viewer of what will occur should he sin, and more importantly, what will occur if he lives properly and prays the Psalms.

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[141] DeWald points out that this association renders the soul an "Everyman," and thus adapts this psalm to 1 Corinthians 15:21-22: "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:11.

[142] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image,* 157–158, 158 n 114. "καὶ οἱ ἐν χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται."

[143] Kartsonis, 158.

DeWald believes that the effaced text to David's right was a truncated part of the second verse of the psalm: "Lord my God, in you I have hoped."[144] Exegesis on this verse lends credence to DeWald's supposition. Euthymius Zygabenus believed verse 2 referred to David's supplication to God. David repented for putting his hope for deliverance from Absalom in the hands of Chousi the Benjamite rather than hoping and trusting in God.[145]

> Even though I have benefitted from the wisdom of Chousi, having found a short breathing space and having taken the opportunity to regroup, now, not trusting in him, I shall fight back; I cling to hope in you alone, considering everything else secondary, both friends and allies and soldiers, for it is written*, Cursed is the one who has hope in any man*, and, *Blessed is the man who hopes in you*. And just as it is not right to worship anything other than God, so it is not right to hope in any other than God.

This interpretation of the impetus for the psalm differs somewhat from those of earlier theologians. Theodoret, for example, believed Psalm 7 to be a prayer in thanks for his salvation in which David emphasizes putting faith in the Lord's help, and warns those who might do wrong that they will be judged by God. He explained verse 2 as "trusting in no human help, he is saying, and instead holding fast by myself to hope in you alone, my prayer is to win your consideration."[146] Chrysostom is in agreement regarding this verse, writing, "so when David learned all this, he wrote the psalm, offering songs of thanksgiving to God and attributing the whole strategy to him."[147] The message delivered by the image of David's turn towards Christ in supplication while Christ is in the pose of the third type of Anastasis is clear: place one's hope and faith in God in order to achieve salvation.

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[144] "Κυριὲ ὁ Θεός μου, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα…"

[145] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 37–38.

[146] Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:77.

[147] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Robert C. (Robert Charles) Hill, vol. 1 (Brookline, MA, 1998), 115.

Commentators to the Psalms associate Christ himself with the beginning of Psalm 7:6: "Arise, O Lord, in your anger..."[148] Christ's association with this particular psalm verse contains several layers of meaning. The most straightforward is shown in the associated illustration containting a modified Anastasis, as this verse begins with the imperative of the verb ἀνίστημι, from which the name of both the iconography and the feast day derive. Exegesis on this verse adds to the interpretation of this portion of the illustration. The verse begs the Lord to arise "in your anger." Some commentators gave this an eschatological flavor. Chrysostom associates this verse with "righteous judgment" and punishment, as "in God anger is not a passion, but retribution and punishment."[149] Other commentators such as Theodoret do so as well.[150]

Even more pertinent to the overall imagery of this psalm is the direct association of Psalm 7:6 with Christ's resurrection, judgment, and the eventual punishment and eradication of evildoers. This is clearly found in the commentary of Gregory of Nyssa.[151]

> The mass of adversaries cannot otherwise be destroyed, if the Lord has not risen on our behalf, and death must by all means precede the resurrection. He, then, who has revealed the resurrection of the Lord has, at the same time, shown that which is bound up together with the resurrection, I mean, of course, the mystery related to the passion. For this reason, having been inspired by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, he says, "Rise up, O Lord, in your anger; be exalted in the ends of my enemies." By "anger" he indicates the retributive power of the just judge, and by the rest he indicates the destruction of evil. For being only hostile by nature, is the evil whose end is destruction and a passing over into nonexistence. He, then, who said, "Be exalted in the ends of my enemies," predicts, through the evil of his enemies "being brought to an end," that the course to evil no longer remains in [his] life.

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[148] "ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, ἐν ὀργῇ σου…" The caption is "ἀνάστιθι κ(ύρι)ε…"

[149] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 1:124.

[150] Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:78–79. "So he begs the just Judge no longer to employ his long- suffering but his just verdict, and impose punishment on the wrongdoers… it is time not for loving-kindness but for righteous anger."

[151] Craig A Blaising and Carmen Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, ACCS (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 60.

In light of such commentary, the choice to present Christ's resurrection with iconography combining the Anastasis and the Last Judgment is both logical and didactic.

Such commentary on 7:6 also aids in explaining the action on the left side of the illustration, in which angels hurling spears mete out punishment to a group of bloodied sinners about to fall into the pit of Hades. Although this particular image does not have such, other illustrations in the psalter contain a large head of Hades with gaping maw and red tongue, who waits to swallow the souls of sinners as their introduction to their eternal punishments.[152] Some exegetical writers associated verse 16 with the biblical episode of Ahitophel plotting with Absalom to overthrow David, though in the end being caught in a trap of his own making. This interpretation was not universal, but most exegetical writers concur the verse at least refers to punishment brought on by your own choices, often in sinning against another.[153] Eusebius provides an explicit link between this punishment and the Last Judgment.[154]

> These words express the general opinion that as anyone plans evil in his spirit against his neighbor and wishes to harm others and builds a pit for their ruin, he does these things against himself, and his trouble will return on his own head. Each one will cause his own sentence on the day of judgment by his own deeds and will receive the fruits of his own labors.

The momentum and directionality of the two sides of the Psalm 7's illustration contrast each other visually: on the left side angels rush down from heaven to force the sinners into the pit,

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[152] A discursus on heads of Hades in this psalter will occur later in this section in relation to the illustration for the Ode of Hannah.

[153] Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:80. Theodoret refers to being caught in a snare set for another. Chrysostom suggests this might be an example of God's kindness, an opportunity for a teachable moment in which sinners learn not to harm others. John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 1:142.

[154] Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 65.

while on the right the dead rise up from their sarcophagi, hands and faces raised up in supplication to the large figure of Christ floating just above the cave from which he dragged imprisoned souls from the underworld. The rising dead emphasize such upward movement and focus. This upward-moving composition indicates the eventual ascension of all the saved when the Last Judgment occurs. The image prefacing Psalm 7, then, draws on visual and textual associations to become a reconfigured Last Judgment.

Psalm 11

Christ, again in the pose of the third type of Anastasis, dominates the prefatory image for Psalm 11 (Figure 25). Overly large and garbed in robes that were likely once radiant with gold, Christ stands triumphant over the cave of the underworld in the absolute center of the composition.[155] To his left, a group identified in the truncated inscription above them as the poor and needy of Psalm 11:6 raise their hands and eyes in supplication.[156] The Anastasis is implied in this verse by the verb ἀναστήσομαι. In this balanced and symmetrical scene for which Christ acts as the fulcrum and link between earth below and heaven above, David kneels in proskynesis to Christ's right and models for the viewer appropriate behavior and trust in the Lord. He illustrates the first words of the psalm: "Save me, Lord."[157] The wicked inhabit the right and left edges of the image to either side of the saved: on the far right, an angel pulls out the tongue of one who

[155] There is significant abrasion and damage to Christ's figure, notably to his garments and hands. It is not possible to determine whether he originally bore the stigmata.

[156] "ἕνεκ(εν) τ(ῆ)ς ταλαιπωρί(ας) τ(ῶ)ν πτωχ(ῶν) (καὶ ἀπὸ) τ(οῦ) στεναγμοῦ τ(ῶν) πενήτ(ων), νῦν ἀναστήσομ(αι), λέ(γει) κ(ύριο)ς." "Because of the misery of the poor, and because of the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, says the Lord."

[157] "σῶσον μ(ε) κ(ύρι)ε…᾽ "Save me, O Lord…" Most commentators to the Psalms speak of this psalm in reference to the eschatologically-linked eighth day of creation due to its superscription "For the end, upon the eighth…" "Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης…"

speaks deceit, as captioned by the nearby inscription taken from 11:4, while on the far left of the image a soldier identified with the wicked man of 11:9 threatens the kneeling figure of David.[158]

It is important to note that illustrating Christ in the manner of the Anastasis is not commonly chosen for this verse in other psalters. While the Bristol and Pantokrator psalters do show Christ emerging from his tomb in a manner similar to that of Lazarus, both the Theodore and Barberini psalters show David standing before Christ, who is seated on a *sella curulis* in front of a space covered by a baldachin and gesturing in blessing (Figures 60, 61, 62, 63). In these cases, David stands prophesying the event, meaning that the image shown is not in fact Christ's actual resurrection, but the prefiguration of it.[159] The illustration of Psalm 11 in Vat. gr. 1927 differs in that David no longer prophesies the event, but instead stands in for the viewer as an active participant in witnessing Christ's Resurrection. Christ's pose, containing associations with the Last Judgment, and the inclusion of the supplicants who will be saved, places far more emphasis on salvation for mankind than do other psalters that illustrate this psalm. It is also a didactic image, as it is in part through the recitation of the Psalms that salvation occurs, thus

[158] Inscription from verse 4: "ἐξολοθρεύσαι κ(ύριο)ς πάντ(α) τὰ χείλ(η) τὰ δόλ(ια) (καὶ) γλῶσσ(αν) μεγαλ(ορήμονα)." "Let the Lord destroy all the deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaks great words." Inscription from verse 9: "κύκλῳ οἱ ἀσεβ(εῖς) περιπατοῦσι…" "The ungodly (walk) around…"

[159] Bristol Psalter, f. 21v; Pantokrator Psalter, f. 24v; Theodore Psalter, f. 11v; Barberini Psalter 20v. Chludov lacks the corresponding folio. Vat. gr. 752 illustrates the saved in the eighth age, stemming from the title of Psalm 11. In Vat. gr. 752 the title is accompanied in the *catena* by a preface once attributed to pseudo-Athanasius but now thought to be by Hesychius of Jerusalem, in which he explains that in the eighth age of the world each person shall receive his final judgment and go to heaven or hell (Figure 75). DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:11. This commentary by Hesychius was published by Migne as part of the corpus of works attributed to Athanasius. Barbara Crostini, "Catechetical Teaching in Eleventh-Century Constantinople: The Cases of Paul of Evergetis and Parsinus Graecus 752," in *Networks of Learning: Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200*, ed. Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul, and Michael Grünbart (Zurich; Berlin: Lit, 2014), 101 n. 42.

including the viewer in this visualized economy of salvation in which the deserving are saved and sinners receive their due.

Perhaps this illustrative choice took its inspiration from commentators such as Theodoret, who commented on 11:5:[160]

> I shall not ignore them in their weeping and groaning that result from the crimes committed against them; instead, shaking off my long-suffering like a sleep I shall make their salvation obvious and illustrious.

The Vat. gr. 1927 illustration of Psalm 11 suggests a path for the future salvation of both mankind and the viewer, and what might occur if one strays from this path, in a way that other psalters do not. In the illustration, David again acts as a model for the viewer, speaking the words of the psalm along with the viewer of the image. While commentators universally interpreted Psalm 11 as eschatological, largely due to its superscription, Euthymius Zygabenus takes his interpretation of even further and considers it in light of the ability of a "holy one," the "ὅσιος" of 11:2, to achieve *theosis*.[161]

> A just man is one who is unwavering in what is good in regard to other people, a devout man is one who is pious in matters regarding God, a holy man is one who through the perfection of the virtues partakes in *theosis*… While some men who are just in regard to human and partial justice are still to be found, devout men have now disappeared, some having died, others having been driven out by the unholy, so he is praying accordingly to be saved from the wicked men who prevail all around.

In Vat. gr. 1927, monks are repeatedly chosen to illustrate the "ὅσιοι" mentioned in a number of psalms. As will be demonstrated in the following chapter on specifically monastic imagery, the illustrator renders a clear distinction between these monastic "holy ones" and "ἅγιοι," also meaning "holy ones" or "saints," which in Byzantine art is a designation often (though not

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[160] Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:103.

[161] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 67–68.

always) reserved for martyrs. As will be revealed over the course of this dissertation, Vat. gr. 1927 provides a visual path for a monk, an "ὅσιος," to attain *theosis*, which was the ultimate end of the monastic life.

Canticle of Hannah

Of the group of illustrations utilizing Anastasis imagery in Vat. gr. 1927, the final one to be discussed appears before the Canticle (Ode) of Hannah (Figure 76).[162] This ode is illustrated in two registers with a quadripartite division of the image with visual elements corresponding along multidirectional axes. At the top left, Hannah gently inclines her body, hands raised in supplication, to a bust-length Christ in the heavens above. To her right are two contrasting groups of soldiers: the mighty whose bows have become feeble and are shown bowing forward with their bows in front of them, and the weak who gird themselves with strength.[163] This group is visually paralleled with the group in the lower right register by the repetition of red, yellow, blue, and green in their garb. These figures represent four "types," only the latter of which deserves to boast about his or her deeds: the wise, the mighty, the rich, and the just.[164] Finally, on the lower left, Christ is manifest and executing justice for the souls of both the saved and the

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[162] 1 Kings/1 Samuel 2:1-10.

[163] Verse 4: "The bow of the mighty has become feeble, and the weak have girded themselves with strength…" "τόξον δυνατῶν ἠσθένησε, καὶ ἀσθενοῦντες περιεζώσαντο δύναμιν·" Caption above the fallen men: ""τόξον δυνατ(ῶν) ἠσθένησ(ε)… Caption in upper right margin: (ἀσ)θενοῦν(τες) (περιεζώ)σαντ(ο) (δύναμιν)." This caption is very effaced.

[164] Verse 10: "Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor let the mighty man boast in his strength, and let not the rich man boast in his wealth; but let him that boasts boast in this, to understand and know the Lord, and to execute judgment and justice in the midst of the Earth." "μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ἤ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς." Caption above the figures in the lower right register: "μὴ καυχάσθ(ω) ὁ σοφ(ὸς) ὁ δθνατ(ὸς) ὁ π(λούσιος)." Caption in the lower right margin: "(καὶ) ποι(εῖν) κρίμ(α) (καὶ) δι(και)οσύνη(ν)." This marginal caption is very badly damaged.

damned.[165] The composition of this portion of the image is reminiscent of the Anastasis, though not of the third type that is encountered in other illustrations in this manuscript.[166] Christ's body is subtly turned to his right and he extends his arm towards the souls of the righteous dead being lifted out of the gaping maw of one Hades of the two pictured here. His left hand is not inclined towards several damned souls that tumble into a second Hades'waiting mouth to the right.

This is an unusually detailed illustration for the Canticle of Hannah, which generally has an iconic image of Hannah praying, either alone or with her son Samuel, and does not contain multiple narrative elements.[167] Hannah is held by many theologians to provide a model for proper prayer. This is especially true of Chrysostom in his fourth homily on Hannah, titled:[168]

> Against those who absent themselves from the assemblies and go to the spectacles, and in proof that time spent in church is not only more useful but also more pleasant than attendance at spectacles, and on the second part of Hannah's prayer, and on the need to pray at all times and in every place, whether we be in the market place, on the road, or in bed.

Noetic prayer, the type of silent, mental prayer in which Hannah engaged, was practiced in the pursuit of *hesychia*, the inner stillness and state of constant prayer to which monks aspired.[169]

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[165] Caption in the lower margin from verse 6: "κατάγη εἰς άδου (καὶ) ἀνάγ(ει)…" (*sic*). "He brings down to Hades and brings up…"

[166] Kartsonis refers to this variant, with Christ turned to some degree toward Adam and grabbing his wrist, as the first type of Anastasis. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 134–35. Commentary on this verse references Christ's harrowing of hell. See for example, Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 798.

[167] For example, see Athens, EBE MS 7, f. 237v; BnF MS grec 139, f. 428v; Chludov, f. 153r (Figures 77, 78, 79).

[168] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Old Testament Homilies*, vol. 1, Old Testament Homilies (Brookline, Mass., 2003), 107.

[169] The earliest surviving testimony for the pursuit of imageless prayer is found in Evagrius, student of Gregory of Nazianzus. George Demacopoulos, "The Mystery of Divine/Human

The illustration in Vat. gr. 1927 preserves Hannah as a visual model for the praying viewer in a very explicit way, as she inclines her body and lifts her hands to a bust of Christ in the arc of heaven above her. At the same time, it embeds this exemplar within a narrative framework structured by carefully chosen portions of text from her canticle to provide a stark and detailed lesson on how the viewer might achieve salvation, and the consequences of not doing so.

In this illustration of the Canticle of Hannah, Christ's pose does not suggest the Last Judgment or carry with it universal salvific undertones as in the other images discussed in this section. Instead, Christ favors some souls while turning away from others, a reminder to the viewer that not all will be saved. Those favored souls recapitulate the pose of Hannah in the register above, as she provides a model for proper prayer. The "enfeebled mighty" of the top right quadrant of the image tumble down in a similar manner to those souls being cast into Hades, creating a visual link on the diagonal, while the group of men in the lower right provides a vertical visual counterpart to the "enfeebled mighty:" a reminder that to know and understand the Lord, as one attempts to do via constant prayer, along with just actions, is the highest form of accomplishment.

Unlike other heads of Hades in the illustrations of Vat gr 1927, of the two heads in this image, the head taking in the damned has hands that reach up almost as if to grasp the unfortunate souls to devour them faster.[170] They do not, however, grab hold of these souls. In fact, that Hades has his arms raised up to Christ in a manner reminiscent of prayer, balancing the

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Communion in the Byzantine Tradition," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Christian Mysticism*, ed. Julia A. Lamm (Hoboken, NJ: J. Wiley, 2013), 276.

[170] This feature of Hades may also be found in the Utrecht Psalter. See Emma Maayan Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ancient God in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006): 94.

arms of Hannah in the above register as she inclines in prayer, forming yet another visual link in this complex, interlocking composition.

Hades and the Economy of Salvation

A brief discussion of Hades in Byzantine art and psalter illustration is necessary to properly situate and analyze the heads of Hades found in Vat. gr. 1927. Hades may be represented as a place, often a dark, gloomy space that seems to be the result of a conflation between, and elaboration on, ancient conceptions of the underworld as a land for the dead, and Gehenna, which in the New Testament is a place where one's soul burns in "unquenchable fire."[171] The dark stillness of the land of Hades and the fire of Gehenna are illustrated in an eleventh-century manuscript of "Barlaam and Ioasaph" (Figure 80). Hades as a dark repository for souls is also illustrated in a twelfth-century Homilies of James of Kokkinobophos (Figure 81).[172] An image visualizing the fires of New Testament Gehenna is found in a heavily illustrated eleventh-century gospel (Paris, BnF, ms grec. 74) (Figure 82). In this case, the choice to illustrate the rich man's soul burning in the flames provides a moralizing contrast to the poor Lazaros held in the bosom of Abraham amidst the gardens of paradise.

Hades also appears in Byzantine illustrations as a personification of death, though his human-type form varies widely. In certain types of Anastasis he is pictured as a defeated character, one who has been knocked down along with the gates and chains of the underworld

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[171] Mark 9:43 states: "It is better for you to enter life crippled, than having your two hands, to go into Gehenna into the unquenchable fire." Gehenna as a place of punishment and even destruction of the soul itself is invoked by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and James in his epistle. For a discussion of Hades as a place in Byzantine art and text see Vasileios Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art* (New York, NY, USA, 2017), 46–48, 60–66.

[172] The land of Hades is described in a number of texts including the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, and the *Life of Andrew the Fool*. Marinis, 46–48.

kingdom he ruled. His body is often impaled by the cross, now wielded by Christ as a triumphant and powerful weapon—a holy spear that pins Hades to the ground and prevents any chance of defense or retaliation (Figure 83). Sometimes, such as in the eleventh-century mosaic at Daphni, Hades appears in the guise of an old man in a loincloth with wild white hair and beard. This may also be found in a tenth-century ivory depicting the crucifixion (Figure 84).[173] These images retain some of his pagan origins as a Greco-Roman god. Hades' depictions in Byzantine art might in part be derived from Classical images of Hades reaching out from the underworld to abduct Persephone. A Byzantine variant of this iconography is found in a copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Figure 85).[174]

Representations of Hades vary in the marginal psalters, although in numerous instances he is depicted as a nearly nude figure with a large belly and balding head, reminiscent of Classical depictions of Silenus, tutor of Dionysus.[175] This 'silene' type of Hades is found most

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[173] This is an unusual image in Byzantine art. It may also be found in the fourteenth-century church of St. George at Polosko in Macedonia, although in this case Hades has a large, not muscular, belly. Inspiration for such iconography likely comes from textual sources. The crucifixion at St. George is accompanied by text from Romanos the Melode's "Hymn on the Triumph of the Cross:" "My children, a wooden spear has suddenly pierced my heart; I am frightened and my entrails are suffering and my belly aches." Antony Eastmond and Liz James, "Eat, Drink... and Pay the Price," in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium: Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer* (Aldershot, England: Taylor and Francis, 2007), 182.

[174] A clear example of this can be found in BnF, Coislin 239, an eleventh or twelfth- century illustrated homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, f. 121v. Weitzmann traces this composition back to classical sarcophagi, notably one located in Aachen. Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 46 and plate XV, fig. 49. See also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, 13. Jeffrey C Anderson, "The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter.," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 216 n. 47. Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ancient God in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," 96 n. 14.

[175] Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*, 63. Hades as such a huge-bellied Silenus appears to be a peculiarity found predominantly within the group of Byzantine marginal psalters. Kartsonis suggests that he would have been

consistently in the Chludov Psalter.[176] An illustration for Psalm 9 in Chludov shows the huge figure of Hades reaching for a group of souls (Figure 86). They are labeled "οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀδη" "the sinners in Hades." Hades as a greedy, grasping figure of insatiable appetite is even more vividly illustrated in scenes of regurgitation such as that found in the Theodore Psalter for Psalm 29, in which the power of Christ pulls the soul of Lazarus out of the belly of Hades where other souls remain trapped (Figure 87).

Chludov illustrates Psalm 102 with an image of a soul being regurgitated by Hades into the arms of an angel (Figure 88). This image of Hades is drawn from Old Testament imagery that was mediated through such Late Antique and Byzantine authors as Romanos Melodos (the Melode).[177] It is also important, as Marinis notes, that this corpulent Hades is shown grabbing at souls or housing souls, but not actively swallowing them. With souls clasped to or housed inside his belly, he provides a parallel with and opposition to Abraham clutching souls to his bosom in Paradise.[178]

"familiar to everyone from religious folklore" and that such a depiction was partly motivated by a desire to tweak iconoclasts. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 139–41.

[176] Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ancient God in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," 94.

[177] Isaiah 5:14 in the Septuagint, for example, refers to Sheol as Hades. "Therefore Hades enlarged his appetite and opened his mouth without end…" "καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν ὁ ᾅδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήνοιξε τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ διαλιπεῖν…" Hades speaks of his stomach problems in strophes seven and nine of Romanos the Melodos' "Third Hymn on the Resurrection:" "I am pierced in the stomach; I do not digest the one whom I devoured." This is but one of multiple kontakia in which Romanos has Hades describe the piercing of his stomach. Eastmond and Eastmond and James, "Eat, Drink... and Pay the Price," 180–81.

[178] Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*, 63.

Hades was not originally conflated with Satan. This conflation begins to appear in iconography of the Anastasis when he is shown with chains as described in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Hades is also drawn with chains in the Barberini Psalter (Figure 89).[179] This commingling of Hades and Satan might also explain the presence of Hades/Satan riding a beast while holding a damned soul in his chest in many images of the Last Judgment, such as can be found in BnF grec 74 (Figure 90). This composition provides a direct parallel to the enthroned Abraham embracing the soul of Lazaros in paradise on the side of the saved. It would also call to mind images of the corpulent Hades/Silenus grasping souls to his belly in the marginal psalters.

Stemming from his origins as a pagan god, Hades was most often depicted in Byzantine art as a dark skinned, bearded individual. A very early attestation of this may be found in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome (Figure 91).[180] His muscled torso in the Pantokrator Psalter belies the more rotund body illustrating the same verse in the Chludov. Hades' body is even more attenuated in the illustration for Psalm 9:18 in the Bristol Psalter (Figure 92), where he emerges from a cave. His large, dark-skinned face, grey hair, and open mouth with hint of red tongue strongly resemble heads of Hades found in Vat. gr. 1927. He does, however, possess a body, something

[179] Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 14. Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ancient God in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," 97. Cartlidge and Elliott disagree with Kartsonis' statement that the Gospel of Nicodemus was not "the breeding ground for the Anastasis," but do not explicate that position further. J. K. Elliott and David R Cartlidge, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 247, n. 88. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 16.

[180] Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ancient God in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," 94, n. 7.

lacking in Vat. gr. 1927.[181] Disembodied heads of Hades reaching out from caves or pits also appear in the Utrecht Psalter. Previous scholarship has sought a direct link between the two manuscripts, though in the last few decades this theory has been debunked. Both stand, however, as testimony to persistent literal illustrative trends for particular psalms that appear to stem from very early, pre-iconoclastic psalter illustration.[182]

The heads of Hades in Vat. gr. 1927 are intimidating in appearance, with large gaping mouths and, in many cases, red tongues. Hades' mouth is the orifice through which souls enter Hell. But with the exception of Hades in the image for the Canticle of Hannah, this opening of the mouth is the only movement made by the disembodied head. Hades either receives or regurgitates souls through his open mouth, differing from other psalters. Even in those images in which Hades appears to have no control over giving up souls, as was seen in Figures 88 and 89, his crossed arms, contracting figure, and facial expression suggest that he is loathe to release them but powerless to deny divine will.[183]

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[181] The one exception to this being the pair of hands found in the illustration for the Canticle of Hannah.

[182] Older scholarship on the relationship of Vat. gr. 1927 with older Latin psalters, especially the Utrecht Psalter, has spoken of the artists utilizing models that can be traced back to a common source. See, for example, DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:12. Corrigan has recently outlined a case for certain literal psalter illustrations being traditional and ultimately springing from very early illustrated psalters that are no longer extant. Corrigan, "Early Medieval Psalter Illustration in Byzantium and the West," 97–101.

[183] Maguire has recently touched on the question of why Hades tends to be muscular and more human-seeming in monumental images of the Anastasis, such as those found in chuches, while in manuscripts he is often potbellied or bestial. More work is required on the subject of Hades in Byzantine art. Henry Maguire, "Why Did Hades Become Beautiful in Byzantine Art?," in *Round Trip to Hades in the Eastern Mediterranean Tradition: Visits to the Underworld from Antiquity to Byzantium*, ed. Gunnel Ekroth and Ingela Nilsson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 304–21.

There are two heads of Hades in the illustration for the Canticle of Hannah in Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 76). One regurgitates the saved soul in a rather dispassionate fashion, following the will of Christ and acting as a portal through which the deserving dead will rise and be saved. The Hades who has arms is taking in two of the damned but does not extend his arms to pull in the souls. His arms, in fact, mirror the pose of the praying Hannah and are pointed directly up at Christ. This pose is reminiscent of prayer, but in this instance the gesture is better characterized as obeisance: Hades does the bidding of Christ by swallowing the souls upon whom Christ has turned his back. Here, Hades appears less a buffoon-like Silenas character or greedy hoarder of souls struggling against their righteous release, and more like a willing, if somewhat passive, participant in the economy of salvation. He remains an intimidating and ugly disembodied head, but is perhaps not quite as threatening to the viewer as one might expect.

Psalm 128

In no way is this to suggest that a viewer or monk would not have been reminded of the future horrors awaiting a sinner upon death and then the Last Judgment.[184] While this psalter's imagery has a strong and sometimes rather gory focus on punishment and death, it is also characteristic for such scenes to retain the message that salvation remains possible. The illustration for Psalm 128, for example, shows two flying demons cutting the wicked men of verse 3 with some sort of hook or rod; on the ground at the center of the images is the group of

[184] For an extensive examination of beliefs regarding the fate of the soul between the moment of death and the Last Judgment, see Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*, chapters 2 and 3. The Byzantines had ideas of a "provisional judgment," in which the soul is weighed and assigned a temporary status that would then, in theory, be made permanent during the Last Judgment. Demons would attempt to cheat at this, and in theory any mistakes would be fixed at the *Parousia*. For an example of such cheating see Dionysiou 65, f. 11v (Figure 93).

sinners from verse 4 whose necks have been cut apart by the Lord (Figure 94).[185] But standing above those sinners is the visual juxtaposition to the wicked of verse 3: an angel flies to the aid of two young men with their arms cut off. These young men represent the voice of the psalmist, who in verse 2 wrote "they have frequently warred against me from my youth; and yet they prevailed not against me."[186]

While the wicked look up at the approaching demons, both youth look out of the page and at the viewer. Thus, a viewer reciting the psalm while looking at this image might put himself in the position of the psalmist, becoming more firmly embedded in the experience of the words. Deliverance and victory for the righteous contrast with punishment for the wicked. In fact, Euthymius Zygabenus comments that if one interprets Psalm 128:2 as relating to the war against demons, one should take "youth" to mean from a young age and thus being attacked by demons from one's youth, rather than the youth of the Israelites.[187] There is a second contrast, and thus lesson, between those harvesting grain/grass on the right and the demons who fly in to

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[185] "The sinners contrived behind my back; they prolonged their iniquity. 4 The righteous Lord has cut apart the necks of sinners." "ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτόν μου ἐτέκταινον οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἐμάκρυναν τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν. 4 Κύριος δίκαιος συνέκοψεν αὐχένας ἁμαρτωλῶν." Inscription in the lower margin, badly effaced: "(ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτόν μου) ἐτέκτ(αινον οἱ) ἁμαρ(τωλοί)." Inscription above the two young men: "κ(ύριο)ς δίκ(αι)ος (συ)νέκοψ(εν) αὐχ(ένας ἁμαρτωλῶν)."

[186] "πλεονάκις ἐπολέμησάν με ἐκ νεότητός μου, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησάν μοι."

[187] "These words also are in the person of the people, having been subject to attack many times by the neighbouring nations, hindering the building, as was said previously. 'Youth' is what he calls the beginning of the return from Babylon.

And if you take the verse as about the war of the demons, you will understand 'youth' in terms of age, the demons attacking us immediately from our earliest age." Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 702.

cut down the wicked on the left. Zygabenus interprets the Zion of 128:5 as a typological reference to the church. According to the psalm[188]

> Let all that hate Sion be put to shame and turned back. 6 Let them be as the grass of the housetops, which withers before it is plucked. 7 Of which the reaper does not fill his hand, nor the one gathering the sheaves, his bosom.

Following this interpretation, those who hate the church (Zion) will not grow and will not be harvested. The laborers in the image are successfully harvesting the wheat, as can be seen by the bundle held by the laborer on the right. Thus, this grass represents proper cutting down in an agricultural sense, but also brings to bear the fact that this is illustrating the opposite of the metaphor in the above verses, as the wheat represents those who love the church. Those who love the church and do well will prosper and grow to be harvested by the church; the Last Judgment might be interpreted as the ultimate harvest. This also stands in contrast to those who are cut down because of their iniquity, falling to the demons that the faithful must war with throughout their entire lives.

Christ as Judge and Executioner

In several images of Vat. gr. 1927, Christ appears on earth actively directing salvation and damnation, but not posed in a variant of the Anastasis. The head of Hades also appears in a few of these images. That Christ appears as judge in reference to the *Parousia*, but not with Anastasis imagery, also demonstrates a significant element of choice in which verses to illustrate on the part of the patron/artist. In the illustrations discussed above, the choice of Anastasis imagery was made in part because one or more lines of the psalms and odes contained a variant on ἀνίστημι, the verb meaning "to rise up," from which the feast and its concordant iconographic

[188] Zygabenus, 703. "5 αἰσχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἀποστραφήτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες Σιών. 6 γενηθήτωσαν ὡσεὶ χόρτος δωμάτων, ὃς πρὸ τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι ἐξηράνθη· 7 οὗ οὐκ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ὁ θερίζων καὶ τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ὁ τὰ δράγματα συλλέγων…"

scene in visual media received its name. However, the verse of Psalm 9:20 is "Arise, O Lord, let not man prevail: let the heathen be judged before you (Figure 95).[189] In this case the choice of illustration (but not caption) was from verse 8: "but the Lord endures forever: he has prepared his throne for judgment."[190] As this part of the image is not given a caption, it could also reference verse 5: "for you have brought about my judgement and my right; you sat on the throne judging righteousness."[191]

Psalm 9

Once again an image in this psalter collapses time and brings the *Parousia* into the present day. For Psalm 9, an overly large Christ sits enthroned under an arc of heaven at the center of the image. This transcends the action of verse 8, as his throne no longer awaits him in heaven (in what the Byzantines referred to as the *Hetoimasia*, or prepared throne), but is now occupied, indicating that that *Parousia* has occurred and Christ has returned to earth. Illustrating Christ enthroned as a sign of judgement, as opposed to using Anastasis imagery, might stem from a variety of factors. In addition, there is emphasis in both Jewish and Christian eschatological literature that some agent of God will come as both ruler and judge, with Christ being the appointed agent in the view of Christians.[192]

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[189] "ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, μὴ κραταιούσθω ἄνθρωπος, κριθήτωσαν ἔθνη ἐνώπιόν σου."

[190] "καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει. ἡτοίμασεν ἐν κρίσει τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ…"

[191] "ὅτι ἐποίησας τὴν κρίσιν μου καὶ τὴν δίκην μου, ἐκάθισας ἐπὶ θρόνου ὁ κρίνων δικαιοσύνην."

[192] Joost Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Tradition-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15* (Leiden: New York: Brill, 1996), 97. The large size of Christ relative to the rest of the figures, which varies throughout the psalter, emphasizes his divine status and his role as ruler and judge in fulfilment of the prophecies.

While it is not unusual for images in this psalter to conflate various times and occasions, the illustration of Psalm 9 might be inspired by Chrysostom's commentary on verse 8.[193]

> While the general judgment is reserved for that time, the particular is for this; after all, he puts many things into effect here and now lest the heedless form the impression that present realities do not fall under his providence. If, on the contrary, not everyone receives their crown in this life, do not be surprised. "He has prepared a day," remember, "on which he intends to judge the world," whereas for the present there is an arena, contest, struggles. Hence not everyone receives their just desserts; instead, rewards are reserved there for those who do well and punishments for those who fail.

The illustration might also reference Chrysostom's commentary on verse 5, in which he writes that "the phrase 'you have sat on your throne' means God has judged, prosecuted, taken vengeance."[194] This judgment and vengeance, however, does not specifically refer to the Last Judgment.

The "arena" to which Chrysostom refers is here a landscape filled with visual cues both didactic and eschatological. An arc of heaven above the head of Christ contrasts with two cave-like areas to the bottom left and right. The area on the right contains what appears to be a damaged head of Hades with large red tongue still quite visible. DeWald believes that the left cave contained a winged demon or devil, but this is extremely difficult to discern.[195] Lending credence to DeWald's theory, Euthymius Zygabenus interprets the first part of Psalm 9:5 as referring to the rendering of a judgment of salvation and the freeing of a lost soul through belief in Christ.[196]

> For you judged me, who had come to believe in you. Previously I was oppressed by the devil and bitterly tyrannized on account of my ignorance, and, having seen that out of

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[193] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 1:186.

[194] John Chrysostom, 1:184.

[195] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:6.

[196] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 52.

> envy the evil one had enslaved your creature, you justified me, having extracted me from his hands and freed me from error; 'my right' is used here for 'my justification'.

This is an uncommon interpretation of verse 5. If there were a winged demon or devil in the illustration, it could be a strong indication that visual inspiration came not only through older texts and commentaries, but also relied on contemporaneous writings as well.

That being said, a winged demon would provide further indication that in this manuscript, heads of Hades work within the economy of salvation as discussed above, as the psalter provides a clear demarcation between the function of demons and the function of Hades. Demons tempt people into sin and assail the righteous. Hades, however, takes undeserving souls to their eternal punishment while releasing those worthy ones who have been called up by Christ. In the illustration for Psalm 9, David acts as teacher and interlocutor, pointing at the left cave-pit containing the possible demon while also pointing upwards at Christ and the arc of heaven. Both David and Christ stare out at the viewer—Christ as if to render that current judgment mentioned by Chrysostom, and David as if to ask the viewer to choose either the path of salvation or damnation.

To Christ's left side, as traditional in images of the Last Judgment, are the sinners of Psalm 9:18: "Let sinners be driven away into Hades, [even] all the nations that forget God."[197] The group of naked souls sent toward Hades are captioned as the sinners of the first words of the verse, while the clothed group raising their hands in supplication could represent the wayward nations. Perhaps they are drawn as living, and not naked as souls already given judgment, as a reminder that one day it will be too late in life to remember God and turn back to him, no matter how great the eventual regret that occurs when judgment takes place. The clothed group might,

[197] "ἀποστραφήτωσα(ν) οἱ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οὶ) εἰς τ(ὸν) (ᾍ)δ(ην), (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐπιλανθανόμενα τοῦ Θεοῦ…)." The inscription is in the lower right margin.

however, represent the orpans being defended according to verse 39 in the inscription below the throne of Christ.[198]

Balancing the illustration horizontally and vertically in the illustration of Psalm 9 are two hills that lie above each of the cave pits. These also serve a didactic function. To the left are two structures that resemble shrines or churches that stand in for all the Lord's "wondrous things" [πάντ(α) τὰ θαυμάσιά σου] of Psalm 9:2. On the right of the scene two colorful figures stand on the green hill who are identified as the 'proud ungodly one' and the 'pursued poor' of verse 23, while the rightmost figure, who is naked, is the sinner and wicked man having his arm broken of verse 36 as the inscription on the side of the illustration states.[199] The proud one dressed as a soldier holds a spear, which might conflate him with the one who pursues the poor man. But it also draws attention to his arm, and therefore provides a parallel with the one whose arm is broken, indicating the outcome for those who act wickedly. This naked figure of the sinner is positioned exactly above the gaping maw and huge red tongue of Hades, strongly insinuating where this individual will wind up. Between the two, the poor but virtuous person stares out at the viewer, a reminder of the suffering one endures on the path to the eventual reward of salvation.

In Vat. gr. 1927, architectural elements commonly applear throughout its landscapes. In some cases, they are given designatory captions. Here in the illustration of Psalm 9 they seem to

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[198] "κρίνε ὀρφανῶ (καὶ) ταπ(εινῶ)…" "to decide in favor of the orphan and the lowly…"

[199] 23: "ἐν τῷ ὑπερηφανεύεσθαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἐμπυρίζεται ὁ πτωχός, συλλαμβάνονται ἐν διαβουλίοις, οἷς διαλογίζονται." The caption above the two figures is heavily abraded, but this appears to be the most likely choice of verse. DeWald was able to make out "ἐν τ(ῷ) ὑπερηφανεύες(θαι) ? …" above the soldier. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:6. The inscription in the upper right margin reads: "σύντριψον τ(ὸν) βραχίονα τοῦ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οῦ)."

stand in for the church/faith, the wonderful things (verse 2: "θαυμάσιά") created by God for mankind. Theodoret of Cyrus, for example, writes[200]

> The inspired author, however, foresees what is to come with the eyes of a prophet, and does not only confess with his whole heart but also recounts all his marvels. He makes the listeners sharers in the hymn singing, and wishes only to sing the praise of his benefactor and to have as the basis of his satisfaction not wealth or influence, not bodily health or strength, but the remembrance of God.

These "wonderful things," then, are not only the church and its liturgy but, more importantly for a psalter produced in a monastic context, psalmody, the act of singing the Psalms during the daily office. This reference to Psalm 9:2 would remind the viewer reciting the psalm that psalmody and faith were a means to overcoming the devil, appearing directly below, and achieving salvation through Christ. Not only does David appear on the favorable right side of Christ in this illustration, he completes a multi-part visual circuit that leads the eye down to temptation in the demon, up to the means of overcoming it through God's "wonderful things," and finally, up again to the eventual reward of Heaven.

The illustration of Psalm 9 in Vat. gr. 1927 shares common iconographic elements with other psalters. For example, the Theodore Psalter also illustrates verse 18 with souls being given over to a large, pink, Silenas-like Hades by an angel, while right below them an angel helps redeem the poor person of verse 19 (Figure 96). However, there is nothing explicitly didactic in this image, though the two vignettes contrast one another. Likewise, the Theodore Psalter shows a poor man, but it is the man from verse 30, who is threatened by a lion (Figure 97). In further parallel, Vat. gr. 1927 illustrates verse 5 with Christ enthroned, but in the case of the Theodore Psalter his throne is flanked by cherubim, each with two animal heads flicking out forked tongues (Figure 98). This is a conflation of the Lord who sits upon the cherubim with the living

[200] Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:88.

creatures found in Ezekiel 1 and Revelation 4, and by this time in Byzantine art angels were often conflated with the living creatures in this manner.[201] The iconography situates this scene in the Theodore Psalter as a visionary rather than visual experience, one outside of the earthly realm.

The composer of Vat. gr. 1927's images again tweaked routine iconographic elements for Psalm 9 and put them in a compositional framework intended not only to put an emphasis on the salvific message of the psalm, but also to make that message truly didactic and do so in a way that captures the viewer's gaze and inserts him into the lived space of the image that collapses liturgical time and space and allows him to fully experience Christ.

Psalm 15

The central figure of the image for Psalm 15 (Figure 34, Vat. gr. 1927) is David, standing in the center and acting as a mediator between the viewer and Christ, who appears on earth but off to David's right. In the illustration of Psalm 15 Christ is depicted twice, once on earth and once in an arc of heaven, where he is specifically labeled with 'IC XC.' Both David and Christ look out at the viewer. Having materialized on earth, Christ wears a golden tunic and blue mantle, holding his right hand up in a gesture of blessing whereas his left hand holds a scroll.[202] Christ's right foot stands on the edge of a pit inhabited by a large head of Hades. That Christ has appeared on earth and is physically before the viewer is highlighted by the inscription above Christ's head taken from Psalm 15:8: "I saw before me the Lord."[203] According to Pseudo-

[201] See Psalm 79:2 and Isaiah 37:16 for references to the Lord seated above the cherubim.

[202] Small remnants of gold appear on Christ's tunic. Their disposition indicates that his entire tunic was originally entirely gilded.

[203] "προωρώμ(ην) τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν…"

Athanasius, the "words in this are sung as if by the person of Christ, who although he is noble as the Lord by nature and has under his feet creation as a handmaid, yet he askes to be preserved by the Father as the head of the body of the church…" [204] Gazing into the eyes of Christ on earth while reciting the words of this psalm as in the guise of Christ would have served to reinforce the identification of the viewer with Christ.

To either side of the Psalm 15 illustration are salvific vignettes. On the right, saints rise up from a sarcophagus in a manner strongly reminiscent of the Anastasis. To the far right, two saints are beheaded by swords, clearly implying that these are saints of old who are martyrs for the faith.[205] The illustration takes quite literally the words of 15:3 in that the saints were, in fact, buried in the earth and waiting for resurrection. The saints contrast visually with the vignette on the left, in which a monk takes the place of the saint ("τὸν ὅσιόν") of 15:10.[206] Again the economy of salvation is visually explicated, as a naked soul rises out of the mouth of Hades towards Christ.[207] The combination of Christ's bodily pose as he seemingly steps out of the pit of Hades followed by a naked soul, Christ's gilt raiment, and the souls standing in a sarcophagus in

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[204] Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 120.

[205] The damaged inscription in the right margin reads: "(ἐπληθύν)θησ(αν) (αἱ) ἀσθέν(ειαι) αὐτ(ῶν)." "Their weaknesses have been multiplied." Verses 3 and 4: "On behalf of the saints that are in his land, the Lord has magnified all his pleasure in them. Their weaknesses have been multiplied; afterward they hasted. I will by no means assemble their bloody meetings, neither will I make mention of their names with my lips." "τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ ἐθαυμάστωσεν ὁ Κύριος, πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς. 4. ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ ἀσθένειαι αὐτῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν· οὐ μὴ συναγάγω τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδ᾽ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν διὰ χειλέων μου."

[206] "…ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν." "…because you will will not leave my soul in Hades, nor will you give over your holy one to see (moral) corruption."

[207] The inscription beneath reads "ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψ(εις) τ(ὴν) ψυχήν μ(ου) εἰς ᾅδ(ην)."

supplication is heavily reminiscent of the Anastasis. In his letter to Marcellinus, Athanasius directly states that Psalm 15 (16) "demonstrates His resurrection from the dead."[208] Both Theodoret and Cassiodorus also associate the psalm with Christ's humanity, the Resurrection, and the salvation of mankind early on in their commentaries.[209] The presence of the monk balances the action on the right of the image and sets up a comparison. While once the saints were violently martyred for their faith, there is now a new class of saints and a new way to achieve sainthood: through the angelic monastic life.

Psalm 74

In Vat. gr. 1927 Christ does not simply appear in a manner reminiscent of the Anastasis, or enthroned or standing while judging the dead and giving out his blessings. In several instances, Christ also acts as executioner, personally meteing out punishments in a way that is generally not seen in Byzantine art. For Psalm 74, attributed to Asaph (Figure 10), Christ is shown punishing two groups of people in the lower register of the image: he dumps dregs of wine over the heads of the sinners of verse 9, and breaks the horns of the sinners of verse 11.[210]

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[208] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. Robert C Gregg (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 123.

[209] Cassiodorus, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1990).16.1; Theodoret, *Psalms 1–72*, trans. Robert C. (Robert Charles) Hill, vol. 1, Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Psalms (Washington, D.C., 2000), 113. But there was always careful emphasis on the coequality of the first and second persons of the Trinity. Hesychius of Jerusalem, for example, emphasized the coequal nature in his comments on verse 8: "Do you see the equal worth of the Son with the Father? Sometimes the Son is said to stand or to sit on the right; now they grant the right to the Father, so that you may say that there is one power, that of the Father (the begetter) and that of the begotten (the Son), even if now he is humbled because of the flesh." *Fragmenta in Psalmos,* PG 93:1186.

[210] Verse 9: "For there is a cup in the hand of the Lord, full of unmingled wine; and he has turned it from side to side, but its dregs have not been wholly poured out; all the sinners of the Earth shall drink them." "ὅτι ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ Κυρίου οἴνου ἀκράτου πλῆρες κεράσματος. καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο, πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξεκενώθη, πίονται πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῆς γῆς·" Verse 11: "And I will break all the horns of sinners; but the horns of the righteous one shall

The inscription to the left of Christ states "ὅτι ποτήρι(ον) ἐν χ(ειρὶ) κ(υρίο)υ ("for there is a cup in the hand of the Lord"), and "πίοντ(αι) πάντ(ες) οἱ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οὶ) ("all the sinners will drink..."). The inscription to the right of Christ reads "κ(αὶ) πάντ(α) τὰ κέρατ(α) τ(ῶν) ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(ῶν) συνθλά(σω) ("and I will break all the horns of the sinners"). To the far right of the register is a man turned towards Christ with his arms upraised in supplication. He is identified by legend as the righteous man whose horn shall be exalted of verse 11.[211] This righteous man is portrayed as a simple man dressed only in a long red tunic. He does not even have a cloak.

In contrast, the artist of the Theodore Psalter illustrated this verse of Psalm 74 with an anonymous prophet anointing an anonymous king wearing the *loros* of the Byzantine emperor (Figure 99). Such anonymity would call to mind both the ancient sacral anointment of Old Testament kings such as David as well as the contemporary practice of the patriarch anointing the Byzantine emperor with oil in Hagia Sophia upon his elevation to the throne.[212] Illustrating the righteous man as an everyman rather than a king allows for the viewer to better identify with the righteous, being reminded that through faith, repentance, and prayer, one might achieve salvation.

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be exalted." "καὶ πάντα τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συνθλάσω, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται τὰ κέρατα τοῦ δικαίου."

[211] The caption in the lower right margin reads "(καὶ) ὑψωθήσετ(αι) τὸ κέρ(ας) τοῦ δικ(αί)ου." "and the horn of the righteous will be exalted."

[212] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Philotheos, *The Book of Ceremonies: With the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1829)*, trans. Ann Moffatt, Maxeme Tall, and Johann Jacob Reiske, vol. 1 (Canberra, Australia: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), 1.3. See also Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 273–74.

The rest of the illustration for Psalm 74 behaves didactically to reinforce this message. In the upper register (Figure 10), David again acts as teacher and guide, demonstrating the choice between being included with those confessing or giving thanks to his right, or those being dissolved in the fiery earth to his left.[213] Christ himself breaks the horns of the wicked with a staff, whereas most psalters illustrate a regular person doing so, such as in the Chludov Psalter (Figure 100). Those confessing above contrast with those being punished by Christ below, while the righteous man below contrasts with those dissolving into the earth above.

The righteous man, with whom the viewer should identify, is identified by Euthymius Zygabenus as both every pious person, and metaphorically as Christ.[214]

> Having been victorious. For the Israelites, after their return from their slavery in Babylon, when the neighbouring nations were harassing them, were victorious, and the Christians, having returned to freedom from their slavery to the idols, shatter the powers of the surrounding demons who are attacking them.
>
> The 'just man' is what he calls every pious person. He may also be interpreted as Zorobabel, who at that time led the people back, but also as Christ, the pre-eminently 'just man', as without sin, of whom Zorobabel was the type.
>
> When those in body defeat their bodiless enemies, the power and praise of Christ who empowers them is raised on high.

Such an interpretation of the verse calls to mind the fight of monks against demons, both real and metaphorical. The illustration helps align the viewer with the general pious person, whose

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[213] The inscription next to David reads "ἐξομολογησόμεθ(ά) σοι ὁ θ(εό)ς," while the one in the upper right margin reads "ἐτάκ(η) ἡ γῆ (καὶ) πάντ(ες) οἱ κατοικοῦντ(ες) ἐν αὐτ(ῇ)." Verse 2: "We will confess to you, oh God, we will confess." "ἐξομολογησόμεθά σοι, ὁ Θεός, ἐξομολογησόμεθά σοι καὶ ἐπικαλεσόμεθα τὸ ὄνομά σου." The word ομολογέω means "to confess," but can also be translated as "to give thanks." Thus one simultaneously gives thanks and confesses. Verse 4: "The Earth is dissolved, and all that dwell in it: I have strengthened its pillars." "ἐτάκη ἡ γῆ καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐγὼ ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς."

[214] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 424.

exemplar is Christ, and thus provides a partial explanation for the participation of Christ in such a vigorous and retributive manner in this image.

Zygabenus, as well as others, interprets this psalm eschatologically, which also explains why Christ was chosen by the illustrator to appear on earth carrying out the judgments he renders. Zygabenus says the following regarding the superscription "Εἰς τὸ τέλος· μὴ διαφθείρῃς· ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τῷ ᾿Ασάφ." ("For the end, do not destroy utterly; a psalm of an ode of Asaph"):[215]

> Containing prediction of God's just judgement at the consummation of the world, with punishment for the sinful and honour for the just, the psalm exhorts everyone to look to the end of life and not to destroy themselves by sins. Some said 'do not sin' for 'do not destroy'.

Psalm 74 prefigures the end of the world, and the Vat. gr. 1927 image illustrates it: when Christ reappears and both renders and executes his judgment, he saves those who follow the proper life, battle their demons victoriously, and pray and confess to God on a regular basis. If one relates that to monks, or even the many lay Byzantines who followed monastic precepts while living a secular life, these individuals led a life that, while not always resulting in them being good people, encouraged those truly pious among them to work hard at living in a way that would allow for reward at the Last Judgement. Zygabenus even discusses the varying degrees of punishment meted out by Christ in his consideration of the cup of wine, believing that there are two cups, one of punishment and one of mercy, and that those who are less sinful receive a mixed, or lesser, judgment. In the illustration of Psalm 74 in Vat gr 1927, Christ dumps out the dregs, the "unmixed punishment," onto the most unrepentant of sinners.[216]

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[215] Zygabenus, 421.

[216] Zygabenus, 424. "The 'dregs' are what he called the thick consistency of unmixed punishment, the extreme-most chastisement, that has been left over for those who transgress in the greatest way and for those who do not turn away from evil. They will drink the dregs. He

Christ's Contemporary Agency in Heaven

The illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 also conscientiously link heaven and earth. Christ, while in heaven, as illustrated by a blue semi-circle that usually appears centered at the top of the image, often shows great interest in earthly events. For example, Christ leans out of the arc of heaven to watch over and bless the assembled group of Judeans or Israelites in the illustration for Psalm 75 (Figure 50).[217] Christ's appearance in the illustration for Psalm 101 is even odder (Figure 101). He is shown leaning out of the arc of heaven to the point that he looks rather squashed, bracing himself on the edges of the arc with arms outstretched. This seems to be a visual fulfilment of the prayer of Psalm 101, as captioned by abbreviations of verses 3 and 20:[218]

> Do not turn your face from me: in the day when I am afflicted, incline your ear to me: in the day when I shall call upon you, speedily hear me.
>
> For he has looked out from the height of his sanctuary; the Lord looked upon the earth from heaven; to hear the groaning of the fettered ones, to loosen the sons of the slain…

In the illustration, Christ literally inclines his ear and looks down upon the earth from heaven—so much so that he seems in danger of falling out.

Psalm 96

Christ, however, is also depicted as intervening directly, especially to render and execute judgement, from heaven. Nowhere is this better explicated than in the illustration of Psalm 96, where Christ manifests in heaven, flanked by two angels, and shoots fire out of the skies onto the

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calls 'the sinful' those who sin unrepentantly."

[217] The caption in the upper margin reads "γνωστὸς ἐν τ(ῇ) ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ θ(εό)ς…" "God is known in Judea: his name is great in Israel."

[218] Below the arc of heaven: "κ(ύριο)ς ἐξ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ἐπὶ τ(ὴν) γ(ῆν) ἐπέβλεψε…" Verse 20: "ὅτι ἐξέκυψεν ἐξ ὕψους ἁγίου αὐτοῦ, Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπέβλεψε…" Above David from verse 2: "κ(υρί)ε εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μ(ου)…" Remainder of verse 2: "καὶ ἡ κραυγή μου πρὸς σὲ ἐλθέτω." "Lord, hear my prayer…" "and let my cry go to you."

enemies of verse 3 who are collapsed in the foreground of the illustration (Figure 102).[219] To either side of these enemies are two groups that again provide the viewer with a hypothetical choice and function didactically: the idol worshippers of verse 7 and the righteous of verse 12. The Septuagint version of 96:7 also includes mention of angels worshipping the Lord, and they are illustrated here.[220] Thus again, an image in this psalter provides a visual choice to the viewer: worship false gods and perish like those consumed in fire, or praise the Lord and have eternal life worshipping God as do his angels. Psalm 96, like so many others, also has an eschatological dimension, notably in verse 3, which Theodoret and others believed was a reference to the second coming of the type visualized in Daniel 3: 9-10.[221] The choice to include angels in Vat gr 1927's illustration of Psalm 96 might have had to do with more than simply wanting to create a literal illustration of the psalm verse. Given the monastic context of this manuscript, the angels

[219] The inscription in the lower margin: "πῦρ ἐναντ(ίον) (αὐ)τ˜ο(ῦ) προπορεύσετ(αι) (καὶ) φλογιεῖ κύκλῳ τ(οὺς) ἐχθρ(οὺς) (αὐτοῦ)" "Fire shall go before him, and burn up his enemies round about." DeWald gives "ἐνώπ(ιον) (αὐτοῦ)" but this cannot be the case due to the letters discernable immediately left of προπορεύσετ(αι). DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:29.

[220] Inscription above arc of heaven: προσκυνήσατ(ε) αὐτ(ῷ) πάντ(ες) (οἱ) ἄγγελοι (αὐτοῦ)." DeWald gives προσκυνήσητ(ε), but this is incorrect. DeWald, 1:29. Inscription in the right margin: "αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντ(ες) οἱ προ(σ)κυνοῦντ(ες) τοῖς γλυπ(τοῖς)." Verse 7: "Let all that worship graven images be ashamed, who boast of their idols; worship him, all you his angels." "αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν· προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ." Above the righteous on the left side: "εὐφράνθ(ητε) δίκ(αι)οι" from verse 12, "εὐφράνθητε, δίκαιοι, ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ." "Rejoice in the Lord, righteous ones, and give thanks for the remembrance of his holiness."

[221] Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:133."This is the prophecy of the second appearance. The divine Daniel also perceived this: 'His throne,' he said, 'a fiery flame, its wheels a burning fire; a river of fire issued forth and flowed in his presence. A thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered to him. The court sat in judgment, and books were opened.'"

here might also act as exemplars for one living the angelic life of a monk, or who would aspire to do so at some point in their lifetimes. Angels also figure prominently in the gestalt eschatological interpretation given at the end of his commentary on Psalm 96 by Euthymius Zygabenus.[222]

> Everything from 'Fire will go before him' to 'Zion heard and was glad' can also be understood as about Christ's second coming…
>
> And then, at the time of his arrival to judge, all the peoples saw his glory, as he comes *in the glory of his Father*, as he himself taught.
>
> Then he commands for those who sacrifice to the idols to be shamed at that moment and for the angels to worship him, knowing that both these things would occur. And once the angels had worshipped, immediately all the others will worship because, according to the Apostle, to him *every knee will bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth*.

Thus, according to Zygabenus, at the Last Judgment angels will act as exemplars of prayer and worship, as they do in this image.

There was certainly no push here to fully illustrate every psalm in Vat gr 1297 in a literal fashion. Verse 2 of Psalm 96 is as follows: "Cloud, and darkness are round about him; righteousness and judgment are the establishment of his throne."[223] The artist might have made a different illustrative decision by placing Christ enthroned on earth, as he is in a number of images throughout this psalter. And quite a few other images illustrate angels participating in events on earth, and even worshipping the Lord while in the earthly realm. The impetus for placing Christ in heaven elides with 96:9: "For you are Lord most high over all the earth; you are greatly exalted above all gods."[224] Illustrating Christ in heaven emphasizes not only that he is above all other gods, visualized here as idols, but that he is the only true deity, as he has access

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[222] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 553.

[223] "νέφη καὶ γνόφος κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, δικαιοσύνη καὶ κρίμα κατόρθωσις τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ."

[224] "ὅτι σὺ εἶ Κύριος ὕψιστος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, σφόδρα ὑπερυψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς."

to and originates in heaven, while other gods are a creation of humanity and belong solely to the earthly realm.

Christ: Visual and Visionary

Whoever planned the illustrations of Vat. gr. 1927 took great care to visually distinguish Christ's physical manifestation on earth from visionary experiences of him within the psalter. Vat. gr. 1927 uses the technique of pen and ink outline, allowing the golden background of the image to show through, to signify that the viewer is undergoing a visionary experience and not experiencing a true theophany. In this psalter Christ appears in visionary form in two ways: bust length or in icon-like roundels, occasionally under a baldachin signifying sacred space, and two instances where the composition resembles Christ's Ascension.

Psalm 4

For Psalm 4, Christ appears in the center of the illustration as a bust drawn in outline in blue ink within a roundel set at the center of a cross. Both the roundel and cross are drawn in a red ink outline. The cross is set on top of a small hill or mountain and is intended to represent a visionary experience of the Crucifixion on Golgotha (Figure 9). The cross is captioned above and below its crossarms by part of verse 7: "the light of your countenance was marked upon us, O Lord."[225] Below him, David bends his knees in somewhat awkward *proskynesis*, a pose that allows the direction of focus to travel up to Christ on the cross, as he raises his hands in supplication, calling upon God as in 4:2.[226] The choice to illustrate Christ within a cross and in visionary form (pen and ink outline) might come from commentaries on the superscription and on verse 7. Didymus the Blind, for example, emphasized the function of the psalm in that

[225] "ἐσημειώθ(η) ἐφ ἡμ(ᾶς) τὸ φῶς (τοῦ προσώπου σου)…"

[226] The inscription to the right of David: "ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί μ(ε) (εἰσήκουσάς μου)…"

"according to the spiritual or anagogical sense, the poem is a contemplation of truth that happens not only in the mind but also in music as with measured harmony."[227]

However, a more likely explanation is that the choice of bust and cross is related to the liturgical use of verse 7. Psalm 4:7 begins the *koinonikon* for the feast of the Elevation of the Cross according to old *typika*. Evangelatou has traced the phenomenon of a roundel of Christ set on a cross in a number of the marginal psalters.[228] Both the Chludov and Theodore psalters show David standing with arms raised in supplication before such a cross (Figures 103, 104). The impetus for such illustration thus stems from both patristic and liturgical sources.

However, the marginal psalters do not take the special step of rendering Christ and his cross in a different manner than the rest of the illustration. A pen and ink outline allows the light of verse 7 (φῶς) to stream off of Christ via the gilding underneath. This emphasizes the visionary quality of the Crucifixion. Returning to the idea of Psalm 4 being anagogic and a prayer, the illustration in Vat. gr. 1927 shows those praying and reflecting in bed as mentioned in verse 5, which captions the group above their heads.[229] The illustration is a visual expression of what they experience in prayer, and demonstrates that one should pray and reflect upon ones actions once one has gone to bed. It is not surprising that a monk, distinct from the other figures, has once again been illustrated directly above those in bed as the "holy one," which will be further discussed in the following chapter.

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[227] *Expositio in Psalmos*, PG 39:1165. See also Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 26.

[228] Evangelatou, "Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters," 86–88.

[229] "ἃ λέγ(ε)τ(ε) ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμ(ῶν)." "the things which you say in your hearts." Full verse: "ὀργίζεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε·ἃ λέγετε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις ὑμῶν κατανύγητε." "Be angry, and do not sin; be deeply pained in your beds, for the things which you say in your hearts."

In his *Catechetical Discourses*, Symeon the New Theologian calls for constant repentance and tears, quoting David from psalms 51 and 6: "This David showed when he said, 'The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit, a broken and contrite heart God will not despise' (Ps. 51:19). Rightly so, for when our soul has attained to that state it thus daily humbles itself and never passes a day without tears, even as David says, 'Every night wash I my bed, and water my couch with tears' (Ps. 6:7)."[230] As Derek Krueger puts it, "In the monastic ideal, crying becomes the incessant, the outward sign of the constant affect of contrition."[231]

The image for Psalm 4 is unclear as to whether the men in their beds are repenting and washing their beds with tears, or if they are set up in contrast to the monastic holy one above them. On the other hand, the part of the image prefacing Psalm 6 containing a bed is unambiguous (Figure 105). David stands with arms outstretched and covered to an arc of heaven while facing in the direction of a baldachin with his head turned to also look out at the viewer. He turns his back to a bed and a couch that seem to float over a huge head of Hades with a massive red tongue. This image references the text of verses 6 and 7: "For in death no man remembers you: and who will give you thanks in Hades? I am wearied with my groaning; I shall wash my bed every night; I shall water my couch with tears."[232] The bed and couch are without

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[230] Symeon the New Theologian, *Symeon the New Theologian: The Discourses*, trans. Carmino J De Catanzaro (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 87. "wash I" is taken from this translation. "Every night I wash my bed" would be a less poetic rendering.

[231] Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 210.

[232] The inscription over the bed and couch reads "λούσω καθ᾽ (ἑκάστην) νύκτ(α) τὴν κλίνην μ(ου)," while the one in the lower left margin reads "ἐν (δὲ) τῷ ἅδῃ τίς ἐξομολογήσετ(αί) (σοι)." 6 "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ ὁ μνημονεύων σου· ἐν δὲ τῷ ῞Αδῃ τίς ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι; 7 ἐκοπίασα ἐν τῷ στεναγμῷ μου, λούσω καθ᾽ ἑκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην μου, ἐν δάκρυσί μου τὴν στρωμνήν μου βρέξω."

occupants. With choices on either side (bed/couches or Hades on the left, and in the distance a baldachin/holy space or enemies being punished), another didactic image with instructive choices for the viewer is formed.

In the case of Psalm 4, specifically illustrating Christ as a vision might be related to contemporary commentary. Zygabenus links verse 7 not only with Christ, but with the light of the First Person of the Trinity.[233]

> Some say that this is a prophecy about the Christians on whom Christ was signed, that is, set as a mark, in their being called Christians. Christ, moreover, is the light of the Father, for through him we have seen the Father, *He who has seen me, has seen the Father*, and he is the exact imprint and form of the Father. The prophet numbered himself among those on account of both his kinship and conformity with the virtues.

By emphasizing that this is a vision, one filled with light and stemming from prayer, the artist might be drawing on the notion of an experience of the unmediated light of the divine as experienced by three apostles on Mount Tabor.

This idea of experiencing divine light during prayer was developed under Symeon the New Theologian and his follower Niketas Stethatos, gaining ground in later Byzantine thought to eventually become hesychastic practice.[234] Symeon extensively wrote on the light through which one has visionary experiences, most notably in his many hymns, where his own experiences are described with great fervor using the verbal first person. Like Zygabenus, he writes of the transformative power of the light in his 28th hymn, where he invokes Psalm 4:7.[235]

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[233] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 28.

[234] Demacopoulos, "The Mystery of Divine/Human Communion in the Byzantine Tradition," 275–76.

[235] Symeon the New Theologian, *Divine Eros: Hymns of Saint Symeon The New Theologian*, trans. Daniel K Griggs (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2010), 216–17. Hymn 28, 175-192.

> But first, O absolute monarch, shine again in me, (2 Cor 4.6)
> abide in and illuminate my humble soul,
> show to me clearly the face of your divinity,
> and reveal to me all of yourself invisibly, O my God!
> For You are not wholly seen by me, but You are wholly
> revealed to me,
> though You are inapprehensible, You also want to
> become entirely within my reach,
> You are limitless to all, truly You become small,
> both in my hand and on my lips
> You are seen as a sweet and radiant breast, flashing like lightning and turning. Oh strange mystery!
> Give yourself to me so also now, so I may take my fill of You,
> so I may kiss You and embrace your
> unspeakable glory, the light of your face, (Ps 4.7)
> and I may be filled, and then give a share to all the
> others,
> and having been transported I may come to You
> wholly glorified,
> and by your light I also may become light and stand
> before You,
> and then I shall be unconcerned about these many
> evils,
> I shall be released from fear, and not turn away again.

Symeon cites Psalm 4:6 when describing his participation in the holy spirit through his visionary experience:[236]

> Oh. Oh, God. Lord, Almighty!
> Who may have their fill of your invisible beauty?
> Who may be filled with your incomprehensibility?
> Who may walk worthily by your commands, (Lk 1.6)
> and who shall see the light of your face, (Ps 4.6)
> the great light, wonderful, not at all contained
> in this burdensome and darkened world;
> the light takes the one who sees it from the world
> with their body. Oh strange mystery!

Both passages make it clear that what he experiences is not the sort of theophanic experience as discussed in earlier parts of this chapter. It is not visual. Instead, it is a visionary experience in

[236] Symeon the New Theologian, 62. Hymn 9, 1-9.

which light mediates the sight of God and transports the viewer. His experience of this light was also emphasized by his biographer, Niketas Stethatos. In Symeon's *bios*, he cites numerous instances in which Symeon was taken by a light. On one such occasion the light transported his soul, allowing him to see God: "For at the same moment as he prostrated himself before God, *behold*, he saw with his intellect a *bright cloud* (Mt. 17:5) descending upon him."[237]

Psalm 5

Christ appears not in a roundel but as a pen and ink bust under a baldachin in the illustrations for Psalm 5 and 31 (Figures 106, 48). For Psalm 5, the baldachin is explained by verse 8, which is also provided in a legend next to it on the left: "I will worship in fear of you at your temple..."[238] But no such words occur in Psalm 31. Instead, the bust of Christ under a baldachin in that illustration exists as an integral part of the action occurring immediately below it: an abbot hearing confession. This image will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

The illustration for Psalm 5 is on its face didactic in nature. David appears in *proskynesis* with hands upraised to Christ under the baldachin to illustrate the plea of 5:2: for the Lord to hear the prayer of the speaker of the psalm.[239] To the left and right are two contrasting groups: those who trust in the Lord and love his name as in verse 12 are to the left; on the right an angel destroys those who speak falsehoods from verse 7, while those who fail of their counsels from

[237] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, trans. Richard P.H. Greenfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 47.

[238] "προσκυνήσω πρὸ(ς) ναὸν…"

[239] The magenta inscription above David's hands reads "τὰ ρήματά μου …" Verse 2: "τὰ ρήματά μου ἐνώτισαι, Κύριε, σύνες τῆς κραυγῆς μου." "Hear my words, Lord, hear my cry,"

verse 11 are immediately below.[240] Unusually for this manuscript, those specifically marked out as special or holy are represented by two bishops, one of whom, as DeWald points out, looks very much like John Chrysostom.[241] Once again the image sets up a contrast between those who will be saved and those who will not. As we have seen throughout, those who are damned don't merely lack faith in the Lord; they also commit bad deeds, whereas seemingly the only proper affirmative action one must undertake for salvation is praying the Psalms. Faith, having "trust" in the Lord, as demonstrated via praying the Psalms, allows for salvation. David again acts as an exemplar for prayer in the illustration for Psalm 5.

Psalm 23

The use of pen and ink to illustrate a visionary experience also occurs in the illustration for Psalm 23 (Figure 107). To the left is the mountain of the Lord of verse 3. The man standing on the mountain in the orans position and turned toward the arc of heaven appears to be the one who ascends the mountain and whose virtues are described in verse 4.[242] Lower down the mountain near the center of the image, the large figure of David directs the gaze of the viewer to what occurs to the right. Behind a group of rocks on the right, two groups of men stand facing each other their heads uplifted. They intimate the apostles. However, they are labeled as "(καὶ)

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[240] Inscription above the angel: "ἀπολεῖς πάν(τας) τοὺς λαλοῦν(τας) τὸ ψεῦδος." Inscription below the group at the right: "ἀποπεσ(άτωσαν) ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) διαβουλι(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν)." Inscription above the group on the left: "κ(αὶ) καυχήσοντ(αι) ἐν σοὶ πάντες οἱ ἀγαπῶντ(ες) τὸ ὄνομά (σου)."

[241] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:5.

[242] Inscription beside the man on the mountain: "τίς ἀναβήσετ(αι) εἰς τ(ὸ) ὄρος." Verses: "3 τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τίς στήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ; 4 ἀθῷος χερσὶ καὶ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὃς οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ὤμοσεν ἐπὶ δόλῳ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ." "3 Who shall go up to the mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? 4 He that is innocent in his hands and pure in his heart; who has not lifted up his soul to vanity, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbour."

πάντ(ες) οἱ κατοικοῦντ(ες)" from 23:1, meaning "all those dwelling on the earth." Above them in pen and ink, Christ enthroned rises up towads an arc of heaven while two angels, also rendered in pen and ink, hold his mandorla. This part of the illustration uses the iconography of the Ascension, but does not depict the actual event or a visionary encounter of the event itself. To the right of Christ in pen and ink are two additional angels climbing a ladder, thus alluding to the Ladder of Jacob, who is mentioned in verse 6: "This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek the face of the God of Jacob."[243] Finally, grisaille angels appear between the gates of heaven, as a literal expression of verse 7: "Lift up the gates, our leaders, and be lifted up, everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in."[244] This is identified by the caption in the right upper margin: "ἄρατ(ε) πύλ(ας), οἱ ἄρχ(ον)τες ὑμ(ῶν)" ("Lift up the gates, our leaders…").

Psalm 23 was commonly illustrated with the Ascension, both because numerous commentators associated verse 7 with the Ascension, and because of its liturgical use in hymns for the feast of the Ascension.[245] The Chudov Psalter, for example, illustrates the Ascension with the gates of 23:7 (Figure 108). In the marginal psalters, only David bears witness to this illustration of his prophecy. In Vat. gr. 1927, not only David, but the righteous man on the mountain and a group of men bear witness to a vision of Christ being raised to heaven's open gates. The men at the bottom are clearly intended to allude to the Apostles as witnesses. But here

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[243] "αὕτη ἡ γενεὰ ζητούντων τὸν Κύριον, ζητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Θεοῦ ᾽Ιακώβ."

[244] "ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης."

[245] Evangelatou, "Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters," 95. See also Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 36, PG 6:553-556. Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:161–62. Athanasius, *Discourse 1 Against the Arians*, vol. 4, para. 41; Athanasius, *On the Incarnation*, vol. 4, para. 25; St. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Select Orations*, trans. Martha Pollard Vinson, Fathers of the Church 107 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), "On Holy Easter," Oration 40. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 139, 142.

they are captioned as "all those dwelling on the earth." Again, the illustrator plays with composition to extend the meaning and interpretation of the psalm. Jacob's ladder is key here. Both Christ ascending and the ladder are in pen and ink, and are thus visionary. This is in contrast to the illustration of Psalm 118 in Vat gr 1927, which is the only known illustration of the *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* in a psalter and which appears as a fully illustrated icon (Figure 47). The use of pen and ink emphasizes the fact that here, Christ ascending is juxtaposed with the visionary event of Jacob's dream.

Jacob's ladder is an illustration of verse 6, for which Zygabenus comments [246]

> It seemed to the Hebrews that the Father was the God of Jacob, and the face of the Father is the Son, for it is written, He who has seen me has seen the Father. Jacob is continually placed in the psalms as the father of the twelve tribes.
> Or in a different way: seeking to see God in the future age when the worthy will see him face to face, as Paul says.

With David as a mediator and teacher, the reader of Vat gr 1927 seeks God "face to face," as Jacob was able to do with his ladder. In the case of the reader, this is to be achieved through using the psalter and through achieving the steps illustrated by the heavenly ladder of Climacus, which the viewer/reader of this psalter would know from the illustration for Psalm 118 and almost certainly from reading that text. By "replacing" the apostles with everyman, the image underscores the fact that all might see God and achieve salvation if, again, they pray properly and live properly, thus ascending the steps of the ladder.

Conclusion

Unlike other illustrated psalters, Vat. gr. 1927 very often situates Christ as an active agent on earth outside the realm of illustrating New Testament scenes prophesied in the Psalms. Why might this be the case? Kazhdan and Wharton have pointed to the proliferation of images and

[246] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 141.

new image cycles that occurred in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, positing that "the ideas visually expressed in these works were not necessarily new ones, but there was a new desire to visualize and explain traditional concepts."[247] This must certainly play some small part in the desire of the Vat gr 1927 illustrator to depict Christ with such dramatic agency. However, another impetus is possible. One might turn to the monastically inclined audience for further clues.

Many psalms have acquired eschatological and typological interpretations via centuries of commentaries dating back to the Patristic era. Most of Christ's extra-biblical appearances in Vat gr 1927 occur in relation to psalms given such interpretations. Christ appears in a discreet group of images that reconfigure Anastasis imagery, as well as in a number of images enthroned, to reinforce the salvific and eschatological dimensions of the psalm and serve as a didactic reminder to the viewer of how to live, behave, pray, and believe, in order to be saved during the Last Judgment. These are complex and meditative images designed to direct the eye in the proper direction, which might metaphorically be called the path to salvation.

In other scenes, Christ does not merely direct the economy of salvation, but participates physically in it, such as when he dumps wine over the heads of sinners, and breaks the horns of others. In illustrating Christ performing these actions, rather than allotting this agency to random figures, the images achieve a number of goals. They emphasize and visualize the fact that so many psalms have multivocal interpretations: they may speak of historical events while also being typological in predicting New Testament events. They might also be anagogical in nature. Though this manuscript, like a number of other manuscripts, does not shy away from illustrating

[247] Wharton Epstein and Kazhdan, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 209–10.

a figure who must be interpreted as God the Father, this psalter reminds us that it is Christ who took human form for his first coming, and Christ who will be the active agent of the Trinity as arbiter of salvation in his second coming. Thus, for example, Vat. gr. 1927 reminds us in the illustration for Psalm 74 that it is in fact ultimately the Lord, meaning Christ, who will be the active agent of punishment, breaking horns and pouring out wine, unlike other psalters that simply depict random individuals doing these acts. Having Christ perform these actions inflects the image in a way that other psalters, especially the marginal psalters, do not.

Psalms might also be multivocal in a different way: they are generally spoken in the voice of the psalmist, but some are interpreted as additionally being in the voice of the Lord, later interpreted as both the Lord of the Old Testament and of the New, that being Christ. Thus, any reciter of the Psalms will often speak in the voice of the Lord. Vat. gr. 1927 is filled with didactic imagery emphasizing the proper route to salvation. Some of this imagery is directly inflected by or directly illustrates earlier monastic texts such as that of Climacus and especially Symeon the New Theologian, as will be discussed in far greater detail in the following two chaptesr. For example, Psalm 118 is illustrated by a large image of the heavenly ladder, dramatically completed by a head of Hades ready to swallow up the monks who have fallen from or been plucked from the ladder by a horde of demons, now effaced.

The goal of monastic life, according to the above authors, was *theosis*, or the direct experience of God in one's current life. Climacus envisioned this as the final step on his ladder, and in the eleventh century, with the creation of cycles of images for illustrated Climacus manuscripts, Christ appeared at the top of the ladder.[248] In placing Christ at the top of the ladder,

[248] John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 244–47. Martin, *The Illustration of The Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, 10–19.

one was able to visualize the end of monastic life, *theosis*, or oneness with God, before necessarily achieving this goal.

By showing Christ in images conflating time and space, as so often done in Vat. gr. 1927, the images do two things. First, they allow for Christ to inhabit a visual realm that is the past, the present, and the future *Parousia*. When viewed and recited, this combination of word and image translates to a present day viewer/participant who speaks of the future in the words of the past, a mirror of the experience of time in the illustration.

Second, these images of Christ visualize *theosis*, not simply what one must do to achieve it. Here we must return to Kazhdan and Wharton and their point that there was an elevated impetus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to visualize older concepts. *Theosis* is not just becoming one with God, it is coming to know and understand God. When viewing images of Christ in Vat. gr. 1927 while reciting the words of the Psalms, one confronts Christ, sometimes in words interpreted to be his own and given through prophecy, and experiences the events mentioned in the text as a narrative scene. The reader gazes at Christ as he undertakes his role in the economy of salvation. The reader is on the path to salvation and through imagery may become saved. Face to face with Christ, he comes to know God and the economy of salvation through these visualizations.

Chapter 3: Climbing the Ladder in the New Covenant: Monks and Monastic Iconography

Introduction

Monks occupy a special place in Vat. gr. 1927 in ways they do not in other psalters. This includes the Theodore Psalter, created for the *hegoumenos* Michael of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople in 1066, with its very high proportion of monastic saints and emphasis on confession to the *hegoumenos*.[249] Of the extant images, eight contain men who may securely be identified as monks due to their distinctive dress of muted tunic, dark mantle and, most often, the presence of the *analabos*, a sort of scapular that hangs straight down the center of the monk's body.[250] The *analabos* is clearly visible on the monk in the image for Psalm 15 (Figure 34). Monks are often chosen to illustrate lines that refer to a "saint" or "holy one" (ὅσιος). Occasionally, however, the situation is less clear-cut. For example, the figure chosen to illustrate the Lord's "holy one" ["κ(ύριο)ς τ(ὸν) ὅσιον"] in the illustration for Psalm 4 wears the muted tunic and dark mantle of a monk and has a nimbus. Although he does not have a distinct *analabos*, he was likely intended to be a monk because of his distinct muted dress and his

[249] Jeffrey C. Anderson, "On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (1988): 566–67. Charles Barber, "Readings in the Theodore Psalter," in *Theodore Psalter:Electronic Facsimile*, ed. Charles Barber (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000), 17–18. Charles Barber, "Authority, Mimesis, and Prayer: Prolegomena to an Abbot's Reading of the Theodore Psalter," in *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*, ed. Charles Barber, Cha (University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000), 5–8. See also Rosemary Morris, "Introduction A: History," in *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11th-12th Centuries): Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, ed. Rosemary Morris and R. H Jordan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 28.

[250] There are many images for which a man or group of men are illustrated with a muted tunic and dark mantle which is suggestive of their identification as monks. This dissertation and chapter focuses on the subset of illustrations in which monks are securely identified by their *anaboloi*.

designation (Figure 9). Monks are also used in several images that demonstrate monastic practices contemporary to the date of the manuscript. Finally, the illustration for Psalm 118, a psalm that figured prominently in the liturgical *typika* of several important monasteries, uniquely contains an illustration of the icon of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus.

Monks: "Ὅσιοι" in the New Covenant

The following section will discuss prefatory illustrations containing monks identifiably wearing Middle Byzantine monastic garb. Often used to illustrate the ὅσιοι of a psalm, the presence of these men provides visual juxtapositions allowing for the creation of didactic images imparting lessons regarding a multitude of topics: the white martyrdom of monasticism, the various paths one might take in order to lead a virtuous life, and even the monastic life as a sacrifice of the New Covenant, supplanting the blood sacrifices of the Old Covenant.

Psalm 15 (Figure 34)

This psalm was discussed in the second chapter in relation to its inconography regarding Christ as an active agent in the econmy of salvation. The primary focus of the analysis here will concentrate on the monk on the left side of the image. Above the hellmouth, where a desperate soul is freed from the enormous mouth of Hades by Christ, a monk stands in an orant position. The inscription states "because you will not leave my soul in Hades." It is the first part of verse 10: "because you will not leave my soul in Hades, nor will you give over your holy one to see corruption."[251] Here the monk takes on the role of the "holy one" from verse 10.[252]

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[251] Inscription: "ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψ(εις) τ(ὴν) ψυχήν μ(ου) εἰς αδ(ην)…" Full verse: "ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν."

[252] Dufrenne's concordance identifies the monk as representing the saints (ἁγίοις) within the land of verse 3. This appears to be incorrect. The direct illustrative choice of a group of men in a sarcophagus so near the martyrs being beheaded, as per verse 4, along with the positioning of the monk over the pit of Hades, which is given the first stanza of verse 10, indicates that the monk should not be associated with verse 3. Instead, the men literally "in the earth" in the sarcophagus

Theodoret also associated verses 8–10 with Christ's Resurrection, David's prophesy of it, and the eventual salvation of mankind, providing further inspiration for the iconographic choices in this scene:[253]

> It is superfluous for us to interpret this, since the divinely inspired Peter received a revelation from the Father, from the Son, and from the Holy Spirit, and in former times gave an interpretation of it. In addressing the Jews, remember, and giving this public witness in their midst, he spoke in these terms: "Men, Brothers, I can say to you with assurance regarding the patriarch David that he died, was buried, and his tomb is with us to this day. So being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn an oath to him that from his loins the Christ according to the flesh would rise, he saw the future and spoke of his Resurrection, that is, his soul was not abandoned in Hades nor would his flesh see corruption."

As this psalm was deemed to represent the words of Christ, many commentators believed that he was the "holy one" of verse 10 who would not be given over to corruption. Both Athanasius and John of Damascus were clear that the sense of the word used for corruption (διαφθορά) means the destruction of the body and that the psalm prophesized Christ as his human body did not experience such a dissolution.[254] Athanasius expands this definition of the "holy one" to the human flesh of the rest of mankind following Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection, writing: "For as he, having come in our body, was conformed to our condition, so we, receiving him,

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should be associated with verse 3. The concordance does not mention the group of saints in the sarcophagus. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 15.

[253] Hill notes that Theodoret was rather "loosely" recalling Acts 2:29-32. Immediately following this quote he also misattributed a quote of Paul in Acts 13:36-37 to Peter. Theodoret, 1:116–17, n. 18, 19.

[254] Athanasius, *Discourse 3 Against the Arians*, ed. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Kevin Knight, trans. John Henry Newman and Archibald Roberston, vol. 4, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892), 3.28.57, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/28163.htm; John of Damascus, *An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, Book III*, ed. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Kevin Knight, trans. E.W. Watson and L. Pullan, vol. 9, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1899), 3.28, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/33043.htm.

partake of the immorality that is from him."[255] At judgment, the saved again receive their bodies, but this time perfected bodies.

In contrast with the interpretation of so many commentators, the image prefacing Psalm 15 illustrates a monk taking the place of the "holy one" who will not see corruption. Διαφθορά as it refers to the monk should be read in two senses simultaneously. While it became a technical term for the dissolution of the body, it had always been used for "corruption" in a moral sense.[256] The viewer praying the psalm would have seen the exemplary monastic and recalled simultaneously that this holy man would not suffer moral corruption during his life, and therefore, like Christ, would not permanently suffer the dissolution of the body in death, but would be resurrected with it at the Last Judgement.

King David, serving as the central fulcrum, stands as the mouthpiece through whom a lesson on martyrdom is articulated. The right side of the image illustrates "red" martyrdom: those who were brutalized and executed for their faith. To the left is illustrated "white" martyrdom: that of the ascetic, monastic life. Graphic scenes of martyrdom abound in this manuscript at a time when the "red martyrdom" of Roman persecution had long come to an end.[257] What, however, was left was white martyrdom, with which asceticism and the monastic

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[255] Athanasius, *Discourse 3 Against the Arians*, 3.28.57,

[256] See, for example, its use in Xenophon of Athen's *Apology of Socrates*, 19. Xenophon, "Apology," in *Memorabilia; Oeconomicus; Symposium; Apology*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson, trans. E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd, [New edition]., vol. IV, VII vols., Loeb Classical Library 168 (Cambridge, MA; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[257] Explicit images of bodily persecution and martyrdom would also remind Byzantines of the persecutions carried out during iconoclasm. At that time, monks, especially those from Constantinopolitan monasteries such as the Monastery of Stoudios under the hegumen Theodore the Stoudite, were ardent iconophiles and subject to various physical tortures. Roman Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 89–90. One story of torture, that of the Graptoi brothers, both monks originally from Mar Saba, contends that their torture took the form of having an anti-Orthodox poem inscribed on

life had become associated.[258] The sixth-century monk Barsanuphius directly connected the two in his "Letter 254:" "To renounce one's proper will is a sacrifice of blood. It means that one has reached the point of laboring unto death and of ignoring one's own will."[259] Explicit scenes of violent martyrdom would remind a monk or monastically-inclined viewer of the "white martyrdom" of monasticism that he had already, or wanted to, undertake.

In fact, the Greek of the psalm might have also given some inspiration for the choice to juxtapose these two types of martyrdom. Verse 3 refers to the "τοῖς ἁγίοις," the "saints" or "holy ones." Ἅγιος is the adjective generally used for saints who earned their martyr's crown through physical torment and execution for their faith. Verse 10 instead uses the term "τὸν ὅσιόν σου," for "your holy ones." Ὅσιος is most often used to describe those who achieved sainthood through a life of holiness and asceticism; the title was generally reserved for monks or nuns, although this was not absolutely standardized in Byzantine inscriptions. Thus the language of

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their foreheads. See Charles Barber, "Writing on the Body: Memory, Desire and the Holy in Iconoclasm," in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium: Papers from the 31st Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1997* (Aldershot ;Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999), 111–22. These physical ordeals continued to resonate hundreds of years post-iconoclasm. That of the icon painter Lazaros, notably the burning of his hands, was repeated in chronicles and given a large illustration in the Madrid Skylitzes. See Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 404–5.

[258] Following the Edict of Milan in 313, monasticism came to be known as the "new martyrdom" or "white martyrdom," replacing the "red martyrdom," so called due to the blood shed by the martyrs, that occurred during the times of persecution. Edward E. Malone, "The Monk and the Martyr," *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956).201–208. David Balfour, "Extended Notions of Martyrdom in the Byzantine Ascetical Tradition" 5 (1983): 20–35. The concept of monasticism as a type of martyrdom can first be found in Origen's "Daily Martyrdom of Conscience." *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* 21, PG 11:589B. See also Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness*, 90–91.

[259] Saint Barsanuphius and Prophet and Saint John, *Letters from the Desert: A Selection of Questions and Responses*, trans. John Chryssavgis, Popular Patristics 26 (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003), 9.

Psalm 15 allowed for this specific juxtaposition to be illustrated. The verbal distinction holds true throughout the psalter. Every time a monk is used to illustrate a referenced saint or holy person, he is identified with the word, "ὅσιος."[260]

Other psalters illustrate the same verses, such as 3 and 8, but do so in ways that do not contain the same didactic messages regarding monasticism, martyrdom, and salvation as those found in this miniature. The marginal psalters illustrate verses 3 and 8, doing so in related ways.[261] For verse 3, the Chludov Psalter, for example, depicts a group of men, the foremost in the orant position, as the "saints that are in his land" (Figure 109). The Theodore and Barberini psalters are more specific in their illustrations and show saints Theodore, Demetrius, and George (Figure 110).[262] Verse 8 is the only other one to be illustrated in the marginal psalters with extant folios for this psalm.[263] All contain some variant of King David, turned towards a bust of Christ, prophesying his arrival (Figures 111, 112).

The duplication of Christ in Vat. gr. 1927 likely had multiple associations and inspirations. Early commentators noted that this psalm was spoken as if by Christ rather than David.[264] Theodoret was especially direct in stating that Psalm 15 "is spoken in the person of the

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[260] This also occurs for Psalms 30, 49, and 149.

[261] Vat. gr. 752 has no extant illustrations for the catena relating to Psalm15.

[262] All three of these saints were martyred and are given the epithet "ἅγιος." The Bristol psalter has an unidentified group of saints, while the Pantokrator and Paris marginal psalters lack these folios.

[263] Due to similarities in patterns of illustration among the ninth and eleventh century marginal psalters, it may be assumed the neither the Pantokrator nor the Paris psalters deviated significantly in the illustration of Psalm 15. It is highly unlikely that either psalter was given a far more extensive set of illustrations for this psalm.

[264] Pseudo-Athanasius, Cassidorus, and Theodoret all emphasized this in their commentaries on verse 1. Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 120–21.

Savior, but is spoken from the viewpoint of his humanity."[265] As noted above, Theodoret and Cassiodorus associate the psalm with Christ's acceptance of his humanity and his request to God the Father for salvation and resurrection. Given the position of David, it also seems likely that Christ in heaven above David was meant to recall for the viewer instances of David prophesying Christ. The inscription from verse 8, located between the Christs in heaven and on earth, occupies a nebulous position.[266] Christ, who has appeared on earth in yet another instance of theophany, is tied to the portions of the illustration evoking the Anastasis. The soul next to him is being drawn from hell, and the "saints" rising from their sarcophagus on the left evoke the iconography of the Anastasis. Such a strong line of demarcation between the moments of David's prophesy and Christ appearing on earth, however, need not be drawn for this image. Once again time and space collapse: David prophesies Christ in the words and time of the psalm and sees him "always before my face" while Christ remains in heaven, existing as the Second Person of the Trinity before taking on the flesh of humanity. At the same time, he has prophesied the coming of Christ on earth and his Resurrection, at which point he harrows hell and frees certain souls. Finally, David reminds the viewer of the Last Judgment, which is intimated by the words of the psalm, the generic souls being taken up from Hades and their burial places in the earth, and iconography taken from the Anastasis itself.

Psalm 30 (Figure 113)

In this illustration King David stands at the center of the image. Facing right, he raises his arms and eyes to the blue arc of heaven at the top center of the illustration while turning his head ¾ so that the viewer might see his eyes and be called to participate with him in prayer. Despite

[265] Theodoret, *Psalms 1–72*, 1:113.

[266] "προωρομ(ην)(sic) τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν…" "I have set the lord before me…"

the extensive damage to many parts of the illustration, the gilt background around David's head and hands remains relatively intact, and there is no evidence of a caption that associated him with a particular psalm verse.[267] Behind him on the left side of the image, a large mountain or hill of muted purple comprises the background, while a yellow wall pierced by two windows with a blue-grey top occupies the central background area.

A group of five young, beardless men in short tunics stand facing one another at the left side of the image in front of the purple rock formation. They raise their hands, and their body language implies that they are speaking animatedly among themselves, perhaps even arguing. The inscription under them is taken from verse 14: "when they were gathered together against me, they took counsel to take my life."[268] The inscription is located in the lower margin under the illustration and extends to the part of the image under King David as well. It is possible that, contrary to DeWald, the excerpt from verse 14 was intended to encompass the men and David as

[267] DeWald, however, associated David's presence and pose with verse 2 of the psalm: "O Lord, I have hoped in you; let me never be ashamed: deliver me in your righteousness and rescue me." "ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με." DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:12. That David would be illustrated as the focal visual exemplar of prayer and supplication in this image associated with the initial and primary plea of the psalm's incipit is a reasonable supposition on DeWald's part, especially when one considers the association by certain commentators with David's prayers following his sin in sending Uriah to die on the battlefield in order to take his wife Bathsheba for himself. See Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 171. "…it is a psalm 'of ecstasy' as commemorating the aberration into which he strayed when he committed adultery with the wife of Uriah and killed him, because they interpret 'ecstasy' as aberration from a straight course. It was uttered at the time he was being persecuted by his son Absalom. The words of the psalm are no less suited to each of us, when we understand Absalom and Achitophel and such enemies as the devil and the other demons and take the rest accordingly."

[268] "ἐν τ(ῷ) ἐπισυναχθῆν(α)ι αὐτ(οὺς) ἅμ(α) ἐπ᾽ ἐμ(ὲ) τοῦ λ(α)βεῖν τ(ὴν) ψυχ(ήν) μου ἐβουλεύσαντ(ο)."

one iconographic grouping. As Theodoret points out, while the evildoers plotted against him, he put all of this faith in the Lord, as mentioned in verses 15–16.[269] Athanasius writes that:[270]

> When you see that you are despised and persecuted for the truth's sake by all your friends and relatives, do not give up concern either for them or for yourself. And if you see your acquaintances turning against you, do not be alarmed, but separate yourself from them and turn your mind to the future and sing psalm 30.

The entire foreground of the right side of the image is occupied by a large brown pit. Within this pit are four young, beardless men in short tunics. They are the impious of this psalm and have fallen on their hands and knees, having been brought down to Hades in keeping with the inscription from verse 18 found in the lower part of the right margin: "Let the impious be ashamed and brought down to Hades."[271] Read left to right, the image unfolds didactically to illustrate the consequences of plotting evilly and putting faith in earthly rather than spiritual strengths and aid. While the two groups of evildoers are not exactly identical, they are alike enough in age (beardless with similar hair) and tunic colors to suggest to the viewer that the two groups consist of the same youthful individuals. Those who "gathered together against me" and

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[269] Theodoret, *Psalms 1–72*, 1:195. Cassiodorus juxtaposes trust in strength vs. trust in the Lord in his commentary to the psalm. Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 232.

[270] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 116.

[271] "αἰσχυνθείησαν οἱ ἀσεβ(εῖς) κ(αὶ) καταχθείησαν εἰς ᾅδου." DeWald gives "be silent" as a translation for καταχθείησαν, which is found in a number of English translations of the psalms such as the *King James Version*, the *New International Version*, and the *New Standard Revised Version*. But the verb κατάγω is most straightforwardly translated as "to lead down." The use of this verb to describe one going down to Hades goes as far back as *The Odyssey.* See, for example, Book 11 line 164: "μῆτερ ἐμή, χρειώ με κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἀίδαο" "my mother, need led me down to Hades." Homer, *The Odyssey: Books 1-12*, ed. George E. Dimock, trans. A. T. (Augustus Taber) Murray, New ed. / revised by George E. Dimock., vol. 1, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library 104 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). Such a translation accords with the general strategy found in this psalter of illustrating Hades/the underworld as a dark pit.

"took counsel to take my life" thereby receive their punishment through the unfolding of the image.

Standing on a small patch of green grass atop this pit is a group of five monks easily discerned by their monastic dress, each of whom is made visibly distinct due to the differing colors of the tunics under their brown monastic mantles (μανδύας). The monks are turned as a group to face the center of the illustration. This part of the image is heavily damaged and, despite the difficulty of determining the precise bodily position of each monk, it is likely that they were all meant to resemble the leftmost figure, whose hands are raised toward the arc of heaven in a position of supplication. To their right in the upper righthand margin is a caption from verse 24: "Love the Lord, all his saints…"[272] These monks are visually juxtaposed with the sinners cast into Hades below, even as the verse of the psalm contrasts those who are truthful with those who are excessively arrogant.[273] To give but two examples, Theodoret and Zygabenus note that this verse should be interpreted as signifying that God has some tolerance and forgiveness for those who slip into arrogance but make attempts to mitigate such things, while he does not tolerate those who behave with unabashed pride.[274] A monk in his constant struggle against excessive pride would thus earn the forbearance of God.[275]

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[272] "ἀγαπήσατ(ε) τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν πάντ(ες) οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτ(οῦ):" Here is another example of monks as the ὅσιοι of a psalm verse.

[273] "Love the Lord, all you his saints, for the Lord seeks out truth, and repays those behaving with excessive arrogance." "ἀγαπήσατε τὸν Κύριον πάντες οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀληθείας ἐκζητεῖ Κύριος καὶ ἀνταποδίδωσι τοῖς περισσῶς ποιοῦσιν ὑπερηφανίαν."

[274] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 179; Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:197.

[275] Multiple steps in the *Heavenly Ladder* concern pride: Step 4 is "On blessed and ever-memorable obedience," Step 22 is "On the many forms of vainglory," Step 23 is "On mad pride, and, in the same Step, on unclean blasphemous thoughts," and Step 24 is "On meekness,

The illustrations for Psalm 30 in other manuscripts tend to focus on Christ emerging from his tomb. Christ stands beside his tomb while two sleeping soldiers are splayed out before it; some variant of this basic illustration occurs in the Chludov, Pantokrator, Theodore, and Barberini psalters (Figures 114, 115).[276] The associated verse is part of the fifth, "because you, Lord, are my defender." It results in an image of Christ, risen from his tomb, standing in front of an unidentified person while the tomb's guards sleep below.[277] The Barberini psalter preserves an image of David praying with his arms raised to heaven in association with verse 2: "O Lord, I have hoped in you; let me never be ashamed: deliver me in your righteousness and rescue me" (Figure 116).[278] While not given a caption from verse 2, David's similar pose Vat. gr. 1927 easily recalls this verse of the psalm, especially for one familiar with marginal psalter illustration.[279] In keeping with its additive and extensive litany of saints, the Theodore Psalter replaces David with the bishop Abercius and adds the figure of St. Artemius in association with verse 19 (Figures 117, 118).[280]

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simplicity, and guilelessness which come not from nature but from conscious effort, and about guile." St John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 11–13.

[276] A man, possibly intended to be King David, stands behind Christ in the Chludov and Barberini psalters, for example, while he is alone in the Theodore psalter as the angel descends from Heaven above.

[277] "σὺ εἶ ὁ ὑπερασπιστής μου, Κύριε."

[278] "Επὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με." Only the first half of the verse appears at the bottom of f. 49r in association with the image of David praying to a floating bust of Christ whose speech is emphasized by three streaks of red paint.

[279] See chapter 2, Psalm 43, for an example of an image which demonstrates a direct knowledge of and possible use as a model of at least one of the marginal psalters.

[280] Abercius (d. ca. 167) was the bishop of Hierapolis following the episcopate of Papias. He is known in the Orthodox church as a miracle worker and acquired the epithet "equal of the apostles." In the Theodore psalter, Saint Artemius may also be found praying and being blessed

Only the Theodore psalter also posits a monastic interpretation for any part of Psalm 30. Like Vat. gr. 1927, it illustrates verse 24 with a group of monks (clearly identified by their *anaboloi*) labeled "ὅσιοι" with their arms and heads raised in supplication (Figure 119). In contrast to the monks in the corresponding illustration in Vat. gr. 1927, they gaze up at a roundel of Christ Pantokrator. They also exist as a stand-alone marginal vignette and are not part of a larger narrative scene. As such, the Theodore Psalter does not posit a didactic lesson by means of a contrast between monastic "ὅσιοι" and evildoers as constructed in the illustration in Vat. gr. 1927. There, the visual contrast between the saints and the impious could not be more clear: the monastic saints, upright and tall with arms and heads stretched up to heaven, stand on top of the pit of Hades into which the impious, both bodily and spiritual opposites of the saints above, have fallen prostrate. King David faces the monks in a similar upright position of supplication, seemingly unconcerned about the men literally scheming against him behind his back.

Psalm 49 (Figure 120)

A large fire burns in the center of a rocky landscape. Above and slightly to the right, a bust-length Christ wearing a purple tunic inhabits a small blue arc of heaven. Christ's figure, notably his face, is heavily damaged with the paint almost entirely smeared. It does not, however, appear that *IX XC* was ever written to either side of his head as it is in some other

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by the hand of God in association with verse 19: "Let the deceitful lips become dumb, which speak iniquity against the righteous with pride and scorn." "ἄλαλα γενηθήτω τὰ χείλη τὰ δόλια τὰ λαλοῦντα κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνομίαν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἐξουδενώσει." Artemius was a very popular saint amongst the Byzantines and was known for his miracle cures of issues relating to hernias and male genitalia. See John W Nesbitt and Virgil S Crisafulli, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium*, trans. Virgil S Crisafulli (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1997). His appearance is likely an addition to the Theodore Psalter alone. While the Chludov Psalter does not preserve the necessary folios, the Barberini Psalter does and has no further illustrations for Psalm 30 following Christ at the tomb.

images in Vat. gr. 1927. King David stands to the left of the fire. His body is turned towards the right side of the illustration to face the fire, and he is slightly bent over to lean into it; he points down at the fire with his left hand while his right points slightly upward. His face appears stern, if not accusatory. Above the fire is an inscription taken from verse 3: "a fire will be kindled before him."[281]

On the right side of the illustration, two men make animal sacrifices: a goat and a calf respectively. They illustrate the caption from verse 9 of the psalm: "I will take no calves out of your house, nor he-goats from your flocks."[282] Between the two sacrificing men stands a group facing the center of the image with their heads and arms raised up to Christ in the arc of heaven in supplication. At the far left of the image, two monks turn their heads to face each other as if in speech while raising their arms up towards Christ in heaven. They are "his saints" who are to be "gathered together" to him in accordance with verse 5, as per the inscription above them.[283]

Vat. gr. 1927 dispenses with the most overt iconography for Psalm 49 found in the marginal psalters. All extant folios contain some variant on the rising and setting of the sun as Helios in his chariot at the top and a face with rays, the sun again, setting behind a mountain, respectively (Figure 121).[284] This imagery derives from the first verse of the psalm: "Lord, God of gods, has called the earth from the rising of the sun to its setting."[285] The Chludov, Theodore,

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[281] "πῦρ ἐνώπ(ιον) αὐτ(οῦ) καυθήσετ(αι)…"

[282] "οὐ δέξομ(αι) ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου σου μόσχ(ους) (οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ποιμνίων σου χιμάρους)."

[283] "συναγάγετ(ε) αὐτ(ῷ) τοὺς ὁσίους (αὐτοῦ)…" Once again monks take on the role of the "ὅσιοι" specified by the psalm.

[284] The Paris Psalter lacks this folio.

[285] "Θεὸς θεῶν Κύριος ἐλάλησε καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν."

and Barberini psalters all contain, between Helios and the setting sun, King David and the prophet Habbakuk, who also prophesied the coming of Christ, standing to either side of an icon of Christ. Habakkuk's prophecy invokes the rising and setting of the sun through geographical locations east of Israel and metaphorical language: "3 God shall come from Thaeman, and the Holy One from the rough shady Mount Pharan. (Pause). 4 His excellence covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise. And his brightness shall be as light…"[286] There is no specific illustration for this verse in Vat. gr. 1927, although Dufrenne ascribed to it the inspiration for Christ's appearance in the arc of heaven.[287]

Several marginal psalters also share iconography that provides a typological interpretation for verse 14: "Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Highest…"[288] The Chludov, Theodore, and Barberini psalters illustrate this verse with the Hospitality of Abraham. The Theodore and Barberini psalters provide the most elaborate of these illustrations and picture the three visiting angels while identifying them as a prefiguration of the

[286] Verse 3: "ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ Θαιμὰν ἥξει, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου δασέος. (διάψαλμα). ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ. 4 καὶ φέγγος αὐτοῦ ὡς φῶς ἔσται…" The Bristol Psalter lacks this portion of the marginal vignette. The respective poses of David and Habakkuk vary amongst the psalters. In Chludov, for example, David steeply inclines himself in proskynesis with his covered hands extended before him as Habakkuk looks up at Christ and raises his right hand in a gesture of speech, indicating that he is prophesying the coming of Christ. Christopher Walter has traced potential textual sources for his appearance and iconography in both Psalm 49 and Habakkuk's ode in Chludov. See Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," 255–56. Vat. gr. 752's illustration also references a Christological prophecy. Christ, King David, and four men labeled as prophets sit around a table. DeWald has identified them as the sons of Kore and Asaph, to whom the psalm is ascribed. According to Theodoret, Psalm 49 prophesies the Last Judgment and the *Parousia*. See DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:21; Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:288.

[287] Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 49.

[288] θῦσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ῾Υψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου…"

Holy Trinity (Figure 122). Vat. gr. 1927 does not illustrate this verse, with the designer of the image choosing the three other verses mentioned above.

When one considers the didactic implications of the chosen combination of iconography, there does, however, appear to be some oblique reference to the words of verse 14. The left and right sides of the illustration for Psalm 49 could respectively be considered as illustrating those people under the New and Old Covenants. To the right we see men sacrificing animals and raising their hands to the Lord, in keeping with what was deemed proper worship by the Israelites in the Old Testament. These were to become burnt offerings, and in the center of the image we see the fire. David, however, turns to the fire and the old form of offerings with what looks to be a glare or an of expression of disapproval. Those sacrifices were associated in the image with verse 9, which Zygabenus interprets as the voice of God speaking.[289]

> By sacrificing assiduously, do not think you are thereby doing service to me, for I have no need of sacrifice, being in want of nothing and rather being the provider of everything. Hence from now on I shall not accept such sacrifices…
>
> Yet surely he did legislate a great deal about sacrifices through Moses. The solution to the apparent contradiction is that I have not previously legislated about sacrifices on my own account for I had no need of them, but out of condescension on account of your hardness. For knowing that, having once learned to sacrifice in Egypt, you had become pleasurably attached to it and that it was difficult for you to tear yourselves away from it, I permitted it by special dispensation, having transferred the sacrifices to myself, so that by their continuous succession you might remember me and the pleasure of sacrifices might preserve honour towards me among people who are ungrateful and easily forget. Now, however, with the long passage of time and so many signs on each occasion having confirmed for you that I am God alone, I lay bare my own will and I explicitly forbid sacrifices as useless and superfluous.
> Let Jews be ashamed, slighting the truth and closing their eyes to the light in these words.

[289] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 289–90. Chrysostom agrees and points out that God would have had no need of sacrifices. Instead, out of kindness and an understanding of humanity he allowed for animal sacrifice as a transition from the human sacrifices demanded by the religions of false gods at the time. John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 1:357–58. Saint Augustine put it very bluntly in his commentary: "He is foretelling the New Covenant, under which all those old sacrifices have ceased." Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 388.

This interpretation makes clear the sacrifices of the Old Testament and its covenant would no longer be deemed sufficient or suitable for worship of the Lord.

To the left appears the New Covenant as prophesied by verse 5 and illustrated by monks: "Assemble his saints to him, those that have engaged in a covenant with him upon sacrifices."[290] The monks, however, do not sacrifice in the manner of the Old Testament, and their sacrifices are not those of the blood of animals and of burnt offerings. The events of the New Testament establish a New Covenant. Sacrifices of old on the right are contrasted by the sacrifices engaged in by those who undertake the monastic life on the left. Thus, this didactic image, guided by David, does in fact obliquely illustrate verse 14, which would have been expected by a viewer who was familiar with a marginal psalter, as the designer of this psalter must have been. As Chrysostom wrote:[291]

> After completing that advice, you see, he says *Sacrifice to God* (v. 14). What form of sacrifice, he asks? Bloodless. This, in fact, is the sacrifice particularly fitting to God. Hence after saying, *Sacrifice to God*, he added *a sacrifice of praise*, that is, of thanksgiving, sacred hymns, giving glory to God in action. Now, what he means is something like this: So live as you render glory to your Master. This is what Christ also taught us in saying, 'Let your light shine in people's sight so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven (Mt. 5:16).' Praise, in fact, is nothing other than commendation, glory, and blessing. So let your life be of such as kind as to bless your Master, and you have performed the perfect sacrifice. Paul, too, looked for this sacrifice in saying, 'Present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God (Rom. 12:1).'"

[290] Zygabenus, taking a historical approach, interprets this verse as referring to the Israelites. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 288. The tendency of commentators to interpret this verse historically contrasts strikingly with the choice here to illustrate the verse with monks.

[291] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 1:358–59.

Monks "offer to God the sacrifice of praise," giving their vows to him as called for in verse 14, praying the Psalms daily, and presenting their lives, bodies, and souls to God as the "living sacrifices" called for by Paul.

Psalm 127 (Figure 123)

The illustration for Psalm 127 presents one of the stranger images found in Vat. gr. 1927; images such as this one have resulted in Vat. gr. 1927 being classified as simply a literal psalter. King David stands at the direct center of the image under an uninhabited blue arc of heaven. He is larger than life, looming over all other figures in the scene. He turns to the right, gesturing with his right hand while holding a scroll in his left. At the right side of the illustration, a man with four children sits around a square table covered in purple cloth. Part of a purple building with a blue roof occupies the far right of the image, while a low green wall stretches between the building and the table. These architectural features are likely meant to represent the family's home.

At the head of the table sits an old balding man with a white beard. His right hand is raised, as if in speech. To either side of him are two seated young men wearing long tunics of varying solid colors. These young men are strikingly distinguished by the olive branches that sprout from their heads. The inspiration for such a strange illustration comes from verses 3 and 4 of the psalm that appear in truncated form above the family. These young men are the sons who are as "young olive branches"—part of the good life that comes to the old man who fears the Lord and is thus blessed.[292] On the left side of the illustration is another group of those who are

[292] Top inscription: "οἱ υἱοί σου ὡς νεόφυτ(α) ἐλε(ῶν)…" Lower inscription: "ἰδοὺ οὕτ(ως) εὐλογηθήσετ(αι) ἄν(θρωπ)ος…" Verses: 3 Your wife shall be as a fruitful vine on the sides of your house: your children as young olive-plants round about your table. 4 Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that fears the Lord." "3 ἡ γυνή σου ὡς ἄμπελος εὐθηνοῦσα ἐν τοῖς κλίτεσι τῆς

blessed: a group of monks turned towards the arc of heaven with hands and eyes raised in supplication. At the far left of this group stands one outlier who wears a pink tunic and blue robe and who also is turned with hands raised. His head is completely effaced and so it is unclear exactly who or what he is meant to represent as part of this group. Above the monks is an inscription taken from the incipit of the psalm: "Blessed are all who fear the Lord…"[293]

Of the marginal psalters, only Theodore and Barberini preserve the folios for Psalm 127. Both illustrate a man climbing a fruit tree. The marginal notation in the Barberini psalter associates this image with the second verse's mention of consuming the profits of one's own hands (Figure 124).[294] The Theodore Psalter adds a vignette of a group labeled the "righteous" (δίκαιοι) praying with arms extended before an icon of Christ. His gesture is reminiscent in tenor, if not iconographic type, of the *Antiphonetes* ("the one who responds") icons in which Christ raises his hand in a gesture of speech/blessing; in the psalter he extends his arm out of the icon, breaking its frame and blessing the deserving crowd below (Figure 125).

To identify images with iconographic elements comparable to those in Vat. gr. 1927, other sources, some of which are rather far afield, are needed. Both the Utrecht and Stuttgart psalters contain illustrations of children and olive trees or branches related to verse 3. In the Stuttgart Psalter, for example, they hold the branches. Neither of these psalters, however, have olive branches growing out of the children's heads (Figures 126, 127). Vat. gr. 752's illustration

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οἰκίας σου· οἱ υἱοί σου ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν κύκλῳ τῆς τραπέζης σου. 4 ἰδοὺ οὕτως εὐλογηθήσεται ἄνθρωπος ὁ φοβούμενος τὸν Κύριον."

[293] "μακάριοι πάντ(ες) οἱ φοβού(μενοι) τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν…"

[294] "τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν σου φάγεσαι·" The noun καρπός means both fruit and wrist. This play on words likely gave rise to the picking of fruit from a tree in association with this verse. There was an inscription next to the fruit-picker in the Theodore psalter, but trimming has left only a few letters.

for Psalm 127 contains monastic elements. A monk named St. Andrew lies on his deathbed and speaks to a companion in the words of the commentary of Hesychius of Jerusalem on verse 3 (Figure 128): "Saint Andrew (says) my life as a vine is full of all merriment even as is in the limbs of your body."[295]

This and other commentaries provide valuable clues as to how the illustration for Psalm 127 in Vat. gr. 1927 should be interpreted. Theodoret begins his commentary by establishing that Jews will not be the only ones to be blessed by the Lord. Quoting Acts 10:34–35, he emphasizes the impartiality of God towards any particular group save for those who believe and live in a righteous manner.[296] Chrysostom accords with this in the sense that no one group would automatically be deemed blessed due to circumstances of birth.[297] He goes on to speak of those who "walk in his ways" from the second part of the first verse. Here Chrysostom emphasizes the use of the plural "ways" (ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς). That there are multiple paths to God Chrysostom attributes to His desire to help humanity and allow them an easier time in finding and following such a path:[298]

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[295] "ὁ ἅ(γιος) ἀνδρέ(ας) ἡ ψυχὴ μ(ο)υ ὡς ἄμπελο(ς) γέμουσα πάσης εὐφροσύνης οὕτως (ἐστὶν) ἐν τοῖς μέλε(σι) τ(ο)ῦ σώματὸς σου:" DeWald continues to ascribe this text to Pseudo-Athanasius as in the PG. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:36.

[296] Theodoret, *Psalms 73–150*, trans. Robert C. Hill, vol. 2, Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Psalms (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 297.

[297] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Robert C. (Robert Charles) Hill, vol. 2 (Brookline, MA, 1998), 167–68. Chrysostom's longer exegesis on the first verse of Psalm 127 includes a distinction between those who fear the Lord and those who also walk in his ways. His interpretation thus allows for a more nuanced discussion of those who might become blessed due to their fear of the Lord, and he takes the time to emphasize that sinners might also become blessed, though their lives might hold a great deal of misery. This nuance is not found in the far more brief exegesis of Theodoret. Zygabenus has a similar interpretation to that of Theodoret. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 700.

[298] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:169.

> He did not say "way" but *ways*, showing that they are many and varied:
> He made them many for the purpose of rendering our approach easy by the great number of ways. I mean, some people become conspicuous for virginity, others are eminent for married life, still others bear their widowhood as an adornment; some people divested themselves of everything, others of half; some people proceed by a faultless life, others by repentance – he made many paths so that you might travel easily.

In Vat. gr. 1927, David turns to the old man happy with his earthly life and offspring. He fears the Lord, has found one of the paths outlined by Chrysostom, and becomes blessed for this. To the left is a group representing another way; the monastic life was generally seen as being superior to a lay existence. This image, however, sets for us a certain equality to the various paths to God. This could, perhaps, suggest that the patron of the psalter was a man who lived a secular life with interest in monasticism and a desire to retire to a monastery. But it could equally be the product of a monastic patron.

Psalm 127, however, has also received an anagogic interpretation. According to Zygabenus:[299]

> In an anagogical sense, the wife of the pious man is his conjugal soul, heavy laden with the virtues in the body. His sons are his disciples and emulators and successors in piety, flourishing in the increase in spiritual stature and encircling him as he teaches them and feasts them on rational foods.

He continues the anagogic interpretation for the remaining verses of the psalm. When verse 5 mentions Jerusalem, he interprets it as both earthly and heavenly, and he expands the understanding of the sons mentioned in verse 6:[300]

> The good things of earthly Jerusalem are wealth in money, power in military forces, victories over enemies, glory among all, and suchlike. The good things of the heavenly Jerusalem are *What eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has ascended on the heart of man* (1 Cor. 2:9).

[299] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 701.

[300] Zygabenus, 701.

> In a perceptible sense, successions of your race. In an anagogical sense, successions of your piety, the one teaching the other and begetting anew spiritually.

The seemingly incongruous man in blue and pink to the left of the monks might therefore represent a disciple, a young man preparing himself to become a monk under the guidance of a Spiritual Father. Both sides of the image, then, illustrate fatherhood and its blessings. This seemingly bizarre and highly literal illustration carries within it iconography allowing for literal, earthly, and anagogic interpretations that serve to remind the viewer of the many ways the psalm might be interpreted—and the many paths one might take to salvation.

Psalm 149 (Figure 188)

King David stands center in front of a mountainous and hilly landscape under a small blue arc of heaven. His face is somewhat abraded, but he once gazed out at the viewer with his arms raised. His right arm is clearly gesturing to the left side of the image. His left hand is raised and might once have drawn attention to the figures close to him to the right side of the image, but damage prevents that precise determination. The position of his hand and the shape of the damage suggest that he once might have held a scroll. On the right side of the image, in front of a large purple mountain, sit four men in short tunics. The two closest to David wear the same type of Middle Byzantine crown with center jewel and white *prependulia* that appears throughout the manuscript, most commonly on the head of King David. At the far right, two young, beardless men turn towards one another and gesture at each other. The four men are captioned by part of verse 8: "to bind their kings in fetters and their nobles in manacles made of iron."[301] If one looks closely, thin white bonds can be seen around the lower calves of these men. On the far left of the illustration is a group of three monks distinguished by their monastic habits. They face the center

[301] "τοῦ ἐδῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πέδαις καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξ(ους)…"

of the image and raise their hands and eyes in supplication towards the arc of heaven. The caption above them reads "let the saints rejoice," which comes from verse 5.[302]

None of the marginal psalters contain illustrations for Psalm 149, either due to missing folios or, as in the case of the Barberini Psalter, a simple lack of illustration. Vat. gr. 752 takes its cue for the illustration from Chrysostom's commentary on verse 2 and gives those words to the prophet Isaiah to speak (Figure 129). Garbed as a priest and attended by a companion, Isaiah censes before a ciborium topped altar on which rests a book.[303] The caption reads: "The prophet Isaiah says: Give thanks to God because, not existing, he brought you (into being) and breathed life into your soul."[304]

Psalm 149 contains two references to ὅσιοι throughout its verses. The first appears in the initial verse that calls for one to "Sing to the Lord a new song: his praise is in the assembly of the saints."[305] This verse has been associated with the coming of the New Testament and the assembly of the virtuous that it would bring. Zygabenus states: "in an anagogical sense, it is about the things Gregory the Theologian spoke in his *Homily On The New Sunday*. Those of new creation, those who through the new testament have put on the new man, sing a new song to the Lord."[306]

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[302] "καυχήσοντ(αι) ὅσιοι…" Again the "ὅσιοι" are represented as monks. DeWald refers to these men as priests, but the two men whose bodies are visible clearly wear the *anabalos* of a monk. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:43.

[303] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:39.

[304] "ὁ προφήτ(ης) ἡσαϊάς λέγ(ει) ἐυχαρίστη φη(σὶν) τῶ θ(ε)ῶ ὅτι ὐυκ ὄντ(ας) ἐπαρήγαγ(ε) (καὶ) ψυχ(ὴν) ἐνεπνεύσεν…" See DeWald, 2:39. He states that it is unclear as to why Isaiah was chosen for this image.

[305] "ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾆσμα καινόν, ἡ αἴνεσις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁσίων."

[306] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 770. In the oration to which Zygabenus refers, Gregory of Nazianzus writes of those who "returned to the salvation of Jerusalem (there, to be sure, we

The monks are associated with the "ὅσιοι" of verse 5. These "holy ones" are the devout directly associated with the actions described in rest of the psalm:[307]

> The saints shall rejoice in glory; and shall exult on their beds. 6 The high praises of God shall be in their throat, and two-edged swords in their hands; 7 to execute vengeance on the nations, [and] punishments among the peoples; 8 to bind their kings with fetters, and their nobles with manacles of iron; 9 to execute on them the judgment written: this honor have all his saints.

This is certainly not reminiscent of monks and their behavior. Zygabenus offers an interpretation on two levels: historic and anagogic.[308]

> The words from here to the end of the psalm are first to be interpreted in a historical sense, and then to be treated in an anagogical sense.
>
> He is foretelling accordingly, according to the obvious meaning, about the victory of the Hebrews that they won over the surrounding nations which were impeding the rebuilding of the temple and of the city. Those Israelites devoted to God will, he says, boast in the glory of the God-given victory or in the alliance from God.

He provides the anagogic interpretation when commenting on verse 9:[309]

> In an anagogical sense, *The devout will boast in glory*, namely, that which is to come, for it is written, *The sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us* (Rom. 8:18). Glory is also the Cross, in accordance with, *Far be it from me to boast except in the Cross of our Lord Jesus* (Gal. 6:14). And he praises the meek and the devout, urging us to devotedness and meekness. And they will rejoice

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could not sing a *song* of God because we were *in a foreign land*, but here we have found a new song and new way of life), as those of us who steadily abided and advanced in virtue by the moral worth we have shown in the past and continue to show through the renewing power of the Holy Spirit." St. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Select Orations*, 230–31. Chrysostom also emphasizes the practice of virtue as a necessity, and not only the praise of the Lord. John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:366.

[307] "καυχήσονται ὅσιοι ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται ἐπὶ τῶν κοιτῶν αὐτῶν. 6 αἱ ὑψώσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν, καὶ ῥομφαῖαι δίστομοι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν 7 τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἐλεγμοὺς ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς, 8 τοῦ δῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πέδαις καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους αὐτῶν ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς, 9 τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς κρῖμα ἔγγραπτον· δόξα αὕτη ἔσται πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ."

[308] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 771.

[309] Zygabenus, 772.

> upon their beds, he says, namely, in the eternal dwellings prepared for them, in the indestructible tents.
>
> We understand the 'exaltations' as the godly voices exalting him exceedingly through hymns and divine praise. We understand the two-edged, that is, the very sharpest, sword, as the Cross, cutting down and dissolving the armies of the demons.

This anagogic interpretation provides one explanation for how monks could be an appropriate choice of illustration for the holy ones of verse 5.

Another, however, might also be found in the commentary of John Chrysostom, who seems to mix a historical interpretation on the notion of doing battle with and defeating one's enemies with a highly allegorical one. With reference to verses 6 and 7 he writes:[310]

> Here he portrays the war set to music, implying that by singing and praising they will overcome: he calls hymnsinging, psalmody and thanksgiving *high praises*; hence a different version rendered *high praises* as "hymnsinging." *For executing vengeance on the nations and condemnation on the peoples*: what does that mean? Since those who ruled them all the time reproached them, he promises to convict them through their actions, and to show through their actions that it was not God's weaknesses, but their on sins that consigned them to subjection.

There is indeed battle, but one for which Chrysostom puts psalmody at the forefront. His commentary, while continuing to acknowledge the historical aspect of battling against infidel kings and nobles, takes a backseat to his exegesis, which implies a *psychomachia* between virtue and faith. Further, his commentary on verse 9 states that:[311]

> *This glory is for all his holy ones*: which glory? Conquering—or, rather, not simply conquering, but conquering in such a manner, through God's assistance, through grace from on high. Now, observe how he makes mention of holy ones, stimulating them to give attention to their life and virtue. In my view, however, by *glory* he refers not only to victory, but also to the praise, the songs, the hymns, teaching us by every means that by singing praise to God they confer on themselves great glory and present themselves in a creditable light, thanks to the grace and loving kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the power for ages of ages. Amen.

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[310] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:368–69.

[311] John Chrysostom, 2:369.

This passage easily calls to mind not only righteous earthly battles one might undertake at the time of Chrysostom (d. 14 September, 407 CE) and that time in which Vat. gr. 1927 was produced (late eleventh century), but, even more so, those battles undertaken by monks. They used psalmody and prayer to wage war against sin, and to throw up defenses against temptations and the demons that would try to lure them into wandering off the path to salvation. More pointedly, given the Climacus-inspired Heavenly Ladder illustration prefacing Psalm 118, defeat in such a battle could have been conceived of as falling off the metaphorical ladder to salvation, an image that possibly accounts for the presence of monks as the warlike ὅσιοι of the latter half of the psalm.

Living the Life of the Psalms: Illustrating Middle Byzantine Monastic Practice

Psalms 31 and 144 reveal contemporary monastic practices related to the hearing of confession by monks and the paraliturgical practice of processing to the *trapeza* for communal meals after the hours or liturgy in the *katholikon* of a monastery, respectively. Both images are unique to Byzantine psalter illustration. Images of dining in the *trapeza* are relatively rare and more often found in Late Byzantine art, making this image an important visual testament to the practice found in Middle Byzantine monastic *typika*.[312] In one of the illustrations for Psalm 144, King David leads the monks from the *katholikon* to the *trapeza*. Here he is shown participating in a paraliturgical practice described in a number of Middle Byzantine monastic *typika.* King David may be found assigned the role of a monk nowhere else in Byzantine art. Close examination of the illustration to Psalm 31 reveals its subtly subversive nature. With Christ

[312] It is depicted in the Exonarthex of the Vatopedi Katholikon (1312) along with an image of the Heavenly Ladder. See Rossitza B. Schroeder, "The Salvation of the Soul and the Road to Heaven: The Representation of the Ladder of Divine Ascent in the Vatopedi Katholikon," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2014), 215–28.

blessing a group of three men who have confessed to a monk, it incorporates the nonconformist writings and theological ideas of Symeon the New Theologian. This image in particular, along with the following chapter on King David as monastic spiritual father, comprises part of the evidence for a Stoudite provenance under the late eleventh-century abbot Niketas Stethatos, writer of Symeon's *bios* and editor of his extensive collection of writings.

Psalm 31 (Figure 48)

The illustration to Psalm 31 is divided into two parts by the two hills or mountains that form its landscape. A large green hill occupies the fore and middle grounds of the right half of the image. A smaller, rocky pink mountain takes up the left side's middle and background. On top of this mountain is a blue baldachin with striations intended to represent marble. Supported by thin columns with decorative capitals drawn with pen and ink so that the gilt background comprises their materiality, the baldachin covers a pen-and-ink bust of Christ. His figure is not terribly distinct due to abrasion, and only a few crossbars in the nimbus permit a definitive identification. Standing in the foreground in front of the pink mountain are three young men in long tunics facing a monk with their hands raised in his direction. This monk is elderly, as indicated by his long white beard and walking stick. The artist also intended to distinguish him as being of high rank due to his elaborate *koukoulion*, a type of monastic headgear. He is likely, but does not necessarily have to be, a *hegoumenos.* Christ's bust appears directly above the space between the monk and his young followers. In the lower margin beneath the young men is an inscription taken from Verse 5: "I said, I will confess mine iniquity to the Lord against myself…"[313]

[313] "εἶπα ἐξαγορεύσω κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀνομίαν μ(ου) τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ…"

A group of men stand slightly behind the green hill. Two of these men wear Jewish headdress. The inscription next to them in the upper right margin is taken from verse 11: "Be glad in the Lord and exult, righteous…"[314] Near the center of the illustration, a slightly larger than life man in a long blue and red tunic faces left and raises his hands in the direction of the baldachin to his right. He is the blessed man "to whom the Lord will not impute sin" of verse 2.[315] In contrast to the men behind the green hill, below them in the foreground sits a naked, bleeding figure with legs tied together and arms bound behind his back. To the left is a small fire. He is being tortured by two black demons holding thin, long, black instruments. This area is abraded, and like other demons in the manuscript, both have been scratched out almost entirely. The scratch marks may easily be discerned on the demon nearest to the center of the image. A part of verse 10 captions this unfortunate man and his demons: "many are the scourges (or plagues) of the sinner…"[316]

Such illustrations are not found in the marginal psalters, though the preservation of the ninth-century psalters is particularly poor for Psalm 31's folios. To illustrate verse 2, the Theodore and Barberini psalters respectively employ St. Barlaam and a generic saint. Only Theodore has an additional illustration. It instructs one not to be like a mule or a horse without understanding, as per verse 9 (Figure 130).[317] Dufrenne interpreted the "blessed" man of verse 2

[314] "εὐφράνθητε ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι…"

[315] "μακάριο(ς) ἀνήρ, ὅ οὐ μὴ λογίσητ(αι) κ(ύριο)ς ἁμαρτίαν…"

[316] "πολλαὶ αἱ μάστιγ(ες) τοῦ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οῦ)…"

[317] "μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος…" This illustration was included in the later psalters W.733 in the Walters Art Museum (Ca. 1300) and the Cyrillic psalter of 1397 made in Kiev [Российская национальная библиотека (The National Library of Russia), 1252 F VI].

in the center of the image as one who has had his sins forgiven.[318] Her interpretation is supported by the commentary of Zygabenus, who, concerning verse 2, writes:[319]

> To whom he will not attribute, he will not account, on account of its having been removed by the bath of regeneration. 'Sin' he now used indifferently for any reproachful act.

In the illustration in Vat. gr. 1927, three visual comparisons establish parallels to this commentary. Of these, the first and most important sets the forgiven man of Verse 2 and the visionary Christ within the ciborium in dialogue with the three men who have confessed to the *hegoumenos* or high-level monk. The practice of *logismoi* to a spiritual father had always had an important place in the monastic life going back to the Desert Fathers. By the eleventh century, the confession of *logismoi* to a spiritual father by lay people, however, had become firmly established.[320] Whether or not this could possibly rise to the level of the sacrament of confession was a contested topic that will be discussed in greater detail below.

An additional visual comparison demonstrates to the viewer the results of what happens when one does not properly confess one's sins and change one's ways. Thus, the naked sinner of the image is "plagued" by demons and by physical torments. Naked figures are used repeatedly

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[318] Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques,* Psalm 31. Her notes for verse 2 actually say "Les hommes pardonnés par le Seigneur." But association of verses with other parts of the illustration makes it clear that she distinguishes the man/verse 2 from the three men receiving confession from the monk below, as well as from the group of the "righteous" of verse 11 standing behind this man. It is unclear as to why she used the plural here, but given that this publication is a compilation of notes taken during her research, occasional discrepancies such as this periodically occur.

[319] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 179–80. The "bath of regeneration" to which he refers is Baptism, while the first verse of the psalm refers to the forgiveness of sins due to Baptism.

[320] Rosemary Morris, "Spiritual Fathers and Temporal Patrons: Logic and Contradiction in Byzantine Monasticism in the Tenth Century," *Revue Bénédictine* 103, no. 1–2 (1993): 273–88. Symeon the New Theologian's *bios* mentions that the Stoudite monk Symeon Eulabes had been his spiritual father since childhood. Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 9.

through Vat. gr. 1927 to indicate that the figure is a soul. This portion of the image seems to illustrate both life and afterlife for the unfortunate sinner. The demons plaguing him through life and leading him to sin will continue to haunt him in death by tormenting his soul in very corporeal ways. Above him the viewer sees the group of the righteous who are "glad and rejoice" in the Lord. Psalm 31's illustration imparts to the viewer the lesson that confession is necessary to achieve redemption and salvation.

Certain clues indicate that there are more subtle messages encoded in the image. Christ, who does not appear in an icon or in theophany, but is drawn in pen and ink as being "visionary," is positioned directly above the scene of confession to the monk. More specifically, his bust appears directly above the space between the monk and the men that is occupied by the hands of both in gestures of speaking and blessing. A priest would normally hear the sacrament of Confession in a church, as implied by the baldachin. At that sacrament Christ is present, granting absolution through the priest. The scene of monastic confession, however, is not merely paralleled with that of sacramental confession in a church. It is visually linked to it by the position of Christ under the baldachin immediately above the actions of absolution and advice carried out by the monk below as indicated by the gestures of his hand. The interpretation is that Christ is present at and approves of this type of confession. One implication might be that it rises to the same sacramental level as confession to a priest.

Embedded within this image is a debate on the abilities of the spiritual father regarding the act of confession sparked in part by the writings of Symeon the New Theologian. Symeon's "First Epistle" is addressed to one of his spiritual children and addresses the subject of

confession, including the question of who has the authority to "bind and loose as regards sins."[321] He wrote this letter in reply to questions regarding whether one might confess sins to a monk who has not been ordained as a priest, as "we are taught that the authority to bind and loose has been given to priests."[322] Such phrasing suggests that the enquirer was not simply asking about *logismoi* or the disclosure of all thoughts, but of sacramental confession. The claim that an unordained monk could perform the sacrament of confession was controversial, whereas the practice of *logismoi* and the providing of spiritual and moral guidance by a monk had its roots in the earliest days of monasticism and was well accepted.[323]

Symeon's response clearly outlines his beliefs regarding who could hear the sacrament and absolve a person of his or her sins. According to him:[324]

> Before there were monks, bishops alone used to receive the authority to bind and loose, by right of succession, as coming from the divine apostles. But with the passing of time and with the bishops becoming good for nothing, this awe-inspiring function was extended to priests of blameless life and accounted worthy of divine grace. And when these also were infected with disorder, priests and bishops together becoming like the rest of the people, and many of them, as is the also the case now, falling foul of spirits of deceit and idle chatter, and perishing and perishing, then this function was transferred, as I said, to the elect people of Christ, I mean the monks. It was not withdrawn from the priests or bishops, but they deprived themselves of it.

Priests and bishops became too worldly and sinful to carry out such a sacrament. Symeon seems to place the agency for the transfer of authority not only on the ordained, who "deprived

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[321] Symeon the New Theologian, *The Epistles of St. Symeon the New Theologian*, ed. Joseph Paramelle, trans. H. J. M Turner (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27–65.

[322] Symeon the New Theologian, 27. N. 2: Cf. Mt. 16:19, 18:18, Jn. 20:3.

[323] Kallistos Ware, "The Spiritual Father in Orthodox Christianity," *Cross Currents* 24, no. 2/3 (1974): 296.

[324] Symeon the New Theologian, *The Epistles of St. Symeon the New Theologian*, 49.

themselves" of it by choosing to live the wrong type of life, but also on Christ, who chose monks as his "elect people."

This transfer of authority is directly stated in a following passage, where he recounts the events of the "history" of the ordained losing their ability to "bind and loose":[325]

> But when only the clothing and vesture of the priesthood was left amongst men, the gift of the Spirit passed to monks and was disclosed by miraculous signs, because through what they did they were following the apostles' mode of life.

Simply being a monk, however, is insufficient to allow for one to be granted this ability. God grants this authority to those who live the proper life. Symeon goes on to clarify that while those who are holy enough to bind and loose tend to be monks, one might also be a priest. It is entirely based on one's holiness in practice and in thoughts, and there were certainly many sinful monks who could never be qualified for such a thing:[326]

> So then the right to forgive sins has not been granted by God either to those who are monks in virtue of their habit, or to those who have been ordained and included in the order of priesthood, or to those honored with episcopal rank— I mean patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops—simply in this way and by reason of their ordination and the dignity it confers. Far from it! For * it is only the performance of sacred rites which has been conceded to them, and I think not even that to most of them, in order that thereby they may not be burnt up, being grass, but [the right to forgive belongs] only to those amongst priests, bishops, and monks who * can be numbered with the companies of Christ's disciples because of their purity.

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[325] Symeon the New Theologian, 55.

[326] Symeon the New Theologian, 57. The * in the above translation reflects the inclusion of what Turner calls the Y recension of Epistle 1 in his stemma of manuscripts containing that letter. This recension appears starting in the mid-fourteenth century. However, both he and Joseph Paramelle, whose establishment of a critical text was presented as part of his 1972 doctoral thesis, consider the Y recension as an authority. Longer texts in later manuscripts are not necessarily indicative of additions by later authors, and can in fact indicate original writing, for which a shorter recension became popular after circulation. Paramelle and Turner both believe the text within the * area above should be considered part of Epistle 1. See Symeon the New Theologian, 8–17. Joseph Paramelle, "Syméon Le Nouveau Théologien, Lettres: Édition, Traduction, Introduction et Notes, Thèse de Doctorat de Troisième Cycle Présentée Sous La Direction de Paul Lemerle" (PhD Dissertation, Université de Paris I, 1972).

Symeon even goes so far as to suggest that quite a few bishops and priests should not even perform the sacraments.[327]

Symeon goes on to explain how one acquires the ability to loose and bind, discussing it in terms of being able to "see" God within a spiritual, divine light. Symeon the New Theologian wrote repeatedly of "seeing" God in light and vision. In his "First Epistle" he explains that one who has the ability to bind and loose is one who has had such an experience:[328]

> And finding their souls, they have found them in a light which is spiritual, and in this light they have seen *the light unapproachable* (1 Tm. 6:16), God himself, according to that which stands written: *In thy light we shall see light* (Ps. 35:10). How then is it possible for someone to find the soul that he has? Pay heed. Each person's soul is the silver coin which was lost, not by God, but by each of us, because he immersed himself in the darkness of sin; and Christ, who is truly light, has come and, in a way that only he knows, has met with those seeking him, and allowed them to see him. This is what it means for a man to find his soul: to see God, and in his light to become higher himself than all the visible created universe, and to have God as his shepherd and teacher. And in the power of God he, if you like, will both know how to bind and loose, and also because he has certain knowledge of this, he will worship the Giver, and he would impart the benefit of it to those needing it… I know, my child, that to such men authority to bind and loose is given by God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit, to those who are God's sons by adoption and his holy servants.

Confession to a monastery's *hegoumenos* has a long history and is recorded in many of the surviving Byzantine *typika.* Difficulties occur when attempting to determine whether the confession discussed rises to the level of sacrament or whether it falls along the lines of *logismoi*. Byzantine abbots were often ordained as priests, thus occasionally eliminating at least some of the confusion and rendering the directives relatively uncontroversial.

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[327] Symeon the New Theologian, *The Epistles of St. Symeon the New Theologian*, 57, n. 111. Symeon's clear disdain for so many occupants of ranks within the ecclesiastical hierarchy surely contributed to his difficulties with the official hierarchy and accusations against his orthodoxy.

[328] Symeon the New Theologian, 61–63.

For instance, the eleventh- (revised twelfth-) century *typikon* of the Evergetis monastery, a document on which many later monasteries based their own *typika*, calls for the superior to set aside time twice a day "to hear those who wish to make a confession and set for each one the appropriate healing."[329] It goes on to say that if necessary he might designate priests, deacons, or even:[330]

> some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and have not cause more deep-seated trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness.

But if these problems are too great, they must report them to the superior. The Evergetis *typikon* distinguishes between sacramental confession and *logismoi.*[331]

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[329] Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:476.

[330] Thomas and Hero, 2:476–77. A layperson entering the monastery must make his first confession to the *hegoumenos* for the practical reason that it would allow the superior to "know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one." Thomas and Hero, 2:478.

[331] A later chapter firmly sets out that no monk of the monastery might choose to have a spiritual father other than the superior of the monastery, to whom confession and *logismoi* takes place. It goes on to state that " if there is someone who is obdurate and implacable… and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father… he should be put out far away from our flock." Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:486–87. While these two chapters appear to be contradictory, what they actually do is establish a hierarchy of authority within the monastery with the *hegoumenos* as the primary spiritual father of each member of the flock. It takes into consideration the practicalities of one man needing to hear the frequent confessions of so many and allows for the superior to appoint appropriate others to work in his stead when necessary, but calls for the absolute expulsion of any monk who would refuse the hierarchy and take upon himself the agency of choosing his own spiritual father. The 1083 *typikon* of the Georgian Monastery of the Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* founded by the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of the West, Gregory Pakourianos, calls for what is the daily *logismos* of the brothers to their *hegoumenos* only. Empress Eirene Doukaina called for the nuns of the *Kecharitomene* convent to confess to the same spiritual father who was to be an elderly monk and eunuch. Thomas and Hero, 2:679. The Pantokrator *typikon* calls for confession and *logismoi* to the *hegoumenos* barring extenuating circumstances, in which case a holy and elderly monk of the same monastery could be appointed. Anyone hearing Confession, including the superior, must "have been given permission through

Returning to the prefatory illustration for Psalm 31, Symeon's emphasis on this type of aforementioned spiritual vision correlates with the arrangement of figures on the left side of the image and the depiction of Christ within the baldachin. The men who gave confession wear plain tunics. They are not monks, but laity. Christ's bust under the baldachin is of pen and ink, allowing the gilded background, the golden divine light, to shine through. Here, Christ is visionary, not visual.

Christ is positioned immediately above the space between the monk and those confessing. This space, however, is anything but empty; rather, it is given over to the gestures and words of the *logismoi* of the confessors and the absolution granted by the monk. By positioning Christ directly above the space of speech, the artist indicated that Christ oversaw and blessed what occurred below. A baldachin covers a holy space, and the composition places the act of confession under the shelter of this holy dome, strongly insinuating that a sacramental act takes place before the viewer. Further evidence for sacramental absolution granted by Christ via the monk may be found in the triangular composition formed by the group of laymen, the monk, and Christ. The laymen speak their confession to the monk. His hand gestures in speech, but the open palm, and his eyes and head, are subtly raised upward to Christ, who, despite damage to the image, can be seen inclining his body and head down slightly to the confessors.

Psalm 144 (Figures 131, 132)

Psalm 144 is one of the few in the manuscript prefaced by more than one miniature. The first of the two somewhat awkwardly occupies the last three ruled lines and part of the bas-de-

episcopal *sphragis* to hear the confessions of brothers and will receive spiritually and devoutly the power to bind and loose from those who have received it from God." Thomas and Hero, 2:750. *Sphragis* means "seal." In this context it refers to episcopal permission to hear Confession.

page, whereas the second takes up the first seven ruled lines of f. 256v. As the two scenes are related iconographically and liturgically, taking place sequentially in time as do others in the psalter, there is no reason for them not to have been combined into one large image composed of two registers except to maximize the use of parchment.[332] This is another example of some cost-saving measures that were discussed in the first chapter.

In the first of the two images, King David leads a group of four monks out of a building that resembles a church. They are aged, with the first monk stooped over and using a walking stick. King David walks ahead of them with his head and covered hands raised to the blue arc of heaven in the sky above. Two inscriptions appear to the right of the image, one immediately in front of David and one in the right margin. Both are effaced and difficult to reconstruct. DeWald has provided the following reconstruction of the text immediately to the right of King David: "του(του) ἐρμηνει(α?) (ἐστὶν) εἰς τοὺς αχχ(=μοναχοὺς) ὅτι ἀπερχόμ(εν)οι [?]…"[333] DeWald gives the second inscription as "ζη ψάλ(λ?)ου τ(ὸν) αὐτὸν ψαλμ(ὸν)."[334] Neither of these inscriptions are taken from psalm verses, which as noted in chapter 1, is very rare in this manuscript.

The second image shows a group of four monks sitting around a sigma table, some seeming to hold cups, with dishes and food in front of them. Although they are shown outside,

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[332] See, e.g., the illustration prefacing Psalm 77, ff. 139v-140r.

[333] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:41. If his interpolations are correct, the first inscription translates to "An explanation of this thing (is) among the monks because they depart…"

[334] DeWald, 1:41. This reconstruction would not translate well. But if the proposed ψάλ(λ?)ου (and the second / across the minuscule *lambda* indicates that a double *lambda* is the correct reading) is actually an abbreviation for ψαλλ(όμεν)ου, the text would translate to "Live (a life) of singing this psalm."

they are surrounded by buildings on either side of the image, indicating that they dine within an architectural compound suggestive of a monastery. This type of sigmoidal stone table remains in use in monasteries such as Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Figure 133). There are no inscriptions on the second image.

The marginal psalters do not preserve any illustrations for Psalm 144.[335] Nor are there comparable illustrations in the Utrecht or Stuttgart psalters.[336] Vat. gr. 752 preserves an image of two of the sons of Kore looking down at some an object or structure with an architectural, pedimented opening on its right side. They are identified by the inscription on the image, and DeWald suggests that the structure might be the Ark of the Covenant (Figure 134).[337] The inscriptions states: "ὁι ὑιοὶ τ(ο)ῦ κορὲ˜ εἶδες κ(αὶ) τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς τὰ προοίμια πῶς ἐνδείκνυτ(αι):" or "The sons of Kore (say): Do you also see how the beginnings of the future life is shown?" This is taken from Chrysostom's commentary on Psalm 144.[338] The later psalter, Benaki 68 (34.3), shows only David in half-length holding his hands up in prayer to an arc of heaven. The illustration for this psalm in Vat. gr. 1927 appears to be alone in its choice of a contemporary monastic paraliturgical practice with which to affiliate its imagery.

Although there are no inscriptions taken from verses of Psalm 144, DeWald associated the first illustration with verse 10: "Let all your works, O Lord, give thanks to you; and let your

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[335] Some, such as the Theodore Psalter, are missing the folios for the psalm. The Barberini Psalter preserves its folios but did not receive illustrations for Psalm 144; Psalms 143 and 145 are illustrated. The Bristol Psalter also preserves the text of Psalm 144, but many of its later psalms were never illustrated.

[336] Dufrenne, *Tableaux Synoptiques*, Psaume 144.

[337] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:39.

[338] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:323; DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:39.

saints bless you."[339] He associated the second image with verse 15: "The eyes of all wait upon you, and you give their food in due season."[340] Chrysostom begins his commentary on Psalm 144 as follows:[341]

> It is worth attending with precision to this psalm in particular: this is the psalm which contains these expressions which the initiates sing as a constant refrain, namely, *The eyes of all hope in you, and you give their food in due season* (v.15). I mean, those who have become children and enjoy a spiritual meal would be right to glorify their father: "a son glorifies his father," Scripture says, remember, "and a slave will be in dread of his master (Mal 1.6)." You have become his child and you enjoy a spiritual meal eating the flesh and the blood which gave you rebirth; make a return then, for such a favor, glorify its provider, and while reading the verses conform your attitude to the words.

From the earliest times of Christianity, the spiritual meal received by Christians was associated with the physical meal; this psalm's remembrance of spiritual and thus physical food was chanted every day, thereby earning a special place in daily monastic life.

DeWald's tentative association of the illustration with verses 10 and 15 is supported liturgically, as these scenes, in fact, illustrate contemporaneous monastic practice. Verse 10 was chanted in procession from the church to the refectory, after the morning service in the church;

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[339] "ἐξομολογησάσθωσάν σοι, Κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου εὐλογησάτωσάν σε." DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:41.

[340] "οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ." DeWald tentatively suggests these verses due to the use of "ὅσιοί" in verse 10 and its recurrent association with monks throughout the psalter, and the giving of food in verse 15 with a scene of dining, respectively. He also notes the contemporary use of such tables on Mount Athos. DeWald, 1:41.

[341] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:323. Hill notes that in Chrysostom's time the psalm was sung for midday prayer. John Chrysostom, 2:333, n. 2. Zygabenus provides a more earthly association for the food provided by God: "Do you see how he has shown that he is good to all things and his compassion is on all his works, and that it is not earth and rain and sun and wind, but the Master's decree that gives food to the animals?" Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 755.

verse 15 was chanted after the monks were seated in the *trapeza*, or refectory.[342] The practice may be found in a number of Middle-Byzantine *typika* including those of the Stoudios, Evergetis, and Pantokrator monasteries. For example, the Pantokrator *typikon* calls for the monks to walk from the church to the refectory while chanting Psalm 144. It also specifies that "their progress to the refectory will be orderly with the priest who officiated at the sacrament leading them all, the superior walking after him, and the rest of the brothers following one after another."[343] While these provide more details and seem to match more closely the iconography seen here, the practice can be found further back in time. For example, the ninth-century Rule of Stoudios states that at the end of the liturgy the *semantron* would be struck three times as a signal for the monks to proceed to the *trapeza.*[344] This dissertation in part contents that Vat. gr. 1927

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[342] When monks are to depart from the narthex of the church following the divine liturgy and make their way to the *trapeza*, Evergetis calls for the recitation of the "customary psalm," meaning Psalm 144. Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:478. The *Regulations* of Nikon of the Black mountain are an outlier in calling for the recitation of psalm 145 as the assembled brothers make their way to the refectory. The description calls for this at any assembly for meals and does not specify the departure from the church to the *trapeza* that appears in the illustrations in Vat. gr. 1927. Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:394. Michael A Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927: The Study of a Twelfth-Century Byzantine Monastic Psalter," (MA thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 113.

[343] Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:743–44. This description comes very close to the first of the two illustrations to psalm 144. King David seem to inhabit the role of *hegoumenos* rather than priest.

[344] Alice-Mary Talbot, "Mealtime in Monasteries: The Culture of Byzantine Refectory," in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium: Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer* (Aldershot, England: Taylor and Francis, 2007), 112 and n. 19. This general assembly and departure to the refectory after various offices and the liturgy maybe be found in numerous surviving *typika*, such as the tenth-century Rule of Athanasios of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:223. See also *Kecharitomene*, Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine*

situates King David in the role of a monastic spiritual father. The iconography of the illustration for Psalm 144 places King David in the role of a monk. He participates as if a *hegoumenos*, leading monks from the church to their communal supper as per the common paraliturgical practice in Byzantine monasteries. Portraying King David in this manner remains unique within Byzantine art and lends credence to the assertion that he is also given the role of a monastic spiritual father in this psalter—a position typically filled by the *hegoumenos* in the Middle Byzantine period.

Attempting the Ladder

Psalm 118 (Figure 47) is prefaced by a large image of the icon of the Heavenly Ladder, which illustrates the text "ἡ κλήμαξ" (*The Ladder*) by John Climacus, *hegoumenos* of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai.[345] It is one of the small number of images throughout the psalter to be captioned with something other than excerpts from the psalm that it illustrates. The caption simply states "ἡ κλήμαξ" (the ladder). Against a gold background with few purple and yellow low-lying hills and a small amount of green grass in the foreground, a group of monks stands in the lower left-hand corner. The monk standing at the front of the group holds a black walking stick. They wait their turn to climb up the ladder in front of them, which extends from the lower left to the upper right part of the image on a diagonal. On this ladder climb monks of varying ages. Their monastic *anaboloi* are plainly visible. The top of the ladder reaches to a large blue arc of heaven outlined in red in the upper right corner of the image. There, a half-length

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Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, 2000, 2:689–90.

[345] In translation the title of this work varies. Several of its more common translations include "The Heavenly Ladder," "*Scala Paradisi,*" and "The Ladder of Divine Ascent."

figure of Christ, garbed in purple, extends his right hand to the uppermost monk, helping him reach the top. Christ holds a scroll in his left hand.

The ladder, however, is not so easily climbed. Numerous demons, now nearly entirely effaced, attempt to pluck the monks from the ladder. Their work in disrupting one's climb to heaven is especially evident in the figure of the central monk on the ladder wearing a yellow tunic. His *anabalos* is entirely visible, as a demon has nearly pulled his cloak from his body. He looks as if he is about to fall. Three monks have already lost their footing. Two are pictured in a swan dive position, falling towards a dark pit at the lower right. There, a large bearded head of Hades swallows the third monk. His long red tongue can be seen extended to help engulf the poor, sinful monk.

DeWald interpreted the choice of image as "natural":[346]

> As this psalm begins with the words "Blessed are the undefiled in the way" and throughout the psalm emphasis is laid on the keeping of God's laws and testimonies and learning His way, it is but natural for the monkish illustration to have borrowed an illustration from the famous writing of John Climacus, wherein the figure of the heavenly ladder is used, as the illustration for this psalm.

On the contrary, illustrating a psalm with a Heavenly Ladder is anything but natural, and in fact is unique within known Byzantine psalter illustration. The Theodore and Barberini psalters illustrate numerous verses of Psalm 118, which, with 176 total verses, is by far the longest psalm. Their illustrations are similar to one another and consist largely of images of saints or of David praying. Both show the creation of Adam and Eve for verse 73. The ninth-century marginal psalters likely had similar imagery but do not preserve any for Psalm 118.[347]

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[346] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:36.

[347] Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 118.

Vat. gr. 752 also illustrates Psalm 118 with a monastic image (Figure 135). A group of monks gather around a bier on which the corpse of Symeon the Stylite is laid out. Inscribed on the image is "ὁι ἅγιοι π(ατέ)ρες ψάλλουσιν τὸν ἅγιον συμεῶν τὸν ἄμωμον" meaning "The holy fathers chant for Symeon the blameless." DeWald identified as a model the funerary image of Symeon the Stylite from the late eleventh-century Hamilton Lectionary (J. Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS 639) (Figure 136). This image also includes in the background Symeon's attribute, the column on which he spent the last decades of his life. This basic type of funerary image, however, is not uncommon for saints or for the *koimesis* of the Virgin. Although the lectionary image bears a certain similarity to that of Vat. gr. 752, it is insufficient to establish one firmly as a model for the other as DeWald contended.

Both manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1927 and Vat. gr. 752, choose to illustrate Psalm 118 with monastic images. There is, however, an important point of distinction between the two. Vat. gr. 752 provides an exemplar of one who has already gone through intensive physical and spiritual struggle in life and is victorious over them: he is thus "blameless" in death. Vat. gr. 1927's image is processual: monks contemplate, climb, fall off, and strive to reach salvation at the top of the ladder. In many ways the ladder calls to mind the rather literal interpretation of the first verse of Psalm 118 given by Athanasius in his second *Discourse against the Arians*, in which he writes that:[348]

> And as He is First-born among brethren and rose from the dead "the first fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. 15:20); so, since it became Him 'in all things to have the preeminence" (Col.1:18), therefore He is created "a beginning of ways," that we, walking along it and entering through Him who says, "I am the Way" (Jn. 14:6) and "the Door" (Jn. 10:9), and partaking of the knowledge of the Father, may also hear the words, "Blessed are the

[348] Athanasius, *Discourse 2 Against the Arians*, ed. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Kevin Knight, trans. John Henry Newman and Archibald Roberston, vol. 4, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892), 2.21.64, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/28162.htm.

> undefiled in the Way" (Ps. 118:1) and "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Mt. 5:8).

Monks follow the "way" of the ladder and enter through the "Door" which is Christ above, who reaches out from heaven to pull the monk who has climbed far enough in virtue to attain the top rung into the safety of salvation. In a didactic psalter packed with imagery dedicated to the process of achieving salvation, it is hard to imagine another image for this important psalm better suited to spelling out the message of salvation than one illustrating perhaps the most important didactic manual for monks.

An image of the Heavenly Ladder is also a timely one, as it was during the eleventh century that a number of monastic texts, Climacus' included, received new or greatly expanded image cycles. John Rupert Martin's comprehensive study of the corpus of Byzantine illustrated *Heavenly Ladder* manuscripts revealed that while earlier manuscripts of the text might have been illustrated by a ladder, it was not until the eleventh century that the text received a full cycle of illustration.[349] Other texts to receive new or expanded cycles of illustration that relate to the monastic life and interests include Barlaam and Ioasaph, the *Physiologos*, and the metaphrastic menologia.[350]

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[349] Martin, *The Illustration of The Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, 150. Martin devotes an entire chapter of his book to Byzantine monasticism of the eleventh century and focuses heavily on the person of Symeon the New Theologian. Writing of a revival of interest in early monastic texts, he attributed the phenomenon of the creation of new, monastic inspired art with an "ascetic" look in large part to the influence of Symeon the New Theologian. See pp. 150–163. While multiple scholars have taken issue with the reductionism in his gestalt analysis, Martin was not incorrect in identifying important phenomena in artistic production of the era. His emphasis on Symeon the New Theologian's influence on these overall phenomena is likely overstated. See Morris, "Spiritual Fathers and Temporal Patrons," 279–80.

[350] For an overview of the illustrated metaphrastic menologia see Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). Corrigan argued that the *Physiologos* received additional moralizing images relating to the monastic life and struggles against temptation in Kathleen Corrigan, "The Smyrna Physiologos and Eleventh-Century Monasticism," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos*

The choice to single out Psalm 118 for a unique illustration is unsurprising given its importance in the monastic office.[351] Psalm 118 is often associated with the *mesonuktion* (the monastic office occurring at midnight). The *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople calls for the *mesonuktion* to begin around midnight each day but Sunday. Each night Psalm 118 was to be recited by the monks in the narthex before entering the church. This psalm contains 176 verses that, in the monastic division of the psalter, are placed into three *staseis*, or sittings. At each s*taseis* the *typikon* calls for the monks to recite a group of additional prayers: one *Trisagion* with three *troparia*, two penitential canons, and one *Theotokion*.[352] While

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Evergetis, 1050–1200, ed. Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1997), 201–12; pls. 18–30. She describes the way one eleventh-century monk, the scribe and artist of an illustrated Climacus (BAV, Vat. gr. 394), worked out text/image relationships as he progressed in the creation of the manuscript in Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394." Francesco D'Aiuto believes that the scribe Constantine of Vat. gr. 394 was also responsible for Athos, Dionysiou 61, an illustrated copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, and Athos, Iviron 463, an illustrated Barlaam and Ioasaph. See D'Aiuto, "Su alcuni copisti di codici miniati mediobizantini," 25–34. In her discussion of the phenomena of illustrated texts with monastic interests dating to the eleventh century, Cecily Hilsdale also mentions that two of the three extant illustrated Christian Topographies of Cosmas Indicopleustes date to the eleventh century. Cecily J. Hilsdale, "Worldliness in Byzantium and Beyond: Reassessing the Visual Networks of Barlaam and Ioasaph," *The Medieval Globe* 3, no. 2 (2017): 82.

[351] Michal Tomor states that Psalm 118 was used in Sunday worship, related to the resurrection of Christ, and was the "principle psalm read in the opening service of Easter." Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 11–112; 130, nn. 94,95,96. The article to which he almost exclusively refers, however, is devoted to a discussion of Psalm 118 of the Masoretic numbering of the psalms, which corresponds to Psalm 117 in LXX. James Luther Mays, "Psalm 118 in the Light of Canonical Analysis," in *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs*, ed. Gene M. et al Tucker (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988), 299–311.

[352] "και οὕτως οἱ μοναχοὶ πρὸς τὸν νάρθηκα συναχθέντες τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς μεσονυκτίου ψαλμωδίας ἐκτελέσουσιν, ὀφείλοντες μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀκολουθίας ψάλλειν τὸν Ἄμωμον ὥστε διὰ τριῶν αὐτόν στάσεων ἐκπληροῦν, ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστη δε τῶν στάσεων τρισάγιον λέγειν μετὰ τροπαρίων τριῶν, δύο κατανυκτικῶν καὶ θεοτοκίου ἑνός." Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *Revue Des Études Byzantines* 32, no. 1 (1974): 30–33. Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'*

the Pantokrator's *typikon* is unusual in calling for the psalm's recitation six times a week, it is not the only *typikon* to specify its presence in the monastic office, nor the only *typikon* to specify its daily singing. The Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca. 1055-1060) also calls for its singing or recitation at *mesonuktion* each day of the week.[353] The tenth-century Rule of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople called for its chanting at *orthros* (matins) on Saturdays before Psalm 50— a quintessential penitential psalm, and one of the few chosen for illustration in the so-called "aristocratic psalters"—and the canon.[354]

Although the text by Climacus occupied an important didactic position in monastic life and learning, it holds an especially important place in the *bios* and writings of Symeon the New Theologian. For years, Symeon had begged for entry to the Stoudios Monastery, but his spiritual father only acquiesced just as Symeon was about to return home for a short time to Paphlagonia. He promised that as soon as he returned he would cast off his earthly life and enter the monastery. According to his *bios*:[355]

> With these words Symeon set off on his journey and swiftly reached his home. Since it was Lent at that time, he gave himself over entirely to his struggles for virtue. While he was there he searched through his family library and took out the *Ladder* of the divine John. He studied this and, like some *good soil*, received *the seed of the word in his heart*

Typika and Testaments, 2000, 2:738–39. Cutler, "Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters," 23–24.

[353] Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:387. The Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery (963 CE) also calls for it to be sung at *mesonuktion*. Even during the part of the year from the Sunday after Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost when the office is truncated only the canon and Psalm 118 are sung. Thomas and Hero, 1:222.

[354] This changes slightly between the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14th) and Easter: additional prayers are chanted before Psalm 118, and Psalm 50 is not sung. Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:104–5.

[355] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 16–19.

> and prepared himself day by day to grow and *bear fruit*. And since there was a tiny room by the entrance to the chapel there, he used to go into it and remain in complete solitude. At night he would close the doors of the chapel and pray for three hours, while in the day time he would sometimes pray *in secret to his* heavenly *Father*, sometimes study the holy scripture. When he heard about the extraordinary acts of valor of the saints who were distinguished by their obedience and about the progress made by those who fervently pursue this, he too longed to engage in the same contest as they. And then, while he was studying the aforementioned book, he found this sentence there: *Insensitivity is the demise of the soul and the death of the intellect before the death of the body* (*Scala Paradisi* 18). When he read this saying, Symeon found the treatment that he sought in that book, and he began praying among tombs while he kept vigil, painting an image of the dead upon his heart. He also began an all-out war against this insensitivity, engaging in more rigorous fasting and vigils and meditating on the remembrance of death and the judgment to come.

His pupil and biographer Niketas Stethatos ascribed a significant turning point in Symeon's life to the *Heavenly Ladder*. After this experience Symeon began his true transformation into a monk and holy man, even so far as to experience demonic battles that call to mind excerpts from the *bios* of Saint Anthony of Egypt, at least according to Stethatos. The chapter immediately following the above excerpt from Symeon's life begins with Symeon praying in a chapel with a tomb when suddenly "a menacing crowd of demons ganged up and rushed toward the chapel."[356] Symeon was, of course, able to fend off the demons through the strength of his faith. Following these events, his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes finally considered him spiritually worthy and ready for the monastic life.[357]

There is good evidence in his writings that Symeon the New Theologian was heavily influenced by Climacus. For example, in Catechesis IV he quotes chapter six of the *Ladder* and provides a suggestion for the edification of his audience:[358]

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[356] Nikētas Stethatos, 19.

[357] Nikētas Stethatos, 27–31.

[358] Symeon the New Theologian, *Symeon the New Theologian: The Discourses*, 84.

> Saint John of "The Ladder" says, "Thirst and vigil have oppressed the heart, and from the oppressed heart waters have sprung forth" (*Scala Paradisi* 6). He who wishes to find out in how many other passages he tells us of this will learn it from the book itself.

H. J. M. Turner, a scholar and modern translator of a few of Symeon's works, such as his letters, notes that he rarely quotes directly from the *Ladder*.[359] But another modern scholar, Walther Völker, extensively compared the two authors' writings in his book *Praxis Und Theoria Bei Symeon Dem Neuen Theologen: Ein Beitr. z. Byzantin. Mystik*. Völker demonstrates that Symeon's ideas were very much shaped by those of Climacus, and that even if he did not quote him directly, his line of thought ran parallel with this monastic predecessor.[360]

Whether or not this work was so critical to the life and thought of Symeon is less important than the fact that those who followed, especially the author of his *bios*, insisted on its importance in this respect. If Vat. gr. 1927 was indeed designed by and for a follower of Symeon's to allude to his teachings, especially if it were done so by Niketas Stethatos, as has been suggested by Trahoulia, the perceived reception of Climacus is more important than whether or not it truly was so seminal to Symeon himself and would provide a poignant

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[359] H. J. M Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1990), 45.

[360] Walther Völker, *Praxis Und Theoria Bei Symeon Dem Neuen Theologen: Ein Beitr. z. Byzantin. Mystik* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974). In some areas Völker dismissed the writings of Symeon as unoriginal copies of Climacus' ideas. See, for example, his section on spiritual fatherhood, "Der Verzicht auf den eigenen Willen und der Πατὴρ πνευματικός," 111–129. While Turner acknowledges this, throughout his book on Symeon the New Theologian and spiritual fatherhood he pointed out areas where a synthesis of Climacus and Studite ideas produced syncretic teachings regarding spiritual fatherhood. Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood*, 45–46. Kallistos Ware provides an excellent overview of the relationship in the writings of the two authors in his forward to Irénée Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, trans. Anthony Gythiel (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), vii–xxxiii.

motivation for the extraordinary choice of a Climacus ladder for the prefatory image to Psalm 118.

Conclusion

From illustrating the holy ones (ὅσιοι) referenced in psalm verses as monks (and usually elderly ones at that) to including images of Middle Byzantine paraliturgical practices or the illustration *par excellence* from what may be considered the most influential of Byzantine monastics didactic texts, the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, Vat. gr. 1927 abounds with images related to the monastic life unique to Byzantine psalter illustration. It is highly likely that the psalter was made in a monastery for a male monastic audience, given the inclusion only of male monastics throughout the text. The possibility, however, of its having been a lay commission by a wealthy patron with an intense interest in the monastic life cannot be entirely dismissed. It was not unusual practice for Byzantines, especially wealthy ones, to retire a monastery or even endow their own in order to do so.

Many images strongly suggest a relationship with the theological beliefs and teachings of Symeon the New Theologian, providing some evidence for an association with the Stoudios Monastery under Niketas Stethatos or perhaps a commission by either a former disciple or descendant of either. The latter, however, is less likely given the estimated date of the manuscript's production (Ca. 1090) and Symeon's death in 1022, though new interest in him might have arisen after his relics were translated to Constantinople in 1054. An association with Stethatos remains the more likely option. The images that obliquely or more directly relate to his thelogical ideas and litereary interests are not the only ones to do so, however. His emphasis on the vital importance of charismatic spiritual fatherhood reveals itself in the next chapter, which explores the unique role given to King David in Vat. gr. 1927: that of a monastic spiritual father.

Chapter 4: King David as Monastic Spiritual Father

Introduction

In Byzantine art, text, and liturgy, King David inhabits many roles and is given many responsibilities: King, prophet, musician. Model to the faithful for repentance and prayer. Despite his exalted status in scripture, he became the ideal for the "everyman" of the faithful as a sinner who repented. But there is one exception: one might say that he wears nearly every hat but the *koukoulion* of a monk. With the exception of Vat. gr. 1927, King David is neither depicted as a monk nor performing any sort of monastic practices in Byzantine art or literature. Images in the psalter present King David in the special role of a monastic spiritual father for the viewer in a way that is unique, not only in Byzantine psalter illustration, but in Byzantine art more generally. Vat. gr. 1927 emphasizes David's preparation for spiritual fatherhood with his withdrawal from society taking the form of a flight into the wilderness modeled after that of Saint Anthony of Egypt—the kind of retreat that often characterizes the preparation such virtuous figures undergo before their return to civilization having been spiritually transformed and prepared for the rigors of spiritual fatherhood. Moreover, the psalter's didactic imagery frequently presents David as a teacher and mentor who repeatedly directs the viewer's gaze to important visual lessons, sometimes to demonstrate good behavior, but often to offer a stark choice: would you rather suffer in this life, or the next? This chapter examines how the images of Vat. gr. 1927 illustrate King David's flight to the wilderness, subsequent spiritual trials, and return to civilization as spiritual father and teacher for the viewer of the psalter.

David on his Journey to Spiritual Fatherhood

Vat. gr. 1927 contains a large group of illustrations in which David appears, generally in *proskynesis*, either alone or attacked by demons or enemies in a predominantly barren landscape.

Often the inscription for the image only states that David prays (forms of εὔχομαι or προσεύχομαι), regardless of whether the superscription or text of the psalm specifically states that action outright. David's portrayal in a wilderness environment occurs even when the psalm does not specifically call for such a setting, as it does for the illustration to Psalm 56, in which David prays in a cave while hiding from Saul. There are thirty-three extant images in which David appears praying either in *proskynesis* or standing with his hands upraised to an arc of heaven. This count excludes any of the overtly historical scenes in which David prays as he is pursued by his son, Absalom, or while specifically hiding in the cave of Adullam, for example. Of these thirty-three scenes of prayer, nine contain David praying alone in a wilderness setting or tempted by black demons.[361] Two additional scenes have him praying while being threatened by people.[362] In other images he is not alone but is often posited as an exemplar in ways that differ from other psalters. In what follows, I will discuss how this large group of images portrays King David on the journey to becoming and inhabiting the role of spiritual father.

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[361] The following enumerates these psalms and those inscriptions relating to the prayer of David. The inscription for Psalm 62 is included as it is the sole inscription added to this image. Psalm 62 begins with the verse "ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω" ["O God, O my God, I rise early (to praise) you"]. The verb ὀρθρίζω means "to rise early," and Psalm 62 has been considered one of the most important psalms to pray in the morning. Brian Dunkle, *Enchantment and Creed in the Hymns of Ambrose of Milan* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22-33 and n. 55.

Psalm 12 (18r), no inscription; Psalm 16 (22v), no inscription; Psalm 54 (96r), "προσεύχ(ε)τ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ;" Psalm 60 (106v), "ὁ δα(υὶ)δ προσευχόμ(εν)ο(ς);" Psalm 62 (108v), "τῆς ἐπιγρα(φῆς) ("of the history"); Psalm 69 (123v), "εὔχετ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ;" Psalm 103 (187r/v, first of a 3-image set), "εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχ(ὴ) μου τὸν κ(ύριο)ν" ("bless the Lord, o my soul"); Psalm 114 (213r), "ἠγάπεσα ὅτι εἰσακούσετ(αι) κ(ύριο)ς τῆν φωνὴν τῆς (δε)ήσεώς μου" ("I am pleased because the Lord has hearkened to the sound of my supplication."); Psalm 115 (214r), "εὔχετ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ;" Psalm 138 (247r), "ὁ δα(υὶ)δ εὔχετ(αι)."

[362] Psalm 37 (66r), no inscription; Psalm 140 (250v), "ὁ δα(υὶ)δ εὔχ(ε)τ(αι)."

The Wilderness as Spiritual Training-Ground

A spiritual father must be prepared spiritually to take on the responsibilities and burdens of shepherding a group of disciples. This preparation involves intensive solitary prayer and reflection. To achieve this solitude, one must leave the distractions of civilization, even the distractions imposed by the daily cenobitic life in a monastery, much less the distractions of town or city life. It is only after this period of solitude, prayer, and indeed testing, that one might return (enthusiastically or reluctantly) to civilization spiritually prepared for the demands of the role. This retreat from civilization may take a number of forms. In some cases it might only entail a lengthy and unbroken retreat to one's monastic cell in a cenobitic monastery, if that is what circumstances demand. But as Kallistos Ware puts it, "the classic pattern for this preparation, which consists in a movement of flight and return, may be clearly discerned in the lives of St. Anthony of Egypt (d. 356) and St. Seraphim of Sarov (d. 1833)."[363]

St. Anthony, credited as the effective but somewhat inadvertent founder of Eastern monasticism, provides the model for the flight and "return" to civilization of the spiritual father. His *bios*, written by Athanasius, recounts the events of this flight and return in great detail. St. Anthony's *bios* describes an early life characterized by an ever-increasing retreat from society. At first this was solitude near his home village, and he sought out older hermits or holy men for guidance:[364]

> Placing his sister in the charge of respected and trusted virgins, and giving her over to the convent for rearing, he devoted himself from then on to the discipline rather than the household, giving heed to himself and patiently training himself. There were not yet many monasteries in Egypt, and no monk knew at all the great desert, but each of those wishing to give attention to his life disciplined himself in isolation, not far from his own village. Now at that time in the neighboring village there was an old man who had

[363] Ware, "The Spiritual Father in Orthodox Christianity," 298.

[364] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 31–32.

> practiced from his youth the solitary life. When Anthony saw him, he emulated him in goodness. At first he also began by remaining in places proximate to his village. And going forth from there, if he heard of some zealous person anywhere he searched him out like the wise bee.

Anthony then retreated to pray and practice his discipline in the solitude of Egyptian tombs farther away from his village. After overcoming brutal physical and spiritual assaults from demons testing his faith while inside, he chose to leave these tombs and further retreat from civilization into the Egyptian desert.[365] Overcoming additional temptations along the way, he reached an abandoned fort on a mountain and shut himself up in it, only receiving deliveries of bread twice a year.[366] St. Anthony continued to easily contest with demons, using faith and psalmody in his battles:

> Anthony remained and suffered no injury from the demons, and neither did he grow tired of the contest. The support that was his through visions from above, along with the adversaries' weakness, brought much relief from his travails, and prepared him for greater zeal. His friends used to visit him regularly, thinking they might find him dead, and they heard him singing, *Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered, let them also that hate Him flee before His face. As smoke vanishes, let them vanish; as wax melts before the fire, so let the sinners perish from before God*;[367] and again, *All nations compassed me about, and in the name of the Lord I repulsed them*.[368]

After two decades he was prepared to act as a spiritual father to his many acquaintances and others, although, as Athanasius makes clear, this role initially was one he assumed rather reluctantly: [369]

> Nearly twenty years he spent in this manner pursuing the ascetic life by himself, not venturing out and only occasionally being seen by anyone. After this, when many

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[365] Athanasius, Saint, 37–40.

[366] Athanasius, Saint, 40–41.

[367] Ps. 67:1-2.

[368] Ps. 117:10; Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 41–42.

[369] Athanasius, Saint, 42.

> possessed the desire and will to emulate his asceticism, and some of his friends came and tore down and forcefully removed the fortress door, Anthony came forth as though from some shrine, having been led into divine mysteries and inspired by God. This was the first time he appeared form the fortress for those who came out to him. And when they beheld him, they were amazed to see that his body had maintained its former condition, neither fat from lack of exercise, nor emaciated from fasting and combat with demons, but was just as they had known him prior to his withdrawal. The state of his soul was one of purity, for it was not constricted by grief, not relaxed by pleasure, nor affected either by laughter or dejection. Moreover, when he saw the crowd he was not annoyed any more than he was elated at being embraced by so many people. He maintained utter equilibrium, like one guided y reason and steadfast in that which accords with nature. Through him the Lord healed many of those present who suffered from bodily ailments; others he pursed of demons, and to Anthony he gave grace in speech.

And so Anthony emerged, however reluctantly, to spend the final five or six decades of his very long life as spiritual father to many. While hagiographies and literary genres are rife with similar examples of retreat and return, St. Anthony's life remains the prototype and exemplar.[370] His demeanor also became the model for those living the monastic life.

Anthony's *bios* must be kept in mind when examining the images of David's retreat from society in Vat. gr. 1927. The image prefacing Psalm 12 shows King David dressed in his usual garb as a Byzantine emperor wearing the *chlamys* and kneeling in *proskynesis*. His hands, covered by the *chlamys*, stretch out to the central arc of heaven above. (Figure 26). Just left of center, David is flanked by two large mountains in purple and yellow tones. Buildings flank the image on both sides, with that behind David displaying an arched, scalloped pedimented doorway suggestive of a sacred structure. David is next found alone in the illustration to Psalm

[370] Two famous later examples of hermits who acted as spiritual fathers and givers of advice to many are the sixth-century monks Barsanuphius and John, both of whom dictated letters in response to questions through a chosen intermediary, Abba Seridos and Dorotheus of Gaza respectively, as part of their chosen *askesis* prevented them from themselves writing by hand despite having the ability to do so. Hundreds of letters have been preserved. Barsanuphius and John lived as hermits in individual cells even as a large monastery with guest-houses, a hospital, and a large church sprang up around them in response to their presence. Barsanuphius and John, *Letters from the Desert: A Selection of Questions and Responses*, 11–12.

16 (Figure 137). Once again he kneels left of center with hands covered by his *chlamys* and outstretched to the arch of heaven. He kneels in front of high mountains and faces in the direction of a baldachin to the far right of the image, indicating a shrine. Behind him at the far-left margin of the illustration stands what remains of a white building with a red roof.

Neither image bears an inscription. Psalm 12 is one of repentance and prayer for forgiveness, as it was composed following David's adultery, the murder of his general Uriah, and tribulations such as the rape of his daughter and the loss of his throne to his son Absalom.[371] David's covered hands and the buildings suggest his presence in a holy place while praying for forgiveness. Psalm 16 was composed when David was pursued by Saul and hid from him in the town of Keila and then the wilderness (1 Kings 23:7-28). The architectural trappings of civilization are more spare and removed from him in this image.

While Psalm 12 is quite brief, Psalm 16 is lengthy and includes a great deal of evocative vocabulary rife for illustration, including verse 13: "Arise, O Lord, forestall them and cast them down, (draw) your sword, deliver my soul from the ungodly, from the enemy by means of your

[371] From a commentary to the title of the psalm: "After his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of her husband Uriah, David fell into various sore trials: his daughter was raped by her brother Amnon, and her brother Absalom killed Amnon, and the royal houses were thrown into no small confusion; then finally this son Absalom, having plotted to seize the throne, expelled him from his kingship, and he did not stop his rage at this but gathered his forces and prepared to pursue his father and kill him.

Considering the multitude and magnitude of his misfortunes, David supposed that he had suffered these things on account of the aforementioned adultery and murder, with God having abandoned him, even though at the time he was forgiven. For this reason he composed the present psalm, after the third psalm, when, as we have said, Chousi, having foiled Achitophel's strategy, conveyed to him all of Absalom's plan and suggested what to do." Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 72.

hand."[372] As discussed in chapter 2, various conjugations of the verb ἀνίστημι are illustrated with Christ in a pose reminiscent throughout the psalter. The choice for such spare illustrations might have been inspired by certain commentaries on the final verse of the psalm: But I will appear in righteousness before your face; I will be I will be sated to see your glory before me.[373]

Zygabenus comments on this verse with[374]

> For my justice which was spoken about at the beginning of the psalm will make me worthy of your oversight, and I shall appear before you at the time of the last judgement and requiting.
>
> And seeing your glory at that time, I shall be filled with my desire, which is to be seen by you and to see your glory, for the sinful will not see the face of God. And the Lord says in the Gospels: Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for justice, for they will be sated, namely, with the eternal goods that they desire.
>
> This psalm is appropriate for every virtuous person under attack and who, not loving deceptions, will seek to be judged in relation to his enemy, for he will consider 'Saul' as his enemy, whether he be sensible or intelligible.
>
> This person will understand the words from God's lips as the Gospel commandments, those who have resisted God's right arm as the demons, as adversaries and apostates, and the impious and enemies he will likewise understand as the demons, who expelled him from God's shelter or from paradise, and he will take the rest accordingly.
>
> He will pray for the demons to set apart and scattered from among good men as long as these good people are alive, for after death they do not fear.
>
> And the things and about wealth or punishments and the rest he will apply to the demons as rulers of the world whose sons and grandsons he will understand as the evil people who are their disciples and instruments, for the father of such is the devil.

[372] "ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε, πρόφθασον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑποσκέλισον αὐτούς, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ ἀσεβοῦς, ρομφαίαν σου ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν τῆς χειρός σου."

[373] "ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου, χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναί μοι τὴν δόξαν σου."

[374] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 93.

Instead of illustrating David and his tribulations, or focusing on the eschatological interpretations given to Psalm 16 by commentators and homilists, the image provides David as a generic model for prayer. Psalms given a demonic element by commentators were sometimes illustrated with monks fending off demonically-inspired temptations in Vat. gr. 1927, a task which which Climacus and Symeon the New Theologian were particularly concerned. The commentary of Zygabenus transfers the specific to the intangible by assigning to "Saul" the identity of an enemy "sensible or intelligible." The move to associate King David with a viewer, especially a monk, struggling with demons, is heightened by commentary on the end of verse 14: "… and they handed over the things remaining to their infants."[375] According to Zygabenus, if what is left regards material goods and prosperity, "it is a heightening of the indictment, because having enjoyed so many benefits they continued to live in transgression of the law, disregarding God's forbearance."[376] This may easily be interpreted as a reminder of the pitfalls of both property and sinfulness—excellent lessons for a monk.

David appears again in the miniature prefacing Psalm 54 (Figure 138). Now the buildings have disappeared, and he kneels left of center with uncovered hands outstretched to the central arc of heaven. David is flanked by two purple mountains. The inscription reads "προσεύχ(ε)τ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ" ("David prays"). A similar arrangement occurs for Psalm 60 with the inscription "ὁ δα(υὶ)δ προσευχόμ(εν)ο(ς)" ("David Praying") (Figure 139), while he stands in the image for Psalm 62 (Figure 140).[377] He is also alone in prayer flanked by mountains, kneeling and standing

[375] "…καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὰ κατάλοιπα τοῖς νηπίοις αὐτῶν."

[376] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 93.

[377] Although this is technically the illustration of a historical moment, in which, as per the title of the psalm, David prays in the desert of Judah, it is included here because he is unusually alone, whereas in other psalters he is accompanied by guards in illustrations of this particular psalm.

respectively, for the illustrations to Psalms 115 (Figure 142) and 138 (Figure 143).[378] Recounting these instances in the sequence in which they occur might make it appear that David retreats farther into the wilderness as one progresses through the psalter. This, however, is not the case. These images are interspersed throughout the psalter in a way that does not accord with an orderly retreat. Nor was the psalter read front to back as one would read a novel. Even considering the general order of psalms called for in the monastic office or variants to it, David's retreat to the wilderness does not appear to coincide with a temporal reading or reciting of the psalms. These images nonetheless bring to mind the retreat of St. Anthony and other holy figures in a way that images of David praying in other psalters do not.

In Vat. gr. 1927, icons large or small represent objects of civilization. When one retreats to the wilderness for solitude, one leaves such trappings behind to commune more directly with the divine, as indicated here by the arc of heaven. In those cases in which marginal psalters show David praying or prophesying, they tend to position him in front of an icon of Christ or occasionally in front of Christ seated on a throne. Although the differing pictorial formats employed in Vat. gr. 1927 as opposed to those found in the marginal psalters—fully rendered prefatory images and marginal vignettes respectively—cannot be completely discounted when it comes to considering the prevalence of certain compositional elements, the fact that in Vat. gr. 1927, David in the wilderness prays not to an icon of Christ but rather to an arc of heaven should be considered both significant and purposeful. That David does not pray to an icon of Christ in Vat. gr. 1927 strongly suggests that adopting a different iconography for such scenes and

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See, for example, the Theodore Psalter, f. 77v (Figure 141). There the image is captioned "δαδ εὔχ(εται)."

[378] Psalm 115 is accompanied by "εὔχετ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ," while Psalm 138 is captioned with "ὁ δα(υὶ)δ εὔχετ(αι)."

increasing their number represents a deliberate and contrastive choice on the part of the planner of the psalter Vat. gr. 1927. There are several illustrations in which it appears as if an icon of Christ has been painted in the scene. But these images of Christ, though in roundels, are not icons. They are instead illustrations of visionary experiences (Figures 9, 46). In these illustrations the former image of Christ appears as part of a cross on a hill purposely reminiscent of Golgotha. The scene, therefore, illustrates both David and a man with a nimbus dressed to resemble a monk experiencing a visionary Crucifixion.[379] The latter appears as part of a trinitarian image in which Haggai and Zacharias, the putative authors of Psalm 147, have written the following verse prefiguring the appearance of Christ on earth and the spreading of the Holy Spirit: "He will send out his word and melt them: let him blow his wind, and the waters will run.[380] A white-haired man in an arc of heaven sends down a grey streak to a roundel containing Christ, whose image is too damaged to determine his original facial features. The grey streak continues until it becomes the magenta ink spreading out over the waters. Here the word (λόγος) is interpreted as Christ-λὸγος, while the wind (πνεῦμα) becomes the Holy Spirit. The inscription is notable for the truncated πν(εῦμ)α being identical to the Greek *nomina sacra* for the Holy Spirit. When the opportunity to paint images with a more completely rendered sense of setting arises, as may be found in Vat. gr. 752, David often prays in *proskynesis* before Christ or to large images of Christ in architectural settings as found in Byzantine churches (Figure 144).[381]

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[379] The legend next to the monk reads "ὅτι ἐθαυμάστοσε κ(ύριο)ς τ(ὸν) ὅσιον (αὐτοῦ)" ("…that the Lord has done wonders for his holy one"). Once again an image in Vat. gr. 1927 posits monks as the new "holy ones" or "saints."

[380] The captions read "ἐξαποστελ(εῖ) τὸν λ(ό)γ(ον) (αὐτοῦ)" ("He will send out his word…") and "πνεύση τὸ πν(εῦμ)α (αὐτοῦ) (καὶ) ῥυήσετ(αι) ὕδατ(α)" ("Let him blow his wind and the waters will run."

[381] For an extended analysis of King David in *proskynesis* and its possible commentary on current events related to the sinful behavior of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX

David's physical and spiritual situation becomes far more precarious in the image prefacing Psalm 69 (Figure 11). David kneels in *proskynesis* with hands uncovered. His body is awkwardly positioned against the tall green hill that forms the backdrop of the scene, almost seeming to float above the grassy ground below. In this image his head and hands are positioned almost perfectly below the center of the arc, although his body remains offset to the left. David, however, no longer prays alone. Four black demons now surround him, threatening him during his prayers. Only the persistent reminder of heaven above allows for some suggestion of salvation for David. As is the case for all demons painted in Vat. gr. 1927, they have been effaced, but the two to the right of the image seem once to have carried a spear-like weapon.

One cannot help but be reminded of Anthony's battles against demons, especially after his final withdrawal to his "inner mountain" in the Thebaiad. [382]

> So he was alone in the inner mountain devoting himself to prayers and the disciple… Furthermore, we know from those who visited him how many wrestlings he endured while dwelling there, *not against blood and flesh* (Eph. 6:12), but against destructive demons. For there they heard tumults and many voices, and crashing noises like the sound of weapons; and at night they saw the mountain filled with beasts. But they also observed him struggling as if against things visible, and praying against them; and he encouraged the ones who came to him, while at the same time he fought, kneeling and praying to the Lord. And it was truly amazing that being alone in such a desert he was neither distracted by the demons who confronted him, nor was he frightened of their ferocity when so many four-legged beasts and reptiles were there. But truly he was one who, as Scripture says, having *trusted in the Lord*, was *like Mount Sion* (Ps. 124:1), keeping his mind unshaken and unruffled; so instead the demons fled and the wild beasts, as it is written (Job 5:23), made peace with him.

In the margin below King David is the simple inscription that he prays, "εὔχετ(αι) ὁ δα(υί)δ." Above him is a caption taken from the first half of verse 3: "Let them be ashamed and

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Monomachos see Kalavrezou, Trahoulia, and Sabar, "Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter Gr. 752." A recent differing interpretation is offered by Dirk Krausmüller in Krausmüller, "Codex Vat. Gr. 752: Some Remarks about Its Pictorial Programme and Its Historical Context."

[382] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 69–70.

confounded that seek my soul…"[383] The second half of the verse, which the reader presumably could have brought to mind, states "let them be turned backward and put to shame, that wish me evil."[384] The verb ἀποστρέφω not only means to turn back, but also to bind, as in binding the hands and feet behind the back. It is found, for example, on ancient curse tablets.[385] Like St. Anthony, David prays to the Lord above for deliverance from the attacking demons, implying through the words of the psalm that they not just be repelled, but bound, rendered powerless, and defeated, as one finds described in the *bios* of St. Anthony. The words of the Psalms themselves were powerful weapons against demons. According to one of the sayings of the Desert Fathers:[386]

> An anchorite saw one demon inciting another one to go and awaken a sleeping monk and he heard the other one saying: "I cannot do that because I did awaken him once. He got up and burnt me, singing psalms and praying.

John Climacus also wrote that "The fathers have laid down that psalmody is a weapon…"[387]

Extending the metaphor from the depicted demons to imagined ones, a viewer could extrapolate a lesson from such an image as to how to defend against and even defeat temptations

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[383] "αἰσχυνθήτωσαν καὶ ἐντραπήτωσαν οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχήν μου·"

[384] "ἀποστραφήτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ καταισχυνθήτωσαν οἱ βουλόμενοί μου κακά·"

[385] Jorge J. Bravo III, "Erotic Curse Tablets from the Heroön of Opheltes at Nemea," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 85, no. 1 (2016): 121–52.

[386] N.36/12.19 in John Wortley, ed., *The "Anonymous" Sayings of the Desert Fathers: A Select Edition and Complete English Translation*, trans. John Wortley, Sayings of the Desert Fathers (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 30–31.

[387] John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 70.

or those who would lure him into sinful behavior. The advice of Athanasius to Marcellinus regarding Psalm 69 comes to mind: [388]

> And if, when persecuted, you go out into the desert, do not be afraid, as though alone, but having God there and rising before dawn, sing the sixty-second psalm. When the enemies frighten you away, never ceasing from their lying in ambush, and also searching everywhere for you, even if they are vast in number, do not give way, for when you sing Psalms 63, 64, 69, and 70, *their wounds* will be caused *by the weapons of the foolish children* (Ps. 63:7).

Girded with this psalm and its illustration, the first lines of which were held by John Cassian to serve as a panacea of prayer for virtually all afflictions, a viewer could have taken David as an immediate model that in turn would have called to mind famous exemplars of spiritual struggle such as St. Anthony.[389]

Demons once again threaten David in the miniature for Psalm 140 (Figure 145). He stands at the center with head and arms upraised in supplication. David is threatened from behind by two figures, the nearest of whom has a long black hook that he extends to pull the feet out from under the praying prophet and cause him to stumble and fall. Above David is a caption that takes the form of an abbreviated "David prays" ("ὁ δα(υὶ)δ εὔχ(ε)τ(αι)." Below the image to the

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[388] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 119. The psalm numbers given in this version of the translation correspond to the LXX.

[389] In the "Tenth Conference: On Prayer" 10.3-4, John Cassian reports Abba Isaac as saying "Not without reason has this verse been selected from the whole body of Scripture. For it takes up all the emotions that can be applied to human nature and with great correctness and accuracy it adjusts itself to every condition and every attack. It contains an invocation of God in the face of any crisis, the humility of a devout confession, the watchfulness of concern and of constant fear, a consciousness of one's own frailty, the assurance of being heard, and confidence in a protection that is always present and at hand, 4. For whoever calls unceasingly on his protector is sure that he is always present." John Cassian, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York, NY; Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 1997), 379.

left is a caption referring to the two figures taken from verse 9 of the psalm: "Guard me from the snare which they have set for me, and from the stumbling blocks of them that work iniquity."[390]

Despite the usual damage, the figure at the far left is clearly discernable as a winged black demon. Due to the extreme effacement of the paint down to the parchment, it is very difficult to determine the identity of the figure holding the hooked staff. A head and shoulders in very rough outline may be recognized via the extant brown underdrawing. Careful examination suggests that there remains a very small amount of a human rather than demonic black hand holding the hook. The shape of the outline for the shoulders and upper body of the figure also suggests that rather than a black demon, a hunched human figure with cloak stood at this spot. The underdrawing indicates a more robust figure than is usual for demons in this psalter, and there is also no indication of black wings where they should be in the remaining paint if the figure were a black demon rather than a human being.

This image also differs in that it presents an exemplar in addition to a simple scene of David threatened in prayer in the wilderness. At the far right, two men facing the right edge of the image lie prostrate on the ground. In the margin below, the caption abbreviates the first half of verse 10: "The sinners will fall in their own nets…"[391] If the effaced figure is taken as a person, the image acquires a specific didactic message that could especially resonate in the monastic world, namely, that one must be careful, as those with whom you keep company might be tempted and twisted by the devil, even causing you to stumble and fall in your life. If,

[390] "φύλαξόν μ(ε) ἀπὸ παγίδ(ος), ἧς συνεστήσαντ(ό) μοι, (καὶ ἀπὸ σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν").

[391] "πεσοῦντ(αι) ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ αὐτ(ῶν) οἱ ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οί)·" DeWald gives αὐτ(οῦ), but as this pronoun modifies οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, it must be read as a genitive plural.

however, one keeps steadfast in prayer and in the proper way of life, the sinners will not catch you in their snares, but will instead fall into ruin, laid low by their own nets.

The commentary of Zygabenus presents just this message. Of the snares set to catch the one on the proper path in verse 9, he says "Once again 'scandals' is what he calls their snare and ireful purpose." As for those who fall into ruin by their own doing in the first half of verse 10: "They will fall into the net that they have spread out against me; they will be dragged into their own drag-net. Or else into his, namely God's, casting-net."[392] Zygabenus' interpretation aligns closely with that of Chrysostom, who writes that the snares of verse 9 refer not only "simply to schemes, but to hidden traps of the kind not easy to guard against and detect; hence they require in particular even grace from on high."[393]

Psalm 140 ends with "I am alone until I pass on"—the second half of verse 10. The verb used, παρέρχομαι, can imply pass by/elude or it can mean to pass away. Both senses are at play in the commentaries. Zygabenus takes the latter meaning and writes that "I am isolated from them, moving far from their intent, and separated from them not so much by distance in space as by estrangement in disposition, until I die."[394] Chrysostom emphasizes that taking such care to avoid the snare of the wicked is something that must be done "not for a day or two or three, he means, but for the whole of life."[395] He goes on to clarify:[396]

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[392] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 741.

[393] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:281. Chrysostom also writes that the net snaring the sinful is God's.

[394] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 741.

[395] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:282.

[396] John Chrysostom, 2:282.

> This is security, this protection, this growth in virtue: shunning the wicked, being self-collected and disciplined for the whole of life, and dwelling by oneself away from those who corrupt. Isolation does not constitute being alone, note, but an attitude of sound values. In this way people who live in the middle of cities, with their tumult and business, can be on their own by shunning the corrupt gatherings and devote themselves to the assemblies of the righteous— this is the safe way.

Interpretations such as this add multivalent meanings to the overall iconography. A viewer with any level of familiarity with Psalm 140 could easily interpret the image at its most basic level: that of guarding against falling into sin due to the influence of others. Those individuals will eventually be laid low by their own sinful ways, while those who avoid such traps will be saved. A monastic viewer, however, could easily read more deeply into the image, particularly if he was familiar with the various commentaries on the psalm itself and other monastic writings such as the *Heavenly Ladder* and the *Apothegmata Patrum*. Monastic communities were not immune to infighting, jealousies, and various other unsavory relations.[397] Many monastic writers warned of such things, writing that the devil could come tempt monastics and sow havoc and sin amongst a

[397] Symeon the New Theologian, for example, was expelled from his monastery as *hegoumenos* of St. Mamas in Contantinople. See Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 201. After the *Catecheses of Basil* and the *Rules of Pachomius*, the earliest attested *typikon* is the 8th century *typikon* for the Monastery of St. John Prodromos in Pantelleria, an island near Sicily. Chapter 20 states: "Should a brother declare: 'I cannot stay with this brother in the same cell or [sit] at the same table,' let him be asked on account of what sin does he do (it). Should he answer [that it is] owing to extreme weakness, lest his brother cause scandal, we exact that an inquiry be made into this matter. Should the latter state: '[Yes], I am causing scandal,' and this being the reason why he separates himself from the proper order of the brethren, and [why also he] says: 'I wish to be alone in my cell,' let them bring the church priests to him and let him be instructed amidst the brethren. Should he still not hearken, let him take off his monastic garments in front of the church and then expel him from the monastery." Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:65. The emphasis on a lack of strife in *typika* suggests a common presence of interpersonal issues among monks in cenobitic monasteries.

community.[398] Climacus begins his chapter "On talkativeness and silence" by commenting on the previous chapter regarding slander: [399]

> In the preceding chapter, we spoke briefly of how extremely dangerous it is to judge others, or rather, to be judged and punished by one's own tongue, and of how this vice steals into even the most apparently spiritual people. Now we must show the cause of this vice, and give a proper account of the door by which it enters, or rather, goes out.

That cause, of course, is talkativeness, which leads to lying. According to Climacus:[400]

> Let no one who thinks rightly suppose that the sin of lying is a small matter, for the All-holy Spirit pronounced the most awful sentence of all against it, above all sins. If Thou wilt destroy all that speak a lie, as David says to God (Ps. 5:4) what will they suffer who stitch an oath on to a lie?

He goes on to advise that when demons see people attempting to flee from the "mischievous relater of jests" they will "try to catch us by two thoughts, suggesting to us: "Do not offend the story-teller," or: "Do not appear to love God more than they do.'" Climacus warns that one should not pay heed to those two snares laid in one's thought, but remove oneself from the presence of the jester.

Noting that the effaced person's hook was being guided by a devil over his shoulder, a monastic viewer would have been reminded of such advice and of many comparable examples found in monastic literature of advice. Many of these works, as well as quite a few *typika*, call for little verbal interaction between the brothers of a monastery so as to avoid gossip and other unsavory exchanges that could foment sin and dissidence.[401] In his "On the Practice of the

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[398] Steps ten, eleven, and twelve of the *Heavenly Ladder* are "On slander or calumny," "On talkativeness and silence," and "On lying," respectively. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 127–32.

[399] John Climacus, 129.

[400] John Climacus, 131.

[401] For example, the Evergetis *typikon* includes the following injunction in its directives for the monks returning to their cells after they celebrate the first hour: "Then you should stand up and

Virtues," Niketas Stethatos was very frank in his warnings regarding the dangers posed by fellow monks:[402]

> The demons rage violently against those who are progressing in contemplation, lying in wait for them night and day. Through fellow ascetics they provoke formidable trials, while through their own direct action they terrify them with noises. Even when they are asleep they attack them, grudging them any rest. They harass them in various ways, even though they cannot injure those who have surrendered themselves to God. If an angel of the Lord God did not protect them, they could not escape the demons' attack and the snares of death.

Referencing verse 9 of Psalm 140 in his last sentence, Stethatos warns of the very situation illustrated in its prefatory image. While David here prays for deliverance without visible protection, in other images, such as that for Psalm 17, he is protected from enemies charging in by the angel blocking their path and entreating Christ for David's rescue (Figure 146). Keeping in mind the above commentaries and advice related to Psalm 140, the monastic viewer would be

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depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, 'To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.'" Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:474. *Akedia* as a technical term refers to the spiritual and physical fatigue that can occur in those engaging in the rigors ascetic life (*askesis*). The quote here is from *Constitutiones Asceticae* 12 of Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, PG 31:1376AB; Thomas and Hero, 2:500, n. 6. Section 21 of the *typikon* is devoted to "Concerning those who chatter and talk idly that they be admonished by the superior." Away from the monastery, monks should be especially careful not to talk idly "knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary (the devil) to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock, and shepherd." Thomas and Hero, 2:489.

[402] Nikētas Stethatos, "On the Practice of the Virtues: One Hundred Texts," in *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, ed. St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth, trans. Kallistos Ware, G. E. H. (Gerald Eustace Howell) Palmer, and Philip Sherrard, vol. 4 (London; Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 104, #93.

reminded to remain modest in his interactions with those other than his spiritual advisor or abbot so as to avoid instances in which a brother guided by the devil might snare him into sinful behavior.

Psalm 140 also held an important role in the monastic office. The *Rule* of Stoudios called for it to be sung as part of an altered *prooimion* at the start of and then for the dismissal at *lychnikon* (vespers, or the office of lamplighting) every day during Radiant or Bright Week, the week following Easter Sunday.[403] It was sung as part of the customary *prooimion* at *lychnikon* each Saturday of the year, as well as at *lychnikon* on many festal days.[404] Psalm 140 would also have resonated; the *Rule* calls for special choreography of the choir during the vigil of Palm Sunday: "It should be known that during the vigil of Palm Sunday at the "O Lord I have cried," the choir changes place, those on the right crossing over to the left side and those on the left side to the right side."[405] The Evergetis *typikon* called for the second verse to be sung in regular order daily during the first hour, and interestingly enough, the injunction cited above against idle chatter on the way back to the cells occurs immediately following the instructions regarding singing this verse, which would be known to the monk of the monastery as *typika* were regularly read aloud to the community.[406]

In two images David is threatened by others while in the act of prayer. These scenes again stand apart from the specifically historical ones in which he is pursued by Saul, his son

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[403] Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 1:100.

[404] Thomas and Hero, 1:101–3, 105.

[405] Thomas and Hero, 1:113.

[406] Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 2000, 2:474.

Absalom, or their respective troops as identified by the psalm's superscription or specifically in the image itself. In the illustration for Psalm 37 (Figure 147), David kneels in *proskynesis* under the central arc of heaven. A group of cavalry charge at David with spears aloft from the right side of the image, while on the left a small group of infantry separated from him by a small yellow hill stand apart. They look at each other and hold their weapons at rest. The inspiration for these groups stems from verse 12; the cavalry are captioned as the "friends and neighbors" of the first stanza, while the infantry are the "kinsmen" of the second stanza ("My friends and my neighbors drew near before me, and stood; and my nearest of kin stood afar off").[407] ῞Ιστημι can mean "to stand opposing." Zygabenus interprets this with a historical bent regarding David's most trusted advisors and friends:

> He is alluding to Achitophel and many other such. My friends and my own people have come against me, for this is what they have approached and stood against me means, at all events God having permitted this on account of my faults. For thence the sea of misfortunes has washed over me in waves.[408]

Meanwhile, his kinsmen are of no aid: "The same people are to be understood; they approached in enmity as persecutors, and they stood afar off in respect of their good will as having distanced themselves from his friendship. Or else they are to be understood as his comrades, having fled on account of fear of Absalom."[409] Theodoret had a similar interpretation: "Those of my friends who perceived my affliction, he is saying, took the actions of enemies, and stood in open

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[407] "οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου ἐξ ἐναντίας μου ἤγγισαν καὶ ἔστησαν, καὶ οἱ ἔγγιστά μου ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν·" DeWald translates "οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου" as "lovers and friends" while also indicating surprise that the cavalry attacks David. In this instance the better translation of φίλοι is "friend." DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:15.

[408] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 224–25.

[409] Zygabenus, 224–25.

opposition to me, whereas those who were fearful moved away, not assisting me with support of their own."[410]

While this psalm and its commentaries resonate strongly with the life of David, its corresponding illustration has been washed of specific historical iconographic markers and the structural trappings of civilization, allowing for a more general moralizing message to be gleaned: be careful of one's friends, relatives, and perhaps even monastic brethren when going through struggles; the Lord is the only one who can be trusted for support. When one considers that verse 12 should be read in conjunction with verse 13 ("While they pressed hard upon me that sought my soul: and they that sought my hurt spoke vanities, and devised deceits all the day"), the image might also more specifically have brought to mind some personal experience or else that of Symeon the New Theologian.[411] Among numerous monastic fathers, John Climacus warns against allowing friends (other monks) to draw one into sin. More specifically, Symeon was chased from his monastery by an uprising of monks. According to Stethatos, "there were also some slanderers among the monks of Symeon's fold who were infected with the madness of Judas against their teacher."[412] Whereas Stethatos had every reason to gloss things over and paint Symeon in the best light, there can be no doubt that some uprising took place and that Symeon had to temporarily leave the monastery. As Athanasius points out in his "Festal Letter 9" regarding verse 12, "they even treat underfoot the commandment about neighbors, and instead of

[410] Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:230.

[411] "καὶ ἐξεβιάζοντο οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχήν μου, καὶ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά μοι ἐλάλησαν ματαιότητας, καὶ δολιότητας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμελέτησαν."

[412] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 201.

loving them, they plot evil against them. As the ancient saint testifies, 'Those who plot evil against me have spoken lies and plan treachery all day long.'"[413]

The psalter Vat. gr. 752 retains a threat to David in Psalm 37, but situates him in society in front of a church whose lunette evokes the mosaics of Christ Pantokrator common in Middle Byzantine church decoration (Figure 148).[414] David appears twice: once attacked by a man, and immediately to the right of this in *proskynesis* in front of the church in a manner reminiscent of the standard image of his rebuke by Nathan and subsequent repentance associated with Psalm 50. Here, David's supplication, rather than being made directly to God as intimated by arcs of heaven in the wilderness, is offered through the image of Christ painted on the church within the painting of the Vat. gr. 752 manuscript. In recalling the quintessential iconography of David's repentance, the manuscript's image focuses on that aspect of the psalm rather than the threat to David's body and soul. Other psalters remove all threats to David. The Theodore and Barberini psalters simply show him standing with arms raised in a prayer asking for forgiveness as per the first verse of the psalm, while blessed and by implication, forgiven, by Christ (Figure 149).[415]

David also kneels in *proskynesis* with his hands covered under an arc of heaven in the image prefacing Psalm 42 (Figure 150).[416] Armored cavalry charges at him from behind with

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[413] Athanasius, *The Resurrection Letters, St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria from A.D. 328-373*, ed. and trans. Jack N. Sparks (Nashville: T. Nelson, 1979), 151.

[414] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:18. The caption derives from Theodoret's commentary on verse four. Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:229–30.

[415] The image is captioned "ὁ δᾶδ λἐγ(ει)" ("David says"). David's royal position is emphasized in this image in the Theodore Psalter as he wears the *loros*, while the same image in the Barberini Psalter depicts him in the usual *chlamys*.

[416] The arc of heaven's thick red outline is the result of later overpainting and does not affect any iconographic interpretation for the prefatory image. There are no other indications of overpainting in this illustration.

their spears drawn. Two men wearing short tunics armed with spears and shields attack him frontally on the right side of the image. The small inscription in the margin above the image reports only that "David prays." Despite some areas of damage, enough of the illustration is left intact, especially on the gilded background, to discern that the inscription was the only one applied to the image. Nothing in the words of the psalm requires the armed men attacking David, but the planner of the image must have drawn inspiration from parts of the first and second verses: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an unholy nation; deliver me from an unjust and treacherous man. For you, O God, are my strength: why have you cast me off? and why do I go sad of countenance, while the enemy oppresses me?"[417]

Zygabenus gives both a historical and allegorical interpretation to the first verses of this psalm. Historically, the unholy nation is Babylon and the treacherous man is a king that he relates to the plight of the three youths of the Book of Daniel. Allegorically, Zygabenus writes "But you will understand 'nation' also as the demons and similarly the 'unjust and deceitful man' as the devil, as has been said before."[418] David's attackers, then, may be interpreted both historically, but also as those who, corrupted by the devil and his minions, also metaphorically attack the virtuous person. In his introductory paragraph to the commentary on Psalm 42, Zygabenus links it with the overall message of Psalm 41, which he gives as: [419]

> The words of the present psalm are also fitting for everyone who has suffered considerably in this life for God and who desires to depart and return to God. This person will understand the mockers not only as the demons, but also as the barbarian enemies.

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[417] "Κρίνον με, ὁ Θεός, καὶ δίκασον τὴν δίκην μου ἐξ ἔθνους οὐχ ὁσίου· ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀδίκου καὶ δολίου ῥῦσαί με. ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς κραταίωμά μου· ἱνατί ἀπώσω με; καὶ ἱνατί σκυθρωπάζων πορεύομαι ἐν τῷ ἐκθλίβειν τὸν ἐχθρόν μου;" DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:16.

[418] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 250.

[419] Zygabenus, 249.

The marginal psalters do not appear to illustrate Psalm 42. Chludov, for example, contains all but the last few worlds of the psalm on f. 42r. There are no illustrations on this folio. Folio 42v is not given. There then appears to be a replacement that corresponds to 43v, and begins halfway through Psalm 43 with "κύκλῳ ἡμῶν," the final words of Psalm 43, verse 14. The Theodore Psalter preserves the entirely of Psalm 42 on ff. 51r-53r (top). No illustration exists.[420]

In the Vat. gr. 1927 image, David kneels in front of a purple mountain. The image, however, omits any buildings or holy structures, despite the psalm and its various commentaries referring to a tabernacle and altars in verses 3–4. David's request for divine aid is unmediated by any altars or items constructed by human hands, carried to the Lord not by sacrifice at an altar but via the corporeal and vocal behaviors of prayer produced by his own body within the holy space of the wilderness. Looking back on the exemplars of Anthony and others in the desert, as well as other saints and monastics who spent their lives doing battle with demons by the strength of their prayers, tears, and gestures, the simplicity of the choice of illustration in Vat. gr. 1927 for Psalm 42 is fitting.

David as Spiritual Father

A spiritual father returns to society having been prepared for this demanding role through his spiritual struggles in the wilderness. Upon return, he acts as teacher, mentor, guide, and in some cases witness to theophany. Vat. gr. 1927 presents King David in all these roles. In the following sections I argue that through his struggles in the wilderness and assumption of the various roles required of a spiritual father, King David takes on the mantle of a monastic spiritual father throughout the manuscript. This individual, called in various languages, *abba*, *geron*, or

[420] Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 42.

starets, does not have to be a monk, ordained in any way, or necessarily even a man, though this is most often the case. He is a companion and guide on the road to salvation. The role has its roots in the earliest Eastern monastic practices. Hausherr provides an excellent overview of the moral, intellectual, and hierarchical qualities necessary for spiritual fatherhood in his study of the subject.[421]

Of these qualities, the primary and most important is *diakrisis* (discernment), which allows for insight into each individual disciple's heart and mind during the practice known as *logismoi*, which is best translated here as "disclosure of thoughts."[422] This practice should not be conflated with the sacrament of Confession. Indeed, a disciple should ideally speak not only of sin, but of all thoughts and actions, as the spiritual father's *diakrisis* allows him to discern potential pitfalls of which the disciple is totally unaware. The *Apothegmata Patrum* often uses *logismoi* to simply mean "thoughts." This is demonstrated in the following saying, which also emphasizes the importance of disclosure to the spiritual father: [423]

> If unclean *logismoi* are troubling you, do not hide them, but tell your spiritual father about them without delay and castigate them. For as long as a man conceals his *logismoi*, they multiply and gain power. For just as a snake immediately takes flight if it emerges from its lair, so an evil *logismos* is eliminated as soon as it is brought to light. An evil *logismos* disappears into the heart just as a worm disappears into wood. He who reveals his *logismoi* is quickly healed; he who conceals them suffers with pride, for if you do not have confidence in someone to declare your battles to him, this is an indication that you do not possess humility…

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[421] Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, 51–122. See also chapter 4 in Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood*, 91–117. Turner lays out the duties of the spiritual father to his disciple in chapter 5, "The Spiritual Father at Work," 118-190.

[422] "Disclosure of thoughts" is the best translation for the confessional practice known as *logismoi*. As a noun it may be translated as thoughts, disposition, or even meditation.

[423] N592.50 in Wortley, *The "Anonymous" Sayings of the Desert Fathers: A Select Edition and Complete English Translation*, 420–21.

The *Apothegmata Patrum* often groups bad *logismous* and demons together. For example, *logismos* N.592.60 begins "If a *logismos* of high-mindedness trouble you, say to the demon…", and N.592.62 suggests that "There are times when *logismoi* and demons are swirling around you while you are sitting [in your cell]. Get up at once and pray; walk around outside and they will be scattered away from you."[424]

Another vital gift is the ability to teach, and the literature pertaining to spiritual fathers is filled with anecdotes of lessons provided for them throughout the ages. Many of the images in Vat. gr. 1927 situate King David in the role of teacher, positioning him as a fulcrum around which the composition of other figures is arranged and the narrative scene occurs. He looks and gestures at groupings of figures or narrative elements of the image to direct the viewer's gaze in a specific fashion so that the reader may draw moralizing messages drawn from both the words of the Psalms and from commentaries and monastic texts that are encoded in the illustrations.

In the illustration for Psalm 93, the large figure of David stands at the center of the image (Figure 31). Staring out at the viewer, he points with his right hand and gestures up to Christ, nested in the customary arc. To either side of the arc angels grasp it, a possible reference to the Ascension, which is often associated with the Last Judgment by commentators such as Pseudo-Athanasius, Eusebius, and Theodoret.[425] The miniature's caption, verse 2 ("lift yourself up, the

[424] Wortley, 424–27.

[425] Pseudo-Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG 27:1052; Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG 23:1196; Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:118. Zygabenus associates this verse with the ascension and subsequent theophany and judgment, thus obliquely referencing the Last Judgment. "Having ascended to the throne of judgment, that is, judging and sentencing and avenging, be exalted, that is, reveal yourself and make yourself known to all." Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 536.

one who judges the earth…") is a text that easily leads to associations with the Ascension.[426] With his left hand David points to two men beating a man and a woman with clubs, causing them to bleed. The caption indicates that these unfortunate figures are the widow and the fatherless slain by the wicked in verse 6.[427] To the left of the scene is a group of men laid low. They are accompanied by the entirety of verse 23, though as usual most words are individually abbreviated: "And the Lord will recompense to them their iniquity and their wickedness: the Lord our God shall utterly destroy them."[428]

The illustration may be read in two ways. The first emphasizes the sinners and suggests that here David offers a simple choice: you can be like these sinners or you can go to heaven at the Last Judgment. Given, however, that the viewer's gaze is drawn via David's in a sweeping arc from the violent beating of innocents up to Christ gloriously ascending to heaven, the image can more appropriately be interpreted as one of martyrdom and its rewards, once again calling to mind the red and white martyrdoms. David, meeting the viewer's gaze and connecting heaven and earth, suffering and reward, with his outstretched arms, imparts the lesson to the viewer that if one suffers in life, one will be saved; in the end, the wicked will be utterly destroyed.

Vat. gr. 752 bases its illustration for Psalm 93 on commentary of Athanasius, giving an eschatological interpretation to the psalm's words (Figure 151: Vat. gr. 752, 294r). In the upper portion of the image, five men garbed as bishops raise their hands in supplication in the direction of an inscription; the lower part of the image contains an angel painted entirely in red forcibly

[426] "ὑψώθητι ὁ κρίνων τὴν γῆν…"

[427] "6 χήραν (καὶ) ὀρφανὸν ἀπέκτειναν…" ("They have slain the widow and orphan…")

[428] "(καὶ) ἀποδώσ(ει) αὐτ(οῖς) κ(ύριο)ς τ(ὴ)ν ἀνομ(ίαν) αὐτ(ῶν) κ(αὶ) κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴ)ν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν [ἀ]φανιεῖ αὐτ(οὺς) k(ύριο)ς ὁ θ(εό)ς."

consigning souls to the underworld/hell, here portrayed as a dark pit or cave.[429] The inscription reads "οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ" ("The priests destined to receive the good things of Christ"). Further down, an inscription reads "Ἡ κόλασις" ("The underworld/Hell"). According to Athanasius, one should not lose hope when evildoers prosper in life while the good suffer:

> For nothing remains in the same condition, but changes. Indeed, the persecution of the latter shall be changed into a perpetual possession of good things, while the good things which the former seem to have will be turned into eternal punishment.[430]

Unlike Vat. gr. 1927, here only the text references the eternal rewards meted out by Christ to the good. Although Vat. gr. 752 does not shy away from the ahistorical insertion of Christ into scenes, here the person of Christ is not illustrated as an active agent of salvation as he is in Vat. gr. 1927. His presence and role are indicated both by the *nomina sacra* of his name within the inscription that promises salvation, as well as the supplicating hands and bodies of the bishops directed toward the inscription. The dramatic visualizations of Christ's agency in the economy of salvation that occur throughout Vat. gr. 1927 do not occur in the same way as they do in Vat. gr. 752. Those of Vat. gr. 1927 likely relate to the emphasis placed on the visionary experience of Christ's theophanies by Symeon the New Theologian and the role his writings and beliefs played in the creation of Vat. gr. 1927's illustrative program.

The two illustrations also differ in ways that reveal a martyrial charge of meaning in Vat. gr. 1927. Vat. gr. 752 singles out priests and, more specifically, early Christian bishops, as those

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[429] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:31. DeWald identifies these bishops as (left to right) Nicholas of Myra/Bari, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nyssa. The hair and beards types given to each figure are similar to the standard types for each man to make this identification plausible.

[430] Athanasius PG 27:408-9.

who will receive heavenly rewards. Although John Chrysostom died during a forced march into exile on September 14, 407 C.E., neither he nor the other four bishops pictured suffered a "true" martyr's death. Nor are the sins of those consigned to the pit of hell enumerated or illustrated in any way. They appear largely as disembodied heads within the gloomy pit. Only a few simple crowns adorning several of the heads give any indication that kings are among the condemned; nothing at all is known of the sins that led to such an eternal fate. This straightforward image contrasts with that found in Vat. gr. 1927, which requires knowledge of psalter commentaries to understand the relationship between Psalm 93, the Ascension, and the Last Judgment as relates to the iconography of Christ and the angels. King David is also required to direct the viewer's gaze towards the martyred figures of the widow and orphan, instructing the viewer in the rewards due to those faithful who suffer in life. The choice to illustrate generic vulnerable figures from the community also imparts the lesson that many of the faithful can and will be saved. The message proffered by the image has a more universal appeal than that found in Vat. gr. 752, where a spiritual elite, not simply clergy, but some of the greatest theologians and writers of the early church, are the ones depicted as rewarded with the "good things of Christ."

Comparison of the image to those found in marginal psalter illustrations for Psalm 93 further underscores the image's didactic bent. For example, the Theodore Psalter, which was produced for an abbot in a monastic context, contains two images of martyrdom for Psalm 93 without a moralizing didactic charge or obvious eschatological allusions to the Last Judgment (Figure 152). The opening of the psalm is illustrated with a two-part image taking up much of the left verso margin and bas-de-page: St. Nestor kills the gladiator Lykaios; to the right sits a king, wearing the *loros* of a Byzantine emperor, who is captioned as grieving at the news of the loss of

his gladiator.[431] This scene in the Theodore Psalter is one of victory and loss in the historical world, and anyone familiar with the story would also think of Nestor's forthcoming triumph as a martyr. No other illustrations occur until the end of the psalm. There, an elaborate architectural scene of a circus at which spectators, led by the eparch, gaze down upon a lion devouring a martyr illustrates verse 21: "They will hunt for the soul of the righteous, and condemn innocent blood (Figure 153)."[432] Although these bookend images illustrate martyrdom, they do so in a very different fashion than that of the prefatory image for Psalm 93 in Vat. gr. 1927. Lacking overtly Christological imagery, the Theodore Psalter's vignettes portray earthly, even historical, events. With its Christological overlay of the Ascension and unnamed groups to either side of King David, Vat. gr. 1927 illustrates both the earthly present and the time of the *Parousia*, when the wicked receive their final condemnation and those who have suffered martyrdom will ascend. In clearly directing the viewer's gaze to martyrdom and triumphant reward, King David positions himself as instructor and spiritual father to the viewer.

Psalm 26 presents King David once again instructing the viewer regarding the choices presented in the psalm's verses (Figure 154). Standing at the center of the illustration, he is drawn noticeably larger than the other figures in the image. David points to his left, where a group of his enemies, described as "κακοῦντας" or those who do bad things, have fainted and

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[431] St. Nestor of Thessaloniki, a companion of St. Demetrius, was moved to fight against the gladiator Lykaios, a notorious tormentor and killer of Christians in the amphitheater. Having acquired a blessing from the imprisoned St. Demetrius he was able to kill Lykaios during their fight. This enraged Emperor Maximian, who condemned St. Nestor to be killed by his own sword.

[432] "θηρεύσουσιν ἐπὶ ψυχὴν δικαίου καὶ αἷμα ἀθῷον καταδικάσονται." As with the other marginal psalters, the Theodore Psalter contains symbols to specifically associate certain psalm verses with marginal illustrations. The circus scene inhabits the entire right (recto) margin and lacks such a symbol. Psalm 94 begins halfway down the folio but is a psalm of thanksgiving and victory; it does not contain verses that lend themselves to images of martyrdom.

fallen per verse 2, here into a pit.[433] With his right hand, he points upwards to an arc of heaven inhabited by a bust of Christ. This scene is captioned by part of the first verse: "The Lord is my light" [and my salvation]…[434] To his left, a group of men described as the "unjust witnesses" of verse 12 rush at him with spears.[435] Finally, on a hill above those fallen into the pit at the right of the image are a building and a baldachin beyond the hill.

Vat. gr. 1927 gives only the first half of the title for the psalm: "ψαλμος τω ΔΑΔ." Other psalters also include the remaining portion of the title: "πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι" ("before he was anointed"). This led to most other psalters illustrating Psalm 26 with David, not as king in Byzantine garb as he is in Vat. gr. 1927, but as the youthful shepherd playing to his flock. The Chludov Psalter includes a caption stating "ΔΑΔ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΙ," or "David before becoming king." (Figure 155). The Theodore Psalter also uses such an illustration; interestingly, in the same manner as Vat. gr. 1927 it incorporates only the first half of the title, but includes the second half as part of the caption of the image, thus aligning the psalm's illustration with the text's full title, temporality, and meaning (Figure 156). Vat. gr. 752 employs different iconography, illustrating Psalm 26 with David as bearded Byzantine emperor in a *loros*. It shows the moment of David's third anointment as king over the tribes of Israel by the prophet Nathan while being raised on a shield, which was part of a longstanding Byzantine practice for acclaiming a new emperor (Figure 157).[436] This image is commonly found in the so-called

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[433] "(ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ κακοῦντας τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου, οἱ θλίβοντές με καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί μου,) αὐτοὶ ἰσθένησα(ν) (καὶ) ἔπεσ(αν)."

[434] "κ(ύριο)ς φωτισμός μ(ου)…"

[435] "…ὅτι ἐπανέστησάν μ(οι) μρμρ = (μάρτυρες) ἄδι(κοι)…"

[436] Theodoret identifies the three instances of David's anointment in the commentary to Psalm 26. See Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:172–73; DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:16. Theodoret, as well as later commentators such as Euthymius Zygabenus,

"aristocratic" psalters.[437] He does not, however, have a white beard, but is instead portrayed as a vigorous adult with a hint of a brown beard. Eliminating any references to David's anointment and youth allows for him to be portrayed in Vat. gr. 1927's illustration for Psalm 26 as old man and king, filled with knowledge and experience that he might impart to the viewer having taken on the role of spiritual father and teacher.

King David's instruction in this illustration centers around the message of Psalm 26's first verse, the beginning line of which was written at the center of the miniature in the small amount of room available between the top of David's crown and Christ in Heaven. The viewer would not even need to turn to the text under this illustration to recall the remainder of verse 1: "The Lord is my light and my Savior; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the defender of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?"[438] While many commentators have expounded on the light of the Lord, a number elaborate on the question presented by this verse: "whom shall I fear?" For example, Leo the Great spoke of the victory against enemies one might experience when being faithful and obedient to God:[439]

> In rendering service to the grace of God, we are not only made subject to our King through obedience but are even joined to him through the will. If we are of one mind with him (willingly what he wills, disapproving of what he disapproves), he himself will bring

identify this psalm as written before his second anointment in Hebron by the tribe of Judah. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 53. The inscription to the image, however, is taken from 2 Kings 5:3 and refers to his ultimate anointment as king over all Israel: "… κ(αὶ) χρίουσι τ(ὸν) Δα(υὶ)δ εἰς βασιλέ(α) ἐπὶ πάντ(α) ’Ι(σρα)ήλ" "… and they anoint David as king over all Israel."

[437] For the most comprehensive overview of the "aristocratic" group of psalters to date with images of David's anointment on a shield see Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*. For more information on the raising of the shield in Byzantine art see Ernst Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti - Lever Du Roi," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 117–77.

[438] Κύριος φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου· τίνα φοβηθήσομαι; Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου· ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω;

[439] Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 206.

> us victory in all our battles. He who has given the "will" will bestow also the ability. In this way can we "cooperate" with his works, speaking that prophetic utterance in the exultation of faith…

Origen interprets these enemies in a decidedly supernatural fashion, stating that Christians should not even fear demons as they are protected by God.[440] Theodoret, on the other hand, takes a largely historical approach to the psalm, relating it to David's pursuit by Saul, although he does mention that with the help of the Lord "I scorn all my enemies together."[441] Zygabenus also takes a more earthly interpretation for these enemies. Most importantly, he clearly states who is to be feared: "… and my savior as delivering me from the treachery of the enemies. 'Whom', in the sense of 'no one'."[442] David's indication of Christ with the positioning of the caption is an immediate signifier to the viewer to hold fast in faith and turn to the Lord in times of trouble and need, whether the assaults come from earthly or spiritual sources; he also clearly points out the consequences of assailing one who has such faith in the Lord, as seen in the men laid low in the pit to the right of the scene.

With David acting as a fulcrum between Christ and those laid low to the lower right of the image, the viewer's eyes inevitably sweep their gaze over to the building and baldachin atop the hill on the right. Although not associated with text from a specific psalm verse, the baldachin indicates that these are holy structures. Several verses from the psalms indicate that salvation might also be found there:[443]

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[440] Origen, *Against Celsus* 8.27, PG 11:1556D.

[441] Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:173.

[442] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 154.

[443] "4 μίαν ᾐτησάμην παρὰ Κυρίου, ταύτην ἐκζητήσω· τοῦ κατοικεῖν με ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου, τοῦ θεωρεῖν με τὴν τερπνότητα Κυρίου καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον αὐτοῦ. 5 ὅτι ἔκρυψέ με ἐν σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακῶν μου, ἐσκέπασέ με ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ, ἐν πέτρᾳ ὕψωσέ με. 6 καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ὕψωσε κεφαλήν μου ἐπ᾽

> 4 One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I earnestly seek: that I should dwell in the house of the Lord, all the days of my life, that I should behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and survey his temple. 5 For in the day of mine afflictions he hid me in his tabernacle: he sheltered me in the secret of his tabernacle; he set me up on a rock. 6 And now, behold, he has lifted up mine head over mine enemies: I went round and offered in his tabernacle the sacrifice of joy; I will sing even sing psalms to the Lord.

In these verses, deliverance is achieved through the tabernacle, while the singing of psalms properly praises the Lord for his interventions on behalf of one with faith. When one thinks of the practice and goals of the monastic life, the earliest verses of Psalm 26 clearly lay them out: one is assailed but is delivered via faith in the Lord; one is shielded by the "tabernacle" of the church and monastery and one both battles and gives thanks continuously through the recitation or singing of the Psalms. As Theodoret states: [444]

> "Now, having enjoyed such beneficence, he is saying, I seek from my benefactor not wealth or influence, royalty or glory, but constant attendance in the divine temple, contemplation of the divine beauty there, and inspection of everything happening in accordance with law. I have a feeling of benefit, in fact, having already secured salvation from that source and escaped the hands of my pursuers. This the mighty David both asked for and received from the munificent God: he brought back the divine Ark, erected another, more wonderful tabernacle, and assembled the different choirs of singers; you could gain a more precise knowledge of this from the books of Chronicles."

The true end of monastic life is achieve the goal presented in verse 4: to dwell in the house of the Lord forever. The composition of this illustration, therefore, was devised to allow the viewer to think of this psalm in both literal/historic and anagogical terms.

ἐχθρούς μου· ἐκύκλωσα καὶ ἔθυσα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν ἀλαλαγμοῦ, ᾄσομαι καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ Κυρίῳ."

[444] Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:174. Zygabenus has a similar interpretation, although his commentary takes *σκηνή* (Tabernacle, according to Theodoret) to be far less literal. Meaning a covered place, often "tent," Zygabenus interprets this as simply being put under the protection of the Lord without it necessarily referring to a specific structure. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 155.

The men with spears assailing King David to the left are specifically identified with the "unjust witnesses" of verse 12. Given the traditional ascription of this psalm to the period during which David was pursued by Saul, this association would be immediately identifiable to the viewer. But David warred with Saul as a young man, not the white-haired king seen in this image. That the soldiers are identified as "unjust witnesses" might also allow this image to be interpreted in relation to relatively recent issues in Byzantine society, especially if one accepts that the beliefs and practices of Symeon the New Theologian are obliquely referenced throughout this manuscript. Psalm 26 references enemies a number of times in the earlier verses. As these men are armed with spears, it would make much more sense to caption it with verse 3: "Though an army should set itself in array against me, my heart shall not be afraid: though war should rise up against me, in this am I confident."[445] Instead, the armed men specifically illustrate verse 12: "Deliver me not over to the desire of them that afflict me; for unjust witnesses have risen up against me, and injustice has lied within herself."[446] The caption makes clear that despite the martial accoutrements, the attacks are verbal in nature. In fact, Zygabenus comments on that part of verse 12 with "For unjustly Saul used to bear witness against him that he was plotting to kill him."[447] Reference to rhetorical attacks and outright lies on the part of witnesses, as well as the choice to present David not as a youth threatened by Saul but as an old king, strengthens the argument that here King David inhabits the role of a spiritual father when one considers events from the life of Symeon the New Theologian.

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[445] 3 "ἐὰν παρατάξηται ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ παρεμβολή, οὐ φοβηθήσεται ἡ καρδία μου· ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ πόλεμος, ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω."

[446] "μὴ παραδῷς με εἰς ψυχὰς θλιβόντων με, ὅτι ἐπανέστησάν μοι μάρτυρες ἄδικοι, καὶ ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ."

[447] "Κατεμαρτύρει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ Σαοὺλ ἀδίκως, ὡς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν μελετῶντος."

Symeon the New Theologian found himself under investigation a number of times during his life. Played up in his *bios* by Niketas Stethatos were the repeated attacks against his attempts to establish the saintly cult of his own spiritual father, the charismatic Symeon Eulabes of the Stoudios Monastery. According to Stethatos, Symeon:[448]

> … wrote hymns to <his spiritual father> and encomia as a result of divine revelation, and a whole *Life* about him. Also, so that he might make people eager to imitate the man he was praising and become workers of virtue, he celebrated Symeon Eulabes' memory magnificently every year along with all the saints according to the tradition of the apostles, and had a record of his image painted as a graphic memorial to his virtue.

Although the Patriarch Sergios of Constantinople had approved of these behaviors at the turn of the eleventh century, Symeon's cult practices were soon under attack by Stephen, metropolitan of Nikomedia.[449] Throughout his recounting of the interactions between Symeon and Stephen, Stethatos repeatedly refers to the use of words and language using the vocabulary of weapons and warfare. In these interludes, text and speech become a battlefield and can wound as readily as any physical implement.

When introducing Stephen as the villain of this episode, Stethatos took care to emphasize the man's eloquence and ability to use words as weapons. Thus Stephen of Nikomedia, given the epithet "sharp-tongued"[450] by Stethatos, "was able to provide solutions with fluent speech and a supple tongue," and mocked Symeon as being "inarticulate and unable even to grunt when faced

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[448] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 165.

[449] For a concise synopsis of the entire affair see Charles Barber, "Icon and Portrait in the Trial of Symeon the New Theologian," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 25–28. Charles Barber, *Contesting the Logic of Painting: Art and Understanding in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 54–55. Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood*, 33–34.

[450] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 177.

with wise men who knew how to make skillful arguments with words," (all due to jealously over Symeon's holiness and popularity, of course).[451] He attempted to trap Symeon with Symeon's own words by asking him to answer a question on the spot regarding the Trinity; an imprecise answer could have opened up Symeon to charges of heresy.[452] In this exchange words could be used as weapons by both sides, and Stethatos describes Stephen as being "struck through the heart by the barbs of Symeon's most wise statement, for according to Solomon *the sayings of the wise are like goads* (Ecc. 12:11)."[453]

Several years later (ca. 1008–1009) Symeon and the cult of his mentor were once again put before the synod.[454] This time, however, Stephen of Nicomedia attacked Symeon Eulabes' worthiness for sainthood. Stethatos compares Stephen's verbal attacks to those levied against Christ himself:

> "Although his spiritual father was a sinner," he said, "Symeon sings his praises as though he were a saint among the saints and venerates the icon of him that he has had painted." This was the allegation devised by the wise *synkellos* against Symeon, who had never wronged him at all. This was the pretext for that blessed man's condemnation, an allegation equal to that used for the condemnation of Christ; for He was then accused by the God killers as *a glutton and a drinker; a friend of tax gatherers and sinners* (Matthew 11;19), and He was disparaged as a demoniac since He said that God was His own Father and honored Him, as His reply to them <indicates>, "*I do not have a demon, but because I honor my Father, you dishonor me* (John 8:49)."[455]

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[451] Nikētas Stethatos,169.

[452] Nikētas Stethatos, 171–73.

[453] Nikētas Stethatos, 179.

[454] Barber, *Contesting the Logic of Painting: Art and Understanding in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, 55.

[455] Nikētas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, 185–87.

Symeon was not even able to escape an attack of words from some of his own monks at St. Mamas in this affair, as "there were also some slanderers among the monks of Symeon's fold who were infected with the madness of Judas against their teacher."[456] Both he and his spiritual father were persecuted with words, just as King David in his role as spiritual father in the illustration for Psalm 26.

Psalm 45 once again presents King David as intermediary between Christ and the viewer (Figure 158). A bust-length Christ in purple garb inhabits an arc of heaven in the center of the image. He rains fire down onto a group of shields outside of architecture intimating a city, illustrating the part of verse 10 that predicts the Lord will "burn the bucklers with fire."[457] This architecture might be interpreted as the City of God, as from it springs a river that trifurcates and is captioned in the right margin by verse 5: "the flowings of the river gladden the City of God…"[458] Beneath Christ stands King David, whose heavily-damaged head is discernable only as a smear of paint at the present time. David points to groups of men on either side with his right arm up and left down: to his right are the ones instructed to "be still and know that I am God," here depicted as Jewish priests or elders;[459] to his left is the group of men who find their voice in verse 3 and announce their lack of fear through trial and tribulation.[460]

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[456] Nikētas Stethatos, 201.

[457] "…(καὶ) θυρε(οὺς) κατακαύσ(ει) ἐν πυρί."

[458] "τοῦ ποτ(α)μ(οῦ) τα ὁρμήματ(α) εὐφραίνουσι την πό(λιν) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ·"

[459] "σχολάσατ(ε) κ(αὶ) γνῶτ(ε) (ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεός)…"

[460] "Therefore will we not fear when the earth is troubled, and the mountains are removed into the depths of the seas." "διὰ τοῦτ(ο) οὐ φοβηθησόμεθ(α) (ἐν τῷ ταράσσεσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι ὄρη ἐν καρδίαις θαλασσῶν.)"

Unlike other illustrations in which David presents both positive and negative exemplars, here the image focuses on the good that comes from faith in the Lord. In his letter to Marcellinus, Athanasius recommends this psalm as one that "flying to God and being kept safe from the tribulations that take place around you, if you want to thank God and to recount the philanthropy that has come to you, you have the forty-fifth."[461] Here, however, there is no trace, as in so many images in Vat. gr. 1927, of the groups of faithful standing as one and raising heads and hands up to the Lord in heaven in thanks. The two groups appear to be discussing something among themselves. One exception is the priest/elder closest to David on the left; he faces David and raises his hands in supplication, perhaps as a visual indicator of the one who is still and knows God from the psalm verse.

By depicting the groups of men as those who know God, that is, those who have faith in God and those who do not fear despite having gone through tribulations, the scene shifts the inflection of the psalm from one of thanksgiving to one of instruction. Such emphasis may be found in the commentary of Chrysostom, who writes: [462]

> As I have often said, he does not prevent the tribulations coming, but he is at hand when they come, making us tried and tested… providing greater encouragement from the assistance than the pain from the tribulations. The assistance he provides us with, you see, is not simply as much as the nature of the troubles requires but much more.

In his homily on Psalm 45, Basil of Caesarea also begins with a didactic bent focusing on choice and discernment, as those who seek refuge in God might lose their knowledge of God due to the devil and instead erroneously turn to idols and false deities.[463] Like Chrysostom, he emphasizes

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[461] Athanasius, Saint, *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, 118.

[462] John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Old Testament Homilies*, 1:291–92.

[463] Saint Basil of Caesarea, *Exegetic Homilies*, trans. Agnes Clare Way (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 298.

the processual experience of testing and troubles. In fact, Basil goes further in reminding his audience to always look on the bright side of life, so to speak, in the face of difficulties; undergoing them can prevent sin.[464] He follows this with more instruction: [465]

> Do not flee, then, what you do not need to flee, and do not have recourse to him to whom it is unnecessary. But, one thing you must flee, sin; and one refuge from evil must be sought, God. Do not trust in princes; do not be exalted in the uncertainty of wealth; do not be proud of bodily strength: do not pursue the splendor of human glory. None of these things saves you; all are transient, all are deceptive. There is one refuge, God.

Zygabenus also highlights the process of undergoing affliction while seeking God's refuge: [466]

> Note that afflictions beset those who live in a godly way, pursuing them by God's consent so that having been exercised they may become stronger, for as is written, *Affliction produces endurance, and endurance strength of character* (Rom. 5:3). God does not prevent trials for the reason mentioned, but when they supervene he stands by as a helper.

In this image, David directs the viewer's gaze toward two groups who have undergone the trials outlined in the psalm.

The group to the right of the image, captioned as those who are without fear, invokes for the viewer what is not pictured in the illustration, namely the weather/elemental trials and tribulations enumerated in the psalm, which received allegorical interpretations according to several commentators such as Zygabenus and Theodoret: [467]

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[464] "Yet, frequently the disease is useful when it will restrain the sinner, and health is harmful when it becomes the means for sin to one who possesses it." Basil of Caesarea, 298.

[465] Basil of Caesarea, 299.

[466] Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 268–69.

[467] Zygabenus, 268-269. His interpretation is in line with that of Theodoret, who went on to draw an allegorical connection between verse three, the preaching of the Apostles, and the prophesy of Habakkuk in 3:15 "You rode your horses into the sea to disturb the mighty waters." See Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:268–69. Here Zygabenus suggests that Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea gave a literal interpretation to this verse. This is not entirely accurate. In his exegesis, Chrysostom, for example, mentions battles and the attacks of enemies in reference to Verse three

> We shall not fear when the earth is troubled, namely, the earthly minded tyrants and subjects, for they were troubled on being moved from their hereditary way of life. Indeed, not even when the mountains, that is, the elated demons, are moved, namely, enter into the hearts of briny and bitter people, maddening them to murderous rage against us, for the book of the Acts of the Apostles presents many such things as having happened. Their (that is the demons') waters are the idolaters, carried here and there like waters by the blusterings of demonic deception. These idolaters echoed on the one hand by shouting out and urging one another on, and on the other hand they were troubled, unsettled by the strange wonders worked by the servants of God and their insuperable power; the mountains were also troubled, that is, the demons themselves, becoming debilitated and being driven away.

This group has successfully gone through these trials. For a monk or one monastically inclined, considering the trials in the allegorical light of overcoming demons imparts to the group not only a didactic, but also an anagogic lesson in light of the remaining elements of the image and the psalm: having undergone these trials, one is at peace and can enjoy the future fruits of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

Verse 10 refers to the peace that occurs after the Lord has put "an end to wars as for the ends of the earth" by destroying its weapons.[468] God's agency is illustrated by the stream of fire raining down from Christ onto the bucklers as called for in this verse. These, as Diodore of Tarsus has interpreted, are the weapons of the enemy.[469] Multiple commentators believed that this prophesied the peace that occurred after the coming of Christ, either literally or figuratively as the peace that came to the Church after Christianity was recognized by the Roman empire as a lawful religion.[470] The architectural structures found in Vat. gr. 1927's illustration for Psalm 45

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in addition to his literal reading. John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Old Testament Homilies*, 1:292.

[468] "ἀνταναιρῶν πολέμους μέχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς"

[469] Blaising and Hardin, *Psalms 1 – 50*, 359.

[470] Theodoret expressly relates the verse to the ending of persecution against Christianity: "In the time of Christ the Savior, by contrast, the kingdom of the Romans toppled the individual kingdoms and prepared the ears of all human beings for the preachers: it was without fear that

can thus be interpreted to stand in for the Church in this world, but also according to commentary, anagogically, as the Heavenly Jerusalem.[471] Psalm 45's illustration in the Theodore Psalter makes the conflation of the earthly church and the Heavenly Jerusalem in psalm exegesis explicit (Figure 159). A domed building topped by a cross, unambiguously an image of an ecclesiastical structure, is captioned ἡ πόλις (the city). In front of this building stands a holy figure called the ἱεράρχ(ης) (the high priest). A personification of River (ποταμός) releases from his mouth a river that flows around the church and provides water for trees, deer and rabbits; the totality of the illustration intimates a setting that at once calls to mind both heaven and earth.

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they traveled throughout one kingdom and brought the saving message to humankind. The verse, *bringing wars to an end as far as the ends of the earth. He will break the bow, smash weapons, and burn shields in fire,* was thus fulfilled in a historical sense; but if you wanted to understand it in a more figurative way, you would have regard for the cessation of hostilities against the Church and the peace provided them from God, and you would perceive the realization of the prophecy." Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:272. Chrysostom restricts his interpretation to the general state of the world, but also put forth a spiritual interpretation of the verse. "On the other hand, you would not be wrong to take this both in a spiritual sense and with reference to the present time. He won a vicious war against the demons, remember, and extended peace everywhere throughout the world… Before the coming of Christ, you see, everybody took up arms, no one was free of this service, cities fought cities, and everywhere the skirmish of battle rang out. Now, on the contrary, most of the world is at peace, everyone pursuing their occupations unconcerned, tilling the soil, sailing the sea. Military force enlisted on behalf of all others is by contrast minimal." John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Old Testament Homilies*, 1:295. Zygabenus also takes a more literal interpretation of the verse. Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 271.

[471] Theodoret interprets the river as "the preaching of the Gospel" and the city as "the way of life of God-fearing people, watered by the streams of the river to the point of fruitfulness." This implies the earthly Church. Theodoret, *Psalms 1-72*, 1:270. Zygabenus is far more direct in writing that "The Church of Christians is the city of God on account of their godly way of life. The Apostles gladden the Church both by their life and their preaching." Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 269. Basil of Caesarea's anagogic interpretation relates this city of believers (the Church) with the Heavenly Jerusalem. It also takes a didactic turn when he exhorts his readers to "having raised the eyes of your soul, seek, in a manner worthy of things above, what pertains to the city of God."(18.4) Basil of Caesarea, *Exegetic Homilies*, 302–3.

The group to the left in the Vat. gr. 1927 image are those who are to "be still, and know that I am God" of verse 11.[472] Most English translations use "be still" for the verb σχολάζω. The verb has a primary meaning of being at leisure or having spare time. A secondary meaning, however, is to have respite from something or to cease from doing something. This sense of the verb must be realized while reading the psalm for its message to be conveyed fully. One has passed through trials, the Lord has brought peace to the world, and now one has respite from these troubles in the knowledge and love of God. Commentaries associated this peace with the coming of Christ and the legalization of the Church.[473] Zygabenus comments: "Take respite from constant wars, visible and invisible, and know that I am God in the true sense, from the signs worked through the power of the Gospel."[474] Portraying the group to the left as Jewish priests of the Old Testament adds an additional valence to the meaning of the image along the lines of Zygabenus' interpretation: after the coming of Christ many were able to follow the command of the eleventh verse and "know" (*γνῶτε*) God. In other words, they were able to convert to Christianity and become believers. This verse, especially when taken in the context of the

[472] "σχολάσατε καὶ γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεός·"

[473] Basil of Caesarea alludes to the Crucifixion in relation to verse 9 in his homily on Psalm 45 (18.7). Basil of Caesarea, *Exegetic Homilies*, 306. The Chludov Psalter illustrates this verse with a Crucifixion that also includes Dionysius the Areopagite standing to the right with the group identified as "Greeks" (*ELLHNES*) (Figure 160). The textual source for this may be found in the letter of Dionysius to Polycarp where he explains the natural phenomena that occurred at the time of the Crucifixion. Dionysius, *Epistula vii ad Polycarpem antistitem*, PG 3:1077-1081. Christopher Walter, "Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the 9th to the 11th Century," *Revue Des Études Byzantines*, 44 (1986): 275. André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme Byzantin: dossier archeologique* (Paris: Collège de France, 1957), 229–30. Neither the Pantokrator, Paris, or Bristol psalters preserve the folios for this psalm. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 45. The Barberini Psalter uses a much paired down illustration of the Crucifixion to illustrate verse 3 (Figure 161).

[474] "Σχολάσατε ἀπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων, ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, καὶ γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ κυρίως Θεὸς, ἐκ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐνεργουμένων διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς δυνάμεως."

illustration as a whole, would also resonate with the viewer and remind him of the of the long-awaited inner peace and eventual earthly and heavenly rewards that would come through endurance and faith, with David acting as director of understanding and intermediary between the viewer and Christ during the visual unpacking of the image.

David and Symeon

Vat. gr. 1927 also employs King David in unique typological scenes dense with multivalent meanings to act as teacher for the viewer and guide him to a proper understanding of the instruction intended by the image. The illustration to Psalm 108 is one such example. Its unique complexity furnishes further evidence for the deep literary and theological knowledge and education of the person who planned this psalter, as inspiration for parts of the image were derived from fairly obscure texts. For one who knows the life of Symeon the New Theologian, it also appears to obliquely comment on events of his life, even metaphorically associating him with both Justus Barsabbas and with King David.

The miniature accompanying Psalm 108 is divided into two registers (Figure 162). David and Christ stand to the left and right of center respectively. King David gestures in speech while also holding a scroll to indicate the prophetic nature of his psalms. To his left, Judas hangs himself from a tree. This portion of the illustration was captioned by two psalm verses. The inscription at the top left clearly identified the hanged man as Judas and truncates the opening of verse 2 of the psalm: "for the mouth of the sinner and the mouth of the deceitful have been opened against me."[475] The caption between Judas and David is unfortunately too damaged to be read.

[475] "ὅτι στόμ(α) ἁμαρτ(ω)λ(οῦ) (καὶ στόμα δολίου ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἠνοίχθη)…"

On the right, Christ raises his hand in speech in a gesture identical to that of David's. His body is turned to the right toward a disciple with a yellow himation approaching him with covered hands outstretched. Another man walks as if to exit stage right, his left knee bent sharply forward. This man's arms are outstretched and holding something, though damage makes the item impossible to discern. He cannot be the same disciple approaching Christ as he has a different face and a pink himation. Captioning this portion of the image is part of verse 8: "and let another take his office of overseer."[476]

The lower register illustrates a scene from the life of King David recounted in 2 Kings (Samuel): the death of his son Absalom. It is tied visually to the upper register via iconographic and compositional recapitulation. At the far left, David's son Absalom hangs by his hair from a tree directly under the hanging Judas. Under his image he is identified by name. A mounted soldier charging from the right cuts off his head. On the right side of the register a soldier (likely the same one) presents Absalom's head to David, who appears to hold his hands up to his face in a gesture of grief.[477] Carrying Absalom's head with outstretched arms while walking to the right of the scene, the soldier's pose clearly mimics that of the disciple above. Under this portion of the image is an extra-biblical caption explaining its iconography: "the soldier carrying the head of the son."[478]

Judas' hanging and his replacement by Matthias has long been associated with Psalm 108, especially in the works of Athanasius, Theodoret, and Chrysostom. For example, Theodoret associates the speaker of verse 2 with Christ and states that he calls Judas the sinner and deceitful

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[476] "…(καὶ) τὴν ἐπισκοπ(ὴν) (αὐτοῦ) λάβοι ἕτ(ερος)."

[477] Damage to this portion of the image obscures many of its details.

[478] "διακομίζων ὁ στρατιώ(της) τ(ὴν) κεφ(αλὴν) τ(οῦ) υἱ(οῦ)."

one of the verse.[479] The upper right of the register thus illustrates the transferal of apostleship from Judas to Matthias as recounted in Acts 1:12–26.[480] It is therefore most likely that the man walking off to the right is Joseph Barsabbas, also named Justus, who was the other man nominated for the position but not chosen when the lots were cast. Christ's theophanic presence and acceptance of Matthias in this scene illustrates the divine hand guiding the casting of lots following the prayer of the disciples in Acts 1:24–26.[481]

Other Byzantine psalters do not attempt to create a typological image in their illustrations to Psalm 108. The Chludov Psalter contains a tripartite image on f. 113r (Figure 163). Christ prays in the garden of Gethsemane while above him the hand of God reaches down to indicate speech. Below this, a demon whispers in Judas' ear, tempting him to betray Christ. The Evangelist Matthew stands in the lower margin, while to his right the demon from above hangs Judas by a rope from a tree. Both the Theodore and Barberini psalters also show this scene. Unlike Vat. gr. 1927, all three psalters depict the hanging rope being held by a black demon, almost as if Judas' hanging was not done under his own agency (Figures 164, 165). That Judas was under the sway of evil forces is amplified in the Chludov and Barberini psalters by the illustrative choice of a demon guiding and whispering to Judas for the earliest verses of the

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[479] DeWald recognized the contributions of Athanasius and Theodoret. DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:33. Theodoret, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, 2:200. See also Athanasius, PG 27:455 and Hesychius, PG 27:1137–1139; John Chrysostom, *St. John Chrysostom Commentary on the Psalms*, 1998, 2:5. Later commentators such as Zygabenus continue in this vein. See Zygabenus, *Psalter Commentary*, 617.

[480] Peter, in fact, quotes the very portion of verse 8 captioning the upper right portion of the illustration when he tells the disciples that another must be chosen in fulfillment of the scriptures.

[481] Acts 1:24–26: "Then they prayed, "Lord, you know everyone's heart. Show us which of these two you have chosen to take over this apostolic ministry, which Judas left to go where he belongs." Then they cast lots, and the lot fell to Matthias; so he was added to the eleven apostles."

psalm (Figure 166).[482] Theodore and Barberini further illustrate another hanging by a demon: that of a wealthy man with a stick who had ostensibly been beating a poor man (Figures 168, 169). In contrast, Vat. gr. 752 depicts Christ enthroned in front of a turreted structure speaking to two young men.[483]

How, one must ask, do the stories recounted in the two registers relate to one another aside from the act of hanging that occurs in each? Judas and Absalom have been placed in a typological relationship. Such a typological relationship is referenced directly only by Cassiodorus, who states that Absalom prefigures Judas.[484] To interpret and understand properly the underlying message of the illustration as a whole one much turn to two stories: one biblical, and one apocryphal but accepted as orthodox by the Byzantines.

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[482] There is no symbol directly correlating Judas and the demon with a specific verse of Psalm 108 in Barberini. Thus it might also be associated with the illustration above it, that of Christ praying in Gethsemane, which is linked to a specific verse of Psalm 107, unlike Chludov. However, the placement of Judas directly next to verse two of Psalm 108, which had long been considered by biblical exegetes to prefigure him, cannot be coincidental. The layout of images across this opening allowed for the viewer to witness both the temptation and punishment of Judas for his betrayal of Christ. Instead of gazing upward at the hand of God emerging from the heavens, and thus at God speaking to him, Christ's gaze is pointedly turned down to took at Judas below, thus reminding the viewer of his foreknowledge and foreshadowing the scene across the opening. In contrast, the Theodore Psalter presents an image of St. Epiphanios praying to a round icon of Christ (Figure 167). It appears that the layout of text dictated the placement of Christ's prayer in Gethsemane on f. 149r so that it could be associated with verse 12: "Give us help from tribulation: for vain is the help of man" ("δὸς ἡμῖν βοήθειαν ἐκ θλίψεως, καὶ ματαία σωτηρία ἀνθρώπου").

[483] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*, 2:33. The illustration and its inscription are taken from a commentary to verse two and typologically link the verse to the betrayal by Judas for silver. See *De Titulis Psalmorum*, PG 27:1137, 3.

[484] Cassiodorus mentions this link in two places. He brings up the reference again regarding Psalm 142, in which he states "Remember however that the history of this has already been recounted in Psalm 3; but there Absalom was named because the psalmist wished the example he offers to be applied only to Judas, whereas here he goes unnamed so that each of the faithful, as we have already said, may apply the words to his own faults." Cassiodorus, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. P. G. Walsh, vol. 3 (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1990), 406.

Absalom's rebellion against his father, King David, is recounted in 2 Kings (Samuel). David's orders to his generals were that the rebellion should be put down, but that the life of Absalom must be spared.[485] During the subsequent battle in the woods of Ephraim, Absalom's luxurious locks of hair were caught in an oak tree; he was wrenched off his mule and left to dangle. One of David's men saw him trapped by the tree and reported it to the general Joab, whereupon they had the following exchange:

> When one of the men saw what had happened, he told Joab, "I just saw Absalom hanging in an oak tree." Joab said to the man who had told him this, "What! You saw him? Why didn't you strike him to the ground right there? Then I would have had to give you ten shekels of silver and a warrior's belt." But the man replied, "Even if a thousand shekels were weighed out into my hands, I would not lay a hand on the king's son. In our hearing the king commanded you and Abishai and Ittai, 'Protect the young man Absalom for my sake. And if I had put my life in jeopardy—and nothing is hidden from the king—you would have kept your distance from me."[486]

Following this exchange, Joab took some men and executed Absalom by piercing him through the heart. They then buried his body in the forest.[487]

The illustration in Vat. gr. 1927 departs from the story in a few key details, such as Absalom's death by decapitation rather than multiple stabbings. There is, however, a tradition in Byzantine psalter illustration to render Absalom's death in such fashion. For example, the Theodore Psalter includes a very similar image, although it is employed to illustrate Psalm 142, which David prayed when he was aggressively pursued by his son Absalom (Figure 170). While the image in Vat. gr. 1927 might have intended to show a typological relationship between Absalom and Judas, its more relevant message is the relationship between Joab and Judas as well

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[485] 2 Kings 18:5.

[486] 2 Kings 18:10-13.

[487] 3 Kings 18: 14-17.

as their contrast with David's loyal man. Of the three men, only this unnamed soldier of David resisted the temptations of a reward of silver shekels. He did not disobey his lord or his lord's commands.

According to 2 Kings, King David was told of his son's demise by a messenger, and Absalom's body was hidden from him. Once again the image for Vat. gr. 1927 departs from these details in that David grieves when presented with Absalom's head on a spike. The soldier carrying this head is compositionally identical to the departing disciple of the upper register. This visual relationship is no accident; its interpretation lies in extra-biblical tales from the life of Joseph Barsabbas (Justus), the unchosen disciple. Barsabbas is only occasionally mentioned in texts, most often in commentaries on Acts 1:12–26. Tradition holds that he later became the bishop of Eleutheropolis.

John Chrysostom and Papias relate more about Barsabbas. In his third homily on the Acts of the Apostles, Chrysostom recounts that Barsabbas was in fact twice passed over for an apostleship but accepted the Lord's will that he was never chosen for such a position.[488] His acceptance of the Lord's will may be read in contrast with Joab's disobedience to his lord, King David. More relevant is a tale from the fragments of Papias of Hierapolis, one of the earliest

[488] The first time being when he was not selected as one of the original twelve apostles. "Thus did he, the designated, fill up the company, complete the order: but the other candidate was not annoyed; for the apostolic writers would not have concealed failings of their own, seeing they have told of the very chief Apostles, that on other occasions they *had indignation*, and this not only once, but again and again." John Chrysostom, *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. Members of the English Church, vol. 1 (Oxford; London: J. Parker; Rivington, 1851), 46.

witnesses to the apostolic era whose fragments are found in writers such as Eusebius and Philip of Side. Eusebius recounts the following story of Papias: [489]

> That Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters has been already been mentioned, but it must now be told how Papias, who knew them, heard a wonderful story from Philip's daughters. He tells of the resurrection of a corpse in his own lifetime and of another miracle, involving Justus, surnamed Barsabas, who drank poison but by the Lord's grace suffered no harm. This is the Justus whom the holy apostles nominated along with Matthias after the Savior's ascension to replace, by casting lots, the traitor Judas.

Whatever object Barsabbas held in his outstretched hands is too abraded to be discerned. Given, however, his scant appearances in texts, it most likely took the form of some sort of cup or chalice so as to recall his story for the viewer. The abraded area allows for such an object. With this in mind, the reason for Barsabbas' formal relationship to the soldier Joab can be discerned. Barsabbas had true faith and remained obedient to the Lord. In doing so and accepting his lot, he was rewarded by drinking poison without harm, as well as becoming a bishop of a very important city. On the other hand, Joab betrayed his lord, as did Absalom and Judas. This led to his death at the hands of King Solomon (Kings 3). Indeed, such betrayals and breakings of faith and trust led to the deaths of all three men. Through a monastic lens, this message would extend to remind the viewer of the importance of faith and obedience to both God and to "temporal lords." For a monk or monastically inclined viewer, this would be the spiritual father and/or the *hegoumenos*.[490]

In Vat. gr. 1927, however, David does not merely point and stare. A spiritual father also acts as direct intercessor with the divine on the part of his disciples. John Climacus wrote of

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[489] Eusebius, *Eusebius—The Church History: A New Translation with Commentary*, trans. Paul L Maier (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1999), 127 and 129.

[490] The *hegoumenos* of a monastery often served as spiritual father to its monks.

disciples: "And for a helmet of salvation they have their superior's protection through prayer."[491] In texts, such intercessory power is as strong as any saint's, and it continues after the father's death. The illustration for Psalm 5 is very interesting in this regard: it is one of the few instances in this manuscript of Christ appearing in a baldachin (Figure 106). David kneels and raises his hands in supplication to the icon of Christ on a baldachin-covered altar. Next to him the text references verse 2: "Hearken to my words."[492] The image sets up a contrast between those on the left, led by two bishops, who love the name of God and rejoice in him, and those on the right, tormented by angels for speaking falsehoods and who "fail/fall of their counsels."[493] Praying in a holy space to an icon of Christ, David leads the faithful in prayer, but also intercedes for the faithful of the image as a spiritual father might for his disciples.

Conclusion

The figure of David in Vat. gr. 1927 contains multivalent meanings. As commonly portrayed in psalters, David serves as an exemplar for all in his capacity as a pious and repentant sinner. David, however, more specifically provides a model for the monk at prayer, especially while attacked by enemies human and spiritual, as is the case for monks in dozens of monastic anecdotes and saints' lives that take as their model the life of St. Anthony of Egypt. Like St. Anthony, David also models the absolutely necessary withdrawal from society on the one hand and the communion with God on the other that prepares one to become a spiritual father. From

[491] John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 68. Kallistos Ware, "The Spiritual Father in St. John Climacus and in Symeon the New Theologian," ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *Studia Patristica: Papers of the 1983 Oxford Patristics Conference: Critica, Classica, Ascetica, Liturgica* 18, no. 2 (1989): 303.

[492] "τὰ ῥήματά μου (ἐνώτισαι) …"

[493] "(κρῖνον αὐτούς, ὁ Θεός.) ἀποπεσ(άτωσαν) ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) διαβουλι(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν)·"

St. Anthony even up to the modern era, spiritual fathers have a characteristic period of ascetic withdrawal from society as they develop their faith and spiritual character. One might go off to the desert as did St. Anthony, be exiled across the Bosporus like Symeon the New Theologian or simply withdraw to a monastic cell and interact with others as little as possible. On returning to civilization, the spiritual hero assumes the role of spiritual father, guiding the viewer in proper ways of seeing and interpreting the psalms in order to impart didactic and moralizing messages often relating to the monastic life.

Conclusion

This dissertation has performed the long-overdue task of properly situating the psalter Vat. gr. 1927 not only within its context of creation in late eleventh-century Constantinople at the Stoudios Monastery, but within multiple intersecting scholarly disciplines of Byzantine art history, theology, and textual analysis. Vat. gr. 1927 may now be understood as more than just a convenient source for examples of hundreds of iconographic elements, from unicorns to the personifications of winds, for scholars to cite. Instead, this dissertation reveals that it is an erudite didactic manuscript devoted to combining text and image in ways that would guide its reader on the path to salvation and *theosis* via the Psalms and with the help of a monastic spiritual guide. Some such larger function is required to have justified the enormous investment of effort, not to mention expense, that the psalter's production must have required.

It is King David, as it were, that plays Virgil to the reader's Dante, by occupying the role of mentor and spiritual guide. The psalter Vat. gr. 1927 remains the only place in Byzantine art where David is given this role. The manuscript's expense and the erudition of the planner of its images, who was familiar with dozens of theological texts, greatly reduces the pool of people in the late eleventh century who could have marshaled both the knowledge and resources to create such a manuscript. In addition, certain technical elements, along with the heavy reliance on the life, texts, and practices of Symeon the New Theologian, and the writings of Niketas Stethatos, make a strong case for the production of Vat. gr. 1927 at the Stoudios Monastery under the auspices of Niketas Stethatos at some time in the 1080s or early 1090s.

In the first chapter and its corresponding appendix, I introduced the historiography, codiocology, and paleography of Vat. gr. 1927. Although the codicology indicates that the scribe was highly skilled, the types of errors and omissions that occur indicate that the scribe and artist

were not the same person. Finally, I discussed the milieu of manuscript production in the second half of the eleventh century, and the type of person who might have acted as patron and/or planner of such a manuscript. Comparison with known Stoudite manuscripts as well as certain technical, iconographic, and stylistic aspects of Vat. gr. 1927 point to a Stoudite production.

Chapter two examined the Christological and theophanic themes found in Vat. gr. 1927. Most importantly, Christ appears on earth as an active agent in the economy of salvation. Christ also appears on earth enthroned as judge and in unique reworkings of *Anastasis* imagery to personally direct the fates of mankind in images that conflate present and future to visualize the *Parousia* for the viewer. Large, imposing heads of Hades are found in a number of these Christological images; not only does Vat. gr. 1927 clearly separate Hades from Satan or devils, it constructs Hades as a willing participant in the economy of salvation. Finally, the chapter analyzes the use of pen and ink outline with gilt background shining through to distinguish visionary experiences from the visual, and relates this illustrative strategy to the writings, and particularly to the hymns, of Symenon the New Theologian.

Monks occupy a special place in Vat. gr. 1927 in ways they do not in other psalters. Chapter three analyzed images that contain monks or activities related to contemporary monastic practice. Most importantly, monks are often chosen to illustrate the "holy ones" (ὅσιοι) referenced in certain psalms. The presence of these men provides visual juxtapositions allowing for the creation of didactic images imparting lessons regarding a multitude of topics: the white martyrdom of monasticism, the various paths one might take in order to lead a virtuous life, and even the monastic life as a sacrifice of the New Covenant, supplanting the blood sacrifices of the Old Covenant. The prefatory image to Psalm 118, a psalm so important to eleventh and twelfth-century Middle Byzantine monastic prayer cycles, illustrates the Heavenly Ladder of John

Climacus, the only time this image is found in Byzantine psalter illustration. Aside from its obvious importance to monks as both text and image, this work supposedly inspired Symeon the New Theologian to take the final steps in leaving behind the secular world and devoting himself to the angelic life.

Finally, the fourth chapter examined the role of King David as spiritual father throughout this manuscript, a role unique in Byzantine art. While the practice of spiritual fatherhood dates back to the earliest days of monasticism in the Egyptian desert, it became more common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for lay people to rely on the guidance of spiritual fathers. The chapter traced David's flight to the wilderness in the model of Anthony of Egypt and his return to civilization to act as spiritual father and guide. With David as a compositional fulcrum around which action occurs, many of the so-called "literal" iconographic elements combine to create and impart moralizing lessons to the viewer, with King David providing helpful direction for the proper interpretation of the overall message. This chapter traced the impetus for constructing King David as monastic spiritual father to the writings and theology of Symeon the New Theologian.

One last element in the psalter further reveals the thoughts and writings of Symeon the New Theologian to have provided the guiding principle in the creation of Vat. gr. 1927. Codicological analysis indicates that the lacuna between ff. 288 and 289 originally housed an inserted bifolium that would have allowed the Prayer of Manasses to end on the recto of the gathering's second folio. Together with the present f. 289r, the verso of that folio would have constituted the final opening in the gathering, leaving enough space for a small prefatory image

and the first eight verses of the Beatitudes on the verso. Folio 289r contains Matthew 5:9–12 and contains the only image to close a text in the manuscript.[494]

The Beatitudes are appended to certain psalters as part of a group of Eucharistic texts.[495] It is less common to find the Beatitudes appended to the Odes of the psalter. Parpulov's list of 614 parchment psalters (Appendix B1) dating from 850–1350 contains only twenty manuscripts that present this configuration.[496] Such rarity indicates the importance of this prayer to the patron or designer of the manuscript. In addition, by allotting a full opening to the text and book-ended images for the Beatitudes, the designer of the manuscript gave a primacy to the visual totality of interrelated text and image that is not otherwise found in this manuscript. The close correlations of text and image in this instance promotes a particular interpretation. Despite their inclusion in monastic offices and the divine liturgy, there are relatively few extensive writings on the Beatitudes outside of commentaries to the Gospel of Matthew itself and the homilies by Gregory

[494] When the Beatitudes are present in Byzantine manuscripts they terminate with the first half of verse 12: "Rejoice and be glad, for great will be your reward in Heaven…" ("χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·").

[495] This group of prayers includes hymns, the Nicene Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In the Khludov Psalter they are known as the *Typika of the Holy Ecumenical/Cathedral Church (*Τυπικὰ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας), whereas the *horologion* Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Greek 853 refers to a similar section as *Εἰς τὴν Μετάληψιν*. Georgi Radomirov Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850-1350* (Plovdiv, Bulgaria: Open source licensed publication: https://archive.org/details/ByzPsalters, 2014), 60, 92. See Parpulov, Appendix C1 for a list of the forty-two parchment psalters that contain the *Typika.* Twenty-nine of the forty-two include the Beatitudes within this group of prayers.

[496] It should be noted that Dufrenne did not include the Beatitudes in her concordance. The twenty manuscripts are: Dionysiou 65; Iviron MS 17; Koutoulomousiou 87; Philotheou 29; Vatopedi 1231; Vatopedi 761/Walters W530b; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B.X33, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 44; Cambridge, Corpus Christi, 480; Laurenziana, Plut. V. 23; Jerusalem Stavrou 107; BNF grec 40; Sinai gr. 3; Sinai gr. 31; Sinai gr. 32; Sinai gr. 60; Sinai gr. 48/National Library of Russia gr. 267 (211); Sinai gr. 59/National library of Russia МГ 19 and gr. 837 (78); St. Petersburg National Library gr. 216 (72); Vat. gr. 1927.

of Nyssa on the subject.[497] Even rarer was to either write stand-alone commentary specifically on the Beatitudes, or to write new devotional or didactic works following the format of the Beatitudes.[498] Yet one writer who did so in both his *Ethical* and *Catechetical Discourses* was Symeon the New Theologian. His "Second Catechetical Discourse" is prefaced with a summary of the contents: "Of the need to avoid pestilential and corrupting persons, and to reject their words and to stand up to practice virtue. Further, that we must examine whether we have in ourselves the characteristics of Christ's beatitudes. Of tears and compunction."[499] Scattered throughout the discourse are quotes from the Beatitudes. He begins the seventh section, "Of Mourning and Affliction," with "Again, He says, 'Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted (Mt. 5:4).'"[500] Within the following section, "The Comfort that follows on Sorrow,"

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[497] Gregory of Nyssa and International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, *Gregory of Nyssa, Homilies on the Beatitudes: An English Version with Commentary and Supporting Studies: Proceedings of the Eighth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa Paderborn, 14-18 September 1998* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000).

[498] Ephraem the Syrian is perhaps the most prolific of these authors, writing both the "Fifty-Five Beatitudes" and the "Twenty Chapters of Other Blessings." For the text of these works see respectively Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ Τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 2 (Thessalonica: To Perivoli tis Panagias, 1989), 252–66 and 267–79. Another example may be found in one of the moralizing poems of Gregory of Nazianzus (Carmina Moralia 17) on what he called the "Blessings of the Different Life." Utilizing the format of the Beatitudes, he instead chose to start the first 10 stanzas with "Ὅλβιος," meaning "happy" or "blessed." For the full text see PG 37:781-786. For an extensive literary overview of this gnomic poem, including its incorporation of various pagan authors, see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: 1.2.17; II.1.10, 19, 32: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. Christos Simelidis (Göttingen, Sweden: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 117–21.

[499] Symeon the New Theologian, *Symeon the New Theologian: The Discourses*, 47.

[500] Symeon the New Theologian, 51.

Symeon loosely quotes Matthew 5:5-12 (excepting 10) by verse throughout a paragraph discussing the souls who approach God via the Beatitudes. The paragraph ends:[501]

> Those whose souls have become such are in truth "peacemakers" and will be called the sons of the Most High (Mt. 5:9; Lk. 6:35). They clearly recognize their own Father and Master and love Him with all their souls. For His sake they endure every labor and every tribulation; they are insulted, reproached, and in dire straits because of His righteous commandment, which He has enjoined on us as well! They are objects of abuse and persecution; for His name's sake every evil word is falsely spoken against them, yet they gladly endure it and exult (Mt. 5:11-12) because they were actually found worthy of suffering dishonor on the part of men for the sake of His love.

Although the commentary speaks of souls in the plural, some of the language used might even better refer to Christ and his experiences than those of the saints or monks. If Symeon used "ἄρχων εἰρήνης" (prince of peace) rather than "peacemakers" and wrote of the object of abuse in the third person singular, this piece of writing could very easily refer to the Crucifixion. While Byzantines considered the Crucifixion a triumph over death, images of the dead Christ, an iconography referred to as the "Man of Sorrows," are in Greek called "῾Η άκρα Ταπείνωσις" or "The Utmost Humiliation (Is. 53:8)."[502] Christ suffered this humiliation for men and for the sake of the love of God. At the end of the "Second Catechetical Discourse," Symeon hopes that eventually one might "see the Divine Light, Christ Himself, and possess Him abiding in us."[503]

Near the end of his "Tenth Ethical Discourse," Symeon wrote a new and extensive set of beatitudes, far lengthier than their scriptural inspiration, for those who, to quote Alexander Golitzin's introduction to the *Ethical Discourses*, were "an audience comprised chiefly of

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[501] Symeon the New Theologian, 53.

[502] For an overview of the liturgical introduction of this iconography see Hans Belting, "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34 (1980): 1–16.

[503] Symeon the New Theologian, *Symeon the New Theologian: The Discourses*, 58–59.

monks…" but that also included "…all Christians, […] everyone seeking an encounter with the risen Lord, Jesus Christ."[504] Too extensive to quote in their entirety, a few will be cited here for their emphasis on light and *theosis*:[505]

> Blessed are they who have drawn near the divine light and entered within it and become wholly light, having been mingled with it, for they have completely taken off their soiled vesture and shall weep bitter tears no more.
>
> Blessed are they who have the eye of their intellect ever open and with prayer see the light and converse with it mouth to mouth, for they are of equal honor with the angels, and, dare I say it, have and shall become higher than the angels, for the latter sing praises while the former intercede. And, if they have become and are ever becoming such while still living in the body and impeded by the corruption of the flesh, what shall they be after the Resurrection and after they have received that spiritual and incorruptible body? Certainly they shall not be merely the equals of angels, but indeed like the angels' Master, as it is written: "But we know," he says, "that when He appears we shall be like him (Jn 3:2)."
>
> Blessed is he who has seen the light of the world take form within himself, for he, having Christ as an embryo within, shall be reckoned His mother, as He Himself Who does not lie has promised, saying: "Here are my mother and brothers and friend." Who? "Those who hear the word of God and do it (Lk 8:2)." So those who do not keep his commandments deprive themselves voluntarily of so great a grace, because the thing was and is and will be possible, and has happened and happens and will happen for all who fulfill His ordinances.

It is in light of Symeon's emphasis and exposition on the Beatitudes that the final image of Vat. gr. 1927 on f. 289r must be read.

The image alludes to, but does not illustrate, the Sermon on the Mount, during which Christ spoke these beatitudes (Figure 32). Christ's central location in the image, his gesture of speech or blessing, and the crowds of Jewish elders and apostles to his right and left sides respectively, at first glance intimate the Sermon on the Mount. Yet closer consideration belies

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[504] Symeon the New Theologian, *On the Mystical Life: The Ethical Discourses*, trans. Alexander Golitzin, vol. 1 (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 7.

[505] Symeon the New Theologian, 1:166–68.

this pure iconographic identification. Christ does not stand on a mountain or hill; as most of the manuscript's 132 extant illustrations contain a hill or mountain, this cannot be anything but a deliberate choice made to alter the iconographic interpretation. Instead, Christ sits in a trefoil space evenly demarcated with silver lines; this space pierces a wall extending behind the two groups of men. He is not the adult Christ found in many other illustrations of the Sermon on the Mount. Christ's visage is that of the high-foreheaded Christ-Emmanuel. Finally, his feet rest on one of the inner arches within the trefoil space.

While this ultimate illustration is unique in Byzantine art, elements of its iconography, style and composition resonate with other images in Byzantine art, several of which may be found in mid to late eleventh-century Byzantine manuscripts, with one definitively identified as a Stoudite production. One of the two *tetraevangelia* illustrated with strips of illustrations interrupting the text, BnF grec 74, produced at the Stoudios Monastery by the scribe Theodore, contains several illustrations of the Sermon on the Mount. Of them, the first is iconographically and compositionally related to the image in Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 171).[506] It also immediately prefaces the Beatitudes. In the BnF grec 74 image, Christ, beardless with a high forehead, appears as Emmanuel. Enthroned at the center of the space, he gestures in blessing or speech with his right hand, while in his left he holds a scroll. The *suppedaneum* supporting his feet renders his pose, especially that of his legs, nearly identical to that of Christ-Emmanuel in the Vat. gr. 1927 image. Further, he is surrounded by two groups: Jewish elders to his right, and apostles to his left. Despite their similarities, the image in grec 74 remains grounded both on

[506] This is the same Theodore who produced the text of the eponymous Theodore Psalter of 1066, the Barberini Psalter, the now lost Smyrna Physiologos, and the liturgical scroll St. Petersburg, Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, MS Gr. 1. Irmgard Hutter, "Theodoros Bibliographos und die Buchmalerei in Studiu," *Bollettino Della Badia Greca Di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997): 177–208.

earth and outdoors: the plants in this image are lush and tall, and other images in the manuscript illustrating the Sermon on the Mount contain trees or small buildings (Figure 172). These other images do not show Christ as Emmanuel, but instead as the bearded, grown man one would expect to find preaching on the mountain (Figure 173).

The lower part of the trefoil in which Christ sits in Vat. gr. 1927 looks very similar to a *synthronon*, of which there are many extant examples. This general shape may be found for the seating of the iconoclastic council in the prefatory image for Psalm 25 in Vat. gr. 1927 (Figure 18).[507] A similar image may be found in the eleventh-century lectionary Dionysiou 587, in which a youthful Christ preaching to the elders of the temple sits in a very similar position to that of the Vat. gr. 1927 image on a structure that clearly references the typical Byzantine *synthronon* (Figure 44). There is a second image in Dionysiou 587 in which Christ preaches to the entire Jewish community (Figure 174). The *synthronon* of this image is rectangular in shape, but retains the semicircular opening at its base. His short hair and hints of beard indicate his youth at the time of his preaching, while Christ-Emmanuel is a theological image. Both of the Dionysiou 587 illustrations, however, and images of ecumenical councils sitting around a *synthronon,* lack the semicircle surrounding Christ's head as the top portion of the trefoil. This addition is incongruous unless the trefoil in Vat. gr. 1927 is understood as the abstracted apsidal conch of a church with a *synthronon*, such as occurs in the apse of Hagia Eirene in Istanbul (Figure 175).

Of particular interest when one looks at the text preceding this image in Vat. gr. 1927 is the last line of the Beatitudes beginning with "blessed: "μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ." (Blessed are you

[507] The iconoclastic council of 815 illustrates Psalm 25 in a number of psalters examined by Dufrenne. See Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaume 25.

when they insult *you* and persecute and utter all kinds of evil against *you* falsely on account of me). Here, however, it now reads "μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὠνειδίσωσιν **Ἡ**μᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' **Ἡ**μῶν ψευδόμενοι ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ" (Blessed are you when they insult *us* and persecute and utter all kinds of evil against *us* falsely on account of me) (italics and bold my own). The second person plural forms of the personal pronoun (ὑμᾶς and ὑμῶν) have been changed to the first person plural with uncial *etas* emphasizing this vowel shift (Ἡμᾶς and Ἡμῶν). It is highly unlikely for two such alterations to have been made by mistake in one line of text, especially when the manuscript contains less than a handful of deviations from the standard Septuagint text of the Psalms, virtually no orthographic mistakes, and was copied by a talented scribe. It seems, then, that the text at the very end of this psalter has been altered to identify the viewer's sufferings with those of Christ, and the viewer with Christ himself.

This *theosis* and its image mark the end of the journey through the psalter, and thus through the life of the monk. Christ-Emmanuel, the type of Christ most identifiable with humanity, now speaks to the viewer from the *synthronon* of the heavenly liturgy with the words of the Beatitudes, directly identifying the viewer with himself. The caption to the first illustration for Psalm 144 advised the viewer to "Live (a life) of singing this psalm," of which the first verses are "I will exalt you, my God, my king; and I will bless your name for ever and ever. Every day will I bless you, and I will praise your name for ever and ever." The final audacious image and textual revision of Vat. gr. 1927 represents the fulfillment of the goal of monastic life for the viewer/reader—a journey always accompanied by praying the Psalms.

Appendix

Contents:

Ff. 1r - top of 264v: Psalms 1-150
Ff. 264v -middle of 265r: Three prefatory images to Psalm 151
Ff. 265r- middle of 265v: Psalm 151
Ff. 266r-268r: Canticle of Moses I (Exodus 15:1-19)
Ff. 268r-272r: Canticle of Moses II (Deuteronomy 32: 1-38)
Ff. 272r- 273r: Canticle of Moses II, continued (Deuteronomy 32: 39-43)
Ff. 273r-274v: Canticle of Hannah (I Kings 2: 1-10)
Ff. 274v-277r: Canticle of Habakkuk (Habakkuk 3: 2-19)
Ff. 277r-278v: Canticle of Isaiah (Isaiah 26: 9-20)
Ff. 278v-279v: Canticle of Jonah (Jonah 2: 3-10)
Ff. 279v-283v top: Canticle of the Three Hebrews I-II, together (Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Holy Children, 2-33, occurs after Daniel 3:23 in the Septuagint. Truncates line 33 at "εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὑπερύμνητος").
Ff. 283v-284v: Canticle of the Three Hebrews III (Song of the Three Holy Children 34-65. Truncates line 65 at "εὐλογεῖτε, ᾽Ανανία, ᾽Αζαρία, Μισαήλ, τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε" in the middle of 284v. F. 284 is a replacement folio whose scribe has severely abbreviated the repetitions of the songand in doing so also mixed up the ordering of several verses).[508]
F. 284v: Contains the following addition:[509]

> εὐλογεῖτε, ἀπόστολοι, προφῆται, μάρτυρες κυρίου, τὸν κύριον
> εὐλογοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
> ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ ὑπερυψοῦμεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ff. 285r-285v: The Magnificat (Luke 1: 46-55). The image is missing and would have originally been at the bottom of 284v.
Ff. 285v-286v: Canticle of Zacharias (Luke 1: 68-79)
Ff. 286v-288r: Canticle of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38: 10-20)
Ff. 288r-288v: Canticle of Manasseh. Truncates with "ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν…"
F. 289r: Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3-12). Beginning lost, starts with verse 9: "μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται."
F. 289v: Blank with unintelligible Greek writing in both brown and black ink.

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[508] For example, the first two verses expected on the top of 284r should be "41 εὐλογεῖτε πᾶς ὄμβρος καὶ δρόσος τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 42 εὐλογεῖτε, πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας." Instead the scribe writes "εὐλογεῖτε πᾶς ὄμβρος καὶ δρόσος πάντα τὰ πνα τ κν." No verse repetitions include ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας." At the fourth εὐλογεῖτε corresponding to the eighth verse, the verb is εὐλογεῖτε is sharply abbreviated from that point on.

[509] The first of these verses is recited in the offices of the Greek Church. The latter two are included in the sixth-century(?) Verona Psalter (Bibliotca Capitolare, MS Cod. I), a bilingual psalter with facing Greek and Latin translations.

Original (O) and Replacement (R) Folios:

F1: R
Ff. 2-32: O
F 33: R
Ff. 34-44: O
F. 45: R
F. 46: O
F.47: R
Ff. 48-70: O
Ff. 71-72: R
Ff. 73-78: O
F. 79: R
Ff. 80-83: O
F: 84: R
Ff. 85-112: O
F. 113: R
F. 114: O
F. 115: R
Ff. 116-119: O
F 120: R
Ff. 121-147: O
F. 148: R
Ff. 149-161: O
F: 162: R
Ff. 163-206: O
F. 207: R
Ff. 208-227: O
F. 228: R
Ff. 229-239: O
F. 240: R
Ff. 241-283: O
F. 284: R
Ff. 285-289: O

Physical Description

At 23 x 17 centimeters, Vat. gr. 1927's measurements place it among the majority of psalters.[510] With 289 extant original and replacement folios, it is bulky but not uncomfortable to hold. These characteristics, to which can be added the complexity of its miniatures, the small size

[510] Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," 245–48.

of their captions, and the relatively small size of the illustrations overall, suggest a manuscript intended for close looking and contemplation. In contrast, however, to the illustrations, the text of the Psalms and Odes themselves is of a size that allows for easy reading.

The manuscript is in a modern binding and has over the course of its history undergone numerous interventions. Margins immediately adjacent to the illustrations often reveal traces of adhesive and a thick, burlap-like material that once covered each image, most likely as a protective measure (Figure 176). At some point, these were removed and Japanese paper inserted instead, in many cases bound into the manuscript. Due to modern paper often replacing the parchment in the gutter, the quires can be difficult to make out. Written in brown ink, the script takes the form of a regular *Perlschrift*. The manuscript was originally constituted almost entirely of quaternions. On some folios on which the ink has faded substantially, the text has been overwritten in an unpracticed hand (Figure 177). Psalm titles and numbers, devotional markings, and the initial letters of verses are primarily gilded over a magenta ground, although one gathering (folios 264–268) exhibits an orange ground.

The parchment exhibits evidence of significant water damage in the psalter's history. In addition, a significant aspect of the parchment is its original extremely poor quality relative to the excellence of the scribal hand and the expense of producing so many complex miniatures on backgrounds of gold leaf. Many folios exhibit holes not caused by damage, and several gatherings contain parchment of such uneven thickness that it becomes translucent in areas (Figure 178). The hair and skin sides are usually easily distinguishable due to visible follicles.

The manuscript has been unevenly trimmed, likely at several points in its history, becoming narrower towards toward the outer edges on both the top and bottom margins. The exterior vertical margin has also experienced trimming that has interrupted later marginal

annotations on several folios. Wax droplets from candles appear throughout the manuscript. Replacement folios, most likely following the incident that caused severe water damage to the manuscript, are on better quality though not excellent parchment (Figure 179). They contain cinnabar-red initial letters and are written in black ink employing a script imitative of *Perlschrift*; both features were common to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[511]

According to the Vatican's catalogue, the original folios are ruled with 18 horizontal lines for text, with double vertical lines bounding the text block at the left and right; additional ruling lines mark the top and bottom of the folio (Lake I, 26C = Leroy 32C1).[512] Many of the gatherings, however, vary slightly from this norm, with lines 1 and 18 full across. Gatherings 18 and 31 (ff. 128–135 and 226–233) employ only 14 ruling lines; another (28, ff. 198–203) has 17 lines. The lower horizontal bounding line, ruled full across, occasionally is used to provide space for the final word of a verse that would otherwise have had to be written on the following folio. Leroy states that there are 127 known manuscripts with the ruling type 32C1, which is by far one of the most frequent types.[513] Replacement folios have the ruling Lake I, 7a, corresponding to Leroy 30C1, and consistently have 18 lines ruled for text. Leroy lists twenty-nine manuscripts with this ruling pattern.[514] Given its commonplace character, the ruling pattern cannot aid in establishing an origin for the manuscript.

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[511] Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:694.

[512] The current standard in Byzantine manuscript studies is that of Leroy. Lake I, 26C corresponds to Leroy 32C1. See Julien Leroy, *Les Types de Réglure Des Manuscrits Grecs* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976), 12.

[513] Leroy, Appendice 2.

[514] Leroy, 10 and Appendice 2.

Replacement folios were used only to replace the text of the Psalms and Odes. No images were included within the replacements, which in a number of cases results in significant areas of blank parchment. On ff. 84v, 207v, and 228v, some of this space has been filled by a line drawing in brown ink of what appears to be a triumphal column. These columns are horizontal with respect to the orientation of the psalter (Figures 4, 5, 6). Tomor maintains that the replacement folios are palimpsests and that erasure marks can be seen under the text of ff. 207v and 228v, that something has been erased from the top of the column on ff. 228v, and that there is "scribal commentary" near the columns on ff. 84v and 228v.[515] He also states that holes from the replacement folios' original binding may be seen on their inner edges.[516] There does seem to be some sort of effacement above and below the body of the columns on f. 228v and illegible writing in Greek can be seen above and below the column on f. 84v. The rest of the parchment on these two folios, however, appears completely clean, as does the parchment on the rest of the replacement folios. If they were reused, there could never have been very much written on any of them originally. Furthermore, it seems as if what Tomor saw as holes from the replacement folios' original binding (assuming them to be palimpsests), are actually from some previous binding of this manuscript, as can be seen in the opening spanning replacement f. 120v and original f. 121r (Figure 180). The ink used for the illegible Greek writing under the top of the column on f. 84v appears to be quite similar to that of the column itself and might have been added at the same time as the column. The other inscription is in darker ink but is also jumbled and oriented in a slightly diagonal fashion, strongly suggesting that it was not part of any sort of original text of a palimpsest folio.

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[515] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 24, n. 10.

[516] Tomor, 13.

Annotations have been added in both Greek and Latin to multiple folios. Based on paleographic grounds explicated by DeWald and Canart, the Greek annotations appear to date to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.[517] These annotations occasionally repeat lines of psalms but also include illegible writing and invocations for aid ("ὁ θ ὁ ἁγιος"), as well as the troparium "τὸν προ αἴωνων εκ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα" (Figure 181).[518] DeWald suggested that the Latin annotations date to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, while Canart gives a fifteenth-century date (Figure 182).[519]

Except for the four psalms that were never illustrated (46, 72, 95, 120), miniatures appear immediately preceding their respective psalms (other than in those cases in which folios with images have been removed). Most psalms were illustrated with one miniature taking the space of approximately eight lines, although there is significant variation, and some psalms and odes received multiple miniatures.[520] Large elaborated initial letters beginning each psalm and lessening in their degree of elaboration as the manuscript goes on intrude on the lower left corner of the miniature in approximately twenty percent of them.[521] In these cases the artist avoided

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[517] Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:394; DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:Introduction; Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 11–12.

[518] Tomor provides transcriptions for many of these illegible inscriptions. See, for example, Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 21-23 and n. 6. Some of them do not appear to be entirely accurate or even to exist. Canart identified the prayer on f. 148v as the troparium "τὸν προ αἴωνων εκ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα." The invocation beginning "ὁ θ ὁ ἁγιος (*sic*)" has been truncated by trimming. Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:693.

[519] DeWald, *Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, 1:Introduction; Canart, *Codices 1745-1962: Codicum Enarrationes*, 1:394; Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 11, 21, and notes 4 and 5.

[520] Tomor, "Vaticanus Graecus 1927," 18.

[521] Tomor, 17.

painting the area, although the miniatures of ff. 20r and 126v overlap the letter slightly.[522] This indicates both that the illustrations were painted after the minor decoration and that the illuminator and painter were likely not the same individual, as this issue of spacing was not anticipated and was then corrected in a somewhat disjointed manner.

Discrepancies in the reported codicology between what was initially recorded by DeWald and by Paul Canart in his updated catalogue entry can be reconciled on the basis of further close examination of the manuscript. Canart himself noted that DeWald's accounting required some corrections. DeWald reported a mix of five different types of gatherings, while Canart primarily lists quaternions, one that was especially common to Byzantine manuscript production, and which indeed form the basic structure of Vat. gr. 1927. The final gathering of the manuscript represents one exception to this rule. The catalogue reports the final gathering as consisting of ff. 280–289, with two folios missing after f. 288.

Close inspection, however, reveals that the bifolium ff. 283/288 remains intact. Further, a lacuna between ff. 288v and 289r, from which much of the Prayer of Manasses and the beginning of The Beatitudes are missing, indicates that only one bifolium could be missing. That bifolium would have provided just enough space to include the end of the Prayer of Manasses, a title and small prefatory image for the Beatitudes, and the missing incipit of the prayer (f. 289r begins with verse 9). This reconstruction further allows for a gathering of five pieces of parchment, as opposed to five and a half. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, when reaching the end of the manuscript, the scribe, recognizing that there would not be enough space

[522] Tomor, 17. This is especially notable on 126v, where the gilding of the lower left corner was placed over the very top of the elaborated omicron.

to allow for the text and the planned images, increased the size of the gathering rather than inserting a single bifolium as a final gathering.

The errors in DeWald's descriptions cast doubt on the accuracy of the content he reports for each folio. For example, he labels ff. 211-218 a quaternion with a missing folio between 217 and 218 that left an unspecified lacuna in the text. Canart gives the gathering as ff. 211-217 (4+3), with a folio removed after 216 and no lacuna in text. There is, in fact, no lacuna in the text. Folio 217 appears to have been an original insert even though it contains slightly different ruling with seventeen lines for text and very small vertical columns that do not allow the enlarged and gilded initial letters of each verse to fit within. Careful examination of the binding reveals that the small parchment flap now glued to f. 211 is still wrapped around the gathering and attached to f. 217. There is no lacuna between ff. 210 and 211 that would indicate there was ever a full folio present in that location. There is also no lacuna between ff. 216v and 217r, which would mean that any missing folio between the two would have occurred before the text was written. Folios 118 and 120 have been misbound and switched for one another; this has not previously been reported in print.

Discrepancies and inaccuracies such as these in the two existing studies of the psalter Vat. gr. 1927 have major ramifications for the published reconstructions of the contents of each folio. DeWald has postulated that four psalms were never illustrated: 46, 72, 95 and 120. According to DeWald, the title for Psalm 120 appears on the bottom of f. 233v and its first verse begins at the top of f. 234r, which in his view was also the final folio of a ten-folio gathering. Canart, however, reports that f. 234 begins a quaternion. Here, Canart's codicological analysis is correct. It appears that the lack of a miniature for Psalm 120 is the result of an easily made mistake, with the title appearing at the very end of a gathering and the miniature beginning

another, rather than an intentional elision. The scribe likely simply forgot to leave space for the miniature when beginning the text of Psalm 120 in the new gathering. This is further evidence for the scribe and painter being different individuals, and for the painter not being responsible for the illuminated initials and titles, as mentioned above when discussing the intrusion of the initials into the field left for painting.

Logical explanations for the absence of the remaining three images may be found in the codicology. Images for these psalms must have been included in the initial plan for the psalter's decoration. It makes no sense to design a manuscript with well over 160 prefatory images and then simply not include four, seemingly at random.[523] Psalm 72 begins at the top of f. 129r with its title and doxology occurring immediately before it on the bottom of f. 128v and accorded a little more space than usual in this psalter (Figure 183). The space on f. 128v accorded to the title is large enough to have accepted a small miniature, but there is none. Given that the text of Psalm 72 begins at the very top of f. 129r, it is possible that the space was left for a miniature, but that the scribe neglected to leave room for the gilded title and doxology at the top of 129r, necessitating its placement on the bottom of 128v instead. Psalm 95 begins on f. 176r, while its title occurs on the bottom of f. 175v (Figure 184). In this case the title is squeezed, in fact starting on the same line as the end of the previous psalm's text, which is unusual in this manuscript. One explanation is that the scribe forgot to leave room for a title and image and so the title had to be fitted in.

Psalm 46 begins in the middle of a gathering on f. 83v. Its marks the beginning of kathisma 7, requiring both a gilded doxology and kathisma marking (Figure 185). The last line of Psalm 45 occurs at the top of the folio. Immediately under it the doxology and kathisma

[523] Neither Canart nor DeWald take up this topic for the three following images.

markings are surrounded by ornament, and the title to Psalm 46 is given more space than titles are usually accorded in this psalter. It is possible given the amount of space afforded that an image was intended but that not enough room was left by mistake. Instead, the doxology and kathisma are given a gilded abstract decoration to fill some of the space, which is not the norm in Vat. gr. 1927. Folio 84 is a replacement folio (Figure 186). Psalm 47 begins in the middle of replacement f. 84r. Turning to original f. 85r, it is possible to see the darkened, mirror-imaged impression of the gilded number for Psalm 47 (μζ) that was placed near the top of the original f. 84v, as was the title, which is also just visible as an impression under the top two lines of text on f. 85r (Figure 187). There was, therefore, space for a miniature for Psalm 47 under the title on the original f. 84v.

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Figures



Figure 1: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 8v

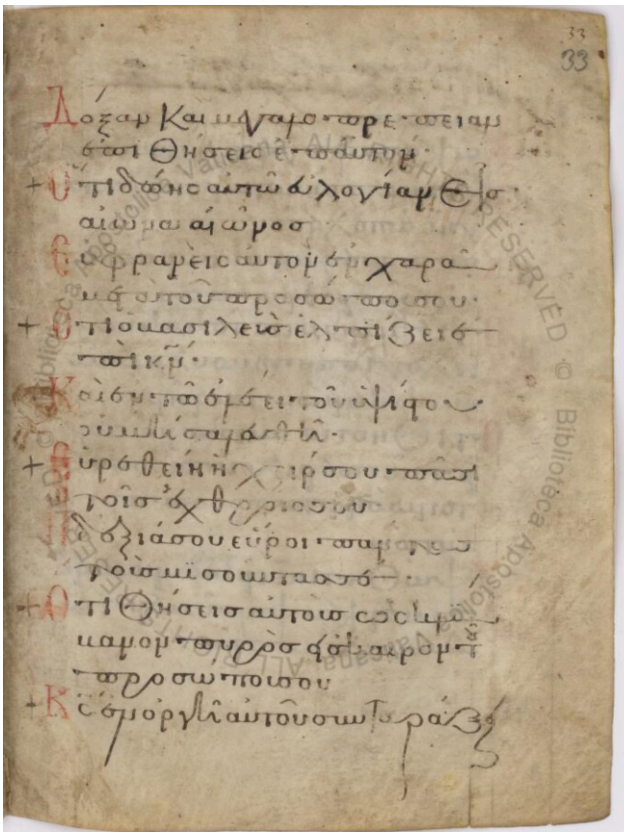


Figure 2: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 33r

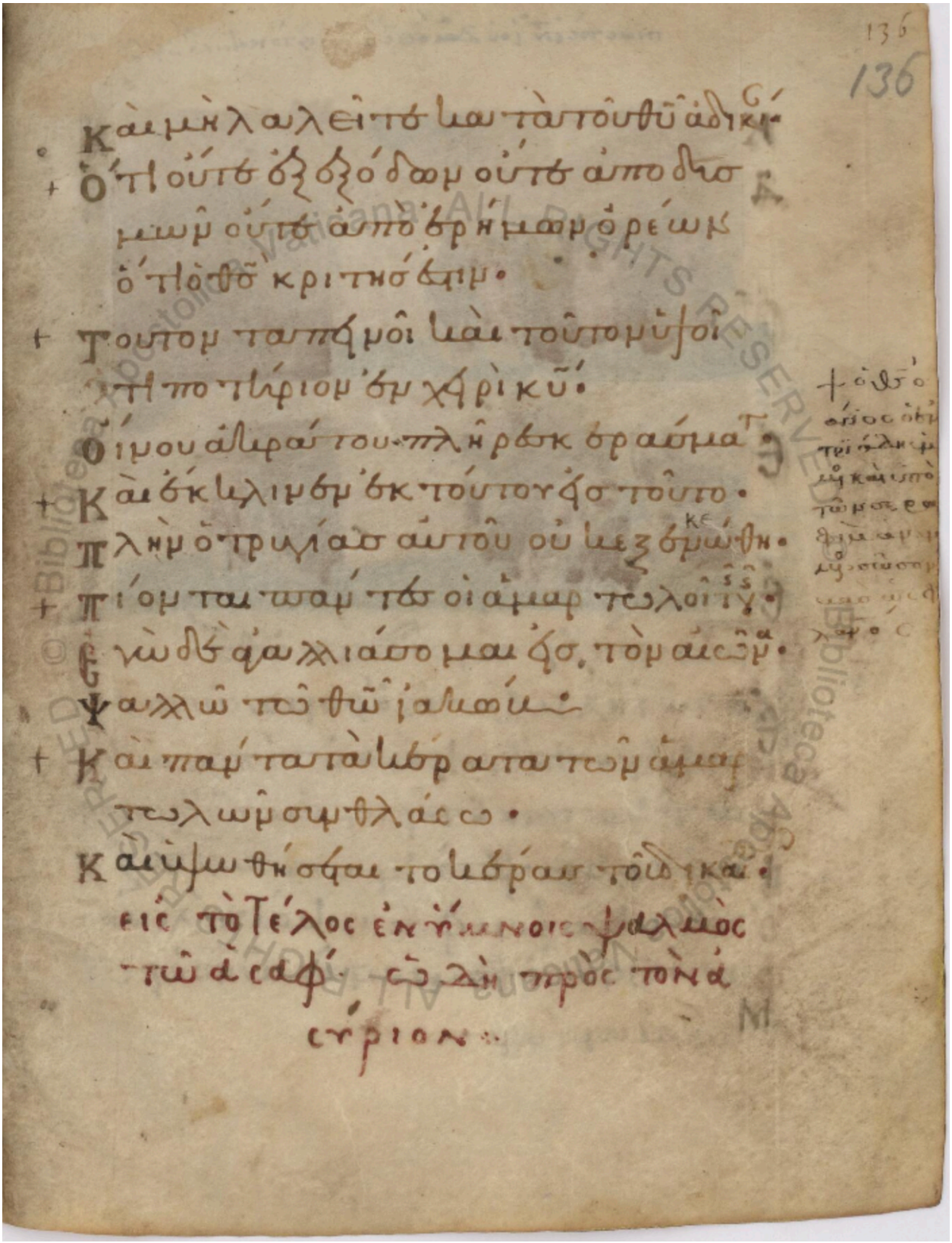


Figure 3: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 136r

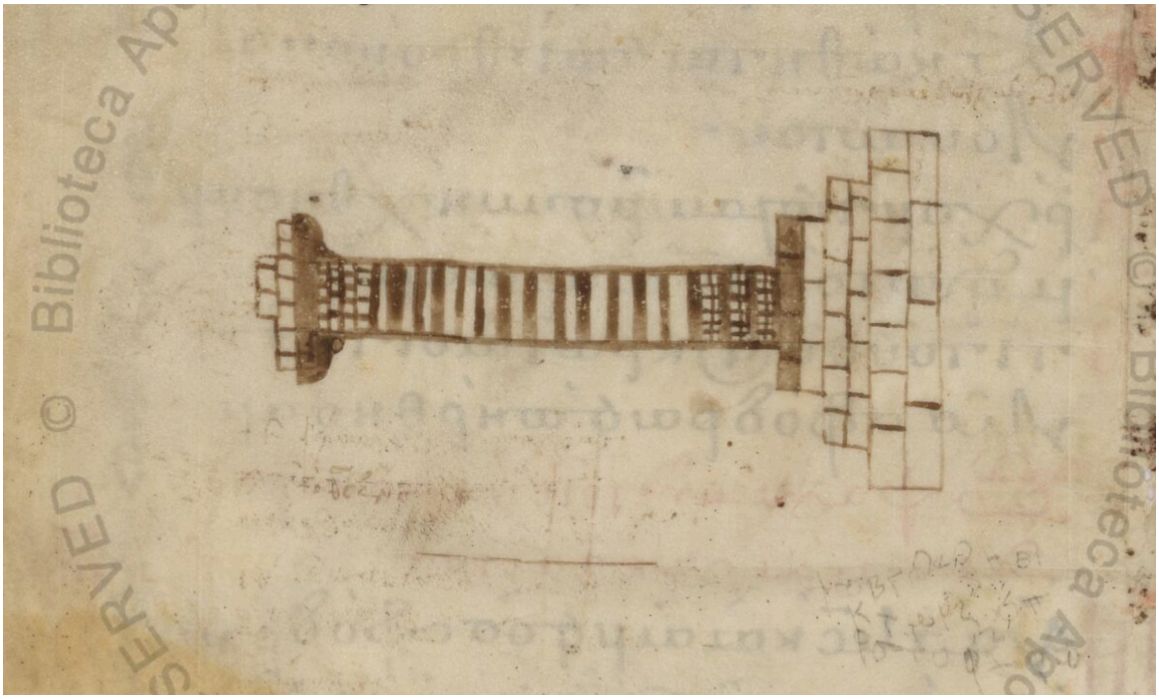

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Figure 4: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 84v

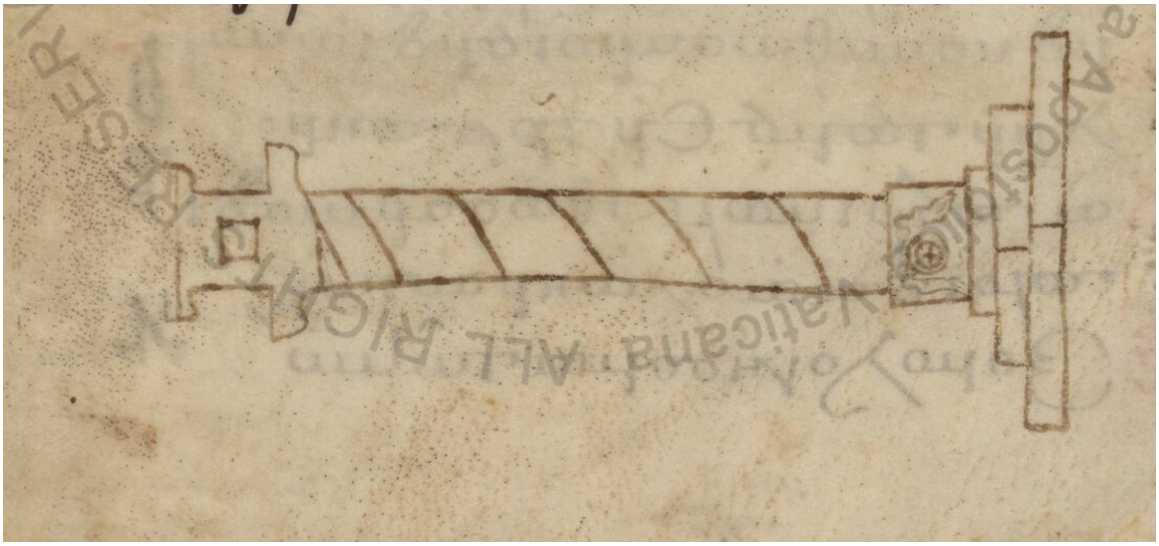

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Figure 5: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 207v

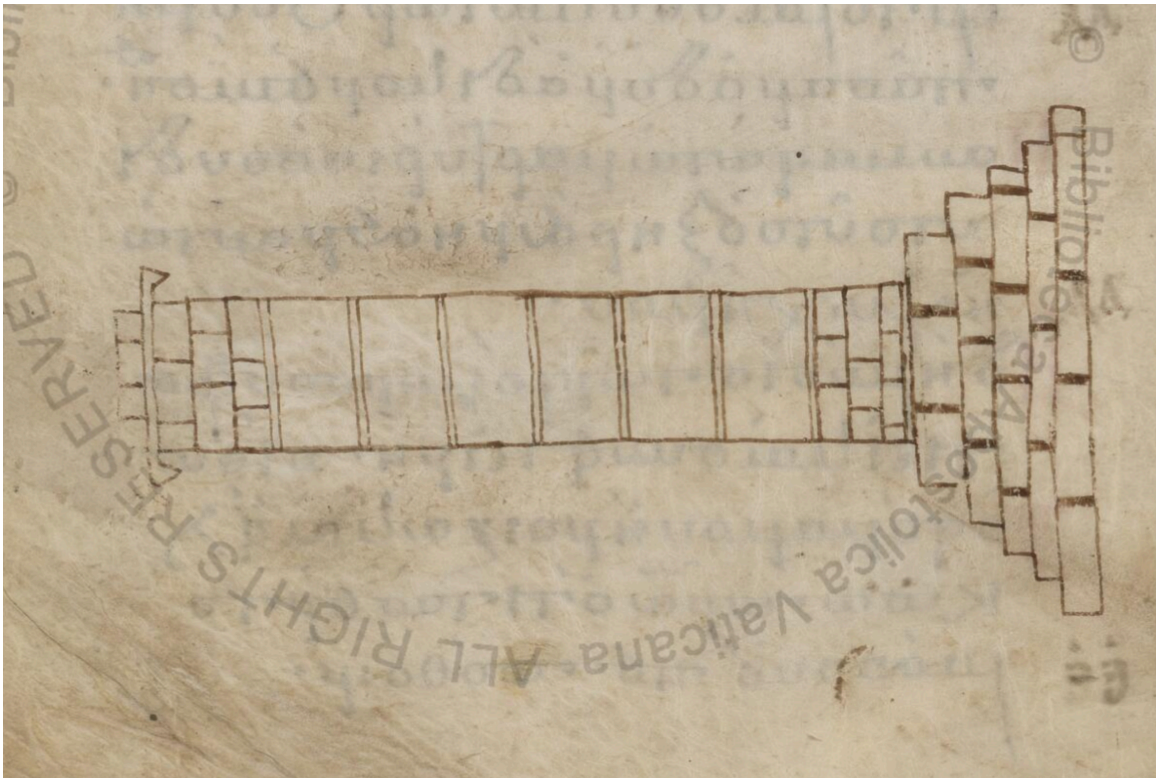

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Figure 6: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 228v



Figure 7: Remains of base, Column of Marcian, Istanbul.


Figure 8: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 268r


Figure 9: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 4v


Figure 10: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 135r


Figure 11: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 123v



Figure 12: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 1v and 2r



Figure 13: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 1r

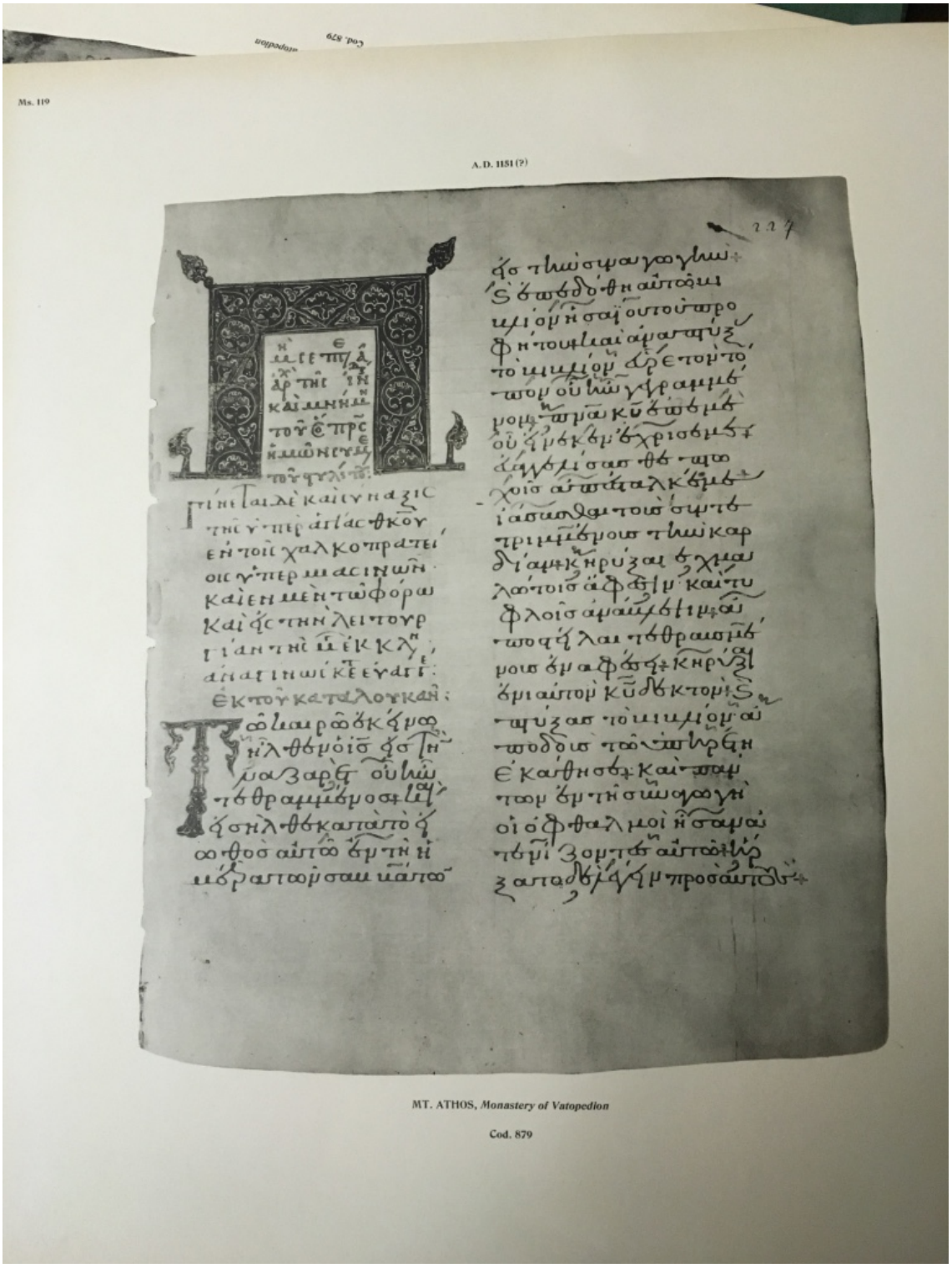


Figure 14: Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Vatopedi Cod. 879, f. 227r

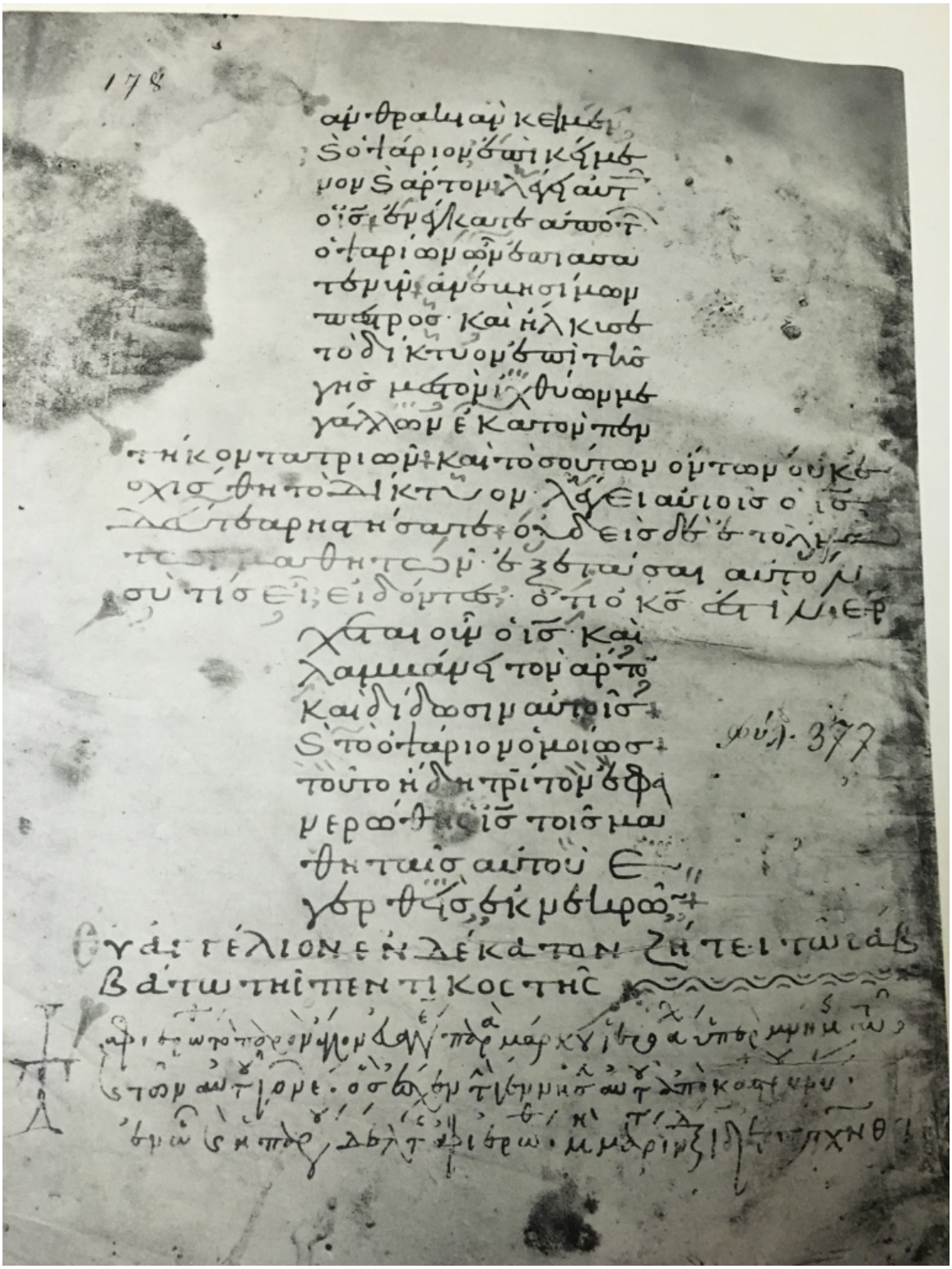


Figure 15: Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Vatopedi Cod. 879, Colophon

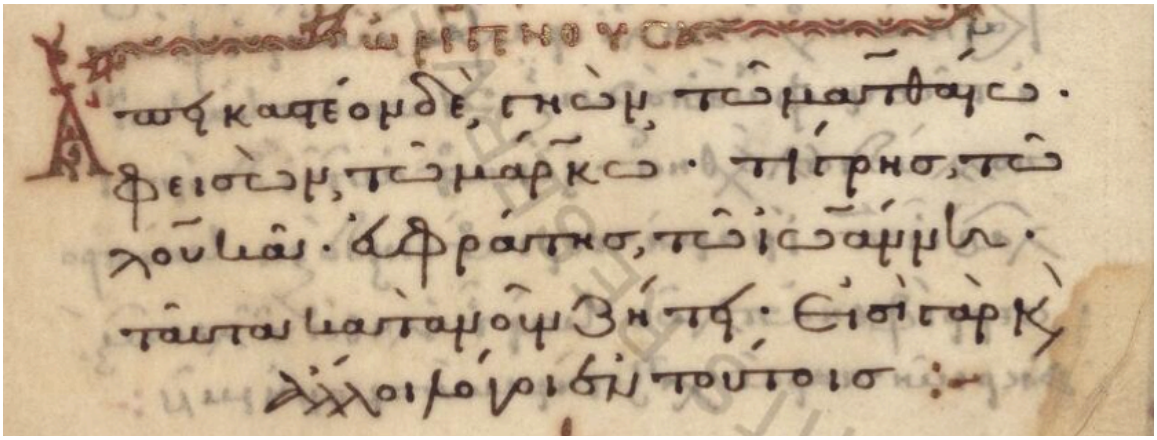


Figure 16: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Urb. gr. 2, f. 17v

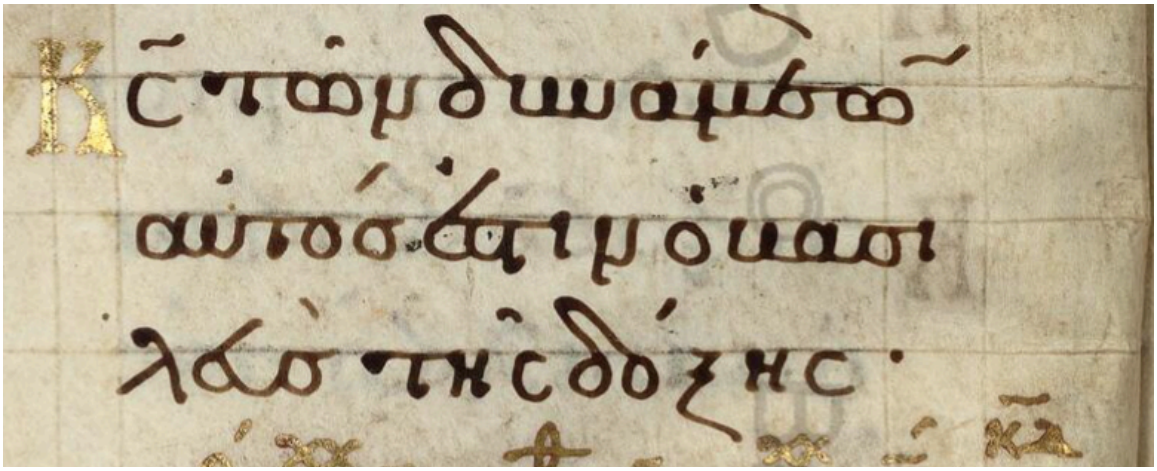


Figure 17: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 75v



Figure 18: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 41r



Figure 19: Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, cod. OLDP, F6, f. 33r



Figure 20: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr 1927, f. 234v



Figure 21: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 38r



Figure 22: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 215v


Figure 23: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 274v


Figure 24: Messina, San Salvatore 51, f. 44r


Figure 25: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 17r


Figure 26: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 18r



Figure 27: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 15v


Figure 28: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1613, p. 49



Figure 29: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 187r



Figure 30: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 187v


Figure 31: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 172v


Figure 32: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 289r


Figure 33: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, ff. 53v and 54r


Figure 34: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 21r



Figure 35: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 4, f. 8r



Figure 36: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 5v



Figure 37: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 4, f. 113r



Figure 38: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 29v


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Figure 39: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 191r



Figure 40: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 394, f. 33r



Figure 41: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 747, f. 173r



Figure 42: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 146v



Figure 43: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 463, f. 87r



Figure 44: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 587, f. 135r



Figure 45: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou 587, f. 34v


Figure 46: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 260v



Figure 47: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 218r



Figure 48: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 51r



Figure 49: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 3v


Figure 50: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 136v


Figure 51: Triumph of Christ panel, Door, Sta. Sabina, Rome



Figure 52: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56, f. 13v


Figure 53: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 1, f. 1v



Figure 54: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 550, f. 5r



Figure 55: Princeton University Library, Cod. Acc. 30.20



Figure 56: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec. 923, f. 68v



Figure 57: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 152r



Figure 58: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 6r



Figure 59: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 12v



Figure 60: Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, Pantokrator Cod. 61, f. 24v



Figure 61: British Library, Additional MS 40731, f. 21v

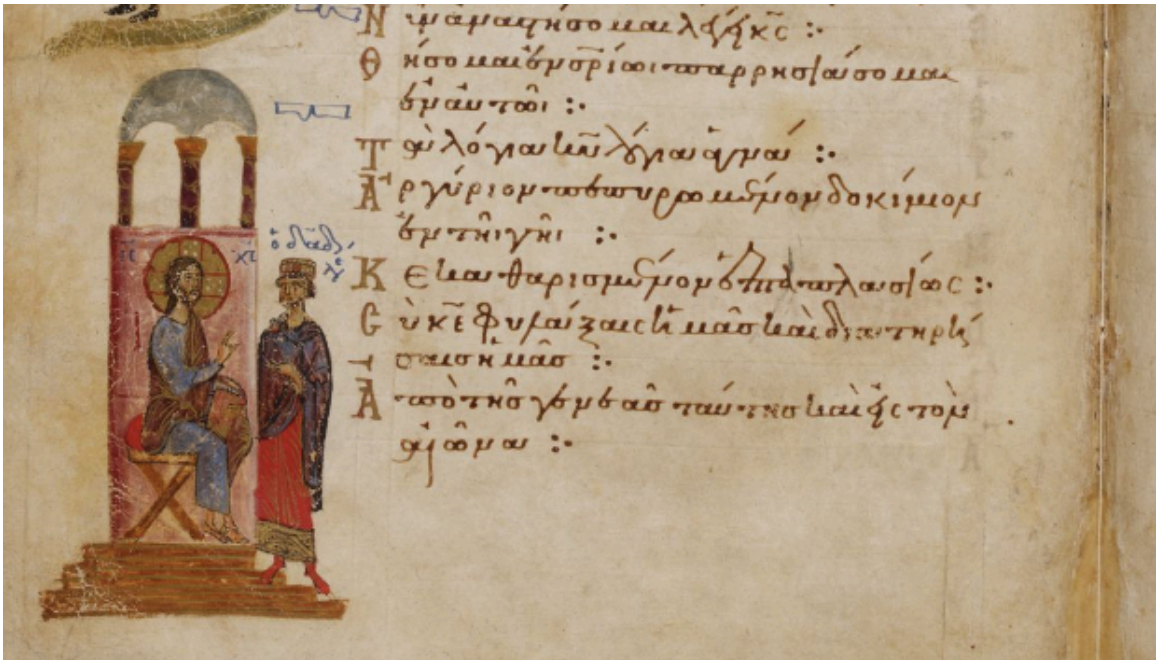


Figure 62: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 11v



Figure 63: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 20v

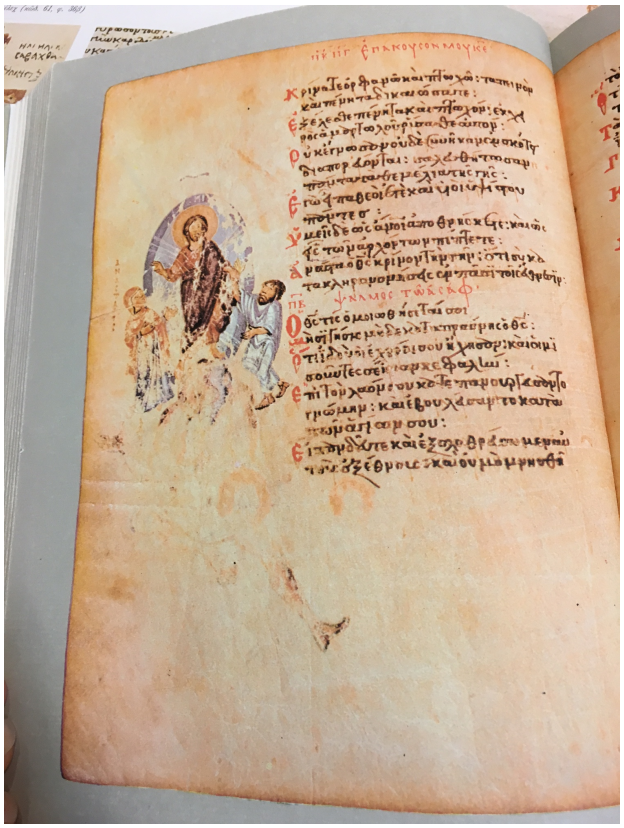


Figure: 64: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 82v



Figure 65: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 77r



Figure 66: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 77r



Figure 67: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 55r

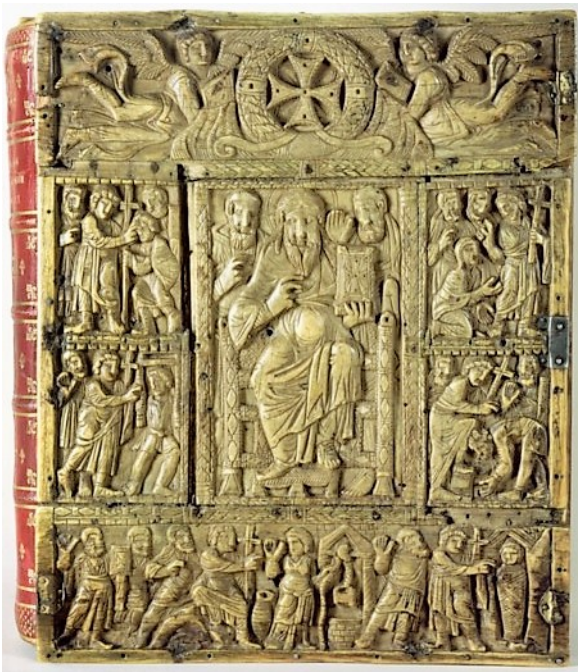


Figure 68: Ivory book cover, Bibliothèque National de France, MS Latin 9384



Figure 69: Raising of Lazarus, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna



Figure 70: Raising of Lazarus, Panagia Phorviotissa tis Asinou, Nikitari, Cyprus



Figure 71: Icon with the Raising of Lazarus, Byzantine and Early Christian Museum, Athens



Figure 72: Rising of Anonymous Dead, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome


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http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.699/0185
powered by AMLAD·NTT DATA
Figure 73: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 699, f. 89r

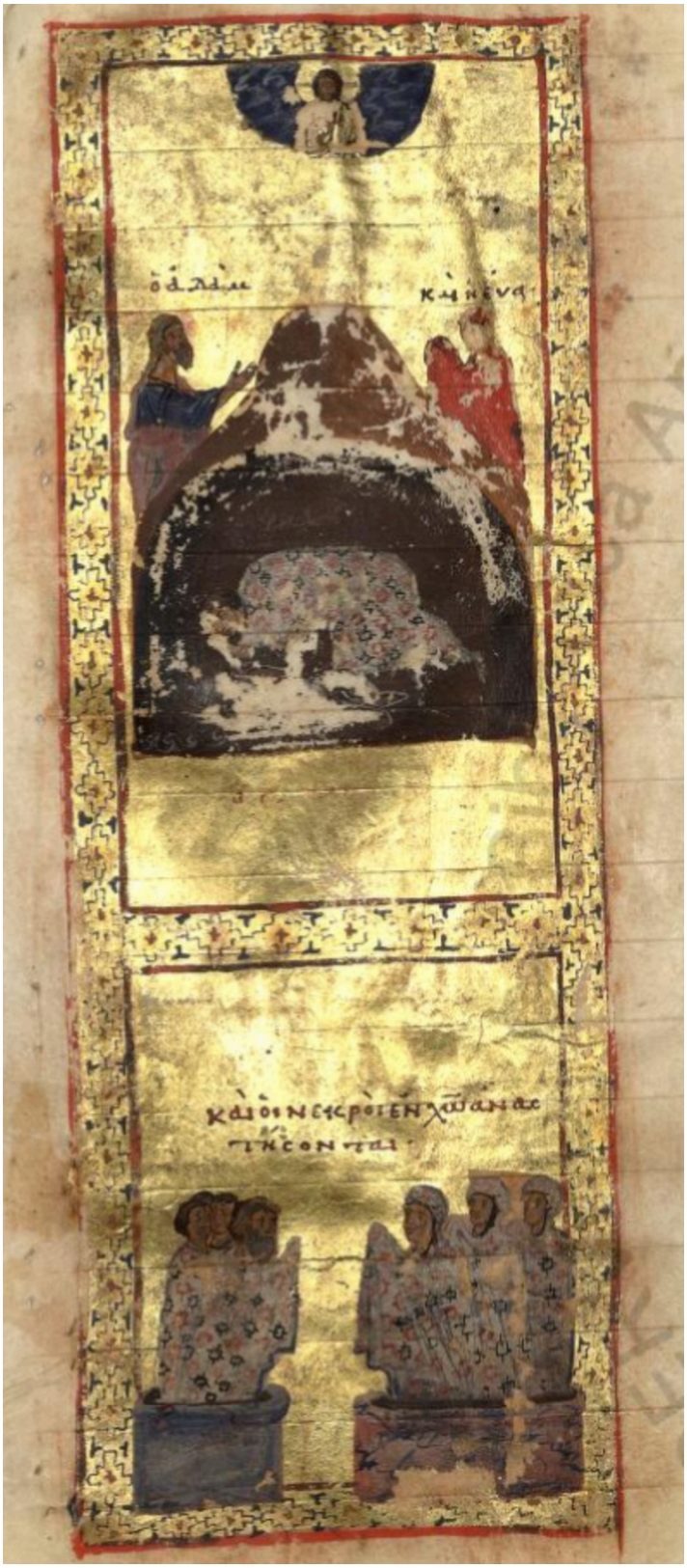


Figure 74: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 44v



Figure 75: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 42v



Figure 76: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 273r

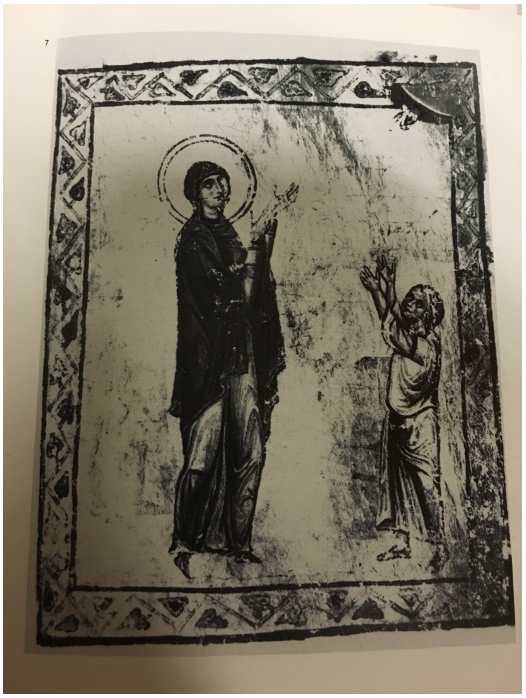


Figure 77: Athens, Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη Ελλάδος, MS 7, f. 237v



Figure 78: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 139, f. 428v



Figure 79: Moscow Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 153r

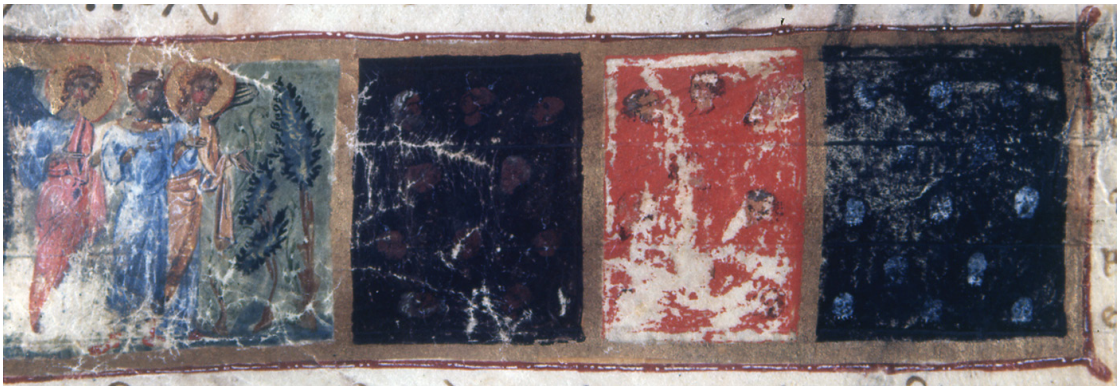


Figure 80: Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery, Iviron Cod. 463, f. 101r



Figure 81: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. gr. 1162, f. 30v



Figure 82: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 145v



Figure 83: Mosaic of the Anastasis, Daphni Monastery, Greece



Figure 84: Ivory of the Crucifixion, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.44



Figure 85: Bibliothèque National de France, MS Coislin 239, f. 121v



Figure 86: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 8v



Figure 87: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 31v



Figure 88: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 102v



Figure 89: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 48r



Figure 90: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 51v



Figure 91: Anastasis with Hades, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome



Figure 92: British Library, Additional MS 40731, f. 18r



Figure 93: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 65, f. 11v



Figure 94: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 239r



Figure 95: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 12r



Figure 96: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 9r



Figure 97: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 9v



Figure 98: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 8r



Figure 99: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 97v

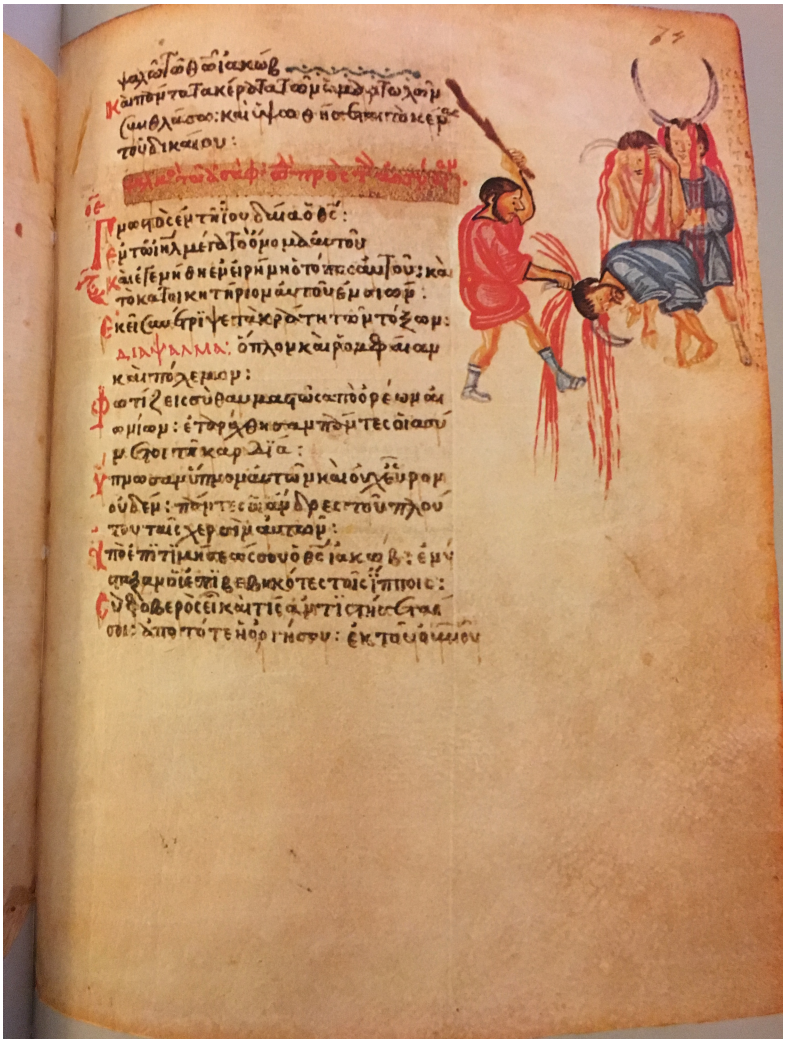


Figure 100: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 74r



Figure 101: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 181v

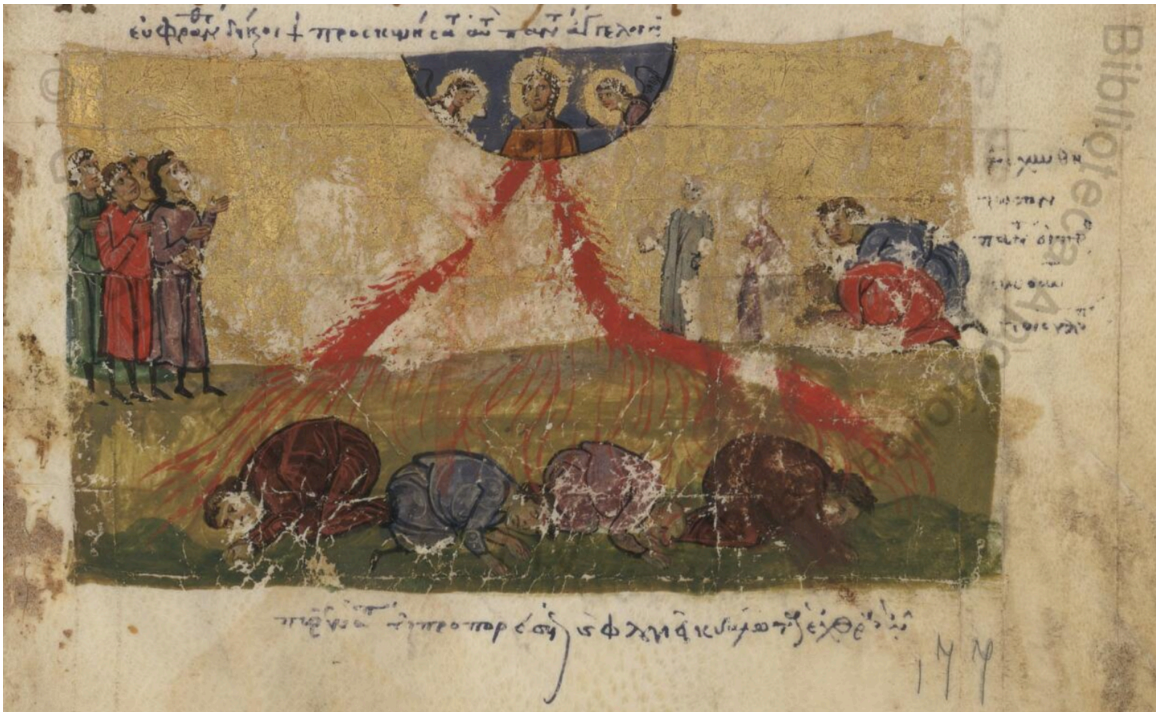


Figure 102: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, 177r



Figure 103: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 4r



Figure 104: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 3v



Figure 105: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 7v



Figure 106: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 5v



Figure 107: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 38r



Figure 108: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 22r



Figure 109: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 11v

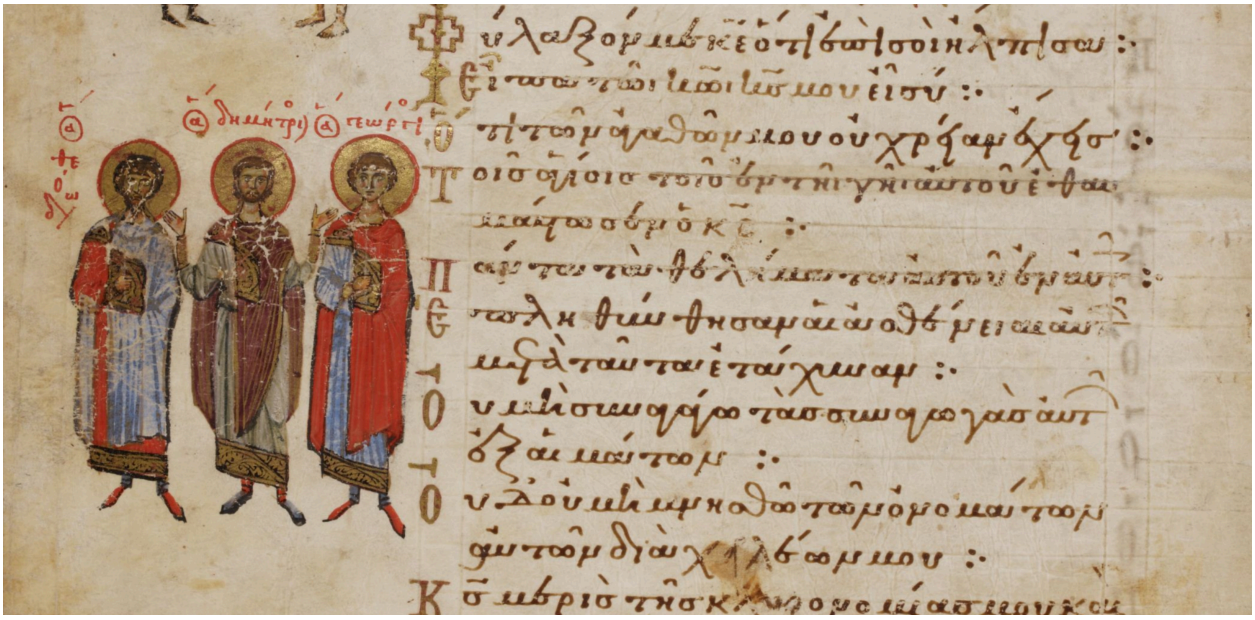


Figure 110: London, British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 13v



Figure 111: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 12r



Figure 112: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 14r



Figure 113: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 48r



Figure 114: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 49v



Figure 115: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 26v



Figure 116: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 49r



Figure 117: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 32v



Figure 118: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 33v



Figure 119: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 34r



Figure 120: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 88r



Figure 121: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 48v



Figure 122: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 62v

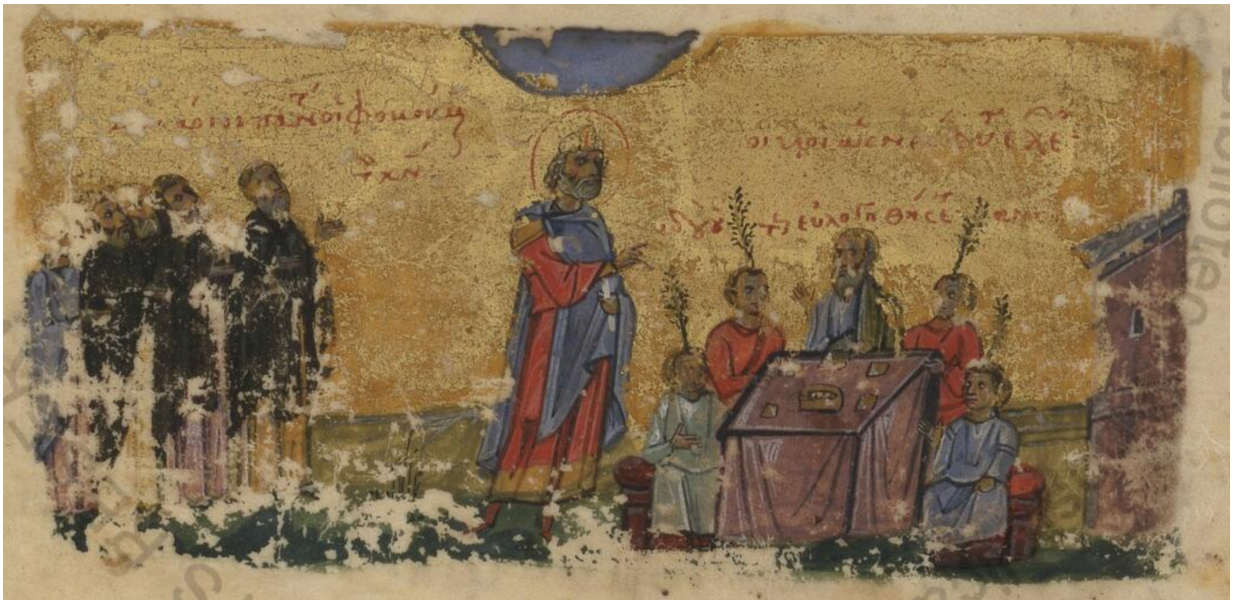


Figure 123: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 238v



Figure 124: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 220v



Figure 125: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 170v



Figure 126: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 73v



Figure 127: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. fol. 23, f. 146v



Figure 128: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 396v

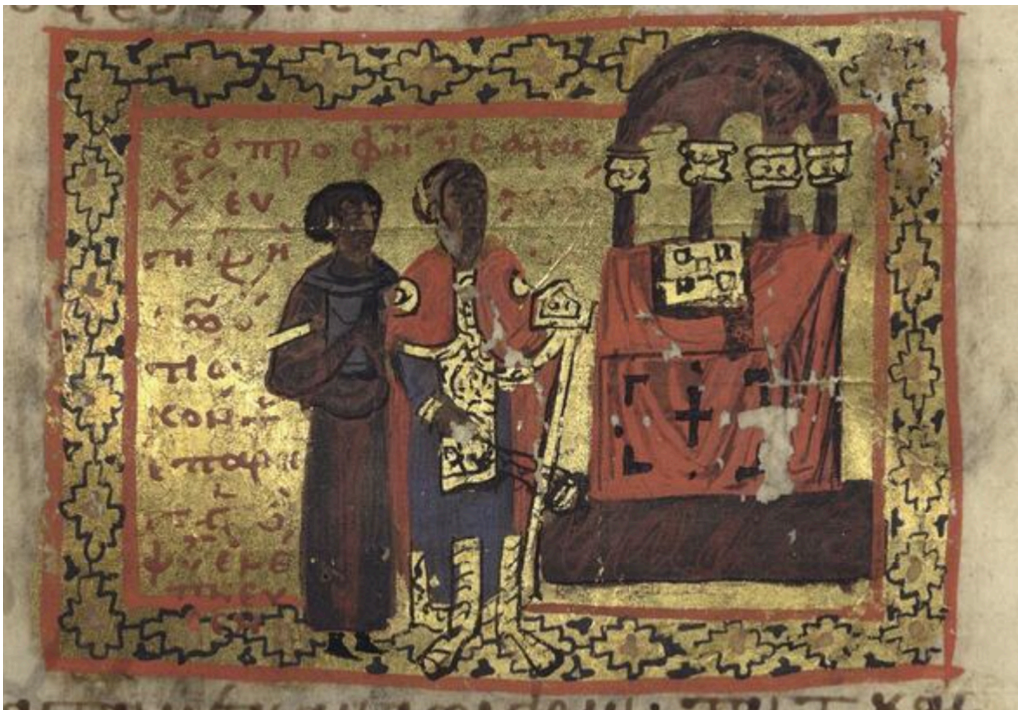


Figure 129: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 445v



Figure 130: London, British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 35r



Figure 131: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr 1927, f. 256r



Figure 132: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 256v



Figure 133: Refectory, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos

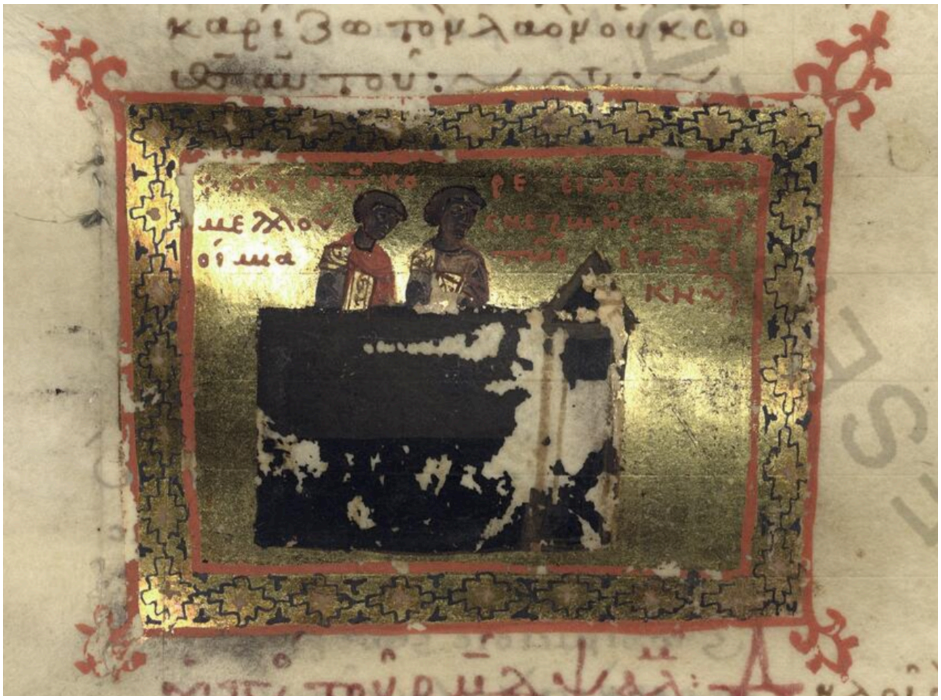


Figure 134: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 434v



Figure 135: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 366r



Figure 136: Morgan Library, MS 639, 294r



Figure 137: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 22v


Figure 138: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 96r


Figure 139: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 106v



Figure 140: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 108v



Figure 141: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 77v



Figure 142: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 214r



Figure 143: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 247r



Figure 144: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 65v



Figure 145: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 250v



Figure 146: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 24v



Figure 147: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 66r



Figure 148: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 128r



Figure 149: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 45r


Figure 150: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 76r


Figure 151: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 294r



Figure 152: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 125v



Figure 153: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 127r


Figure 154: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 42v


Figure 155: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 24r


Figure 156: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 28r


Figure 157: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 752, f. 82r



Figure 158: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 82r



Figure 159: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 57v



Figure 160: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 45v



Figure 161: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 79v


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Figure 162: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 204r



Figure 163: Moscow, Historical Museum, MS D. 129, f. 113r



Figure 164: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 150r



Figure 165: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 191r


Figure 166: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 190v


Figure 167: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 149v


Figure 168: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 150v


Figure 169: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, f. 192r



Figure 170: British Library, Additional MS 19352, f. 181r



Figure 171: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 8v



Figure 172: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 9r



Figure 173: Bibliothèque National de France, MS grec 74, f. 11r



Figure 174: Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Dionysiou Cod. 587, f. 19v



Figure 175: View of the naos and apse, Hagia Eirene, Istanbul



Figure 176: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 31r

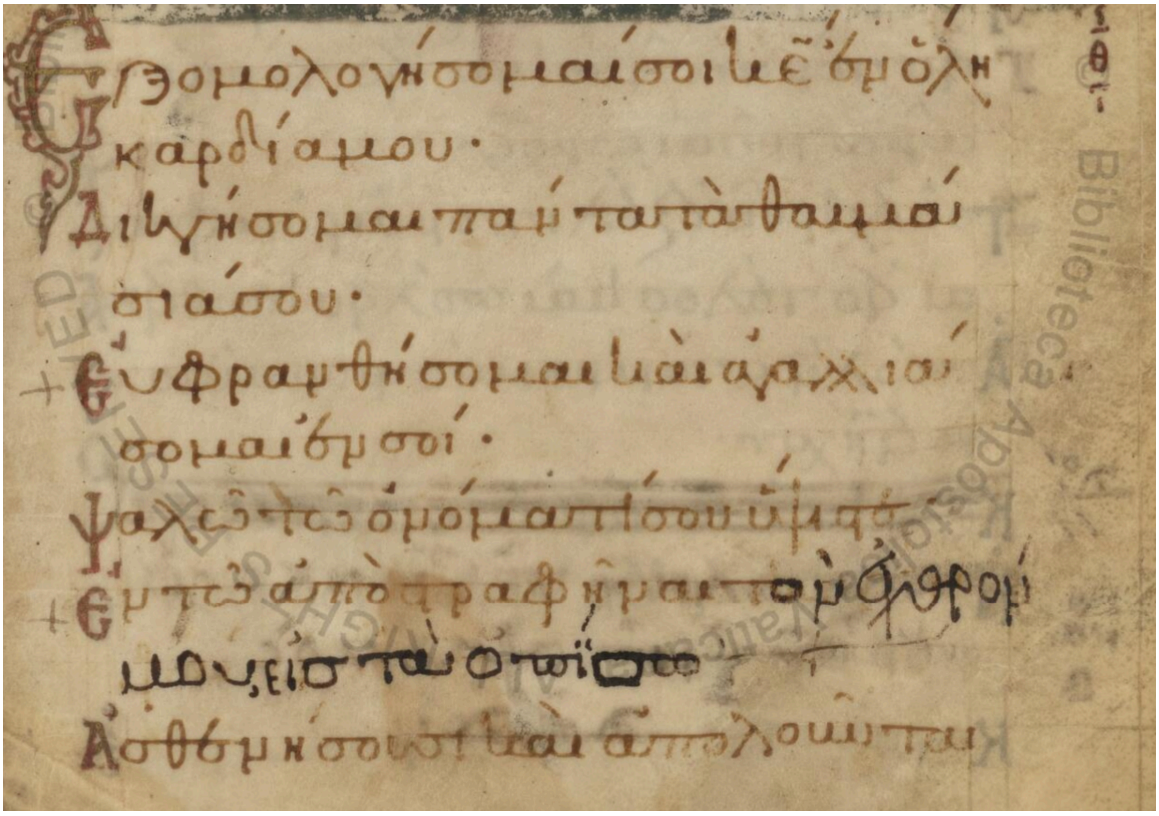


Figure 177: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 12r

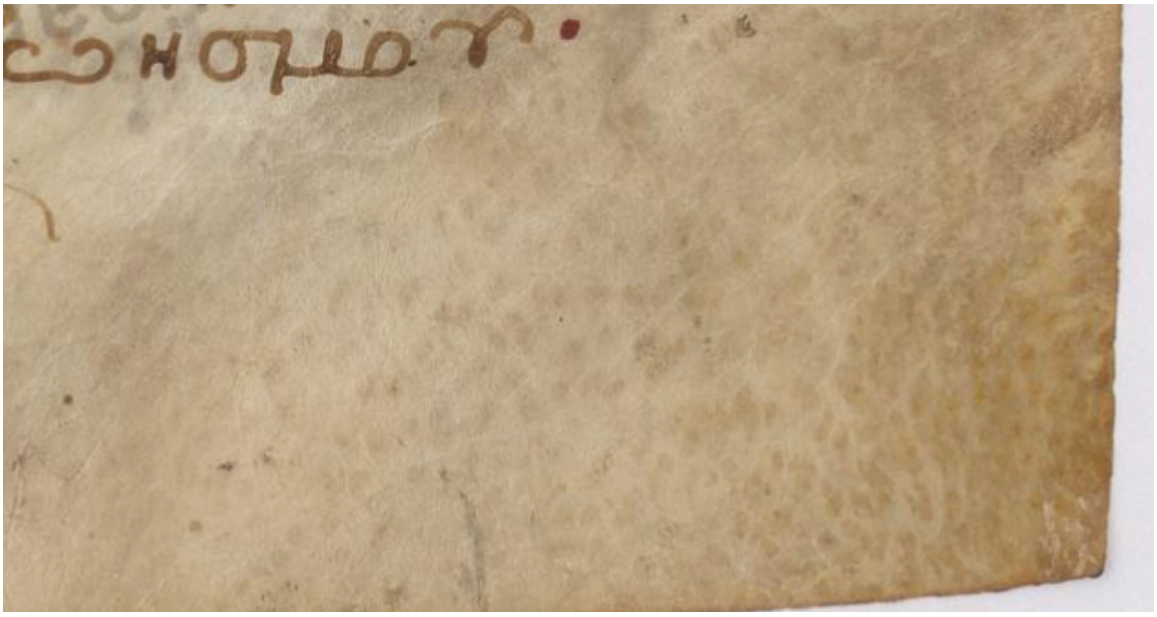


Figure 178: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 75r

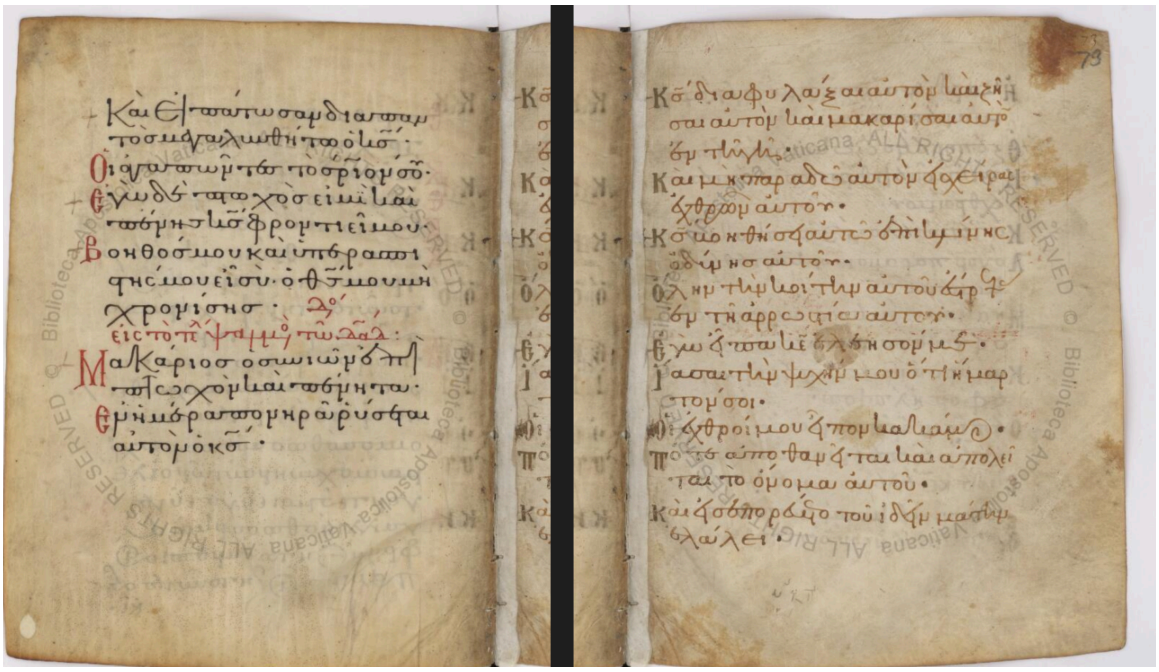


Figure 179: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 72v and 73r

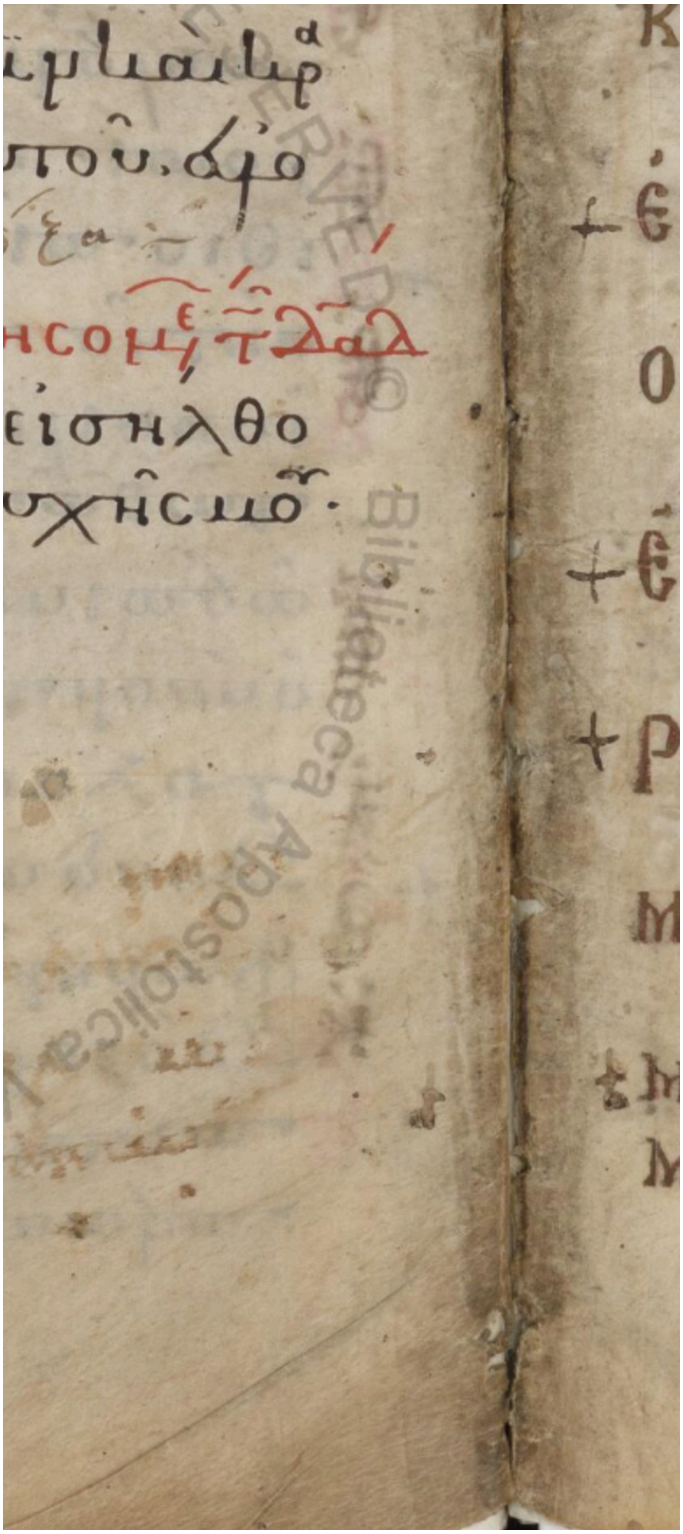


Figure 180: Holes from previous bindings, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 120v and 121r

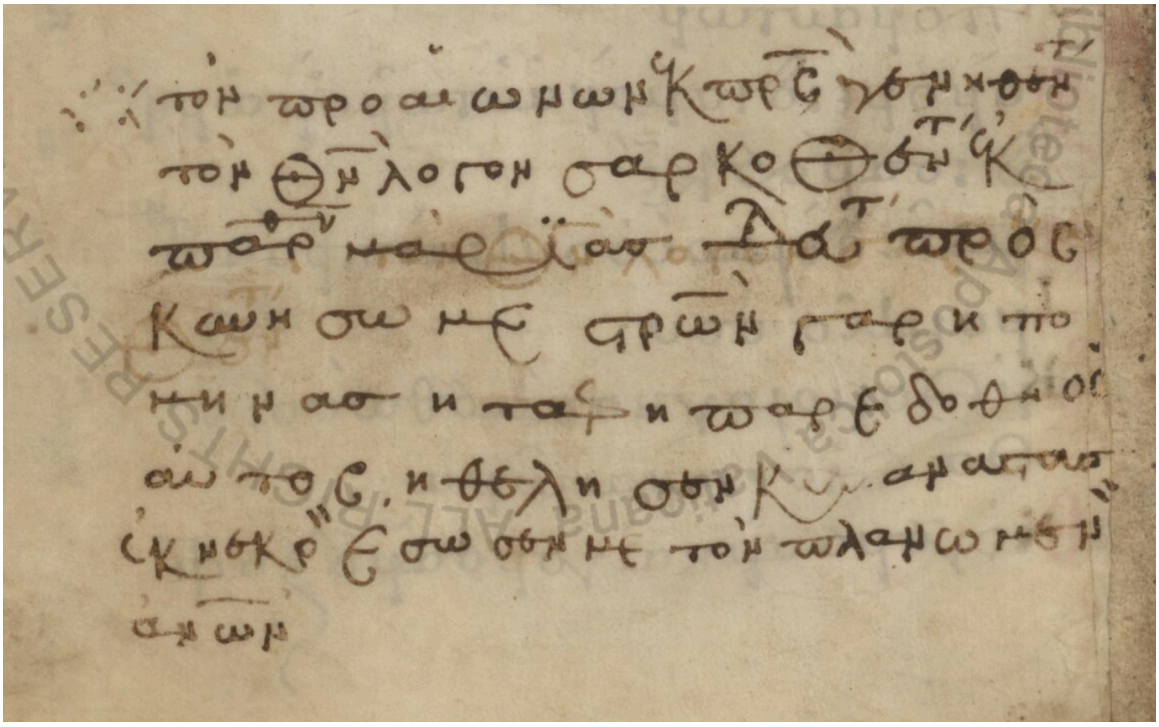


Figure 181: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 148v

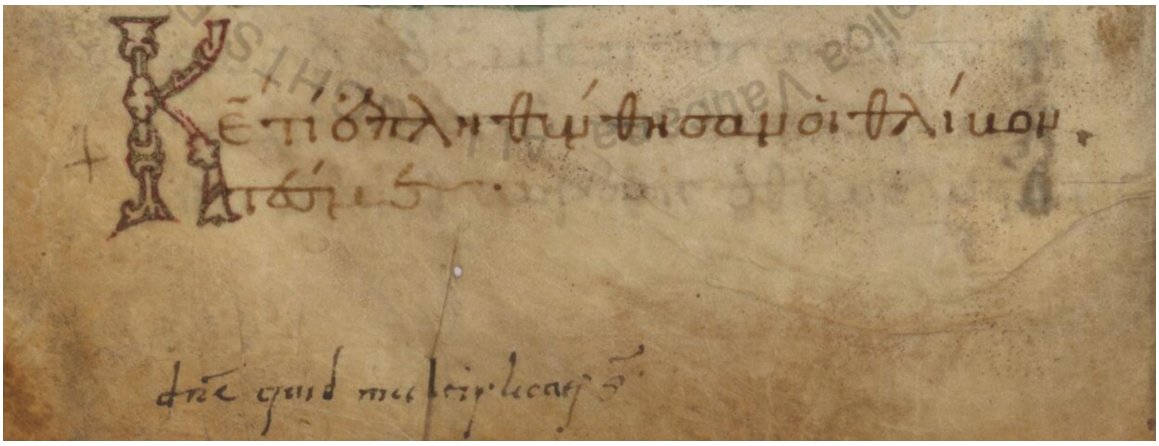


Figure 182: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 3v

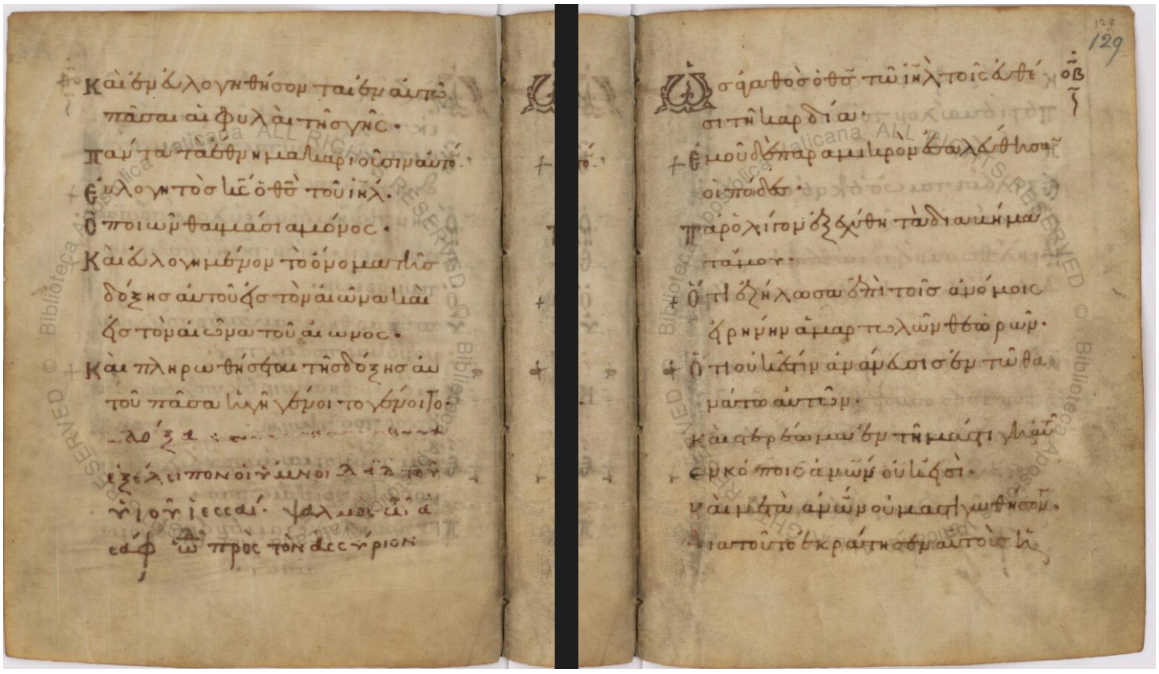


Figure 183: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 128v and 129r

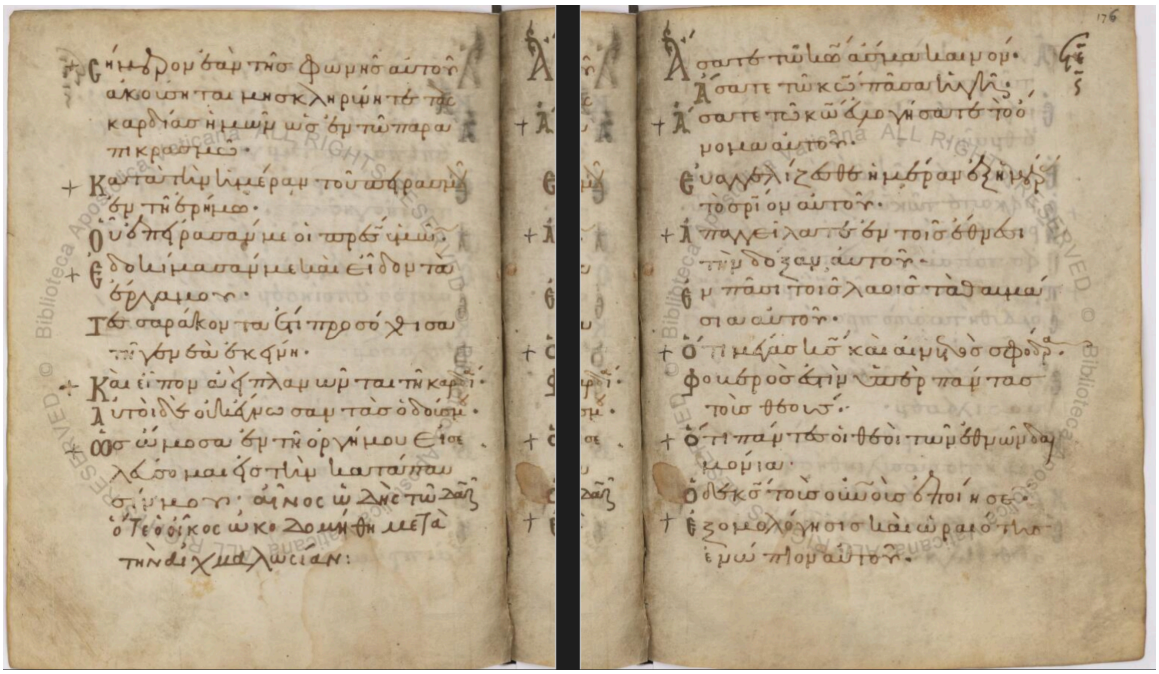


Figure 184: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, ff. 175v and 176r

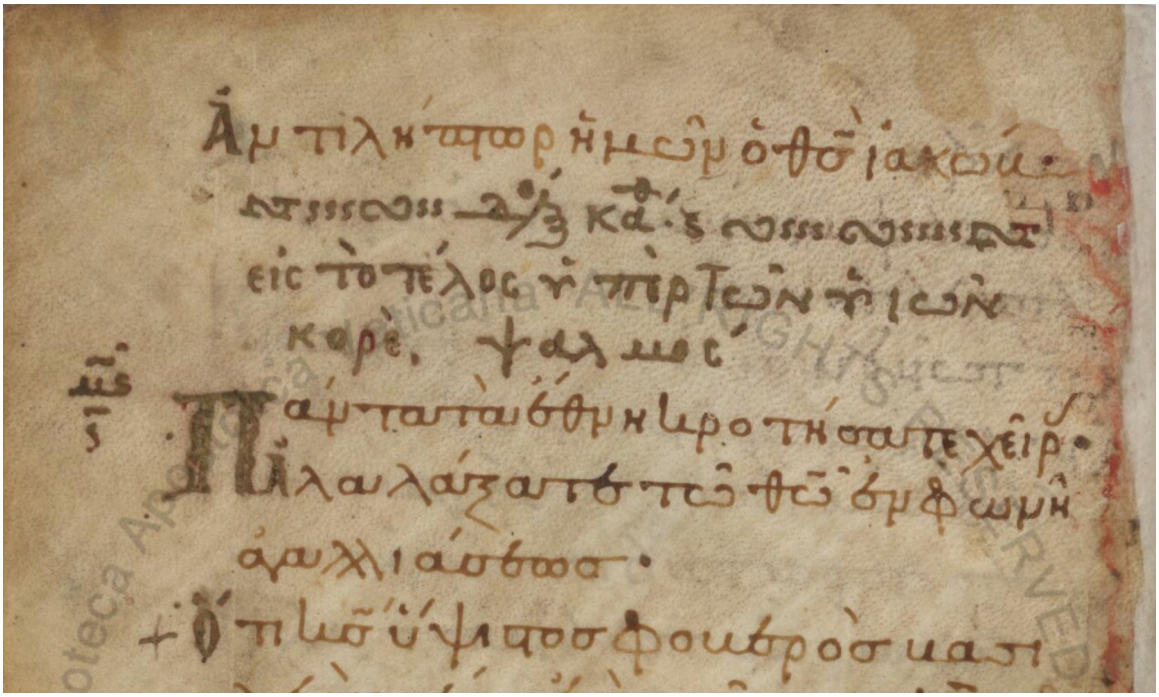


Figure 185: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 83v

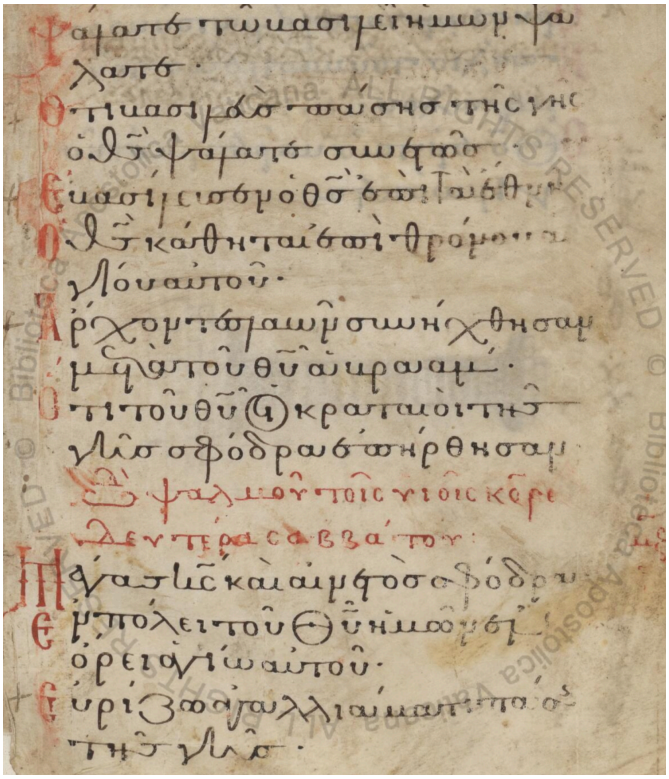


Figure 186: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 84r

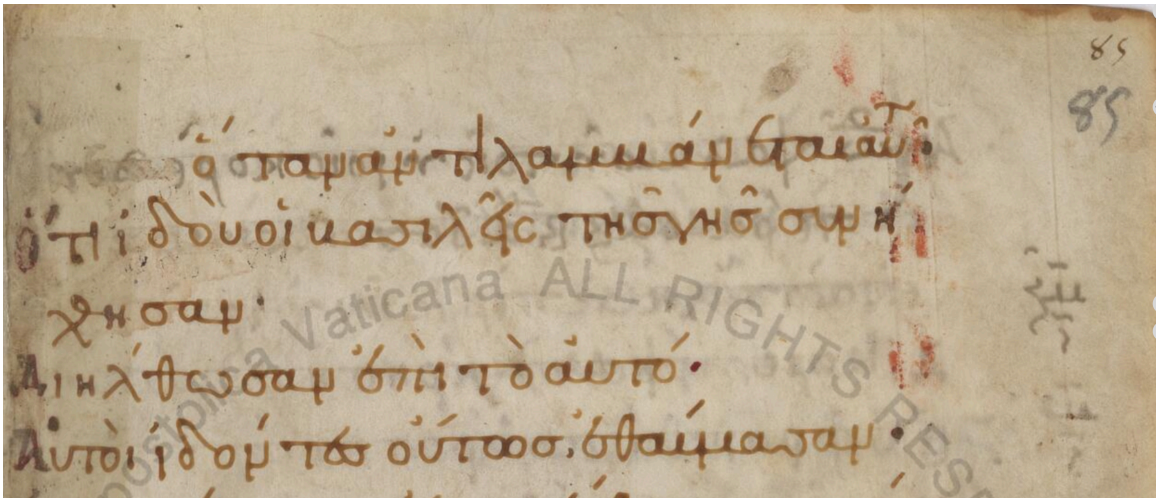

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Figure 187: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 85r


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Figure 188: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1927, f. 263r