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« Latter-day » Saints and the Image of Christ in the Ninth-century Byzantine Marginal Psalters

Abstract

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Ch. Walter, "Latter-day" Saints and the Image of Christ in the Ninth-century Byzantine Marginal Psalters. — The article begins with a repertory of these saints. The events in their Lives which made them relevant to the Iconophile cause are indicated. Then the central function of the image of Christ in the illustrative programme of these psalters is explained. On the basis of these elements, the case is presented for supposing that the extant psalters depend on a lost model, illuminated in Palestine in the late eighth century.

"LATTER-DAY" SAINTS AND THE IMAGE OF CHRIST IN THE NINTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE MARGINAL PSALTERS

Christopher WALTER

For the twelfth centenary of the Second Council of Nicaea

The introduction of miniatures of "latter-day" saints — that is to say of saints who lived in post-apostolic times — into illuminated marginal psalters marks a definite departure from the practice of literary commentators, who normally limited their typological interpretation of the Psalms to New Testament persons and events[1]. Tikkanen was already intrigued by these miniatures of "latter-day" saints[2]. He explained their presence in some cases by referring them to the use of the Psalm verse in the saint's liturgical office. Mariès first attempted to establish a comprehensive list of the saints represented in marginal psalters[3]. However he did not distinguish between New Testament saints, for whose presence a typological explanation is usually possible, those who figure as authors or commentators and genuine "latter-day" saints, for whose presence some other explanation is required.

Mariès noted that miniatures of saints are far more numerous in eleventh- than in ninth-century psalters, but he did not attempt an explanation of this increase. It is likely that it was related to modifications introduced

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1. Ch. WALTER, Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century, *REB* 44, 1986, p. 269-287.
2. J. J. TIKKANEN, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Helsingfors 1895-1900, reprinted Soest, Netherlands 1975, p. 74-78.
3. L. MARIÈS, L'irruption des saints dans l'illustration du psautier byzantin, *An. Boll.* 68, 1950, p. 153-162.

in both the eleventh-century psalters, whose overall programme is different-
ly orientated from that of the earlier ones. This question cannot be treated
here. André Grabar was the first scholar to investigate the reasons for
introducing "latter-day" saints into the ninth-century psalters. "Je soup-
çonne", he wrote, "que tous les saints précis (...) qui figurent sur les marges
du psautier du 9ᵉ siècle y apparaissent en fonction de l'œuvre de restaura-
tion des icônes »[4]. This explanation, which he did not develop in detail, left
Jean Gouillard unconvinced. "Cette explication", wrote Gouillard, "ne
nous paraît pas s'imposer, tant l'illustrateur se laisse facilement diriger
dans le choix de ses figurines par des associations de mots"[5]. Yet it would
seem that Grabar's and Gouillard's explanations are complementary rather
than contradictory. As will be seen, it is not difficult to discern in most
cases why the artist considered the saint whom he chose to be relevant to
the Psalm verse illustrated. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the
presence of these "latter-day" saints depends only on word associations.
One would expect their choice to be relevant to the Iconophile cause,
particularly if their introduction into Psalter illustration represented a new
departure. There is also, in two cases, a significant iconographical link with
the overall programme of the Psalters : the presence in the miniature of the
clipeate image of Christ.

   The article begins with a repertory of the saints, unnamed and named.
The latter are, in fact, few in number : one in the Paris Psalter ; three in the
Pantocrator Psalter ; six in the Chludov Psalter[6]. To these must, of course,
be added the miniatures in which the Iconophile patriarch Nicephorus is
represented. Their place in the overall programme is then discussed, with
particular reference to the clipeate image of Christ. Finally it is argued that
the presence of the "latter-day" saints — excluding Nicephorus — is best
explained by the hypothesis that there was a common model for these three
ninth-century Psalters, whose programme was elaborated in the late eighth
century in Palestine. This was later adapted by the introduction of the
miniatures concerning the patriarch Nicephorus and his adversary John
Grammaticus.

   4. A. GRABAR, L'iconoclasme byzantin, dossier archéologique, Paris 1957, p. 227.
   5. J. GOUILLARD, Art et littérature théologique à Byzance au lendemain de la querelle
des images, Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 5, 1962, p. 5, reprinted, La vie religieuse à
Byzance, Variorum London 1981.
   6. Paris and Pantocrator Psalters : Suzy DUFRENNE, L'illustration des psautiers grecs au
Moyen Âge, I, Paris 1966. Chludov Psalter : Marfa ŠČEPKINA, Miniatjuri Hludovskoj
Psaltyri. Grečeskij illjustrirovannyj kodeks IX veka, Moscow 1977. References in the text
of this article to these psalters is given only by the folio number.

I. REPERTORY OF MINIATURES

i. Anonymous figures illustrating an aspect of saintliness

These miniatures are the most numerous and possibly the earliest to be introduced into psalter illustration, since they take up literally a word or phrase of the Psalm text[7]. They recall that the Byzantine vocabulary of saintliness derives for the most part from the Septuagint, notably from the Psalter itself[8].

1. The blessed man. Psalm 1,1 : Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly. C, f. 2. A haloed figure is seated, holding a codex in his hands. To the left is a clipeate image of Christ. There is a legend : μακάριος.

2. Saints. Psalm 15,3 : On behalf of the saints (τοῖς ἁγίοις) that are in his land. C, f. 11ˇ. A group of unhaloed figures are bunched together. The front figure is represented *orans*.

3. Martyr. Psalm 24,10 : Truth to them that seek his covenant and his testimonies (τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ). C, f. 22ˇ. A figure is lying outstretched, naked apart from a monastic scapular, with blood flowing from his wounds.

4. The just. Psalm 33,18 : The just cried and the Lord heard them. C, f. 30ˇ. A group of monks are represented in various attitudes of prayer. Rays descend on them from a blue segment above. There is a legend : δίκαιοι.

5. Martyrs. Psalm 33,20(?) : Many are the tribulations of the just. There is a legend : οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες.

6. Reliquary. Psalm 33,21 : He keeps all their bones. C, 30ˇ. A reliquary.

7. The just. Psalm 36,39 : The salvation of the just is from the Lord. Pc, f. 46ˇ. Two haloed figures extend their right hands in a gesture of prayer. There is a legend : δίκαιοι.

8. Martyrdom. Psalm 43,23 : For your sake we are put to death all day long. C, f. 44. Three figures are being executed with a sword.

9. Three martyrs. Psalm 67,36 : God is wonderful in his holy ones (ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ). C, f. 65ˇ. Three haloed figures hold a cross in their right hand. There is a legend : οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες.

10. The poor man. Psalm 101, title : A prayer for the poor. C, f. 100 ; Pc, f. 141ˇ. In C, a seated figure is represented holding his right hand to his mouth. Legend : ὁ πτωχός. In Pc, the figure kneels, his hands outstretched. There is a legend : εἰσάκουσόν μου, κ(ύρι)ε.

ii. Named "latter-day" saints

11. Symeon the Stylite the Younger (?). Psalm 4,4 : Know that the Lord has done wonderful things for his holy one (τὸν ὅσιον αὐτοῦ). C, f. 3ˇ. A bearded figure looks from the window of his dwelling, which is placed on top of the

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7. The hypothesis that early psalter illustration was literal is based on the lack of typological subjects in the Utrecht Psalter, which may give the most faithful reflection available of early Christian psalter illustration. See also the fragmentary Verona Psalter (7th-8th century). Suzy DUFRENNE, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht*, Paris 1978, p. 29-30 ; A. CUTLER, The Byzantine Psalter : Before and after Iconoclasm, *Iconoclasm*, edited A. BRYER & Judith HERRIN, Birmingham 1977, p. 94-95.

8. About the only terms in the Byzantine hagiographical lexicon not already established in the Septuagint Greek are : ὁμολογητής and λείψανα.

capital of a column. Below, standing on the base of the column, a figure in a tunic extends his right hand. A receptacle hangs by a cord from the window of the stylite's dwelling. Above him is placed a clipeate image of Christ. A legend : Θάμβος (miracle) has been added in a later hand. However, according to Ščepkina, the name Symeon may be deciphered on the manuscript below the later legend.

The iconography of stylites, which was well-established before Iconoclasm, has been exhaustively studied by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne. She points out that the iconography of specific stylite saints had no traits permitting one to distinguish between them. On the other hand it is only in the marginal psalters that the stylites are represented at the window of their dwelling. Normally they figure in bust form on top of their column. She suggests that the artist of the Chludov Psalter made his picture from life[9]. Another trait peculiar to psalter illustration is the clipeate image above the stylite. It still remains to decide which Symeon is represented here. Mariès suggested that this miniature would be of Symeon the Younger, of the "marvellous mountain", by reason of the word association with ἐθαυμάστωσεν in the Psalm[10].

12. Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Psalm 32,19 : To deliver their souls from death and keep them alive in famine. C, f. 29 ; Pc, f. 36ᵛ. In both manuscripts several recumbent figures (clearly seven in Pc) are bunched together. There is a legend in both manuscripts : οἱ ἑπτά παῖδες (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ). The choice would have been suggested by the fact that these saints survived death, thanks to their sleeping miraculously through a period of persecution. Although this is the earliest surviving representation of the Seven Sleepers, the rudimentary icono-graphy suggests that it is directly copied from an existing model, possibly even in a simplified form.

13. George. Psalm 43,23 : For your sake, we are put to death all day long. C, f. 44. Saint George, naked apart from a loincloth, lies upon a wheel, fixed to a trestle upon the upper beam of which are seven knives pointing down-wards. Blood flows from his back. To either side of the trestle stand figures in tunics who pull on cords attached to George's hands and feet respectively. There is a legend : ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος. This is the "typical" torture scene for Saint George[11]. The scene was probably considered apt to illustrate this Psalm verse, because, in his *Passion*, George is said to have succombed to and recovered from a whole series of tortures[12]. Again, this is the earliest surviving example of the iconography of George on the wheel.

14. John Chrysostom. Psalm 48,2 : Hear this, all the nations. C, f. 47ᵛ. A frontal portrait of a bishop holding a book is accompanied by the inscrip-tion : ὁ Χρυσόστομος. John Chrysostom inherited the title of apostle of the

9. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antio-che. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune*, Brussels 1967, p. 199.

10. Mariès, *art. cit.* (note 3), p. 161.

11. Temily Mark Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art*, doctoral dissertation, New York 1977 ; Ch. Walter, The Cycle of Saint George in the Monastery of Dečani, *Symposium Dečani and XIVth-century Art in the Byzantine World*, Belgrade & Dečani 1985 (printing).

12. Mariès, *art. cit.* (note 3), p. 159.

Gentiles from Saint Paul. He also commented this Psalm. The portrayal of John Chrysostom is rudimentary, and would have been copied from an earlier model. For the general presentation, the icon of Saints Paul, Peter, Nicolas and John Chrysostom at Saint Catherine's, Mount Sinaï, offers an obvious parallel, although John Chrysostom's facial features are represented differently[13].

15. Constantine. Psalm 59,6 : You have given a sign to them that fear you, that they may flee from the bow. C, f. 58ᵛ. Constantine, seated on a prancing horse, holds a shield and a lance on top of which is a cross. A fallen figure is trampled by the horse, while two others are aiming arrows from their bows. There is a legend : ὁ ἅγιος Κωνσταντῖνος. The word σημείωσιν probably suggested an association with the prophecy to Constantine : In this sign you will conquer[14] (Figure 1).

16. Eustace. Psalm 96,11 : Light has sprung up for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart. C, f. 97ᵛ ; Pc, f. 138 ; P, f. 5ᵛ. This is the only theme concerning a named saint of which an illustration has survived in all three ninth-century psalters. The iconography varies slightly from manuscript to manuscript. The simplest version is that in the Pantocrator Psalter, in which Eustace, in armour and mantle, kneels facing towards the stag, his arms outstretched. The fleeing stag turns its head back towards Eustace. Between its antlers is placed a clipeate image of Christ. Eustace's prancing horse is placed to the left ; his spear and shield have fallen to the ground. There is a legend : ὁ ἅγιος Εὐστάθιος.

In the Paris Psalter, the scene is reversed, such that the stag appears on the left. There was also a further detail, now cut out, although the accompanying legend has survived : Πέτρος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. Thus the lost detail would have been a representation of Saint Peter in prison (*Acts* 17,7).

The scene in the Chludov Psalter closely resembles the preceding one, except that Eustace is placed behind rather than beside his horse. Next to the stag's antlers, a bust figure is represented in a rectangular frame whose triangular top ends in a pinnacle. There are two legends : φῶς ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον — φῶς ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Εὐστάθην (*sic*).

The iconography of the conversion of Eustace is well attested for this early period. Two examples in Georgia dating from the seventh or eighth centuries,

13. K. WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinaï. The Icons*, volume one, Princeton 1976, n° B. 33 (7th-8th century ?).

14. A later hand has added a scholion to this folio, which is made up of two passages from the *Expositio in Psalmos* of NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *PG* 142, 1481-1482. Since there are only slight variants from the published text, I have not transcribed the scholion, but give, with his kind permission, the translation established by Joseph Munitiz :

1. οἱονεὶ ἐνσεσημασμένοι... ποικίλου τόξ(ου), commenting Psalm 59,6 : As if marked with a sign were *those who fear you* and (they) have not been destroyed. By *the bow* he refers to the warlike weapon. The *marking* on the faithful, however, (is) the seal of holy baptism, and the imprint of the life-giving cross, by means of which we escape from the devils' varied *bow*.

2. ἀγαλλιάσομαι τῇ εὐαρεστήσει... τ(ὴν) ἰουδαίαν ἐδήλωσ(εν), commenting Psalm 59,8 : *I shall rejoice* in the well-being of my people, and I shall allot to them the city of the tribe of *Ephraim* ; the city called *Sikima*, and the place that formerly was of the Sikimians, which is called the *valley of dogs* ; by these (terms), however, he refers to the whole of Judaea. — The words in italics are quotations from the Psalm commented.

the relief from Cebeldi and the stele of Davit Gareža (Figure 5), show a bust of Christ between the antlers of the stag which he has been pursuing[15]. In early Cappadocian frescoes a cross between the antlers was preferred[16]. The miniatures of the three ninth-century psalters are, therefore, in this respect, closer to the Georgian iconography, although only in the psalters does the bust image of Christ take on clipeate form. Another detail peculiar to the ninth-century psalters is the association with Saint Peter. In the *Life* of Eustace, his conversion is contrasted with that of Cornelius (*Acts* 10). Whereas Eustace was directly illuminated by Christ, Cornelius was converted by the intermediary action of Saint Peter[17]. If the Chludov miniature is considered in isolation, it could be supposed that this contrast is implicit in its iconography, for the sense of the triangular frame surrounding the bust of Saint Peter is not immediately evident. Ščepkina considered it to be a cabinet for icons (*kiota*). Its form also resembles that of a Byzantine lantern. The nearest analogy in the Chludov Psalter is the stylite's dwelling (f. 3ᵛ). This, taken in conjunction with the legend for the missing detail in the Paris Psalter, makes the interpretation of the frame as a schematic prison the most plausible. The operative word in the Psalm verse illustrated is φῶς, which is taken up in both legends. Consequently the spiritual illumination of Eustace is being compared with the illumination of Peter's prison when he was rescued by an angel[18].

17. Panteleimon. Psalm 123,6 : Blessed be the Lord who has not given us for a prey to their teeth. Pc, f. 182. The folio for this Psalm is missing from the Chludov Psalter, but, since the miniature recurs in both the Barberini and London Psalters, it is reasonable to suppose that it once figured there. Panteleimon, haloed, kneels beside a rudimentary hillside, his hands covered and outstretched in prayer. To his left is a panther. Above, Daniel is represented standing, while two lions lick his feet. There are two legends : Δανιήλ. — ὁ ἅγιος Παν(τελεήμων). It is told in the *Life* of Panteleimon, whose original name was Pantoleon, that in the arena the wild beasts refused to devour him[19]. Thus the association with the Psalm verse is as appropriate for him as for Daniel.

15. N. A. ALADAŠVILI, *Monumentalnaja skulptura Gruzii*, Moscow 1977, p. 60 ; Nicole THIERRY, Essai de définition d'un atelier de sculpture du Haut Moyen Âge en Gogarène, *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 1, 1985, p. 178-179.

16. At Saint John the Baptist, Çavuşin, Nicole THIERRY, *Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce*, Paris 1983, p. 97 ; at Mavrucan, church nᵛ 3, EADEM, Art byzantin du Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce : l'église nᵘ 3 de Mavrucan, *Journal des savants*, octobre-décembre 1972, p. 255 ; at Davullu kilisesi, EADEM, Mentalité et formulation iconoclastes en Anatolie, *Journal des savants*, août-juin 1976, p. 85-87. See also Anita COLMOUSSI, Une représentation rare de la vision de saint Eustache dans une église grecque du XIIIᵉ siècle, *CA* 33, 1985, p. 51-60.

17. *S. Eusthatii acta antiqua* (*BHG* 641), *PG* 105, 377-381 = JOHN DAMASCENE, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* (*Clavis* 8045), B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos*, III, Berlin 1975, p. 177-178 ; *PG* 94, 1381.

18. GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 227, wrote in error that this comparison also occurs in the text of the *Acts* of Eustace.

19. *Passio* (*BHG* 1414m), *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt*, edited B. LATYŠEV, II, Petrograd 1912, § 12, p. 220. *Passio* (*BHG* 1412z), Hagiographica graeca inedita, ed. B. LATYŠEV, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de St-Pétersbourg*, VIIIᵉ série, 12, 2, 1914, § 20, p. 49-50.

There is little consistency in the way that these saints are represented. Only three are haloed (John Chrysostom, Eustace, Panteleimon) ; only four are called saints in the accompanying legends (George, Constantine, Eustace, Panteleimon). There are also clear differences in the quality of their rendering. John Chrysostom and the Seven Sleepers seem to be mechanical copies from a current model. The scene of George in the wheel is more developed, but remains independent of the text. On the other hand, the scene of Constantine, while recalling the traditional triumphal imagery of emperors on horseback, has been made relevant to the Psalm verse by the introduction of figures aiming arrows from their bows (Figure 1). Two "latter-day" saints — Eustace and Panteleimon — have been coupled with a biblical saint, as if to render them more respectable. This might be considered an answer to the Iconoclast challenge to the cult of "latter-day" saints, which, if ancient, had yet to be systematized. It might well be — although there is no possibility of certitude — that the introduction of named saints into Psalter illustration was a recent initiative. They do not, of course, figure in the aristocratic psalters ; in the Utrecht Psalter only one "latter-day" saint is represented, Saint Laurence along with Saints Peter and Paul[20] ; in the Bristol Psalter, the unique hagiographical miniature occurs on f. 24, where Psalm 15,3 is illustrated by a group of anonymous martyrs[21].

Two points made by Gouillard are not in doubt[22]. All these named saints were aptly chosen, and, as is evident from the small number compared with those whose *Lives* are cited in the Iconophile *florilegia*, the representation of saints has not been undertaken systematically. Nevertheless, a fairly strong case can be argued in favour of Grabar's proposition that these saints *do* appear in the Psalters, as in the *florilegia*, as witnesses to Iconophile doctrines challenged by the Iconoclasts. There is, indeed, little overlap with the *florilegium* compiled for the second Council of Nicaea, which cites passages concerned only with two of the saints represented here : John Chrysostom and the two Symeons[23]. On the other hand four saints represented are cited in the *florilegium* compiled by John Damascene. Twice the passage cited corresponds directly to the scene represented : the triumph of Constantine[24] and the conversion of Eustace[25]. In the other two cases — John Chrysostom and the two Symeons — the artist has not established a direct relationship.

The passage quoted by John Damascene from the *Life* of Symeon the Younger is the account of the merchant of Antioch who set up Symeon's icon in a public place[26]. When three men tried to take it down, they were miracu-

20. DUFRENNE, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 149-150.

21. DUFRENNE, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 50.

22. GOUILLARD, *art. cit.* (note 5), p. 5-6.

23. P. VAN DEN VEN, La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787, *Byz.* 25-27, 1955-1957, p. 357-358 n°" 63, 73, 74.

24. JOHN DAMASCENE, *op. cit.* (note 17), edited KOTTER, p. 173, *PG* 94, 1373-1376 = EUSEBIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica* (*Clavis* 3495), 9, 9, edited G. BARDY, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, II, Paris 1958, p. 63-64, *PG* 20, 824.

25. See above, note 17.

26. JOHN DAMASCENE, *op. cit.* (note 17), *PG* 94, 1393-1394 = *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (*BHG* 1689), edited P. VAN DEN VEN, I, Brussels 1962, p. 139-141 ; II, Brussels 1970, p. 164-165.

lously hurled to the ground. He also quoted two passages about John Chrysostom[27] : a resurrection miracle performed by the saint's icon, and the apparition of Saint Paul, whom Proclus could recognize from the resemblance with an icon suspended on the wall. In the *Lives* of the other saints represented in the ninth-century psalters, similar incidents occur. Saint George had visions of Christ and performed resurrection miracles[28]. The miraculous sleep and awakening of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus was considered to be a witness to the resurrection[29]. Panteleimon restored life to a child bitten by a snake, and had a vision of Christ[30]. Such is the evidence for supposing that these particular saints were chosen, not only because they could be aptly associated with the Psalm verse, but also because their *Lives* could be quoted in favour of doctrines challenged by the Iconoclasts : resurrection and immortality ; the utility and efficacity of the cult of icons ; the physical visibility — and hence representability — of Christ. However, it does not seem that the psalter illustrations are intended to affirm the intercessory powers of saints, although this was, in fact, one of the first doctrines to be challenged by the Iconoclasts[31]. The programme of the ninth-century psalters is Christocentric : the prophetical visions of Old Testament "saints" ; the New Testament theophanies and finally the witness of "latter-day" saints. In two cases, their witness is particularly important. The clipeate image of Christ — a *leit-motiv* of these psalters — is included in the miniatures of Symeon and Eustace. It provides the link between the miniatures of saints and those which are more strictly Christological. The importance and significance of this link will be considered in due course.

iii. Miniatures of the patriarch Nicephorus

The miniatures of Nicephorus differ from the preceding ones in two respects. Firstly, all the other "latter-day" saints had a well-established cult before Iconoclasm, while Nicephorus was a contemporary. Secondly, the miniatures of Nicephorus set him in the historical context of the Iconoclast controversy. He figures there less as a witness to the truth of a disputed doctrine than as the ultimate vindicator of the cult of icons, triumphing over his adversaries.

18. Nicephorus is contrasted with the council of the impious. Psalm 25,4.9-10 : I have not sat with the council of vanity... Do not destroy my

27. *Ibidem*, *PG* 94, 1410, 1277 (= 1364-1365) = Gɪᴏʀɢɪꜱ ᴅ'Aʟᴇxᴀɴᴅʀɪ, *Vie de Jean Chrysostome* (*BHG* 873), ed. F. Hᴀʟᴋɪɴ, *Douze récits byzantins sur saint Jean Chrysostome*, Brussels 1977, p. 142ˢ⁻⁶, p. 147ˢ⁻⁶.

28. Especially in the earliest version of the *Passion* (*BHG* 670 ; *BHL* 3363-3383). Cf. H. Dᴇʟᴇʜᴀʏᴇ, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris 1909, p. 50-51 ; F. Cᴜᴍᴏɴɪ, La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 114, 1936, p. 6-41.

29. In the earliest surviving witness to their *Passion*, their miraculous survival and awakening is already described as evidence in favour of the doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead. Pʜᴏᴛɪᴜꜱ, *Bibliothèque*, VII, edited R. Hᴇɴʀʏ, Paris 1974, p. 209-211 ; *PG* 99, 102. Compare *Syn. CP* 155-156 (October 22nd).

30. *Passio* (*BHG* 1414m), ed. cit. (note 19), § 3, p. 217 ; § 11, p. 220. *Passio* (*BHG* 1412z), ed. cit. (note 19), § 4, p. 42 ; § 17, p. 48.

31. *Regestes*, nᵒˢ 327-332. Nᵒ 332 is published in this number of *REB*, p. 8-11. Cf. V. Gʀᴜᴍᴇʟ, L'iconologie de saint Germain de Constantinople, *EO* 21, 1922, p. 165-175 ; J. Dᴀʀʀᴏᴜᴢᴇꜱ, Germain Iᵉʳ de Constantinople, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 6, 309-311.

soul together with the ungodly... C. f. 23ᵛ ; Pc, f. 16. There is no need to give here a full account of these two miniatures, which have been so often described and analysed³². It will suffice to recall that these two representations of a historical event, the assembly of the synod of Hiereia in 815, if similarly structured in that in both Nicephorus is contrasted with his adversaries, nevertheless differ significantly in a number of details. The miniature in the Chludov Psalter is more straightforward. Nicephorus is represented frontally, haloed and holding a clipeate image. He is contrasted with the figures below ; indeed his triumph is only implicit. The two figures to the right of the members of the synod who are blotting out an icon closely resemble the same figures in the miniature on f. 67, illustrating Psalm 68,22. In both miniatures, one figure is episcopally dressed while the other has his hair standing on end, so that it is likely that they are portraits of Theodotus Melissenus (816-821) and John Grammaticus. The miniature in the Pantocrator Psalter is more erudite. Again Nicephorus holds a clipeate image, but now he is enthroned, with his two enemies, Theodotus Melissenus and the emperor Leo V, at his feet ; his triumph is explicit. The representation of the synod, where the members are inspired by John Grammaticus, would seem to lend itself to an elaborate exegesis. The vituperative poem inscribed on the folio does not correspond exactly to the miniature : Nicephorus is seated, not standing ; he is not stopping the mouth of John Grammaticus ; it also implies that the triumph of Nicephorus over John Grammaticus was not yet complete. The legend in both the Chludov and Pantocrator Psalters describes Nicephorus as the patriarch, without the title of saint ; yet in both psalters he is haloed. Unfortunately, as has been noted above, there is not yet a standard iconography for the representation of saints in these psalters. Consequently it cannot be argued from the absence of the word saint that Nicephorus was still living when the miniatures were executed, nor from the presence of a halo that he had already been canonized.

19. Nicephorus tramples John Grammaticus. Psalm 51,9 : Behold the man who put trust in the abundance of his wealth. C, f. 51ᵛ. The primary illustration to this Psalm verse in both the Chludov and Pantocrator Psalters shows Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus, who is surrounded by scattered coins. The scene of the triumph of Nicephorus, holding a clipeate image and trampling John Grammaticus, is accompanied by a legend : Νικηφόρος πατριάρχης ὑποδεικνύω(ν) Ἰάννην τὸν δεύτερον Σίμωνα κ(αὶ) εἰκονομάχ(ον).

This miniature does not occur in the Pantocrator Psalter. As Grabar noted, the iconography is borrowed from the repertory of imperial triumphal imagery³³. Yet, as with the synod of Hiereia, there may be a historical allusion. It is told that Nicephorus engaged John Grammaticus on one occasion in

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32. GRABAR, op. cit. (note 4), p. 198-201 ; Suzy DUFRENNE, op. cit. (note 6), p. 21-22 ; I. ŠEVČENKO, The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantocrator Psalter, CA 15, 1965, p. 39-60 ; Ch. WALTER, Iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine, Paris 1970, p. 26-29.
33. GRABAR, op. cit. (note 4), p. 217-218.

controversy, utterly routing him[34]. John Grammaticus was assimilated to Simon Magus for his dabbling in magic rather than for his practice of simony[35]. This calumny, which was repeated in the Canon of Methodius, seems to be gratuitous[36]. It is told that on one occasion John Grammaticus distributed bribes in order to gain supporters, but it does not seem that he performed simoniac ordinations[37].

In both manuscripts, John Grammaticus emerges as a more picturesque figure than Nicephorus. One might almost suppose that the artists were more intent to vilify the Iconoclast than to celebrate the Iconophile. Again there is a contrast between the Chludov and the Pantocrator Psalters. Psalm 36,35 is illustrated in C, f. 35ᵛ, by a caricature of John Grammaticus, in which allusion is made again to his love of money. On the other hand the miniature in the Pantocrator Psalter, f. 165, illustrating Psalm 113,12-16, in which John Grammaticus is contrasted with Bezalel is among the most erudite in the ninth-century psalters[38].

II. THE PLACE OF SAINTS IN THE PROGRAMME OF NINTH-CENTURY PSALTERS

So far as "latter-day" saints are concerned, their only iconographical link with the programme of the psalters is the clipeate image of Christ. This recurs thirteen times in the Chludov Psalter. In six cases it is the object of a prophetic vision : f. 4, David ; f. 12, David ; f. 48ᵛ, David and Habbakuk ; f. 86, David ; f. 90ᵛ, Moses ; f. 154ᵛ, Habbakuk. In most of these miniatures a legend confirms that the prophet is foreseeing Christ. Never does he address prayer to a clipeate image. The only doubtful case is that of Moses, f. 90ᵛ, since there is no legend

34. The sources refer to three disputations between John Grammaticus and the Iconophiles, in all of which, naturally, he came off worst : 1. with Nicephorus, C. MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1958, p. 243 ; cf. *Epistola ad Theophilum imperatorem* (*BHG* 1387 ; *Clavis* 8115), *PG* 95, 372. 2. with the monk Methodius, F. DVORNIK, The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm, *DOP* 7, 1953, p. 67-97 ; *Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mytilenae* (*BHG* 494), edited J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *An. Boll.* 18, 1899, p. 248-250. 3. with Constantine/Cyril, S. GERO, John the Grammarian, the Last Iconoclast Patriarch of Constantinople, *Byzantina* (Uppsala) 3-4, 1974-1975, p. 27-28.

35. GERO, *art. cit.* (note 34), p. 28 ; P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris 1971, p. 135-146.

36. *Canon in erectione SS. imaginum*, Ode 4, *PG* 99, 1772 ; GERO, *ibidem*, p. 27. However, Gero is wrong in supposing that John Grammaticus is represented in the Chludov Psalter performing simoniac ordinations. The miniature in question, f. 67ᵛ, is anonymous.

37. The only concrete case mentioned in the literary sources of John Grammaticus exercising venality occurs in the *Acta graeca SS. Davidis...*, ed. cit. (note 34), p. 245, where he is accused of distributing bribes to gain clerics to the Iconoclast cause. According to I. ŠEVČENKO, Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period, *Iconoclasm, op. cit.* (note 7), p. 117-118, this is a late text, perhaps as late the 11th century.

38. Suzy DUFRENNE, Une illustration « historique » inconnue du Psautier du Mont Athos, Pantocrator nᵒ 61, *CA* 15, 1965, p. 83-95 ; Élisabeth REVEL-NEHER, *L'arche d'alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles*, Paris 1984, p. 175-178.

and the miniature is placed beside the title of the Psalm : *Prayer of Moses*. However, in the parallel miniature in the Pantocrator Psalter, f. 128, there is a legend, which explains that Moses is prophesying (Figure 2). There are, indeed, prayer scenes in the ninth-century psalters, but, if the miniaturist shows the destination of the prayer, he does so by a segment, from which rays of light or a hand may emerge.

This *imago clipeata* with a bust of Christ is not an icon, in the sense of a portrait to which cult is offered, although it may, particularly in the miniatures explicitly concerned with Iconoclasm, have the connotation of an icon. It signifies rather, as Grabar expressed it, "présence virtuelle du Christ"[39]. Since Christ is represented physically on the clipeate image, he is visible to human eyes. Since he is virtually present in the image, any act concerned with it is concerned with Christ. Those who see the clipeate image see Christ ; those who destroy it destroy Christ.

In pre-Iconoclast art there are three main iconographical variants of the clipeate image of Christ. In one, the *clipea* serves as a frame for the bust portrait ; in the second, the *clipea* is commensurate with Christ's nimbus. In the third, there is a cross behind Christ's head but no nimbus. An example of the first variant is provided by the Cross of Justin II (565-578) at the Vatican[40] ; an example of the second by the icon of Saint Peter at Mount Sinaï (*ca* 600)[41] ; an example of the third by the coins of Justinian II (685-695)[42]. So far as the two first variants are concerned, it is unlikely that there is a difference in their meaning, since both are found on ampoules[43] (Figure 4). After Iconoclasm, the first variant, in which Christ is haloed while the *clipea* serves as a frame, figures regularly in cupolas ; the earliest surviving example is that in the chapel of Santo Zeno (San Prassede), Rome, executed between 817 and 824[44]. The second variant is maintained in the eleventh-century psalters, particularly where the miniature is recopied from the earlier ones, and in the two portraits of Iconophile saints in the Menologium of Basil II[45]. It is used once in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 264ᵛ, for the scene of the

39. GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 219. For a penetrating analysis of the theological issues concerning the image of Christ, see C. SCHÖNBORN, *L'icône du Christ. fondements théologiques*, third edition, Paris 1986. Schönborn calls the image the *sainte face*, which is convenient if not strictly accurate.

40. M. ROSENBERG, Ein goldenes Pektoralkreuz, *Pantheon* 1, 1928, p. 151ff. (this article has been inaccessible to me) ; E. KITZINGER, Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm, *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, 4/1, Munich 1958, p. 18, fig. 18, reprinted *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West. Selected Studies*, edited W. E. Kleinbauer, Bloomington/London 1976, p. 174.

41. WEITZMANN, *op. cit.* (note 13), n⁹ B. 5.

42. GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 37-45, fig. 13, 14, 17-19 ; R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold*, London 1985, p. 96-97.

43. A. GRABAR, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958. Nimbus and clipea commensurate : Monza, nˢ 6-9, 14, 15. Nimbus for head only : Monza, nˢ 10, 11 ; Bobbio, nˢ 1, 6, 18 ; cf. Dumbarton Oaks, n⁰ 48.18, Gary VIKAN, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Washington 1982, p. 22.

44. V. LAZAREV, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin 1967, p. 122 note 57.

45. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, edited C. STORNAJOLO & P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, Vatican/Milan 1907, p. 94, 392, depicting the monk Nicetas and the empress Theodora ; GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 219.

conversion of Saint Paul[46] (Figure 3). Here it is evidently used to signify that Christ is physically present and visible. It is also used, from the eleventh century, for representations of the Holy Face, in Moscow Historical Museum cod. 386, f. 192', dated 1063, and regularly on the Mandylion in monumental painting[47] (Figure 6). However, it is unlikely that the Holy Face of Edessa was really represented on the relic in this way, because, in other early versions — there are none, it seems, prior to the relic's translation to Constantinople in the mid-10th century —, the image of Christ conforms to the third variant, that which is found on Justinian II's coins[48]. Thus, although the Mandylion of Edessa, with its miraculously imprinted image of Christ not made by human hands, was naturally exploited by the Iconophiles in their polemics, the clipeate image of the ninth-century psalters does not reproduce it.

Nevertheless the clipeate image of Christ, in which the nimbus is commensurate with the *clipea* is a central element of the programme of the ninth-century psalters. This has a clearly defined binary structure. The protagonists are divided into two camps : those who accept the physical visibility — and hence representability — of Christ, before, during and after the Incarnation ; those who refuse to acknowledge the message of the prophets, who crucify the incarnate Christ, and who, by destroying his image, attempt to crucify him again. In the development of this programme, the clipeate image is used for the visions of the prophets and of "latter-day" saints. Thus Symeon the Stylite and Eustace carry the witness of the prophets into post-apostolic times.

On the other hand, the Iconoclasts are represented as emulating the Jews who crucified Christ. Psalm 68,22 : They gave me gall for food and they made me drink vinegar for my thirst, is illustrated in the Chludov Psalter, f. 67, by two scenes. (The folio is missing from the Paris and Pantocrator Psalters). The representation of Christ on the cross being offered a sponge on a rod corresponds to the typological interpretation of the Psalm (*Matthew* 27,34). In the parallel scene, two Iconoclasts are represented obliterating an icon. This miniature has often been discussed by scholars, who have recognized that it refers to the theme of the Second Passion of Christ[49]. This theme was first developed in a letter attributed to John of Jerusalem and written about 780[50].

46. H. OMONT, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, second edition, Paris 1929, p. 24-25, pl. XLII ; Leslie BRUBAKER, Politics, Patronage and Art in Ninth-century Byzantium : Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510), *DOP* 39, 1985, p. 7.

47. K. WEITZMANN, The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *CA* 11, 1960, p. 163-184, reprinted, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago/London 1971, especially p. 234, fig. 220 ; CORMACK, *op. cit.* (note 42), p. 124-125.

48. For example on the 10th-century Sinaï icon, WEITZMANN, *op. cit.* (note 13), n° B. 58.

49. GOUILLARD, *art. cit.* (note 5), p. 3. The Second Passion also figures in the polemics of Second Iconoclasm, GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 229.

50. *De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum* (*Clavis* 8114). *PG* 95, 333-336. The passage in question : καὶ καθὼς οἱ ἄνομοι ὄξος καὶ χολὴν μίξαντες, προσήνεγκαν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι μίξαντες ὕδωρ καὶ ἄσβεστον.... προσήνεγκαν τῇ σαρκοποιομόρφῳ ὄψει τῆς τιμίας εἰκόνος, καὶ ἐνέχρισαν αὐτήν. GOUILLARD, *art. cit.* (note 5), p. 3 note 26. S. GERO, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V*, Louvain 1977, p. 27, points out that, although the text, in its original form, dates from First Iconoclasm, the attribution to John of Jerusalem is not absolutely certain.

1. Constantine, Chludov Psalter, f. 58ᵛ.
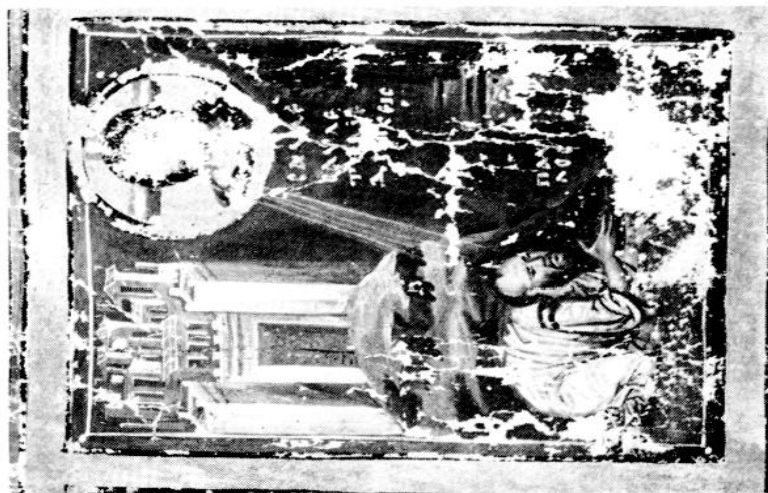
3. Saint Paul, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 264ᵛ.

2. Moses, Pantocrator Psalter, f. 128.

4. Ampoule, Dumbarton Oaks.

5. Eustace, stele of Davit Gareža.

6. Mandylion, Kato Lefkara (Cyprus).

However, so far as I am aware, no one has recognized to date that the legend accompanying the miniature is taken from this letter. The legend reads : οὗτοι ὄξος κ(αὶ) χ[ολὴν μίξαντες] — κ(αὶ) οὗτοι μήξαντες (sic) ὕδωρ κ(αὶ) ἄσβεστον ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. The presence of this legend beside the miniature makes it clear that the illustrators of the Chludov Psalter were familiar with the letter. It could well also be that the iconographical theme was first elaborated at about the time of John of Jerusalem, that is to say at the end of First Iconoclasm, in the last decades of the eighth century.

III. THE DATING OF THE NINTH-CENTURY PSALTERS

There have been many attempts to attribute a precise date to these psalters. The task is most difficult for the Paris Psalter, which, in its present fragmentary state, contains no miniatures referring directly to events of Second Iconoclasm. For the Chludov and Pantocrator Psalters, on the other hand, a *terminus post quem* is available ; they must have been painted later than the synod of Hiereia in 815. A. Frolow, whose case is the most closely argued, placed them between 815 and the election of John Grammaticus as patriarch in 837[51]. A number of scholars have found this dating acceptable[52]. André Grabar, however, rejected it, opting rather for the first patriarchate of Photius (858-867)[53]. Ševčenko preferred the patriarchate of Methodius (843-847)[54]. All these datings depend on *argumenta ex convenientia* ; each case, taken on its own, is argued convincingly. Yet, when they are taken together, the arguments tend to cancel each other out. In other words, there is no insuperable obstacle to any of these datings.

It is unlikely that the illuminated psalter, as an artistic genre, was a ninth-century creation. Many scholars have suggested that psalter illustration began, in fact, very early. Notably, in her analysis of the Utrecht Psalter, Suzy Dufrenne has distinguished between the iconographical elements which can be traced back to at least the fifth century and those which were added in the Carolingian epoch[55]. The late Viktor Lazarev maintained that the essential traits of the illustrated marginal psalter were fixed at the end of the Early Christian epoch on Syrian territory, although, unfortunately, he did not develop this hypothesis[56].

The process of accretion in Psalm interpretation may be discerned in literary Psalm commentaries. Thus, for Christological themes, it is possible to distinguish between New Testament, Patrological and later interpretations of the

51. A. FROLOW, La fin de la querelle iconoclaste et la date des plus anciens psautiers à illustrations marginales, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 163, 1963, p. 201-223.

52. Ch. DELVOYE, Chronique archéologique, *Byz.* 46, 1976, p. 198-199, lists the scholars favorable to Frolow's dating.

53. GRABAR, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 196 ; IDEM, Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du 9ᵉ siècle, *CA* 15, 1965, p. 75-82.

54. ŠEVČENKO, *art. cit.* (note 32), p. 57.

55. DUFRENNE, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 219.

56. LAZAREV, *op. cit.* (note 44), p. 116.

Psalms. In general, the themes chosen for the illustration of Psalm verses with
Christological scenes were taken from the literary commentaries. In one or two
cases the commentary exploited dates from the eighth century : Germanus I
(died 733) and John of Euboea[57]. It would therefore be reasonable to suppose
that the illustrators of Psalm verses enriched and extended their repertory of
scenes by a similar process of accretion. However it also seems clear that the
overall orientation of the illustrative programme of these ninth-century psalters
was modified, in order to bring it into line with Iconophile polemics. Points of
contacts with Iconophile writings are easily established. Yet the use of typology
as an argument against the Iconoclasts in the illustrations of these psalters has
its closest literary equivalent in the writings of John Damascene (died ca 750)[58].

Some scholars — Ševčenko for example — take it for granted that the
surviving ninth-century psalters derive from a lost "archetype"[59]. This would
have already had an anti-Iconoclast slant. Gouillard observed that the Icono-
clast miniatures — with the exception of those concerned with Nicephorus and
John Grammaticus — reflect the disputed issues of First rather than Second
Iconoclasm[60]. The date which would seem to have been the most propitious for
the production of this "archetype" is the last decades of the eighth century,
while the most propitious place would be Palestine.

This hypothesis is also necessarily based on *argumenta ex convenientia*. There
is first of all the strong anti-Jewish bias, which has its literary counterpart in
the writings of George of Cyprus and John of Jerusalem, notably in the
Nouthesia[61]. For example, *Isaiah* 1 is a text which combines a diatribe against
the Israelites who have forsaken the Lord and a prophecy of the birth of the
Messiah. It is quoted in the *Nouthesia* and applied to the Iconoclasts[62]. Psalm 2,
the Messianic interpretation of which is very ancient, is illustrated in the
Chludov Psalter, f. 2ʳ, by two miniatures. The lower one, referring to verse 7 :
You are my son ; today I have begotten you, is a representation of the Nativity.
The upper miniature refers to rulers united against the Lord and his anointed
(verse 2). It is accompanied by a legend : λέγει ὅτι οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν. This
is a quotation of *Isaiah* 1,4 : Ah sinful nation !

The binary contrast between the Jews who reject the Messiah and those who
recognize that the incarnate Christ is God, so frequent in the typological
miniatures of these psalters, could have been elaborated before Iconoclasm.
However it becomes peculiarly apt to the Iconophile cause, when these
miniatures are doubled with ones in which the Iconoclasts figure. The key
theme, that of the Second Passion, is safely linked, if not with John of
Jerusalem, at least with Palestine in the late eighth century — by the accompa-
nying legend. Another example is provided by the miniatures illustrating

57. WALTER, *art. cit.* (note 1), p. 275-277.
58. *Ibidem*, p. 282.
59. ŠEVČENKO, *art. cit.* (note 32), p. 39.
60. GOUILLARD, *art. cit.* (note 5), p. 5.
61. B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprjanini i Ioanni Ierusalimljanini*, Saint Petersburg
1901, p. XI-XIII, XVII ; GERO, *op. cit.* (note 50), p. 32 ; Kathleen CORRIGAN, Anti-Jewish
Polemics in the 9th-century Marginal Psalters, *Annual Byzantine Studies Conference*,
Chicago 1982, p. 48-49. I have not had access to Corrigan's doctoral dissertation,
Byzantine Marginal Psalters of the Ninth Century, U.C.L.A. 1984.
62. MELIORANSKIJ, *op. cit.* (note 61), p. XXXVIII.

Psalm 68,28-29 : Add iniquity to their iniquity... Let them be blotted out of the book of the living. In the Pantocrator Psalter, f. 89, the Psalm verse is illustrated by a miniature of the Jews bribing the guards at the sepulchre (Matthew 27,62-66 ; 28,11-15). This theme could also have been exploited much earlier. In the Chludov Psalter, f. 67ᵛ, the scene is doubled with one of a simoniac ordination, accompanied by the following legends : διὰ ἀργύρια ἐψεύσαντο καὶ προσέθηκαν ἀνομίαν ἐπὶ ἀνομίας — καὶ τὴν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ εἰκόνα ἀτιμάζοντο προσθήκην τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν ἐργάζοντο.

I have failed to identify the source of the legends and to find a literary analogy for the assimilation of simoniac bishops to the guards at the sepulchre who accepted bribes. Yet the issue of simoniac Iconoclasts is far more relevant to the patriarchate of Tarasius (784-806) than to Second Iconoclasm[63].

A final argument in favour of a Palestinian provenance for the "archetype" is provided by the "latter-day" saints themselves. As has been noted above, extracts from texts referring to four of these seven saints are included in the *florilegium* of John Damascene, and, in two cases, the miniature corresponds exactly to the quoted text. This could be dismissed as a coincidence. Alternatively, the artist could have been familiar with John Damascene's *florilegium*. However, if the second explanation is preferred, he could hardly have been working in Constantinople, where, it seems, John Damascene's *Orationes de imaginibus* were not known. At least, they were not cited at the Second Council of Nicaea, nor were they exploited by later Iconophile polemical writers living in the capital[64].

If the postulate that the three surviving ninth-century marginal psalters copy and adapt a late eighth-century model reflecting the preoccupations of First Iconoclasm is accepted, then the problem of dating them is largely reduced to deciding what date and milieu were most propitious for adding the miniatures of Nicephorus and John Grammaticus. Since nothing precise can be said about the Paris Psalter, it is best left aside ; there is no reason to refuse Weitzmann's suggestion, however, that it is the earliest of the three[65]. As for the Chludov and Pantocrator Psalters, there is no necessary reason to suppose that both were illuminated at the same date and in the same milieu.

The greatest difficulty to overcome is that, of all the Iconophile heroes, only Nicephorus is celebrated. That the artists should have restricted their vituperation almost exclusively to John Grammaticus is less embarrassing, because, in all the anti-Iconoclast writings of the ninth century, he was the principal target for calumny and detraction[66]. On the other hand texts like the Canon of Methodius and the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, even if there are evident similarities between their language and the imagery of the miniatures of Nicephorus, do not reserve their aureoles exclusively to him[67].

63. *Regestes*, nᵒˢ 361-364.
64. VAN DEN VEN, *art. cit.* (note 23), p. 336-338.
65. K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, p. 53.
66. See above, note 34.
67. GOUILLARD, *art. cit.* (note 5), p. 4-6. In fact, Nicephorus is not specifically named in the Canon of Methodius, *PG* 99, 1767-1780. IDEM, Le synodikon de l'orthodoxie, édition et commentaire, *TM* 2, 1967, p. 50-51, where his eternal memory is evoked, together with that of Germanus, Tarasius and Methodius.

This exclusivity is the strongest — if not totally convincing — argument in favour of Frolow's date and provenance for the Chludov Psalter. The updating would have consisted in the introduction of the miniature of the synod of Hiereia (18), doubling, according to the established procedure, the miniature of Saint Peter trampling Simon Magus with one of Nicephorus trampling John Grammaticus (19), adding a caricature of John Grammaticus (f. 35ʳ), and attributing the features of Nicephorus and Theodotus Melissenus to the figures who are blotting out icons in the miniature of the Second Passion (f. 67). However, if the updated Psalter was produced to celebrate the rehabilitation of Nicephorus, it becomes easier to understand how he was introduced into the category of "latter-day" saints. He had already been "canonized" by his biographer, although, admittedly, the assimilation of Nicephorus to saints of the Old and New Testament, was rather a matter of literary convention than a witness to his already established cult[68]. This date has a further advantage that it is subsequent to the composition of the Synodikon and of the Canon of Methodius. Literary *rapprochements* are now possible, which were not available at the earlier date.

However, for the Pantocrator Psalter, it could well be that the updating of the illustrations was undertaken rather later, in the entourage of the patriarch Photius. Evidence is available of the esteem in which Photius held Nicephorus. There is, for example, the passage in *Homily* 15, delivered during his first patriarchate (858-867), possibly in 867, in which Photius said : "So the wondrous Nicephorus with a prophetic eye barred the entrance of the Church to John and his fellow leaders in heresy"[69]. The erudite character of the two miniatures, of the synod of Hiereia (18) and of the contrast between Jannis and Bezalel (f. 165), has already been noted[70]. It distinguishes them from all the other miniatures and invites a *rapprochement* with those in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Paris. graec.* 510.

68. Iᴳɴᴀᴛɪᴜs, *Vita* (*BHG* 1335), edited C. Dᴇ Bᴏᴏʀ, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constanti-nopolitani opuscula historica*, Leipzig 1880 ; *PG* 100, 147-160.

69. Mᴀɴɢᴏ, *op. cit.* (note 34), p. 239-243 ; Dᴠᴏʀɴɪᴋ, *art. cit.* (note 34), p. 87.

70. See above, p. 214. Dᴜғʀᴇɴɴᴇ, *art. cit.* (note 38), plausibly adduces the commentary on Psalm 113,12-16, in the *Amphilochia*, Q. 111, *PG* 101, 653-664, as a point of contact between the miniature and the erudition of Photius. However, the status of the furniture of the Tabernacle (*not*, as Dufrenne writes, the Temple !) as images in Jewish cult was a constant subject of controversy in both First and Second Iconoclasm. Nicephorus himself dilated interminably on the subject. Yet I have only found one text of the period in which Bezalel is actually named : *Epistula synodica ad Theophilum imperatorem* (*BHG* 1386), edited L. Dᴜᴄʜᴇsɴᴇ, L'iconographie byzantine dans un document du ıxᶜ siècle, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5, 1912/3, p. 278. For a new assessment of this curious document as a source for Iconophile iconography, see Cᴏʀᴍᴀᴄᴋ, *op. cit.* (note 42), p. 121-131. See also M. Aᴜʙɪɴᴇᴀᴜ, Le cod. *Dublin, Trinity Coll. 185*, Textes de Christophe d'Alexandrie, d'Éphrem et de Chrysostome, *Le Muséon* 88, 1975, p. 114-116.

IV. CONCLUSION

The presence of "latter-day" saints in the illustrative programme of the ninth-century psalters can be explained more easily if it is assumed that these psalters are not entirely original creations but belong to a tradition of psalter illustration, in which the programme was progressively updated, both by accretion and by adaptation to their milieu and times. These miniatures of saints fall into three categories : the anonymous saints (1-10), who illustrate literally, if anachronistically, a word of the Psalm verse ; the named saints whose cult was long established (11-17), for whom a connection with the Iconophile polemics of First Iconoclasm can be, in some cases, argued ; the patriarch Nicephorus (18-19).

Apart from the blessed man (1), beside whom there is a clipeate image of Christ, the anonymous saints are not closely integrated into the illustrative programme of the psalters. There is consequently no obvious indication as to the stage in the development of the programme when this kind of accretion began. This clipeate image, in which the clipea is commensurate with the nimbus, was one of several variants in pre-Iconoclast art of the bust portrait of Christ. It is used exclusively in the ninth-century psalters to signify the virtual presence of Christ, but, although the Holy Face of Edessa was exploited in controversy by the Iconophiles, it is unlikely that Christ was, in fact, represented in this way on the Mandylion. Earlier representations of the vision of Eustace do not exploit the clipeate image ; the adaptation of this iconographical theme to the programme of these psalters by introducing the clipeate image was therefore intentional. The artists were intent on giving its full force to the argument that, since Christ was physically apprehended in a vision, he was, in consequence, representable.

This group of miniatures of "latter-day" saints, some of whom are likely to have been chosen because texts about them are quoted in the florilegium of John Damascene, is only one element of the updated programme which may be associated with this writer. Another is the εἰκών as an Old Testament type of the New Testament event. This argument in favour of the use of images was further developed by other Palestinian Iconophiles, notably John of Jerusalem, to whom may be due the notion of the Second Passion of Christ. Thus many aspects of the programme of these psalters suggest that it was elaborated in the late eighth century in Palestine.

The next updating would have taken place in the ninth century, when the binary contrast between Jews and Christians, extended already to the first Iconoclasts and Iconophiles, received a new accretion with the addition of miniatures of John Grammaticus and Nicephorus. It is not possible to fix with precision when the surviving adaptations of the eighth-century "archetype" were made. For the Paris Psalter, in its mutilated condition, the

necessary elements are lacking. The Chludov Psalter could well have been painted during the lifetime of Nicephorus or, perhaps more plausibly, during the patriarchate of Methodius. The more erudite character of the added miniatures in the Pantocrator Psalter suggests that this copy was made later, perhaps during the first patriarchate of Photius.

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