

Eriko TSUJI

PETER'S REPENTANCE IN THE THEODORE PSALTER*



This article considers the major works of Byzantine marginal psalters created from 9th to 14th century, focusing especially on the Theodore Psalter (London, British Library, Add.19.352)¹ completed in 1066 C.E.. The paper will take up a part in the psalter depicting the episode of Peter's Repentance in the Old Testament, and discuss it in comparison with other

codices that present the same theme. Nine marginal psalters remain today, including those that are fragmented.² Among them, the Theodore Psalter is the only complete version with a colophon and with a clearly known date of completion. Although this type of illustration had been established in the form of a complete book by 9th century,³ by considering the elements that were incorporated into and altered in a 11th century work with a clearly known date of completion, the paper seeks to unravel the relationship between the text and the images, and the reason behind changes in this relationship.

The Book of Psalms is among the most widely read texts in the Old Testament and was often used as a textbook for reading and writing,⁴ as well as for private devotions.⁵ For such reasons, they were bound into independent codices, many of which remain today.⁶ The marginal psalters arrange the miniatures in the page margins, and therefore are free of restrictions presented by full-page illustrations or the column pictures, that require the layout planning to allot beforehand the spaces for the miniatures. Thus in marginal psalters, miniatures can be placed freely, correspondent to the text. Furthermore, details of the miniatures can be altered and adjusted according to

* This is a revised English translation of an article originally published in Japanese in 2007. All Old Testament references follow A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (Oxford, 2007). I would like to thank my translator, Suijun Ra (Ph.D. candidate, Waseda University) for her sincere efforts, and dear Milcho Georgievski (the Senior Curator of the Icon Gallery in Ohrid) for kindly agreeing to translate the summary to Macedonian. This work was funded by Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Fellows No. 12J02899.

¹ S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge II: Londres, add. 19.352*, (Paris, 1970); J. Anderson, "On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter," *ArtB* 70 (1988), pp.550-68; C. Barber (ed.), *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (British Library, 2000); P. Finlay, *Making and Viewing the Theodore and Barberini Psalters* (London BL.Add.19.352 and Vat.Barb.gr.372), diss., (Queen's University of Belfast, 2005); M. Evangelatou, "Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters," *DOP* 63 (2009), pp.59-116; Eriko TSUJI, "On the Three Aspects of Christ in the Scriptorium of the Studios Monastery," *Institute for Mediterranean Studies* 6 (2008), pp.89-98; eadem, "The Iconography of the Pelican in the Scriptorium of the Studios Monastery," *BIJUTSUSHI Journal of the Japan Art History Society* 61 (2011), pp.1-15; eadem, "Where his feet stood; the Iconography of the Crucifixion with the Prayers of the Studios Monastery," Takashi JINNO and Tomoyuki MASUDA (eds.), *The Idea of Time in Medieval Europe*, (Tokyo 2012), pp.287-308; eadem, "The Illustrated Cycle of the Acts of the Apostles in the Theodore Psalter," *EKΦΡΑCIC* 3 (2013), pp.16-29 (in Japanese).

² H. Kessler, "The Psalter," G. Vikan (ed.), *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1973), p.32; C. Walter, "The Iconographical Programme of the Barberini Psalter," *The Barberini Psalter* (see, n.10), p.39.

³ See n.9.

⁴ C. Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (New York, 1980), p.136.

⁵ G. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, diss., (Chicago University, 2004), pp.35-37.

⁶ To date, 85 cases of illustrated psalters have been confirmed. J. Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," *ArtB* 70 (1988), p.259.

needs, which allows them to be placed in the vicinity of and therefore associated with certain verses or words. Because such layouts and functions are similar to scholia, the illustrations in the marginal psalters are occasionally referred to as *Commentary Illustration*.⁷

The Book of Psalms is a collection of songs with vague implications. Specific narrative elements are quite scarce. Such characteristics left room for diverse interpretations, and thus, although the text itself belongs to the Old Testament, there is a vast variety in the miniatures that fill the margins. The subject of the miniatures range from the episodes in the New Testament or the Lives of Saints, to historic facts, to the episodes concerning David, the known author of the Book of Psalms. The level of pictorialization among such miniatures in the marginal psalters has been classified into the literal, the typological or Christological, and the historical.⁸ However, although these classifications are effective, they do not sufficiently explain the relationship between the miniatures and the texts. That is to say, the two are related not by the unilinear one on one association, which is the basic assumption for these categories, but rather, the literal, the typological or Christological, and the historical elements interact to generate further, multiple levels of meanings. The 9th century Chuldov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, Cod. gr. 129)⁹ considered the oldest existing marginal psalter, and the Barberini Psalter (Cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 372)¹⁰ which is believed to be completed in the late 11th century and belongs to

⁷ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex; a Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1970²), p.118.

⁸ Evangelatou, "Liturgy and the Illustration," pp.61-63; Eriko TSUJI, "'Pit of Misery' in the Bristol Psalter: on the Function of Literal Illustrations," *HIKAKU BUNGA KU NENSHI Annales de littérature comparée* 46 (2010), pp.136-150 (in Japanese).

⁹ М.В. Щепкина, *Миниатюры Худовской псалтыри. Греческий иллюстрированный кодекс IX века*, Москва, 1977; K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992); E. Fanar, "Visiting Hades: A Transformation of the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters," *BZ* 99 (2006), pp.93-108.

¹⁰ J. Anderson, P. Canart and C. Walter, *The Barberini Psalter: Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus 372* (New York, 1989); J. Anderson, "The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter," *CahArch* 31 (1983), pp.35-67. Studies agree that the psalter was completed in 11th century, most likely in the studio of Studios Monastery. However, much debate remains as to the exact year. For example, Spatharakis proposes 1060, and Anderson, the 1090s. See I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, pp.26-36, and J. Anderson, "The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter," *CahArch* 31 (1983), pp.35-67.



Fig. 1 Theodore Psalter f.46v. From *Der Nersessian, Moyen Âge II*.

the lineage of the Chuldov Psalter, has a illustration cycle close to that of the Theodore Psalter.¹¹ Thus, by comparing the three, one may be able to reveal the characteristics particular to the Theodore Psalter, which was compiled at least 200 years after marginal psalters came into existence.¹² This paper will present a case study organized around a specific sequence of miniatures in the three codices that was based on a particular episode in the New Testament, and explores the relationship between the text and changes in iconography.

¹¹ According to the colophon of the Theodoros Psalter, the manuscript was written by Theodore, the priest of the monastery (γραφέν καὶ χρυσογραφηθέν), who some assume was also a calligraphus of the Barberini Psalter. See I. Hutter, "Theodoros βιβλιογράφος und die Buchmalerei in Studiu," *Οπώρα, Studi in onore di Mgr. Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, S. Lucà and L. Perria (eds.), *Bolletino badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 51 (1997), pp.177-208. Although there are debates on the relationship between the three codices, most studies assume that another codex existed between the Chuldov Psalter and others. The two 11th century codices were possibly copies of the lost manuscript, and not created by inter-referencing. See Der Nersessian, *Moyen âge II*, p.70; Ch. Walter, "<Latter-Day> Saints in the Model for the London and Barberini Psalters," *REB* 46 (1988), pp.211-212 (reprinted in *Prayer and Power in Byzantine and Papal Imagery*, Aldershot, 1993, study XI.).

¹² Most scholars posit that the illustrations based on typological interpretation already existed in the 8th century, and that the Chuldov Psalter, considered the oldest existing marginal psalter, is not a complete original. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, p.2; Walter, "Iconographical Programme," p.40; etc.



Fig. 2 Theodore Psalter f.47v. From *Der Nersessian, Moyen Âge II*.

The Miniatures on Peter's Repentance in the Marginal Psalters

The episode of Peter's Repentance¹³ is featured in all of the four Gospels. Of the occurrences in the episode, Church decorations often depict only the Denial or the Repentance, both actions taken by Peter following the Arrest of Christ. Very few examples show the Prediction, where Christ predicts Peter's actions.¹⁴ However, a group of codices including the marginal psalters discussed in this paper¹⁵ shows this

¹³ "Verleugnung Petri," *LCI*, cols. 437-440; "Le Reniement de Pierre," G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1916 (1960)), pp. 345-61.

¹⁴ This theme is often featured in Church decorations after 14th century.

¹⁵ Although this paper will not address in detail, psalters created in western Europe such as the Hamilton Psalter (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hamilton 78.A.9) and the Pantocrator Psalter f.48r has a cycle similar to the Chuldov Psalter. The Bristol Psalter (London, BL, Add. 40.731) shows Peter's Repentance accompanied by a rooster on f.65v. However, here, the scene is depicted independently and not as a story. See S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge I: Pantocrator 61, Paris Grec 20, British Museum 40731* (Paris, 1966); eadem, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 Psautiers médiévaux à illustrations intégrales issues du texte* (Paris, 1978). Cod. Paris. gr. 74, a frieze gospel completed in the latter half of the 11th century in Constantinople, depicts Prediction in Matthew (f.53v). Luke (ff.157v, 159r) in the same depicts Repentance twice.

miniature of Christ predicting Peter's denial, which together with a number of miniatures, constitute a concise narrative.

In the lower left corner of the margin of the Theodore Psalter f.46v (fig.1), Christ raises his right hand and stands facing Peter. The miniature corresponds to verse Ps 38:2 from the Book of Psalms, which states "I said, 'I will guard my ways, that I may not sin with my tongue; I set a watch to my mouth, when the sinner organized against me.'" The inscriptions accompanying the two figures state only their names. Thus, looking at this page alone, one cannot decipher what the Christ is saying to Peter. However, the question is resolved as the reader turns the page to f.47v (fig.2), for a miniature of Peter in lament with his legs crossed and face covered in hands¹⁶ is shown with a large rooster, in approximately the same location. A hand of God is stretched towards Peter from the semi-circular heaven. The scene corresponds with the verse Ps 38:13 "Listen to my prayer, O Lord, and to my petition give ear; do not pass my tears in silence." This miniature of repenting Peter defines the illustration of conversing Christ and Peter in the preceding page and identifies the scene in the previous page as that corresponding to Mt. 26:34, "Jesus said to him, 'Assuredly, I say to you that this night, before the rooster crows, you will deny Me three times.'" Thus, one may conclude that these miniatures are based on a typological interpretation, where the text of the Book of Psalms is overlapped with a story in the New Testament. In the Gospel, Mt 26:75, the scene is merely described "So he went out and wept bitterly." The psalter uses the miniatures to layer this scene in the Gospel over Ps 38:13 and thus, explains also on the textural level, Peter's state of mind while he repents his sin and laments. For the readers of this psalter, the verse is simultaneously Peter's prayer asking God for forgiveness, and the universal repentance and prayer of men whose vulnerability makes them susceptible to sin. The hand of God offered towards him in the miniature answers this prayer.

Let us now examine the two other works that show an illustration cycle of the same theme for the same verse. In f.37v (fig.3) of the Chuldov Psalter, a miniature of Christ and Peter facing one another is provided for Ps 38:2. The inscription placed between

The first is a literal pictorialization of Christ's prediction, and the second seems to depict the realization of the prediction. See H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, n.d.). Similarly, Prediction is depicted in Matthew (f.54v) and Luke (f.158r) in the Florence Gospel. See T. Velmans, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne: Florence, Laur. VI.23* (Paris, 1971), fig.111; fig.261.

¹⁶ The Inscription states: "ὁ ἄγιος Πέτρος(ς) κλαί(ων)."''

the two states “St. Peter said ‘I will guard (my ways).’ However, he did not, and denied it.”¹⁷ Thus, taking this into account together with the corresponding psalter text, “I will guard my ways,” and “I may not sin with my tongue,” one can assume that this is a scene predicting Peter’s denial. The reason that the inscription is more detailed here in comparison with the Theodore Psalter may be due to the fact that this is an earlier work, and required more explanation on the theme.

In the opposing f.38r (fig.4), Isaiah stands near the right corner of the lower margin raising his right hand to symbolize speech, and on the upper right of this miniature, in the right margin, Christ is grouped together with some Jews. These miniatures illustrate Ps 38:10 “I became dumb, and I did not open my mouth,”¹⁸ and are not depicted in the Theodore Psalter. Isaiah’s inscription reads “Isaiah speaks, he does not open his mouth...”¹⁹ and Christ’s inscription reads “Christ speaks through his prophet, I keep my mouth shut...”²⁰ The paper will discuss this miniature in detail later, but considering the content of the episodes concerning Peter, it most likely depicts the Arrest of Christ.²¹ Upon turning the page to f.38v (fig.5), the reverse side shows a rooster and lamenting Peter. Although the corresponding text matches that in the Theodore Psalter, neither the semi-circular heaven nor the hand of God is shown.

The Barberini Psalter belongs to the lineage of the Chuldov Psalter, but at the same time, is closely related to the Theodore Psalter. The composition of the Barberini Psalter is closer to the former. In f.67v, Christ and Peter stand facing one another. Similar to the Theodore Psalter, the inscriptions merely state their names. The opposing page f.68r shows the speaking prophet Isaiah, and Christ surrounded by

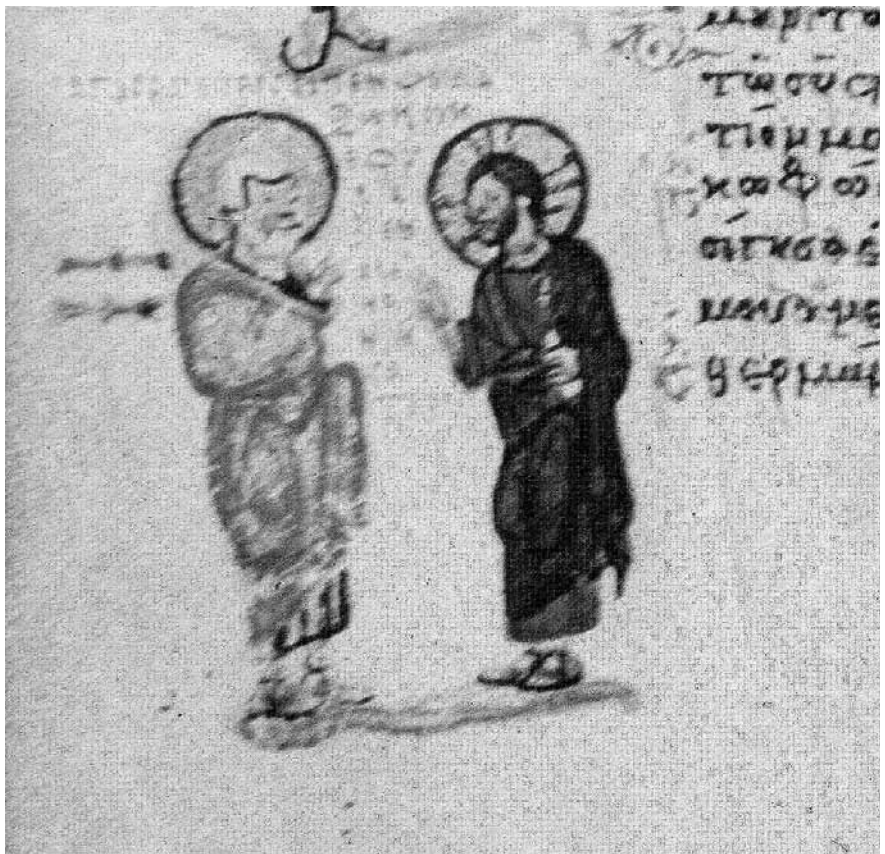


Fig. 3 Chuldov Psalter f.37v. From Щепкина, *Миниатюры Хлудовской псалтыри*.

the Jews. The inscriptions feature only the names of the figures, but here, the Jews are also shown with an inscription.²² Here, the Arrest of Christ scene fairly close to that of the Chuldov Psalter is depicted but the inscription is not as detailed. It is possible that as time passed, the relationship between the text of the Book of Psalms and the miniature, that is, the meaning of drawing Isaiah in association with the Arrest of Christ, came to be understood by the monks, rendering further explanation unnecessary. Additionally, f.68v shows lamenting Peter and a rooster, and the hand of God offered from the semi-circular heaven. Thus, one may conclude that the miniatures in the Barberini Psalter are close to the Theodore Psalter, except for the Arrest of Christ accompanying the prophet Isaiah in f.68v. How then, can we explain the appearance of Isaiah in the Chuldov and the Barberini Psalter, who is related neither with the narrative of the New Testament nor the Book of Psalms?

The Suffering Servant

Let us now go back to f.38r (fig.4) of the Chuldov Psalter. Those with theological background would have recognized that this illustration showing Christ with Jews in the background depicts the Arrest of Christ, not only by the order of the narrative but also

¹⁷ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΦΥΛΑΞΩ· ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΦΥΛΑΞΕΝ ΑΛΛ' ΗΡΗΝΗΑΤΟ·

¹⁸ The Theodore Psalter does not illustrate this verse. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaum 38.

¹⁹ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΝΟΙΓΕΙ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΑ ΕΞΗΣ·

²⁰ Ο ΧΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΕΚΟΦΩΘΗΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΑ ΕΞΗΣ·

²¹ Mt 26:46-56; Mk 14:43-50; Lk 22:47-53; Jn 18:3-12.

²² οἱ ἔβραιοι·



Fig. 4 Chuldov Psalter f.38r. From Щепкина, *Миниатюры Хлудовской псалтыри*.

from the miniature of the prophet Isaiah and the accompanying inscription. This is because the Isaiah 53 or the so-called Suffering Servant, is a prophecy in the Old Testament which is considered a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ.²³ One can assume that the expression “Christ speaks through his prophet” in the inscription also points to Isaiah’s prophecy, and thus the Book of Isaiah. Isa 53:7 “And he, because he has been ill-treated, does not open his mouth; like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb is silent before the one shearing it, so he does not open his mouth” seems to be the section directly related to the aforementioned inscription in f.38r accompanying Isaiah and Christ. Christ’s silence is repeated

²³ Corrigan too sees Isaiah as a prefiguration of the Arrest and the Passion of Christ. She associates Christ’s inscription “I keep my mouth shut” with Mt 26:63 “But Jesus kept silent” (Christ before Pilate). See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, pp.65-66, 176. There is debate among the Bible Studies on the identity of the “Servant,” some proposing that the word points to the Messiah, a group, or a historical individual. However, since for example Isa 53:4 “This one bears our sins and suffers pain for us,” and 53:5 “But he was wounded because of our acts of lawlessness and has been weakened because of our sins” evokes Christ being pierced with spears at the scene of crucifixion, this paper will assume that during the Byzantines, Isaiah was considered the prefiguration of the Passion of Christ.

three times -in Ps 38:10 and the inscription of the miniatures each accompanying Isaiah and Christ, as “I did not open my mouth” or “keep my mouth shut”- and is overlapped with the text in the Book of Isaiah, which is *not* featured here, and emphasized. By repeating the words in three forms, the text of the Book of Psalms, the inscriptions of the miniatures, and the text of the Book of Isaiah linked by association, the psalter compares Christ, who guards his silence, does not resist despite knowing that he will be captured and killed, and as the result, is crucified, to the lamb which shall be killed and sacrificed to God.

The artist of the Chuldov Psalter adds the prophet Isaiah to this rather vague miniature of Christ and the Jews holding spears and torches in their hands, and includes the words “does not open

his mouth” in the inscription. These words are common both to the Book of Psalms and the Book of Isaiah, in the different parts of the Old Testament. By including these words in the inscription, the artist gives the miniature the function of evoking the Suffering Servant in the minds of the reader, and suggesting them the coming Passion of the Christ. Marginal Psalters were created with the expectation that the readers possess knowledge of the Old and the New Testament, liturgies, and theological literatures. Furthermore, since these psalters were actually used in the monastic liturgies,²⁴ one can assume that the monks were able to decipher these illustrations by referring to the miniature and the inscription of Isaiah.

The Barberini Psalter lacks the detailed inscriptions such as those seen in the Chuldov Psalter. However, here too in the miniature, the prophet Isaiah speaks to Christ surrounded by the Jews. Although because of the text and layout arrangements, the illustration unfolds across three pages, the structure of the two psalters is in accordance with the flow of the narrative on Peter in the New Testament, where Christ predicts Peter’s estrangement, is arrested because of Judah’s betrayal and undergoes inquiry, while Peter

²⁴ For example, in the Theodore Psalter, two kinds of Kathisma (doxa) markings are written into the text, presumably in later periods. Kathisma markings are used to divide the text into sections for the purpose of recitation. Thus, the markings prove actual usage of the psalter. *Theodore Psalter*, passim.

goes back on his words and claims that he does not know Christ, and weeps upon hearing the rooster crow remembering Christ's prediction.

However, neither the miniature of Isaiah nor Christ surrounded by the Jews is depicted in the Theodore Psalter. F.46v (fig.1) shows Christ and Peter facing one another, and f.47v (fig.2) shows lamenting Peter and the rooster. In both folios, miniatures with themes unrelated with Peter's Repentance are newly featured on the opposite page, and thus the structure resembles neither that of the Chuldov Psalter nor the Barberini Psalter. At first glance, it is incomprehensible that the combination of the Arrest of Christ, which should have been placed between the Prediction and the Repentance, and the miniature of Isaiah, which enhances the effect of the Arrest of Christ and simultaneously evokes the Suffering Servant, was omitted. Supposing this change was made in order to concentrate the miniatures on the lower left corner of the parchment's verso and thus emphasize only the episodes that focus on Peter such as Prediction and Repentance by placing them in succession, there still seems to be need for further explanation. Did the creator of the Theodore Psalter overlook the tradition of the Chuldov Psalter, where the typological illustrations that link the Book of Psalms from the Old Testament with Isaiah's prophesy and Christ's deeds, were placed in line with the narrative flow?

The Illustration of Narratives on Peter in the Theodore Psalter

Let us now turn back the pages of the Theodore Psalter to search for the section with the Arrest of Christ miniature. The left corner of f.45v (fig.6), the folio directly preceding the Prediction, shows the scene of the Betrayal. This is approximately the same position in the layout where the aforementioned two miniatures on Peter were placed. Here, Christ with a nimbus stands in front of a crowd of people with spears and torches in hands. Judas is shown with his arms around Christ's chest, kissing him. To the left of the crowd, Peter is standing away from the crowd, cutting off the ear of Malchus the servant of the high priest.²⁵ In the margin below the text, John holds

²⁵ Jn 18:10.



Fig. 5 Chuldov Psalter f.38v. From Щенкина, *Миниатюры Хлудовской псалтыри*.

Mary who folds her body in sorrow, and two female disciples stand aside, covering their faces.

The corresponding verse is "My friends and my fellows approached opposite me and stood, and my next of kin stood far off." in Ps 37:12.²⁶ The other two codices do not provide illustration for this verse. By association with the phrase "My friends and my fellows approached opposite me and stood," the painter of the Theodore Psalter presumably was in-

²⁶ Although a western European work, it is to be noted that the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl.23) illustrates the same verse with a miniature of Peter's Repentance accompanied by a rooster. Furthermore, two works, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Cod. W733 and St. Petersburg, Public Library, 1252 F6 depict a miniature of Job, showing that in some cases, the passage was linked to Job. The paper will not analyze the relationship between Job and the Suffering Servant verses. However, one may consider that the themes of the miniatures accompanying Ps 37:12, including the newly selected Betrayal of Christ theme seen in the Theodore Psalter, were chosen within the context of undeserved ordeal and the estrangement of the close ones. I will consider these possibilities in detail in the future. See Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*, Psaum 37.



Fig. 6 Theodore Psalter f.45v. From *Der Nersessian, Moyen Âge II*.

spired to paint the miniatures of lamenting Mary and John standing helplessly watching Christ being arrested and taken away. The painter probably linked the phrase “my next of kin stood far off,” to the disciples who ran away at the Arrest of Christ.²⁷ So it seems that the image of Christ being captured was not entirely deleted from the narrative on Peter in the Theodore Psalter.

However, the correct narrative sequence is, Jesus’s prediction of Peter’s denial, the Arrest of Christ, Peter’s denial, and then Repentance, as is presented in the Chuldov Psalter. Furthermore, the Chuldov Psalter adds the miniature of the prophet Isaiah to emphasize the typological aspect. Thus, it seems peculiar that such a perfected sequence of miniatures was not adopted in the Theodore Psalter. In fact, the Barberini Psalter contemporary to the Theodore Psalter, follows the structure presented in the Chuldov Psalter. In the Barberini Psalter, the structure is unaltered, and the chain of meanings is still amply effective. What then is the significance of this transfer and alteration, where the prophet Isaiah is omitted, and Judas kissing Christ in his betrayal, Peter cutting off Malchus’s ear, and lamenting Mary and John are shown at the beginning of the sequence?

True, the Theodore Psalter no longer shows the miniature of the Prophet Isaiah. However, this does not mean that the psalter disregards the typological in-

terpretations that were prevalent in the Chuldov Psalter. As it became clear from the Chuldov Psalter, by the 9th century it was already standard for the monks to be able to relate the Suffering Servant from the two miniatures, Christ surrounded by the Jews, and Isaiah. Considering that the monks were able to comprehend this combination with ease, it is hard to imagine that they found it particularly difficult to link an important scene in the Passion of Christ cycle -the Betrayal, where Christ is arrested- with the words of the Suffering Servant, which they would have called to mind by memory. What is more, the Theodore Psalter was created 200 years after the Chuldov Psalter, and one can consider from the brief inscriptions of the Barberini Psalter that by then it was no longer necessary to explain the miniatures through the inscriptions. Based on these facts, I would like to propose the following possibility. Perhaps the artist of the Theodore Psalter no longer needed to depict the prophet Isaiah, who by this point had become extraneous as a character in a string of narrative illustrations, in order to indicate that the Book of Isaiah exists as the undercurrent beneath the texts of the Book of Psalms and their illustrations. Supposing then that the creator and the user of this psalter had the ability to evoke the Suffering Servant from the image of the Christ being captured without the miniature of Isaiah, what sort of functions were expected in the alteration of this sequence of miniatures, and how were they interpreted?

As mentioned before, the fact that the inscription of the Barberini Psalter was simplified and had lost the descriptive elements in comparison with the Chuldov

²⁷ Mt 26:35. Late Byzantine frescoes often show the apostles running away.

Psalter, suggests that by the 11th century, association via the corresponding verse Isaiah 53:7 of the Suffering Servant was performed effortlessly. The Chuldov Psalter depicted Isaiah directly, and linked it with the *specific verse* Isaiah 53:7, using the phrase “did not open my mouth” from Ps 38:10 as the key, neither of which is the case in the Theodore Psalter. This perhaps enabled evocation of the Suffering Servant in its entirety, from this sequence of miniatures depicting Peter’s Denial, which took place simultaneously with the blasphemy against Christ as sort of a backstage event in the very garden of the building where Christ was constraint, diminished, and ridiculed. For example, in f.46v (fig.1), if the reader of the psalter were able to evoke Isa 53:9 “And I will give the wicked for his burial and the rich for his death, because he committed no lawlessness, nor was deceit found in his mouth,”²⁸ the contrast between the facing Christ (the child of God who is destined to atone for the human sin with his own death) and Peter (depicted as one prone to human weakness, whom “was deceit found in his mouth”) would strike the viewers’ eyes. Although here, the text belongs to the Old Testament and the accompanying miniature to the New Testament, the Suffering Servant in the Book of Isaiah would be running throughout as an undercurrent as if the lasting base note in a harmony, to the ears of those who held the psalter in front of them and recited from it. Here, the imagery of the Suffering Servant firmly exists, although unmentioned neither through text nor illustration.

As stated above, by omitting the miniature of Isaiah and evoking the Suffering Servant in its entirety, the Theodore Psalter enabled versatile and multi-layered interpretations on the textural level. In addition, the actual miniatures depicted on the verso of the 3 parchment papers present further layers. Looking back at the Chuldov Psalter, each of the miniatures that were linked to the Book of Psalms were placed in the sequence of the narrative in the New Testament, in the order of the Prediction, Arrest of Christ, and Repentance, each accompanied by descriptive inscriptions. In addition, by depicting Isaiah in the Arrest of Christ scene and by suggesting the section to refer to through the inscription, the psalter overlapped the Passion of Christ with a verse from the Suffering Servant in the Old Testament, Isa 53:7, and composed a cycle that allowed a multi-layered interpretation from the texts in both the Old and the New Testament. Although the order in the Theodore Psalter is the Betrayal, Prediction, Repentance, and departs from the narrative order of the New Testament, the psalter values explanation by the visual elements.

²⁸ 1Pe 2 : 22 quotes this verse. It is interesting that Peter here equates the Suffering Servant with Christ.

Peter was the only one to take a sword into his hands and fight against the destiny of Christ in the Betrayal, and when Christ predicted his denial promised that he “will never betray” Christ. However when the following page is turned, in the same position in the layout Peter denies Christ thrice for the sake of self-protection, and laments at the crow of the rooster, realizing that the prediction has come true. The Theodore Psalter interpreted that the verse presented without illustration in the Chuldov and the Barberini Psalters corresponds to the Betrayal. By doing so, the psalter was able to depict the miniature of Peter cutting off Malchus’s ear. Compared to the other codices that value the typological elements and inserts the miniature of Isaiah directly unrelated to the narrative, and do not depict how Peter acted at the Arrest of Christ, the structure of the Theodore Psalter enhances and presents with more poignancy Peter’s grief towards his own doing, overlapped with Ps 38:13 “Listen to my prayer, O Lord, and to my petition give ear.” Furthermore, Ps 37:12 to which the new illustration was added is a verse that can be interpreted in multiple ways.²⁹ Here, by choosing the Betrayal, which allows a more direct portrayal the Passion, over the vague miniature of Christ being surrounded by the Jews, and adding those in lament such as Mary and John,³⁰ one can conclude that the codex enhances the narrative aspects and at the same time, introduces a subtle depiction of human emotion.³¹

The artist of the Theodore Psalter changed the linkage between the psalms and the illustrations already established in the Chuldov Psalter despite the limitation of the fixed text. His achievements can be summarized as follows. By not depicting Isaiah, and by moving the miniatures forward so that they do not link to a specific verse, he overlapped the entire imagery of Isaiah 53 Suffering Servant to the sequence of narrative on Peter. Also, by exchanging the moved miniature with the more narrative Betrayal, he added

²⁹ See n.26.

³⁰ Barber interprets this as the scene where Christ entrusts Mary to John, telling him to consider her his own mother (Jn 19:25-27). However, he does not provide logical explanation for this view. See Barber, “*Theodore Psalter*,” f.45v.

³¹ In the Byzantines, depiction of sorrow begins to appear around mid 11th century. Taking into account the miniature accompanying Christ’s Entombment in f.116r of the Theodore Psalter, one may consider the expression here as an intense description of sorrow upon the death of Christ. See K. Weitzmann, “The Origin of the Threnos,” *De Artibus Opuscula ; 40 Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1960), pp.476-490; H. Maguire, “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art,” *DOP* 31 (1977), pp. 171-174, rep.in : *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art*, (Aldershot, 2007), art. VI.

the new motif of Peter cutting off Malchus's ear, and enhanced the narrative aspect of the Repentance episode centered round Peter. The codex was created in the 11th century, when many Byzantine liturgies were arranged including the Dodekaorton. The expression of Mary folding her body in lament beside the Betrayal³² is unique to this codex, and can be considered a precursor to the expression of emotion, which begins to take place around this period. Peter was an individual prone to human vulnerability. His error and prayer of penitence was something that overlapped with the critical issues individuals experienced upon facing God, and especially for the monks who were the most likely viewers of this psalter, with the propositions they faced daily in real-life. It is instructive that the heaven and the hand of God are depicted above lamenting Peter. Guilt and forgiveness are part of the theme of this narrative on Peter. The act of guilt committed even by Peter who was the head of the Apostles, his prayer of penitence, and the forgiveness by God, may have bestowed hope to the viewers of the psalter that their sins too, may be forgiven.

It is also worth noting that the illustration cycle of episodes on Peter beginning with the Betrayal are depicted in the matching position in the layout, the lower left corner of the verso of the parchment. At first sight, the alteration seems to have sacrificed the visual emphasis on the typological interpretation. However, the alteration manages to arrange the composition to form a sequence of narrative miniatures and incorporates the new contemporary elements such as liturgy³³ and expression of emotion under the strict confines posed by the content of the provided text. Furthermore, it realizes a polyphonic presentation of Peter's Repentance through the harmony consisting of the Book of Psalms, the Gospels, and the Suffering Servant in the Book of Isaiah. As the

effect, the psalter involves the viewer too in its song of devotion.

This paper focused on and considered one of the illustration cycles of the New Testament shown in the codices of the Old Testament. The cycle is only a part of the over 400 images featured in the Theodore Psalter. The three categorizations of the pictorialization mentioned in the beginning of this paper described the one on one correspondence between the texts and the accompanying illustrations. However, this paper was able to recognize parts in the psalter where the illustration sequence not only followed the text but formed a narrative of its own. By doing so, the psalter realized what may be described as a polyphonic effect, which goes beyond the mere literal or Christological/typological. In order to describe this attempt to link the illustrations and the texts depicted over multiple pages, and through their relationship explain beyond what is actually written and depicted, it does not suffice to mention merely the relationship between the illustration and the corresponding verses. To decipher the complex system of meanings woven out throughout an entire codex with sophistication, one cannot merely consider the single pages. The Theodore Psalter presented a narrative in the identical position in the layout, and provided links not only with the verses of the Book of Psalm written on a separate page, but also with external texts. As such, one may conclude that the Theodore Psalter belongs to the tide of contemporary Byzantine art, such as ritualization brought forth by the establishment of the Dodekaorton, and the expression of human emotion, while maintaining the format of a marginal psalter.

Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo.

³² I would like to add here that neither the Paris Gospel nor the Florence Gospel shows those including Mary lamenting by the scene of Christ's Arrest. See Omont, *Évangiles*; Velmans, *Le tétraévangile*.

³³ See commentary, *Theodore Psalter*, f.46v.

Ерико ЦУЦИ

ПОКАЈАНИЕТО ПЕТРОВО ВО ТЕОДОРОВИОТ ПСАЛТИР

Резиме

Како илустрација на текстовите од Стариот Завет, на маргините на псалтирите се наоѓаат сцени што се базирани на настаните од Новиот Завет. Некои од најзначајните вакви дела потекнуваат од средновизантискиот период. Во овие кодекси, односот помеѓу текстот и илустрациите не секогаш се вклопува во категориите предложени од постојните проучувања, литературни, христорошките/ типолошки и историски.

Оваа статија се фокусира на минијатурите кои ја прикажуваат сцената на Покајанието Петрово и мотивите кои ѝ претходат и следуваат после неа, правејќи споредба и анализирајќи ја оваа сцена, претставена на маргините на три псалтири за кои се смета дека се создадени во манастирот Св. Јован Студит.

Хлудовскиот Псалтир од IX век, за стихот Пс 38:10 ја прикажува сцената на Заробувањето на Христос помеѓу Предвидувањето на Христос и Покајанието на Петар. Во сцената Заробувањето на Христос, со прикажувањето на пророкот Исаија и неговото идентификување во натписот, кодексот го поврзува Страданието на Христос со Праведниот Слуга во Книгата на Исаија. Псалтирот Барберини од XI век ја следи истата компо-

зиција, но со поедноставни натписи. Меѓутоа, во Теодоровиот Псалтир, кој е од истиот период како и Псалтирот Барберини, минијатурата на Исаија е испуштена.

Понатаму, во кодексот е претставена сцената на Предавството на Јуда наместо Заробувањето на Христос и ја поместува понапред за да кореспондира со Пс 37:12. Во овој труд сметаме дека оваа промена не била ниту грешка, ниту намера да се негира поврзаноста на низата од илустрации, туку дека била прифатена со цел да ја прикаже епизодата каде што Петар, пред неговото Одрекување и Покајанието, го подигнал мечот за да го одбрани Христос кого требало да го заработ.

Поедноставувањето на натписот во Псалтирот Барберини имплицира дека од XI век тој станал непотребен за да ја објасни релевантноста на Книгата на Исаија. Гледачот би ја разбрал типолошката интерпретација на приказните и без помош на минијатурата на Исаија. Понатаму, со поклопувањето на минијатурите поврзани со Петар на истото место на задната страна на пергаментот, Теодоровиот Псалтир успева во презентирањето на поклопувањата, како во однос на нивното значење така и физички.