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The Penitence of David
in Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. gr. 510
Iconography and Its Place
in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*

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I. Introduction

Although the importance of the illustrations in the Gregory Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris has long been recognized, the iconography has not yet been thoroughly discussed.

The identification and description of the miniatures in the manuscript were first made by H. Omont¹⁾. About fifty years later I. Spatharakis again made an overall identification, though his description tends to be brief²⁾. Omont's identification is sometimes problematic and indeed some miniatures have been identified differently by Spatharakis.

It was only in relation to the aristocratic psalters that recensional problems of the miniatures in Paris, gr. 510 were discussed together with their iconographical parallels. Further, K. Weitzmann, in his monograph on Paris, gr. 923³⁾, referred occasionally to this manuscript from the recensional point of view. However, there has yet to be any comprehensive research on Paris, gr. 510⁴⁾.

One of the reasons which make a recensional study of the miniatures in Paris, gr. 510 extremely difficult is their remarkable diversity in iconography. This manuscript includes not only the scenes of the Old and New Testaments but also the chronicles, the lives of emperors, the vitae of several saints including Gregory of Nazianzus himself and the martyrdom scenes of various saints. Therefore, if the subject matters for study are properly selected, the results will be more fruitful.

In past research the present author has dealt only with the miniatures which represent or have been thought to represent the Old

Testament scenes. The penitence of David which is the subject of this article is one of these scenes. The author attempts to reexamine in detail the iconography of this scene and to clarify the place of this miniature in extant Byzantine manuscript illustrations of the same scene.

Even if we limit the iconography to the Old Testament scenes, research on the miniatures of Paris, gr. 510 must face an extraordinary difficulty because a large portion of some scenes have been cut out, like the upper miniature of fol. 360^V, or much effaced, like the Jonah scene of fol. 3^T. In spite of these difficulties iconographical research on all the miniatures in this manuscript is ultimately indispensable. The present study on the penitence of David is the first step in this direction.

II. Iconography

The scene of the penitence of David is depicted in the right portion of the top register of fol. 143^V (fig. 1).

Omont has already made a general description of the iconography⁵⁾, which will be reexamined here.

At the center of the scene David with a dark moustache and a short trimmed beard kneels on the ground. He raises his head and gazes at the prophet Nathan standing before him. His posture deviates from the strict form of proskynesis which requires lowering of the head and extending of the hands. He is represented in the luxurious costume of a Byzantine emperor, with a tiara set with cabochons and pearls, and a divitision-like purple robe with a golden collar, golden cuffs and a segmenta on the back. He also wears red boots and a golden band on his ankle. He admits his sin with his words inscribed along with his name on the blue background before him; HMAPTIKA TΩ K[YPI]Ω ("I have sinned against the Lord.").

Before David stands Nathan, nimbed and bearded, turning in three-quarters toward the king. He wears thong-sandals and a gray-green himation with broad reddish-violet hems over a long white tunic ornamented with broad vertical golden lines. His left hand

is concealed within the himation. In response to the king's confession of sin, the prophet raises his right hand. His words of forgiveness, *KAI K[YPIO]Σ AΦΗΛΕ[N] ΤΟ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑ ΣΟΥ* ("And the Lord has put away thy sin."), are inscribed before him while his name is found on the upper golden picture frame.

These two figures and accompanying inscriptions specifically stress the penitence of David and the atonement of his sin by the prophet. In this respect this miniature differs from almost all the other representations of David and Nathan in the episode described in II Kings.

Behind the king, a nimbed angel, wearing a white himation over a white tunic with a similar golden ornament as seen on Nathan's tunic, stands in a dynamic pose. He can be identified as St. Michael by the inscription *Ο ΑΡΧΗΓΕΡΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ* written on the upper golden picture frame. The presence of St. Michael, however, is not referred to in the Biblical text. Though his face is considerably abraded, he certainly looks down at David. He steps vigorously toward the left and raises his right arm prominently. His large wings flap on his back and the himation flutters at his left arm, both features emphasizing the dynamism of his motions. He holds a long red spear or staff in his left hand. Since the point of this rod overlaps a small architectural motif of the same color, it cannot be identified whether this object is a spear or a staff. In any case its point is not directed toward David and this fact provides another feature of this miniature.

As for the angel's motions, a few interpretations have been proposed: Weitzmann interprets it as representing the removal of David's sin⁶), while H. Buchthal thinks it as symbolizing the divine punishment which is about to be inflicted on the king⁷). As we will see later, Weitzmann's interpretation seems more plausible.

At the left a luxurious backed throne of gold is depicted as though David has just stepped down from it. The throne has golden finials and is set with various kinds of gems and pearls on each side of its frame. A similarly decorated footstool is placed before it and a

magenta cushion rests on its seat.

At the utmost left of this scene a golden canopy stands, supported by four slotted and gem-decorated columns with Corinthian capitals. Under the canopy there appears Bathsheba, veiled and with part of her golden crown and collar seen under the veil. She witnesses David repenting his sin. Through the canopy columns there is seen a fairly low architectural motif of gray-green color. A fragment of dark paint remains above Bathsheba's head. The architecture might have been originally the palace of David and the dark-colored part above Bathsheba's head its window. The rendering of these motifs will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Between David and Nathan there is a small whitish architectural motif. Omont speculates that it is the representation of Rabbath⁸⁾, the city before whose wall Urias, the husband of Bathsheba, was killed and thus David's vicious plan was completed. In Paris, gr. 510, however, the cities are always rendered with their city walls⁹⁾. Therefore it is highly improbable that Rabbath, around which the battle was fought and whose city wall is clearly mentioned in the Bible (II Kings 11 : 20-21, 23-24), should be rendered as a simple building with neither a surrounding wall nor a city gate. The building we see here seems to be rather a small palace which could be introduced into this scene concerning the David's prayer in his palace after the rebuke by Nathan. Similar motifs, the meaning of which is not always clear, appear in several scenes in this manuscript. Therefore another possibility which cannot be excluded is that these motifs were introduced without any particular iconographical meaning but are due to the classicization prevalent in the miniatures in this manuscript.

III. The Placement of the Scene of David's Penitence in Paris, gr. 510 in the History of Byzantine Manuscript Illustration

Extant Byzantine manuscripts including this particular scene are, other than Paris, gr. 510, Paris, gr. 923, Vatican, gr. 333 and many psalters, both monastic and aristocratic.

Buchthal gives a tabular description of the iconographical elements and their arrangement in nineteen manuscripts, both Byzantine and Western¹⁰). We omit two Latin works (Zürich Psalter and Paris, Arsenal, 5211) from Buchthal's list and add eleven more examples instead. Our total of twenty-eight examples is as follows:

Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 510, fol. 143^V.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 923, fol. 231^V.

Vatican, gr. 333, fol. 50^V.

Monastic psalters;

The Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Hist. Mus., gr. 129), fol. 50^F.

The Theodore Psalter (London, Brit. Mus., Add. 19352), fol. 63^V.

The Barberini Psalter (Vatican, Barb. gr. 372), fol. 82^V.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733, fol. 25^F.

The Bristol Psalter (London, Brit. Mus., 40731), fol. 82^V.

The Hamilton Psalter (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78. A. 9), fol. 112^F.

Aristocratic psalters and related manuscripts;

Athens, National Lib., 47, fol. 8^F.

Athos, Lavra, B 26, fol. 227^V.

Athos, Stavronikita, 57, fol. 32^V.

Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, 13, fol. 104^V.

Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou 51, fol. 108^V.

London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36928, fol. 46^F.

London, Brit. Mus., Add. 40753, fol. 49^V.

New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1, fols. 126^F and 126^V.

Oxford, Lincoln Coll., gr. 31, fol. 68^V.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 139, fol. 136^V.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 282^V.

Switzerland, Private Coll., fol. 28^V.

Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 3, fol. 27^F.

Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3, fol. 57^V.

Athos, Vatopedi, 760, fol. 96^V.

Venice, Bib. Marciana, gr. 17, fol. IV^V.

Other psalters ;

Munich, Staatsbibl., slav. 4, fol. 66^r.

Vatican, gr. 752, fol. 163^v.

Vatican, gr. 1927, fol. 90^v.

These twenty-eight examples display various types concerning the figural motifs and their arrangement. As for the figure type of the king David, there are three different cases: 1) only David enthroned, 2) only David in proskynesis, and 3) David in both postures. When the king is depicted once, Nathan is also represented only once, but when the king is depicted twice, Nathan is represented either once or twice. As for the other motifs, for example, an angel menacing the king with his sword or spear is depicted in many miniatures. In some cases Bathsheba also is represented.

Among these iconographical variations the most important is whether the prostrate David is rendered as a separate scene from the scene of the rebuke by Nathan and the penitence of David. The reason for the primary importance of this iconographical difference is that it is considered to show the variation in the textual basis on which those miniatures depend.

According to the canonical text of the story of Nathan's rebuke in the Books of Kings (II Kings 12:1-14), there is no mention that David descended from his throne and prostrated himself before the prophet. Instead II Kings 12:16 tells that after Nathan had left the palace, the king fasted and went in and lay all night upon the ground inquiring of God concerning his child smitten by Him. Therefore if the iconography is based on the canonical text of the Bible, David in proskynesis must be rendered according to II Kings 12:16 as a separate scene from that of Nathan's rebuke and the king must not be accompanied by the prophet.

Examining the extant miniatures, however, the composition in which David prostrates himself before Nathan appears more often. Why? Here we have an Old Testament paraphrase called *Palaia historica*¹¹⁾. According to this text, when David was condemned by Nathan, he admitted his sin, descended from his throne and prostra-

ted himself, saying, "I have sinned against my Lord¹²⁾." Although it has not yet been concluded when this text came into existence¹³⁾, it is very likely that this kind of folk story was widely spread in Byzantine world already in the ninth century though it might have been only through the oral tradition. Therefore the iconography in which David prostrates himself before Nathan at his rebuke is rightly considered to be based on some non-canonical literary tradition which is now represented by the *Palaia historica*.

The examples which depict the prostrate David as a separate scene from that of Nathan's rebuke are as follows: Vatican, gr. 333; the Khludov Psalter; the Theodore Psalter; the Barberini Psalter; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733; and London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36928.

The examples in which David prostrates himself before Nathan at the prophet's rebuke are as follows: Paris, gr. 510; the Bristol Psalter; Athens, National Lib., 47; Athos, Lavra, B 26; Athos, Stavronikita, 57; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, 13; London, Brit. Mus., Add. 40753; New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1; Oxford, Lincoln Coll., gr. 31; Switzerland, Private Coll; Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 3; Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34.3; Athos, Vatopedi, 760; Venice, Bib. Marciana, gr. 17; Munich, Staatsbibl., slav. 4; Vatican, gr. 752; and Vatican, gr. 1927.

To begin, let us examine the miniatures which belong to the first group.

1) Vatican, gr. 333 (fig. 3). This is the only extant manuscript which preserves the narrative pictorial cycle of the Books of Kings. In this manuscript the composition of the rebuke scene consists of an angel, David enthroned, and Nathan. David in proskynesis is located behind Nathan. The king prays not to the prophet but to the hand of God emerging from an arc of heaven at the upper right corner of the picture. The enthroned David shows the gesture of penitence by touching his crown with his left hand. Thus if the prostrate David in the next scene shows his repentance, this gesture would become an iconographical redundancy. Therefore the second scene

should be interpreted as representing another passage of the Books of Kings. That is to say, although these two scenes are depicted in the same picture frame, David enthroned and David in proskynesis represent two different scenes¹⁴.

In this manuscript David in proskynesis is placed after the scene of rebuke (II Kings 12:1-14) and is followed by the scene of the birth of Solomon (II Kings 12:24). This fact does not contradict our foregoing assumption that the prostrate David must be the representation of his prayer described in II Kings 12:16. Furthermore, the fact that David prays to the arc of heaven from which the hand of God emerges confirms the connection of this miniature with verse 16 of II Kings 12.

2) The Khludov Psalter (fig. 4). David is seated on his throne, making the gesture of astonishment at Nathan's rebuke. The prostrate king is depicted in the far distant left margin of the same page and, as seen in Vatican, gr. 333, he is not accompanied by the prophet. That this miniature was intended to represent II Kings 12:16 is obvious not only because David in proskynesis is physically placed far from the rebuke scene but also because here he is dressed in simple clothing without imperial clamys or crown, a fact which implies that a certain length of time has elapsed from the time of the rebuke scene. The absence of the arc of heaven here must be due to the narrow space in the left margin in this page.

In the monastic psalters, the scene of David's penitence corresponds to Psalm 50. In the Khludov Psalter, however, the battle scene before the city wall of Rabbath in which Urias was killed (II Kings 11:17) is also depicted. This story is not mentioned in the Psalm text at all. Though the name of Urias is mentioned in the *Palaia historica*¹⁵, the miniatures of fol. 50^r in the Khludov Psalter cannot be a narrative representation of this Old Testament paraphrase, for, in that case an angel could not have been omitted from the rebuke scene¹⁶. Thus the three scenes in the Khludov Psalter—Urias' death, Nathan's rebuke, and David in prayer—must stem from a narrative cycle of the Books of Kings. When the

monastic psalter illustration was created, the battle scene was derived from a pictorial narrative of the Books of Kings together with the penitence scene into the psalter since this battle scene seemed to the miniaturist to represent most clearly the substance of the king's sin. The same holds true with the presence of Bathsheba in the rebuke scene in the Psalter. There is no mention of her presence at the prophet's admonition either in Psalm 50 or in the corresponding verses in II Kings 12. Nor is she mentioned in the *Palaia historica*. Thus the standing figure of Bathsheba in the rebuke scene must be a type of pictorial reference to the preceding story in II Kings.

3) The Theodore Psalter (fig. 5). The illustration to Psalm 50 in this Psalter consists of three scenes similar to those in the Khludov Psalter. In this case, however, an angel is seen in the rebuke scene¹⁶). Probably due to this introduction of an angel into this scene, the composition has been changed; Bathsheba, who in the Khludov Psalter is rendered as a full-length figure standing behind the king's throne, is now set into the high window of the palace which appears for the first time in the monastic psalter illustration. She is looking down on the scene of Nathan's rebuke. Except for this point, the rebuke scenes in the Khludov and the Theodore Psalters correspond with each other very well. This correspondence can be seen in such details as the figure types of David and Nathan, the king seated on the throne under a canopy, and the figure of the prophet overlapping the left column of the canopy. In the Theodore Psalter the prostrate David is again represented in an independent scene from that of Nathan's rebuke. And the king alone prays to the hand of God appearing from an arc of heaven. The scene of Urias' death is almost identical with that in the Khludov Psalter.

4) The Barberini Psalter. The illustrations of the same Psalm in this psalter are almost literal copies of those in the Theodore Psalter.

5) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733. Although in this manuscript David prays not to the hand of God but to Christ¹⁷),

this prayer scene is depicted separately from the rebuke scene and hence is rightly considered to represent II Kings 12:16.

6) London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36928. Although almost all the aristocratic psalters depicting the rebuke scene belong to the second group as will be observed shortly, this aristocratic psalter in particular belongs to the first group concerning the rendering of David in proskynesis.

7) Other Manuscripts. As observed above, in the iconography based on the canonical text of the Books of Kings, David in proskynesis represents his prayer described in II Kings 12:16. Therefore it is quite reasonable that in Paris, gr. 923, which preserves the earliest although fragmental extant pictorial cycle of the Books of Kings¹⁸⁾, the illustration to the citation of II Kings 12:11-13¹⁹⁾ is the rebuke scene consisting only of Nathan and David enthroned, without being followed by David in proskynesis (fig. 2). In the Hamilton Psalter, too, the rebuke scene is composed without the prostrating king though there is ample space for depicting him. Thus these two miniatures can safely be included into the first group based on the canonical text of the Books of Kings.

Next, we will examine the miniatures which belong to the second group; the miniatures in which David prostrates himself before Nathan in the rebuke scene.

1) The most common type, especially in the aristocratic psalters, is the single abridged composition in which Nathan is depicted once, David is represented twice in different postures, enthroned and prostrating himself, and an angel menaces the king. In some cases, instead of an angel, the hand of God holding a spear, emerges from a heavenly arc, or, only an arc of heaven is depicted. We have the following eight examples of the aristocratic psalters and related manuscripts showing this type: Athens, National Lib., 47; Athos, Lavra, B 26; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, 13; London, Brit. Mus., Add. 40753; Oxford, Lincoln Coll., gr. 31; Switzerland, Private Coll.; Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 3 (fig. 7); and Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3. Among other psalters, Vatican, gr. 752 and Vatican, gr. 1927 (fig.

6) belong to this type.

2) The examples in which only David in proskynesis is depicted are found in Paris, gr. 510; the Bristol Psalter; Athos, Stavronikita, 57; Athos, Vatopedi, 760 (fig. 8); and Venice, Bib. Marciana, gr. 17.

3) The examples which depict both the enthroned and the prostrate David as two clearly different scenes—the scene of rebuke by Nathan and the scene of penitence of David before the prophet—are New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1 (figs. 10 and 11) and Munich, Staatsbibl., slav. 4. In the former the two scenes are distinctly separated by the picture frame. In the latter David is depicted in two different postures in one picture frame, in each instance accompanied by Nathan and an angel.

In Paris, suppl. gr. 1335, one of the aristocratic psalters, the rebuke scene consists only of Nathan, David enthroned, and an angel. David in proskynesis is not rendered here. Yet, considering the fact that almost all the aristocratic psalters except London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36928 belong to the second group based on the non-canonical paraphrase version, it is appropriate to think that the absence of the prostrate David in this miniature is an accidental omission, perhaps due to the lack of space.

In Paris, gr. 139 (fig. 9) the prostrate David is depicted behind Nathan. The miniature gives the impression that the motifs at the right side of the original composition have been omitted. C. R. Morey assumes that it is Nathan who was omitted from this right side²⁰⁾ and Buchthal is of the same opinion²¹⁾. Weitzmann, on the other hand, lays stress on the similarity of this miniature with that in Vatican, gr. 333 and suggests that the hand of God was originally depicted to the right of the prostrate David²²⁾. Although the picture frame is wide enough to have a composition like that of case 1) of the second group, David does not pray before Nathan. This leads to the assumption that it is the hand of God emerging from an arc of heaven which is omitted here. In this case the miniature belongs to the first group based on the canonical text of the Books of Kings.

It can also be surmised that the prophet's position at the center of the picture space is a compositional change due to the introduction of the personification METANOIA. In this case the miniature in Paris, gr. 139 belongs to the second group. The same can be said about the miniature in Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou 51 which is almost a literal copy of the miniature in Paris, gr. 139.

Taking into account the several variations in the miniatures depicting this scene, Weitzmann once divided all the examples of the iconography of David's penitence into two groups. In his first group Nathan is depicted only once but the king is represented twice, first enthroned and then in proskynesis, and both kings face Nathan. In his second group David and Nathan are depicted twice and the king, either enthroned or prostrating himself, faces the prophet respectively. Weitzmann believes that the first type is closer to the archetype²³). Buchthal, on the other hand, takes the second group as an archetype, as seen in Munich, Staatsbibl., slav. 4 which Buchthal believes has been demonstrated by J. Strzygowski to be a fairly reliable copy from old models²⁴). And Lassus thinks the composition of Vatican, gr. 333 to be nearest to the archetype²⁵), but his speculation is rather vague and he shows little convincing evidence.

In our opinion, however, extant miniatures should be divided into two different groups according to their textual basis; canonical and non-canonical. The two groups proposed by Weitzmann are both on the non-canonical literary tradition and it does not seem to be appropriate to inquire into the pictorial archetype within this limited range of evidence.

Now, in almost all the miniatures we have hitherto observed an angel—a motif which is not referred to in the canonical text at all—is depicted. Here we must again pay attention to the text of the *Palaia historica*. According to this text, when Nathan was ordered by God to go to David, he was first afraid to undertake the mission. But when he came before the king, he found an angel standing before David's throne and menacing the king with a large unsheathed sword. Thus the prophet understood that he was being protected by God

and was encouraged to speak freely to the king²⁶⁾. The fact that the angel no longer directs the his spear or staff toward the prostrate David in the scenes in Paris, gr. 510 and New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1 (fig. 11) further tightens the connection of these miniatures to the Biblical paraphrase version: since the text of the *Palaia historica* further reads that when David prostrated himself saying, "I have sinned against my Lord, I have sinned," the prophet saw the angel turn away his large sword²⁷⁾. Therefore it is certain that the presence of an angel in the scene, in which both Nathan's rebuke and David's penitence are represented together, is due to the non-canonical literary tradition which is represented by the *Palaia historica*.

It is considered to be a result of the influence from this kind of paraphrase version that a figure of angel has introduced into some of the miniatures which are categorized above as based on the canonical text of the Books of Kings (Vatican, gr. 333 (fig. 3); the Theodore Psalter (fig. 5); the Barberini Psalter; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733; the Hamilton Psalter; and London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36928). The absence of the angel in the ninth century miniatures of the Khludov Psalter (produced between 829 and 837)²⁸⁾ (fig. 4) and Paris, gr. 923 (fig. 2) must reflect the early stage of the iconographical development from the canonical to the non-canonical version. We may assume the same concerning the absence of the angel in Paris, gr. 139 (fig. 9), if in fact it originally lacked in this motif²⁹⁾.

Paris, gr. 510 is the earliest extant manuscript which depicts the angel in this scene. The artist of Paris, gr. 139 from the tenth century seems not to have depicted the angel²⁹⁾. Except for the Bristol Psalter, all the manuscripts after the eleventh century include the angel or its substitutes. Thus the angel was introduced into the scene of David's penitence as early as in the second half of the ninth century according to the non-canonical literary tradition. After the eleventh century the motif became conventional.

Next we will observe the figure type of the angel.

1) In five examples the angel stands beside David menacing the king with his large sword, which exactly follows the text of the *Palaia historica*. These examples include four monastic psalters (the Theodore Psalter (fig. 5); the Barberini Psalter; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733; and the Hamilton Psalter) and Munich, Staatsbibl., slav. 4.

2) In ten examples the angel hovers in the air with a spear or staff in his hand, which might suggest the existence of another paraphrase text. These examples include eight aristocratic psalters and related manuscripts (Athens, National Lib., 47; Athos, Lavra, B 26; Athos, Stavronikita, 57; London, Brit. Mus., Add. 40753; New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1 (figs. 10 and 11); Oxford, Lincoln Coll., gr. 31; Paris, suppl. gr. 1335; and Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3) and two other psalters (Vatican, gr. 752 and Vatican, gr. 1927 (fig. 6).

3) Seven examples show the intermediary type; the angel stands beside David or appears from nearby architecture, but his weapon has been changed from a sword to a spear or a staff. These examples include Paris, gr. 510, Vatican, gr. 333 (fig. 3), and five aristocratic psalters and related manuscripts (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou 51; London, Brit. Mus. Add. 36928; Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 3 (fig. 8); Athos, Vatopedi, 760 (fig. 8); and Venice, Bib. Marciana, gr. 17).

4) In two examples the angel is substituted by an equivalent motif; the hand of God holding a spear and emerging from an arc of heaven (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, 13) or only an arc of heaven (Switzerland, Private Coll.).

We have observed the miniatures which depict the scene of Nathan's rebuke and David's penitence. Lastly let us clarify the characteristics of the miniature in Paris, gr. 510.

First, it includes Bathsheba in an original composition as a pictorial reference. Four monastic psalters (the Khludov Psalter (fig. 4); the Theodore Psalter (fig. 5); the Barberini Psalter; and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 733) and one aristocratic psalter (New

York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1 (fig. 10) also include Bathsheba. In four manuscripts she looks out of the high window of the king's palace. In Paris, gr. 510, as has been observed in the second chapter, an architectural motif is visible through the canopy. The vestige of dark paint above her head can be considered to be the window of the palace. Therefore it is likely that in the model of the miniature she was placed in the palace and appeared from behind its window in the same way as in other psalters. When the model miniature was copied into the rather short picture frame of Paris, gr. 510, the miniaturist took her out of the palace to show her more clearly; the narrow register did not allow the woman to appear in a high place, while the palace inevitably overlaps the canopy.

The most prominent iconographical characteristic of the miniature in Paris, gr. 510 is that the penitence of David and the atonement of his sin by the prophet Nathan is visually emphasized.

The central subject of the iconography is stressed first by the inscription of the words of the penitence by the king and those of the forgiveness by the prophet. To inscribe these words within the picture is a rare feature among the miniatures depicting the same scene. Other miniatures similarly inscribed are those in Athos, Lavra, B 26; Athos, Stavronikita, 57; Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3; and Athos, Vatopedi, 760. The inscriptions in these five miniatures are derived from the words of David's confession and Nathan's atonement, which are similar to each other in the Bible and the *Palaia historica*. The miniature in Athos, Lavra, B 26 is with the words by both the king and the prophet, and those in Athos, Stavronikita, 57; Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3; and Athos, Vatopedi, 760 are with the words of the prophet only. The inscription in Athos, Stavronikita, 57 is the words of the atonement and the punishment by the prophet, and those in Athens, Benaki Mus., vitr. 34. 3 and Athos, Vatopedi, 760 are the words of the atonement only.

Another visual emphasis on the atonement of the sin of David is observed in the pose of the angel; he does not direct the point of his spear or staff toward David, apparently leaving the king, while

stepping toward the left and raising high his right arm. By this action he seems to express the removal of David's sin³⁰). According to the text of the *Palaia historica*, the angel first menaced the king by a naked sword, but when the king admitted his sin and prostrated himself, the angel turned away his sword³¹). In almost all the extant examples the angel clearly threatens the king and simultaneously protects the prophet from the royal wrath by directing the point of his spear or staff toward the king or holding the sword ready behind the throne. Other examples which represent the removal of the king's sin by the angel are only two; one of the two miniautres in New York, Public Lib., Spencer Coll., gr. 1 which depicts the prostrate David (fig. 11) and the miniature in Athos, Lavra, B 26.

Thus we may conclude that the scene of the penitence of David in Paris, gr. 510 occupies a singular position in Byzantine manuscript illustration, since it is the first extant miniature which is based on the non-canonical literary tradition of the Old Testament paraphrase. Furthermore the miniature particularly emphasizes the penitence of a ruler and the atonement of his sin by sacred personages. In this respect the miniature may reflect not only the religious concern of the patron emperor, Basil I, but also the fundamental notion of the diarchy of the empire, the royal and the ecclesiastical.

Notes

- * The present paper is a part of my M. A. thesis which was submitted to the Faculty of Letters, Osaka University in January, 1986. In this thesis a comprehensive iconographical study was carried out on the Old Testament scenes in Paris, gr. 510. I am planning to present this research progressively.

I am obliged to Professor Shozo Arai for his assistance in reading the Greek text. I am much grateful to Professor Shigebumi Tsuji for his patient assistance and instruction throughout the research and writing.

- 1) H. OMONT, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1929), pp. 10-31.
- 2) I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the*

Year 1453 (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 6-8.

- 3) K. WEITZMANN, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela: Parisinus Graecus 923*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, no. 8 (Princeton University Press, 1979).
- 4) In her Ph. D. dissertation on Paris, gr. 510, L. Brubaker has carried out an iconographical inquiry into the Genesis scenes from the Old Testament cycle and the Nativity scenes from the New Testament cycle in the Manuscript (L. BRUBAKER, *The Illustrated Copy of the "Homilies" of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris* (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 510) [Ph. D. Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1983]).
- 5) OMONT, *Miniatures*, pp. 20-21.
- 6) K. WEITZMANN, "Der Pariser Psalter MS. Grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1929) p. 183.
- 7) H. BUCHTHAL, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 2 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1938; reprinted, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1986), p. 29.
- 8) OMONT, *Miniatures*, p. 21.
- 9) Fol. 3^r, Joppa and Nineve; fol. 104^r, Athens; fol. 143^v, Jerusalem and Jericho; fol. 196^v, Jerusalem; fol. 264^v, Damascus; fol. 316^r, Nain; fol. 409^v, Ctesiphon (?); and fol. 424^v, Jericho.
- 10) BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, p. 28.
- 11) A. VASSILIEV, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow : 1893), pp. 188-292.
- 12) Ibid., p. 283.
- 13) The suggestion by Vassiliev that this text was written in the ninth century is introduced by A. Cutler (A. CUTLER, "The Aristocratic Psalter: The State of Research," *Rapports et co-rapports XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* [Athens: 1976], p. 249, note 87). D. Flusser also thinks that this book was not written before the ninth century (D. FLUSSER, "Palaia historica, An Unknown Source of Biblical Legends," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 22 [1971] p. 50).
- 14) J. Lassus and Cutler have already noticed that two different scenes are depicted in this one picture frame (J. LASSUS, *L'illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois: Vaticanus Graecus 333*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, IX [Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1973], p. 26; CUTLER, "The Aristocratic Psalter," p. 248, note 85).
- 15) VASSILIEV, *Anecdota*, pp. 282-83.

- 16) As for the presence of an angel in the rebuke scene, we will discuss it later in this paper.
- 17) D. E. Miner identifies the figure before the prostrate king as Nathan (D. E. MINER, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* [Princeton University Press, 1955], p. 241). However, this figure should be identified as Christ, since his clothes are different from those of Nathan in the rebuke scene and since in the scene which follows the rebuke scene in the Theodore and the Barberini Psalters David always prays to the hand of God emerging from an arc of heaven.
- 18) WEITZMANN, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 75-101, figs. 106-80.
- 19) Ibid., p. 84.
- 20) C. R. MOREY, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin* 11 (1929) p. 36.
- 21) BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, p. 30.
- 22) K. WEITZMANN, *Illustration in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, no. 2 (Princeton University Press, 1947; reprint ed., 1970), p. 107.
- 23) WEITZMANN, "Der Pariser Psalter," p. 183.
- 24) BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, pp. 28-29. Buchthal's assumption is criticized by G. Kaufmann (G. KAUFMANN, "Der karolingische Psalter in Zürich und sein Verhältnis zu einigen Problemen byzantinischer Psalterillustration," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 16 [1956] pp. 66-67).
- 25) J. LASSUS, "Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 45 (1928) p. 61.
- 26) VASSILIEV, *Anecdota*, p. 283.
- 27) Ibid.
- 28) М. В. ЩЕПКИНА, *Миниатюры хлудовской псалтыри* (Москва : искусство, 1977), pp. 317-18.
- 29) In Paris, gr. 139 a fairly large part of the miniature is cut out above the head of the enthroned David. Omont and Morey assume that it was Bathsheba who was depicted in this cut-out section (OMONT, *Miniatures*, p. 8; MOREY, "East Christian Miniatures," p. 28). The former's assumption is based on the comparison with the miniature in Paris, gr. 510. A.

Baumstark, on the other hand, supposes that it was an angel threatening the enthroned David (*Oriens christianus* [1912], pp. 113ff.). Weitzmann first thought that in Paris, gr. 139 the angel is replaced by the personification METANOIA ("Der Pariser Psalter," p. 183) and Lassus infers in the same way ("Livre des Rois," p. 60). But later Weitzmann has changed his view to accept Baumstark's supposition through a comparison with the miniature in Jerusalem, Patriarchate, Taphou 51 (K. WEITZMANN, "Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie des 13. Jahrhunderts auf dem Sinai," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 6 [1957] pp. 136-37). Buchthal and Cutler are of the same opinion (BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, pp. 27-28; Cutler, "The Aristocratic Psalter," p. 248, note 87), but Buchthal's schematic analysis on which his assumption is based is hard to accept. In spite of Cutler's observation (A. CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, XIII [Paris: Picard, 1984], p. 66), the now cut-out portion in Paris, gr. 139 seems to be too small to contain an angel. It seems more than probable that Bathsheba had been originally represented here and this portion had already cut out before the second half of the thirteenth century when the Jerusalem Psalter was produced. Moreover, by the thirteenth century the scene of David's penitence had been provided conventionally with the figure of an angel. The miniaturist of the Jerusalem Psalter must have followed this convention.

30) See note 6).

31) VASSILIEV, *Anecdota*, p. 283.

Sources of Illustrations

Fig. 1: OMONT, *Miniatures*, pl. XXXIII.

Fig. 2: WEITZMANN, *Sacra Parallela*, fig. 132.

Fig. 3: LASSUS, *Livre des Rois*, fig. 92.

Fig. 4: М. В. ЩЕПКИНА, *Миниатюры хлудовской псалтыри*.

Fig. 5: S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge II: Londres, Add. 19352*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologique, V (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1970), fig. 102.

Fig. 6: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

Figs. 7, 8, 10, and 11: CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalter*, figs. 323, 377, 207, and 208.

Fig. 9: BUCHTHAL, *The Paris Psalter*, fig. 8.

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