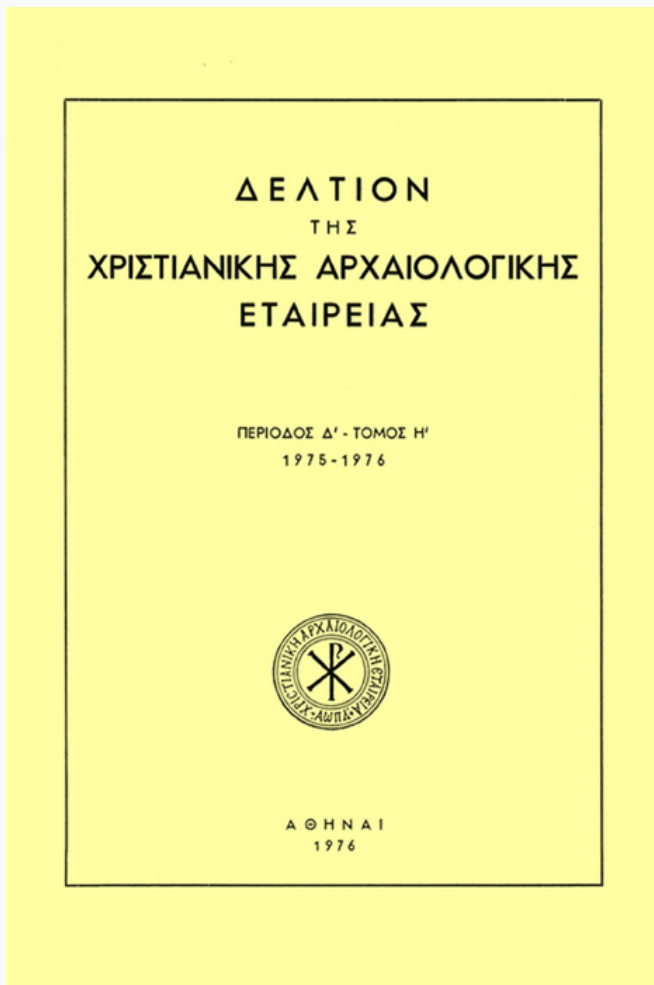


Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

Τόμ. 8 (1976)

Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 8 (1975-1976), Περίοδος Δ'. Στη μνήμη του Βίκτωρα Λάζαρεφ (1897-1976)



Η χρονολόγηση των απεικονίσεων του Ψαλτηρίου Διονυσίου 65 (πίν. 94-99)

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ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

The Date of the Illustrations of the Psalter Dionysiu 65
(πίν. 94-99)

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ΑΘΗΝΑ 1976

THE DATE OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PSALTER
DIONYSIU 65 *

(PL. 94 - 99)

The illuminated Psalter Dionysiu 65 on Mt. Athos¹ has been dated to 1313 by such scholars as have in the past had occasion to study or refer to the manuscript². This dating was based on the Paschal Tables, written on ff. 242v-243v, which run from 1313 to 1348. On examining the manuscript, I observed that the Paschal Tables were not authentic, and it has therefore proved necessary to exclude this Psalter from the «Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts» which I am engaged on assembling. The original Paschal Tables have been erased by scraping and those now visible were substitute by a later hand; the alterations are more obvious in the original than in my reproduction of f. 242v (pl. 94a). The date of 1313 is thus inapplicable to the codex as a whole and hence to its miniatures, which must now be dated on the evidence of stylistic comparisons. Such an undertaking seems a necessary consequence of my dismissal of the accepted dating, since the placing of these miniatures in the 14th century can only confuse the student of 14th century Byzantine style³.

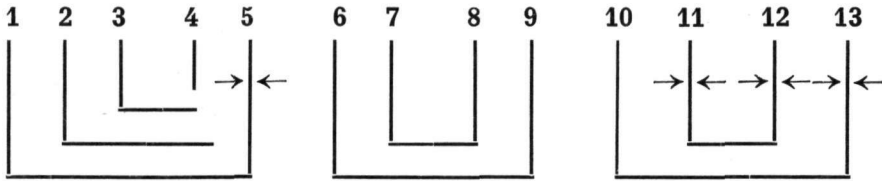
* My thanks to Prof. K. Weitzmann, Prof. H. Buchthal, Prof. E. Follieri, Mgr. J. Darrouzès, Mgr. P. Canart, Dr. S. Lilla, Dr. Mauropulu - Tsiumis, Mr. R. Nelson, Mr. L. Gallagher and the Director and staff of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies for their valuable contribution to this article.

1. Parchment, ff. 244, 195 × 130.

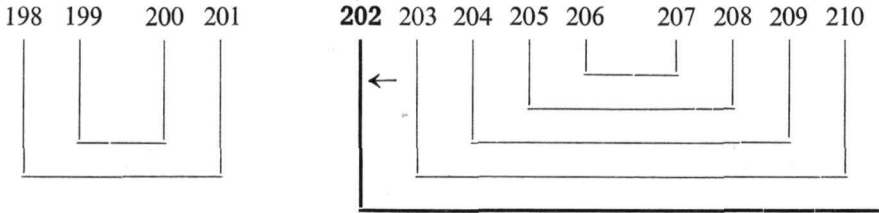
2. H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1891, 174 n1, 235-236, n1, 290. S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*,² Cambridge, 1895 (Amsterdam, 1966), I, 324-325. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura Bizantina*, Torino, 1968, 422 n113. R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 5), Wien, 1971, 70-75, figs. 7-9. S. M. Pelekaniðes, P. C. Christu, C. Tsiumis, S. N. Kadás, *The Treasures of Mount Athos, Series I: Illuminated Manuscripts*, Vol. I, Athens, 1973, 419-421, figs. 118-128 in colour. X. Μαυροπούλου - Τσιούμη, *Οι μικρογραφίες του Ψαλτηρίου ἁρ. 65 τῆς μονῆς Διονυσίου*, *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975) 131 - 171, εικ. 1 - 2.

3. In my previous references to the Dionysiu Psalter (The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts [Byzantina Neerlandica, 6], Leiden, 1976, 49-51, fig. 18) I have expressed doubts regarding its date. I felt then that it was necessary to make a fresh examination of the manuscript before attempting a more detailed study.

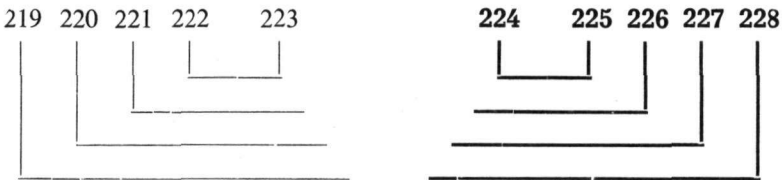
For a better understanding of the manuscript and its miniatures, a codicological analysis is necessary. The main body of the Psalter runs from ff. 14-223, comprising 27 numbered quires (26 *quaterniones* and one *binio*), of which the last is mutilated.



14 - 197 : 23 quaterniones



211 - 218 : 1 quaternio



229 - 244 : 2 quaterniones

On f. 223v one finds the first seven *makarismoï* (pl. 95 left). The last two were presumably written on the counter folio of f. 221, which has now been excised. The counter folios of ff. 219-220 are also missing. We do not know the contents of these two folios, or the reason for their removal. All folios in the main body of the manuscript have the same ruling and are written by the same hand.

The illumination here consists of three headpieces on ff. 14r, 110r and 203r. The largest is on f. 14r (pl. 94b). A characteristic is the horns from which

fresh stems sprout, ending in four trefoils whose stems form a cross at the centre⁴. Similar horns appear in the decoration of the Eusebian Letter in the Tetraevangelion Dionysiu 4, f. 5v, from the 12th century⁵. A narrower headpiece on f. 110r consists of interlaced stems which take the shape of hearts⁶. This design is found, for instance, framing the bust of St. Stephen on the secondary NW arch in the church of the Martorana in Palermo from the mid-12th century⁷, and in the headpiece of the Tetraevangelion Dionysiu 12, f. 70r, a manuscript usually assigned to the 13th century⁸, but which could equally well date from the end of the 12th. The zoomorphical initial M of the Dionysiu Psalter consists of two foxes and two martens shown in profile, and a frontal seated lion (pl. 94b). The script is clearly similar to that in the Tetraevangelion Vat. Urb. gr. 2, from about 1125⁹. For the main body of the Psalter I would thus suggest a date somewhere in the middle of the 12th century, a period in which headpieces, zoomorphical initial and script seem at home. These observations, however, do not apply to the inserted f. 202, to which I will shortly return.

Fols. 1-13 and 224-244 are of the same parchment, but the ruling varies according to the text or miniatures present. The first quire has five folios of which only ff. 1 and 5 are conjoint, while the remaining three folios are now singletons. Obviously its arrangement has been disturbed. This is followed by two *binia*, ff. 6-9 and 10-13. Fols. 5 and 11-13 contain full-page miniatures, and f. 6r a headband that differs in pattern and colour scale from the headpieces elsewhere in the Psalter. The antepenultimate quire in the codex has five folios, ff. 224-228, of which only ff. 224-225 are conjoint. The counter folios of the remaining three singletons have been excised. Two regular *quaterniones*, ff. 229-236 and 237-244, close the manuscript.

Fols. 1r-v and 3r-v are written in green ink by a 13th/14th century hand (pl. 96 right). Fol. 2r-v has script in the same 14th century hand (pl. 96 left) that is responsible for the Paschal Tables (cf. pl. 94a). Fols. 6-10, the inscriptions on and around the miniatures, and ff. 224-244 are written in semi-

4. A colour reproduction in Pelekaniides, a.o., op. cit., fig. 126.

5. Idem, 393-96, fig. 15, with bibliography.

6. Idem, fig. 127.

7. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, 81.

8. Pelekaniides, a.o., op. cit., 398-399, fig. 36, with bibliography.

9. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo monaco* (Cod. Vat. gr. 1162) e dell'Evangelario greco Urbinato (Cod. Vat. Urb. gr. 2) (Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi. Series minor, 1), Roma, 1910, pl. 93 (ff. 161v-162r). For the bibliography see: P. Canart-V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e Testi, 261), Città del Vaticano, 1970, 329.

oncial by the same scribe¹⁰ — the monk Sabas from Nicomedia, as is stated on f. 244r-v¹¹. The inserted f. 202 contains on the *verso* a miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea (pl. 98a), which seems to resemble in every respect the other miniatures in that part of the manuscript written by Sabas. The *recto* of this folio supplied the end of Psalm 151, but the text has now been erased. I have reproduced this folio using a slightly over-exposed print to enable the reader to distinguish the letters (pl. 97b). The ruling and script here differ from the main body of the Psalter (cf. pls. 97 a-b). I believe we can safely identify this script as the minuscule of Sabas. This text was erased, presumably because it also appeared on the opposite page, f. 201v (pl. 97a).

The manuscript is thus an amalgam of two different parts: That containing the body of the Psalter, which is decorated with three headbands; and that comprising the introduction (decorated with a headband and eight full-page miniatures), the inserted f. 202, and the appendix — all written by Sabas. Because of the repetition of the same text on ff. 201v and 202r, I would reject the possibility that Sabas could have written the whole manuscript, or bound together the two parts of the codex; for the same reason it is unlikely that he worked together with the scribe responsible for the body of the Psalter. On the other hand he states in his colophon that he had written a Psalter, and this would suppose that Dionysiu 65 now comprises sections from two mutilated Psalters. The binding can only have been the work of a third and later hand, who added to the main Psalter the introduction, the appendix, and the inserted f. 202. Realizing that part of Psalm 151 had as a result been duplicated, he erased the superfluous text on f. 202r. It was presumably the same hand which added script to the originally empty f. 2 and who erased the Paschal Tables provided by Sabas to superimpose the new set. Two old manuscripts were thus reutilized to create a new Psalter, which was then provided with new Paschal Tables.

In searching for stylistic parallels to establish a date for these miniatures, one finds the most obvious similarities in certain 12th century Octateuchs. The pose and the treatment of the drapery of the himation in the figure of Moses in the miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea on f. 202v of Dionysiu

10. The contents and a description of the miniatures are given by Lambros, *op. cit.*, 324-25, Stichel, *op. cit.*, 70-73, Pelekanides, *a.o.*, *op. cit.*, 419-21, and Maupolu-Tsiumis, *op. cit.*, 132-33 and 136-40. Some of the inscriptions in red around the miniatures are rewritten. The order in which the metropolitans and archbishops are given on f. 224r (pl. 95) does not help in dating the manuscript, as Mgr. J. Darrouzès kindly informed me.

11. The colophon is transcribed in Lambros, *op. cit.*, 324, and Pelekanides, *a.o.*, *op. cit.*, 419.

65 (pl. 98a), shows clear similarities with the same figure in the comparable miniature on f. 197v of the Seraglio Octateuch, MS. G(ayri) I(sلامي) 8 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library at Istanbul, which was executed in the second quarter of the 12th century¹² (pl. 98b). The heads of the angels in Dionysiu 65, for instance on f. 11v (pl. 99a), can be compared with those of the three angels at whose feet Abraham prostrates himself in a miniature on f. 30r of the lost Octateuch of Smyrna¹³ (pl. 99b). The manner of modelling the folds of the himation of the first angel from the left in the representation of the Weighing of the Soul in Dionysiu 65 (pl. 98a) can be best paralleled in the figure of the priest who stands second from the right in the group carrying the Ark on f. 443r of the Octateuch Vat. gr. 746¹⁴ (pl. 99c). Further comparisons should strengthen my argument for stylistic similarities between the miniatures in the Psalter and those in the three Octateuchs cited. The Smyrna and Vatican Octateuchs are not dated, but their execution can be safely placed in the first half of the 12th century. This is also the date I would suggest for the miniatures in that part of Dionysiu 65 which we can attribute to Sabas, with a preference of the second over the first quarter of the century¹⁵.

I O A N N I S S P A T H A R A K I S

Netherlands Organization for the
Advancement of Pure Research
(Z. W. O.)

12. T. Ouspenski, L'Octateuch de la bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe à Constantinople*, 12 (1907), fig. 121. For the relations between the 'aristocratic' Psalters — to which the Dionysiu Psalter belongs — and the Octateuch and the Book of Kings, see K. Weitzmann, *The Psalter Vatopedi 761. Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension*, in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 10 (1947), 20-51, esp. 32ff.

13. D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuch Grec de Smyrne (Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Scatone de Vries, Suppl. VI)*, Leyde, 1909, fig. 60.

14. *Il Rotulo di Giosué. Codice Vat. Palat. Gr. 431 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, V)*, Milano, 1905, pl. B 4. For the bibliography see: Canart-Peri, *op. cit.*, 478-479.

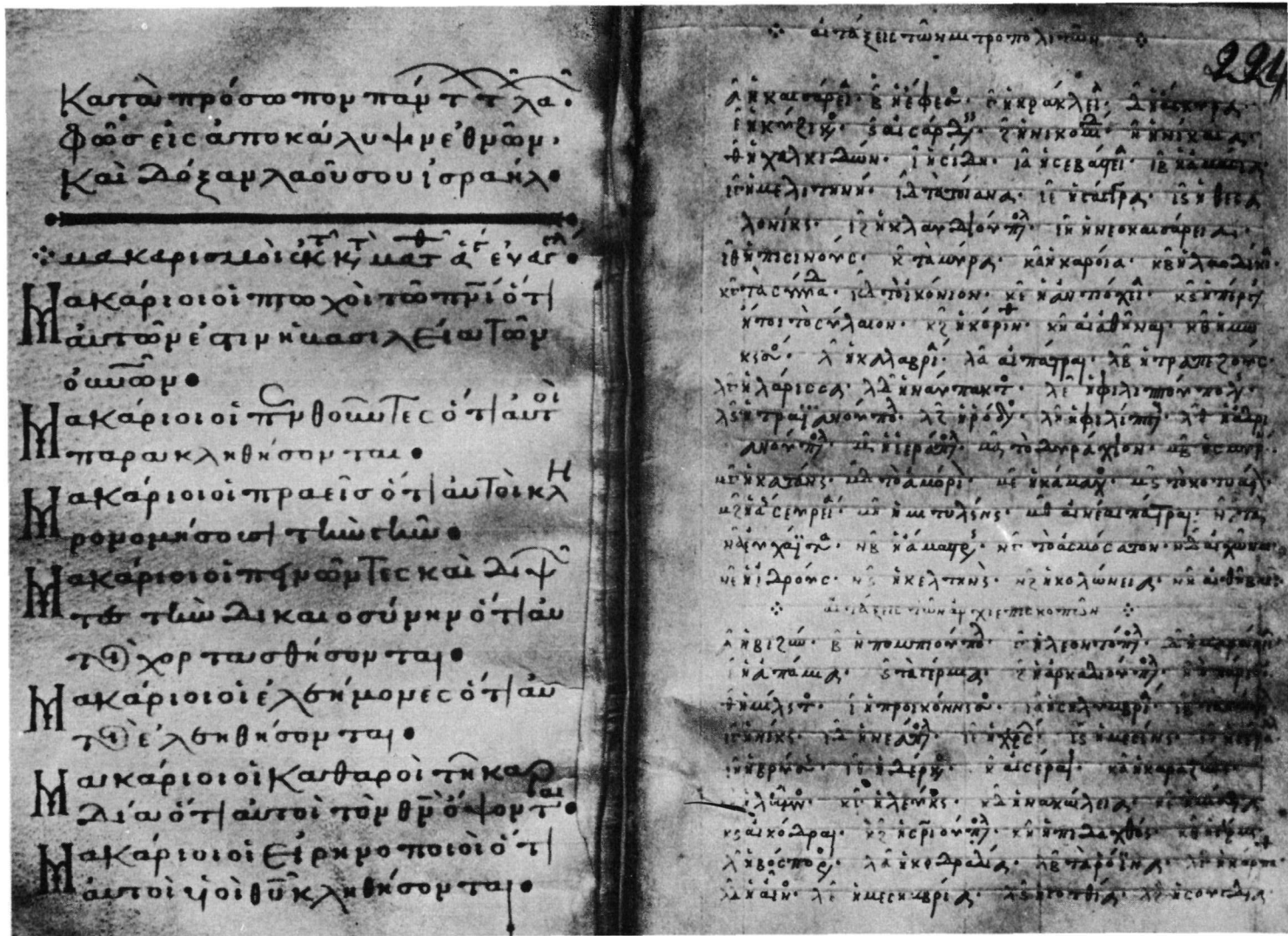
15. I have not attempted palaeographic comparisons with the script used by Sabas, since this type of semi-oncial provides little help in dating a manuscript with precision.



a. Dionysiu 65, f. 242v (photo by the author).



b. Dionysiu 65, f. 14 r.(photo by the author).



Κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντ' ταύτα.
Φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν θνῶν.
Καὶ δόξα αὐτοῦ σου ἰσραὴλ

Ἑ μακερισμοὶ ἑκ τῶν ματ' αὐτῶν εὐαγγ.

Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῶ πνεύματι ὅτι
αὐτῶν ἐστί νηυσὶς βασιλείῶν τῶν
οὐρανῶν.

Μακάριοι οἱ πνευματικῶς ὁδοιῖται
παρακληθήσονται.

Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληθήσονται
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλήσῃ.

Μακάριοι οἱ πειρασθέντες καὶ λυπηθέντες
ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐκδοθήσονται ὁδοὶ τῆς
ἐκκλήσεως.

Μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεηθῆτες ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.

Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῆς καρδίας ὅτι αὐτοὶ
θεωθήσονται.

Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ
καληθήσονται υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

224

Αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ νῆμα τῶν ποταμῶν
καὶ ὁ ἄκρος τῆς ἕριδος αὐτοῦ
ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας
αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς
βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ
ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ
καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.
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αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς
βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ
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βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡ
ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. ἰσραὴλ
καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.

Dionysiu 65, ff. 223v - 224r (photo by the author).

ὅτι οὗτος ὁ φαλί. | Διόγραφ' τὸ δῶδ.
 κ' ἐξώθεν τοῦ ἄρθρου τῶν ῥη
 φαλί. ὅτε ἐμνομάχησε πρὸς
 τὸ γλιῶν κ' ἀπέκτεινε αὐτόν.
Μικρὸς ἢ μικρὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
 μου καὶ μεῶτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκ
 τοῦ πρῶτου ἐποίμαρ ὁρταὶ
 πρῶτα τοῦ πρῶτου.
Αιχεῖρες μου ἐποίησα ῥογα,
 ῥογα καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἦρ
 μοσαρ φαλτήριον καὶ τὶς
 ἀμαρτρεῖ τῷ κῶμου.
Αυτὸς κ' αὐτὸ εἰσακούει αὐ
 τὸς ὅξ ἀπέγειλε τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠρεμεεὶ ἐκ τῶν προ
 ιαύτων τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ ἐ
 χρισεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔμαϊω τῆς
 χρισεως αὐτοῦ.
Εὶ ἀδελφοί μου καλοὶ καὶ με
 γάλιοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν δόκνῳ ἐν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ κ' ὁ.

a. Dionysiu 65, ff. 201v (photo by the author).

του πρῶτου. αὐχέρες μου ἐποίησα
 ῥογα καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἦρ
 μοσαρ φαλτήριον καὶ τὶς
 ἀμαρτρεῖ τῷ κῶμου.
Αυτὸς κ' αὐτὸ εἰσακούει αὐ
 τὸς ὅξ ἀπέγειλε τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠρεμεεὶ ἐκ τῶν προ
 ιαύτων τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ ἐ
 χρισεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔμαϊω τῆς
 χρισεως αὐτοῦ.
Εὶ ἀδελφοί μου καλοὶ καὶ με
 γάλιοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν δόκνῳ ἐν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ κ' ὁ.

b. Dionysiu 65, f. 202r (photo by the author).



a. Dionysiu 65, f. 202v, upper zone (photo of the P.I.P.S.).

b. Seraglio Octateuch G.I. 8, f. 197v, right half
(photo after Ouspenski).



a. Dionysiu 65, f. 11 v (photo after the P.I.P.S.).
 b. Octateuch of Smyrna, f. 30 r (photo after Hesselring).
 c. Vat. gr. 746, 443 r (photo after *Il Rotulo*).

a



b

c

