

The Personification of Zion in Byzantine Psalters with Marginal Illustrations: Between Eschatological Hopes and Realia

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The names “Jerusalem,” “the lofty city to which one goes up,” and “the Mount of Zion” are interchangeable in the Bible¹ and came to be associated with eschatological expectations. The city, which was given the name “New Jerusalem,” became primarily the symbol of the universal Kingdom of God. It was in this city that God chose to establish David’s throne and the Davidic dynasty, as it is written in Psalm 131 (132):11, 13: “The Lord swore in truth to David [...]. Of the fruit of thy body will I set [a king] upon thy throne [...]. For the Lord has elected Sion, he has chosen her for a habitation for himself [...].”² Zion came to be associated with God’s chosen people, since in some sources (e.g., Lam. 1–2) it represents the corporate personality of the people.³ Isaiah makes a striking parallel between the chosen people and Jerusalem: “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith God. Speak, ye priests, to

the heart of Jerusalem; comfort her, for her humiliation is accomplished, her sin is put away” (Isa. 40:1–2).⁴ The first hint of New Jerusalem associated with a structure is found in Ezekiel 4:1–2, where it takes the form of a visionary city:

And thou, son of man, take thee a brick, and thou shalt set it before thy face, and shalt portray on it the city, [even] Jerusalem. And thou shalt besiege it, and build works against it, and throw up a mound round about it, and pitch camps against it, and set up engines round about.

This visionary image of Jerusalem/Zion, usually combining a basilical structure and a human figure, appears in a considerable number in middle Byzantine Psalters with marginal illustrations.⁵

1 Norman W. Porteous, “Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol,” in *Verbannung und Heimkehr: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Wilhelm Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Arnulf Kuschke (Tübingen, 1961), 235–52.

2 Unless stated otherwise, all biblical citations are from *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, ed. Lancelot L. C. Brenton, 9th ed. (Peabody, MA, 2001).

3 Porteous, “Jerusalem-Zion,” 244.

4 On the perception of Zion in Jewish sources, see Tikva Frymer-Kensky, “Zion, the Beloved Woman,” in idem, *In the Wake of the Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York, 1992), 144–52, where she discusses the reason Zion is evoked as a female figure in these sources.

5 The first-known image of the city of Jerusalem in early Christian art appears in the mosaic of the triumphal arch in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, dated to 432–40, where the city, identified by the inscription HIERUSALEM, is represented as a pearl- and gem-studded edifice; see Walter Fraser Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome: From the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1967), 78, 75 (color figure); Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden,

1975), 33. A similar formula recurs in the apse mosaic of the sixth-century San Vitale in Ravenna; see Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna: Art and History* (Ravenna, 1999), 26–27, fig. 12. In the Madaba mosaic pavement map in the Church of John, dated to the first half of the sixth century, Jerusalem is represented as a cluster of buildings and churches, the major church being the Holy Sepulchre; see Michele Piccirillo, *Madaba: le chiese e i mosaici* (Milan, 1989), 76–95, esp. 86–87, 92; Herbert Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide* (Kampen, 1992). This visual tradition also appears in Armenian illustrated manuscripts, for example, in the “Etschmiadzin Gospel Book” (Monastery of Etschmiadzin, Lib. 229, 989, fol. 48v), where the personification of Zion is morphed into a small *tempietto*; see Sirapie Der Nersessian, “The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel,” *AB 15* (1933): 327–73, esp. 333, fig. 4. Jerusalem personified seldom appears in monumental, post-iconoclastic Byzantine art. One of the rarest examples is the female figure identified as the personification of Jerusalem on the fresco with the Virgin and Christ Child (upper register of the vault, Aisle E) in Chapel II of the Belli Kilise (Cappadocia) from the tenth century or later; see Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l’art byzantin: les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1925–42), 3, pl. 185(4).

The various aspects of this representation as an expression of theology, liturgy, and political power have merited little, if any, attention; it is generally assumed that it served as a tactical ploy in the polemic battle between the triumphant Orthodox iconodules over the iconoclasts still active in Constantinople, following the sometimes bloody iconoclastic controversy (726–843), in an attempt to strengthen their position in the face of their still-influential adversaries.⁶ The image has also been discussed for its value in representing models of actual sacred buildings in the Holy Land from early Christianity onwards;⁷ none of this is unfamiliar to art historians of middle Byzantine illustrated manuscripts.

The Psalters discussed below are part of thirteen surviving manuscripts dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries; only five of them portray the personification of Zion.⁸ All codices contain the 151 Psalms of the Septuagint and their corresponding *catenae*, all have fourteen or less of the Odes (sacred poems taken from various sources), and the Gloria.⁹ Three of these five Psalters are relevant

to our discussion and require only a brief summary:

1. The Chludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Hlud. D 129), most probably produced in Constantinople in the second half of the ninth century, is one of the oldest manuscripts reflecting the recension of the Byzantine Psalter with marginal illuminations, probably compiled during the later stage of the second iconoclastic controversy (815–42).¹⁰ The Chludov Psalter is loosely related to the patriarch Photios (858–67 and 877–86), a devout and cultivated scholar who served as spokesman of the Constantinopolitan Orthodox community in the second half of the ninth century.¹¹ It is arranged antiphonally, to follow the liturgy used in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and is related through its composition, narrative illustrations, and artistic style to two additional Psalters – the Pantokrator and the Parisinus, gr. 20.¹² It has been suggested that the iconography of the three ninth-century Psalters was well established before the ninth century and therefore may have influenced the post-iconoclastic Psalter.¹³

6 Christopher Walter, “Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century,” *REB* 44 (1986): 274; Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992), 10, n. 10; 98, figs. 99–100; Maria Evangelatou, “The Illustration of the Ninth-Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters: Layers of Meaning and Their Sources” (Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2002), 212–21.

7 The only somewhat satisfactory study to date is that of André Grabar, “Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du XIe siècle,” *CA* 15 (1965): 61–82, where the author identifies well-known sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem – the Church of Zion, the Church of the Nativity, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Church of the Holy Cross at the Golgotha – with some of the architectural depictions in post-iconoclastic Psalters with marginal illustrations. See also the short discussion by Oleg Grabar, “A Note on the Chludoff Psalter,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1983): 261–65, where this scholar of Islam, in the wake of his father’s assumption, has proposed to see some of the architectural elements in Byzantine Psalters as evoking a real counterpart and, more specifically, the area of the old Temple that was transformed by the Muslims into what is commonly known as al-Haram al-Sharif.

8 For a full list of these Psalters see Suzy Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers marginaux médiévaux à illustrations intégrales issues du texte* (Paris, 1978). Two of the Psalters are in Latin and, therefore, not Byzantine.

9 On the invention of marginal illustrations in the Psalters, the development of marginal commentary (*catenae*), and the intellectual patterns of ninth-century theologians, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 104–11.

10 Marfa Viacheslavovna Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoy Psaltyri: grecheskiy illiustrirovanniy kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977); *Salterio Chludov*, facsimile reprint (Madrid, 2006). The well-known and heavily damaged Parisian Psalter, BnF, gr. 20, also dated to the ninth century, does not contain images of the personification of Zion; see Suzy Dufrenne, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge, Pantocrator 61, Paris grec. 20, British Museum 40731*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 1 (Paris, 1966), 39–66, pls. 34–46. Kathleen Corrigan argues that of the two potential sponsors – the patriarchs Methodios and Photios – Methodios makes more sense as the commissioner of the Chludov, thus dating the Psalter to 843–47; see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 124–34.

11 Leslie Brubaker, “Life Imitates Art: Writings on Byzantine Art History, 1991–1992,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 17 (1993): 185.

12 On the Pantokrator, see Jeffrey C. Anderson, “The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter,” *DOP* 48 (1994): 199–220. See also Jean-Claude Lechner, “Ms Athonis Pantocrator 61: de relatione inter textum et imaginem” (Ph. D. dissertation, Salesian Pontifical University, Rome, 2000); idem, “Quelques remarques sur le rapport entre texte et image dans le psautier Athonis Pantocratoris 61,” *Arte Medievale* N.S. 1/2 (2002): 25–34. Note that Corrigan dated both the Pantokrator and the Parisinus gr. 20, to 843–47; see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 124–34.

13 The argument for an earlier date for the Byzantine Psalter illustration – a fifth-century model to which additional iconographical elements were added in the Carolingian era – was advanced by Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d’Utrecht: sources et apport carolingien* (Paris, 1978), 219. In connecting the Byzantine and earlier Carolingian Psalters,

2. The so-called Theodore Psalter (London, BL, MS Add.19 352); the colophons on folio 208r gave it the name Theodoros, after the abbot of the monastery and the scribe and painter of the codex in 1066; Michael was the manuscript's owner. It was most probably executed at the Studios monastery in Constantinople.¹⁴

3. The so-called Barberini Psalter (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372).¹⁵ The manuscript, which was created in the Studios monastery, was commissioned by Emperor Alexios Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), ca. 1092 in an attempt to affirm his Orthodoxy vis-à-vis contemporary accusations of flirting with iconoclasm. The manuscript exhibits a discernible influence of the Chludov Psalter and is most certainly a copy, now lost, of another mid-eleventh century illustrated Psalter that may well have served as a model for the Theodore Psalter. Thus, the Barberini may be considered a late descendant of the Chludov-Theodore group.¹⁶

A comparative examination of all images representing the city of Zion in Byzantine Psalters with marginal illustrations shows that they can be grouped into several categories. Only one such image, appearing in the Chludov, Theodore, and Barberini Psalters and illustrating

Psalms 50:20–21 (51:18–19) – “Do good, O Lord, to Zion in thy good pleasure; and let the walls of Jerusalem be built. Then shalt thou be pleased with a sacrifice of righteousness, offering, and whole-burnt-sacrifices: then shall they offer calves upon thine altar”¹⁷ – will be analyzed in this paper; the other three, which commonly share the figure of the Virgin/Theotokos will be published in a separate article.¹⁸

The Chludov Psalter shows on the right, on a north-east axis, a triapsidal basilica (only two apses are visible), a clerestory in both the central nave and aisles, and a flight of stairs leading to three openings (corresponding to the nave and two-aisle structure); a high tower is seen on the southern side. Enclosing the church is a walled city consisting of a gold-topped, marble-veined portico and a blue-veiled entrance led to by a staircase of twelve steps. The personification of Zion, clad in imperial dress and wearing a turreted crown, stands in front of the city and points toward it. Opposite her stands King David, crowned and clad as a Byzantine emperor. On the left, King Saul speaks with Doëg about David, illustrating the Septuagint's title to Psalm 51 (52), which has nothing to do with the portrayal of the city (fig. 1).¹⁹

Corrigan conjectures that an eighth-century model – which apparently comprised many typological scenes inspired by various commentators on the Psalms and liturgy – may have influenced the composition of the three extant ninth-century Psalters with marginal illustrations (Chludov, Pantokrator 61, Parisinus graecus 20); see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 8–26. Christopher Walter also tends to place the origin of what he somewhat reluctantly calls the “archetype” of these Psalters in eighth-century Palestine; see his “‘Latter-Day’ Saints and the Image of Christ in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters,” *REB* 45 (1987): 218–19. Lechner, in turn, conjectures that the prototype that may have served as the model for the three above-mentioned ninth-century Psalters may have originated in Syria or Palestine, during the first interval of the iconoclastic debate, between 787 and 815; Lechner, “Quelques remarques”: 30. I am grateful to Jean-Claude Lechner for also allowing me to consult his unpublished dissertation.

14 Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen-Âge*, 2: *Londres*, Add. 19.352, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 5 (Paris, 1970); Jeffrey C. Anderson, “On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter,” *AB* 70 (1988): 55–68; *Theodore Psalter*, electronic facsimile, ed. Charles Barber (Champaign, IL, 2000).

15 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 64–70; Jeffrey C. Anderson, “The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter,” *CA* 30–31 (1982–83): 35–67; Jeffrey C. Anderson, Paul Canart, and Christopher

Walter, *The Barberini Psalter: Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 372*, 2 vols. (New York and Zurich, 1988).

16 See the discussion of the manuscript by John Lowden, who contends that the monk Theodoros of the Studios monastery was the scribe of this manuscript, thus forcefully advancing its date to the 1060; John Lowden, “An Inquiry into the Role of the Theodore in the Making of the Theodore Psalter,” in, *Theodore Psalter*, 1–20, with collected bibliography.

17 Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques*.

18 For a discussion of further aspects of this iconographic motif, see my “The Personification of Zion and the Marian Cult in Byzantine Psalters with Marginal Illustrations” (forthcoming).

19 Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri*. It is interesting to note that the church of Zion is portrayed in the Chludov Psalter not only in relation to the personification of Zion, but in additional instances as well, for example, in the second trial of Christ; see Grabar, “Quelques notes”: 63, fig. 3. In the eighth-century church of the Holy Virgin in Deir al-Surian there is a wall painting on the northern wall showing also a tower-like structure, representing a church, with a ladder standing against it (Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt); see Karel C. Innemée and Lucas Van Rompay, “Deir al-Surian (Egypt): New Discoveries of 2001–2002,” *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 5/2 (July 2002): fig. 3 (<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol5No2/HV5N2InnemeVanRompay.html>).



Fig. 1. *The Personification of Zion*, Chludov Psalter, Constantinople (?), after 843 (?). Moscow, State Historical Museum, Hlud. D 129, fol. 51r (photo: Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoy Psaltyri*)

This iconographic formula reappears in the Theodore and Barberini Psalters, although without the tower on the left and the figure of David; in both cases, the latter was transferred to the verso of the folio, most probably because of a misinterpretation of the theme in the illustrated Psalter, which in all probability served as an intermediary

model between the Chludov and the eleventh-century Psalters.²⁰

The miniature in the Theodore, whose paint is badly flaked, shows on the right a two-story basilica to which a simple, five-rung gold ladder leaning against an entranceway leads to the lower floor. The row of arches in the portico in the Chludov Psalter is reduced here to a triumphal arch sheltering the figure of Zion, crowned and donning the imperial *thorakion*, which came into fashion in the eleventh century;²¹ she points toward the city with her right hand. The upper story is actually a lateral view into the church from the round apse, showing the gold-decorated marble colonnade of the northern aisle with a row of windows and a lattice-like barrier (fig. 2).²²

The Barberini also shows a two-story edifice with a round apse, now topped by a cross. The second story affords a view of the church's interior from the south, through two blue columns with gold capitals and an openwork lattice-like barrier, as in the Theodore Psalter. The upper story is duplicated in the floor beneath it, without the apse but with three arches having blue columns with gold capitals; on the other side is an opening containing a quadrate object that may be interpreted as an altar. A simple, six-rung gold ladder leads into the church. Beneath the structure stands the hieratic figure of Zion, identified on the left by the Greek legend ἡ ἁγία πόλις (“the holy city”). She wears a gold turreted crown and is clad in a blue *thorakion* decorated with thin hatches of gold, sometimes parallel, simulating the light-reflecting crests of a drapery pattern – a pictorial feature characteristic of late eleventh-century illuminated manuscripts. With her right hand she points toward the holy city (fig. 3).²³

20 On this, see Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 44.

21 Sometimes called *thorakion*, this is an oval shield-shaped scarf studded with precious stones worn by both the emperor and the empress; see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991), 2:1252–53, s.v. “loros.” See also *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), 41, 48. See, e.g., the dress of Empress Maria of Alania in the contemporary *Homilies of John Chrysostom* executed in Constantinople (Paris, BnF, Coislin 79, tempera and gold on vellum, ca. 1071–81, fol. I [2bis]v); *Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* [exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art], eds. Helen C. Evans and William

D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 207–9, fig. 182.

22 Charles Barber describes the left-hand part of the basilica as “an impressive pediment structure representing an entrance to this level”; see *Theodore Psalter*, fol. 65r; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 33, pl. 35, fig. 105.

23 Fol. 88r; *ibid.*, 68–69, pl. 117, fig. 328; Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 88. For a discussion of Tyche in early Byzantine art, see Liz James, “Good Luck and Good Fortune to the Queen of Cities: Empresses and Tyches in Byzantium,” in *Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium*, eds. Judith Herrin and Emma Stafford (Aldershot, 2005), 300–301.



Fig. 2. *The Personification of Zion*, Theodore Psalter, Constantinople, 1066, London, BL, MS Add.19 352, fol. 65r (photo: London, British Museum)



Fig. 3. *The Personification of Zion*, Barberini Psalter, Constantinople, ca. 1092, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372, fol. 88r (photo: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

André Grabar, who, as noted, attempted to link the architecture in the ninth-century Psalters with marginal illustrations to sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, contends that the model used for this miniature – whether ancient, pre-iconoclastic, or more-

or-less precise replications of the architectural features of these early images along with two others appearing in the Chludov – reflect the ancient church of Holy Zion in Jerusalem, the tower next to it, and even the ladder leading to the church.²⁴ The complex mentioned by early

²⁴ Grabar maintains that this church was already destroyed by the time the Chludov was illustrated; see Grabar, “Quelques notes”: 61–82, esp. 73; idem, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), 225. For a different, highly arguable, suggestion linking this specific image with contemporary Muslim architecture, see Grabar, “Note on the Chludoff Psalter”: 263, n. 7. Lidov, in turn, identifies the basilica

of the Chludov (fol. 86v) with the Holy Sepulchre complex; see Alexei Lidov, “Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach,” in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel [*Journal of Jewish Art* 23/24] (Jerusalem, 1997–98), 343–45, fig. 2.

Christian pilgrims, remains of which are still visible today, was built by Constantine I to commemorate the Last Supper.²⁵ Furthermore, the courtyard north of the basilica corresponds to the convent's courtyard appearing on the mid-sixth century Madaba mosaic map.²⁶

Grabar reasoned that Constantinople's interest in this sanctuary and others after the demise of iconoclasm would be typological – the iconodules would venerate the Holy Land and its sanctuaries as testimonies of the terrestrial life of Christ and, consequently, the notion of the Incarnation.²⁷ Church fathers, such as Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople (ca. 758–828), and Theodore the Studite (759–826), expressed their longing for the places where Christ lived as living testimony of his earthly life.²⁸

A close comparison of the architecture in the above three images reveals further indications of a typological construction. What would have to be the western entrance to the city/church is, in fact, topped by the church's eastern side, i.e., the apse. I propose to

interpret this image, which defies the physical structure of any church, as an eschatological vision and not an accidental slip of the brush. The eastern/apse side illustrates Psalm 51:19 literally: “Then shalt thou be pleased with a sacrifice of righteousness, offering, and whole-burnt-sacrifices: then shall they offer calves upon thine altar,” hinting at the place where the mystery of Christ's sacrifice takes place daily. Furthermore, depicting the church of Zion as a walled city associates it with common representations of heavenly Jerusalem,²⁹ rendering its basilica – the eternal church – the typological Temple of the Bible.³⁰

The notion of heavenly Jerusalem is reinforced in all three miniatures by the veiled or unveiled entrance into the city/church,³¹ toward which the hand of the female personification seems to be directed. The typological meaning conveyed in this opening alludes to the imagery of the Last Judgment³² and Christ, which are linked to the John 10:9: “I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved,” symbolizing the entrance into

25 On the testimonies of pilgrims, see Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1912–14), 2:421–22, 478. Remains of the church of Holy Zion, found today in the Garden of the Franciscans opposite the church of the Dormition on Mount Zion, extend over the large area situated north and northwest of the traditional “Tomb of David.” The church was built around 390, destroyed during the Persian invasion (614), rebuilt in 634, apparently like its predecessor, and burnt by the Arabs in 966. The reconstruction of the remains of its western section and the narthex attests that the basilica may have originally been double-aisled, with three external semicircular apses measuring approximately 55 meters; see Asher Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), 89–90 (no. 77a/b), plan no. 77, pl. 38; Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 2 (Princeton, 1995), 33–39; *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. Klaus Wessel and Marcell Restle, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1963–95), 3:601–2, s.v. “Jerusalem.” On the liturgical importance of this church in early Christian times, see Klaus Biberstein, “Die Hagia Sion in Jerusalem: Zur Entwicklung ihrer Traditionen im Spiegel der Pilgerberichte,” in *Akten des XII. internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22–28.9.1991*, eds. Ernst Dassmann and Josef Engemann, *Studi di antichità cristiana* 52, 2 vols. (Münster, 1995), 1:543–51.

26 Piccirillo, *Madaba*, 86–87, 92. See also the discussion of Grabar, “Quelques notes”: 66–67.

27 Grabar, “Quelques notes”: 73.

28 Nikephoros, *Apologeticus pro Sacris Imaginibus* (PG 100, 780A); Theodore Studite, *Epist.* XV (PG 99, 1160–61).

29 For a succinct discussion of the iconography of heavenly Jerusalem throughout Byzantine art based on several early examples, see Lidov, “Heavenly Jerusalem,” 341–53, who argues that this iconography tends to change with contemporary textual associations.

30 On the perception and illustration of Jerusalem, notably in Western illuminated manuscripts, see the seminal study of Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome, 1987).

31 The typological meaning of the veil is made evident in other ninth-century miniatures, for example, in the illustration of Ps. 113:12–16 (115: 4–8) in the Pantokrator Psalter (Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 165r), showing King David between the figures of the iconoclast John the Grammarian, nicknamed Iannis by his enemies, and Bezalel, the constructor of the Temple and the Tabernacle, standing in front of the veiled entrance to the Holy of Holies; see Suzy Dufrenne, “Une illustration ‘historique,’ inconnue, du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator 61,” *CA* 15 (1965): 83–95, fig. 1; idem, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 34, pl. 26; Lechner, “Quelques remarques”: 29.

32 On this see, Sahoko Tsuji, “Destruction des portes de l'Enfer et ouverture des portes du Paradis: à propos des illustrations du Psaume 23, 7–10 et du Psaume 117, 19–20,” *CA* 31 (1983): 5–33; Robert Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 200 (Rome, 1975), 108–12.

heaven of the faithful.³³ Moreover, the patriarch Maximus (580–662) states clearly that the closing of the door has an apocalyptic meaning in Orthodox liturgy:

After the sacred reading of the Holy Gospel, the bishop comes down from his throne and there takes place the dismissal and expulsion by the priests of the catechumens and the rest who are not worthy of the sacred vision of the mysteries which are about to be shown. But after the reading of the Gospel and the dismissal of the catechumens, there takes place the closing of the doors of the holy church of God, which signifies the passing of the material world and the entrance of those who are worthy into the spiritual world, that is, into the bridal chamber of Christ after that fearful separation and more fearful sentence.³⁴

The association of Jerusalem, celestial city of God, with Zion is evoked in the early patristic thinking of Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254), for example:

[...] and there is some city in the heaven that is called Jerusalem and Mount Zion—just as the Apostle says concerning those who would come to the Lord Jesus Christ, “You have drawn near to Mount Zion and are come to the city of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem.”³⁵

Jerusalem is metaphorically identified with the Church³⁶ – the Church above – to which earthly churches serve as gates, as Theodoret of Cyrillus (ca. 393–ca. 460) one of the most important Psalms exegetes, puts it: “He [David] calls the heavenly city *Sion* as blessed Paul taught; by its *gates* he refers to the churches everywhere on earth, through which the believers enter it. So let us rejoice in them, he says, dancing in the hope of resurrection [...].”³⁷ Theodoret’s commentary to Psalm 51:19 is also significant to our discussion:

The conclusion of this psalm contains, however, a further prophecy as well: “You see, after setting forth above the gifts of the all-holy Spirit, he went

on to show the God of all to be not pleased with the sacrifices according to the Law, and his prayer is for the new Sion to emerge, the heavenly Jerusalem to be built on earth,” meaning by it the Christian church.³⁸

Further examination of the architecture in the Chludov (fig. 1) supports the hypothesis that this typological image may have been embedded in the contemporary Constantinopolitan landscape. The large ivory relief, now conserved in the treasury of the Trier cathedral and dated by Holum and Vikan to the late ninth and early tenth centuries, depicts a religious procession and the transfer of a relic to Constantinople. The entourage is received by the Empress, who stands in front of a church topped with crosses and which appears to be not quite finished in time for the event, as workers are seen still laying tiles on the roof (fig. 4).³⁹ The scenery is that of the capital, most

33 Isa Ragus, “Terror Demonum and Terror Inimicorum: The Two Lions of the Throne of Solomon and the Open Door of Paradise,” *ZK* 40 (1977): 93–114.

34 *Myst.*, 14–15 (PG 91, 692–693); English trans. by Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park and London, 1971), 152.

35 Origen, *Hom. in Jos.* 23, 4; Origen, *Homilies on Joshua*, English trans. by Barbara J. Bruce, ed. Cynthia White, *The Fathers of the Church* 105 (Washington, DC, 2002), 200. The passage quoted by Origen is Heb. 12:22.

36 Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 1.2.3 (exegesis to Ps. 4:14; PG 8, 53B); Clément d’Alexandrie, *Le Protreptique*, trans. and eds. Claude Mondesert and André Plassart, SC 2 (Paris, 1976), 54–55. See also, Methodios, *Symp.* VIII.7 (exegesis to Ps. 90:1; PG 18, 149B); Methodios, *Le banquet*, trans. and eds. Herbert Musurillo and Victor-Henry Debidour, SC 95 (Paris, 1963), 216–19.

37 Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Robert C. Hill, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 2000–2001), 1:92.

38 *Ibid.*, 1:302.

39 Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3d ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), 95–96 (no. 143), pl. 76. The ivory was tentatively dated by Laurie J. Wilson (“The Trier Procession Ivory: A New Interpretation,” *Byzantion* 54 [1984]: 602–14) to the reign of empress Eudoxia (400), but traditionally was supposed to have been created in the sixth–seventh centuries (Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* [Copenhagen, 1959], 104–5; Suzanne Spain, “The Translation of Relics Ivory, Trier,” *DOP* 31 [1977]: 281–304). Kenneth



Fig. 4. *The Transfer of Relics to Constantinople*, Hohe Domkirche Trier (Cathedral of Trier), late ninth–early tenth centuries, ivory relief (photo: Treasury of the Trier Cathedral)

probably in the ninth century. The Trier ivory and the Chludov miniature share a number of common features, the most striking being the basilical edifice in the lower right-hand corner of the ivory and the tower adjacent to it.

The suggestion that the architecture of the church of Zion drew on contemporary ecclesiastical models can be further substantiated by the depiction of the Holy City in the later Psalters, in which the artist altered the city/temple complex of the earlier Chludov to create a more dematerialized, schematic basilica. The vista opening onto the upper floor of the structure in both images may be seen as a lateral view into the basilica, showing what appears to be an upper gallery with an outer balustrade. The edifice bears a striking resemblance to contemporary ecclesiastical architecture, still visible today in the upper

gallery above the south tympanum in the Hagia Sophia. Incidentally or not, the columns at gallery level in the Barberini are not aligned with those on the ground floor; this architectural configuration also appears in the nave of the Hagia Sophia (fig. 5).⁴⁰

The similarity between the floral and geometrical motifs decorating the church in the Barberini and those adorning the surviving vault mosaic in the upper gallery of the Hagia Sophia, the mosaic motifs decorating the intercolumniation vaults in the semicircular gallery of the southwestern corner of this church (fig. 6),⁴¹ and the mosaic decoration in the vaults of the *sekretion* (the room over the southwestern vestibule from the north) of the Hagia Sophia lend further credence to our assumption that the Byzantine artist sought inspiration from his immediate sacred architecture (fig. 7).⁴²

This type of border ornamentation had become a frequent motif in the decoration of contemporary churches as far apart as Greece and Cappadocia, for example, in later buildings, such as the *katholikon* and crypt in the eleventh-century Hosios Lukas⁴³ or the contemporary church of Caranlik Kilise (Göreme 23; Cappadocia), where numerous scenes show stylized curling fronds of acanthus bordering Christological scenes, such as those in the Deesis panel in the western arm of the cupola (fig. 8).⁴⁴

Comparative architecture can be taken only so far. I am not implying that the architectural complex of the city of Zion/church in the illustrations was constructed

G. Holum and Garry Vikan (“The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen” *DOP* 33 [1979]: 115–33), followed by John Wortley (“The Trier Ivory Reconsidered,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 21 [1980]: 381–94), and Leslie Brubaker (“The Chalke Gate, the Construction of the Past, and the Trier Ivory,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 [1999]: 258–85, esp. 270–81, with collected bibliography) show quite convincingly that the work of art is to be attributed later to the late ninth–early tenth centuries.

40 Eugene W. Kleinbauer, Antony White, and Henry Matthews, *Hagia Sophia* (London and Istanbul, 2004), 24; figs. 24–25.

41 *Ibid.*, 26; figs. 58–59.

42 Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park and London, 1976), 307, figs. 31–75. The record of the iconoclastic act can be found in the *Chronographia* (443) of Theophanes the Confessor: “In the same year [AD 766/7] the false patriarch Niketas scraped off the images in the small *secretum* of the Patriarchate, which were of mosaic, and those in the vault of the big

secretum, which were in paint, he removed and plastered the faces of other images [...] Nik. adds that Niketas carried out structural repairs to Hagia Sophia in indiction 7 (768/9), in the course of which he scraped off images of Christ and the saints. The big and small *secretum* correspond to the rooms at the south-west corner of the church at gallery level, where evidence of iconoclastic activity can still be seen”; see *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. and eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997), 611, 612 n. 14.

43 Nano Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens, 1997). See the border decoration in the *katholikon* there, in the conch of the apse’s mosaic, showing the enthroned Virgin and Christ Child; and see the stylized curling fronds of acanthus surrounding the frescoes of the figures of saints framed by medallions in the crypt’s groin vaults Γ and Η; *ibid.*, 24, pl. 10; 73, pl. 73; 85, pl. 85, respectively.

44 Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *La Cappadoce médiévale: Images et spiritualité* (Paris, 2001), 228–29, fig. 69.



Fig. 5. Hagia Sophia, view from the narthex into the southern part of the nave (photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC)



Fig. 7. Hagia Sophia, vault mosaic in the *sekreton* (room over the southwestern vestibule, from the north), ca. 565–77 (photo: Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC)



Fig. 6. Hagia Sophia, intercolumniation vaults, semicircular gallery, southwest corner)



Fig. 8. *Deesis*, Church of Caranlik Kilise (Göreme 23, Cappadocia), western arm of the cupola, 11th century, wall painting (photo: Courtesy of Catherine Jolivet-Lévy)

to replicate the Trier ivory or, for that matter, the actual architecture and mosaic decoration of the Hagia Sophia or other ecclesiastical buildings. However, for the Byzantine viewer of the Psalter, the symbolic content was enhanced by the strength of this association, and the repetition of various elements provides a formal anchor on which to hang our interpretation that associates ideal Jerusalem with the Byzantine capital, the metropolitan center for all Christians. The patriarch Photios writes the following with regard to the Russian attack against the capital in 860 AD:

Come unto me, O most compassionate of prophets, bewail Jerusalem with me—not the ancient one, the metropolis of one nation, which grew up from a root with twelve offshoots, but *the metropolis* of the entire universe, as much of it as is adorned by the Christian creed, which lords it in antiquity, in beauty, size, splendor, in the multitude and magnificence of its inhabitants.⁴⁵

The identification of Constantinople with heavenly Jerusalem, replete with eschatological undercurrents, appears in Byzantine culture as early as the fourth century, and Eusebius elucidates this in his account of Constantine's life:

New Jerusalem was built at the very Testimony to the Saviour, facing the famous Jerusalem of old, which after the bloody murder of the Lord had been overthrown in utter devastation, and paid the penalty of its wicked inhabitants. Opposite this the

Emperor erected the victory of the Saviour over death with rich and abundant munificence, this being perhaps that fresh new Jerusalem proclaimed in prophetic oracles, about which long speeches recite innumerable praises as they utter words of divine inspiration.⁴⁶

The hagiographical *Vita* of St. Daniel the Stylite (409–93) also evinces this association: “[...] go to Byzantium and you will see the New Jerusalem, Constantinople [...].”⁴⁷

This kind of eschatological hope is frequently expressed elsewhere in hagiographical literature. The apocalyptic vision of heavenly Jerusalem in the *Vita* of Basil the Younger (d. 944, less probably 952), where the holy city is called Ἡ Νέα Ἱερουσαλὴμ (“The New Jerusalem”),⁴⁸ draws on Apoc. 21:10ff. The eschatological dimension is summarized as follows:

I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; and I heard a great voice from the throne saying, Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them.

Here the author is describing the chosen people as humanity redeemed. The saint describes the city typologically: it is built of gold and silver, and its twelve gates are made of the twelve precious stones,⁴⁹ symbolizing the twelve apostles. He goes on to emphasize the direction toward which the faith searches for the sacred one (Christ), which is often

45 Cyril Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), 90. For a discussion of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem, see also Anthony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2004), in particular ch. 6, 97–116. The author discusses the thirteenth-century Church of Hagia Sofia in Trebizond as an expression of imperial aspirations and the possible role of Trebizond as the new Constantinople and “new” New Jerusalem.

46 Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, 3.33.1–2; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), 135.

47 *Life of St. Daniel the Stylite*, 10; see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 14 (Brussels and Paris, 1923), 12; cf.

English trans. by Maria Cristina Carile, “Constantinople and the Heavenly Jerusalem?: Through the Imperial Palace,” in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 2006, 2: Abstracts of Panel Papers*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, with the assistance of Judith Gilliland (London, 2006), 239–40.

48 Christina G. Angelidi, “Ho vios tou Hosiou Vasileiou tou Neou” (The Life of Saint Basil the Younger), (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ioannina, 1980), 196.

49 Isa. 54:11–12: “Afflicted and outcast thou hast not been comforted: behold, I [will] prepare carbuncle [for] thy stones, and sapphire for thy foundations; and I will make thy buttresses jasper, and thy gates crystal, and thy border precious stones.”



Fig. 9. *The Personification of Zion*, Barberini Psalter, Constantinople, ca. 1092. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372, fol. 225r (photo: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

found in the visions of the life of Basil and is part of the conception of the world's form.⁵⁰

The notion of Constantinople as replacing the old Zion-Jerusalem is eloquently evoked in the guise of a female figure seated on a bejeweled, pearl-studded, backless throne; she wears the imperial *thorakion* and red shoes, a gold turreted and bejeweled crown with gold and bejeweled *pendoulia*, a characteristic peculiar to imperial crowns,⁵¹ as

50 Angelidi, "Ho vios," 197.

51 *Glory of Byzantium*, 644. And see, e.g., the *pendoulia* hanging from Theodora's crown in the well-known sixth-century mosaic in the apse of the imperial San Vitale church in Ravenna.

52 Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 138.

53 Cf. Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1985), Appendix, Ex. 35, 255.

54 A similar depiction of the *aedicula*, without a female figure, illuminating

can be seen in the Barberini, fol. 225r (fig. 9),⁵² where it illustrates Psalm 133 (134):3: "May the Lord, who made heaven and earth, bless thee out of Sion." The legend next to the figure reads: "ἡ βασιλία τ(ῶν) χριστιανῶ(ν)" (The Christian Empire), clearly alluding to the figure as embodying Byzantium. Needless to say, the inscription echoes the Byzantines' self-perception as superseding the people of Israel, and their capital – that of the old Law – metamorphosing into heavenly Jerusalem. This is expressed in numerous instances, for example, in a speech by John Mauropous at the Feast of St. George in 1047:

Lift up your eyes round about [Isa. 49:18], O most orthodox of kings: you are the ultimate cause of all these miracles, and lo, almost all your subjects gather themselves together and come to you. Give ear, shepherd of chosen Israel, you lead this ample people like a flock [Ps. 80:1]. Perceive this multitude whose array is so remarkable, whose obedience so voluntary, whose piety is superhuman and whose love is innate. They all rushed here spontaneously to this holy Zion, to this faithful metropolis, to your new Jerusalem, whose creators and builders were God and you [...]. He founded her [Ps. 24:2] like the earth upon the floods, a miracle for beholders, a miracle for listeners, a city that is raised above the ground, almost in mid-air, and barely held down by the sea and even less by the land.⁵³

The Theodore, fol. 130r, depicts a female figure as well. She is clad in imperial garb and wears an ornate crenellated, pearl-studded crown with *pendoulia*; she stands in the orans stance⁵⁴ in front of an extremely condensed edifice (fig. 10)⁵⁵ reminiscent of the building on fol. 65r of the

Matt. 20:17, appears in the Etschmiadzin Gospel Book, Monastery of Etschmiadzin, Lib. 229, 989, fol. 48v; see Der Nersessian, "Etschmiadzin Gospel": 333, fig. 4.

55 The face of the personification and some of the lines of her garment have been restored; see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 47, pl. 77, fig. 210. Lowden suggests that the subject of the miniature is Zion and the angels rejoicing in the Lord. Actually, above the female figure can still be seen part of a wing tip; it is possible that a clipeate image of Christ and a pair of angels was cut out of this folio; see *Theodore Psalter*.



Fig. 10. *The Personification of Zion*, Theodore Psalter, Constantinople, 1066, London, BL, MS Add.19 352, fol. 130r (photo: London, British Museum)



Fig. 11. *The Mystic Marriage of Christ and the Church*, Stuttgart Psalter, Saint-Germain-des-Près, 9th century, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. fol. 23, fol. 57v (photo: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart)

same manuscript (fig. 2). The miniature illustrates Psalm 96 (97):8: “Sion heard and rejoiced; and the daughters of Judea exulted, because of thy judgments, O Lord.”

A female figure personifying Zion is most probably related not only to the fact that in Greek, as in Hebrew, it is female gendered τῶο σιών (Zion), but also to the usage Byzantine art makes of females to embody abstract ideas.⁵⁶ The personification of Jerusalem on the sixth-century ivory plaque used as a book cover from the Etschmiadzin Monastery is rendered as a female figure.⁵⁷

The regal apparel of the female personification is most probably beholden to earlier Carolingian iconography, as can be seen, for example, in the Stuttgart Psalter, which is considered to reflect a stage of illustration preceding that of the ninth-century Byzantine Psalters.⁵⁸ The illustration to Psalm 45:9 and 12 (“Upon thy right hand did stand the queen in gold of Ophir [...]. And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift”) shows the angel Gabriel in the center followed by a king and queen; on the left is the personification of Tyre whose right hand holds a bowl with gifts and the left a cornucopia (fig. 11).⁵⁹ The Latin exegesis of these verses contends that they are to be understood as a symbol of the mystic marriage between

Christ and the Church, both personified by imperial figures.⁶⁰

Yet, these female figures and those discussed earlier, all wearing crowns decorated with crenellated elements protruding from walls, point conclusively to their obvious identification with Tyche, as can be seen in the fifth-century bronze statuette from Roman Gaul, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the goddess’ muraled crown represents the main gate and walls of a fortified city (fig. 12).⁶¹ Tyche, the deification of Luck or Fortune, was most closely connected to the welfare of the city from Classical Greece through the Roman period. In her role as protectress of the city and guide of its destiny, she had become the natural candidate to personify it; usually clad in abundant draperies and wearing a muraled crown, each city saw to it to have its own Tyche.⁶² When installing his new capital in Constantinople, Constantine commissioned the sculpture of Tyche Constantinopolis – sometimes helmeted like Roma, enthroned or standing, wearing a turreted crown on her head, and holding a cornucopia and branch in her arms.⁶³ Tyche’s statue, placed beside a cross and flanked by the figures of Constantine and Helena set on top of the Milion,⁶⁴ remained in Constantinople until

56 See, e.g., Magnanimity and Prudence flanking the figure of Princess Julia Anicia in the well-known sixth-century *De materia medica* by Dioscorides (Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, med. gr. 1, c. 500, fol. 6v); *Der Wiener Dioskurides: Codex medicus Graecus 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, facsimile edition, ed. Otto Mazal, 2 vols. (Graz, 1998–99).

57 Joseph Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmalerie, 1: Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar* (Vienna, 1891), pl. I(1). It is not surprising that this iconography is also found in Western art. A case in point is the female figure tentatively identified as the personification of Jerusalem on the tenth-century ivory pyxis appearing in the scene of The Crucifixion, now in the treasury of the cathedral in Cologne; see Albert Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1914; repr. 1979), 1:58 (no. 116); pl. LI (116a–d). See also the discussion of this diptych in Marie-Christine Sepière, *L’image d’un Dieu souffrant (IXe–Xe siècles): Aux origines du crucifix* (Paris, 1994), 137; 138 fig. 30 (a–b). The Synagoga is also identified with a female figure; contrary to the nearly ascetic and very pious figure of Zion, that of the Synagoga is highly gendered and hideously depicted in the medieval West; see Sarah Lipton, “The Temple is My Body: Gender, Carnality, and Synagoga in the *Bible Moralisée*,” in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), 129–54.

58 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 8–26, esp. 8–10.

59 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. Fol. 23, fol. 57v; see Bernhard Bischoff et al., *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter. Bibl. Fol. 23 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, facsimile edition, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1965–68), 1:191. A fairly close depiction of the personification of Zion in the same manuscript can be seen on folio 58r, illustrating still Ps. 44: 15–16; *ibid.*, 1:91.

60 Pseudo-Jerome (*PL* 36, 15).

61 Fletcher Fund, 1947, 47.100.40; see *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* [exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art], ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York, 1979), 175–76 (no. 154). The iconography of a richly jeweled, not necessarily imperial, female figure is fairly consistent with Byzantine art from the early fifth to the ninth centuries and appears in various artistic media; see James, “Good Luck and Good Fortune,” 293–307, esp. 295–97.

62 Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London, 1994), 124–25.

63 Andreas Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, trans. Harold Mattingly (Oxford, 1948), 3; *idem*, “On the Foundation of Constantinople: A Few Notes,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 16.

64 *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2: 346–47. The Milion marked the beginning of the main avenue (*mese*) of Constantinople and served as the milestone from which all distances in the empire were measured.

the ninth century, when Caesar Bardas (864–66) destroyed it together with several ancient monuments because of their occult connotation.⁶⁵ Thus, from early Byzantium until the seventh century, Tyche was introduced forcefully into the sphere of imperial victory.⁶⁶

The association of Zion with the pagan goddess is further reinforced by her stance, seemingly both praying for the city/holy church, and blessing it, recalling Tyche blessing the city in her role as its protectress. The pagan personification clad in imperial dress alludes to the association between the Empire and its good fortune, wealth, and well-being; this is part of an imperial ideology as old as the fourth century, beginning with the rule of Constantine.⁶⁷

From the ninth century on, the polemical images in the illuminated manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries lost much of their polemical zeal, simply because the iconoclastic threat no longer existed. This is expressed primarily by changes in style; whereas the ninth-century manuscripts, such as the Chludov, present and detail architecture by combining the exterior of a basilica and a walled city, and as realistic a rendering of the female figure as possible, the eleventh-century Psalters schematize and stylize them, thereby removing the polemical “sting” of the image.

Thus, having drawn on both visual and written sources – biblical, exegetical, hagiographical, and homiletical – the image of the personification of Zion may have been conceived as a post-iconoclastic, ad hoc invention, resulting in the creation of an intricate image with powerful Christian symbolism that was intended to respond to the polemic between the triumphant iconodules after 843 and the remnants of the iconoclasts in Constantinople some forty years after their defeat. The rhetorical image, along with other compelling images in these Psalters, were used to propagate notions such as the mystery of the

Incarnation and the Death of Christ that were dear to the defenders of the icons in the aftermath of Orthodoxy’s victory. The Christological ideas are embodied not only in the representation of sacred sites that serve as a commentary to the Psalms and associate the city/church with the *locus sanctus* in the Holy Land, but – following a certain Byzantine perception according to which heavenly Jerusalem is tantamount to Constantinople – are also evident in the transfer of Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical scenery to biblical contexts.

Therefore, the image created here, in the typological House of God, where the female personification summons the believers to enter, is clearly meant to convey eschatological hopes to its beholders. These are personified by the figure of King David, who is not mentioned in the specific psalm but bears testimony to the heavenly city. Cast in the role of the prophet who has witnessed the events of the New Testaments to which he is associated – as Kathleen Corrigan has conjectured – the biblical king becomes an advocate for the proper (Christian) interpretation of the psalms.⁶⁸ David, among others, as Suzy Dufrenne observes, is transformed into an arbitrator between the iconophiles and the iconodules, thereby making iconoclastic battle a temporal one.⁶⁹

The miniatures discussed above present an image of the universal Church – *Mater omnium ecclesiarum* (Mother of All Churches).⁷⁰ In the period following the demise of the iconoclasts, sacred images – even miniatures – were perceived as objects of veneration, similar to icons, in whose presence one could pray and meditate. By introducing the viewer into the church’s interior, and more specifically into its apse – symbol of the daily liturgy and arena for enacting the sacrifice of Christ – the artist further emphasizes the liturgical and sacrificial role of the church. It is important to note in this regard that Ps. 50 (51) is an Orthros antiphon on the Pentecost.⁷¹ Taft has

65 Codinus, *De officialibus palatii Constantinopolitani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae liber*, ed. Emmanuel Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 35 (Bonn, 1839), 47.

66 Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), 116–21.

67 On the use of imperial images in relation to Tyche to propagate notions such as caring for the fortune, wealth, and well-being of the empire, see

James, “Good Luck and Good Fortune,” 301–3.

68 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 62–77.

69 Dufrenne, “Une illustration ‘historique’”: 90.

70 The Latin term is borrowed from Grabar’s article, “Quelques notes”: 64.

71 Juan Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165–166, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962–1963), 2:178–79.



Fig. 12. *Personification of a City*, Early Byzantine, 5th century, bronze, 25.5 × 14.4 × 10.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.100.40), Byzantine (photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

suggested that Psalm 50:20–21 (51:18–19) were read at the incensation of gifts on the altar during the Great Entrance precisely because of their liturgical content: “Then shalt thou be pleased with a sacrifice of righteousness, offering, and whole-burnt-sacrifices: then shall they offer calves upon thine altar” (verse 21 [19]).⁷²

Jerusalem serves as a transcendent of both the theological and imperial realities; it is a symbol of the transcendent act of God creating the chosen people, *Verus Israel* – not the Hebrews, but the iconophiles

who adhere by the true faith. They are to be brought into the Church of all who dwell in the city of God, “New Jerusalem,” the imperial city, inter alia of Constantinople, where protection, prosperity, and good luck reside among the faithful who perform their sacrificial duty to God. It is not perchance that the decorative ornamentation of the architecture relates to the Hagia Sophia, the very church considered by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (905–59) to be “the universal church of the Christians.”⁷³

72 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 223–25, 249. In refutation of a possible liturgical meaning in the images illustrating this verse in the Chludov (fig. 1) and the Theodore (fig. 2), see Anthony Cutler, “Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters,” *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81), 24 n. 47; repr. idem, *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, Collected Studies 358 (Aldershot,

1992), study VI.

73 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 13.113–14, ed. Gyula Moravcsik; English trans. by Romilly J. H. Jenkins, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 1 (Washington, DC, 1967; repr. 1993), 70–71.