The Illuminated Psalter

Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images

BREPOLS

III · ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMMES

Violence and the Virtuous Ruler in the Utrecht Psalter

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As often remarked by scholars of early psalter illustration, the iconographic resemblances among the oldest surviving, fully illustrated psalters, which date to the ninth century, suggest that their artists (or designers) sometimes drew inspiration from similar, previously developed pictorial traditions for literal word illustration of the psalms: scenes and motifs expressive of literal interpretations of individual words and phrases in the texts. According to certain modern scholars, some of those traditions as well as the very practice of literal word illustration are traceable back to late antiquity. Of the extant ninth-century manuscripts, the famous Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 1-92), the product of a Rheims scriptorium usually dated to the archiepiscopacy of Ebo of Rheims (816 or 817-835, 840-841), contains the most extensive cycle of such images, and it has been argued that the majority of its drawings, showing lively figures in varied settings, closely adhere to established modes of literal word illustration known to its Carolingian artists from older works no longer extant. A few scholars have held to the theory that this book was almost entirely copied from one, now lost Latin psalter of the fourth or fifth century.[1]

The hypothesis that the Utrecht Psalter is largely a copy of a single late Roman model has been called seriously into question, however, particularly through Koert van der Horst's careful examinations of the codex.[2] Connections are indeed evident with the illustrations in other early psalters, supporting the idea of shared iconographic traditions, and the Utrecht artists made a pronounced effort to evoke the style and imagery of a late antique manuscript — to make a book that *looks* antique. Yet the individual pictorial details there that have so far been identified as Carolingian in origin, such as some of the armor and weaponry,[3] and, more important, some entire compositions that must be of Carolingian design — for instance because they accompany texts added to Latin psalters during this era — but that in style and motifs blend well with the rest of the book's decoration, attest the willingness and ability of its artists or designers to innovate.[4] In this light the more probable scenario is that the artists or designers of Utrecht, like those responsible for certain other ninth-century Carolingian luxury manuscripts whose sources have been investigated, followed methods essentially paralleling the procedures of later Carolingian biblical exegetes.[5] Historians of Carolingian exegetical literature now recognize that the manner in which authors of such tractates frequently edited, paraphrased, and arranged

1 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 1-92. The most vigorous defense of the last-cited opinion was offered by S. DUFRENNE, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht. Sources et apport carolingien*, Paris 1978, esp. p. 151-154, 191-192, 219; reviewed by H. L. KESSLER — *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981) p. 142-145. J. E. GAEHDE — *Kunstchronik* 35 (1982) p. 396-405. The differing ideas about the codex's sources are summarized in K. VAN DER HORST, »The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David« — VAN DER HORST et al., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 23-84, at p. 73-76, with references to earlier literature; cf. p. 55. K. CORRIGAN, »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration in Byzantium and the West« — VAN DER HORST et al., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 85-103, at 97-99. All these scholars accept the manuscript's usual assignment to Ebo's tenure at Rheims. For arguments that it was possibly instead made under Hincmar during his first years at Rheims after his consecration in 845, see my article, »Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter« — *Speculum* 72 (1997) p. 1055-1077.

2 VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), esp. p. 43-44, 76-78. *Utrecht-Psalter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift 32, Utrecht-Psalter, aus dem Besitz der Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi 75, 2 vols., Vol.2: Kommentar by K. VAN DER HORST & J. A. ENGELBREGT, Graz 1984, p. 40-48.

3 S. COUPLAND, »Carolingian Arms and Armor in the Ninth Century« — *Viator* 21 (1990) p. 29-50. Focussing on bows: H. RIESCH, »*Quod nullus in hostem habeat baculum sed arcum*: Pfeil und Bogen als Beispiel für technologische Innovationen der Karolingerzeit« — *Technikgeschichte* 61 (1994) p. 209-226. VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 75.

4 VAN DER HORST, *loc. cit.*, p. 39-40, 43-44.

5 VAN DER HORST, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

excerpts from an array of patristic works of literature, integrating them with their personal comments, offers insight not only into the contents of their libraries but also into their own intellectual predilections.[6] In fact, the Carolingians' thought about scripture's meaning is so grounded in the authorities they read, excerpted, and adapted, in their variant interpretations of and developments on those texts, as well as in the Bible itself and the liturgy, as sometimes to make it difficult to draw significant distinctions between what is »borrowed« and »original« in their writings. Similarly, it is probable that the Utrecht Psalter artists produced their drawings through the selection, arrangement, adjustment, and development of pictorial elements inspired by several, even perhaps multiple, sources and, in a more indirect fashion, by established pictorial traditions with which they were otherwise familiar. In all likelihood their tasks of compilation and independent design were influenced not merely by the availability of individual models, but by their own understanding of the texts' literal and, occasionally, mystical or typological sense, an understanding that itself no doubt owed much to contemporary and earlier exegesis, the liturgy, already existing works of art, and other factors unknown to us.

As van der Horst has noted, the scarce survival of older decorated manuscripts will probably always make it impossible to gain greater certainty about the role that models played in the Utrecht Psalter cycle of illustration.[7] The scholarly consensus which now seems to be emerging, though, that its artists likely judiciously appropriated from and creatively handled a variety of older materials provides a firm basis for turning from the issue of sources and models, which has dominated much of the scholarship on the manuscript, to others that so far have received too little attention. Among these, one of the most fascinating, it seems to me, is the significance of its rich imagery as a prism of thought within the Carolingian world. How may the choice of what to illustrate in the psalter and the mode of that illustration (whatever the drawings' connections with earlier works of art) allow insight into the thinking of its ninth-century artists about the psalms and conceivably other subjects, as well? What ideas might their pictures have conveyed to the contemporary educated viewers for whom the book was clearly intended? While other studies have at times addressed similar questions,[8] they have not been anywhere near the center of discussion, and much work remains to be done regarding them. My aim here is to consider from this perspective one facet of the Utrecht Psalter illustrations — the striking extent of militaristic detail, the tendency to interpret the enemies of God, the virtuous, and especially David as weapon-bearing soldiers and warrior-leaders — and, in particular, five pictures that I think may help elucidate this imagery's significance: the drawings for Psalms 151, 1, 51, 50, and 115, in that order (figs. 320, 311, 316, 315, 319).

Several scholars have observed that the psalm illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter, when compared with other early western and Byzantine psalters, contain an exceptional number of representations of warriors and instruments of warfare.[9] Most of the pictures include scenes of footsoldiers in military garb holding spears, shields, swords, or bows and arrows, cavalry who crush adversaries underfoot or assault walled enclosures, princes who impale their enemies, angels who send down weapons against well-armed earthly opponents, or other imagery of bloodshed and destruction (figs. 312-314, 317, 318).[10] The throngs of soldiers, weapon-bearing kings, and angelic warriors do not directly conflict with the tendency towards literal illustration generally true in the drawings, insofar as such scenes agree with the psalms' own descriptions of the struggle between good and evil, of David's battles against his enemies and his hope for God's assistance to victory. Moreover, in

6 An excellent example of such scholarship is J. J. CONTRENI, »Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezechiel« — *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: De Murethach à Remi, 830-908, Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989*, edited by D. IOGNA-PRAT et al., Paris 1991, p. 229-242. More recently: C. CAZELLE & B. VAN NAME EDWARDS, eds., *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Turnhout 2003

7 VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 76-77, 80-81. VAN DER HORST & ENGELBREGT, *Utrecht-Psalter, Kommentarband* (see n. 2 above), p. 40-48.

8 M. J. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990, p. 226-227. C. GIBSON-WOOD, »The Utrecht Psalter and the Art of Memory« — *Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 14 (1987) p. 9-15, focussing on the manuscript's possible function. VAN DER HORST & ENGELBREGT, *Utrecht-Psalter, Kommentarband* (see n. 2 above), p. 21-22. On one Utrecht illustration as a possible reflection of contemporary political ideas, see my »Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims« (see n.1 above). See also VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 81-83; CORRIGAN, »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration« p. 85-86, 93, 100-103.

9 Most recently CORRIGAN, »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration« (see n. 1 above), p. 86, 101. Cf. RIESCH, »»*Quod nullus in hostem habeat baculum sed arcum*«« (see n. 3 above), p. 216-217.

10 Utrecht illustrations not reproduced here but found in VAN DER HORST, et al., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, are indicated in the following notes. For all others, see the facsimile edition, *Utrecht Psalter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe* (see n. 2 above), or E. T. DEWALD, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton 1932.

comparison with other early psalters, Utrecht is as a whole marked by a greater number of depictions of large crowds participating in all sorts of activities, not just battles. But even taking these factors into account, the pervasive tendency in the manuscript to depict the wicked of the psalm verses as soldiers and to interpret the conflicts described in the texts as martial in character is remarkable. Correspondingly, the opposition between evil and good that is a basic theme of the psalms is typically presented as the antithesis between violent combat or militaristic oppression, on the one hand, and virtue, especially David's, linked with war under heavenly guidance (sometimes led by angels) or with peaceful devotion to God, the passive avoidance of bloodshed, the protection of the poor and weak against the bellicosity of the strong.[11]

Of the five Utrecht Psalter drawings on which I focus, three exploit the psalm verses' literal meaning, though occasionally diverging with this, in order to juxtapose the sinful ruler whose authority is suggested to depend on armed force and the virtuous man devoted to God. While on one level the depictions recall the role of Saul and his army in David's troubles, and while in some respects they resemble illustrations for the same psalms in other early psalters, the Utrecht drawings militarize the opposition between the good and the wicked more than do those other images, and indeed make this a central feature of each picture. Perhaps the most visually complex of the three drawings is the one to the apocryphal Psalm 151 (f. 91v; fig. 320). The psalm recounts episodes from David's youth. Of these, the only one that Utrecht and the other ninth-century psalters illustrating the text agree in depicting is Goliath's slaying (verse 8). The Corbie Psalter presents solely this scene (Amiens, BM, ms 18, f. 123v);[12] the Stuttgart Psalter contains two illustrations, the first of David (portrayed twice) as he tends his flock and points to an organ and psalter (verse 2), the second the triumph over the Philistine (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 164v, 165r; figs. 321, 322).[13] In the Khludov Psalter, the victory against Goliath (Moscow, State Historical Museum, ms 129, f. 148r) is preceded by images of David playing the harp and killing the lion and bear (f. 147v), the last two incidents told in 1 Kings 17:34-36 but not described in the psalm.

In part the Utrecht images of David before an organ, being anointed by an angel as he tends his sheep (verses 4-5),[14] and defeating Goliath reflect a literal interpretation of Psalm 151, though different from that in the Stuttgart Psalter; but the illustration diverges with the psalm in also representing Saul, who is unmentioned in the verses. The monarch is portrayed in a manner that, as will be seen, recurs with several of the psalter's depictions of evil princes: enthroned, a sword on his lap, flanked by armed soldier-attendants. The illustration in its entirety — a single band of imagery with Saul to the far left, the three depictions of David in a row to the right — is deceptively simple in appearance. On the one hand the linear, horizontal composition possibly served to underscore the psalm's biographical and hence narrative character, as distinct from the generally non-narrative prayers to and praise of God and often more elusive verbal imagery of Psalms 1-150. The viewer of the Psalm 151 drawing is encouraged to read the motifs from left to right as befits the chronological order of events in the verses, which describe first David's making of the *organum*, then his anointment by an angel, then his killing of Goliath. Placed to the immediate left of David with the organ, the image of Saul has the partial effect of recalling the psalmist's selection to play his instrument before the ruler as described in 1 Kings 16:17-18; the passage in 1 Kings notes that Saul's servants (*servi*, according to the Vulgate, rather than specifically soldiers) sought a musician to soothe the monarch's troubled spirit. In keeping, one soldier-attendant in the picture points David out to Saul, and in line with 1 Kings 16:23, the youth, seated at his organ, performs for his king. Yet by depicting Saul at the start of what is otherwise a narrative sequence of imagery, the artist has broken with the actual progression of events; for David's performance before his king (on a cithara rather than an organ, according to 1 Kings), which is not in fact noted in the psalm itself, occurred according to 1 Kings 16 after he was anointed by Samuel (not an angel).

11 The extent and variety of this imagery are shown most clearly by DUFRENNE's groupings of iconographic themes in the Utrecht illustrations: *Les Illustrations* (see n. 1 above), esp. plates 40, 46-66, 93-94.

12 W. BRAUNFELS, *Die Welt der Karolinger und ihre Kunst*, Munich 1968, fig. 68.

13 *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter. Bibl. fol. 23. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, 2 volumes, edited by B. BISCHOFF, J. ESCHWEILER, B. FISCHER, H. J. FREDE, F. MÜTHERICH, Stuttgart 1965-1968. E. T. DEWALD, *The Stuttgart Psalter: Biblia folio 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart*, Princeton 1930. The images correspond (as interpreted by the artist) to Ps 151:2 (*Pascebam oues patris mei; manus meae fecerunt organum, et digiti mei aptauerunt psalterium*), and verse 8 (*... abeo ipsius gladio amputaui caput eius*).

14 *Ipse misit angelum suum, et tulit me de ouibus patris mei./ Et uncxit me in misericordia unctionis suae....*

This combination of pictorial elements may partly constitute an effort to reconcile the dissimilar series of events in 1 Kings 16-17 (from David's unction to Goliath's slaying) and Psalm 151; but the Utrecht composition as it intersects with the psalm's narrative and 1 Kings also suggests a deeper message that I think would have been noticed by the educated Carolingian viewer, especially after perusal of the preceding drawings with their own juxtaposed images of good and evil action. The placement of Saul next to David and his organ, together with other formal elements in the illustration, both link the one portrayal of Saul with the three portrayals of David, affirming the connection between the two men, and at the same time differentiate them from one another so as to indicate the latter's superiority. Read from left to right, the images of David imply the transformation in his personality, from subordination to and dependence on Saul as the ruler's personal musician, to the psalmist's demonstration, by defeating Goliath, of his legitimacy as the king's successor and, Carolingian viewers would have realized, his consequent, adversarial »distance« from Saul. The critical factor in this change, the artist has suggested by remaining faithful to the progression of episodes narrated in the psalm (but selecting which events to depict and the method of illustration), is David's anointment, the heaven-sent revelation of his divine election also recalled in other Utrecht pictures (see fig. 317).[15]

On the viewer's left, the gabled portico over Saul, his head above David's before the organ, testifies to their difference in status as ruler condemned by his arrogance versus humble subject, adult versus child. David's connection with the king, at this stage in his life, is indicated not only by their proximity but by the soldier who points towards the psalmist, recommending his musical gifts to the king, by the gaze of Saul and David at one another, by the rectangle of the portico framing Saul mirrored in the square rise of the organ framing David, and by the reiteration of the upright spears of Saul's soldiers in the pipes of the psalmist's instrument. On the far right of the page, David again gazes towards Saul, again suggesting the link between them; moreover here, like the king, he holds a sword and his own head is level with Saul's. Each of the three images of David sets him a bit higher than the one before, until, though still a boy, he stands on Goliath's body and from there looks straight into Saul's eyes. The disparity and tension between the two »kings« on the drawing's left and right, however, are evident in that David, having been anointed by the angel, has no need for the armed guards who flank Saul. The only spear and shield in the scene of Goliath's slaying lie »defeated« on the ground beside the Philistine, whose death was God's will. Nor does David require weapons of his own, since his sword belonged to Goliath. The gesturing soldier perhaps not only points to the boy playing the organ but warns Saul about David's destiny — implied through all three scenes of the youth together — as the divinely sanctioned ruler. The distance of David slaying Goliath from the older king is both the culmination to the psalmist's evolution away from his role as Saul's servant, which the monarch watches from his throne — he is himself, in a sense, a witness of the narrative set forth in Psalm 151 that is depicted beside him — and symbolic of the enmity that emerges between them after the Philistine's defeat.

The layers of signification discernible in the Utrecht illustration to Psalm 151, through the juxtaposition of Saul with his sword and soldiers to the innocent psalmist who vanquishes in God's name, mean that the manuscript closes on a similar, though not identical, note to that on which it opens with the drawing for Psalm 1 (f. 1v; fig. 311). Perhaps this was a consideration in the decision to set Psalm 151 at the book's end, after the *Fides catholica* rather than after Psalm 150. Although the order of canticles in Utrecht follows that in the Dagulf Psalter,[16] the latter codex does not include Psalm 151. Aside from Utrecht, the Carolingian psalters known to me that contain the apocryphal psalm place it directly after Psalm 150 and before the canticles.[17] One reason for the different organization in Utrecht may have been a concern to begin and end the illustrations with parallel themes, as would not have occurred if the final drawing was that for the *Fides catholica* (f. 90v).[18]

The Psalm 1 miniatures of the Khludov Psalter show the blessed man reading near the wicked man with his

15 See also Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 13r (Ps 22:5), 26r (Ps 44:8), 75v (Ps 132:2) — VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 46, fig. 16, p. 51, fig. 20.

16 Vienna, ÖNB, ms 1861, f. 146r-158v — VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 39-40.

17 Ps 151 comes after Ps 150 and precedes the biblical canticles in Paris, BNF, ms lat. 13159 (795-800) and the Corbie Psalter, Amiens, BM, ms 18 (early 9th cent.), both codices whose texts of the psalms are closely related to that in Utrecht: VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 38. The order of Ps 150/151/canticles also occurs in Angers, BM, ms 18 (14) (first half to mid-9th cent.); the Psalter of St -Thierry, Rheims, BM ms 4 (A. 19) (second half to end 9th cent.); and the Psalter of Charles the Bald, Paris, BNF, ms lat. 1152. Ps 151 also directly follows Ps 150 in Paris, BNF, ms lat. 11947 (6th cent.). For the contents of these psalters, see LEROQUAIS, *Psautiers*, vol. 1, p. 6-9, 20, vol. 2, p. 67-70, 110, 112-115, 165-166.

18 CHAZELLE, »Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Rheims« (see n. 1 above), fig. 1.

attendants, whose attributes, Kathleen Corrigan has demonstrated, associate them with the Jews (verses 1-2; f. 2r; fig. 323). The confrontation between righteousness and ungodliness described in the psalm is interpreted as one between Christians and the Jews who reject Christ's divinity and image, represented above the blessed man.[19] The Stuttgart Psalter also offers a Christianizing interpretation of Psalm 1, but markedly different from that in *Khludov*; the righteous man writes and looks towards heaven opposite images of Christ dressed as a soldier and on the cross, alongside the »counsel of the ungodly« (verse 1; f. 1v, 2r). The Utrecht drawing for the opening psalm bears some resemblance to the Khludov imagery and may reflect a common iconographic tradition based on literal word illustration. In Utrecht, though, as Corrigan has observed, the verses' literal sense is interpreted in terms not of the conflict between Christianity and Judaism, but of the difference between the virtuous man and the wicked lord whose power, like Saul's in the Psalm 151 drawing, is linked to armed force. Furthermore, unlike the Khludov paintings or other illustrations in Utrecht, this is a full-page composition on an inserted leaf before the opening of the first bifolio, a picture undertaken by a different artist from those responsible for the subsequent illustrations.[20]

The unusual character of the Psalm 1 illustration may stem not from a failure to plan space for it above Psalm 1, which is introduced by a beautiful gold and interlace initial *B* on folio 2 recto (fig. 312), but from a deliberate decision to provide the psalter with a frontispiece akin to the evangelist portraits that commonly preface the gospels in Carolingian gospelbooks.[21] This may have been a factor in the design of the image of the blessed man; the depiction's very close resemblance to the evangelist paintings in the Ebo Gospels, particularly that of Mathew,[22] is perhaps an indication that the Psalm 1 artist consciously evoked this parallel in order to add to the »frontispiece« quality of his picture (fig. 311). Some details of the blessed man's depiction, though, differentiate it from the typical iconography for representing the evangelists and derive instead, at least partly, from the psalm text. Thus he is shown not with writing implements but meditating on scripture (see verse 2), as he also does in the Khludov illumination (fig. 323). The angel behind him in Utrecht is reminiscent of the symbols commonly represented near gospel writers, but it serves as an inspiration or guide to reading rather than writing. Furthermore, the blessed man is only one element of a larger picture in which other motifs, too, are based on the literal significance of the text but are depicted and organized in ways that seem to accentuate the distinction the psalm presents between the virtuous and the wicked, while identifying the latter with military power. Like Saul in the illustration for Psalm 151 (fig. 320), the ungodly man (verse 1), opposite the blessed man, is a secular lord enthroned beneath a gabled portico who holds his sword noticeably displayed and is accompanied by armed attendants. The demonic figure to his left (viewer's right) serves in part to designate his throne as the »chair of pestilence« (*cathedra pestilentiae*; verse 1), and additionally to symbolize that this prince relies on a diametrically opposed source of inspiration to the blessed man's angel. The illustrations of the psalm's subsequent verses in the drawing's lower register continue to oppose the peacefulness enjoyed by the man who reads scripture to the situation of the ungodly. Beneath the blessed man is the tree bearing fruit beside the running waters, a stream flowing from the urn of a river god whose relaxed gaze seems to dwell on the tree's foliage just as that of the blessed man does on his book (verse 3). Below the wicked prince, however, a group of soldiers, spears bristling despite the inutility of these for dealing with their predicament, is battered by a personification of the wind and forced by demonic figures towards a personification of Hades, an interpretation of verses 4-6. Two men, one possibly the psalmist if David is not the blessed man, stand between him and the ungodly prince but closer to the former, engaged in conversation. Each points to the blessed or the wicked man with his warrior-retinue, representatives of the alternative paths to divine benediction and damnation set before the psalter's users, paths that, in various ways, the manuscript's subsequent illustrations continue to contrast. The very act of reading the following pages, just as the blessed man reads his book, the illustration may have suggested to its Carolingian viewers, leads along the avenue of salvation that he designates and away from a sinfulness linked with war and its perpetrators.[23]

19 Moscow, State Historical Museum, ms 129, f.2r — Corrigan, »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration« (see n. 1 above), p. 85-86. Eadem, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge 1992, p. 112-113.

20 van der Horst, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 43-44, and the chart on p. 48-49, which assigns the illustrations for Ps 2-29 to artist groups A and B, while the Ps 1 illustration is accredited to a single artist of group C.

21 van der Horst, *loc. cit.*, p. 44 notes both as possibilities.

22 Épernay, BM, ms 1, f. 18v — van der Horst, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, fig. 68.

23 My ideas here owe much to Corrigan's comments on the image: »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration« (see n. 1 above), esp. p. 101.

Evangelist portraits implicitly identify the gospel writers with the sanctity of the texts they composed, presenting them to Carolingian audiences as models of holiness. Utrecht's frontispiece »portraits« of the blessed and ungodly men, however, one with a book but the other with a sword, offer a stark choice between virtue associated with pious meditation on scripture and sin tied to violence and warfare. This theme recurs in more attenuated form in the illustration to Psalm 51 (f. 30r; fig. 316), the text marking the beginning of the psalter's second section according to the traditional tripartite division and the psalm for which the greatest number of illustrations have survived in early western and Byzantine psalters. The majority of these images, once more suggesting a shared pictorial tradition, show Doeg the Edomite before Saul; the reference is to the historical event behind the psalm recalled in the title (verse 1-2), Doeg's informing of his monarch that David was at the house of Achimelech, which led Saul to order Doeg to murder Achimelech and the other priests of Nobe (1 Kings 22:9). Often in such illustrations, David is represented near Doeg and the king. Although the manner of his depiction and the verses to which the image refers vary, one result is that these compositions clearly oppose the evil of Saul and Doeg to the innocence exemplified by the psalmist.[24]

Like the Troyes Psalter and to a lesser extent the Douce Psalter, which contain images for Psalm 51 so similar to Utrecht's as to indicate a common source or direct borrowing from one manuscript for the others, Utrecht offers a word illustration that highlights the conflict between David's virtue and the militaristic oppression worked by Saul and Doeg.[25] Dressed in tunic and mantle as are the saints above him who flank Christ in majesty (verse 11), David gestures to that group with his left hand; with his right, he points a razor and an accusatory finger at the enthroned Saul equipped with his sword, Doeg, and the rest of Saul's armed retinue. The razor signifies Doeg's deceitfulness (verse 4) but perhaps, as well, the instrument of the Edomite's destruction. David's gesture towards his adversary and the tree between the two men may allude to the psalmist's declaration that God will remove Doeg's »root out of the land of the living« (*Et radicem tuam de terra uiuentium*; verse 7). The place reserved for David, instead, »as a fruitful olive tree in the house of God« (*Ego autem sicut oliua fructifera in domo dei*; verse 10), is probably symbolized by the second tree in the illustration, near Christ and the saints.

In contrast to the pictures discussed so far, the Utrecht illustration to Psalm 50 (f. 29r; fig. 315) does not oppose David to the wicked lord or king, but it does present the reader/viewer with a comparable choice between good and evil in its portrayal of David himself as the ruler who abuses his power. The psalm expresses David's penitence for his abduction of Bathsheba and the consequent death of her husband, Uriah. This picture and that to Psalm 51 (f. 30r; fig. 316) are the only ones in Utrecht with motifs based on the title rather than main verses. In contrast to the Psalm 51 illustration, though, the Psalm 50 drawing makes no allusion to the psalm text, but illustrates only the title and the event to which it refers, recounted in 2 Kings 12:1-9, which forms the immediate background to David's penance: the prophet Nathan's rebuke of the psalmist through a parable that compares the »theft« of Bathsheba and killing of Uriah, which David arranged, to the rich man who, though owning large flocks, robs the poor man of his lamb. The parallel between David and the rich man may seem imperfect, in that the latter causes the lamb to die whereas David causes the death of the »lamb's owner,« Bathsheba's husband, but Nathan's story persuades the psalmist to repent his sin.

The drawing's upper register is a literal interpretation of the title (verses 1-2): »A psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came to him, because he had been with Bethsabee« (*Psalmus Dauid cum uenit ad eum Nathan prophetam quia intrauit ad Betsabae*). A crowned David stands in front of a building into whose entrance Bathsheba seems to retreat, as the prophet appears to lunge towards them issuing his reprimand. The image is likely based on an established tradition for illustrating the psalm by Nathan's confrontation with David. Although the scene does not occur in the Stuttgart Psalter, Nathan stands before a seated David in the Corbie Psalter (f. 45r) and before the enthroned, crowned David and a standing Bathsheba in Khludov (f. 50r; fig. 324). Moreover, a tradition may have been known to both the Utrecht and Byzantine artists of including an allusion to Uriah's death, not mentioned in the title; in the Khludov Psalter this is recalled through a lower, marginal scene on the same page as Nathan before David of Uriah being killed at the siege of Rabba (2 Kings

24 Chr. EGGENBERGER, *Psalterium Aureum Sancti Galli*, Sigmaringen 1987, p. 105-110. CORRIGAN, »Early Medieval Psalter Illustration« (see n. 1 above), p. 97, fig. 17, cf. p. 98, fig. 19, p. 99, fig. 20. EADEM, *Visual Polemics* (see n. 19 above), fig. 101.

25 Troyes, Trésor de la Cathédrale, ms 12, f. 41v — VAN DER HORST et al., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 187 (no 7), fig. 7a. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., ms Douce 59, f. 51v — *op. cit.* , p. 189 (no 8), fig. 8a.

11:16-17). In Utrecht, though, rather than depict the siege, the artist has shown Uriah's dead body on the ground below Bathsheba, David, and the prophet. The blood spurting from Uriah's mouth recalls the violence of his demise, while the location of the body virtually at David's feet affirms, more clearly than does the siege image in Khludov, his responsibility for the death, a point stressed in Nathan's speech.[26] Bathsheba's presence beside David might seem to imply her own culpability because of her participation in his sin,[27] but the imagery towards which Nathan gestures below and behind him, of the rich man overseeing the theft of the poor man's lamb, seems a reminder, instead, of her essential innocence as exemplified in the parable lamb. The theft scene, not found in other early illustrations for this psalm, occupies more than half the picture. Whereas the Stuttgart Psalter imagery relating to Psalm 50 apparently highlights David's repentance and his adultery with Bathsheba (f. 63v, 64v; figs. 325, 326), Utrecht, in agreement with Nathan's accusation in 2 Kings 12:1-9, focusses on his acts of robbery and arranged killing (fig. 315).[28] Like the rich man, David is the sole wrongdoer because he stole and caused the death of the innocent; his power as ruler was employed to orchestrate both types of violence, a sinfulness contrasting to the ethical principles embodied in Nathan. The artist has reinforced the connection between the theft of Bathsheba and her husband's death, and therefore David's double guilt, by the formal parallel between the prone bodies of the poor man's lamb and Uriah, both extended on the same plane in the picture, with the rich man who symbolizes responsibility for both crimes standing equidistant between them.

The Utrecht drawings for Psalms 51 and 151 (figs. 316, 320) oppose virtue and divine benediction to the sinful ruler whose power is connected with military force, by combining literal word illustrations of the verses with motifs recalling events from the psalms' historical backgrounds. With Psalm 51, the event is noted in the psalm title. Both pictures and the illustration to Psalm 1 (fig. 311) include militaristic details that are certainly compatible with the psalms' messages, but are not specifically derived from the psalms, their titles, or their historical backgrounds, and are not seen in the corresponding illustrations of other early psalters. David, the sinful ruler of the Psalm 50 drawing (fig. 315), does not have explicitly martial attributes or attendants. He is clearly presented as a secular lord guilty of unwarranted oppression, however, behavior whose violence is stressed in the scenes filling the picture's lower register.

The final Utrecht Psalter illustration that I consider is the picture accompanying Psalm 115 (f. 67r; fig. 319). Here typological imagery, centered on the crucifixion, offers yet another variant on the conflict between devotion to God, once more associated with David, and the militaristic oppression of the innocent; in this drawing, though, such sin is not connected with a paradigm of earthly rulership. As Florentine Mütherich observed, and other scholars have corroborated, aside from the pictures for Psalms 50 and 51, the resemblances between the Utrecht Psalter on the one hand and the Stuttgart and ninth-century Byzantine marginal psalters on the other concern their literal word illustrations. Although scenes recalling typological interpretations of the psalms appear in Stuttgart and the Byzantine psalters, Utrecht does not present such imagery where these other manuscripts do, but instead situates its fewer such images in different locations. Whatever iconographic traditions *Utrecht* shares with these other psalters, its artists evidently departed from them when representing Christian scenes and events.[29]

Five Utrecht drawings recall the crucifixion. One, to Psalm 21 (f. 12r; fig. 314), shows the cross accompanied by the instruments of the passion. The crucifixion is itself represented in the pictures for Psalms 88 (f. 51v; fig. 317), 115, the Canticle of Habbacuc (f. 85v), and the Apostles' Creed (f. 90r).[30] Whereas in the drawings for the two psalms and Habbacuc the crucifixion imagery is typological, that for the Apostles' Creed constitutes a literal illustration, since the creed directly narrates the episodes depicted. The Psalm 115 illustration differs

26 2 Kings 12.9: »Why therefore hast thou despised the word of the Lord, to do evil in my sight? Thou hast killed Urias the Hethite with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain him with the sword of the children of Ammon.«

27 DUFRENNE, *Les illustrations* (see n. 1 above), p. 61.

28 The Stuttgart miniature for Ps 50 (Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 63v) is enigmatic but seems to depict a repentant Bathsheba, David, and his mother (Ps 50:7). The next miniature (f. 64v) probably illustrates both the title of Ps 51:1-2 and the sin behind Ps 50, and thus draws a connection between the wickedness of Saul and Doeg and that of the adulterous David and Bathsheba. To the left Doeg stands before Saul, while immediately to the right a naked David clutches the breast of a naked Bathsheba.

29 CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics* (see n.19 above), p. 8-9, citing F. MÜTHERICH, »Die Stellung der Bilder in der frühmittelalterlichen Psalterillustration« — *Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, vol. 2 (see n. 13 above), p. 151-222. See also DUFRENNE, *Les illustrations* (see n. 1 above), p. 140-154.

30 VAN DER HORST, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 74, fig. 56.

from the images just indicated on three grounds deserving notice here (fig. 319). First, it is the only picture in the psalter to include overtly eucharistic details, a chalice receiving the blood from Christ's side and a paten with hosts held towards an altar; second, it is the only one in which the crucified Jesus is shown with eyes clearly closed in death, suggested by the lines instead of the dots used to depict them.[31] Third, it is the only drawing in which the crucifixion is the organizing principle of the total composition. Rather than one among several, separate New Testament events, as in the illustration to the Apostles' Creed, and rather than an individual typological motif where some other portions of the drawing are literal word illustrations (e.g. the illustration to Psalm 88), it is the central structuring form around which the other pictorial elements have been organized. The designer has created a picture that in its entirety communicates a single, coherent, typologically-based message.[32]

Like the drawings that follow the principles of literal illustration, the Psalm 115 picture includes details that directly illustrate individual words or phrases of the text, in this instance lending them a Christian interpretation. The crucified Jesus, in a colobium-like garment, hangs on a cross in a walled space that verse 19 identifies as the heavenly Jerusalem. Mary and John watch him from the right, the former representing the handmaid of verse 16. Below and to the right of the cross (viewer's left), David stands dressed in a loincloth, the rope dangling from his left wrist an evocation of the close of verse 16. The chalice he raises to Christ's side recalls verse 13 and the paten and chalice together can be linked to verse 17; the phrases »chalice of salvation« (*calicem salutaris*) and »sacrifice of praise« (*hostiam laudis*) in these verses are echoed in the Carolingian mass liturgy.[33] Beneath David, the two dead bodies and the soldier raising his sword to behead a third man signify the saints' deaths of verse 15. To the viewer's right, a group of unarmed men gaze over the wall at a band of soldiers with spears and shields. The foremost man within the enclosure touches his hand to another man's lips possibly in reference to David's declaration, in his »excess«, that »every man is a liar« (verse 11). Aside from the soldier killing the saints and a second soldier pointing his lance at David, the figures in the enclosure comprise the people of Jerusalem, the courts of the house of the lord (verse 19).

While most features of the drawing illustrate specific words and phrases of the psalm, neither it nor the prayers of the mass clarify David's dress in a loincloth or the soldier directing a spear at him. As Cynthia Hahn has astutely observed, these details reflect early Christian exegesis of the psalm as a foreshadowing of Christian martyrdom.[34] According to Augustine's *enarratio* on Psalm 115, whose exposition of this theme is especially relevant, although the martyrs face death for their beliefs, God strengthens them. The raised chalice of salvation (verse 13) designates the cross's pain. Jesus bestows the chalice in asking others to imitate his sufferings, as do the martyrs in the Utrecht illustration whose demise coincides with and emulates his death. They are not only servants of God, whose death is »precious in the sight of the Lord«, but sons of his handmaid and mother; Mary's exceptional status is indicated by her elevated position between Jesus and John, the latter her son in a special sense. Whereas those who are not the handmaid's sons have loved war, the blessed are lovers of peace, a quality extolled in the Utrecht drawing through the contrast that the unarmed David, the dead Christ, Mary, John, and the martyr-saints present to Jerusalem's well-armed enemies.[35]

In the Utrecht illustration, David himself imitates both the martyrs and, therefore, his heavenly king, whose identity as lord is indicated by the title and wreath above the cross.[36] The psalmist's extended arms mirror those

31 R. Haussherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz: Zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes*, Diss. Bonn 1963, p. 111-114, esp. p. 113. Dufrenne, *Les illustrations* (see n. 1 above), esp. p. 65, 143-144. The portrayal of Jesus as dead with the wreath above his cross, probably symbolizing the divine nature's victory and kingship despite his mortal humanity, has no known precedents in western crucifixion imagery, though depictions of the dead crucified Christ appear in Byzantium by the eighth century: K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons, Volume 1: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton 1976, B.36, p. 61-64.

32 It is interesting that the Harley Psalter (London, BL, ms Harley 603, f. 59r, 59v, does not retain the crucifixion image, instead illustrating Ps 115:13 with a figure holding up a large chalice to Christ in majesty and, in a second image, to a standing Christ: W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter*, Cambridge 1995, p. 77, 157-161, figs. 35, 71. Idem, »The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment« — van der Horst et al., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, p. 121-165, at p. 136 and fig. 27.

33 J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1: *Le sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane*, Fribourg 1971, nos. 6 (*sacrificium laudis*), 11 (*calicem salutis perpetuae*), p. 87, 89.

34 *Passio Kiliani/Ps. Theotimus/ Passio Margaretae/Orationes: Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex ms I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover, Kommentarband* by C. Hahn, Graz 1988, p. 116.

35 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI-CL, in Ps CXV* — CCSL, vol. 40, p. 1652-1656.

36 See above n. 31. Hahn, *Passio Kiliani* (see n. 34 above), p. 116 and n. 121.

of Jesus on the cross. The loincloth, possibly a reference to the priestly linen ephod that David wore when he danced before the ark (2 Kings 6), evokes, as well, the perizoma often worn by Christ in early medieval crucifixion imagery, including the Utrecht drawings for Psalm 88 (fig. 317) and possibly (the image is unclear) the canticle of Habbacuc. Whereas Christ's side is already pierced, in the Psalm 115 illustration (fig. 319), a spear bearer now threatens the psalmist, pointing his lance at the exact location in David's side corresponding to Jesus' wound. Raising the cup of the mass, symbolic of the torments his savior endured, David prepares, in Augustine's words, to conform himself »to Christ through the chalice of salvation«.[37] This will be achieved both by his participation in the eucharistic sacrifice and by his own spilling of blood, in imitation of the nearby martyrs as well as of his dead, bleeding lord. His sacrifice of his body, like the parallel offering of the chalice and paten, are means by which he demonstrates his faith and pays his »vows to the Lord« (verses 14, 18), rendering »to the Lord, for all the things that he hath rendered to me« (verse 12), as signified by the dead, crucified body. The psalmist faces this fate because he has spoken what he believes (verse 10); he, too, is Christ's servant and son of his handmaid (verse 16). Because he imitates the crucified Jesus, David's »bonds« are broken — of both sin and physical life — and like the Virgin, John, and other saints he merits a place in the celestial city.

More clearly than most pictures in the Utrecht Psalter, this drawing interprets the virtue David personifies as explicitly Christian. The preeminent feature of that virtuousness is Christ-like humility or self-abnegation, which, the picture implies, is emulated not only through the extraordinary act of martyrdom but in the daily mass. Thus the eucharist's role as a sacrifice is tied both to the offering of the cross and, in redemptive significance, to the self-oblation of the martyrs. In these regards the illustration is reminiscent of the substantial volume of Carolingian liturgical exegesis that interprets the mass as a commemoration and rehearsal of Jesus' oblation and a primary avenue by which his action is imitated, not only by the priest but by every participant, monk, clergy, or laity.[38] While David's chalice, paten, and dress possibly suggest a priestly office, conforming with his position as Old Testament priest-king, his presentation of the chalice and paten from the cross to the altar is also reminiscent of the mass offertory, in which the laity presented the oblations to the altar before the eucharist's consecration.[39] The connection between Psalm 115 and the offertory is made explicit, for evidently the first time in a Carolingian liturgical text (complimenting the connection implied in the Utrecht illustration), in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, which calls for the recitation of Psalm 115:12-13 at this point in the mass ceremonial while Charles makes his own offering.[40] More generally, Carolingian expositions indicate, the mass as a whole constitutes a collective offering to God of prayer and sacrifice by the entire Christian community, the living faithful together with the saints.[41] Like David in the Utrecht illustration, all of them imitate the crucified Christ through the mass and the virtue of humility, a mode of self-sacrifice by which they prepare their souls for the eucharist's reception. In the Utrecht image, engagement in these devotional practices is tied to the love of peace, itself a means of imitating Christ that Augustine's *enarratio* on the psalm attributes to the martyrs, the antithesis to the behavior exemplified in the soldiers who kill the saints and stand outside Jerusalem's walls.

The Psalm 115 illustration does not present the sinful prince as the locus of martial power or unsanctioned violence. Nevertheless, it is comparable to the drawings for Psalms 1, 50, 51, and 151 in its emphatic identification of such actions as the opposite of devotion to God, through pictorial elements derived neither from a literal reading of the psalm nor from what we can discern of its earlier decoration. All five drawings combine various motifs, some likely reflective of older pictorial traditions while others probably divergent with them, in ways that seem intended to express ideas not precisely identical from one picture to the next yet presenting

37 Augustine, *Enarratio in Ps* 115, c. 9 lines 2-3 — CCSL, vol. 40, p. 1656.

38 C. Cazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge 2001, p. 251-254. Three examples of this mass exegesis: Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis* 3, edited by J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols, Vatican City 1948, vol. 2, p. 255-372. Hrabanus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres* 1:32, edited by D. Zimpel, Frankfurt am Main 1966, p. 337-339. Florus, *Opusculum de expositione missae* — PL, vol. 119, col. 15-72.

39 R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*, London 1977, p. 144.

40 Munich, Residenz, Schatzkammer, Prayerbook — Haussherr, *Der tote Christus* (see n. 31 above), p. 222. J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols., 4th expanded edition, Vienna 1958, vol. 2, p. 58, n. 22. On the prayerbook's decoration: R. Deshman, »The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald« — *Viator* 11 (1980) p. 385-417. The offertory is a reminder of martyrdom and penitential imitation of Christ's death according to Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 3:19 — Hanssens, *Amalarii opera* (see n. 38 above), vol. 2, p. 311-322.

41 E.g. the commentaries listed above (see n. 38 above).

considerable overlap, and hence apparently indicative of a common arena of thinking. Faith, the pursuit of peace in the face of armed aggressors, and divinely sanctioned military struggle are contrasted to armed force opposing divine will, particularly as it epitomizes evil rulership. Similar patterns of thought are suggested by other illustrations in the psalter not studied as closely here, where David is seen passively confronting or actively engaged in defensive conflict with his enemies, and the wicked, especially princes such as Saul, possess weapons signifying their separation from God.

As the psalter's designers, artists, and users would have realized, the strong evocation of these ideas in the Utrecht Psalter accords with the psalms' background in David's confrontations with Saul and the verses' repeated allusions to their hostilities. Yet ninth-century educated Carolingians must have also been aware that the exceptional concern with the themes just noted revealed in the drawings, beyond what is apparent in other early illustrated psalters, harmonizes as well with the ideals of kingship and the just war articulated in contemporary writings, works that frequently cite David as an exemplar of the good king against Saul's model of sinful rule. The criteria of virtuous monarchy and just warfare and the value of peace are explored in Carolingian literature of the eighth and first quarter of the ninth century, but these issues gain greater consideration in the 830s and following decades, when the thrust of discussion shifts to reflect the clergy's anxieties at the political and military strife among Louis the Pious and his sons.[42] It is particularly in tracts from the second quarter (c. 830 on) and second half of the ninth century that Carolingian scholars sought, first, to define the boundaries of the just or holy war, developing on patristic teachings, particularly Augustine and the pseudo-Augustianian *Gravi de pugna*. [43] The good wage war according to God's will, in order to establish peace, against foreign invaders and others opposing the church and empire. Hrabanus' *De universo*, written in 842, declares the just war essentially defensive, fought to regain lost territory or repel incursions. It is distinguished not only from the unjust war against external enemies but also from civil conflicts and those among family members, the situation plaguing the Carolingian territories as he wrote.[44] Sin lay not in war *per se*, for writers like Hrabanus, but in aggression that opposed God's volition, the maliciousness shown by the aggressors, and their wanton desire to oppress the innocent.

Second, as part of their efforts to curb the endemic civil unrest, the same and other authors laid new emphasis on the Christian prince's duty to engage, rather than in war at all, in behavior conducive to peace, distinguishing him from those who dominate through coercion and promote factionalism. Commenting in 834 on God's displeasure at sedition, Hrabanus recalls how David humbly endured Saul's persecutions rather than lift his hand against the anointed king.[45] In *De institutione regia*, written in the early 830's, Jonas of Orléans reminds Pepin of Aquitaine that unlike tyrants a true king seeks peace by ruling with piety, justice, and mercy, and he warns the monarch against princes who, instead of fostering the love necessary to harmony, bring injury on their fellows because they are torn by jealousy.[46] Nithard gloomily concludes his history of the fraternal struggles of the early 840's by contrasting the concord that existed under Charlemagne with the current dissension. Where »abundance and happiness« used to exist, he announces, »now everywhere there is want and

42 F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1975, p. 28-34. H. H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonn 1968, p. 214-218, 248-356. Still useful is R. B. Delamare, *L'idée de la paix à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris 1939, esp. p. 145-295. On the situation in Louis' last years: J. L. Nelson, »The Last Years of Louis the Pious« — *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, edited by P. Godman & R. Collins, Oxford 1990, p. 147-159. The idea of war waged under God, without a clear effort to establish the limits of that notion, underlies the papal letters to Pepin III and his sons asking them to fight as God's chosen and early Carolingian poetry and liturgy of warfare: *Epistolae* 10, 11, 17, 32, 33, *Codex Carolinus*, edited by W. Gundlach — MGH, *Epistolae* 3, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. 1, Berlin 1892, p. 469-657, at p. 501-507, 514-517, 538-540. S. A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 54-71. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge 1986, p. 342-384. E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley 1946, p. 13-111.

43 Russell, *Just War* (see n.42 above), p. 16, 26, 29-34. Pseudo-Augustine, *Epistola* 13 — PL, vol. 33, col. 1098.

44 Hrabanus, *De universo* 20 — PL, vol. 111, col. 533A/B, see col. 535C. Idem, *Commentaria in Libros II Paralipomenon* 13 — PL, vol. 109, col. 486A. Cf. Sedulius, *De rectoribus Christianis* 15 — PL, vol. 103, col. 318-321; translation in E. G. Doyle, *Sedulius Scottus, On Christian Rulers and the Poems*, Binghamton-New York 1983, p. 78-81.

45 Hrabanus, *Epistola* 15.3 — MGH, *Epistolae* 5, Berlin 1899, p. 407-408; cited in Deshman, »Exalted Servant« (see n. 40 above), p. 408.

46 Jonas, *De institutione regia* 3, 9, edited by A. Dubreucq, Paris 1995 (= Sources chrétiennes, vol. 407), p. 184, 229-230. See Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* (see n. 42 above), p. 214-218.

sadness. Once even the elements smiled on everything and now they threaten, as Scripture which was left to us as the gift of God, testifies: ›And the world will wage war against the mad‹«.[47] The civil violence led some writers to encourage spiritual warfare over carnal. Hrabanus maintains that God's faithful ideally rely on spiritual rather than material weapons and engage in combat against the vices and the devil's legions. God approves of wars of this kind, in which the soldier of Christ conquers wickedness through goodness.[48] According to Sedulius Scottus' *De rectoribus Christianis*, written in 855-859 for Lothar II, the peaceful ruler is »like a flowery and fertile paradise near at hand and like a noble vine overflowing with abundant fruit, confounding every discord by the splendor of his presence«.[49] The »arms and rumblings of war« are a source of instability, but the king who reigns with justice and faith, bringing peace to the realm, holds his office from God and differs from the tyrant just as David did from Saul.[50] At about the same time Hincmar urged Louis the German to end the civil violence and informed him, too, that the good king strives for peace in his realm, puts discord to flight, fosters charity, and avoids bloodshed.[51]

Whether the Utrecht Psalter was made before or after c. 830, educated Carolingian viewers of the 830s or subsequent years may well have responded to its imagery of armed violence by recalling the clergy's admonishments of lay princes in the face of the contemporary political strife.[52] But if — as seems to me more plausible than an earlier dating — the manuscript was actually produced in the final decade of Louis the Pious' reign or more probably thereafter, under Hincmar,[53] this theme in the illustrations quite possibly reflects the direct influence of the same concerns on its artists or designers. This raises the issue of the psalter's intended recipient. It is certainly conceivable that a luxury codex like Utrecht was meant for a high-level ecclesiastic such as the archbishop of Rheims, or for an important church such as his cathedral.[54] The martial details and the parallels they offer to Carolingian scholars' reactions to the unrest during Louis' last years and under his heirs, however, lend support to the theory that the psalter was designed for one of these rulers at the behest of a Rheims archbishop.[55] If that person was Ebo, the foreseen recipient could have been Louis the Pious, perhaps before Ebo presided over the emperor's deposition at Soissons in 833; or it might have been Lothar I, whom Ebo supported by 833, though a problem with this notion is the connection between Utrecht imagery and works of art made in later decades for Charles the Bald.[56] Or, conceivably, the book was produced for Charles himself, perhaps under Ebo, more likely under Hincmar after his consecration as archbishop in 845. In the latter case the psalter drawings offer additional evidence, alongside the substantial extant written records, for assessing Hincmar's involvement in clerical efforts after 840 to promote peace among Louis' successors and between them, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the Frankish aristocracy, partly by

47 Nithard, *Historiae* 4, c. 7, edited by E. Müller — MGH, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hanover 1965, p. 50; translation in B. W. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories*, Ann Arbor 1970, p. 174.

48 Hrabanus, *De universo* 20 — PL, vol. 111, col. 534. Hrabanus , *Commentaria in Librum Judicum et Ruth*, PL, vol. 108, col. 1141-1142. Cf. Sedulius, *De rectoribus Christianis* 15 — PL, vol. 103, esp. col. 320-321. Doyle, *On Christian Rulers* (see n. 44 above), esp. p. 80-81. E. Sears, »Louis the Pious as *Miles Christi*: The Dedicatory Image in Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis*« — *Charlemagne's Heir*, edited by Godman & Collins (see n. 42 above), p. 605-628, esp. 605-620.

49 Sedulius, *De rectoribus Christianis* 9 — PL, vol. 103, col. 307A. Doyle, *On Christian Rulers* (see n. 44 above), p. 66.

50 Sedulius, *De rectoribus Christianis* 3 — PL, vol. 103, col. 297-298. Doyle, *On Christian Rulers* (see n. 44 above), p. 55-56.

51 See Hincmar, *Epistola Synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa, 858. Nov.* — MGH, *Capitularia* 2, Hanover 1893, p. 427-441, at p. 430-431, 439-440.

52 As is well known, some of the artists who later drew on the Utrecht illustrations for works of art prepared for Charles the Bald interpreted its motifs along such lines; see e.g. on the *Cathedra Petri*: L. Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*, Philadelphia 1991, esp. p. 154-155.

53 Chazelle, »Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims« (see n. 1 above).

54 It is at least evident, from the nature of its contents, that the psalter was not meant for a monastery or liturgical usage: van der Horst, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 37, 40, 81.

55 I am grateful to the late Harvey Stahl for encouraging me to think along these lines.

56 van der Horst, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 82. Elected to the see of Rheims in 816 or 817, Ebo sided with Louis the Pious in the revolt of 830, but by 833 he had allied himself with the emperor's three older sons, Lothar I, Pepin of Aquitaine, and Louis the German. After Louis the Pious' deposition in 833, Louis the German and Pepin turned against Lothar; they rescued their father from imprisonment, and he was restored to the imperial throne in 834. Ebo was removed from the archiepiscopacy in February 835 and confined until Louis died in 840, whereupon Lothar was able to restore Ebo to Rheims until summer 841. The best account of Ebo's life is in H. Goetting, *Das Bistum Hildesheim, vol. 3: Die Hildesheimer Bischöfe von 815 bis 1221 (1227)*, Berlin 1984, p. 56-84. For the suggestion that the psalter was made for Louis the Pious, see P. Lasko, *Ars sacra 800-1200*, Harmondsworth 1972, p. 35. Braunfels, *Die Welt der Karolinger* (see n. 12 above), p. 158; cf. van der Horst, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 82.

directing their bellicose tendencies into divinely sanctioned battles against pagans and other enemies of Christ's church.[57]

Although other considerations, too, underlie the Utrecht illustrations, as some of the previous research on the psalter has indicated,[58] new attention should probably be given to Robert Deshman's hypothesis that it was perhaps designed, at least in part, as a visual »mirror of a prince.«[59] Like the written »Fürstenspiegel« upholding David as the ideal king, the psalter scenes of his trust in God against soldier-adversaries and his own military struggles on God's behalf were possibly meant to exemplify the behavior that Carolingian clergy, particularly in the 830's and later, sought from the rulers and aristocracy who fought so vehemently among themselves. The Psalm 50 illustration of David's twin sins of robbery and arranged killing (fig. 315), then, may have some link with clerical efforts to dissuade Carolingian lords not only from unwarranted violence, but from the thefts they committed that so disturbed ecclesiastics: the »stealing« of church property that fueled the bloodshed when the lands were used to reward allies.[60] Similarly, while the images of David's unction constitute literal word interpretations of psalm verses,[61] the artists' choice to illustrate these scenes may be related to the renewed ceremonial of Carolingian royal anointment, an element of royal consecration ritual that disappeared after Pepin III. The idea was »kept green« at St.-Denis, where Hincmar was a monk prior to becoming archbishop. It was again put into practice in 848 at Orléans, for Charles the Bald, a ceremony that Hincmar and his contemporaries probably intended to highlight the concept of kingship as a *ministerium* dependent on the monarch's proper relation with God and his clergy.[62] Even if the psalter dates to before 848, its several depictions of David's anointment could indicate a new interest in the rite that paved the way for its re-introduction. In either scenario, as with other aspects of the manuscript's decoration, it is certainly worthwhile to explore more carefully than has yet been attempted both the potential influence of ninth-century circumstances on the pictures' designers, and how educated viewers, including the laity, might have understood the imagery in light of similar concerns. It can only be hoped that these and other issues regarding this magnificent book will gradually be clarified, as research proceeds on the many ways it may provide us a window into Carolingian thought.

57 J. Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845-882*, 3 volumes, vol. 1, Geneva 1975, p. 529-534. Russell, *Just War* (see n. 42 above), p. 30. Hincmar's participation in efforts to counter the civil unrest began already in the early 840's, when he was a member of Charles' entourage before becoming archbishop: J. Nelson, »The Intellectual in Politics: Context, Content and Authorship in the Capitulary of Coulaines, November 843«- Idem, *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London 1996, p. 164-166 (repr. from *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, edited by L. Smith & B. Ward, London 1992, p. 1-14). P. Dutton & H. L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald*, Ann Arbor 1997, p. 29. Hincmar may have attended the Council of Coulaines in November 843; he was at the Synod of Ver in December 844: MGH, *Concilia* 3, edited by W. Hartmann, Hanover 1984, p. 10-17, 36-44.

58 Recent work discussed in van der Horst, »Utrecht Psalter« (see n. 1 above), p. 81-83, with references to bibliography. See also n. 8 above.

59 Deshman, »Exalted Servant« (see n. 40 above), p. 412.

60 A major theme of the synods of the early- to mid-840's, e.g. that of Meaux-Paris (June 845 and February 846): MGH, *Concilia* 3 (see n. 57 above), p. 61-132, see p. 62. Dutton & Kessler, *Poetry and Paintings* (see n. 57 above), p. 25-32. Devisse, *Hincmar* (see n. 57 above), vol. 1, p. 500-510.

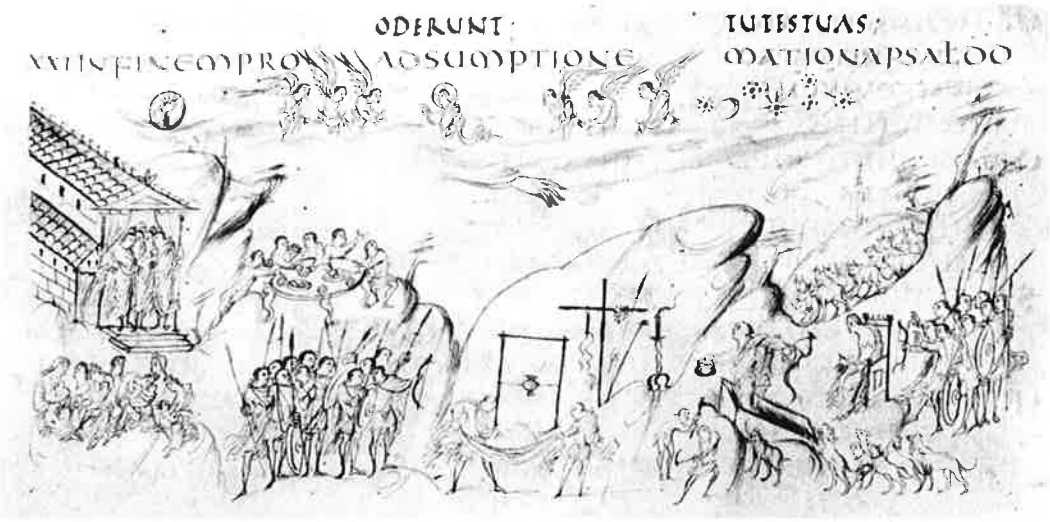
61 See n. 15 above.

62 »Kept green« is the expression of J. Nelson, »Inauguration Rituals« — Idem, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, London 1986, p. 283-307, at p. 292, see p. 293-295. See also Idem, »National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: An Early Medieval Syndrome« — Idem, *Politics and Ritual*, p. 239-257, esp. p. 247-252, 256. Cf. Hincmar, *Epistola Synodi Carisiacensis* — MGH, *Capitularia* 2 (see n. 51 above), p. 439, lines 1-4.

311 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 1v (Ps 1)

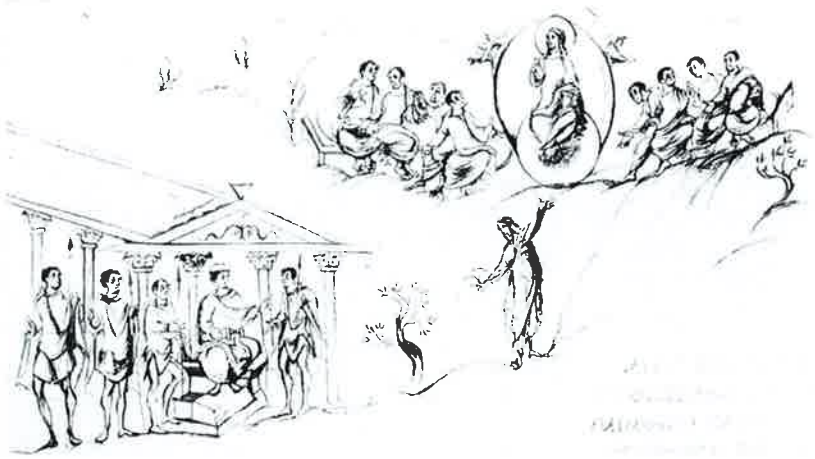
312 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 2r (Ps 2)

313 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 5r (Ps 9)

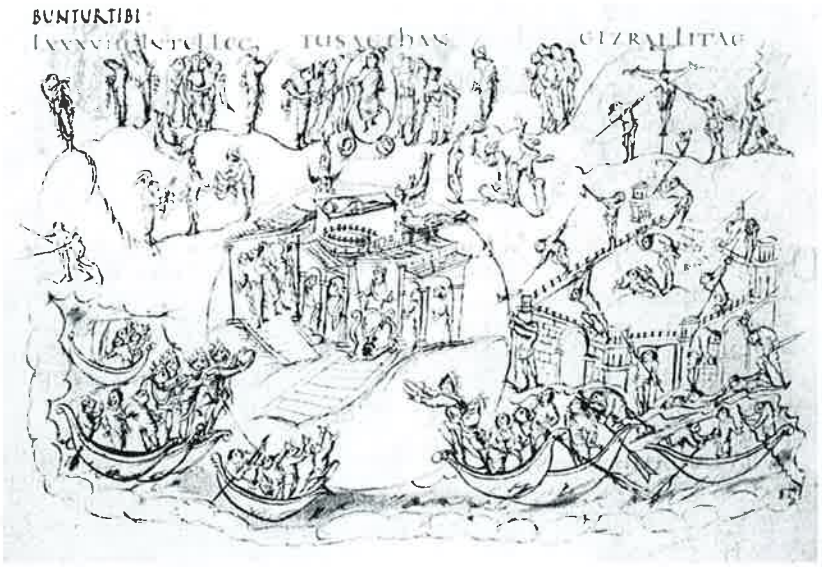


314 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 12r (Ps 21)

315 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 29r (Ps 50)



316 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 30r (Ps 51)



317 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 51v (Ps 88)

318 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 57r (Ps 98)

319 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 67r (Ps 115)

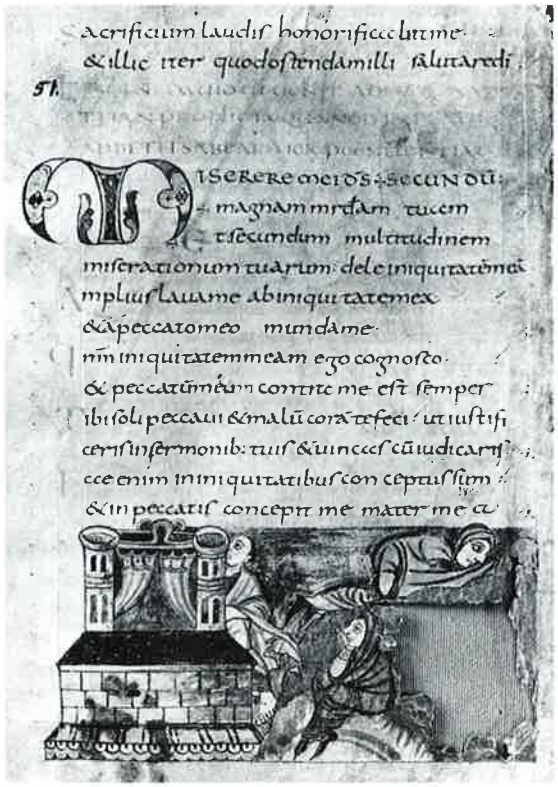
320 Utrecht, UB, ms 32, f. 91v (Ps 151)

321 Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 164v (Ps 151)

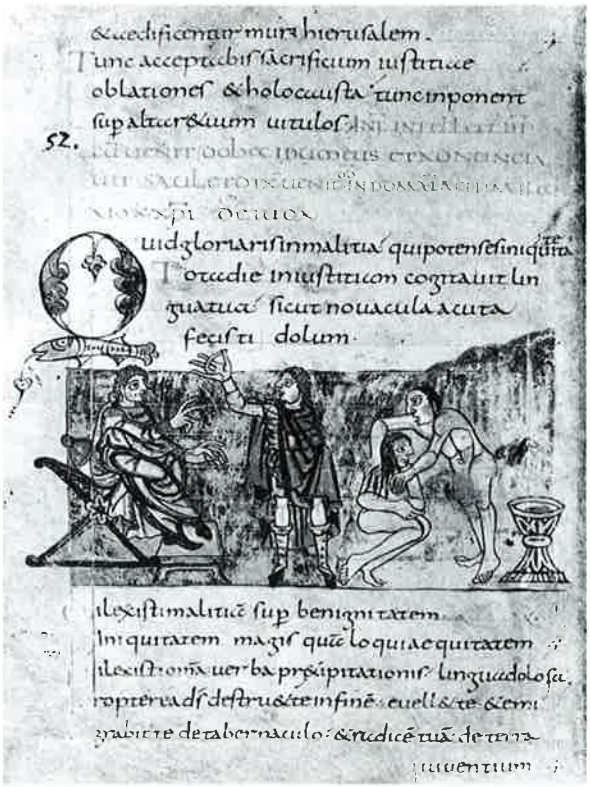
322 Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 165r (Ps 151)

323 Moscow, State Historical Mus., ms 129, f. 2r (Ps 1)

324 Moscow, State Historical Mus., ms 129, f. 50r (Ps 50)



325 Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 63v (Ps 50)



326 Stuttgart, WLB, cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 64v (Ps 50, 51)

327 Manchester, John Rylands Univ. Lib., ms lat. 22, f. 14r, Initial Q: Pilate and Herod embrace (Ps 2)

328 Paris, BNF, ms lat. 10435, f. 1v,
Initial Q: Pilate and Herod embrace (Ps 2)

329 Los Angeles, J. P. Getty Mus., ms 46, f. 1v,
Initial Q: Pilate and Herod embrace (Ps 2)