

Erasing God: Carolingians, Controversy, and the Ashburnham Pentateuch

By

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For Alice, Thomas, and Agatha,
my motivations and my rewards

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*Gracias a la palabra
que agradece.
Gracias a gracias
por
cuanto esta palabra
derrite nieve o hierro.*

Thanks to the word
that says *thanks!*
Thanks to *thanks*,
word
that melts
iron and snow!

- “*Oda a las gracias/Ode to thanks*” by Pablo Neruda

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| AP | <i>Ashburnham Pentateuch.</i> |
| CCSL | <i>Corpus Christianorum series latina.</i> |
| CSEL | <i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.</i> |
| DACL | <i>Dictionnaire D'archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.</i> |
| LCL | <i>Loeb Classical Library.</i> |
| MGH | <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica.</i> |
| NPNF | <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.</i> |
| OCR | <i>Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum.</i> |
| PL | <i>Patrologia Latina.</i> |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If someone asked you to close your eyes and envision God, what would you see? Warner Sallman's portrait of the ever-approachable, dewy-eyed Jesus Christ? Or perhaps yours is a Trinitarian vision and in your mind's eye the familiar face of Jesus is also accompanied by the baptismal dove and an "Old White Guy" gazing benevolently down. This particular Trinitarian conception, while well-established in the modern mind, is in fact a relatively recent development. In fact, images of God the Father in human form are extremely rare until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when hundreds of examples—mostly from French and Italian books of hours—appear as the Mercy Seat motif, in which an anthropomorphic Father presents Christ on the cross, with the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering between them. This "Old White Guy" conception of God the Father as an aged, white-haired and long-bearded man might have some origin in the text of Daniel 7, which describes God as the Ancient of Days (though that appellation is also ascribed to the Logos), and is probably most memorably depicted in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling of the early sixteenth century.

But perhaps you are more pious, and rather than dare to picture the Father, you will sidestep the issue and recall something like the infamous Rublev rendition of the Hospitality of Abraham (Fig. 1). Long-interpreted as a symbolic vision of the Trinity, this scene has been a popular subject since the early days of the church, found in the catacomb frescoes of Rome as well as the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. Most often, early depictions of the Trinity either invoked the Hospitality of Abraham motif, representing three identical—or near-identical—male

figures, or something like the composition characteristic of the baptism of Christ: Jesus the man, the Holy Spirit as dove, and the hand of God the Father issuing from the heavens.

Or perhaps you are a good Protestant and taking the Second Commandment quite literally, you imagine something like the *scutum fidei* (shield of faith), which originated as a twelfth-century attempt at an abstract and logocentric representation of the Trinity and then reemerged in the nineteenth century. Even this brief exercise has demonstrated something of the difficulty in imagining and visually representing God. One of the major stumbling blocks in depicting the Christian God—apart from the apparent prohibition against it—is how to articulate his three-in-oneness, a problem which led to “solutions” such as the bizarre three-headed or three-faced Trinity of the thirteenth century (e.g., Fig. 2).

This dissertation is concerned with the historical problem of imaging the Christian God. Specifically, it examines changes in Trinitarian images and texts during the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. Theological accounts of Trinity at Creation offer an especially interesting sample for the working out of the relations and functions of the persons of the Trinity; indeed, this dissertation is unique in its focus on images of and teachings on the Trinity at Creation during the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

To this end, this dissertation uses as a case study the Creation folio of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BnF, NAL 2334, f. 1v, Fig. 3), which in its original sixth-century state presented an anthropomorphic Trinity at work in the first few days of Creation (cf. Fig. 4). The Father and Son were depicted standing side by side four times, while the Holy Spirit was depicted only once as a winged man hovering over the waters. At some point in the ninth century, the figures of three of the Sons, one of the Fathers, and the Holy Spirit were painted over. In response, this dissertation asks why an anthropomorphic image of the Trinity was

acceptable in the sixth century but not in the ninth. Because details of the manuscript's origins are still unknown, the emphasis of this study will be on the Carolingian reception and alteration of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (AP).

Also referred to as the Pentateuch of Tours, the Ashburnham Pentateuch is a sixth-century manuscript of unknown origin, which has most recently been hypothesized as being Italian and perhaps, more specifically, Roman.¹ It is significant as one of the oldest extant pre-Carolingian Vulgate manuscripts of Genesis through Numbers.² At some point its vellum leaves were trimmed down to 37.1 cm x 32.1 cm, at the expense of some of the manuscript's running titles; this probably occurred when it was rebound in the nineteenth century. The gatherings are in twenty-six quires of eight leaves. Of its extant 141 pages, 129 are original to the manuscript, with twelve pages added in the eighth century. Several alterations were made to the manuscript during its ninth-century stay in Tours: as mentioned above, figures in the illustration of folio 1v were erased and painted over; folio 33 is a restoration in Tours miniscule; and several other folios bear ninth-century notes.³

The manuscript's text is rendered in a dark brown or black ink uncial script with red ink chapter headings, marked with Roman numerals. When the text is uninterrupted by images, it is organized in two columns of about thirty lines, with ruling on the hair side of the page.⁴ Of the original sixty-nine illustrated folios,⁵ the majority of which were in Genesis, eighteen folios from the Genesis and Exodus cycles now survive, as well as one frontispiece and six folios of chapter

¹ On its late sixth-/early seventh-century date, see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd edition (New York:

² Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 47-49. See also, J. Chapman, "The Families of Vulgate MSS in the Pentateuch," *Revue bénédictine* 37 (1925): 5-46, 365-403; Bezalel Narkiss, "Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," in *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22 (1972): 19-38.

³ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 45. Verkerk has pointed out that the use of minium occurs sporadically throughout the text, but does not appear in any of the eighth- and ninth-century additions (47). She does not note how she identified the minium (e.g., by color).

⁴ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 46-47.

⁵ A number calculated by Narkiss in "Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22 (1972): 19-38.

titles, whose frames look very much like canon tables. Although none of the gouache illustrations bear clearly delineated registers and the narrative action is not necessarily linear, most of the compositions appear in two or three bands, while others seem to be organized in quadrants. The images that share a page with text take up half or two-thirds of the space. The images themselves are dense with inscriptions that label the figures and action of the scenes. The border of each illustration is rendered in a simple thin line in red-brown ink, potentially the same as the underdrawings; this border is frequently transgressed throughout the manuscript by people, animals, and elements of the landscape. None of its illustrations remain unfinished; they all appear on the flesh side of the page and are of a high quality.⁶

Even apart from the unique depiction of the anthropomorphic Trinity and its subsequent erasures, the illustrations of the AP present a distinctive iconography and, correspondingly—as in the case of the Creation image—theology. The dynamic compositions of its images are packed with crowds of figures, flocks of animals, and delicate white archways, with explanatory inscriptions nestling in between. This kind of layout is a notable departure from the comparatively sparse compositions of the manuscript illustrations that preceded the AP (cf. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), as well as the revival of the classical style in the seventh century.

Literature review

Most of the scholarship on the AP has been concerned with determining the origin of the manuscript and identifying Jewish influences on its iconography.⁷ The AP has also made brief

⁶ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 49-54.

⁷ See, for example, Joseph Gutmann, “The Jewish Origins of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jul., 1953): 55-72; Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992) 235-258

appearances in numerous articles and books that deal with early medieval manuscripts.⁸ Monographs dedicated exclusively to the AP are much fewer in number. Oscar von Gebhardt was the first scholar to publish on the Ashburnham Pentateuch when, in 1883, at the request of the Earl of Ashburnham, von Gebhardt published *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, a facsimile of the manuscript. Von Gebhardt spends several of the introduction's twenty-four pages describing how the AP made its way from Tours to London in 1847; he goes on to provide codicological and paleographic analysis of the manuscript's extant pages. It is noteworthy that von Gebhardt did not observe the erasures on the Creation page. He states that "the form of God, repeated four times, is portrayed throughout in brown," and that in the upper left-hand corner, "The object above the outstretched right hand can no longer be determined either as to form or as to color."⁹ It was the presence of this unidentified object—revealed through water damage—that would eventually draw attention to the erasures.

In the early 1960s, Bezalel Narkiss viewed the AP at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris with the hope of identifying the "object" described by von Gebhardt. Narkiss had suspected that it was an orb, but only until he studied it in person and then perceived it to be a halo, a hypothesis that he was able to confirm under ultraviolet light. He soon became the first scholar to remark upon the alterations of the AP's Creation page in his 1969 article, "Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," in which he argued that the overpainted Creator figures

especially; Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "Biblical Manuscripts in Rome 400-700 and the Ashburnham Pentateuch," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999) 97-120; and K. Kogman-Appel, "Bible Illustration and the Jewish Tradition," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, 61-96.

⁸ E.g., Herbert L. Kessler, "The Word Made Flesh in Early Decorated Bibles," in *Picturing the Bible: The earliest Christian art*, ed. Jeffrey Spier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 111-140; "The Book as Icon," in *In the Beginning: Bibles before the year 1000*, ed. Michelle Brown (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2006); Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990); Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northern Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 121-177.

⁹ Oscar von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London: Asher and Co., 1883), 11.

were original to the manuscript. However, as an art historian, he seems to have been more interested in the physical alteration of the manuscript than with the possible motivations behind it. After a brief summary of Spanish adoptionism, Narkiss concluded that, “the erasure of one Person of God in the Creation may reflect the influence of the Adoptionist controversy in Charlemagne’s time.”¹⁰ Decades later, Narkiss slightly expanded upon this statement in his extensive commentary to the modern facsimile of the AP, published by Ediciones Patrimonio.¹¹ He used the commentary as an opportunity to argue, not very convincingly, for a fifth-century date for the manuscript and suggested that the patron was the Empress Galla Placidia.¹²

It is worth noting that Narkiss specialized in Hebrew manuscripts, and therefore his work on the AP—not surprisingly—belongs to the group of scholars, such as Kurt Weitzmann, who sought to connect its illustrations to lost Jewish models.¹³ In effect, Narkiss moved it closer to those Jewish sources by dating the manuscript one to two centuries earlier than the accepted late sixth-/early seventh-century date.

Since writing her dissertation in 1992, Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk has also published numerous articles and a book on the manuscript. Her dissertation, entitled *Liturgy and Narrative in the Exodus Cycle of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, argues that the purpose of the AP was primarily catechetical. Most of the articles published by Verkerk in the interim between her

¹⁰ Narkiss, “Towards a Further Study,” 58.

¹¹ “The instigators may have been followers of Alcuin and his theological school at St. Martin’s who from the 830s on produced illuminated pandects. They opposed the growing heretical Adoptionist movement in Spain and Gaul, which held that Jesus was a human being adopted as Son by God the Father, and followed the arguments of Alcuin’s treatise against Felix.” Bezalel Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham* (Valencia: Ediciones Patrimonio, 2007), 319. He cites Boniface Fischer, “Bibletext und Bibelform unter Karl dem Grossen,” in *Karl der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung, Ausstellung II* (Aachen, 1965), 156ff, and G.B. Blumenshine, *Liber Contra Heroism Felicis (Summa Theologica, 285, 1980)*, but does not mention John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 5.

¹² As did Hagith Sivan in *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 128, discussed below.

¹³ E.g., Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 402; Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Frescoes of Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 28 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), 143-50. See also n. 6 above.

dissertation and monograph expand upon the same issues, while a few focus on particular aspects of the AP such as its representations of race.¹⁴ Her monograph, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, expands upon her dissertation, using Roman liturgical and textual sources to make a case for a Roman origin. In it, Verkerk suggests that AP's anthropomorphic Trinity image should be understood against the backdrop of the Three Chapters Controversy.¹⁵ Verkerk mentions Narkiss' anti-adoptionist theory and quips that the inconsistent erasures, which left behind the figures of three Fathers and one Son, were "truly an interesting bit of heresy!"¹⁶ Exploring how we should read these idiosyncratic erasures—heretical or orthodox, mistaken or intentional—and what they can tell us about changing conceptions of the Trinity is the task of this dissertation.

Dating

In his 1883 introduction to the facsimile of the AP, Oscar von Gebhardt assigned the AP to the seventh century.¹⁷ The paleographer E. A. Lowe also dated the uncial script of the AP to the early seventh century and subsequent generations of scholars have followed suit, though more recently, most tend to settle on the late sixth century.¹⁸ Although he initially followed Lowe's early seventh-century dating,¹⁹ in his 2007 commentary on the facsimile of the manuscript Narkiss argues that the AP is actually a century older. In his argument for a fifth-

¹⁴ E.g., Verkerk, "Black Servants, Black Demon; Colour Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31.1 (2001): 57-77.

¹⁵ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible*, 66-71.

¹⁶ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 69.

¹⁷ Oscar von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London: Asher and Co., 1883), 3, 5, 8.

¹⁸ E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 5, 693a. Cf. Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, translated by Dhaibí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 193; David Wright, "Review of André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Paintings from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century*," *The Art Bulletin* 43, No. 3 (1961): 250; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 44.

¹⁹ Bezalel Narkiss, "Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22 (1972): 19-38.

century date, Narkiss cites Lowe's warning about the difficulty of dating uncial manuscripts with precision.²⁰ He then proceeds to argue that several manuscripts that Lowe dated to the fourth and fifth centuries serve as *comparanda* for the AP and support his fifth-century date.²¹ Even more boldly, as mentioned above, is Narkiss' unsubstantiated claim that Galla Placidia was the patron.²²

To my knowledge, the only scholar even willing to entertain such an early date (and such a specific patron) is the historian Hagith Sivan, who cites Narkiss' commentary in her 2011 biography of Galla Placidia. Sivan admits that in her discussion of the Ashburnham Pentateuch she "deliberately avoids consideration of style and iconography, both domains of art historians."²³ To this caveat, she ought to have added paleography as well. Indeed, her argument for Galla Placidia as the patron of the AP (which obviously implies an early date for its origin) relies largely on the fact that the manuscript contains a considerable number of female figures in its miniatures. She backs up her assertion with Narkiss' commentary, which she cites four times in the five pages that she devotes to the manuscript.²⁴

David Wright has argued that the flattened style of the AP's miniatures should be associated more with Justinianic art of the sixth century than with dimensional painting that was

²⁰ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco*, 478; Lowe, E. A. and E. K. Rand, *A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger: A Study of Six Leaves of an Uncial Manuscript Preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library New York* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1922), 13-14.

²¹ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco*, 479. Cf. *CLA*, II, No. 233a; IV, No. 467; V, No. 562; VII, No. 984; VIII, No. 1053.

²² E.g., Narkiss, *El Pentateuco*, 316, 478. Narkiss argued that the AP fulfills fifteen of Lowe's list of seventeen codicological and paleographic features of the oldest uncial manuscripts (i.e., of the fourth and fifth centuries) and positively compared it to five fourth and fifth-century manuscripts. Narkiss, *El Pentateuco*, 478-9. Cf. Lowe, E. A. and E. K. Rand. *A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger: A study of six leaves of an uncial manuscript preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library New York* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1922) 15-20. Though not cited by Narkiss, the intercolumnar pricking of the AP could be used to support his fifth-century dating. In an extensive study on methods of manuscript pricking, Leslie Webber Jones observed that such prickings began to appear in the fourth century, peaked in the fifth, and diminished in the sixth and seventh centuries. Leslie Webber Jones, "Where are the Prickings?" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944): 71-86.

²³ Sivan, *Galla Placidia*, 128.

²⁴ Sivan, *Galla Placidia*, 128-33.

characteristic of Heraclius Constantine's reign in the early seventh century.²⁵ More recently, Wright has made what is perhaps the most strongly worded assessment of the manuscript's date when he declares that, "The Ashburnham Pentateuch must be placed in the second half of the sixth century, most likely the third quarter, since the figure style is not dominated by linear patterns as it is in the mosaics of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (late in the reign of Pelagius II, 579-90), or the Gospels of St. Augustine, probably made in Rome for Gregory the Great to be sent to Augustine in Canterbury in 601."²⁶ Wright's use of style to date the AP is instructive; he uses it to confirm the received date of the manuscript, but it is worth noting that, conversely, it would be difficult to use style to challenge the AP's date on account of the manuscript's singularity.

This back and forth over the dating of the AP makes it apparent that a paleographic assessment is not sufficient, as uncial and half-uncial scripts are notoriously difficult to pin down in regards to both date and location. To paleographic considerations must be added iconographic and textual analyses. For example, in personal correspondence the paleographer David Ganz has suggested to this author that an in-depth study of the inscriptions and their relationship to the text of the *Vetus Latina* may yield important information for dating the manuscript. Additionally, some of the visual elements could provide a useful comparison for dating. For example, the representations of altars in the manuscript might be compared with any fifth- and sixth-century images, such as the mosaics of San Vitale. That said, it is beyond the task of this dissertation to make a new investigation into the Ashburnham Pentateuch's date, and so we shall proceed by accepting the scholarly majority in the second half of the sixth century, while recognizing that this dating is by no means certain.

²⁵ David H. Wright, "The Canon Tables of the Codex Beneventanus and Related Decoration," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 153-54.

²⁶ David H. Wright, "Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, BD., H. 3 (2006): 412.

Origin

The locale in which the Ashburnham Pentateuch was created is similarly shrouded in mystery. Since the nineteenth century, several options have been hypothesized. Dismissing Rome, von Gebhardt suggested northern Italy as a possibility, while acknowledging that the artist or his model may have been from or had some contact with North Africa on account of the accurate depictions of scorpions, camels, and the like, which of course does not constitute any kind of proof.²⁷ Although a North African origin is possible, we must remember that many Christians had left the region during the sixth century after the Vandal kingdoms fell to Justinian in 533-34, many of them immigrating to Spain.²⁸ Iconographic connections between North Africa and Spain led to speculation that the AP originated in a Spanish center such as Seville.²⁹ The paleographer Bernard Bischoff also entertained the possibility of a Spanish origin.³⁰ E.A. Lowe speculated that the manuscript had been “written apparently in a centre outside the main Latin stream, perhaps in the Eastern region,” meaning the territories that are now northern Italy and Croatia.³¹

Most recently, the AP has been assigned to Rome by Dorothy Verkerk, as mentioned above. Arguing that the didactic purpose of the manuscript was in keeping with Gregory the

²⁷ Gebhardt, *The Miniatures*, 8-9.

²⁸ Cavadini 3. Christian exodus out of North Africa is physically discernible in the translation of Augustine’s body, which, according to tradition, was brought to Sardinia, Italy, by the early sixth century by St. Fulgentius the bishop of Ruspe. (In the early eighth century, his remains were transferred to their current resting place in Pavia.) Harold Samuel Stone, *St. Augustine’s Bones: A Microhistory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 32. See also, Othmar Perler, *Les Voyages de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1969).

²⁹ E.g., J. Pijoan, “Les miniatures de l’Octateuch à les Bibles Romaniques Catalanes,” in *Institute d’Estudis Catalans, Anuari* (1913), 475-499; P. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927).

³⁰ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 193.

³¹ *CLA*, V, No. 693a.

Great's dictum about the teaching function of images,³² Verkerk ties the AP to Rome through an iconographical comparison of the frescoes of the Roman catacombs and of the church of San Paolo fuori le Mura.³³ She also makes paleographic and codicological connections between the AP and Roman manuscripts, such as the Old Gallican Missal (Rome, Vat. Pal. Lat. 493).³⁴ Several scholars have remained unpersuaded by her main argument, stating that, while significant and interesting, evidence for a Roman origin for the AP is inconclusive.³⁵

Because this manuscript is a luxury item, which would have been costly to create, there is an impulse to assign it to a major center such as Rome. Unfortunately, there are simply not enough extant *comparanda*, therefore this dissertation will proceed by assuming a Mediterranean and possibly Italian origin for the AP.

Contribution

Considering the unique iconography and intriguing erasures of the AP, it is a relatively understudied manuscript—no doubt due to the uncertainty surrounding its origins described above. This project does not aim to be a study of the entire manuscript of the AP, but contributes to the above-mentioned scholarship in its use of the largely neglected Creation page (f. 1v) as a case study. The second distinctive contribution is broader: this project is unique on account of its study of visual depictions of and theological teachings on the Trinity at Creation from Late

³² Translated and contextualized in Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 6, Issue 2 (1990): 138-53.

³³ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 153-57, 159-74.

³⁴ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 147-52, 157-58; "Biblical Manuscripts in Rome 400-700 and the Ashburnham Pentateuch," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 97-120;

³⁵ See for example, Lawrence Nees, "Review of *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* by Dorothy Verkerk," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, No. 1 (Jan., 2005): 135-138; Celia Chazelle, "Review of *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* by Dorothy Verkerk," *The Journal of Religion* 86, No. 1 (Jan., 2006): 118-119; David Wright, "Review of *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* by Dorothy Verkerk," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, Bd. H. 3 (2006): 414-15.

Antiquity to the early Middle Ages (fifth to ninth century). While scholarship on Trinitarian theology is abundant, there are fewer studies dedicated to images of the Trinity and most of them deal with images from the eleventh century onward, that is, the period when the motif emerged in a significant way.³⁶ Furthermore, there are practically no studies that focus on depictions of the Trinity at Creation.³⁷

A Word about Words: the Image is the Thing

At the crux of this dissertation is the fundamental difference between image and text. “Seeing comes before words,” John Berger notes in his book, *Ways of Seeing*. “The child looks and recognizes before it can speak.”³⁸ Indeed, human biology has dictated that our primary mode of comprehension is visual: before written and even spoken language developed, our ancestors relied on their visual abilities to identify danger, food, etc. in order to survive. Today, humans continue to recognize images more quickly and are able to remember them longer than words. This phenomenon has been extensively studied and theorized by psychologists and anthropologists, such that it has been named the “pictorial superiority effect.”³⁹

³⁶ E.g., Henry S. Francis, “The Holy Trinity,” *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 48, No. 4 (Apr., 1961): 59-62; Adelaide Heimann, “Trinitas Creator Mundi,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938): 42-52; John M. Munns, “The Cross at the Heart of the Trinity: An Anglo-Norman Development in Art and Theology,” in *Envisioning the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh, and Richard Hawtree (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 318-35. Yolanta Zaluska’s article begins a little earlier, spanning from 800-1215. Yolanta Zaluska, “Le dogme trinitaire et l’essor de son iconographie en Occident de l’époque carolingienne au IVe Concile du Latran (1215),” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 37e année, n. 147 (Juillet-Septembre 1994): 181-240.

³⁷ Robin M. Jensen seems to have published the only study dedicated to early depictions of the Trinity at Creation, though her article is limited to a few images of the creation of Adam and Eve on sarcophagi. “The Economy of the Trinity at the Creation of Adam and Eve,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7.4 (1999): 527-546. (Heimann’s article, above, begins in Late Antiquity but quickly moves to its focus on the twelfth century.)

³⁸ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 7. See also, for example, A. Paivio, *Mind and its Evolution: A Dual Coding Theoretical Approach* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2007).

³⁹ E.g., D.L. Nelson, V.S. Reed, J.R. Wailing, “Pictorial Superiority Effect,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology, Human Learning, and Memory* 2.5 (Oct., 1976): 523-8; D.C. Park, J.T. Puglisi, and M. Sovacool, “Memory for Pictures, Words, and Spatial Location in Older Adults: Evidence for Pictorial Superiority,” *Journal of Gerontology* 38.5 (Oct., 1983): 582-8; Andrew J.O. Whitehouse, Murray T. Mayberry, Kevin Durkin, “The Development of the Picture-Superiority Effect,” *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 24.4 (Dec., 2010): 767-73.

Perhaps it is precisely their staying power that makes images so dangerous.⁴⁰ Images of secular or overly-sexualized content may be condemned as a “stumbling block” to the faithful viewer. Religious images of the wrong thing or person may be deemed as false idols, while incorrectly or poorly executed images may be blasphemous or theologically incorrect. The stakes were high in the debate over the licitness of religious images up through the Reformation: lines were drawn between worship and veneration, and depending on which side was in power, status could be gained or lost.⁴¹ Indeed, the stakes remain high today: the tension caused by imaging the divine, and the history of such images, is as relevant as ever, as demonstrated by the 2011 firebombing and 2015 shooting at the Charlie Hebdo office in Paris, as well as the killing of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004. These acts of violence reveal that the struggle over images (*iconomachy*) is far from over. Furthermore, in our contemporary society, this struggle is not limited to religious images and their potentially offensive parodies—cultural and political symbols are also possible targets. As W. J. T. Mitchell described the destruction of the Twin Towers on 9/11, "Iconoclasm in this instance was rendered as an icon in its own right, an image of horror that has imprinted itself in the memory of the entire world."⁴² Mitchell argues, and I believe that the medieval art historian Michael Camille and others would agree, that an act of destruction can itself be an embodiment of an argument or belief and in that sense operates very much like an icon.⁴³

⁴⁰ A topic that has been treated in David Freedberg's now classic *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁴¹ On the Byzantine image debate, see Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). On the Reformation, see Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁴² W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 14.

⁴³ Cf. Michael Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), 140.

Images and texts bear further significant distinctions that are relevant to this study. Not only are they perceived in different ways and to different extents, but their modes of interpretation are also distinct: texts are rather fluid and malleable, while visual representations are more concrete and less open to debate, or at least are perceived as such. A text, such as the Bible, can remain the same but be interpreted in a multitude of ways while an image that portrays a particular doctrine must be altered in order to remain *au courant* or be done away with altogether. How does an image create a different kind of argument than a text? And then what does it mean to transform or disform an image? As an illustrated biblical codex, the Ashburnham Pentateuch merges these modes and should be interpreted as text, image, and object.

Along the lines of Hans Belting's *Likeness and Presence* and David Freedberg's *The Power of Images*, this study situates itself within the history of images, rather than the history of art *per se*. While art history is concerned with style and artists, a history of images draws from a broader visual pool to include not only the aesthetically appealing or materially valuable, but also "lesser," popular depictions.⁴⁴ Additionally, both images and acts that involve images (fabrication, alteration, destruction) are treated here as "texts" to be read—that is, not as mere illustrations of the written word, but as primary sources in their own right.

This dissertation is interested in the relationship between image and text in two major respects: first, in their most basic physical relationship, as found abundantly in illustrated manuscripts in which images and texts are paired as visual counterparts on facing pages or combined through the use of inscriptions and marginal notes. Second is the relationship between image and text within the realm of theology and doctrine. That is, this study argues in favor of the still-debated point that theological teachings were intentionally depicted in visual art.

⁴⁴ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Although images and texts certainly have distinct functions⁴⁵ and vocabularies, when produced by a common historical context they often offer complementary perspectives on a given issue.⁴⁶ I concur with scholars such as Hans Belting and Robin Jensen that religious art should be studied according to both its form and function.⁴⁷ While stylistic analysis will play a role in this dissertation, it will do so in service to understanding the social and theological contexts of the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

Outline of Chapters

The late antique iconographic and theological context of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's production is established in Chapter Two. Within the context of the Arian controversy and the First Council of Nicaea, I examine the limited but not uncommon extant anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity, as found for example on several Roman sarcophagi. Chapter Three describes the iconographic context in which the Ashburnham Pentateuch was altered in the ninth century. The chapter analyzes examples of Trinitarian and Creation imagery, including examples from the Corbie Psalter, the Drogo Sacramentary, and the Moutier-Grandval Bible. I demonstrate that the Carolingians never visually depicted the Trinity as three men. Furthermore, Carolingian images of Creation present only the Logos-Creator, in apparent contrast to the Carolingian texts, which describe a Trinitarian act of creation. In Chapter Four, I review the Carolingian treatment of the Trinity at Creation in contemporary texts by theologians such as Alcuin of York and

⁴⁵ Indeed, images can “do” things that texts cannot (and vice versa). As Herbert Kessler has noted, medieval artworks “were devised to engage the viewer in an analogical process, offering spiritual readings of texts, elevating established categories of objects and iconographies, and deploying materials in such a way that physical presence is simultaneously asserted and subverted. Art fully was a means to realize the central claim of medieval theory: to show the invisible by means of the visible.” Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), xv.

⁴⁶ Cf., Robin Jensen, “The Economy of the Trinity,” 527.

⁴⁷ Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 12; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 26, 31; “An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1981/1980): 1.

Rabanus Maurus. These theologians wrote in response to theological controversies such as adoptionism and the *Filioque* debate, and therefore placed particular emphasis on the unity of the Trinity. I establish a connection between Carolingian theology and the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page in Chapter Five by examining the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum*, a unique Carolingian theological treatise that addresses representational art. This chapter also assesses the small group of aniconic artworks commissioned by Theodulf of Orléans, the author of the *Opus Caroli Regis*. Chapter Six describes the erasures made to the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page and locates these erasures within the larger history of manuscript alterations. This chapter concludes with several possible motivations for the erasures, from controversial theological reasons to possible political considerations to iconographic choices. Finally, the Conclusion briefly considers the afterlife of both the Ashburnham Pentateuch (e.g., in the eleventh-century frescoes in the church of St. Julien at Tours) and its relation to Trinitarian imagery more generally.

In short, this dissertation uses the modified Creation miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch as a case study with the goal of understanding the changes in teachings on and images of the Trinity during the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. A careful analysis of this folio's erasures provides a valuable illustration of the complex relationship between word and image as well as the impact that the Carolingian theology of the image had on contemporary art making and viewing.

CHAPTER II

PAINTING GOD: THE ASHBURNHAM PENTATEUCH IN ITS SIXTH-CENTURY

CONTEXT

The paleographer E.A. Lowe is said to have considered the Ashburnham Pentateuch to be one of the great riddles of Latin paleography.¹ Indeed, there are several unusual aspects that make it a fascinating, if frustrating, manuscript to study. Its precise date and origin remain a matter of debate among scholars, as described in the Introduction. Within the structures of the rust-colored borders, simple color-field backgrounds, inscriptions, and stylized gestures characteristic of late antique manuscripts and frescoes, the Ashburnham Pentateuch (AP) is innovative in its pulled-back, bird's-eye view perspective, which reveals multiple scenes in each miniature, often crowded with people, animals, and architecture. Most relevant to the concerns of the present study is the fact that the Ashburnham Pentateuch contains the last late antique anthropomorphic depiction of the Trinity (with the exception of the Hospitality of Abraham motif, which, as will be discussed below, was understood to be only a symbolic manifestation of the Trinity). The AP is also significant as the earliest extant pre-Carolingian Vulgate Pentateuch, and as a bridge between the late antique and early medieval periods, a fact that makes it an excellent case study in understanding the art and theology of this transitional period.² After an introductory description of the AP's Creation folio and other representations of divinity in the manuscript (none of which were erased), this chapter will establish the context in which the AP was produced by first giving an account of sixth century Trinitarian theology and then

¹ Mentioned in David H. Wright, "Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, BD., H. 3 (2006), 415.

² Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 45.

concluding with a consideration of images of the Trinity and Creation that date from the fourth to the sixth century.

The Creation Folio

At first glance, the miniature of folio 1v (Fig. 3) seems rather crude—the amorphous blobs that represent the primordial stuff of Creation are boxy and flat. Discerning the action of the image is made difficult due to the redactions and subsequent damage to the manuscript. However, closer inspection of the image’s extant figures—particularly the better-preserved second figure—reveals the artist’s attention to detail in the modeled folds of the clothes; this care is evident throughout the manuscript. In its initial sixth-century state, this folio depicted the Father and Son in human form, standing side-by-side four times. The only feature that distinguishes the two figures is the Father’s beard; the Son is clean-shaven.³ The Holy Spirit was only depicted once, hovering over the waters.

The exact representation of the Holy Spirit is unclear, as its form is now almost completely obscured by paint. Narkiss argues that the overpainted space and the remnant of the figure’s feet, which are barely visible, best accommodate the image of a winged man—an assessment with which I have to concur after personally viewing the distinctly human toes and feet.⁴ Verkerk, on the other hand, argues that it was more likely depicted as a dove, based on iconographic *comparanda*: most early Christian depictions of the Holy Spirit were in the form of a dove, as in depictions of Christ’s baptism.⁵ Furthermore, the Holy Spirit was never represented as a winged man. That said, the dove does not seem to have been used in Creation scenes

³ Verkerk refers to the young Creator as barefoot, but upon close inspection of the manuscript I have to disagree. Cf. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 64.

⁴ Bezel Narkiss, “Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969): 54.

⁵ Verkerk, *Early Bible Illumination*, 70.

either—although Narkiss points out that the thirteenth-century mosaics at San Marco in Venice, which were based on the late-fifth/early-sixth century Cotton Genesis (discussed below), present the Holy Spirit as a dove hovering over the waters.⁶ Still, because the Cotton Genesis was almost entirely destroyed in an eighteenth-century fire, it is impossible to know whether the dove of San Marco’s mosaic was actually based on the manuscript. Regardless, both Narkiss and Verkerk agree, if the Holy Spirit was indeed represented as an angel (or winged man), it would be entirely singular and unprecedented in art history.⁷ Even the depiction of the Holy Spirit as a dove at Creation would have been unique.

While Narkiss reads this as an image of the Holy Spirit “as an angel,”⁸ I recommend a distinction between an angel (i.e., a divine messenger) and an image of a man with wings, which in this case might merely be a logical solution to portray a figure hovering over the waters, and not indicative of a differentiation between the “Spirit of God” and the Holy Spirit, as Narkiss would have it.⁹ Of course, visually, an image of an angel and a winged man appear identical, but a distinction might be made based on context. This singular depiction of the Holy Spirit as a winged man could represent a move from late antique anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity—a transitional stop, so to speak, on the way from human figure to dove.

In his analysis of the Creation image, Narkiss refers to the Father-Son pairs as a “Binity” and goes to great lengths to argue that the representation is an indication of an “Ambrosian

⁶ Narkiss, “Towards a Further Study,” 54. See also, Kurt Weizmann, “The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures,” in Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, II (Chicago, 1984), 105-42; John Lowden, “Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis,” *Gesta* 31, No. 1 (1992): 42.

⁷ Bezalel Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham* (Valencia: Ediciones Patrimonio, 2007), 406; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 70. Because of this iconographic singularity, Verkerk maintains that the Holy Spirit was more likely represented here as a dove.

⁸ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 331, 406.

⁹ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 406.

layer,”¹⁰ linking it to Ambrose of Milan, who according to Narkiss did not consistently describe the Holy Spirit as being a part of Creation until after the issue of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in 381.¹¹ While Narkiss is not incorrect *per se*, his selection of Ambrose’s *Hexaemeron*, which was written almost two centuries before the AP, as the influence for the AP’s iconography is rather arbitrary and speculative, especially considering that the interim produced an abundance of writing that emphasized the creative efforts of all three persons of the Trinity.¹² Narkiss also attempts to establish iconographic precedent by arguing that the Arles Sarcophagus and the Dogmatic Sarcophagus (both discussed below) present a Binity, not Trinity, in the creation of Adam and Eve.¹³

In contrast, the possibility should be considered that this arrangement of four Father-Son pairs is due to the established understanding that the Father created the world *through* the Son. That the Holy Spirit is only depicted once, hovering over the waters, could very reasonably be explained by the fact that such is the only mention of him in the biblical text.¹⁴ Even in the late-fourth and early fifth-century century, theologians understood the three persons to be a single, cooperative Creator, as suggested by Augustine in his *Confessions*:

And now where the name of God occurs, I have come to see the Father who made these things; where the “Beginning” is mentioned, I see the Son by whom he made these things. Believing that my God is Trinity, in accordance with my belief I searched in God’s holy oracles and found your spirit to be borne above the waters. There is the Trinity, my God—Father and Son and Holy Spirit, Creator of the entire creation.¹⁵

¹⁰ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 402-08.

¹¹ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 406-07.

¹² Including but not limited to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and Ambrose’s subsequent *De Spiritu Sanctu*.

¹³ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 405-06. It is possible that Narkiss’ insistence on a creating Binity might also be symptomatic of his push for Jewish influences of the AP as he traces it back to Philo’s understanding of “*El Shaddai*.” Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 403.

¹⁴ As noted in Verkerk, *Early Bible Illumination*, 70.

¹⁵ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, translated by Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), XIII.v, p. 276. “*Et tenebam iam patrem in dei nomine, qui fecit haec, et filium in principii nomine, in quo fecit haec, et trinitatem credens deum meum, sicut credebam, quaerebam in eloquiis sanctis eius, et ecce spiritus tuus superferebatur super aquas, ecce trinitas deus meus, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, creator universae creaturae.*”

All things considered, because all three persons of the Trinity are indeed portrayed in this image—even if not the same number of times—this dissertation will depart from Narkiss and refer to the figures of the AP’s Creation image as a “Trinity” rather than a “Binity.”

Other Images of Divine Presence in the Ashburnham Pentateuch

The only other full-figure representation of God in the Ashburnham Pentateuch is found on f. 65v (Fig. 5), which narrates the Plague of the Firstborn. The top zone of the image (Exodus 12:29-30) takes up about two-thirds of the page. The elongated white arches of the city stand in stark contrast to the deep blue background, which evokes the darkness of the deadly night of the plague. In the upper-left corner, Pharaoh raises his hands to his face as he mourns his dead son, countered by dark-skinned Egyptians who weep over their dead children to the right. Directly below Pharaoh and loosely mirroring him in posture, the youthful Creator, beardless and barefoot, issues the command to smite Egypt’s firstborn to a downward-flying, sword-bearing angel (very similar to the angel of Jacob’s vision, discussed below).¹⁶ This exchange illustrates verse 29: “the Lord slew every firstborn in the land of Egypt.” The youthful Creator, or Logos, could be understood here to represent the agency of God.¹⁷ His figure is rendered in exactly the same gesture as the three Father-Creators in the Creation scenes of f. 1v. That the scene initiating the plague does not appear in the top left corner, as one might expect, makes this top register an example of the nonlinear, didactic composition that characterizes the AP.¹⁸

Augustine, *Confessions, Volume II: Books 9-13*, translated by William Watts, Loeb Classical Library 27 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912), 385.

¹⁶ Narkiss describes this figure as wearing sandals, but I can see no visual evidence that confirms this. Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 368. The halo of this depiction of the Son is too damaged to discern whether it was cruciform like that of the bust of God on folio 25v, discussed below.

¹⁷ However, pushed too far in this direction, such an interpretation would border on Modalism.

¹⁸ On the manuscript’s potentially didactic purpose, see Verkerk, *Early Bible Illumination*, 1-43, especially 18-19.

Herbert Kessler has suggested that, “the deployment of hand or anthropomorphic Deity came to be used actually to track the devolution of humanity’s state of grace. For example, while Christ was frequently portrayed as Creator in the opening sequence of Genesis cycles, he was often replaced by the hand or by an angel after the expulsion from Paradise.”¹⁹ Kessler’s examples include the Cotton Genesis, Moutier-Grandval Bible, and the portico mosaics of San Marco in Venice. As has just been observed in the depiction of the Plague of the Firstborn, this is not the case in the AP. While the AP does indeed depict the presence of God in a full-figure at Creation and in the forms of a hand and symbols in the postlapsarian world, God continues to appear in a full- and partial-figure even after the Fall. Thus, although it is true that most of the interactions between humanity and God in the AP are characterized either by the disembodied hand or bust, or by a symbol such as the pillar of fire, there is not a discernible linear, or chronological, diminishment in the form of God’s presence within the narrative of the AP (i.e., from full figure, to bust, to hand, to symbolic). Rather, these modes of representing divine presence are interspersed throughout; perhaps this is fitting with the kaleidoscopic nature of the AP.

There are only two examples of the bust, or head, of God in the extant images of the AP.²⁰ The first is an image of Jacob’s ladder, found on f. 25 (Fig. 6) in a full-page miniature, which is organized in three unlined registers, each containing three scenes.²¹ The scenes of the top register are grouped with figures framed in individual white arches against a maroon background. From left to right, these depict: Isaac, with Rebecca at his side, sending Esau, who

¹⁹ Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 6.

²⁰ The earliest precedent that I have identified for the bust of Christ in an Old Testament scene is in the fifth-century mosaic depiction of the offering of Melchizedek at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

²¹ For simplicity sake, I will refer to the registers from top to bottom as 1, 2, and 3 and the three scenes within them as A, B, and C, from left to right. So, for example, the second scene of the top register is referred to as 1B.

is dressed in a rust-colored shirt and carrying a bow, out to hunt (Gen. 27:1-5); Rebecca instructing Jacob in how to steal the blessing from Esau (Gen. 27:9); and a split scene of Isaac blessing Jacob (Gen. 27:18-29). The middle register is similarly split into three scenes and framed by white architecture. Scene 2A displays a continuation of Rebecca's instruction to Jacob and the preparation of meat for Isaac (Gen. 27:14). Scene 2B depicts Esau offering the venison to Isaac (Gen. 27:30), while scene 2C shows Esau carrying the dead deer from his hunt on his shoulders, with his left foot just transgressing the border, and then preparing its meat. The bottom left corner of the miniature portrays a pen of sheep and goats and is actually an extension of the scene of 2A; it is the flock from which Jacob gets the meat to give his father (Gen. 27:9). The first scene belonging to the bottom register is found in the center of the page under 2B and is a depiction of Jacob being blessed by Isaac and sent off to Mesopotamia (Gen. 28:1). Rebecca, Isaac, and Jacob all extend their right arms across their bodies in a gesture that echoes that of the Creator in f. 1v, and guides the viewer's eye to the next scene.²²

Scene 3B takes place among green hills; Jacob is depicted sleeping on the ground as his dream of the angels ascending and descending a ladder is pictured above him (Gen. 28:11-15). One angel stands upright on the ladder as a second angel flies down, head first, to the left of it. In fact, this flying angel appears to be almost exactly the same, though flipped, as the winged Holy Spirit from folio 1v.²³ The nimbed bust of God appears among clouds at the top of the ladder, which illustrates verse 13: “*And the Lord leaning upon the ladder*, saying to him: I am the Lord God of your father Abraham, and the God of Isaac; the land, in which you sleep, I will give to

²² In the bottom margin, there appears to be a sketch of a right hand in this same gesture.

²³ As Narkiss notes, it seems that angels did not receive wings in images until the early fifth century. Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 356, 408. Wingless angels are found in images of Jacob's dream in the Dura Synagogue and the Via Latina catacomb.

you and to your seed.”²⁴ While his beard seems to identify him as the Father (cf. f. 1v, Fig. 3), the cruciform halo could have been intended to indicate the Logos.²⁵ The final scene of the miniature occurs in the border at the bottom of the page (possibly illustrating Gen. 28: 5, 10, or 29:1), wherein Jacob steps out of the frame to continue his journey. His right arm is extended across his body, echoing the gestures of the figures of 3A and f. 1v, and makes him appear to beckon the reader to turn the page.

The artist, while illustrating very specific scenes from the text, has arranged them in a nonlinear, unconventional fashion; if one follows the chronology of the text, the images are to be read in this order: 1A, 1B, 2A, 1C, 2C, 2B, 3A, 3B, 3C. If we accept Verkerk’s claim that, “the illustrations invite a viewing from a visual and oral structure [...] that imposes a new chronology, or reordering of the characters and sequences of events, on the original narrative to bring out the moral of the story,”²⁶ what moral might the artist have intended to invoke here? Although the scenes are not presented in a linear fashion, the repetition of the extended right arm seems to reinforce a general left-to-right legibility or movement. There may be something to the central placement of the scenes of 2B and 3A (Esau offering venison to Isaac and Jacob being blessed by Isaac, respectively), which are united by the same-colored background and whose figures are larger than those of the surrounding scenes. Verkerk notes that the presence of sheep and goats in the pen of scene 2A may be a reference to the parable of the blessed and the damned in Matthew 25:32-33, thus making this miniature not just a depiction of the story of Jacob and

²⁴ Emphasis added. “*Et Dominum innixum scalae dicentem sibi ego sum Dominus Deus Abraham patris tui et Deus Isaac terram in qua dormis tibi dabo et semini tuo.*”

²⁵ Neither Narkiss nor Verkerk note the cross inscribed within God’s halo here. Cf. Narkiss, *El Penateuco Ashburnham*, 355; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 120. The use of the cruciform halo dates to about the late fifth or early sixth century. While it can be attributed to any of the members of the Trinity, it is most often used to identify Christ.

²⁶ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 20.

Esau, but also a scene of comparison and judgment, which prescribes Jacob-like behavior and condemns that like Esau.²⁷

The second example of the bust of God is found in the illustration of Moses receiving the Law on folio 76 (Fig. 7). This full-page miniature is split into two registers, distinguished by a green background on top and a reddish background on the bottom. The content of the bottom register, which contains a non-figural depiction of God's presence, will be addressed below. The top register is visually divided in two by the mass of mountains that runs along the top of the page. The irregular, jagged form of the mountains is mirrored in the shape of the deep red flames that leap out of the border of the right side of the image, illustrating Exodus 19:18: "And all mount Sinai was on a smoke: because the Lord was come down upon it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace: and all the mount was terrible." In the upper left corner, Moses is pictured with hands upturned in supplication to God, whose nimbed head barely peaks out from a cloud over the mountain. Regardless of whether this vignette is meant to portray "the glory of the Lord" as described in Exodus 19 or in 24, the artist deemed the nimbed head as necessary to identify the cloud as the presence of God.²⁸ At first glance, this might strike the viewer as somewhat ignorant or ironic, considering that Moses was given the Ten Commandments (and with them the prohibition against idols) on Mt Sinai. However, in a

²⁷ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 120-123.

²⁸ "And now the third day was come, and the morning appeared: and behold thunders began to be heard, and lightning to flash, and a very thick cloud to cover the mount, and the noise of the trumpet sounded exceeding loud, and the people that was in the camp, feared. And when Moses had brought them forth to meet God from the place of the camp, they stood at the bottom of the mount. And all mount Sinai was on a smoke: because the Lord was come down upon it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace: and all the mount was terrible. And the sound of the trumpet grew by degrees louder and louder, and was drawn out to a greater length: Moses spoke, and God answered him. And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai, in the very top of the mount, and he called Moses unto the top thereof. And when he was gone up thither, He said unto him: Go down, and charge the people: lest they should have a mind to pass the limits to see the Lord, and a very great multitude of them should perish." Exodus 19:16-21, emphasis added. "And when Moses was gone up, a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord dwelt upon Sinai, covering it with a cloud six days: and the seventh day he called him out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like a burning fire upon the top of the mount, in the eyes of the children of Israel." Exodus 24:15-17.

Christian context, the depiction of the head of God in the cloud on Mount Sinai is not an iconographic mis-step, but rather an insertion of Christian theology.²⁹

It seems that this page is meant to illustrate Exodus 33:9-23, the end of which (verses 18-23) includes Moses' plea to see God's glory on the mountain and God's passage before him in a cloud, showing only his backside. (These verses do not describe the tabernacle scene in the bottom register of the image.) If the manuscript does in fact reference these verses for this miniature, then why would the artist depict God's face within the cloud when the text states in verse 20 that, "Thou canst not see my face: for man shall not see me and live"? Or is it meant to illustrate verses 11, "And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend," and 14, "And the Lord said: My face shall go before thee, and I will give thee rest"? Regardless of which particular moments this miniature is meant to depict from the narrative of Exodus 33, it is unquestionably an image that deals simultaneously with the concepts of God's presence and absence, visibility and mystery. While Moses could only encounter God in the covering of a cloud, because of the incarnation the Christian believer—including the viewer of the AP—can experience God face to face.

Just behind Moses stand Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, dressed in the same white garb as Moses, with hands similarly outstretched; below them a group of elders huddles. To the right of this group, and in the center of the register, a crowd of men and women listen to Moses reading the covenant (Exodus 24:7); the tablets are atypically portrayed here as a diptych.³⁰ He stands to the right of the crowd, behind an altar bearing liturgical vessels. Surrounding the altar are seven men dressed in white. Verkerk interprets this altar scene typologically, suggesting that the group

²⁹ Cf. Herbert Kessler, "'Pictures Fertile with Truth': How Christians Managed to Make Images of God Without Violating the Second Commandment," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991/92): 64.

³⁰ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 94.

of the Israelites prefigures Christians who would assemble at their own altars.³¹ She interprets the diptych-form of the covenant to be a reference to the diptych used in the medieval Mass from which the names of donors were read. Verkerk notes that the liturgical objects on the altar (which she interprets as a chalice, two pots, and five loaves) “clearly indicate a Christian Eucharist,” and not the blood sacrifice recorded in the accompanying Exodus text.³² However, Celia Chazelle has taken issue with this, and some of Verkerk’s other interpretations, reading the image instead as *three* “chalices or basins filled with blood.”³³ In other words, sometimes a chalice is just a chalice; even a Christian context does not a eucharist make. The point being that for many of the AP’s images there simply is not enough information to identify all of the elements with certainty. Regardless, Verkerk’s larger thesis concerning the influence of Christian theology and practice on the AP as a whole remains sound.

The third and final type of bodily manifestation of the presence of God in the AP takes the form of a disembodied hand. Herbert Kessler suggests that early Christians used the Ark of the Covenant and the hand of God to symbolize the time before the incarnation, with the hand representing the voice of God.³⁴ In Christian art, this use of the disembodied hand dates back to the early fifth century, if not earlier, preceding the Ashburnham Pentateuch by at least a century. Paulinus of Nola records the descriptive inscription of a basilica’s apse vault:

The Trinity shines out in all mystery. Christ is represented by a lamb, *the Father’s voice thunders forth from the sky*, and the Holy Spirit flows down in the form of a dove. [...] The holy unity of the Trinity merges in Christ, but the Trinity has its

³¹ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 95.

³² Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 90. Similarly, she argues that the clothing of the seven men is that of the Christian deacon, making this scene a reference to the offertory procession of the Mass.

³³ Celia Chazelle, “Review of *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* by Dorothy Verkerk,” *The Journal of Religion* 86, No. 1 (January 2006): 118.

³⁴ Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 4.

threefold symbolism. *The Father's voice* and the Spirit show forth God, the cross and the lamb proclaim the holy victim.³⁵

In this case, which does not seem to have been a depiction of any particular narrative scene, all three persons of the Trinity were represented symbolically, including Christ. While Paulinus does not explicitly state that the Father's voice was represented by a hand, it is fairly safe to assume that it was, based on precedents in Old Testament scenes, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, in both Jewish and Christian art.³⁶ The hand-of-God-as-divine-voice can be found in Christian depictions of Old Testament scenes shortly before the creation of the AP (e.g., San Vitale, Ravenna). It was also carried into the New Testament images of Christ's baptism and transfiguration, (e.g., San Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna) both wherein God the Father is recorded as speaking, which reinforces the use of the hand as the divine voice, in addition to being a shorthand symbol for pre-incarnation communication in Old Testament images.

The first example of the hand of God in the Ashburnham Pentateuch is found on folio 6 (Fig. 8), which in the original binding of the codex would have followed the Creation miniature.³⁷ Thus, with the Fall and expulsion from the Garden taking place in the time between, the miniature on folio 6 is the AP's first depiction of postlapsarian interaction between God and man. The divine verbal communication is present in the form of a hand emerging from a bluish arc, representing heaven.³⁸ The full-page miniature is divided into three registers, rendered in

³⁵ Paulinus, *Epistulae* 32.10 (emphasis added), transl. P.G. Walsh, *Letters of Paulinus of Nola*, vol. 2, ACW 36 (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1967), 145. Quoted in Robin M. Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christian Art* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 122.

³⁶ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 122.

³⁷ On the original binding of the codex, see Bezalel Narkiss, "Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22 (1972): 19-38.

³⁸ Other examples in which the Hand of God symbolizes divine speech include f. 22v (Fig. 9), 58 (Fig. 10), and 127v (Fig. 11). The hand in f. 58 operates very similar to those depicted in f. 6—it descends from an arc in the corner of the register and is meant to symbolize God's speech in the biblical account (Ex. 5:22-23). The hand in f. 127v pokes out from behind the swag of a curtain, addressing Moses. In f. 22v Rebecca consults God about her the struggle between Jacob and Esau within her womb (Gen. 25:21). To do so she is depicted kneeling before an altar, from which the Hand of God emerges.

orange, green, and violet. The top register contains four compact scenes from the fourth chapter of Genesis: Adam and Eve under a bower, Eve suckling Abel, and Cain and Abel bringing their offerings before God, which is split into two scenes. In these last two scenes, Abel is dressed in white and Cain in brown. Abel first appears on the left, and then on the right in the second scene. In both scenes, the hand of God issues out from an arc of blue color at the top of the register and thus stands in for God's speech in Genesis 4:3-7.³⁹ The second register contains three scenes: in the first, Eve suckles Cain. In the second, Adam is shown working the earth with a plow and oxen. In the third, Cain is cursed by God, whose hand gestures accusingly from above, for murdering his brother. It is noteworthy that in this miniature's three scenes of divine communication Cain and Abel appear to look up at the hand of God. That is, although the hand is meant to represent (invisible) speech, it still iconographically operates as a visible agent, a locatable presence with which characters physically interact.

It is not until the bottom register of the miniature that the viewer witnesses the murder of Abel. Conceivably because it is the most important scene in the story, the bottom register takes up almost two-thirds of the page. In the upper left corner of the register, Abel sits while tending his flock, while Cain tills the field in the upper right corner. Just below Cain, a delicately rendered field of grain grows. At the bottom center of the page, we find the climactic scene of Abel's murder. Framed by large leafy plants and a deep violet outline, Cain grabs his brother by the hair and raises an ax over his head.⁴⁰

³⁹ "And it came to pass after many days, that Cain offered, of the fruits of the earth, gifts to the Lord. Abel also offered of the firstlings of his flock, and of their fat: and the Lord had respect to Abel, and to his offerings. But to Cain and his offerings he had no respect: and Cain was exceedingly angry, and his countenance fell. And the Lord said to him: Why art thou angry? And why is thy countenance fallen? If thou do well, shalt thou not receive? But if ill, shall not sin forthwith be present at the door? But the lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it." Genesis 4:3-7.

⁴⁰ Thus, as in f. 25, the scenes of f. 6 are not arranged according to the chronology of the biblical narrative. If read in chronological order, the viewer would instead proceed through the scenes as follows: 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, 1C, 1D, 3A, 3C, 3B, and 2C.

The artist of the Ashburnham Pentateuch chose to depict the presence of God in three distinct, but related anthropomorphic ways: as a full figure, a bust, and a disembodied hand. As Kessler has suggested, the full-figure does seem to indicate a kind of presence and accessibility that the bust and hand do not. Apart from that suggested motivation, it is unclear why the artist chose one representation over another; in the AP, all three forms were used to illustrate moments of God's speech to an individual in the biblical narrative.

Symbolic Depictions of God's Presence

For our discussion of non-bodily, symbolic depictions of divine presence, we will return to the bottom register of folio 76 (Fig. 7), in which both the Ark of the Covenant and the pillar of cloud are represented (Ex. 33:9-23).⁴¹ The Ark is pictured inside the tabernacle at the center of the register; its white cloth covering and the chandelier that hangs above it reinforce its centrality and therefore its significance. It is framed by white and colored curtains and hanging lamps, as well as by a single candlestick at each end of the tabernacle. Moses and Joshua approach from the left; their figures are framed by the doorways of a white tent, operating much like the white architecture of the other miniatures in the manuscript. Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu approach from the right and are similarly framed by a second white tent. Both Aaron and Moses draw back white curtains at each end of the tabernacle, as if revealing the Ark to the viewer. Unlike the other representations of divine presence, because the Ark contained the tablets of the covenant, it

⁴¹ The Ark of the Covenant is also found on f. 127v (Fig. 11). It is covered with a white cloth, as in f. 76, but in this case the two cherubim are also displayed. The pillar of fire is also depicted on f. 68 (Fig. 12). As in f. 76, the candle is located at the right edge of the image and is almost undetectable due to its colorlessness—it easily blends in with the natural color of the vellum.

was *literally* the embodiment of God's divine speech to his people, "the locus of God's communication."⁴²

In addition to the Ark of the Covenant and the bust of the top register, discussed above, there is another depiction of God's presence in this miniature. Barely discernible due to its location and color, a pale handheld candle occupies the thin space between the right edge of the miniature and the brown ink border. A billowing triangle of white cloud appears to trail behind it to the left. Distinct from the hand of God motif already discussed, this candle held by the hands of God is as much a symbol for God's presence as it is for his speech. The elements of the lower register coincide with the description found in Exodus 33:

And when he [Moses] was gone into the tabernacle of the covenant, *the pillar of the cloud came down, and stood at the door, and he spoke with Moses*. And all saw that the pillar of the cloud stood at the door of the tabernacle. And they stood, and worshipped at the doors of their tents. And *the Lord spoke to Moses face to face*, as a man is wont to speak to his friend.⁴³

Verkerk argues that the candle/pillar of cloud is meant to reference the Paschal candle of the Roman liturgy and is therefore symbolic of Christ.⁴⁴ She notes that the pillar of cloud had most frequently been represented as a column topped with a flame, as well as a column made of flames; the pillar of cloud as candle is unique to the AP. Therefore Verkerk believes that the symbol has liturgical origins; that the candle also appears on folio 68, the Crossing of the Red Sea, a narrative which was read during Lent and typologically associated with baptism, seems to link it by association to Easter.⁴⁵

⁴² Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 4.

⁴³ Exodus 33:9-11, emphasis added.

⁴⁴ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 98, 161.

⁴⁵ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 85-87. Celia Chazelle is unconvinced by Verkerk's argument: "While the candle is an attested feature of Easter vigils in northern Italy from the fourth century, it was not part of the papal mass until the tenth." Chazelle, "Review of *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*," 118.

As with the figural representations of divine presence, the symbolic forms of the Ark and the candle/pillar of cloud are employed by the AP's artist as a visualization of God's speech. However, several of the biblical narratives imply some kind of physical presence in addition to speech, such as when God leans (*innixum*) on the top of Jacob's ladder or passes by Moses. Of the figural representations, the hand of God is probably the least problematic due to its disembodiment⁴⁶ and its established conventional use in Jewish and Christian art before the AP. The anthropomorphic accessibility implied by facial depictions of God is a bit more difficult in that it might lend itself to confusion or idolatry.⁴⁷ The Ark is the least problematic of the AP's depictions of divinity, as it is an object taken directly from the biblical text and was itself a container of text. The pillar of cloud, however, is a departure from previous depictions, perhaps for the Christian liturgical reasons suggested by Verkerk. Regardless, it remains that the artist of the AP balanced convention and innovation in images that simultaneously profess God's hiddenness and accessibility, a paradox inherent to a Christian interpretation of the Pentateuch. Considering that the anthropomorphic depiction of all three members of the Trinity at Creation is the only image in the manuscript that was modified, it stands to reason that it was not the depiction of God in human form that was offensive to the redactor, but rather the representation of the Trinity as three distinct figures. Possible motivations for this modification will be addressed in Chapter Six.

Theological and Iconographic Context of the Manuscript

Since the date and origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch cannot be determined with any certainty, its context can only be described in the broadest of strokes. Thus this dissertation will

⁴⁶ Cf. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 3.

⁴⁷ Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 18.

proceed by ascribing the manuscript with a general date of the second half of the sixth century and an origin in the Mediterranean region of the Western Roman Empire, possibly Italy. A luxury item, it was clearly commissioned by a person of status and was valued. Despite the mystery surrounding its origins, some general remarks about the theological and iconographic context in the decades around the creation of the manuscript may enable an understanding as to why such an image was permissible in the sixth century. First, relevant contemporaneous debates and theological treatises will be considered. This chapter will then conclude with a survey of images of the Trinity and Creation from the fourth to the sixth century.⁴⁸

*Arianism*⁴⁹

The Arian heresy emerged in Alexandria around the year 318 CE, as the priest Arius actively took to spreading his doctrine that the Father had to precede the Son in some respect, claiming that to believe otherwise was to be polytheistic. This extreme monotheistic distinction resulted in the Arian teaching that Christ was a creature, though set apart by being created before time.⁵⁰ The First Ecumenical Council convened at Nicaea in 325 CE at the command of Constantine to address the division caused by Arius. The Creed issued by the council condemned Arius without mentioning his name when it anathematized “those who say ‘there once was when he was not,’ and ‘before he was begotten he was not,’ and that he came to be from things that were not, or from another hypostasis or substance, affirming that the Son of God is subject to

⁴⁸ It should be noted that describing these two sections as “theological” and “iconographic” is a somewhat unnecessary distinction, as the art of this period is also a significant theological resource, as will be demonstrated.

⁴⁹ I am indebted to Yaniv Fox and Yitzhak Hen for their helpful suggestions in the development of this section.

⁵⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 193-200. More recently, see Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

change or alteration.”⁵¹ Even after its condemnation by ecumenical councils in 325 and 381, Arianism persisted and quickly spread through the Goths and other so-called Barbarian groups in Europe.⁵²

If the Ashburnham Pentateuch can indeed be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, it would have fallen on the heels of the Gothic War, which was waged by the Emperor Justinian against the Ostrogoths in Italy and the surrounding territories from 535 to 554. Thus, the anthropomorphic Trinity of the AP’s Creation image could very well have been intended as an anti-Arian triumphalist statement. Indeed, considering this date and context, its iconography may in fact help to locate it within Italy. Making an anti-Arian image of the Trinity had the potential to be politically dangerous in the Lombard territories of Italy (which in the late sixth century included Milan in northern Italy, and excluded Ravenna and Rome), as Arianism continued to thrive among the aristocracy.⁵³ Thus, if made in Italy at this time, the Byzantine-controlled centers of Rome and Ravenna would be the most logical potential origins for the manuscript.

The Filioque

The *Filioque* debate is significant in the history of Christian theology because it centers on the relationship between the three persons of the Trinity and because its application complicated the communion between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church, the effects of which are still felt today. Intimations of the doctrine are present in early Latin writings, first articulated

⁵¹ Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 5. These quotes are a reference to Arius’ letter to Eusebius. Arius of Alexandria, *Epistle to Eusebius*, 5.

⁵² See, for example, the collection recently edited by Guido M. Berndt and Roland Steinacher, *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

⁵³ See, for example, *Epistulae Wisigothicae*, Ep. 8, ed. Gil, *MW*, pp. 19-27; R. L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus* (Ann Arbor, 2000), 124-5. Discussed in Yitzhak Hen, *Roman Barbarians: Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 132.

by Tertullian (d. 220) in his *Adversus Praxeam* and further developed in Augustine's Trinitarian writings, which became the basis for the *Filioque* doctrine in the West.⁵⁴ This was concretized in the Western Church's addition of the phrase "*Filioque*" to the Nicene Creed: "...*Spiritum Sanctum...qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*" ("...the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father and the Son"), which spread gradually from the late fifth-/early sixth-century Athanasian Creed and the Third Council of Toledo (589)—though it was not officially added to the Roman liturgy until 1013.⁵⁵ Much was at stake in the use of this little word, A. Edward Siecienski writes, "not only God's Trinitarian nature, but also the nature of the Church, its teaching authority, and the distribution of power among its members."⁵⁶ Although the *Filioque* debate did not become a full-fledged debate until the mid-seventh century, a few points are worth noting in order to better understand the theological climate in which the Ashburnham Pentateuch was produced.

In response to Arianism, the West found it necessary to assert the equality of the three persons of the Trinity—to that end, they conceived of the Spirit as proceeding from both the Father *and the Son*. Therefore, to deny the *Filioque*, as the East did, was to deny the consubstantiality of the Trinity and to be guilty of Arianism. The Greeks, meanwhile, were more concerned with responding to Eunomius, who had stated that the Spirit was third in the Trinity in every respect.⁵⁷ Greek Fathers such as Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus countered by

⁵⁴ E.g., Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeam* 4; Augustine of Hippo, *De Trinitate*, 15.17.27. Discussed in A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 59-63. See also Joseph Lienhard, "Augustine and the Filioque," in *Tolle Lege: Essays on Augustine and Medieval Philosophy in Honor of Roland J. Teske, SJ*, edited by Richard C. Taylor, David Twetten, and Michael Wreen (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2011), 131-44.

⁵⁵ Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 68-9. The *Filioque* was also affirmed at the Councils of Frankfurt (794), Friuli (797), and Aachen (809).

⁵⁶ Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 5.

⁵⁷ John Behr, *The Nicene Faith 2* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminar Press, 2004), 281; Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 39.

arguing for the equality and divinity of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁸ Although some Greek writings on the Trinity did describe the Holy Spirit as “flowing forth” or progressing (*proienai*) from the Father “through the Son,” this verb was distinct from the procession (*ekporeusis*) in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.⁵⁹ Acknowledging that the Son had a cooperative or intermediary role in the work of the Holy Spirit, the East maintained that the Father was still distinct as the Cause.⁶⁰ Ascribing any of this causality to the Son was, for the Greeks, to confuse the persons of the Trinity and to describe the Holy Spirit as unequal.

The actual debate over the *Filioque* has its beginnings in Maximus’ *Letter to Marinus* (645/646).⁶¹ In general, the Byzantines took issue with the addition of the *Filioque* not only because they disagreed with it doctrinally, but also on account of the independent authority the Pope exercised in making the change to the Creed. This is because the East interpreted the seventh canon of the Council of Ephesus (431), which states, “It is not permitted to produce or write or compose any other creed except the one which was defined by the holy fathers who were gathered together in the holy Spirit at Nicaea,” to mean that adding to the Nicene Creed was strictly prohibited—even for the Pope or another council.⁶² The West, on the other hand, believed the *Filioque* clause to be a necessary clarification and, technically speaking, not an addition. In this respect they had precedent in the First Council of Constantinople (381), which

⁵⁸ E.g., Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 17.43, *Contra Eunomium* 3.2; Gregory of Nazianzus, 25.15-18. Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 39-43.

⁵⁹ Siecienski 33-4.

⁶⁰ E.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 31.7. See also Gregory of Nyssa, *Ab ablabium quod non sint tres dii*. Discussed in Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 33-50.

⁶¹ Maximus the Confessor, *Opusculum* 10 (PG 91, 136); Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 78-86.

⁶² Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 65.

had expanded the Creed from the First Council of Nicaea (325) to include a more detailed account of Christ's life and additional statements on the Holy Spirit.⁶³

As with other points of tension between these two branches of the Church, the contextual differences between East and West contributed to the conflict. Perhaps chief among these was their distinct approaches to the theological tasks. In general the Greek fathers began with an understanding of God's nature (theology) and only then proceeded to describe his agency (economy), while their Latin counterparts moved in the opposite direction. Furthermore, Greeks such as Gregory Nazianzus (d. 391) were careful to distinguish between the theology and economy of God, while the West was prone to link the two.⁶⁴ And if that was not enough, there was the issue of translation between Greek and Latin terms—satisfactory one-to-one equivalents were often not available, which was also compounded with the problem of poorly translated works (as in the case of the Latin translation of the *acta* from the Second Council of Nicaea).⁶⁵

In short, the Western response to Arianism in the form of the *Filioque* debate, even in its earliest stages, might very well have contributed to the AP's emphasis on the Father and Son in the Creation folio. The similar gestures and appearance of the coupled figures could be read as a

⁶³ The following is the so-called Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, with italics to indicate the additions: "We believe in one God the Father all powerful, maker of *heaven and of earth, and* of all things both seen and unseen. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father *before all the ages*, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came to be; for us humans and for our salvation he came down *from the heavens* and became incarnate *from the holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary*, became human *and was crucified on our behalf under Pontius Pilate*; he suffered *and was buried* and rose up on the third day *in accordance with the scriptures*; he is coming *again with glory* to judge the living and the dead; *his kingdom will have no end*. And in the Spirit, *the holy, the lordly and life-giving one, proceeding forth from the Father, co-worshipped and co-glorified with Father and Son, the one who spoke through the prophets; in one, holy, catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism for the forgiving of sins. We look forward to a resurrection of the dead and the life in the age to come. Amen.*" This version of the Creed omits the following from the original Nicene version: "And those who say 'there once was when he was not,' and 'before he was begotten he was not,' and that he came to be from things that were not, or from another hypostasis or substance, affirming that the Son of God is subject to change or alteration – these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes." Norman Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York: Crossroad, 2001), 23-4.

⁶⁴ As summarized in Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 41; John McGuckin, *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 2001), 283-5.

⁶⁵ Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O.P. *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), 133-44.

presentation of the Son as an equal to the Father. That they are depicted four times, in contrast to the Holy Spirit's single appearance, could be interpreted as a visualization of their shared origin of the Holy Spirit's procession.

The Three Chapters Controversy

In her monograph on the Ashburnham Pentateuch, Dorothy Verkerk suggests that the manuscript's anthropomorphic representation of the Trinity should be understood in the context of the Three Chapters Controversy, which caused widespread division in the West during the fifth and sixth centuries.⁶⁶ In 553, Emperor Justinian convened the Fifth Ecumenical Council (i.e., the Second Council of Constantinople) with the hopes of ending the controversy and reconciling the miaphysites with the Chalcedonians.⁶⁷ Constantinople II is best known for its controversial condemnation of the so-called "Three Chapters"—though not the authors themselves—of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa.⁶⁸ The dyophysite-leaning Chapters had previously been accepted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which condemned the Monophysite doctrine of Eutyches.⁶⁹ It therefore proved to be a tricky business to anathematize the writings but not the ecumenical council. Indeed, the authors of the sentence of Constantinople II protested that they were compelled to condemn the Three Chapters

⁶⁶ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 66-69.

⁶⁷ On the Second Council of Constantinople, see, Joseph F. Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: a History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 48-54; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, Vol 1. The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 266-77; Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O.P. *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), 128-34; Norman Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 105-22. On the political and theological impact of the Council, see Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt, eds. *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

⁶⁸ Norman P. Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2001), 33.

⁶⁹ Dietmar W. Winkler, "Monophysites," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. Peter Brown, Oleg Grabar, and G.W. Bowersock (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 586-88. See also, S. P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian Church': A Lamentable Misnomer," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78, no. 3 (1996): 23-35.

in order to defend the orthodoxy of Chalcedon; the decrees of the first four ecumenical councils were read aloud as support.⁷⁰

Primarily concerned with non-Chalcedonian dyophysitism, the fourteen anathemas of Constantinople II focus on the unity of Christ as one person with two natures. The first anathema of Constantinople II condemns those who do not profess the orthodox understanding of the Trinity as “one nature or subsistence...to be adored in three subsistences or persons.”⁷¹ The second anathematizes those who deny that the Word has “two nativities,” of the Father and of the Virgin Mary. The third anathematizes those who deny that the Word and Christ are one and the same Lord, and the following anathema describes their natural union in the incarnation, “a union of subsistence...the union of synthesis.”⁷² The fifth anathematizes anyone who denies that Jesus Christ consists of one person or subsistence, stating that, “There has been no addition of person or subsistence to the holy Trinity even after one of its members, God the Word, [became] human flesh.”⁷³ Similarly, anathemas 7-10 condemn anyone who does not affirm that Jesus Christ is truly God, one person with two natures, indivisible and unconfused. Reminiscent of Cyril’s third letter to Nestorius,⁷⁴ the twelfth anathema describes the unity of Christ and the Word, declaring that Christ is not to be adored merely as an icon, as a sign pointing to God, “in the way that one adores a statue of the emperor,” but instead as true God.⁷⁵ This anathema also condemns Theodore for stating that Christ’s impartation of the Holy Spirit was only a sign.

The Ecumenical Councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople articulated the orthodox position between the heretical polarities of non-Chalcedonianism, both dyophysite and

⁷⁰ Tanner, *Decrees*, 112.

⁷¹ Tanner, *Decrees*, 114.

⁷² Tanner, *Decrees*, 115.

⁷³ Tanner, *Decrees*, 116.

⁷⁴ Tanner, *Decrees*, 52.

⁷⁵ Tanner, *Decrees*, 119.

miaphysite. The anathemas of Constantinople II demand an understanding of Christ as fully divine and fully man and of the Trinity as an indivisible union of three persons. Verkerk suggests that the Ashburnham Pentateuch's use of an anthropomorphic "Binity" in its "illustration of the Creation seems an early and experimental attempt to portray God the Father and God the Son as both coequals and coeternal" in the aftermath of Constantinople II.⁷⁶

Trinitarian Theology in the Sixth Century

The above-mentioned controversies certainly contributed to the articulation of Trinitarian theology in the sixth century. One of the key figures in Italy at this time was the philosopher Boethius (c. 480-c. 524), who translated the works of Plato and Aristotle and wrote the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Boethius enjoyed the favor of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric (454-526) for several years and ascended to the position of Master of Offices.⁷⁷ Although an Arian, most of Theodoric's reign was characterized by religious tolerance of his orthodox and Jewish subjects. But this peace ended when he came to suspect Boethius of treason and had the philosopher imprisoned in Pavia until his execution in 524. Of his many treatises, Boethius' *Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Tres Dii*, as its title indicates, deals most explicitly with the nature of the Trinity and, as Boethius acknowledges, is inspired by Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Boethius describes the orthodox understanding of the unity of the Trinity when he writes that, "the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God. Therefore Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God, not three Gods. The principle of this union is absence of difference:

⁷⁶ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 68.

⁷⁷ On Boethius, see, for example, Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr. and Philip Edward Phillips, eds., *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages* (Brill, 2012); John Marenbon, *Boethius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Marenbon, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Boethius* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). On Theodoric, see, for example, Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Hen, *Roman Barbarians*, 27-58; Sean D. W. Lafferty, *Law and Society in the Age of Theodoric the Great: A Study of the Edictum Theoderici* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); John Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

difference cannot be avoided by those who add to or take from the Unity, as for instance the Arians, who, by graduating the Trinity according to merit, break it up and convert it to Plurality.”⁷⁸ Boethius explains that while created things are the sum of their parts and therefore are not their own essence, God is One and therefore is his own essence (“*ideo unum et est id quod est*”).⁷⁹ He goes on:

Now God differs from God in no respect, for there cannot be divine essences distinguished either by accidents or by substantial differences belonging to a substrate. But where there is no difference, there is no sort of plurality and accordingly no number; here, therefore, is unity alone. For whereas we say God thrice when we name the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, these three unities do not produce a plurality of number in their own essences, if we think of what we count instead of what we count with.⁸⁰

Boethius makes the further distinction that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the same, but not identical (“*idem equidem est, non vero ipse*”).⁸¹ And just as it *seems* that we predicate quantity in describing the Trinity, so do we only *seem* to predicate quality. In other words, all of God’s traits are essential, not accidental. For instance, a man may be described as “great,” but God is greatness itself.⁸² Thus, Boethius, writing in Arian-ruled Italy, maintained the absolute unity and equality of the three persons of the Trinity.

⁷⁸ “*Pater...deus filius deus spiritus sanctus deus. Igitur pater filius spiritus sanctus unus non tres dii. Cuius coninunctionis ratio est indifferentia. Eos enim differentia comitatur qui vel augent vel minuunt, ut Arriani qui gradibus meritorum trinitatem variantes distrahunt atque pluralitatem diducunt.*” Boethius, “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Dii,” in *The Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, translated by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Library 74 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 6-7.

⁷⁹ “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Tres Dii,” *LCL* 74, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁰ “*Deus vero a deo nullo differt, ne vel accidentibus vel substantialibus differentiis in subiecto positus distent. Ubi vero nulla est differentia, nulla est omnino pluralitas, quare nec numerus; igitur unitas tantum. Nam quod tertio repetitur deus, cum pater ac filius et spiritus sanctus nuncupatur, tres unitates non faciunt pluralitatem numeri in eo quod ipsae sunt, si advertamus ad res numerabiles ac non ad ipsum numerum.*” “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Dii,” *LCL* 74, pp. 12-13.

⁸¹ “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Tres Dii,” *LCL* 74, pp. 16-17.

⁸² “*Magnus’ etiam homo vel deus dicitur atque ita quasi ipse sit homo magnus vel deus magnus; sed homo tantum magnus, deus vero ipsum magnus existit.*” “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Tres Dii,” *LCL* 74, p. 18. In his shorter tractate *Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus de Divinitate Substantialiter Praedicentur* (“Whether Father and Son and Holy Spirit may be Substantially Predicated of the Divinity”), Boethius establishes that the three persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not predicated substantially, but relationally. “Quomodo Trinitas Unus Deus ac Non Tres Dii,” *LCL* 74, pp. 32-37.

Trinitarian Images

Iconographically speaking, there was some precedent for anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity, though there are no extant examples that are proximate in date to the AP. The earliest instances are found in Christian funerary art in Rome.⁸³ The fourth century produced at least two sarcophagi that contain anthropomorphic images of the Trinity creating Adam and Eve.⁸⁴ The Arles sarcophagus (Fig. 13), dating to the early-fourth century and residing at the Musée de l'Arles Antique, presents this scene in the left corner of its top register. Three male figures of similar size and Roman dress have been interpreted as the Trinity. The first, at the far left, thought to be the Holy Spirit, rests his right hand on the basket-weave throne of the central figure, who is assumed to be the Father. Unlike the other two, the third figure is beardless and therefore is identified as the Son; he holds a scroll in his left hand and rests his right hand on the head the diminutive figure of Eve in front of him. To his immediate right, a fourth figure stands with his left hand on the shoulder of the diminutive Adam. His beard and balding head seem to indicate that this figure is Paul, perhaps a reference to his description of Christ as the New Adam.⁸⁵

⁸³ Thorough studies on the development of early Christian art include Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York: Oxford, 1994); Robin M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (New York: Routledge, 2000); *Face to Face; Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2012); Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Jeffrey Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁸⁴ Scholars who disagree with this identification include: Y. Christe, "A propos du sarcophage à double registre récemment découvert à Arles," *Journal des savants* (1975): 78; D. Markow, "Some Born-Again Christians of the Fourth Century," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 652; J. Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert. Anthropomorphisch Trinitätsbilder?" *JbAC* 19 (1976): 159; A. Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938-39): 43-44; U. Schubert, "Eine jüdische Vorlage Darstellung der Erschaffung des Menschen in der sogenannten Cotton-Genesis Rezension?" *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Vatican (1978), 434. Cited in Robin M. Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity at the Creation of Adam and Eve," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7.4 (1999): 540.

⁸⁵ As noted by Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity," 532, 545. Cf. I Cor. 15:22, 45-47.

Dating to just a little bit later than the Arles, the Vatican Sarcophagus (Fig. 14), also known as the Dogmatic Sarcophagus, depicts an almost identical version of the creation of Adam and Eve. Among the main differences is that the third figure sports a beard, conforming his appearance to that of the other two members of the Trinity, which Robin M. Jensen notes may be a correction to the depiction of the Trinity on the Arles sarcophagus.⁸⁶ Additionally, only Eve is standing while Adam lies at her feet, presumably in the deep sleep during which his rib was extracted. Just to the right of the creation scene, Adam and Eve appear in full-size form. They flank a toga-clad figure, who, though unlike the figures of the Trinity to the left is beardless, is understood to be the Son bestowing tasks upon the first couple.⁸⁷

Jensen has also suggested that the Trinitarian interpretation of the Creation scenes on both sarcophagi is reinforced by the Adoration of the Magi scenes that appear directly below them.⁸⁸ These are compositionally associated by the repeated use of the basket-weave throne, now occupied by Mary and the Christ-child. The figures are similarly grouped in threes, this time with Joseph standing behind the central figure (Mary), with his hand resting on the throne. Jensen also notes that on the Vatican sarcophagus the first Magi points to three stars (depicted as disks) instead of the usual one, which could be interpreted as a Trinitarian symbol. If the viewer follows the Magi's gesture beyond the guiding star(s), their gaze is led to the figures of the Trinity pictured above. In short, the Arles and Vatican sarcophagi are significant as early visual expressions of the theological understanding that all three persons of the Trinity participated in creation, which was articulated as early as the second century in the writings of Irenaeus of Lyon.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity," 542.

⁸⁷ Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity," 533.

⁸⁸ Jensen, "The Economy of the Trinity," 542.

⁸⁹ E.g., Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adv. Haer.* 1.10.1-3; 2.2.4-5; 5.6.1.

A fourth-century sarcophagus fragment from Rome (Fig. 15) may depict another early anthropomorphic Trinity. The scene has been identified as an image of Abel presenting his sacrifice to a beardless God, who is seated in a basket-weave throne with a scroll in his left hand.⁹⁰ Two beardless figures flank Abel, but given the fact that faces and figures are often used as visual filler in sarcophagi, it is difficult to identify them as members of the Trinity with certainty as the corresponding biblical text (Gen. 4:4) does not have the tradition of Trinitarian interpretation in the same way as the Creation narrative of Genesis 1. Similarly difficult to determine are the details of an image of the sacrifice of Isaac on a fourth- or fifth-century sarcophagus, now housed at the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse (Fig. 15). Abraham holds a knife to the head of Isaac, who is bound and kneeling. Sarah's inclusion in the scene is unusual; she stands just to the right with her hand drawing back the cloth of her headdress. The substitute ram perches at the level of her head, as though patiently awaiting his fate. Three similarly-dressed figures stand to the left of Abraham and turn their heads toward the scene. Two of them hold scrolls in their left hand, while the third appears to hold one in his right hand. Are these figures meant to be a Trinitarian witness to the action or are they merely compositional filler?

Anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity seem to have gone out of fashion by the fifth century, and certainly by the time the Ashburnham Pentateuch was made in the sixth century, for which we have no contemporary *comparanda*. One of the most common symbolic representations of the Trinity that supplanted it is the Old Testament scene of the Hospitality of Abraham (Gen. 18). Though technically also an anthropomorphic depiction, it was understood by the Church Fathers that the three visitors who appeared to Abraham were symbolic of the Trinity, but were not actually the Trinity in physical form—as, for example, Ambrose of Milan described

⁹⁰ Mentioned in *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, I (F. Steinber, 1967), cat. 935; pp. 389-90.

the encounter as a typification of the Trinity.⁹¹ Some, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, maintained that only the Logos could have appeared in bodily form, and thus must have been accompanied by two angels and not the Father and the Holy Spirit.⁹² Meanwhile others, including Augustine of Hippo, argued that all three of the men were angels since the episode occurred before the incarnation of Christ.⁹³ An early example of this motif is found in a fourth-century fresco in the Via Latina Catacomb in Rome (Fig. 17), in which Abraham is seated with a calf beside him, his hand raised to greet three identically-dressed men. The simplicity of the scene makes its interpretation difficult, but Jensen notes that “its proximity to the scene of Jacob’s dream suggests that it might have been meant to represent a divine theophany.”⁹⁴

Around the year 435 CE, a depiction of the Hospitality of Abraham was erected as part of the monumental mosaic program in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome (Fig. 18).⁹⁵ The top register of the panel presents Abraham genuflecting before the three visitors, identical with the exception of the mandorla that distinguishes the central figure, who seems to address Abraham with a raised hand. In the bottom register, Sarah is framed by a cross-inscribed structure as she prepares food for the three visitors. Abraham is doubly pictured in the act of bringing the meal to the table, behind which the three haloed men are seated, but this time the central figure lacks a mandorla.

About a century later and just a few decades before the Ashburnham Pentateuch was made, another monumental mosaic depiction of the Hospitality of Abraham was installed in another basilica, this time in northern Italy. A lunette mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale

⁹¹ Ambrose of Milan, *On his Brother, Satyrus* 2.96.

⁹² Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.2.7-8.

⁹³ Augustine of Hippo, *City of God* 16.29. For more on patristic interpretations of the Hospitality of Abraham see, for example, Jensen, *Face to Face*, 72-3, 78-9, 96-7, 114.

⁹⁴ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 117.

⁹⁵ Discussed in Jensen, *Face to Face*, 118-19. See also her “Early Christian Images and Exegesis,” in *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, edited by Jeffrey Spier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), especially 65-67.

combines the Hospitality of Abraham with the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 19). To the left, Sarah is once again framed within architecture; this time she is not cooking but rather brings one hand to her cheek, perhaps chuckling to herself about the unlikelihood of the visitors' prophecy. Abraham offers a small plated calf to his guests, who are seated at a table with three cross-inscribed loaves beneath a large tree. The three men are nimbed and dressed identically, but the various gestures of their hands and feet create the impression of movement or conversation. Just above the head of the third visitor, the hand of God emerges from the clouds, preventing Abraham from sacrificing his son Isaac and visually connecting the two scenes. Thus the viewer is reminded that the prophecy of Abraham's progeny would lead to the birth and attempted sacrifice of Isaac, which in turn is understood as a foreshadowing of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Jensen observes that this mosaic not only asserts the single shared nature of the three distinct persons of the Trinity but it can also be interpreted as eucharistic when its presentation of the three visitors' bread loaves and Isaac on the altar is considered within its physical location directly above the altar of the presbyterium and across from another lunette, which similarly pairs Melchizedek's and Abel's sacrifices.⁹⁶

Non-figural symbolic depictions of the Trinity seem to pick up the slack as anthropomorphic images disappear. For example, a silver reliquary, dating to the fifth or sixth century, may present such an image of the Trinity on its cover (Fig. 20, now housed at the Museo Pio Cristiano).⁹⁷ A cross, rendered by repoussé to appear jeweled, divides the cover into quadrants. In the bottom two, adoring angels flank the cross. Above, the hand of God and the dove of the Holy Spirit occupy their own quadrants, thus composing a possible Trinitarian image of Father (hand), Son (cross), and Holy Spirit (dove).

⁹⁶ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 120.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Leonard von Matt, *Art Treasures of the Vatican Library* (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1970), 171.

The Trinitarian formula of the hand of God, dove of the Holy Spirit, and the figure of Christ begins to appear in the sixth century in scene's of Christ's baptism.⁹⁸ For example, in a small sixth-century ivory plaque, now in the British Museum (Fig. 21), John the Baptist places his right hand on the head of the nude and youthful Christ, who is waist-deep in the river. An angel stands behind him, ready to receive the Savior with a cloth, while the personification of the River Jordan is seated on the bank in the bottom right of the plaque. Directly above Christ's head, the hand of God emerges from the arc of heaven; the dove of the Holy Spirit seems to emanate from the hand and appears to be carrying a wreath in its beak. Before the sixth century, images of Christ's baptism only included the Holy Spirit's dove, as, for instance, in the mid-third-century frescoes of the Catacomb of Callixtus near Rome.

Additionally, Jensen has suggested that the fifth- and sixth-century mosaic images of crowns or crosses on an empty throne with a nearby dove may have been intended as a nonfigurative representation of the Trinity.⁹⁹ Variations on this theme appear in the programs of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, San Vitale, and the Arian and Orthodox baptisteries in Ravenna. There are of course also text-centered Trinitarian images, as numerous instances of Trinitarian prayers or inscriptions are associated by proximity to depictions of the cross, as for example on early Christian terra-cotta lamps from Upper Egypt, dating to the fourth to seventh centuries (e.g., Fig. 22).

⁹⁸ Henri Leclercq quoted a variation on the inscription in Paulinus of Nola's fifth-century basilica (mentioned above) and therefore interpreted the image as being of the baptism of Christ: "*Tato coruscat Trinitate mysterio,/ Stat Christus amne, vox Patris caelo tonat,/ Et per columbium Spiritus sanctus fluit.*"

This would have made Paulinus of Nola's image one of the earliest known of the baptism of Christ that includes the Hand of God. However, it seems that Leclercq's version of the inscription was mistaken. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire D'archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* 15.2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1953), 2789. Cf. "*Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio,/ Stat Christus agno; vox Patris caelo tonat:/ Et per columbam Spiritus Sanctus fluit.*" Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae* 32.10 (PL 61.336)

⁹⁹ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 123-4.

Images of a Single Creator

Apart from the Trinitarian Creation images of the Arles and Vatican sarcophagi discussed above, it seems that the tendency to feature only the Logos as the Creator in illustrations of the first chapter of Genesis—which was fully developed in the Carolingian era, as will be discussed in the next chapter—was already gaining traction in Late Antiquity.¹⁰⁰ One of the earliest instances of this is found in the late fifth-century Cotton Genesis (London, British Library, Cott. Otho. B. VI, f. 1, Fig. 23), which uses the Septuagint text and is most likely Egyptian in origin.¹⁰¹ For example, in the illustration of the creation of the plants, the artist painted the beardless Creator with a cruciform halo and cruciform staff. He stands in a garden of sorts, accompanied by identically dressed and winged personifications of the first three days of Creation.

However, it should be noted, as John Lowden has, that one must be cautious in interpreting the iconography of the Cotton Genesis as representative of its time.¹⁰² It is an unique manuscript; along with the Vienna Genesis, it is the only extant Greek manuscript that was made to be a standalone Genesis manuscript.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the West produced no single volume

¹⁰⁰ Some surviving sarcophagi fragments might be evidence of depictions of a single Creator in the fourth century, but they are too damaged to tell for certain. Possible examples include fragments from the church of Martres-Tolosanes and the museum in Naples. Cf. Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 406, fn. 142; André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A study of its origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 112-27.

¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, only fragments of the Cotton Genesis's hundreds of images remain after a fire destroyed most of the manuscript in 1731. Happily, about a century earlier, the scholar Nicholas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc had begun the first facsimile of an illuminated manuscript, though only a handful of his pages survive today. Herbert L. Kessler, "The Word Made Flesh in Early Decorated Bibles," in *Picturing the Bible*, 154-55, see also, cat. 80A-F, pp. 268-70. See also, Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), especially 49-50. Before its tragic demise, the Cotton Genesis was used as a model for the narthex mosaics in San Marco at Venice in the thirteenth century. While the degree of faithfulness in the copying is not known, it is worth noting that the Holy Spirit is represented as a dove in the Creation story. On the mosaics, see, for example, Kurt Weitzmann, "The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures," in Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984), 105-42.

¹⁰² As Lowden puts it, "to develop a model of the narrative art of Late Antiquity, and its medieval reflections, largely on the basis of the Cotton Genesis is to posit the unparalleled as the basis for the norm." He also writes against Weitzmann-esque tendencies toward constructing theoretical lost models: "there appears to be no justification for extrapolating from the early Genesis manuscripts, as has been done, similar (lost) volumes for other books of the Bible." Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis," 50.

¹⁰³ John Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis," 41. It is worth noting that Lowden follows Gerstinger's proposal that the Vienna Genesis was made with a didactic purpose and also applies that theory to the Cotton

manuscripts of Genesis in Latin, although vernacular paraphrases were relatively common in the early Middle Ages.¹⁰⁴ Roughly contemporary with the Cotton Genesis, the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Theol. Gr. 31, ff. 1-1v, Fig. 24), which was probably produced in Syria during the early sixth century (i.e., between the dates of the Cotton Genesis and the Ashburnham Pentateuch), uses only the hand of God to signify divine presence in its illustrations of the first chapters of Genesis.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

Although the precise details are unknown, we can observe that, as a manuscript that originated from the Mediterranean—and quite possibly Italy—in the late sixth century, the Ashburnham Pentateuch emerged from a context that was still bristling with theological controversy, as Christianity had already been divided by Christological controversies for centuries. In the decades before the production of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Second Council of Constantinople had affirmed the Council of Chalcedon's Christology while condemning the Three Chapters. Justinian had recently triumphed over the Arian Goths in Italy. It seems likely that the AP's conception of God as three equal but similar men was a visual and triumphant assertion of the orthodox doctrine of the consubstantial and coeternal Trinity. While having some precedent in early Christian funerary art, the AP's anthropomorphic depiction of the Trinity at Creation was unique within its immediate context in the late sixth century; there would not be an image like it for centuries to come.

Genesis. This provides a tentative and long-distance parallel with the didactic purpose of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, as suggested by Dorothy Verkerk. Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis," 50; H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis*, (Vienna, 1931), 178.

¹⁰⁴ Some examples are discussed in Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis," 42-45.

¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that about a decade ago, Maureen O'Brien began a potentially significant dissertation, entitled "Art and Text in the Vienna Genesis," at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, under the supervision of Dorothy Verkerk. An important part of the project was her argument that the majority of the manuscript's images were in fact painted in during the Renaissance. Unfortunately, O'Brien never completed the dissertation.

CHAPTER III

THE TRINITY IN CAROLINGIAN ART

In the previous chapter, we examined the iconographic and theological milieu of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (AP) in Late Antiquity. This investigation showed that the production of the AP occurred in an era of theological controversy and political instability, in which an image of an anthropomorphic Trinity carried not only doctrinal, but also political significance.

This chapter will place the AP in the context of early medieval art; it will analyze select Carolingian depictions of both the Trinity and the Creation narrative in an effort to establish the ninth-century context in which the AP was then altered. Doing so will demonstrate the relative singularity of the manuscript (and particularly of its Creation image) within the library at Tours, a factor that likely contributed to the decision to edit it. Despite its apparently troubling Creation image, the AP was certainly valued by its Carolingian viewers, possibly because of its Roman origins, as will be discussed in the fifth chapter. This appreciation is evidenced by the fact that the manuscript was not only preserved, but also seems to have influenced some Carolingian depictions of postlapsarian Adam and Eve. As the present chapter will demonstrate, despite an appreciation of the AP, Carolingian depictions of Creation never include an anthropomorphic Trinity; in fact, in all extant examples, the Logos is the only visually represented Creator.

The Role of the Book in the Carolingian Renaissance

“Carolingian Renaissance” is a common phrase often used to describe the marked productivity and reform in major arenas such as law, art, literature, and liturgy during

Charlemagne's rule.¹ In the past thirty years, scholarship has questioned the traditional view that the period of about 150 years before Charlemagne constituted a dark age, devoid of learning and literacy.² Instead, there was arguably a great deal of continuity with the culture and ideals of the late Roman world, as seen, for example, in the Church councils, widespread literacy among the upper class, and theological writings of that period.³ The luxurious and innovative Ashburnham Pentateuch, which dates to this so-called "dark age," is also evidence of this continuity. Thus, it is difficult to say that there was truly a Carolingian "Renaissance," if it in fact superseded no dark age. On the other hand, this continuity is not to be overemphasized since the exact extent of cultural activity in the period before Charlemagne, especially in Merovingian Gaul, remains uncertain. Regardless, the concept of and interest in reform proved to be a significant thread of continuity from the Visigoths and Merovingians to the Carolingians.⁴

Moreover, scholars have shown that the figures in this so-called renaissance conceived of it as a *renovatio*, or "renewal," rather than a rebirth, and more frequently employed terms such as *correctio* and *renovatio* to describe their efforts.⁵ This Carolingian idea of renewal was not characterized so much by a desire to return to or imitate imperial Rome, as it was to revive early

¹ Giles Brown defines the Carolingian Renaissance as "the revival of learning in conjunction with a movement to reform (to 'correct') both the institutions of the Church and the lives of the Christian peoples living under Carolingian rule." Giles Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3. For additional treatment of the Carolingian Renaissance, see, for example, M.M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (New York: Brill, 1992); Susan A. Keefe, *Water and Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002); J.J. Porcher, W.F. Volbach Hubert, *The Carolingian Renaissance* (New York: G. Braziller, 1970); Richard E. Sullivan, *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995); Walter Ullman, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Methuen, 1969).

² For example, Edith M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985), 239-56; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Middle West* (Cambridge and Paris, 1986), 6-7. Cited in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2-3, 23-4. Willemien Otten notes the ambiguity of the term "renaissance" in "The Texture of Tradition: The Role of the Church Fathers in Carolingians Theology," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (New York: Brill, 1997), 3, 7.

³ Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," 3.

⁴ Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," 3-6.

⁵ Lawrence Nees, *The Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 9.

Christian teachings and virtues in an effort to reform the Church and the lives of Carolingian subjects. The Carolingian reforms emphasized order, discipline, and obedience; thus consistency in practices across government and Church institutions was an important goal. This emphasis was no doubt motivated to some degree by the practical need to unify the empire after Charlemagne's defeat of the Lombards and acquisition of reclaimed territories in 774.⁶

The role of the book was absolutely essential in this *renovatio* and extended to all aspects of Carolingian society.⁷ Books were the primary vehicles for the dissemination of information, knowledge, and culture. First and foremost among these books was the Bible; it was of course central to the Christian faith, but also provided models for all aspects of the Christian life, from government and warfare to worship and literature. In one way or another it was the subject of most writings produced at the time: be it the biblical text itself, exegetical and theological treatises, sermons, poetry, or liturgical books.

As the main loci of Christian faith and practice, regulation of the Bible and the liturgy were top priorities in the Carolingian reforms; attempts at uniformity of text and practice were part of an effort to achieve uniformity of belief. Even into the eighth century, there were several versions of the Latin Bible in circulation. And despite the earlier efforts of Charlemagne's father Pippin, who had banned Gallican chant as part of an effort to be consistent with Rome, liturgical practices continued to vary by region due to differences in culture and local history, not to mention the plain fact that it was difficult to enforce such regulations. In practice there was often

⁶ Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," 45.

⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, "Script and Book Production," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, 221-247, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 244.

little liturgical uniformity within a given province or even within a single category of liturgical texts in the early Middle Ages.⁸

The accuracy and consistency of biblical and liturgical texts were not only important in achieving the ideal of uniformity across regions, but were also perceived as necessary for right practice,⁹ as illustrated by an oft-cited phrase from Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis*. This circular, issued in 789, is significant as the most comprehensive of Charlemagne's statements about his reform campaign.¹⁰ In his discussion of monastery and church schools, he declares that church books need to be corrected: "because often, while some people desire to pray to God well, they yet pray badly by means of incorrect books."¹¹ This desire for right practice drove the biblical manuscript correction and liturgical reforms undertaken by institutions at Corbie, Metz, Orléans, and Tours.¹²

A key counterpart to the text production of the Carolingian Renaissance is its art, which included manuscripts, ivories, and decorative arts such as metalwork. The period is notable for the quantity and quality of its art and architecture. Charlemagne's victory over the Lombards and subsequent reclamation of Italian territories led to a discernible classicizing influence in art throughout Western Europe. Insular influences were also transmitted, especially in the art of

⁸ Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 4-5.

⁹ Though to be clear, this was an ideal striven for that was difficult if not impossible to realize. Rosamond McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible production: the Tours anomaly," in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 74.

¹⁰ Despite this suspicion, Theodulf obviously had some appreciation of craftsmanship and artistry, as evidenced in the prefatory poems of his Bibles (see below) and his descriptive poems concerning a *mappa mundi* and an image of the Seven Liberal Arts. For "*De Septem Liberalibus in Quadam Pictura Depictis*," see MGH, *Poetae*, I, 544-47; PL 105:333-5. For "*Alia Pictura in qua erat Imago Terrae in Modum Orbis Comprehensa*," see MGH, *Poetae*, I, 547-8; PL 105:336-7. See also, Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

¹¹ "[*Q*]uia saepe, dum bene aliqui deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant." MGH, *Cap. I*, no. 72, p. 60.

¹² Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," 22-3.

Northern Europe, though it should be noted that Carolingian artists did not simply copy Insular prototypes—they blended styles and drew from a variety of sources to create something new.¹³

As mentioned above, manuscript production experienced a significant uptick during the Carolingian *renovatio*: while about only 1,800 manuscripts survive from the first eight hundred years of Christian history, more than 7,000 date to the ninth century alone.¹⁴ Before the ninth century, pandects, or single-volume Bibles, were extremely rare; in contrast, at least forty-six Bibles and eighteen Gospel books survive from 800-853.¹⁵ Only three of these Bibles are significantly illustrated and also happen to post-date Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orléans.

In addition to the pandect and the regulation of the biblical text, the Carolingian *renovatio* included artistic developments in manuscript production, such as the reform of modes of script and the use of classicizing styles of painting.¹⁶ The centrality of the written word for the Carolingians is visually evidenced in the hierarchical relationship between text and illustration in their illuminated manuscripts, in which decorative script can function as an image and illustrations expound on the text.¹⁷ In his recent essay *Script as Image*, Jeffrey Hamburger explores what he refers to as the “iconicity of script,” that is, the ability of the written text to bear

¹³ See, for example, Rosamond McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Lawrence Nees, “Alcuin and Manuscript Illumination,” in *Alcuin von York (um 730-804) und die geistige Grundlegung Europas*, ed. Ernst Treppe (St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof St. Gallen, 2010), 149-184; Ernst Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1940); *Early Medieval Art: With Illustrations from the British Museum Collection* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1964); and Mary Garrison’s forthcoming, “Alcuin’s Library at York,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: From the Romans to the Normans c.400-c.1100*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge University Press).

¹⁴ Brown, “Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance,” 34.

¹⁵ Michael Camille, “Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts,” in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), 140. The “material turn” in scholarship has contributed to an increased attention to the materiality of manuscripts, as evidenced in recent volumes such as Jonathan Wilcox, ed., *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), and academic groups such as the Material Collective.

¹⁶ Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 93.

¹⁷ For a treatment of this relationship, see Rosamond McKitterick, “Text and Image in the Carolingian World,” in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 295-318; “The Scriptoria of Merovingian Gaul: a survey of the evidence,” in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. Howard B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, BAR, International Series 113 (Oxford, 1981), 173-207; Bischoff, trans. David Ganz and Daibhí Ó Croinín, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), 143-51.

meaning even apart from the content it signifies as an assemblage of letters.¹⁸ As Hamburger demonstrates, in the Middle Ages the power of the written word extended far beyond its informative and even decorative functions: the written word could also elicit performative responses from readers; it could carry a multitude of meanings, simultaneously operating as sign, symbol, and figure. These elements are visible in several of the examples discussed below, which consist largely of luxury Bibles and Psalters dating to the first half of the ninth century.

Trinity Images in Carolingian Manuscripts

Carolingian depictions of the Trinity can be parsed into three categories based on their respective portrayals of the Three persons as: (1) hand, man, and dove; (2) man, infant, and dove; (3) man, lamb, and dove. A possible fourth category that will also be discussed consists of anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity as three similar or identical men. However, the identification of the few images of this last category as Trinitarian is speculative at best. It should be noted that these motifs are not unique to the Carolingian period—each of them also appear before and/or after the Carolingians—but we consider them here in order to understand how the Trinity was conceptualized during the time that the figures were erased from the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation image.

The Hand-Man-Dove Motif

The most common motif, and the first to be considered here, presents the Father as a disembodied hand, the Son as the man Jesus, and the Holy Spirit as a dove. The representation of

¹⁸ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Script as Image*, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts (Walpole, MA: Peeters Publishers, 2014), 2.

the hand of God is significant as it may be linked to a particularly Jewish mode of imaging the Deity and divine speech.

A notable Jewish precedent for the hand of God as a symbol of divine interaction with humanity is found in the frescoes of the synagogue at the Roman garrison of Dura Europos in Syria, dating to about 244 CE. The hand of God is depicted in its frescoes ten times in scenes such as Moses and the burning bush, and Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones. It has been argued that the early Christians adopted the hand of God as a representation of the First Person of the Trinity from Jewish art; it was employed in Christian art from late antiquity until the Renaissance.¹⁹

The presence of the hand of God in both Jewish and Christian images can be interpreted as a signification of God's voice, presence, or approval. Herbert Kessler has suggested that, for Christians, "the two symbols [of Ark and hand] came to stand for the period before God became visible in the flesh of Jesus Christ. The *manus Dei* remained a convention for the disembodied divine voice [...] but from the very beginning of Christian art, Jesus was depicted in narrative scenes."²⁰ The insertion of Christ in or near Old Testament vignettes is an indication of a Christological reading of the Deity. In Christian art, the use of the disembodied hand as a symbol for the presence or voice of God the Father dates back to at least the early fifth century.²¹ For instance, Paulinus of Nola records the descriptive inscription of a basilica's apse vault thusly:

¹⁹ Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 3-6; Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B VI* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Frescoes of Dura Europos and Christian Art* (Washington, DC, 1990); Herbert Kessler, "'Pictures Fertile with Truth': How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991/1992): 53-65.

²⁰ Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 4.

²¹ It is worth noting here that the artist of the Ashburnham Pentateuch certainly had the Hand of God available as a tool for representing the Father, which he indeed made use of in several other images in the manuscript (e.g., ff. 6, 22v, 58, 127v), but chose not to rely on in the Creation image.

The Trinity shines out in all mystery. Christ is represented by a lamb, *the Father's voice thunders forth from the sky*, and the Holy Spirit flows down in the form of a dove. [...] The holy unity of the Trinity merges in Christ, but the Trinity has its threefold symbolism. *The Father's voice* and the Spirit show forth God, the cross and the lamb proclaim the holy victim.²²

In this case, which does not seem to have been a depiction of any particular narrative scene, all three persons of the Trinity were represented symbolically, including Christ. While Paulinus does not explicitly state that the Father's voice was represented by a hand, it is fairly safe to assume that it was, based on precedents in Old Testament scenes, such as the sacrifice of Isaac, in both Jewish and Christian art.²³

The Drogo Sacramentary²⁴ (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 9428) contains two images of the Trinity as hand, man, and dove. Commissioned by Bishop Drogo of Metz (one of Charlemagne's illegitimate sons) in the mid-ninth century, the Drogo Sacramentary is well known for the expertly rendered decoration and innovative iconography of its illuminations, which reflect the sacred drama of the liturgy in its architectural motifs suggesting tomb, altar, and ciborium.²⁵ With no full-page images, the manuscript is decorated primarily with large historiated initials. The Sacramentary is also celebrated for its ivory covers, which are each made up of nine small panels, the majority of which depict pontifical eucharistic and non-eucharistic services.

²² Paulinus, *Epistulae* 32.10 (emphasis added), trans. P.G. Walsh, *Letters of Paulinus of Nola*, vol. 2, ACW 36 (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1967), 145. Quoted in Robin Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christian Art* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 122.

²³ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 122.

²⁴ A sacramentary is a liturgical book that contains only prayers, formulas, and texts, with little or no instruction. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An introduction to the sources*, William Storey and Niels Rasmussen, transl. (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 135. Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 175ff. The Drogo Sacramentary in particular has four sections of text: the Canon of the Mass, the principal feasts of the Temporale and Sanctorale, the Common of the Saints, and miscellaneous masses and benedictions.

²⁵ See, for example, Robert G. Calkins, "Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 25, No. 1, *Essays in Honor of Whitney Snow Stoddard* (1986): 17-23.

The Drogo Sacramentary's first example of the Hand of God, Jesus, and dove motif is found with an image of the martyrdom of St. Stephen (f. 27, Fig. 25), whose feast falls the day after Christmas. The text of the page is the Collect of the Protomartyr's Feast; it reads: "Grant us, Lord, in the day at Mass, that we may learn to imitate what we worship and to love our enemies, because we celebrate the heavenly birthday of him who knew how to pray for even his persecutors. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit."²⁶ The initial *D* of this folio contains a depiction of Stephen's martyrdom outside of the walls of Jerusalem, which constitute the curve of the letter. At the letter's base, four men wield stones, the swirl of their tunics betraying their hurried rage. The first man of the group has released his weapon upon Stephen and it is pictured mid-air, while two additional stones are already striking his face. Appropriately, the space between Stephen and the men is filled by a sepulcher, which anticipates the saint's death. Stephen meanwhile appears unconcerned with his aggressors and instead casts his eyes heavenward as the biblical text dictates:

But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looking up steadfastly to heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. And he said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God. And they crying out with a loud voice, stopped their ears, and with one accord ran violently upon him. And casting him forth without the city, they stoned him [...]. And they stoned Stephen, invoking, and saying: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And falling on his knees, he cried with a loud voice, saying: Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep in the Lord.²⁷

Stephen's vision of Christ is pictured within the top of the *D*'s column: the Savior is nimbed, bearing a codex and a cruciform staff. Delicate rays emanate from the hand of God, which issues from the inner corner of the *D*. However, this initial goes beyond a strict depiction of the biblical

²⁶ Transcription: "*In die ad missam da nobis quesumus domine imitari quod colimus ut discamus et inimicos diligere quia eius natalicia caelebramus qui novit etiam pro persecutoribus exorare. Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti.*"

²⁷ Acts 7:55-9, Douay-Rheims.

text's description of "Jesus standing at the right hand of God": at each of the two corners of the letter, a gilded bird is poised. The identification of the lower bird is uncertain; it could be intended as a depiction of Stephen's departing soul or the comforting presence of the Holy Spirit (which would illustrate the biblical text's phrase "being filled with the Holy Spirit"). Regardless, the bird at the upper corner of the initial is certainly meant to be the dove of the Holy Spirit, as it is so closely grouped with the figure of Jesus and the hand of God. Thus Stephen's martyrrial vision is rendered a Trinitarian one.

The second example in this manuscript is an even more unified depiction of the Trinity. It is found on folio 78 (Fig. 26), which contains the *Collect for the Mass of Pentecost*. It reads: "God, who on this day instructed the hearts of the faithful with the illumination of the Holy Spirit, grant us in the same Spirit to understand what is right and to always rejoice in His consolation through our Lord Jesus Christ your Son who lives and reigns with you O God in the unity of the same Holy Spirit."²⁸ The acanthus-entwined initial *D* contains the scene of Pentecost: the twelve disciples are shown densely seated on the base of the letter. Most gaze past the tripartite architectural structure that frames them to the dove of the Holy Spirit above; its rays touch and alight each disciple's head with a holy flame. Above the central dome of the initial's building, the hand of God unrolls a scroll covered in a pseudo-script. This serves as a typological reference to several scenes: God giving the Old Law to Moses (c.f., Fig. 27, Moutier-Grandval Bible f. 25v), Christ giving the New Law to the Apostles (c.f., Fig. 28, Utrecht Psalter f. 14), and

²⁸ Transcription: "*Deus qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus inlustratione docuisti da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere et de eius semper consolatione gaudere per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti.*"

of course Pentecost itself, in which the disciples “were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with diverse tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak.”²⁹

The common invocation of the Trinity³⁰ that concludes the Pentecost Collect is visualized in the upper corner of the initial, where the dove is depicted on top of the hand of God. Just to the right, Christ reaches into the mandorla that encompasses the two symbols to touch them. Elizabeth Leesti has noted that by placing the Father and Son side by side on the same level, the Drogo Sacramentary asserts their equality.³¹ This particular visual construction was likely intended as an illustration of the *Filioque* phrase, “the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father *and the Son*,”³² which had been inserted into the Nicene Creed during the Carolingian period, ca. 798,³³ although the Church in Rome did not include it in the Creed until the eleventh century. The *Filioque* debate will be addressed in further detail in the next chapter. While the Acts account of Pentecost mentions only the Holy Spirit, in John 15:26 Christ foretells, “But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony of me.”³⁴ This verse was part of the Gospel reading for the Sunday before Pentecost and was also used by Carolingian theologians like Alcuin of York to argue that the Holy Spirit proceeds equally from the Father and Son.³⁵

²⁹ Acts 2:4, Douay-Rheims. Elizabeth Leesti, “The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary,” *Gesta* 28, No. 2 (1989): 205-216; Meyer Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus: A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works* (New York, 1964), 43.

³⁰ I.e., “...*per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti.*”

³¹ Leesti, “The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary,” 209.

³² “*Spiritum Sanctum...qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.*”

³³ Leesti, “The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary,” 43. On the development of the *Filioque* controversy, see A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³⁴ The Gospel reading for the Mass of Pentecost contains a similar statement: “But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you” (John 14:26).

³⁵ Leesti, “The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary,” 210. *Commentaria in sancti Joannis Evangelium*, VI, 37; Migne, *PL*, C, 949.

The Utrecht Psalter³⁶ (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32) also presents this Trinitarian motif of hand, man, and dove. While the Psalter has traditionally been dated to 816-35, Celia Chazelle uses its illustration that accompanies the *Fides catholica* (f. 90v) to argue for a production date in the late 840s or early 850s. Relatedly, the manuscript has long been associated with Archbishop Ebo, however Chazelle's suggested dating locates it instead during the archiepiscopate of Hincmar, Ebo's successor.³⁷ At any rate, the Utrecht Psalter was novel for its large size (roughly 328 x 254 mm), layout, Rustic capitals script, and distinctively expressive pen drawings.³⁸

Folio 88 (Fig. 29) bears the text of the *Te Deum*, the praise hymn traditionally ascribed to Ambrose that is sung at the end of Matins. At the apex of the scene, suspended in the center of the page, is Christ seated on a globe within a mandorla; the devil is his footstool. Christ is flanked by two seraphs and six angels. Below him in the middle ground of the image stands a group of martyrs, identifiable by their palm fronds, a group of apostles, and a group of prophets, identifiable by their scrolls. In the foreground, a small group of worshipers stands before the altar of a church. To the right, a group of men, women, and children represent believers in general.

Within his mandorla, Christ is beardless and cross-nimbed. In one hand he holds a cruciform staff, in the other a book upon which the dove of the Holy Spirit is perched. Above

³⁶ A psalter is a liturgical book that divides all of the Psalms for use at Matins and Sunday Vespers. It also often contains the ecclesiastical calendar, creeds, and the litany of the saints.

³⁷ Celia Chazelle, "Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter," *Speculum* 72.4 (1997): 1055-1077. See also her *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 239-299. It should also be noted that many scholars believe that the Utrecht Psalter is a copy of an earlier, possibly late antique, manuscript, which has since been lost. See, for example, Dmitri Tselos, "Defensive Addenda to the Problem of the Utrecht Psalter," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 334-49. As Chazelle notes in "Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter" (1057-58), the creativity of medieval artists is gaining more attention, in contrast to the previous trend of assuming a lost model. She cites Herbert L. Kessler, "On the State of Medieval Art History," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 166-87, esp. 182, and Lawrence Nees, "The Originality of Early Medieval Artists," in Celia Chazelle, ed., *Literacy, Politics, and Artistic Innovation in the Early Medieval West* (Lanham, Md.; New York; and London, 1992), 77-109.

³⁸ Koert van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David," in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. Koert van der Horst, William Noel, and Wilhelmina C.M. Wüstefeld ('T Goy, Netherlands: HES Publishers, 1996), 23-7.

Christ's head, the hand of God bears a wreath. This reflects the lines of the *Te Deum*, which continue on the verso of the folio: "The Father of immeasurable majesty: your honorable, true, only Son; also the Paraclete the Holy Spirit. You are the King of glory, O Christ. You are the everlasting Son of the Father [...] You are seated at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father."³⁹

But what makes the motif of hand, Jesus, and dove statistically the most popular Trinitarian formula is its ubiquitous appearance in images of the baptism of Christ, as found in a variety of Carolingian media, including gems, ivory book plaques, liturgical vessels, and manuscript miniatures.⁴⁰ One such example is engraved on a ninth-century gem, now mounted in a sixteenth-century cross and housed at the cathedral museum in Freiburg (Fig. 30). Measuring at about one square inch, the gem presents a simple composition: at the center, Christ stands waist-deep in the Jordan, draped in a cloth. The angel to the right approaches with covered hands in order to receive the Savior. John the Baptist stands on the bank to the left, placing his right hand on Christ's head in a gesture probably intended to liken John to contemporary bishops, to whom the imposition of hands is restricted.⁴¹ Directly above Christ, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends from the right. In the left corner of the gem the hand of God extends from heaven, forming a triangular configuration between the three persons.

³⁹ Transcription: "*Patrem immensae maiestatis; Venerandum tuum verum unicum filium; Sanctum quoque paraclitum spiritum; Tu rex gloriae Christe; Tu Patris sempiternus es filius [...] Tu ad dexteram dei sedes, in gloria patris.*"

⁴⁰ Some Carolingian depictions of Christ's baptism exclude the Hand of God. Examples include the Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons (Paris, BnF, lat. 8850, f. 82) and some ninth-century ivory book covers (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10077; Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 176; Paris, BnF, lat. 9428).

⁴¹ Geneva Kornbluth, *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 53. See, for example, Theodulf of Orléans, *De Ordine Baptismi ad Magnum Senosensem Liber*, PL 105: 235-9.

A more linear Trinitarian composition is depicted on a ninth-century ivory book cover at Antwerp (Fig. 31).⁴² The baptismal scene is framed by an architectural structure, at the center of which stands a youthful, beardless and unlimbed Christ. The water of the Jordan rises just to the level of his genitals. In the lower left corner of the architectural frame, the personification of the River Jordan is seated with his jar, while John the Baptist stands at the right side of the river, holding a staff in his left hand and laying his right on Christ's head. Overhead, three attending angels descend with cloths. Two small nude figures are seen wrestling with serpents in the spandrels of the frame, which flank two conch shells enclosed in a central arch. Directly above Christ's head, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends with a jar in its beak, from which oil anoints Christ—no doubt a reference to the baptismal liturgy.⁴³ This vertical movement is reinforced by the hand of God, which extends from the clouds of heaven directly above the dove. Thus the vertically stacked figures of Christ, dove, and hand effectively create a visual Trinitarian equation.

The Man-Infant-Dove Motif

A second category of Trinitarian imagery depicts the Father as a man, the Son as the infant Christ, and the Holy Spirit as a dove. Although there are few—perhaps only one—extant Carolingian examples of this motif, it appears in the later Middle Ages in narrative depictions of the Trinity.⁴⁴

⁴² Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 46, 263.

⁴³ See, for example, J.D.C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (Hillbrand Books, 2007), 14.

⁴⁴ See for example the fifteenth century Flemish books of hours, New York, Morgan Library M.316, f. 63v; Morgan Library H.7, f. 58v; as well as French books of hours from the same period, such as Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 647, f. 41. In all three of these instances, the image is facing the text of Psalm 70:1 (69:1, Vulgate).

A Carolingian instance of this motif is found on folio 90 of the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 32). The page contains two texts, each accompanied by an image: the first is a rather straightforward illustration of the Lord's Prayer, in which Christ, surrounded by the disciples, looks up to the heavens from which the hand of God emerges. The second text is the Creed,⁴⁵ which is accompanied by a much more complex scene as it illustrates every creedal point, including the trial, crucifixion, and ascension of Christ, as well as the resurrection of the dead and the harrowing of hell. Apropos to the Trinitarian task at hand is the illustration of the first lines of the Creed: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth and in Jesus Christ his only Son, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit and was born of the Virgin Mary."⁴⁶ Directly above the crucifixion, God the Father is pictured as a man seated on a globe within a mandorla. To his right, Christ's conception is indicated by the dove of the Holy Spirit, which sits atop the Virgin Mary's head.⁴⁷ She holds the infant Christ on a cushioned globe, no doubt illustrating (in a sense) the Creed's line, "he ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of God the Father."⁴⁸ Again, we can note the equal status implied by the Father and Son's parallel positions. Similarly, the compositional locations of the crucified and the ascending Christ may be taken as intentional: the spears of the soldiers who flank the crucified Christ effectively create an arrow that points to the Christ child seated directly above the cross. Just to the right of the central

⁴⁵ The *Fides catholica*, also known as the Athanasian Creed, is written on the following page (f. 90v), which employs the *filioque* concept without using the actual term. While the accompanying illustration is of a council, the Athanasian Creed was never mentioned at a council, and in all likelihood was not composed by Athanasius.

⁴⁶ Transcription: "*Credo in deum pa [sic] patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex maria virginiae.*"

⁴⁷ The anti-iconoclast Chludov Psalter (Moscow, His. Mus. MS D 129), made in Constantinople in the mid-late ninth century, also pictures the Trinity accompanied by Mary with the dove of the Holy Spirit atop her head (f. 153v). As Aliza Cohen-Mushlin has noted, "The Holy Ghost appears [...] as part of the Trinity, together with Mary, the Christ Child and God the Father or the Hand of God, from the eighth century on." Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, *Scriptoria in Medieval Saxony: St. Pancras in Hamersleben* (Wiesbaden Harrassowitz, 2004), 142.

⁴⁸ Transcription: "*ascendit ad caelum sedet ad dexteram dei patris.*"

Trinitarian scene, the ascending Christ is welcomed into heaven by the hand of God. Thus, these moments converge in the Trinitarian group of Father, infant Son, and Holy Spirit.

The Man-Lamb-Dove Motif

A similar image is found on the previous page (f. 89v, Fig. 33), which also serves as a segue to a third category of Trinitarian imagery, which presents the Father as a man, the Son as a lamb, and the Holy Spirit as a dove. The folio bears two texts and two images: the first scene is the presentation of the infant Christ at the temple, accompanied by the *Canticle of Simeon*. The second text is the *Gloria in Excelsis*, or *Great Doxology*, which is illustrated by a group of men and angels worshipping the Trinity. Here, the Trinity is depicted similarly to that of folio 90: God the Father holds a codex while sitting on a globe within a mandorla. The Virgin Mary stands at his right, holding the infant Christ (who is not seated). The dove of the Holy Spirit is perched atop her head with wings extended, as if having just landed. The significant difference between this depiction and that of folio 90 is that Christ is depicted here twice: both as the infant and as the lamb, standing at the left hand of the Father. This iconographic variation is a reflection of the accompanying text: “O Lord God, Heavenly King; God the Father Almighty; Lord Jesus Christ, Only Begotten Son; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us, who takes away the sins of the world, receive our prayer.”⁴⁹

The Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 18) was produced around the year 800 in northern France at the royal Corbie monastery and may contain another example of a

⁴⁹ Transcription: “*Domine deus rex caelestis; Deus pater omnipotens; Domine fili unigenitae Iesu Christe; Domine Deus agnus dei filius patris qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis; qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram.*”

Trinitarian man, lamb, and dove.⁵⁰ It contains the Psalms and Canticles (i.e., non-psalm biblical songs), as well as pen-drawn historiated initials in a style that reveals Insular and Byzantine influences.⁵¹ While scribes and artists often had distinct roles in book production (e.g., scribes would write the text before the artists added initials and miniatures), the scribes of the Corbie Psalter were also its artists, thus making the relationship between image and text in the book especially noteworthy. For example, the scribes of the Corbie Psalter often composed images before or during their scribal process, rather than after. An example of this can be seen on folio 77v (Fig. 37), in which the initial *I* of Psalm 85 was drawn before the text; the first word of the text was then compressed to fit into the remaining space.

This same ornamented initial may very well contain an example of the Trinity as man, lamb, and dove: it is topped by nimbed busts of a man, some kind of animal (lamb?), and bird (dove?). Because of the highly stylized rendering of the three busts it is difficult to identify them with any degree of certainty based on their appearance alone. A comparison with depictions of similar animals in the Corbie Psalter reveals that the animal busts could alternatively be read as serpent (e.g., ff. 52r, 95r) or lion (e.g., f. 6r) and eagle (e.g., ff. 20v, 99r)—though even depictions of these animals are not consistent throughout the manuscript. However, since the first line of the Psalm (“*Inclina domine aurem tuam...*”) implores God to bend his ear, it would not be

⁵⁰ This same Trinitarian motif is found about a century earlier in the division of Scripture tables of the Anglo-Saxon Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1), made in the early eighth century as a gift to the Pope. The first table presents the division of Scriptures according to Jerome and is topped by an image of the Lamb within a medallion (f. 6, Fig. 34). Similarly, the division of Scriptures according to Hilarus and Epiphanius present a medallion of a male bust (f. 7, Fig. 35), and the division according to Augustine is headed by a medallion encircled dove (f. 7v, Fig. 36). See also Celia Chazelle, “Christ and Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus,” in *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Princeton University Press, 2006), 84-111; Nees, “Problems of Form and Function,” 167ff.

⁵¹ For a recent discussion of the Corbie Psalter’s commonalities with Insular art, see Heather Pulliam, “Exaltation and Humiliation: The Decorated Initials of the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 18),” *Gesta* 49, No. 2 (2010): 97-115.

surprising to find an accompanying depiction of the Deity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit).⁵² Although there is no explicitly Trinitarian language in the Psalm itself, in his commentary on it, Augustine writes concerning verse 16 (“O look upon me, and have mercy on me: give thy command to thy servant, and save the son of thy handmaid.”):

The vision of the Father cannot be separated from that of the Son, for where there is no separation of nature and substance, there can be no separate vision either. To help you understand that our hearts must be made ready to contemplate the divinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in which we believe, and by believing our hearts to make that contemplation possible, the Lord himself says in another passage, ‘Anyone who cherishes my commandments and keeps them, that is the one who loves me; and whoever loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him, and will show myself to him (Jn 14:21).’⁵³

Thus, despite the uncertainty of the iconographic identification of the three busts, given the additional support of these textual connections, the Trinitarian iconography of lamb, dove, and man still seems the most reasonable identification.

The Anthropomorphic Motif

Anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity constitute a possible fourth category for consideration. While this motif of the Trinity as three similar men is present in a small selection of early Christian images (e.g., the Dogmatic Sarcophagus, discussed in Chapter Two), it largely disappeared in Continental art until the twelfth century.⁵⁴ At that time, anthropomorphic

⁵² Most of the Corbie Psalter’s drawings attempt to capture the opening words of their particular psalms. Just a few examples include the illustrations of Psalms 2 (f. 2v), 7, (f. 6r), 21 (f. 18v).

⁵³ Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions of the Psalms, Vol. 4, 73-98*, trans. Maria Boulding, OSB and ed. John E. Rotelle, OSA (New York: New City Press, 2002), 241.

⁵⁴ The anthropomorphic Trinity appears a bit earlier in Insular art, as seen, for example, in the eleventh century Grimbald Gospels (Brit. Lib. MS Add. 34890, f. 114v) and possibly the eighth/ninth century Pictish stone, St Vigean’s no. 11. The Father and Son are pictured seated together in the tenth century Book of the Deer (Cambridge University Library li.6.32, f. 84v). I am indebted to Heather Pulliam for bringing these examples to my attention. For a discussion of the Trinity in Anglo-Saxon art, as well as a Christological interpretation of the previously-identified-as-Trinitarian image in the Sherborne Pontifical (10th c), see Jane Rosenthal, “Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical: Anthropomorphic Trinity or Threefold Christ?” *The Art Bulletin* 63, No. 4 (Dec., 1981): 547-62.

depictions of the Trinity reemerged and the rather monstrous three-faced or three-headed became a popular, though not universally accepted, image for almost six hundred years. Referencing the explanation accompanying an anthropomorphic Trinity in the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, Jane Rosenthal describes the meaning behind the motif: “In this type, the similar human form of the three persons suggests their consubstantiality, their uniform size implies their co-eternality, and the symmetrical grouping indicates their unity.”⁵⁵ However, a brief description of the two Carolingian examples will demonstrate that identifying them as Trinitarian depictions remains a speculative endeavor at best.

On Easter in 827, King Louis the Pious and his wife bequeathed the Church of St. Médard in Soissons with a beautiful gospel book. Written in gold uncial and minuscule scripts, the Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8850) contains twelve canon tables and six full-page miniatures. Facing one of these miniatures, the incipit page for the Gospel of Mark (f. 82, Fig. 38) bears a set of portraits that may be interpreted as the Trinity. Within the initial *I* are portraits of three nimbed busts: the first is a bearded white-haired man; the second is a more youthful, almost feminine, face; and the third is perhaps aged somewhere in between. As Aliza Cohen-Mushlin has demonstrated, the historiated initials in Gospel Books have a long tradition and often bear theological significance.⁵⁶ The text of the page in question offers little in the way of a Trinitarian reading of the portraits. The opening lines of Mark’s gospel, it reads: “The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God. Just as it is written in the prophet Isaiah: Behold, I send my messenger.”⁵⁷ In the Evangelist portrait on the facing page (Fig. 39), Mark’s symbol, the lion, holds open the book of his gospel to the first

⁵⁵ Rosenthal, “Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical,” 547-8. See also R. Green et al., *Herrad of Hohenbourg: Hortus Deliciarum* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1979), I, 91; II, pl. 3.

⁵⁶ Cohen-Mushlin, *Scriptoria in Medieval Saxony*, 142.

⁵⁷ Transcription: “*Initium evangelii iesu christi filii dei. Sicut scriptum est in Esaia propheta, Ecce mitto angelum meum.*”

verse. Just below, Mark is shown seated in the process of writing the second verse of the gospel's first chapter.

Although all three faces in the initial *I* of Mark's incipit page are nimbed, none bear a cruciform halo⁵⁸ and therefore cannot be definitively recognized as Christ (an identification that would then suggest the other two figures are the Father and Holy Spirit). A viable alternative to a Trinitarian identification is that the white-haired figure depicted in the top of the initial is Isaiah, whose prophetic lines are quoted in the opening verses of the gospel. His portrait here in the Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons bears a striking resemblance to that of Isaiah (down to the central parting of his white hair) as portrayed, for example, in the later Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000), which dates to about 870 and is based in part on the Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons. Isaiah's portrait is found on a prefatory page of the Codex Aureus (f. 6v, Fig. 40). At the center of the page, Christ is seated on a globe within a mandorla, surrounded by the four evangelists and the prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jeremiah. This composition is the most common pairing of Isaiah with the evangelists. However, because of his being quoted by Mark, Isaiah is also sometimes pictured on the incipit page of Mark's gospel—as found in the Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons discussed above, as well as, for example, in the Boulogne Gospels of Saint-Bertin (Boulogne, Bibliothèque de la Ville 11, f. 56, Fig. 41).

If the white-haired man of Mark's historiated initial *I* is indeed the prophet Isaiah, the identities of the other two figures in the initial remain a mystery. It would stand to reason that

⁵⁸ As seen, example, in the center of the initial *I* on the incipit page of John's gospel on f. 181. However the other two portraits in the initial of f. 181 are of tonsured men—not likely to be intended as members of the Trinity! A better, though later, example is found in the eleventh century Grimbald Gospels (Brit. Lib. MS Add. 34890)—though not within an initial. Along the top of the decorative frame of John's author portrait (f. 114v) are three evenly spaced medallions. Within each is an identical figure seated on a globe: all three are bearded and dressed the same; all strike the same pose with the right hand raised and an open book held in the left. Each medallion is suspended by four angels. The single distinguishing feature is found in the figure of the central medallion, which bears a cruciform halo, thereby identifying him as Christ.

they could be Jesus and John the Baptist, the other two main characters of the beginning of Mark's gospel, but without a cruciform halo or other iconographic attributes, it is impossible to say with certainty. Thus one of the few potential Carolingian depictions of the Trinity as three men remains only tentatively identified as such.

A miscellany from Lorsch (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 834, f. 28v, Fig. 42) contains a drawing of three men that remains just as dubiously identified. While the manuscript itself dates to the first half of the ninth-century, the drawing in question was added around the year 900. Below an inscription that reads, "This picture remains universally worthy of praise and the excellent handwriting is likewise spoken of with praise,"⁵⁹ stand three similarly draped men. The first is bearded and gestures with his right hand while holding a codex in the left. The other two men are beardless and each carries a scroll in his right hand. The figures are further distinguished in that the first two are rendered in brown ink, while the third is in blue. All three are adorned with plain haloes. In short, there are no definitive markers, in the inscription above or in the figures themselves, to suggest that they are meant to represent the Trinity. Rosenthal suggests that the fact that the second and third figures hold their scrolls in their right hands discredits a Trinitarian interpretation, since scrolls are typically depicted in the left hand of God.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Transcription: "*Haec vulgo pictura manet dignissima laude et manus eximia laude cluente simul.*"

⁶⁰ Rosenthal, "Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical," 549. Carolingian examples of God holding a scroll in his left hand include: Cambrai Apocalypse (Cambrai, Bibliothèque de Ville, 386, f. 21); Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Universiteit, 32/484, f. 14). Similarly, the Deity is shown holding a book in his left hand, e.g.: Xanten Gospel Book (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 18723, f. 16v); Codex Aureus (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, f. 6v); Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons (Paris, BnF, Lat. 8850, f. 124). That said, there are occasional examples of God holding a scroll in his right hand, e.g., Utrecht Psalter, f. 65r.

The facing page bears a Trinitarian prayer,⁶¹ which is also a late Carolingian addition to the manuscript. Because of the opening line of this prayer (“*Te pater ac fili necnon et spiritus alme*”), the three figures were often identified by scholars as Trinitarian⁶² until Bernhard Bischoff offered the paleographically-based argument that the inscription above the image and the prayer on the opposing page were written by different people at different times.⁶³ Therefore the identification of the three figures cannot (necessarily) be drawn from the prayer. The image is now thought to represent three unidentified male saints.⁶⁴ However, this does not absolutely rule out the possibility of a Trinitarian identification or connotation—it only makes it less certain.

The Gundohinus Gospels

A peculiar text-image pair is worth noting here. The *maiestas domini* page of the Gundohinus Gospels (Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 3, f. 12v, Fig. 43), in typical fashion, depicts Christ enthroned and flanked by cherubim and the symbols of the evangelists.⁶⁵ But the pairing of this image with the text of the facing page (f. 13), when considered in its mid-eighth century Frankish context, indicates a significant interpretation. The text is a previously unknown letter-treatise on the Trinity written by Pseudo-Jerome; it is attributed to Jerome by the

⁶¹ Transcription: “*Te pater ac fili necnon et spiritus alme; Concedas nixis hic sive sedentibus istic; Quo tua maiestas virtus celebretur ubique; Oramus cordis penetralibus ut miseraret; Humanos dignans errores vincula soluas; Noxia quis veniunt felicia cedere cuncta.*”

Translation: “Thee, Father and Son and also the nourishing Spirit; Forgive [those who] knelt here or [those] remaining there; for which reason your majesty [and] power is honored everywhere; We pray with the chambers of the heart so that it might have compassion; Considering human error, you loosen the chains; happy faults come to those who yield everything.”

⁶² See, for example, A. Goldschmidt, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei* (Florence, 1928), I, 21; Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), 30 n. 7; J.J.G. Alexander, “Some Aesthetic Principles in the Use of Colour in Anglo-Saxon Art,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, Vol. 4 (1975): 145-54, 149 n. 3; Robert Deshman, “The Leofric Missal and Tenth-Century English Art,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977): 145-73, 158-9.

⁶³ As noted in Rosenthal, “Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical,” 549. See also, Bernhard Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Munich, 1974), 83, n. 42.

⁶⁴ Rosenthal, “Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical,” 549.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Beatrice Kitzinger for bringing this text-image pair to my attention. For a comprehensive study of this manuscript, see Lawrence Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1987).

manuscript's rubric, but scholars believe it is more likely from a lost work by Rufinus of Aquileia.⁶⁶ It is unusual in that the text is split into two sections, which appear to be out of order, as the first on folio 1r-v ends with *Amen* and *explicit*, while the excerpt on folio 13 ends abruptly.⁶⁷ Lawrence Nees sees these two passages as being consistent and intentionally paired with the *maiestas*, as for example, Christ enthroned with cherubim reflects his divinity, while his human form is a sign of his corporeal passion.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Nees has argued that this juxtaposition was an intentional Frankish and papal response to Byzantine iconoclasm and the iconoclastic council of 754, which took place at almost the exact same time as the making of the manuscript.⁶⁹ A significant clue is the *cyrubin* (cherubim) label of the angelic figures flanking Christ, which Nees identifies as a nod to the use of the Ark of the Covenant's cherubim as a proof text in image debates.⁷⁰

I believe that it is also noteworthy that while Pseudo-Jerome's (or Rufinus') text is concerned with the Trinity, only the single figure of Christ is depicted; this is no doubt a reflection not only of the orthodox teaching that the incarnation makes images of Christ licit, but also of the statement in Pseudo-Jerome's letter that, "anyone who denies that the Trinity is of one

⁶⁶ For example, Paul Meyvaert attributed the work to Jerome in his, "Excerpts from an Unknown Treatise of Jerome to Gaudentius of Brescia," *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986): 203-218. Yves-Marie Duval argued for the Rufinus attribution in "Le 'Liber Hieronymi ad Gaudentium': Rufin d'Aquilee, Gaudence de Brescia et Eusebe de Cremone," *Revue Bénédictine* 97 (1987): 163-86, both noted by Lawrence Nees in "Carolingian Art and Politics," in *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), 194 n. 30. In the same footnote, Nees also comments that Meyvaert had accepted the correction.

⁶⁷ As observed by Lawrence Nees, "Image and Text: Excerpts from Jerome's 'De Trinitate' and the *Maiestas Domini* Miniature of the Gundohinus Gospels," *Viator* 18 (1987): 5, n. 12.

⁶⁸ E.g., "All those who make any sort of differentiation whatever in the substance of the Trinity and say that the Son is inferior to the Father or to the Holy Spirit from the Son...let them be anathema;" and "The Son of God was subject to suffering in human flesh." Nees, "Image and Text," 5. The appendix to this article provides a transcription of Jerome's excerpt.

⁶⁹ Nees, "Image and Text," 7-8, 10-11.

⁷⁰ Nees, "Image and Text," 11-17. E.g., John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images*, trans. D. Anderson (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 23-25, 56-57. Theodulf disputed the use of the Ark of the Covenant as permission for making images on the grounds that its making was uniquely ordained by God, OCR I.15-16, 20; II.26. See also Lawrence Nees, "Theodulf's Mosaic at Germigny, the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, and Jerusalem," in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. Cullen J. Chandler and Steven Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013), 187-211.

power and [one] eternity and [one] substance, let him be anathema.”⁷¹ Put another way, in this particular instance, the sole figure of Christ can be understood to represent the Trinity as a whole. Obviously, this could have significant implications when interpreting the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch. Could the redactor have intended to preserve only the figure of Christ while ascribing his presence with similar Trinitarian meaning? Further consideration of possible motivations for the erasures will be taken up in Chapter Six.

Conclusion

While there are a few images of the Father as a man, there are no positively-identified Carolingian depictions in which all three persons of the Trinity are presented as men.⁷² A motif that was briefly employed in the Christian art of the fourth and fifth centuries, the anthropomorphic Trinity did not reemerge in a significant way until the twelfth century. Thus, its

⁷¹ “...*omnis qui negat trinitatem unius esse virtutis et aeternitatis adque substantiae anathema sit.*” Nees, “Image and Text,” 18.

⁷² A related but distinct motif is that of the Hospitality of Abraham, which depicts the three angels who visited Abraham at Mamre (Genesis 18:1-15), an episode that was interpreted by many of the Church Fathers as a symbol—but not a representation—of the Trinity. For example, Ambrose of Milan described the encounter as a typification of the Trinity (*On his Brother, Satyrus* 2.96). Some, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, maintained that only the Logos could have appeared in bodily form, and was thus accompanied by two angels (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.2.7-8). Meanwhile others, including Augustine of Hippo, argued that the three men were all angels, as the episode occurred before the incarnation of Christ (*City of God* 16.29). For more on patristic interpretations of the Hospitality of Abraham see, for example, Jensen, *Face to Face*, 72-3, 78-9, 96-7, 114. As mentioned in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the motif first appeared in Christian art in the Roman catacombs (e.g., Via Latina Nuova) and the mosaics of San Vitale and Santa Maria Maggiore. Carolingian manuscripts of Prudentius’ early fifth-century *Psychomachia* depict the Hospitality of Abraham along with verse 45 of the preface to the text. While Prudentius’ text reads: “*mox et triformis angelorum trinitas senis revisit hospitis mapalia,*” in which *trinitas* (i.e., “triad” or “trinity”) at least allows for a Trinitarian interpretation of the three men, one ninth-century manuscript (Leyden, Bibliothek der Universiteit, Burn. Q3, f. 121v) perhaps resists that interpretation with its use of *angelis* in an additional inscription: “*Abraham sub arbore cum angelis loquitur.*” If the meaning of the phrase is ambiguous, Prudentius himself seems to affirm a Trinitarian interpretation when he soon thereafter compares Christ to Melchizedek and the believer to Abraham: “*mox ipse Christus, qui sacerdos verus est, parente inenarrabili atque uno satus, cibum beatissimis offerens victoribus parvam pudici cordis intrabit casam, monstrans honorem Trinitatis hospita.*” (v. 59-63). Prudentius, *Prudentius*, trans. H.J. Thomson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 276-9. Commenting on Genesis, Rabanus Maurus writes in the vein of Eusebius that, “*In tribus autem viris qui venerunt ad illum, Domini Jesu Christi pronuntiatur adventus, cum quo duo angeli comitabantur*” (*Commentary on Genesis* II.21). Alcuin of York, on the other hand, interpreted the three men as angels in the literal sense—messengers of God, but not the divine presence (*Questions and Answers on Genesis* 182).

presence in the Creation image of the Ashburnham Pentateuch would have been notable and quite possibly offensive to its Carolingian viewers.

Creation Images in Carolingian Manuscripts

Contemporary representations of the Creation narrative are also relevant to the context that informed the Carolingian reception of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page. In distinct contrast with the AP, absolutely no Carolingian depictions of Creation include the Father: all of them portray only the Creator-Logos in the act of Creation, as enumerated below. This anthropomorphic Creator can be traced back to the Early Christian appropriation of Philo of Alexandria's Creator-Logos doctrine.⁷³ Philo contended that the "image and likeness" language of Genesis 1:26 meant that the invisible God necessarily had an "image" in which humanity was created.⁷⁴ Although Philo denied any corporeal aspect of this image,⁷⁵ Christian readers of his work connected it to the preexistent Word of God, defined as the Creator in John 1:3 ("and all things came into being through him"). Artists then drew on this interpretative tradition: the incarnation of the Word rendered him physical and imageable, and therefore the obvious choice for visual representations of the Trinity as Creator.⁷⁶ "Thus, it would seem that even without the

⁷³ Herbert Kessler, "Hic Homo Formatur: The Genesis Frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles," *The Art Bulletin* 53, No. 2 (Jun., 1971): 157. More than one hundred and fifty references are made to Philo and his works in the treatises, histories, and biblical commentaries of Christian writers up until 1000 CE, including those by Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine—i.e., the Church Fathers from whom Carolingian borrowed heavily in their own commentaries. Philo is also referenced in the works of Bede, John of Damascus, Photius, and Freulf, who was at the palace school of Aachen during Charlemagne's reign and later was the bishop of Lisieux. E.g., Photius, *Bibliotheca* 103-05; Freulf, *Chronicon* 2.1.11 (PL 106.1126). For a complete list of references to Philo before 1000 CE, see David T. Runia, *Philo and the Church Fathers: A Collection of Papers* (New York: Brill, 1995), 228-39. On the diffusion of patristic sources in Carolingian theology, see Otten, "The Texture of Tradition."

⁷⁴ E.g., Philo of Alexandria, *On the creation of the world*, 23.69.

⁷⁵ E.g., Philo of Alexandria, *Questions on Exodus*, II, 122.

⁷⁶ Jensen, *Face to Face*, 90-1; Kessler, "Hic Homo Formatur," 157. Additionally, Carolingian Genesis images do not depict the first three days of Creation, as the Ashburnham Pentateuch does, but instead begin with the creation of Adam. As noted by Kessler, Weitzmann was the first to suggest the Cotton Genesis as a possible model for the Bibles produced at Tours. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 140ff; Observations on the Cotton Genesis

cross-nimbus,” Kessler concludes, “the Creator depicted in the model of the ninth-century Bibles was intended to be the *Christ-Logos*, as he is specifically identified in the Cotton Genesis and in the tituli of the Grandval and Vivian Bibles. The Christian origin of the prototype cannot be doubted.”⁷⁷

The Moutier-Grandval Bible (London, British Museum, Ad. MS 10 546) was produced at the Tours Scriptorium around the year 840 and is significant as one of two of the earliest illustrated Carolingian Bible in existence.⁷⁸ Its format and immense size is representative of the standard for Bibles from Tours.⁷⁹ At 495 x 380 mm with 449 folios, it contains only four full-page miniatures (ff. 5v, 25v, 352v, 449).

The frontispiece to Genesis (f. 5v, Fig. 44) depicts the Creation, Fall, and Expulsion of Adam and Eve in four registers, which are divided by reddish bands bearing descriptive text. The action of the first three registers takes place on a continuous landscape, punctuated by the occasional tree, against the backdrop of a blended pinkish sky rendered in a late antique style; the landscape of the fourth register is divided in half by the unwelcoming ground of the postlapsarian world.

Here, the portrayal of the Creation narrative begins with the formation of Adam in the top register, in which the Creator stoops over Adam, cradling his head in his hands.⁸⁰ This Creation is no Trinitarian effort, as in the Ashburnham Pentateuch. Rather, a single Creator is presented.

Fragments,” *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 123ff. As noted in Kessler, “*Hic Homo Formatur*,” 146, n. 10.

⁷⁷ Kessler, “*Hic Homo Formatur*,” 157.

⁷⁸ On the characteristic features of Bibles produced at Tours, see David Ganz, “Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours,” in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 53-62.

⁷⁹ Rosamond McKitterick, “Carolingian Bible Production,” 74.

⁸⁰ Herbert Kessler has concurred with his teacher Kurt Weitzmann that, “the scene represents not the forming, but the moment when the Creator is about to breathe life into the newly created man, although the gesture of touching Adam’s shoulder may derive from the scene of the Forming and may represent an attempt on the part of the Carolingian artist to conflate two scenes from his model into one composition.” Kessler, “*Hic Homo Formatur*,” 147. See also Kessler’s *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 13-15, 29; *Spiritual Seeing*, 159-62.

Although he sports a plain gold halo, there are several elements to identify him as the Creator-Logos.⁸¹ The first hint is his beardless, youthful face and bare feet. But much more explicit evidence is found between the registers in the bands of text. The first line (“When first Adam is formed there”)⁸² is preceded by a simply drawn cross, flanked by the alpha and omega. Moreover, the Creator is referred to as the Redeemer in the third band: “The redeemer called Adam,”⁸³ and most obviously as Christ in the second band: “Christ leads Eve out of Adam whom he calls heroic woman.”⁸⁴

At a glance, one might mistake the winged figure in the first register of the miniature as the Holy Spirit, depicted in each of the register’s two scenes.⁸⁵ But closer examination reveals that it is in fact not a doubly-depicted Holy Spirit, but rather two angels attending to the creation of Adam, their figures halved by the horizon of the sea.⁸⁶ The different colors of their respective wings indicates that they are two distinct angels, while the fact that they both gaze towards God creating Adam shows they are both associated with that first scene. They are distinguished from the Creator-God by their silver haloes and thin silver diadems, which they have in common with the angel of the page’s bottom register who escorts Adam and Eve out of Paradise. Thus the only Creator depicted here is the Second Person of the Trinity.

⁸¹ Other examples of Christ the Creator depicted without a cross-nimbus include the Vivian Bible f. 10v, Stuttgart Psalter ff. 50v and 116v, the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura f. 8v, all discussed below. In other words, Carolingian depictions of the Creator drop the use of the cross-nimbus that had been present in their possible models, most notably, the Cotton Genesis (which was preserved to some degree in the thirteenth-century mosaics of San Marco) and the Ashburnham Pentateuch. However, the lack of the cruciform does not detract from the representation of Christ as the Creator, as additional visual and textual evidence, addressed below, demonstrates.

⁸² Transcription: “*Adam primus uti fingitur istic.*”

⁸³ Transcription: “*Adam vocat redemptor.*”

⁸⁴ Transcription: “*Christus evam ducit adae quam vocat viraginem.*”

⁸⁵ As discussed in Chapter Two, if, as Bezalel Narkiss argued, the Holy Spirit of the Ashburnham Pentateuch’s Creation page was indeed depicted as a winged man, then it would have been the earliest of such images. Much more common in early medieval art are images of the Holy Spirit as a dove, which dates to as early as the fifth century, found for example in depictions of the Baptism of Christ (e.g., ivory book cover, Museo del Duomo, Italy) and Pentecost (e.g., the Rabbula Gospels, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. I. 56, f. 14v). On the depiction of the Holy Spirit in the AP, see Narkiss, “Towards a Further Study,” 54 and Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, 70-1.

⁸⁶ This use of the angelic figures is even clearer in the Creation images of the Cotton Genesis (f. 1, Fig. 23).

Furthermore, while the Genesis frontispiece of the Grandval Bible faces Jerome's preface, the incipit page to Genesis (f. 7, Fig. 45) bears, in its upper lefthand corner, a thin gold cross from which hangs the alpha and omega. Counter-clockwise from the top, the ends of the cross are tipped with the letters P, I, H, S, with an X at the center. Presumably, these are intended to read as the common contractions for the *nomina sacra*, IHS and XP. Thus the text of Genesis is prefaced by a Christogram, which ties this beginning (*principio*) to that of John's Gospel and to the ending found in Revelation, in which Christ declares, "I am the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end."⁸⁷

Another Tournonian manuscript, the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1), also known as the First Bible of Charles the Bald,⁸⁸ was made about five years after the Moutier-Grandval Bible (c. 845); along with which, it is the other earliest extant illustrated Carolingian Bible. Made under the patronage of the lay abbot Count Vivian, the Bible was presented to King Charles the Bald in 846. Although it contains three registers instead of four, the similarity of its Creation folio to that of the Grandval Bible is immediately recognizable (f. 10v, Fig. 46): the blended pastel sky and the trees are stylistically similar. The scenes of the removal of Adam's rib, the presentation of Eve to Adam, the temptation of Eve (and Adam), the expulsion from the Garden, and the labor of the couple are similar to those of the Grandval Bible in composition. There are significant differences in some details, however: the formation/enlivening of Adam portrays his body upright instead of reclining; there is only one angel attending; the scene of the Creator reprimanding the couple is flipped; Adam and Eve (with her hand to her face) look away from the Garden, rather than back to it, at the expulsion; Eve sits with her child but is not nursing him and is not pictured under a canopy.

⁸⁷ Revelation 22:13, Douay-Rheims.

⁸⁸ For a political reading of this manuscript, see Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

However, for our present discussion the figure of the Creator is the most significant: he is again beardless and barefoot with a plain halo. Distinct from the Grandval Creator is the staff that he bears in his left hand in each vignette. Notably, the text of the Vivian Creation page is exactly the same as that of the Grandval Bible, with just a couple of variations in the abbreviations used.⁸⁹ And so here too, the Creator is identified as Christ alone. This is reinforced by the facing incipit page (f. 11, Fig. 47); the *I* of “*In principio creavit Deus*” contains a medallion with a bust portrait of God. He is the beardless Son, bearing an open codex in his left hand.

Produced in Paris between 820 and 830, the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württemberg Landesbibliothek, MS. 23) also presents a Creation-type image that features only the Logos. Accompanying the text to Psalm 103 is a miniature that takes up about a third of the page (f. 116v, Fig. 48); in it, a haloed, barefoot figure stands with his back to the reader, arms outstretched. Above the image a single line of text, which is continued from the previous page, helps to identify the rather strange wall-like form, colored with random purple squiggles: “Extending the heaven like a tent.”⁹⁰ Here is God as Logos depicted literally stretching out the heavens, as though spreading out a great blanket or tablecloth over the earth. A marginal note to the left of the image ensures that the reader will make no mistake in the figure’s identity: “Where Christ our Lord extends the heaven like a tent.”⁹¹

Another possible Creation image in the Stuttgart Psalter accompanies Psalm 38 (f. 50v, Fig. 49). At its center, Christ (beardless, barefoot, and plain-haloed, as in the Grandval Bible)

⁸⁹ Since this miniature has only three registers, there are only two reddish bands to contain text. Therefore, the text from the first two bands of the Grandval Bible appears in the margin above the image of the Vivian Creation miniature. Then the text from bands three and four of the Grandval Bible appear in the first and second bands of the Vivian Bible.

⁹⁰ Transcription: “*Extendens caelum sicut pellem.*”

⁹¹ Transcription: “*Ubi extendit celum sicut pellem christus dominus noster.*”

embraces a nude man. To the right a small figure, presumably the Psalmist, is seated on the ground by a tree with his right arm raised. In the upper left hand corner of the image, the hand of God emerges from the heavens. At the feet of the nude man is a spider, a detail from the adjacent verse of the Psalm. The miniature is placed between verses 11 and 12, which read, “Remove thy scourges from me. The strength of thy hand hath made me faint in rebukes: Thou hast corrected man for iniquity. And thou hast made his soul to waste away like a spider: surely in vain is any man disquieted.”⁹² While these words do not speak explicitly of the Creation of Adam, the Psalm describes the limitations of created man in general. Augustine⁹³ connects these two concepts in his commentary on this particular Psalm when he writes, “For though, in hope and in faith, made new already, how much do we even now do after our old nature! For we are not so completely ‘clothed upon’ with Christ, as not to bear about with us anything derived from Adam. Observe that Adam is ‘waxing old’ within us, and Christ is being ‘renewed’ in us.”⁹⁴ Because the image on folio 50v alludes to Creation but does not aim to illustrate the Genesis text, it does not quite satisfy as an example of Carolingian depictions of the Creation narrative. In fact, the presence of the hand of God in the upper left corner of the image may serve as an argument *against* such an association, since the hand is not elsewhere present in a Carolingian Creation image. Regardless, this miniature does suffice as another demonstration of the period’s preferential use of the hand of God as a depiction of the Father.

⁹² Translation from the Douay-Rheims Bible. Transcription: “*Amove a me plagas tuas. A fortitudine manus tuae ego defeci in increpationibus propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem et tabescere fecisti sicut haraneam animam eius veruntamen vane conturbatur; omnis homo diapsalma.*”

⁹³ Of the patristic influence on this manuscript, Rosamond McKitterick writes, “The artist of the Stuttgart Psalter was clearly familiar with the commentaries and interpretations of the Psalms, or parts of them, by Augustine, Jerome, Rufinus, Bede, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville. On the basis of his knowledge he painted a commentary on the text to expound it to the reader and remind him by visual means of the additional hidden purport of the words.” Rosamond McKitterick, “Text and Image in the Carolingian World,” in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, Rosamond McKitterick, ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 314.

⁹⁴ Augustine of Hippo, NPNF 1-8, Exposition on the Book of Psalms, 38/39.9.

The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, s.n.), also known as the Third Bible of Charles the Bald, was produced at Rheims sometime between 866 and 875, when it was probably presented to Pope John VIII by Charles the Bald on the occasion of his coronation as emperor.⁹⁵ As in the Vivian Bible, its Creation narrative occurs in a miniature of three registers (f. 8v, Fig. 50). Though the same moments of the story are presented and several iconographic elements are similar or the same as those of the Tours Bibles, there are perhaps even more differences. Notable among these are the inclined postures of Adam and Eve at the moment of their respective formations, the more graphic removal of Adam's rib, and the explanatory text of the bands, which greatly differs from that of the Vivian and Grandval Bibles. Additionally, there is no attending angel at the creation of Adam and the angel who calmly escorts the first couple out of paradise is replaced by a wingless, though haloed, sword-wielding man—a loose representation of the biblical description: “And he cast out Adam; and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.”⁹⁶

Regardless of these differences, the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura also presents a single Creator—the Logos. He is readily identified by his gold halo (though it once again is not inscribed with a cross) and his bare face and feet. In his left hand he carries a codex. Although the text of the miniature makes no direct mention or even allusion to the Second Person of the Trinity, two simple gold crosses are incorporated into the bands of text: one precedes the first

⁹⁵ For an argument for the earlier date, see Joachim E. Gaehde, “The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald,” *Gesta* 5 (Jan., 1966): 9-21. On the later dating, see E.H. Kantorowicz, “The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura,” in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 287-300; H. Schade, “Studien zu der Karolingischen Bilderbibel aus St. Paul vor den Mauern zu Rom,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* XXI (1959) 12-18; XXII (1960): 20-4. It may have been commissioned by Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims. Nees, “Problems of Form and Function,” 143.

⁹⁶ Genesis 3:24, Douay-Rheims.

line of the inscription; a slightly larger gold cross is found in the center of the band below the first register, that is, directly underneath one of the iterations of the Creator.

Conclusion

The visual examples discussed in this chapter demonstrate that while Trinitarian iconography was employed in several prestigious manuscripts before and after the alterations to the AP, there are no positively-identified Carolingian depictions of an anthropomorphic Trinity. The Father was occasionally portrayed as a man in non-Creation images, but all three persons were not anthropomorphic; these motifs of Man-Infant-Dove and Man-Lamb-Dove were commonly used to illustrate creedal and liturgical texts, as found in the Utrecht and Corbie Psalters. Moreover, the Carolingians generally favored the Hand of God as the primary mode for depicting the presence of God the Father and the dove to portray the Holy Spirit. The Hand-Man-Dove motif is found most commonly in images of the baptism of Christ, but also depictions of the Trinity enthroned. No Carolingian versions of the Creation narrative (e.g., those of the Moutier-Grandval Bible, Vivian Bible, Stuttgart Psalter, and Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura) include all three members of the Trinity—or even two of them. Furthermore, none of them portray God the Father or the Holy Spirit. Put another way, Carolingian depictions of Creation are consistent with a long tradition of Logos-only images that precede and follow this period, a tradition from which the Ashburnham Pentateuch deviates.

The examples of Carolingian Trinitarian imagery discussed in this chapter indicate that the anthropomorphic Trinity of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page would have stood out as entirely unique in the library at Tours. Before assessing the alterations made to this page,

let us first consider contemporary descriptions of the Trinity at Creation as articulated in Carolingian texts, the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRINITY IN CAROLINGIAN THEOLOGY

Depictions of the Trinity and of the Creation narrative in ninth-century art reveal that while Carolingians did occasionally choose to portray all three persons of the Trinity, they preferred symbolic iconography to anthropomorphic depictions and never represented all three persons at Creation. Rather, Carolingian images of Creation present only the Logos, a fact that may provide a link to the Carolingian modifications to the Ashburnham Pentateuch Creation page, which obscured two of the three anthropomorphically-represented Persons of the Trinity, leaving a single Creator. In other words, the altered version of the AP is consistent with other Carolingian depictions of the Creation narrative inasmuch as it presents a single creating figure.

The present chapter will first give an account of Carolingian Trinitarian theology in general before focusing on the ways in which theologians chose to describe the individual Persons of the Trinity during the act of Creation. The aim here is to demonstrate the ways in which textual descriptions are reflected in visual depictions, and vice versa. Furthermore, considering the two types of sources together will shed light on how the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page might have been received by Carolingian viewers, who, in the midst of multiple Trinitarian and Christological debates, were fighting to preserve the absolute unity of the three persons of the Trinity and the two natures of Christ.

Carolingian Responses to Trinitarian Controversies

Because of its centrality in Christian thought, Trinitarian doctrine has frequently been a significant concern for Christian theologians regardless of period and location, although its

priority in public disputes waxes and wanes. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the doctrine of the Trinity was the topic of several simultaneous and well-publicized debates, all of which were fueled to some degree by semantic misunderstandings. These contentious dialogues demonstrate that the Trinity was at the forefront of Carolingian theological thought, and thus visual depictions of the Trinity, such as that found in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, were also subject to scrutiny.

*Adoptionism and the Carolingian Response*¹

Centuries after the first ecumenical councils of the fourth century, which established the doctrine of the Trinity in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, concern for Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy persisted in the theological treatises of the West. This was due in part to the persistence of Arianism, which had been introduced by Germanic military classes such as the Visigoths² in the fifth and sixth centuries, but even more so because of the emergence of adoptionism from Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries. It should be noted that “adoptionism” is a term that has been applied to various distinct theologies over several centuries, such as Arianism and Nestorianism. In the eighth and ninth centuries, “adoptionism” referred to a (Carolingian perception of a) particular Hispanic theology, which taught that Jesus was adopted as the Son of God at his baptism. Any articulation of the relationship between the Son's two natures also has Trinitarian implications, as Christology is inherent to the structure of Trinitarian theology. A brief survey of the controversy will contribute to an understanding of Carolingian

¹ In this section, I rely heavily and appreciatively on John C. Cavadini's *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820*, which was a much-needed and appreciated reassessment of the historical interpretation of adoptionism when it was first published in 1993, and remains the most comprehensive study on this theological moment. See, for example, Joseph F. Kelly, “Review of *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* by John C. Cavadini,” *Church History* 64, No. 4 (Dec. 1995): 646-7. On the Carolingian response to adoptionism in relation to the divinity of Jesus and his passion, see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. 52-69.

² Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, Vol. 3 of *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 19.

Christological and Trinitarian theology and will make it clear that, as will be argued in Chapter Six, Carolingian anti-adoptionist sentiments were not behind the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

The Church in Spain was in a rather unique situation in the eighth century. The Visigothic military had preserved much of the Roman culture and government when they dominated the region in the sixth century. By 720 most of the Iberian peninsula had been taken over by the Muslims, who also permitted this continuation. Thus, Hispanic Christians enjoyed a certain level of autonomy from both their Muslim rulers and the rest of the Church outside of Spain. Largely unconcerned with contemporary debates in the East, as John C. Cavadini has argued, Hispanic adoptionism should not be thought of as a deviation from Chalcedonian orthodoxy, but rather the development of a different standard altogether.³ In most ways, the disagreement between Hispanic adoptionists and Carolingian anti-adoptionists was primarily a cultural one. In fact, Cavadini suggests, Hispanic anti-adoptionists actually had more in common with the Hispanic adoptionists than they did with the Carolingian anti-adoptionists.⁴ Analogous to their response to Byzantine iconoclasm, it seems that the Carolingian response to adoptionism was fueled as much by political motives and willful misunderstanding as it was by a desire for preserving theological orthodoxy. In fact, Ann Freeman has demonstrated that not only did the completion of the *Opus Caroli Regis* coincide with the campaign against adoptionism, but the OCR was also notably influenced by it.⁵ In this complex milieu, church teaching had

³ John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 5.

⁴ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 4.

⁵ Ann Freeman, "Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy," *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, ed. Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (Munich, 1988), 165-69.

ecclesiological and political consequences, some aspects of which extended its reach into the pages of the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

The two main proponents of the alleged adoptionist heresy were Elipandus, the archbishop of Toledo (c. 717-802),⁶ and Felix of Urgel (d. 818), who, in an attempt to clarify Christ's title as the "Son of God" and to protect his identity as fully human, maintained a position that is somewhat difficult to reconstruct precisely but was regarded by prominent opponents as teaching that Christ's humanity was adopted, though his divinity was not.⁷ Put another way, that Jesus was the human Son of God by adoption, while Christ the Logos was the divine Son of God by nature. In their opinion, whatever their precise position may have been, to deny that the word "adoptive" or "adopted" had any appropriate use with regard to the Son of God insofar as he was human was to deny the reality and impact of his incarnation.

Elipandus came to his position at least in part as a response to the strange Trinitarian teachings of a certain Migetius, whose writings we only know via Elipandus' own letters.⁸ According to Elipandus, Migetius believed that David, Jesus, and Paul were the *personae* of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, respectively.⁹ As part of his response, Elipandus asserts a one-person Christology in which the Son is coeternal with the Father.¹⁰ In fact, Cavadini has convincingly argued that Elipandus was no Nestorian at all, as Alcuin of York had condemned him. Indeed, in the *Symbolus Fidei Elipandianae*, Elipandus (as relayed by Beatus of Liébana)

⁶ The writings of Elipandus include: *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad episcopos Francia* (MGH Conc.2-I:111-20); *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad Karolum Magnum* (MGH Conc. 1-I:120-1); *Epistolae* (PL 96:859-882C).

⁷ Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 53. Elipandus of Toledo, *Epistola episcoporum Hispaniae ad episcopos Francia*, 15 (MGH Conc.2-I:118); Paulinus of Aquileia, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Tres*, I.27 (PL 99:379).

⁸ Elipandus' response to Migetius is discussed in detail in Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 10-23.

⁹ Elipandus of Toledo, *Letter to Migetius, Epistolae I* (PL 96:859-867).

¹⁰ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 20.

describes the Son as existing “not by adoption or grace but by generation and by nature.”¹¹ Elipandus uses the vocabulary of “adoption” to describe the Incarnate Son only insofar as he is human, never using the word adopted. He more characteristically uses the adjective “adoptive, as, for example, when he writes that, “through him who was son both of God and of man, adoptive in his humanity but in no way adoptive in his divinity [God] redeemed the world.”¹² According to Elipandus, it is the incarnate Son of God who redeems humanity and to whom believers can hope to be conformed precisely as “adoptive.” Cavadini describes this form of adoptionism, if we can indeed continue to call it that, as “a highly original attempt at explaining older Christological thinking found in traditional Western sources.”¹³ Building on the writings of Augustine and Pope Leo I, Elipandus seemed to consider himself as part of the orthodox Christological conversation—not in opposition to it: “From Elipandus’s point of view,” Cavadini writes, “if it is orthodox to say with Augustine that the Son of God, the Word became ‘predestined’ and ‘full of grace,’ and if it is orthodox to say with Leo that the self-emptied Word was ‘exalted,’ then it is perfectly orthodox, even necessary, to say that the self-emptied Word became ‘adoptive.’”¹⁴

Felix of Urgel had an important role in the controversy in part because of his physical location between Muslim-occupied Spain and the adjacent Carolingian territories. Urgel, located

¹¹ Translated in Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 29; Elipandus of Toledo, *Symbolus fidei*, contained in Beatus of Liebana, *Adversus Elipandum* I.40 (PL 96: 917A13-B4). “...per illum qui non est adoptione, sed genera; neque gratia, sed natura.”

¹² Translated in Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 30; Elipandus of Toledo, *Symbolus fidei*, contained in Beatus of Liebana, *Adv. Elip.* I.41 (PL 96:917B 5-7). “...per istum Dei simul et hominis filium adoptivum humanitate, et nequaquam adoptivum divinitate, mundum redemit.”

¹³ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 44. E.g., the Council of Regensburg, Alcuin of York’s *Adversus Felicis Haeresis Libellos* (PL 101:85-120A); *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem* (PL 101:119-230D).

¹⁴ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 44. Beatus of Liébana responded to Elipandus by condemning what he interpreted as a prideful overemphasis on the humanity of the Son, which he argued implicitly elevates Elipandus’ own status. Discussed in Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 45-70. “Beatus insists that if the Word as become an adoptive son, the self-emptying has gone too far, to the point where the Word has made himself so much like us that all he can mediate to us is ourselves” (Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 67). See also, Beatus of Liébana, *Adversus Elipandum Libri II* (PL 96:893-1030). The debate between Beatus and Elipandus lasted over a decade.

in the Spanish March, had recently been taken by Charlemagne in 789, but still maintained a level of autonomy.¹⁵ Accepting the adoptionist doctrine of Toledo would have in effect sent a message of the Spanish March's orientation toward Spain and away from Francia. Thus, Charlemagne's campaign against adoptionism, focused on this region in particular and carried out in councils and treatises, was motivated by a desire not only for theological uniformity, but also for political dominion,¹⁶ which certainly raised the stakes of the Trinitarian and Christological doctrine.

Only extracts of Felix's own words survive in rebuttals from figures such as Alcuin because his writings were suppressed by the victors of the controversy, as is so often the case.¹⁷ It seems that Felix's adoptionist teachings began as an affirmation of those put forth by Elipandus, but by the end of the eighth century Felix had introduced a new teaching that—for the Carolingians—went too far. Like Elipandus, Felix described Jesus as the adoptive Son of God, but then went a step further to say that he was God *nuncupativum*—in name only.¹⁸ This led to his condemnation at a synod in Rome and then a weeklong debate with Alcuin at Aachen, which ended in Felix recanting his position and ultimately being deposed.¹⁹

¹⁵ On the relationship between adoptionism and this conquest, see Cullen J. Chandler, "Heresy and Empire: The Role of the Adoptionist Controversy in Charlemagne's Conquest of the Spanish March," *The International History Review* 24, No. 3 (Sep., 2002): 505-27.

¹⁶ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 72.

¹⁷ While Alcuin's direct quotations of Elipandus's writings are accurate, he does not make much of an effort to understand or preserve the accuracy of Elipandus' overall argument. Therefore, we should be similarly suspicious of Alcuin's reconstruction of Felix's teachings. Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 108-10.

¹⁸ E.g., "...*et in duos deos, unum verum Deum, alterum nuncupativum Deum.*" Alcuin of York, *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri VII* (PL 101:129A); cf. Pope Leo III, *Concilium Romanum*, MGH, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II, p. 203.24-7; Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 81-2 n. 567.

¹⁹ Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 82; Alcuin, *Epistola* 193-94, 207, in MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, edited by E. Duemmler (Berlin, 1895), 319-22, 344-45; Felix of Urgel, *Confessio Felicis*, in MGH, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II, edited by A. Werminghoff (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), 220-25.

However, as Cavadini argues in his book *The Last Christology of the West*, Spanish adoptionism and the Carolingian understanding of it were two very distinct things.²⁰ On account of the relatively isolated and autonomous situation of the Hispanic Church, it developed this doctrine independent of the concerns, controversies, and councils that characterized the Eastern Church. Thus, when the Carolingian anti-adoptionists attempted to interpret Spanish adoptionism through the lens of an Eastern vocabulary, they misunderstood it from the very start.²¹ Key in this misfire was the two parties' differing uses of *persona*. After the Council of Chalcedon (431), the orthodox position—that there is one person but two natures (divine and human) in Christ—existed between the two polarities of dyophysitism (which held that there were two persons in Christ: human being and divine Word) and miaphysitism (which held that after the union of the incarnation, there was no distinguishing between the human and divine natures, which had become one). The Chalcedonian use of nature and person was thus what the Carolingians applied to the adoptionism of their Spanish neighbors. Meanwhile, Cavadini argues, the adoptionists seem not to have been terribly concerned with the language of Chalcedon, but rather developed a sense of *persona* that emphasized in each case the connection to a *nature* while yet preserving the unity of agency and identity in Jesus. This usage emphasized the continuity of substance characteristic of sonship

...the adoptionists...explain that the agency of this human being...is the *persona* of the Word himself, and that thus he is the Son of God, even if not, in this created nature, properly the Son. It is still the same individual subject, continuous with the Word who, in his divine nature, is the natural son. It is just that He has, for our salvation, emptied himself of even that prerogative [c.f., Phil. 2:6-11]. The accomplishment of the adoptionists is that they have come up with an

²⁰ This is argued throughout *The Last Christology of the West*, but is stated explicitly on pp. 8-9, 69-70, for example. The first non-Hispanic mention of adoptionism appears in 785 in a letter from Pope Hadrian I, who equates the doctrine with Nestorianism. Pope Hadrian I, First Letter to the Bishops, at *Codex Carolinus* #95, in MGH, *Epistolae* III, edited by W. Gundlach (Berlin, 1892), 638.

²¹ Though Cavadini qualifies this with regards to Pope Hadrian's analysis, which he states "is in fact a legitimate critique of Elipandus's position..." E.g., Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 75.

understanding of *persona* which accommodates our common sense understanding of sonship as a continuity of substance. This understanding is not only that of common sense, but the one which underlies, even in Augustine, any Trinitarian theology that derives from a creed which talks about ‘God from God, Light from Light.’ It is not, perhaps, a coincidence that the whole controversy began with Elipandus’s refutation of a Trinitarian heretic [Migetius]. One could argue that the adoptionism of late eighth century Spain in part represented an attempt to coordinate or correlate more precisely the Trinitarian usage of the term *persona* with the christological use of the term.²²

With different working definitions of the same terms and distinct theological goals, the Spanish adoptionists and the Carolingian anti-adoptionists were in effect talking past one another.

While acknowledging the importance of recovering Hispanic adoptionism, for the purposes of this study the Carolingian interpretation of adoptionism is more significant, as it was this misunderstanding that motivated Carolingian theological treatises on the subject. In general, these works asserted the indivisible, unconfused natures of Christ, as well as the absolute unity of the Persons of the Trinity.

This unity is expressed in the writings of Alcuin of York (740-804), who devoted at least two of his works to refuting Felix’s concept of adoptionism.²³ One of the problems inherent in the adoptionist position—as understood by the Carolingians—was that it had to locate the moment of Christ’s adoption of human nature. When did it happen? In Mary’s womb or later in Christ’s life, perhaps at his baptism? Both options were problematic because an adopted humanity rendered Christ an “ordinary” man. Carolingian Catholics, like Alcuin, asserted instead that Christ was both truly man and truly God by nature and not by adoption. Alcuin refuted Felix’s charge that denial of Christ’s human adoption resulted in confusion of his natures and denial of his humanity: “Christ is one from two marvelously and ineffably united natures, the

²² Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 101-2.

²³ Alcuin of York, *Adversus Felicis Haeresin Libellos* (PL 101:85-120A); *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem* (PL 101:119-230D). See also Agobard of Lyons, *Liber Adversus Dogma Felicis Urgellensis* (PL 104:29-70A). For his writing against Elipandus, see Alcuin of York, *Contra Epistolam Sibi Ab Epilando Directam Libri Quatuor* (PL 101:231-270D).

complete, sole, and true Son of God.”²⁴ Furthermore, Alcuin writes that in the Son of God, “indeed divinity was not lessened on account of man, neither was it altered in man; just as man did not withdraw from the nature of humanity, so that he was not man, but the nature of humanity preserved the quality of nature, and the substance of divinity did not lose the quality of divinity.”²⁵ Similarly, against Elipandus, whose theology he interpreted to be Nestorian (non-Chalcedonian), Alcuin argued that Christ’s two natures are totally integrated and complete.²⁶ Regardless of his opponents’ intentions, Alcuin almost willingly refuses to take the Hispanic use of *adoptivus* at anything other than its face value: “Indeed, what other meaning could ‘adoptive’ have except that Jesus Christ is not the proper Son of God, nor, as son of the Virgin, born to Him, but is rather some servant who was ‘adopted’ into sonship, as you say?”²⁷

The issue of the two natures of Christ was also understood to be related to the nature of the Trinity, as evidenced in the presence of the topic within theological texts dedicated to the Trinity. For example, in his *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitas*, Alcuin writes, as the title indicates, of the unity of the Persons of the Trinity: “The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is one God of the same substance, and of one essence and in divinity of inseparable unity.”²⁸ All Three persons are implied in the singular term “God,” as he goes on to state that, “Wherever in Holy Scripture we read, ‘God alone,’ this should not be taken as referring to any one person in

²⁴ “*Unus sit Christus ex duabus naturis mirabiliter et ineffabiliter unitis, totus unus et verus Filius Dei.*” Alcuin of York, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem* (PL 101:172).

²⁵ “*Nec etiam minorata est divinitas propter hominem, nec mutata in hominem; sicut nec homo a natura humanitatis recessit, ut non esset homo, sed natura humanitatis proprietatem naturae servavit, et substantia divinitatis proprietatem divinitatis non amisit.*” Alcuin of York, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem* (PL 101:172).

²⁶ Alcuin of York, *Contra Epistolam Sibi Ab Epilando Directam Libri Quatuor*, I.9 (PL 101:247-8).

²⁷ Alcuin of York, *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*, MGH, *Concilia*, II, p. 154.5-7. Translated in Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 77-8.

²⁸ “*Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unus sit Deus eiusdem substantiae, uniusque essentiae atque inseparabilis in divinitate unitatis.*” Alcuin of York, *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*, I.2 (PL 101:14). Note his use of the singular verb “*sit.*”

the Holy Trinity, but to the entire Trinity.”²⁹ This interpretation is visually represented in Carolingian images of the Logos-Creator, examples of which were discussed in the previous chapter. The understanding that the Three Persons were implied—though not necessarily represented—in a single figure might also explain the Ashburnham Pentateuch’s redactor’s decision to preserve only one figure—that is, the erasures were still in this sense Trinitarian.

Alcuin concludes his treatise by similarly asserting the unity of Christ’s human and divine natures: “Because the Word willed through his own omnipotence he assumed this man who was made out of this time, because he himself always existed without time, that is, the very Son of God, so that they are not able to be called two Sons of God, the one begotten before time, and the other born, but one Son of God proper and perfect our Lord Jesus Christ.”³⁰ This unity in Christ is echoed in Hincmar of Reims’ response to adoptionism, found in his treatise *De Una et non Trina Deitate*. In it he states, “there are not two Christs, nor two Sons, but one Christ, one Son, both God and man, because God, the Son of God, assumed a human nature, not a [human] person.”³¹

In the end, indeed, the anti-adoptionists triumphed. Felix flip-flopped several times throughout the debate, alternately recanting and returning to his heresy. However:

...the triumph of Alcuin and his colleagues over adoptionism is not necessarily what Alcuin thought it was, namely the victory of an ancient orthodoxy over a heretical novelty. Instead...one could argue that the reverse happened...that with the triumph of Alcuin any context for christological discussion apart from that

²⁹ “Ubique in Scriptura sancta legitur, ‘solus Deus,’ non de unaqualibet persona in sancta Trinitate intelligendum est, sed de tota sancta Trinitate.” Alcuin of York, *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*, II.18 (PL 101:35). Translated in Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 19.

³⁰ “Quod Verbum per omnipotentiam suam voluit hunc hominem quem assumpsit, hoc fieri ex tempore, quod ipse semper fuit sine tempore, id est, proprius Filius Dei, ut non possint dici duo Filii Dei, alius ante tempora genitus, et alius natus ex tempore, sed unus Dei Filius proprius et perfectus Dominus noster Jesus Christus.” Alcuin of York, *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*, III.14 (PL 101.46).

³¹ “Non sunt duo Christi filii, nec duo filii; sed unus Christus, et unus filius, Deus et homo: quoniam Deus Dei Filius humanam assumpsit naturam, non personam.” Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate*, 9 (PL 125:553). Translation in Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 58.

governed by the parameters and paradigms of fifth-century Eastern controversies was lost, its very possibility forgotten.³²

With the destruction of adoptionist documents and the discrediting and trivializing of the doctrine by prominent figures like Alcuin and Theodulf, adoptionism faded away and, Cavadini argues, the West lost the last Christology that it could truly call its own.³³

The theory that adoptionism in particular influenced the alterations of the Ashburnham Pentateuch will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Six. For the time being, we can conclude by noting that the adoptionist doctrine contributed to an increase in Carolingian attention to Trinitarian matters. This heresy was countered by a fervent Carolingian assertion of the indivisible, unconfused natures of Christ, as well as the absolute unity of the Persons of the Trinity.

Gottschalk of Orbais and the Trina Deitas

A later, though not totally unrelated, Trinitarian dispute was raised by Gottschalk of Orbais (c. 808-867), a Saxon monk who spent time—some of it in Hincmar’s jail—in northeastern France. Gottschalk employed the term *trina deitas* (“trine deity”), which emphasized the Trinity’s three-in-oneness, in an attempt to articulate accurately that only the Second Person of the Trinity assumed a human nature in the Incarnation. While Gottschalk agreed with his opponents that it was improper to describe the Trinity as “three deities,” he argued that it was accurate to refer to the Trinity as “trine in person and one in nature.”³⁴ In other words, Gottschalk sought to maintain the individual identities of the Three persons as well as their unity. However, his opponents vehemently disagreed with his usage of *trina deitas* on the

³² Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, 105.

³³ As argued throughout Cavadini, *The Last Christology*, but see especially 103-6.

³⁴ Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 60; Gottschalk of Orbais, *De Trinitate*, ed. Cyrille Lambot, *Oeuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d’Orbais* (Louvain 1945), 264.

grounds that “triple deity” was polytheistic. They countered that the phrase—and Gottschalk’s use of *trina* in particular—was inconsistent with the received writings of the Church Fathers, as well as being unbiblical and unavoidably tritheistic since it seemed to ascribe a distinct deity to each Person of the Trinity.

Hincmar of Reims (c. 806-882) was Gottschalk’s most vocal opponent. In his treatise on the Trinity, which bears the subtitle “To rebuff the blasphemies of Gottschalk and refute his dirges,”³⁵ Hincmar asserts that there is no numbering in or counting of the Trinity. He simultaneously associates himself with Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine while likening Gottschalk to the heretics Arius and Sabellius. In the Trinity, deity, essence, and nature must be singular: “The deity, divinity, essence, substance, and nature of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is one and not three.”³⁶ In short, the Trinity can only be said to be three in terms of personhood.

Among the many biblical verses that Hincmar quotes in his case against Gottschalk, at least two stand out for their explicit statements concerning divine unity; they usually appear in close proximity to one another. One is the so-called Shema of Deuteronomy 6:4, “Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one God.”³⁷ Therefore, Hincmar argues, deity *is* unity, by definition and in essence.³⁸ Plurality cannot be introduced. Hincmar also frequently quotes Jesus’ words to the Jews at the temple: “*Ego et Pater unum sumus*,”³⁹ as recorded in John 10:30. In one instance, quoting Augustine, he goes on to explain that the use of the singular “*unum*” describes the

³⁵ “*Ad repellendas Gothescalci blasphemias eiusque naenias refutandas.*” Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate* (PL 125:473).

³⁶ “*Una et non trina est deitas, divinitas, essentia, substantia, et natura Patris et Filii et Spiritus sanctus.*” Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate*, 4 (PL 125:531-2).

³⁷ “*Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est.*” E.g., Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate* (PL 125:484, 602).

³⁸ Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate*, 18 (PL 125:601-2). “*Unus est Deus quia unita est deitas.*” Translation: “God is one because deity is unity.”

³⁹ E.g., Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate* (PL 125:484, 531, 599). Translation: “I and the Father are one.”

essence, while the plural verb “*sumus*” reflects the relationship between the Father and the Son.⁴⁰ Unity of essence is also inferred from Christ’s declarations, “I am in the Father and the Father is in me,” and “He who sees me, also sees the Father.”⁴¹ In other words, the Trinity is one in regards to essence, substance, nature, and divinity, but plural only in terms of relationship.

The Filioque Controversy

The nature of the Holy Spirit’s procession in the Trinity was an issue that was not only of theological but also ecclesiological import in the early Middle Ages. Visualizations of the *Filioque* can be found in several Carolingian images, as in some of the examples of the previous chapter (e.g., Fig. 26), and the concept is also addressed in many Carolingian texts, as will be touched on below. The debate was first cemented in the fifth and sixth centuries by the Western Church’s addition of the phrase “*Filioque*” to the Creed: “...*Spiritum Sanctum...qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*” (“...the Holy Spirit...who proceeds from the Father and the Son”). Doing justice to the intricacies of this controversy is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and the beginning stages of the controversy have already been addressed in Chapter Two, but a few points are worth noting in order to better understand the theological climate in which the Ashburnham Pentateuch was altered.

Although the earliest expressions of the *Filioque* date to the third century, there was not an Eastern response to the *Filioque* until the mid-seventh century, when Maximus the Confessor wrote a letter to the priest Marinus (645/6). In it, Maximus sympathetically parsed the two perspectives on the *Filioque* and seems to have landed somewhere between the two extreme

⁴⁰ Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate*, 4 (PL 125:531). Augustine, *De Trinitate*, VII.6.

⁴¹ “*Ego in Patre et Pater in me est;*” “*Qui videt me, videt et Patrem.*” John 10:38; 14:9. Hincmar of Reims, *De Una et non Trina Deitate*, I (PL 125:483).

positions that would later divide the Eastern and Western Churches. According to him, the Spirit eternally proceeds *from* the Father *through* the consubstantial Son.⁴²

By the late eighth and early ninth centuries the *Filioque* was pervasive in the Western Church, though it seems not to have been commented on in the East since the above-mentioned letter of Maximus. The topic was breached again at the Council of Gentilly (767), about which we know little except that, despite the fact that the council was called to address iconoclasm, the *Filioque* was discussed.⁴³

In response to a mistranslation of the notes of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which had also been called to address iconoclasm, Theodulf of Orléans wrote the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* at the request of Charlemagne himself.⁴⁴ As part of his assertion of the political and theological superiority of the Franks over the Byzantines, Theodulf dismissed, with his usual fervor, the Byzantine use of *ex Patre per Filium* (i.e., Maximus' phrasing) instead of *ex Patre Filioque*.⁴⁵ According to him, the use of *per Filium* implied that the Holy Spirit was just another creature. Theodulf also composed the *Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti*, a florilegium of patristic sources that was dedicated explicitly to the topic. Soon thereafter, the *Filioque* was also brought up at the Councils of Frankfurt (794), Friuli (797) and Aachen (804).⁴⁶ By this time, and particularly because of the role it played in the tug-of-war between East and West, the *Filioque* doctrine was no longer a matter of discussion, but had devolved into polarizing polemics.

⁴² Most of the *Letter to Marinus* is translated in A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 78-83. Siecienski believes that if there is any hope for the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches, it is to be found in a reexamination of Maximus on the *filioque*.

⁴³ Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 89-90; Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians* (Belmont: Nordland Publishing, 1975), 43. See also, Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), esp. 175-80, 195-96.

⁴⁴ The *Opus Caroli Regis* will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁴⁵ OCR III.3, 8.

⁴⁶ Discussed in Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 93-100.

Around 798, the phrase was inserted into the Nicene Creed by the churches of Spain and then Gaul. However, the *Filioque* was not technically official in the West until 1014 when the Church in Rome included the phrase into their Creed. This decision irrevocably linked the theological and ecclesiological issues of the *Filioque*.⁴⁷ The Eastern Church rejected this addition to the Creed—most famously by Photius of Constantinople in the mid-ninth century.⁴⁸ The disagreement only served to reinforce the growing divide between East and West.

Conclusion

As should be clear from the texts discussed above, these debates hinged on the limitations of language and humanity's inability to comprehend the divine. Not only was the task of articulating the nature and agency of the Trinity difficult, if not impossible, but it was also complicated by exchanges between these branches of the Church in which many things were lost in translation.

Even theological inquiry within a single language system was limited and prone to confusion. For instance, while “adoption” was a dangerous word when applied to Christ, it was used without hesitation to describe Christians, who “have received the spirit of adoption of sons.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, adoptionists were criticized for equating or using interchangeably the terms “assumption” and “adoption,” which posed a problem because, as Alcuin argued, although every adoption was a kind of assumption, “not every assumption is able to be adoption.”⁵⁰ But even the approved word “assumption” was not a perfect fit; instead, it was more precise to say

⁴⁷ As noted in Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 4-5.

⁴⁸ Photius of Constantinople, *Encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs* (Epistle 2); *Letter to the Patriarch of Aquileia* (Epistle 291). The role of the *Filioque* in the Photian Schism is discussed in Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 100-04.

⁴⁹ Romans 8:15, Douay-Rheims Bible. See also Galatians 4:5 and Ephesians 1:5.

⁵⁰ “*Nec omnis assumptio potest esse adoptio.*” Alcuin of York, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri Septem*, III.8 (PL101:67).

that the Son of God became incarnate as man, rather than by assuming a man.⁵¹ Similarly, although Gottschalk's *trina* is etymologically related to the orthodox term *Trinitas* ("Triunity"), his application of it to the deity (rather than the persons) semantically tripled the deity, resulting in polytheism and therefore heresy.⁵² While humans are forced to rely upon the language of three-in-oneness to describe the Trinity, as Hincmar indicated, there can be no counting of the Persons of the Godhead; they are utterly united. More importantly, God is so completely *other* from his creation that he cannot be counted or numbered. If we were to take inventory of the whole of creation, to number every single thing, God could not be added at the end, as though just another object or being. Nor could the deity be counted, and thus separated, within Trinity. Given the mystery and extreme otherness of God, it is not surprising to encounter theological disputes that center around the limitations of language and human comprehension.

From the backdrop of these theological debates and the articulations of Trinitarian theology that they produced, which asserted the indivisible unity of the Three persons, as well as of the two natures of Christ, let us now proceed to an examination of orthodox discussions of the more specific topic of the Trinity at Creation.

The Trinity at Creation in Carolingian Theology

A survey of the verbal descriptions of the Persons of the Trinity at Creation will provide a textual context for the visual evidence of the previous chapter and will help to give an idea of how the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page might have been received by Carolingian viewers.

⁵¹ Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 55.

⁵² Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 60-1.

Several Carolingian commentaries on the Book of Genesis draw attention to the simultaneous plurality and unity of the Persons of the Trinity at Creation, an emphasis that is contemporary and consistent with the debates outlined above.⁵³ These Carolingian theologians, like generations of Christians before them, coupled the mention of the Spirit of God in Genesis 1:2 with the first Creator-Logos described in the first three verses of John's Gospel to deduce the work of the whole Trinity at Creation.

Alcuin of York

These interpretations also highlight the use of singular and plural verbs in the Creation narrative. For example, in his *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim*, Alcuin of York responds to the question, "Why did he say with the plural number: *Let us make?*" by explaining, "So that one operation might be shown of three persons."⁵⁴ Similarly, his answer to the question, "Why did he say the second time: *he created man in his own image* (verse 27); when he had already said: *in our image?*" is: "So that both the plurality of persons and unity of substance is insinuated."⁵⁵ In other words, the use of both the singular and plural possessives, as well as the singular and plural verb forms, is not interpreted as a contradiction, but as an expression of the indivisible Triune presence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit at Creation.

⁵³ On Carolingian exegesis, see Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards, eds., *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian era*, Medieval Church Studies 3 (Turnhout;: Brepols, 2003).

⁵⁴ "Cur plurali numero dixit: *Faciamus?*" "Ut ostenderetur trium una operatio personarum." Alcuin of York, *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim* (PL 100:520).

⁵⁵ "Cur iterum dixit: *Creavit hominem ad imaginem suam (vers 27); cum antea dixisset: ad imaginem nostram?*" "Ut utrumque, et pluritas personarum, et unitas substantiae insinuaretur." Alcuin of York, *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim* (PL 100:520).

Rabanus Maurus

A student of Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus (c. 780-856) gives an even more extensive treatment of the significance of *faciamus* in his commentary on Genesis. Quoting at length from Bede's *Hexaemeron*, he writes:

Moreover, when it is said: 'Let us make [man] in our image and likeness,' the unity of the Holy Trinity is plainly designated. Accordingly, the same indivisible Trinity had been insinuated in the previous mysterious formation of things, when it was said: 'And God said, Let it be. And God created. And God saw that it was good.' Now this itself is also clearly insinuated, when it is said: 'Let us make man in our image and likeness;' and rightly; because while he who was shown was not, the proclamation of the Deity was hidden in the depths. Truly, when the creation of man was anticipated, faith was revealed, and the teaching of truth clearly shone forth. Indeed, in that which says 'Let us make,' one operation of three persons is exhibited. Truly in that which follows: 'In our image and likeness,' one and equal substance of the same Holy Trinity is indicated. For how was there one image and likeness, if the Son was subordinate to the Father, if the Holy Spirit was subordinate to the Son, if the glory of the entire Trinity was not of the same consubstantial power; or how would it be said: 'Let us make,' if the power was not the cooperator of three persons in one Deity?⁵⁶

In essence, the plurality of the Trinity is inferred from the use of the plural forms *faciamus* and *nostram* and is reinforced by the allusions to the Holy Spirit in Genesis 1:2 and to the Logos in John 1:1-3, which Rabanus discusses elsewhere in the commentary. Meanwhile, the absolute unity of the three persons is indicated by the singular *Deus* and *Deitatis*, as well as by the singular, though shared (i.e., *nostram*), *imaginem et similitudinem*. The three persons are equal

⁵⁶ "Cum autem dicitur: *Faciamus ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, unitas sanctae Trinitatis aperte commendatur. Siquidem eadem individua Trinitas in praecedente rerum formatione mystice erat insinuata, quando dicebatur: Et dixit Deus, Fiat. Et fecit Deus. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Nunc autem manifestius haec ipsa insinuat, cum dicitur: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et recte; quia donec is qui doceretur non erat, in profundo fuit abdita praedicatio Deitatis. Ubi vero hominis coepit expectari creatio, revelata est fides, et evidenter dogma veritatis emicuit. In eo enim quod dicit *Faciamus*, una ostenditur trium operatio personarum. In eo vero quod sequitur: *Ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, una et aequalis substantia eiusdem sanctae Trinitatis indicatur. Quomodo enim esset una imago ac similitudo, si minor Patre Filius, si minor esset Filio Spiritus Sanctus, si non consubstantialis eiusdem potestatis esset gloria totius Trinitatis; aut quomodo diceretur: *Faciamus*, si trium in una Dietate personarum cooperatrix virtus non esset?*" Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quatuor* (PL 107.459). Cf. Bede, *Hexaemeron sive Libri Quatuor in Principium Genesis* (PL 91.28D-29A). The passages are identical.*

and consubstantial. There is no subordination among them and therefore there is a single (shared) image and likeness.

Rabanus also emphasizes the incorporeal presence of God the Father at Creation. In the same commentary, he states, “Moreover, as far as God is regarded to have spoken, whether when light was made or something else, it ought not to be believed to have been made through the corporeal sound of voice, as our habit, but God is understood to have spoken from above when creation was made, because everything was made through his Word, that is, through the only begotten Son.”⁵⁷ Rabanus also invokes an incorporeal and Trinitarian description from Psalm 32:6, which states that, “The heavens are established by the word of the Lord, and all their power by the Spirit of his mouth.”⁵⁸ Rabanus has also been credited with authoring the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* (“Come, Spirit Creator”); its final stanza beseeches the three persons: “Do this, most holy Father / only equal to the Father / with the Spirit Comforter / reigning through all ages.” In these passages, Rabanus (via Bede) describes a cooperative and equal Trinitarian creative act, in which the Father and Holy Spirit are present incorporeally.⁵⁹

Rabanus (/Bede) comments that God did not command Creation through the corporeal sound of voice, the way humans do, but did so remotely through the Word, his Son. He then

⁵⁷ “*Quod autem dixisse Deus, sive ut lux fieret, sive alia quaeque perhibetur, non nostro more per sonum vocis corporeum fecisse credendus est, sed altius intelligendum dixisse Deum ut fieret creatura, quia per Verbum suum omnia, id est, per unigenitum Filium fecit.*” Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quatuor* (PL 107.447D-448A).

⁵⁸ “*Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum.*” Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quatuor* (PL 107.448A). Cf. Bede, *Hexaemeron sive Libri Quatuor in Principium Genesis* (PL 91.17A). Earlier in his commentary, Rabanus interprets the mention of the Holy Spirit in Genesis 1:2 as evidence of a Trinitarian Creation when he writes, “*Bene autem cum in principio Deum, id est, in Filio Patrem fecisse coelum et terram praediceret, etiam sancti Spiritus intulit mentionem, addendo: Et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas, ut videlicet totius simul Trinitatis in creatione mundi virtutem cooperatam esse signaret*” (PL 107.447C).

⁵⁹ The Holy Spirit is said not to have hovered over the waters in the locative sense, but in terms of divine power. For example: “*Non est opinandum pueriliter quod Spiritus creator, de quo scriptum est: ‘Quia Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum,’ positione loci his quae erant creanda superferretur. Sed intelligendum potius quia virtute divina praecellebat creaturis...*” Translation: “It ought not to be foolishly supposed that the Creator-Spirit, about whom it is written: ‘Because the Spirit of the Lord filled the world,’ moved over these things which were being created by position of place. But rather it ought to be understood that he excelled creation by divine power.” Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quatuor* (PL 107.446D-447A).

quotes John 1:1-3, “In the beginning...was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was with God in the beginning; all things were made through him.”⁶⁰ That is, Rabanus presents the Word as a creative medium for the incorporeal Father.

Wigbod

Another Genesis commentary from the period that deserves consideration here is that written by the abbot Wigbod. His *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*⁶¹ was prepared especially for Charlemagne, sometime between the years 775-800, and is significant as the first official Carolingian biblical commentary.⁶² Wigbod’s commentary draws on the writings of Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, Hilary, Isidore, Eucherius, and Iunillus,⁶³ and is presented in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and student. Like Rabanus, Wigbod clearly states that the presence of the Holy Spirit was incorporeal, explaining that he moved over the waters “*non localiter, sed potentialiter*.”⁶⁴ Wigbod emphasizes this incorporeal presence even more explicitly when he quotes Augustine: “For the Spirit moved over that water not by the distances of places, just as the sun moves over the earth, but through the power of his own invisible sublimity.”⁶⁵

Unlike Rabanus, Wigbod does not use *faciamus* as an opportunity to expound at length upon a Trinitarian Creation. In fact, he states it quite simply in one sentence. In response to the student’s observation that for all other aspects of Creation God spoke in the singular command

⁶⁰ “*In principio...erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum; omnia per ipsum facta sunt.*” Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quatuor* (PL 107.447D-448A).

⁶¹ Wigbod, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96.1101-68).

⁶² Michael M. Gorman, “The Encyclopedic Commentary on Genesis prepared for Charlemagne by Wigbod,” *Recherches Augustiniennes* 17 (1982): 175.

⁶³ Wigbod’s commentary on the first three chapters of Genesis is drawn mostly from the Irish *Exhymeron, De sex dierum creatione*, and *Dialogus quaestionum LXV*, as well as Augustine’s *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Isidore’s commentary, Iunillus’s *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, and Jerome’s *Hebraicae quaestiones in rerum*. Gorman, “The Encyclopedic Commentary,” 178-9.

⁶⁴ Wigbod, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96.1116C).

⁶⁵ “*Non enim per spatia locorum superferebatur aquae illi spiritus, sicut terre sol superfertur, sed per potentiam invisibilis sublimitatis suae.*” Wigbod, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96.1112C).

fiat, while regarding the Creation of man, God employed the plural *faciamus*, the magister states, “To suggest, just as I say, the plurality of the persons, on account of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, yet [Moses] suggested that the unity of the deity be understood immediately, saying: *And God made man in his image.*”⁶⁶ The magister then goes on to explain, using Augustine, that man is created in God’s image in respect to reason, intelligence, and immortality—that is, not in any physical sense. In short, the major Carolingian commentators on Genesis are explicit in declaring the incorporeal presence of the Trinity at Creation.

Theodulf of Orléans

While Theodulf never authored a commentary on Genesis or a treatise on the Trinity, his thoughts on the nature and workings of the Godhead permeate several of his writings. For instance, in addition to his above-mentioned *libellus* on the *Filioque*, Theodulf also dedicates the first eight chapters of book three of the *Opus Caroli Regis* to Trinitarian issues. He calls out a number of Greeks for their misunderstanding of the nature of the Trinity, including Theodore of Jerusalem and Tarasius the Patriarch of Constantinople, who presided at the Second Council of Nicaea, which condemned iconoclasm and affirmed the veneration of images and relics. Theodulf criticizes these men for confessing images instead of the Trinity, for misunderstanding the co-eternity of the Son with the Father, as well as the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son. For example, he states that “just as the Father and the Son [are] one God and in relation to Creation are one Creator and one Lord, so in relation to the Holy Spirit [are they] one beginning; truly to Creation Father and Son and Holy Spirit [are] one beginning, just as [they

⁶⁶ “*Ad insinuandum, ut ita dicam, pluralitatem personarum, propter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, quam tamen deitatis unitatem intelligendam statim admonuit dicens: Et fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam.*” Wigbod, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96.1132).

are] one Creator and one Lord.”⁶⁷ The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are each in their own right the beginning of all things, but this does not imply three distinct beginnings — or three Creators— but one. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit is not subordinate the Father and Son, but is “coessential, coeternal, coequal, of one power, and glory.”⁶⁸ Whether his Byzantine targets were actually guilty of the kind of grave misinterpretations that required Theodulf’s pedantic responses is another matter entirely. Thomas F. X. Noble describes this group of chapters as “a profession and anti-profession,” in which Theodulf exposes the ostensibly bad theology of the Byzantine Church and its leaders and then counters it with the orthodox theology of the Franks.⁶⁹

The *Opus Caroli Regis* contains additional mentions of Creation, which might corroborate visual Carolingian depictions of the motif. In the thirtieth chapter of book two of the *Opus Caroli Regis*, in which Theodulf chastises those who compare images to holy Scripture, he argues that Scripture only refers to Christ as being written about, not imaged (*Non enim ait ‘pictum,’ sed scriptum*). He goes on to explain that Genesis 1:1 (“*In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram*”) is to be read through the lens of Christ’s words in John 8:25 (“*Ego sum principium*”). That is, the Son is the Beginning (*principio*) in which God creates.⁷⁰ Theodulf’s image theory will be discussed in the next chapter, but this example suggests that if he were to permit an image of any of the figures at Creation, it would be the Son.

⁶⁷ OCR III.4. “...sicut Pater et Filius unus Deus et ad creaturam relative unus creator et unus Dominus, sic relative ad Spiritum sanctum unum principium; ad creaturam vero Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unum principium sicut unus creator et unus Dominus.”

⁶⁸ OCR III.5. “...coessentialem, coeternum, coequalem, unius potestatis et gloriae...”

⁶⁹ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 196.

⁷⁰ OCR II.30. “*In principio, id est in Filio.*”

Conclusion

Recalling the visual evidence of the previous chapter, we can observe that the general thrust of Carolingian textual descriptions of the Trinity at Creation is consistent with contemporary visual representations. While commentaries on Genesis repeatedly mention the presence of the Three persons of the Trinity, they also carefully emphasize the unity and incorporeal presence of the Trinity. Paintings of the first days of Creation reflect these teachings in their presentation of a single (i.e., united, monotheistic) Creator. Although one gets the sense that an anthropomorphic depiction, even of the Son, was not ideal in an Old Testament scene, the Second Person of the Trinity is the obvious solution for such an iconographic dilemma on account of his anticipated incarnation, which rendered him image-able.

This concept is found throughout the writings of the Church Fathers, which include varying opinions about possible appearances of the Son before the incarnation. Eusebius of Caesarea believed that it was the Son who had appeared to the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, though what they saw was a vision of the Son in bodily form, not an actual physical being.⁷¹ On the other hand, Augustine argued that, for example, to interpret the three men who appeared to Abraham at Mamre as the Trinity was to distinguish too much between three persons and therefore to threaten the equality and consubstantiality of the Trinity.⁷² Despite these differences, there was certainly consensus that in the incarnation the Son took on flesh, rendering the invisible divinity visible, with a specific, recognizable face.⁷³ In the man Jesus, the uncircumscribable God was circumscribed.

⁷¹ E.g., Eusebius of Caesarea, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, 5.9, 14. See Robin M. Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 113.

⁷² E.g., Augustine of Hippo, *De Trinitate*, 2.4.20-22, 32. See Jensen, *Face to Face*, 114.

⁷³ This was based on New Testament passages such as Colossians 1:15; John 12:45; 2 Corinthians 4:6. See also, for example, Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, 14.

The incarnation as justification for the imageability of Jesus was also an important argument employed by iconodules during the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy.⁷⁴ Theodore the Studite, writing during the second iconoclastic period (814-42), argued that the incarnation affirmed the goodness of the physical world, for “If merely mental contemplation were sufficient, it would have been sufficient for Him to come to us in a merely mental way.”⁷⁵ Moreover, the incarnation made images of Christ licit because, “everything which is subject to vision must also be subject to circumscription.”⁷⁶ In fact, the iconodules believed that imaging Christ was not only permissible but necessary, because to deny the visibility of Jesus Christ is to deny the incarnation.⁷⁷ Although it seems that Theodore’s writings did not make it to the West, in the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum*, which was a response to the poorly translated *acta* of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), Theodulf responded twenty-three times to Eastern arguments like these in favor of images of Jesus.⁷⁸

Given the Trinitarian debates of the eighth and ninth centuries, it is not surprising that visual depictions of God at Creation sacrifice the three-ness of the Trinity for the sake of the oneness. Therefore, it is also not surprising that a Carolingian viewer might edit a triply-anthropomorphic rendering of the Trinity at Creation in order to present a single Creator. However, the imageability of the Son and his consistent appearance in Carolingian images of Creation stand in tension with the redactor of the Ashburnham Pentateuch’s decision to erase the

⁷⁴ For a brief but compelling analysis of the construction and misunderstanding of Byzantine iconoclasm, see Leslie Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011).

⁷⁵ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, trans. Catherine P. Roth (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1981), 27.

⁷⁶ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, 71.

⁷⁷ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, 22. These arguments are echoed in John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003).

⁷⁸ Thomas F. X. Noble, “The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the Early Carolingian Period,” in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from ‘Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400-1000 (Utrecht, 11-13 December 2003)*, ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Utrecht: Brepols, 2005), 225. E.g., OCR III.22-3; IV.1, 2.

Son instead of the Father. Possible explanations for this apparent inconsistency will be explored in the coming chapters.

On account of the fact that the Carolingian Genesis commentaries discussed above are largely assemblages of patristic sources, there is little material in them that can be called distinctively or uniquely Carolingian—though it is true that their very assemblage is a creative act that reveals a particular concern with the Trinity. Our effort to establish a connection between Carolingian teachings on the Trinity and the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch will benefit from a consideration of the *Caroli Regis contra Synodum*, which emerged from the context of the controversies and debates discussed above and is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE *OPUS CAROLI REGIS* AND CAROLINGIAN IMAGE THEORY

The previous chapter's survey of Carolingian Trinitarian theology, in the form of Genesis commentaries and responses to contemporary theological debates, demonstrated a desire to assert the indivisible unity of the Trinity, as well as that of the human and divine natures of Jesus Christ. The commentaries on Genesis explicitly describe the act of Creation as a cooperative and incorporeal act of all three persons of the Trinity. The task of the present chapter is to draw a more concrete connection between Carolingian theology and the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation page by examining a unique work of Carolingian theology that addresses representational art. After a discussion of the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* (OCR), which is novel as the only extant Carolingian text that deals extensively with the nature of the artistic image,¹ this chapter will then consider a small group of images commissioned by the OCR's author, Theodulf of Orléans. The image theory, perhaps more appropriately termed "theology of the image," that is articulated in the OCR contributes to understanding the erasures of the AP's Creation page by providing a window into coeval expectations and standards of religious images.

¹ Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Concilia 2, Supplementum* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998)—referred to hereafter as "OCR." Its novelty, described above, is noted by Celia Chazelle in her "Images, Scripture, the Church, and the *Libri Carolini*," in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, Vol. 16/17 (1992-1993): 53. For an excellent treatment of the OCR, with an extensive bibliography, see Thomas Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). At the time of the composition of this dissertation, an English translation of the OCR is being prepared by Andrew Romig of New York University for Penguin Press. N.B., the OCR was formerly known as the *Libri Carolini*. Vat. lat. 7207 is the original working copy.

Images and the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum*

Around the year 790,² Charlemagne commissioned Theodulf of Orléans (c. 750/60-821)³ to compose a detailed response to the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which had attempted to unite the church by condemning the Council of Hieria (754)⁴ and had effectively ended iconoclasm in the East through its official affirmation of images and relics in private and public devotion.⁵ In broad strokes, the iconoclast position was driven by the Mosaic prohibition, Monophysite and dualist tendencies, the desire to convert Jews and Muslims (who were viewed as aniconic), as well as what may have been a genuine reaction against the perceived novelty of the veneration of the image.⁶ Conversely, the iconodule, or pro-image, position asserted that not only are icons *not* idols but they are, in fact, essential testimonies of the incarnation. For example, this was articulated in several ways by Theodore the Studite in *On the Holy Icons*, who contended that, “if He is seen, He is circumscribed. Everything which is subject to vision must

² On the dating of the OCR, see Ann Freeman, “Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*,” *Viator* XVI (1985): 65-108, and more recently Freeman, MGH (1998), 36ff, with the dating of Vat. Lat. 7202 to 792-93.

³ Regarding the authorship of the OCR, see Ann Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*,” *Speculum* 32 (1957): 663-705.

⁴ See, for example, Milton V. Anastos, “The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 151-160. In the Council of Hieria, Constantine V (741-75) had declared images to be heretical idols and excommunicated anyone who possessed or venerated them, a decree which resulted in persecution and martyrdom. Norman P. Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2001), 131; Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils, 325-1870* (Garden City, NY: Hanover House, 1961), 151.

⁵ For a detailed account of the events leading up to the composition of the OCR, see Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 158-80. For the *Acta* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, see, MPG 96; Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O.P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), 131-56. On the context of the council, see, for example, Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils, 325-1870*; Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History*; Joseph F. Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: a History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009).

⁶ Tanner, *Councils*, 35. As the “losing” side, there are few iconoclastic documents, but we are able to glean something of the position from iconodule responses, as found in the writings of Theodore the Studite and John of Damascus. For a helpful take on the vocabulary of Byzantine iconoclasm and common assumptions and misunderstandings, see Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680-850: A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).

also be subject to circumscription.”⁷ Because of the indivisible unity of Christ's two natures, “you must either accept the ‘circumscribed,’ or if not, then take away the ‘visible’ and ‘tangible’ and ‘graspable...Then it would become obvious that you utterly deny that the Word became flesh—which is the height of impiety.”⁸ Furthermore, in order to be an effective prototype:

He undoubtedly must have an image transferred from His form and shaped in some material. Otherwise He would lose his humanity, if He were not seen and venerated through the production of the image. A seal is one thing and an imprint is another...There could not be an effective seal which was not impressed on some material. Therefore Christ also, unless He appears in an artificial image, is in this respect idle and ineffective.⁹

From both sides, the debate over the validity of icons was concerned with the nature of the incarnation, Christology, the relationship between image and prototype, and interpretation of the Mosaic commandment. The stakes were high: the iconoclasts feared idolatry and the iconodules feared heresy.

The question of whether and how images of Christ and the saints should be revered had not only theological, but also practical and devotional implications.¹⁰ The Second Council of Nicaea asserted that religious images are to be venerated but not worshipped, and may also function as memorials and teaching tools, stating that

the revered and holy images, whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material, are to be exposed in the holy churches of God, on sacred instruments and vestments, on walls and panels, in houses and by public ways...The more frequently they are seen in representational art, the more are those who see them drawn to remember and long for those who serve as models, and to pay these images the tribute of salutations and respectful veneration. Certainly this is not the full adoration in accordance with our faith, which is properly paid only to the divine nature....¹¹

⁷ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, trans. Catherine P. Roth (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1981), 71.

⁸ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, 22.

⁹ Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, 112.

¹⁰ Tanner, *Councils*, 35.

¹¹ Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 134-136. See also, Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 62-4.

Therefore, it asserted, the images of Jesus, Mary, angels, and the saints should be publicly and privately displayed in order to benefit viewers by inspiring remembrance and veneration. While only God, “the divine nature,” is worthy of worship, holy images are deserving of veneration in the same way as the cross, the Gospel Books, and relics.¹²

Unfortunately, the Greek acts of the council were poorly translated into Latin in Rome, failing to communicate the Council’s essential distinction between worship (*latreia*) and veneration (*proskynhsis*): worship belongs to God alone, while holy images and objects may receive honor or veneration. This misunderstanding contributed both to Charlemagne’s commissioning of Theodulf of Orléans, a Goth and a scholar of the Carolingian court, to write the OCR and to the consequent condemnation of II Nicaea’s decisions in the Council of Frankfurt in 794.¹³

Ann Freeman, who is responsible for the critical edition, described the OCR as a *summa* of Carolingian thought.¹⁴ Indeed, while it was—at least in theory—first and foremost a response to II Nicaea, the OCR was also a thorough and systematic assertion of Frankish superiority to their Greek counterparts.¹⁵ The OCR’s discussion of images, liturgy, patristic sources, and Church doctrine was also a not-so-thinly-veiled politically-motivated polemic.

With 120 chapters divided into four books, the OCR deals with the received *acta* of II Nicaea in great detail, though it reorganizes them for its argument. The preface to the first book

¹² Tanner, *Decrees*, 136. The installation of relics in altars is decreed in Canon 7. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 144-46.

¹³ Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 143-4.

¹⁴ Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*,” 665. Thomas Noble notes that Ann Freeman “knows the work better than anyone else.” Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 243.

¹⁵ It should be noted that the Carolingians seem to have struggled with how name the people we now refer to as the Byzantines. In the OCR, the Second Council of Nicaea is described as taking place “*in Bithiniae partibus*,” while the full title of the OCR places it “*in partibus graetiae*”: “*IN NOMINE DOMINE ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI. INCIPT OPUS INLUSTRISSIMI ET EXCELLENTISSIMI SEU SPECTABILIS VIRI CAROLI, NUTU DEI REGIS FRANCORUM, GALLIAS, GERMANIAM ITALIAMQUE SIVE HARUM FINITIMAS PROVINTIAS DOMINO OPITULANTE REGENTIS, CONTRA SYNODUM, QUE IN PARTIBUS GRAETIAE PRO ADORANDIS IMAGINIBUS STOLIDE SIVE ARROGANTER GESTA EST.*” Freeman, MGH (1998), 97.

explicitly demonstrates Charlemagne's desire to dismiss the Byzantines as inferior rulers by immediately casting them in a negative light in comparison with the Franks. After condemning both the iconoclast and iconodule councils of the Greeks, Theodulf as "Charles" writes:

We, however, are content with the prophets, evangelists, apostolic writings, and are imbued with the teachings from that which is 'the way, the truth, and the life' (John 14:6). We accept the six holy and universal synods which were held by the holy and venerable fathers to deal with a variety of heretical attacks, and we reject all verbal novelties and stupid inventions, and not only do we receive them but we truly hate such filth as that synod which was held in the region of Bithynia on account of the most imprudent tradition of adoring images. The text of its writings, lacking in eloquence and sense, has reached us.¹⁶

The first four chapters of book one of the OCR continue the theme of a condemnation of Greek rulers for their arrogance and neglect of the Church Fathers. For our present discussion we will focus on the handful of chapters that deal most explicitly with the issue of depicting divinity, which will contribute to our understanding of Carolingian image theory as established in the previous two chapters.¹⁷

To begin in the same place as the commentators discussed above, let us first turn to OCR I.7, which addresses the language of the Creation account in Genesis.¹⁸ Like his contemporaries, Theodulf argues that Genesis 1:26 is to be interpreted spiritually, not literally, and therefore it cannot be rightfully applied to the worship of images. For supporting evidence he relies heavily

¹⁶ "Nos denique prophetis, evangelicis et apostolicis scripturis contenti et sanctorum orthodoxorum patrum, qui nullatenus in suis dogmatibus ab eo, qui est 'via, veritas et vita, deviarunt, institutis inbuti et sanctas et universales se synodos, quae pro variis hereseorum infestationibus a sanctis et venerabilibus patribus gestae sunt, suscipientes, omnes novitates vocum et stultiloquas adinventiones abicimus et non solum non suscipimus, verum etiam tamquam purgamenta dispicimus, sicut et eam, quae propter adorandarum imaginum imprudentissimam traditionem in Bithyniae partibus gesta est, synodum. Cuius scripturae textus eloquentia sensuque carens ad nos usque pervenit." Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, MGH (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 101, cf. p. 99; translated in Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 185.

¹⁷ On the OCR's discussion of the passion and divinity of Christ, see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially 39-52.

¹⁸ It is titled: "That which is written: God created man in his image and likeness, does not pertain to the adoration of images." "*Quod non ad adorandas imagines pertineat, quod scriptum est: Creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam.*"

on Ambrose's *De Fide*, Ps.-Ambrose's *De Dignitate*, and Augustine's *De Diversis Quaestionibus Octoginta Tribus*. Humans were not created in the physical image of God, but in the spiritual, incorporeal image. While Jesus Christ is in the image of God on account of a shared essence, humans can only be said to be in the image of God through Christ.¹⁹ In short, Theodulf uses these texts to argue that a human is made in the *image* of God inasmuch as s/he resemble the Trinity (having the triad of faculties of intellect, will, and memory); a human is in the true *likeness* of God inasmuch as s/he resembles God in her/his character (e.g., the virtues of love, goodness, patience). Therefore, according to Theodulf, a human's soul is created in God's image, and a human's character is created in God's likeness. Of course, neither occurs corporeally, as that would make God a physical being. Theodulf concludes, therefore, that Genesis 1:26 cannot refer to human-made images.

In the following chapter, Theodulf parses out the differences between image, likeness, and equality, which he thinks are conflated by his Eastern interlocutors, again quoting at length from Augustine's *De Diversis Quaestionibus Octoginta Tribus*.²⁰ An image derives from its prototype and therefore shares properties with it, while a likeness merely shares characteristics with the prototype and is therefore distinct from it. For an image, Augustine gives an object and its reflection in a mirror as an example, for a likeness, the eggs of two different kinds of birds. While there can be degrees of likeness, "[something] *cannot be called more* an image or *less* an image."²¹ It either is or is not. As Celia Chazelle has noted, this distinction between image and

¹⁹ OCR 1.7; Celia Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 21 (1986): 171.

²⁰ OCR 1.8; Augustine of Hippo, *De Diversis Quaestionibus Octoginta Tribus*, 74.8-34.

²¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. OCR 1.8, "*Haec ergo tria distinguenda sunt, quia omne, quod imago est, similitudo est, non tamen omne, quod similitudo, imago est, et cum imago numquam similitudine careat, similitudo vero multoties imagine careat, plerumque et similitudo et imago aequalitate carere noscuntur. Quae etiam aequalitas nonnumquam et imagini et similitudini copulari potest. Quae tria, quamquam unius sint categ[or]iae, quae relatio dicitur, habent tamen inter se quasdam proprietates, quibus aliae carent. Nam imagini proprium est, ut semper ab altero expref] Jessa sit, similitudini vero et aequalitati proprium est, ut in sua s[ubsisten]-*

likeness and the assumed separation between matter and spirit are both fundamental to the OCR's position on the artistic image.²² Something could only be considered a true image through either contact with or emanation from its prototype. For this reason, relics, for example, are blessed by their proximity to or their origins in saints' bodies, a concrete intimacy that no unconsecrated artistic image enjoys. According to Theodulf, material images are therefore incapable of expressing spiritual truths—though neither did he condone acts of iconoclasm.

The argument of I.7-8 builds on Theodulf's initial discussion of images in chapter two of the same book, in which he contends that there is nothing inherently sacred in images nor are there concrete ties between saints and their images. For instance, Theodulf observes the great range in material, likeness, and quality of religious images. Which are more deserving of honor—images made from precious or cheap materials? If precious, he goads, then is it truly the works depicted therein that receive honor or is it the valuable material?²³ Furthermore, it is often impossible to identify a portrait without an explanatory inscription.²⁴ In other words, there is nothing inherent in images of saints to tie them to their prototypes—they are not physically linked in the way that relics are, nor are their identities self-evident without the aid of text.

Jtia permanentes non ab altero expressę, sed aliis rebus adsimilatę vel coaequate hoc nomine censeantur, et imago magis vel minus non sibi admittat, similitudo vero / et aequalitas admittant. Sicut enim dicitur magis similis vel minus similis, magis aequalis vel minus aequalis, non sic dici potest magis imago vel minus imago."

Translation: "Therefore these three must be distinguished, because everything that is an image is a likeness, yet not everything which [is] a likeness, is an image, and while image never lacks likeness, however likeness often lacks image, in most cases both image and likeness are recognized [as] lacking equality. Still that equality occasionally can be joined to both image and likeness. Those three are nevertheless of one category, that which is called relation, nevertheless [they each] have among them certain properties in which the others lack. For instance, it is proper to image that it is represented by something else. However, it is proper to likeness and equality that, remaining in their own subsistence, they are not expressly [represented], but by other things similarly or equally judged by this term, and image does not grant itself [to be] more or less, however likeness and equality do. For just as it is called greater likeness or lesser likeness, greater equality or lesser equality, so [something] cannot be called more or less an image."

Cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *Categoriae Decem* (PL 32.1419-1440).

²² Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*," 172.

²³ OCR III.16, cf. I.2.

²⁴ OCR IV.16.

This hierarchy is also evident in Theodulf's emphasis on the spiritual reading of Scripture over the literal. For instance, in language reminiscent of Wigbod's description of the Holy Spirit's creative presence as "*non localiter, sed potentialiter,*" Theodulf argues that the prophecy about the altar in Egypt in Isaiah 19:19 ("On that day there will be an altar to the Lord in the center of the land of Egypt, and a pillar to the Lord at its border") should be interpreted "*spiritualiter,*" not "*historialiter*"—its significance stemming from its symbolic rather than literal reality.²⁵ Time and again, Theodulf accuses the Greeks of focusing on the literal reading of Scripture, and therefore of misinterpreting it.

While Theodulf was not an iconoclast, he was certainly suspicious of images.²⁶ He denied the Eastern claim, credited to Basil of Caesarea, that the honor paid to an image passes on to its prototype. In fact, he dedicates an entire chapter to this concept.²⁷ According to Theodulf, the mental process of contemplating heavenly things is completely distinct from the physical experience of looking at an image, and therefore an image could never be credited with inspiring spiritual contemplation. Although he allows for the minute possibility of learned persons (*doctis*) successfully passing honor on to an image's prototype, even so, Theodulf claims that the risk posed by such physical acts of worship would be too great; they would almost certainly be stumbling blocks for any unlearned observers (*indoctis*), who are unable to see past the physical

²⁵ OCR II.11.

²⁶ Despite this suspicion, Theodulf obviously had some appreciation of craftsmanship and artistry, as evidenced in the prefatory poems of his Bibles (see below) and his descriptive poems concerning a *mapa mundi* and an image of the Seven Liberal Arts. For "*De Septem Liberalibus in Quadam Pictura Depictis,*" see MGH, *Poetae*, I, 544-47; PL 105:333-5. For "*Alia Pictura in qua erat Imago Terrae in Modum Orbis Comprehensa,*" see MGH, *Poetae*, I, 547-8; PL 105:336-7. See also Lawrence Nees, *The Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

²⁷ OCR III.16. The chapter is titled, "Against those who say that honor to images goes over to the principal form." ("*Contra eos, qui dicunt, quod imaginis honor in primam formam.*") This popular statement is found in Basil's *On the Holy Spirit* (18.45), though it appears in an argument that deals not with the veneration of images but with the unity of the Father and the Son.

world and who would mistake such actions for idolatry.²⁸ In the same chapter, Theodulf lobs several attacks at this teaching, asking, “in what way is honor shown to [the saints] in pictures, which are not from their body or clothing, but are prepared by artists through the ability of their talent...?”²⁹ In other words, what does an image really have to do with the saint it depicts? Theodulf dramatically discounts the veneration of saints and their images: “Truly, [the saints] preferred to be whipped rather than be adored.”³⁰ For him, relics, which shared physical matter or at least had direct contact with saints' bodies, were the only physical objects that communicated honor to the saints.

Relics belong to a category of religious images deemed acceptable by Theodulf: he distinguishes between human-made images and holy objects (*res sacratae*) that were commanded by God (“*divinorum eloquiorum testimoniis adprobatur*”), such as the cross, relics, liturgical vessels, and the Ark of the Covenant.³¹ Theodulf maintains that human-made images cannot be equated with holy things because, unlike the *res sacratae*, they have not been instituted and blessed by God the Father, Moses, Christ, or a priest.³² For example, the Ark of the Covenant was not only a work of art, but also a holy object—the very voice of the Lord, not the will and mastery of some artist, commanded Moses to make it. Unlike images, which “carry only

²⁸ OCR III.16. Later, in OCR IV.27, Theodulf argues that poor-quality images can lead people astray—a comment that is reminiscent of Charlemagne’s comment about incorrect books and prayer. MGH, *Cap.* I, no. 72, p. 60.

²⁹ OCR III.16, “...*qualiter ad eos honor picturis exhibitus quae nec de illorum corpore seu vestibus sunt, sed pro captu ingenii cuiusque ab artificibus praeparantur...?*”

³⁰ OCR III.16, “*Quidam vero flagellari potius quam venerari maluerunt.*”

³¹ E.g., OCR II.29, 30; III.16, 24; IV.13. See also Celia Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” 163-84.

³² OCR III.24.

a memory of the thing they represent,” the Ark “signified certain future and hidden things.”³³ It was sacramental, it mediated divine presence, and prefigured Christ and the eucharist.³⁴

Both the eucharist and liturgical vessels were prefigured in Old Testament episodes such as the hospitality of Abraham, the manna in the desert, the temple at Jerusalem, and the tabernacle. Christ instituted the eucharist and the use of liturgical vessels, but unlike the other *res sacratae* the eucharist is not merely an image of Christ but is *Christ himself*. However, Theodulf is careful to distinguish between the eucharist and eucharistic imagery. He remarks that any images on liturgical vessels are not necessary—they do not contribute to the efficacy of the vessel, but are simply for decoration.³⁵ While praising the role of the cross in the crucifixion, Theodulf regards human-made images of it, “which are made by ordinary craftsmen,” to be on the same level as any other work of religious art.³⁶ This section does not address relics of the cross, but does affirm the hand-sign of the cross for its function in consecration.³⁷

The view of Scripture presented in the OCR is especially significant in understanding the Carolingian hierarchy between image and word, which contributed in some sense to the alteration of the Ashburnham Pentateuch. This influence is discernible, for example, in the redactor's decision to remove the image of the Holy Spirit, but preserve the accompanying inscription, “*Hic spiritus domini ubi superferebatur super aquas.*” Like the Ark of the Covenant, the Scriptures were commissioned by God, but even the text of the Bible requires corporeal

³³ OCR II.26. “...illa et presentibus fuerit in miraculorum stuporem et de futuris mistica quaedam et archana significarit, iste et praesentibus miraculis et futurorum significationibus nudae rei, cuius sunt, tantum memoriam ingerant.”

³⁴ For an example of a Carolingian interpretation of the relationship between the Ark, Christ, and the eucharist, see Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, “The Meaning of Theodulf’s Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés,” *Gesta* 40, No. 2 (2001): 131.

³⁵ OCR II.27, 29. Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” 166-7.

³⁶ “...quae a quibuslibet artificibus efficiuntur...” OCR I.19.

³⁷ OCR I.1, 12, 16, 19, 23; II.28; IV.13, 16. Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” 167-8.

sight.³⁸ Despite this physicality, Theodulf maintains that, written in letters and not in pictures, the Bible is ultimately incomparable to images: it was ordained and blessed by God, and contains divine prophecies. Theodulf suggests that, in contrast to ordinary artworks, the written word is the only kind of visible sign that can materially inspire Christians to meditate on the spiritual.³⁹ The ascent through the material to the spiritual is a common trope in classical and medieval thought, wherein intellectual vision is considered to be “higher” than that of the body.⁴⁰ However, the OCR presents an ascent not through the material, but from it—affirming the ability of religious images to educate and decorate, but not as useful (and certainly not necessary) stepping-stones in the Christian’s spiritual ascent.

In other words, Theodulf, while against the destruction of religious images, asserts that such images only serve the purposes of reminding the viewer of historical events and of beautifying whatever surface they cover, be it the walls of a church or a liturgical vessel; religious images are therefore permissible in churches, but are not capable of elevating the viewer to the divine. At the center of Theodulf’s argument is his interpretation of Augustine, which firmly holds the separation of matter and spirit.⁴¹ The *res sacratae* are distinct from other religious images and objects because of the proverbial trump card of having been instituted and blessed by God, and are therefore capable of mediating the presence of the holy. While all *res*

³⁸ Chazelle, “Images, Scripture, the Church, and the *Libri Carolini*,” 160. OCR II.30.

³⁹ Chazelle, “Images, Scripture, the Church, and the *Libri Carolini*,” 181.

⁴⁰ As discussed in, for example, Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), especially 114-28; Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds. *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁴¹ For a treatment of this dualism, see Chazelle, “Images, Scripture, the Church, and the *Libri Carolini*” and “Not in Painting but in Writing: Augustine and the Supremacy of the Word in the *Libri Carolini*,” in *Reading and Wisdom: the ‘De doctrina christiana’ of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward D. English (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 1-22.

sacratae make the holy present to the Christian, according to the OCR, only relics and the cross—though not its man-made images—deserve to be venerated.⁴²

Thus, Theodulf recognized the inherent visual nature of Scripture as written word, but considered it to be significantly distinct from images in the way it was perceived and therefore treated. While images were historically used to decorate churches or commemorate the past,⁴³ they did not deserve the same veneration as the *res sacratae*. Furthermore, images are by no means essential to the Christian faith and have no place in devotion.⁴⁴ Theodulf maintained that images were inept, inanimate objects that depended entirely on their maker's talent (or lack thereof).⁴⁵ For Theodulf, images were therefore incapable of conveying spiritual truths, let alone divine presence:

Painters are thus able to commit events to the memory, but things which are perceptible only to the mind and expressible only in words cannot be grasped and shown by painters, but by writers [...] O glorifier of images, gaze then at your pictures and let us devote our attention to the Holy Scripture. Be the venerator of artificial colors and let us venerate and penetrate secret thought. Enjoy your painted pictures and let us enjoy the word of God.⁴⁶

Images and words are thus presented in opposition: images are intrinsically tied to the inferior physical realm, while words have the ability to break free of it and express the unseen.⁴⁷

⁴² OCR III.24; IV.16. Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*," 180-1.

⁴³ OCR II.13. Also stated in III.16: "For while we scorn nothing in images except the act of worship, obviously those images of saints in the basilicas should not be worshiped, but we allow having them with respect to the memory of historical events and the attractiveness of the walls." "*Nam dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus praeter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis sanctorum imagines non adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus.*"

⁴⁴ OCR II.21.

⁴⁵ E.g., OCR I.2, 9, 22, 24, 26; IV.16, 21. "Pictures shaped by the art of artists always lead those who glorify them into error [...] it is certain that they are the invention of artists and not the truth [...] A picture is painted in order to convey to the onlookers the true memory of historical events and to advance their minds from falseness to the fostering of truth. But sometimes—quite the contrary—it inclines the mind to think of falseness instead of truth." OCR I.2. Translated in Rosamond McKitterick, "Text and Image in the Carolingian World," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 298.

⁴⁶ OCR III.23, II.30. Translated in McKitterick, "Text and Image in the Carolingian World," 300.

⁴⁷ This sentiment is similarly expressed by Rabanus Maurus: "writing is worth more than the vain shape of an image and gives the soul more beauty than the false painting which shows the form of things in an unfitting manner [...] Writing reveals the truth by its countenance, its words and its meaning. The picture sates the sight while it is still

Theodulf articulates the inferiority of images to words at the end of book two of the OCR, in which he uses a series of comparisons to juxtapose images and word, including that Moses received the Law, not an image. Theodulf also repeatedly notes that biblical authors only reference that which is written in books, not pictured in matter (“*scriptum dixit, non ‘pictum,’ et in libro, non ‘in quadam materia’*”).⁴⁸ All in all, the *Opus Caroli Regis* presents a middle way between the adoration and destruction of images: while religious images should not be destroyed, they are categorically inferior to words and are incapable of conveying the same spiritual truths.⁴⁹

However, the OCR never enjoyed widespread circulation; when Charlemagne discovered that Pope Hadrian in fact had supported II Nicaea’s stance on images,⁵⁰ he had the document shelved in the royal archives.⁵¹ Thus it should not necessarily be seen as representative of

new but it palls once it is old, quickly loses its truth, and does not arouse faith.” MGH Poetae II, lines 1-19, p. 196. Translated in McKitterick, “Text and Image in the Carolingian World,” 297-8.

⁴⁸ OCR II.30. Theodulf also groups relics with the *res sacratae*: because relics were once “either in the bodies of the same saints or near the bodies and from these, on account of which they are venerated, they are believed to gain holiness,” and although they are only dust now, “near the end of the world they will rise again with glory and will reign forever with Christ.” OCR III.24. “...*aut in corporibus eorundem sanctorum aut circa corpora fuisse et ab his sanctificationem, ob quam venerentur, percepisse credantur...iuxta mundi terminum cum gloria sunt resurrectura et cum Christo perpetim regnatura...*” On relics as a category of the *res sacratae*, see Celia Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” esp. 166, 168.

⁴⁹ Although it quotes Pope Gregory I’s letters to Bishop Serenus, which famously state that images should be used to instruct the illiterate, the OCR does not explicitly agree with the use of images for religious education (cf. OCR II.30). Moreover, Theodulf omits Gregory’s comparison between pictures and books. William Diebold, *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 100; Ann Freeman, “Scripture and Images in the *Libri Carolini*,” *Testo e immagine nell’alto medioevo*, 170-1; Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” 179. On Gregory’s letters in their original context, see Herbert Kessler, “Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul,” in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art*, 16 (Washington, DC, 1985), 75-91. For a useful close reading of Gregory’s letters, see Celia Chazelle, “Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I’s Letters to Serenus of Marseilles,” *Word & Image* 6, No. 2 (April-June 1990): 138-53.

⁵⁰ This consultation on the Frankish interpretation of Eastern image-worship was the result of the adoptionist bishop Felix of Urgel (mentioned in the previous chapter) being sent to Rome. Ann Freeman, “Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: Links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist Controversy,” *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, ed. Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (Munich, 1988), 159.

⁵¹ Paul Meyvaert, “Medieval Notions of Publication: The ‘Unpublished’ *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfurt (794),” *The Journal of Medieval Latin: A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin* 12 (2002): 78-89. Interestingly, the OCR was printed for the first time in 1549 and Calvin employed it as a source in his rebuttal of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in his *Institutions*. In fact, Calvin had also used the OCR in his 1547 response to the Council of Trent. John R. Payton, Jr., “Calvin and the *Libri Carolini*,” *The*

Carolingian attitudes at large, but at the very least it can be understood to reflect the positions of Charlemagne,⁵² Theodulf, and Alcuin (who read and probably commented on an early version of it), and in that way it bore some degree of influence on the thinking of the court in the early 790s.⁵³ As Thomas F. X. Noble has noted, although it was polemical and conservative, the OCR did not actually conflict with the existence of contemporaneous art, which was “relatively restrained in its use of images and concentrated on the word and the Word.”⁵⁴ Moreover, Theodulf was not so much against the making of religious images *per se* but rather against their veneration.

Theodulf of Orléans and his Images

Theodulf's Bibles

So what did the man behind the OCR do when it came to images for himself? A striking example is the group of Bibles commissioned by Theodulf, which reflect the OCR's stance on art in their total lack of figural images.⁵⁵ Six of these Bibles survive,⁵⁶ four of which bear almost no decoration while the other two are comparatively ornate with beautiful canon tables each upon

Sixteenth Century Journal 28.2 (Summer 1997): 467-80. The OCR was also employed in some mid-nineteenth century rhetoric against “high church” Anglicanism. See for example, *The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* 3 (1879): 65.

⁵² Charlemagne's agreement with the position stated in the OCR is not only found implicitly in his commissioning of the document, but also explicitly in marginal notes, which include such affirmations as: *bene, recte, sapienter, verissime, eleganter, perfecte*. For a detailed analysis of these notes, see Ann Freeman, “Further Studies in the Libri Carolini III. The Marginal Notes in Vaticanus Latinus 7207,” *Speculum* 46, No. 4 (Oct. 1971): 597-612.

⁵³ May Vieillard-Troïekouff, “Les Bibles des Théodulfe et leur Décor Aniconique,” *Études Ligériennes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Médiévales*, ed. René Louis (Auxerre: Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), 349; Celia Chazelle, “Matter, Spirit, and Image in the *Libri Carolini*,” 164.

⁵⁴ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 230.

⁵⁵ Vieillard-Troïekouff, “Les Bibles des Théodulfe et leur Décor Aniconique,” 345-60; “Tables de canons et stucs carolingiens, le décor architectural et anicônique des bibles de Théodulfe et celui de Germigny-des-Prés,” in *Stucchi e mosaici altomedioevali: Atti dell'ottavo Congresso di studi sull'arte dell'alto Medioevo*, ed. Mario Salmi, Jean Porcher, and Hjalmar Torp (Milan: Ceschina, 1962), 154-78.

⁵⁶ These are: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 9380; Paris, BnF, Lat. 11937; Copenhagen N.K.S.1; London, British Library, Add 24142; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.II,16; Le Puy, Cathédrale, trésor, SN. Listed in Bonifatius Fischer, “Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen,” *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1985), 135-7.

which two birds perch.⁵⁷ An example of this aniconic spirit is found in Theodulf's cruciform poem (Paris, BnF, Lat. 9380, f. 3, Fig. 51), which is rendered in gold ink on purple-dyed vellum.⁵⁸ The cross-shape of this poem also recalls the many chapters in the OCR that address the various manifestations of the cross.⁵⁹ In several of the prefatory poems of his Bibles, Theodulf describes the adornment of the manuscripts, as in this example in which he speaks from the perspective of the book itself:

To know readily who I am, know that I am said to be a collection of the books of the Bible, and I contain the law of the Old and New Testaments. Do not spurn me, I pray, because you see me to be a small body; I am modest in body yet ample in strength. Whoever you are, when you see me, I beg, remember Theodulf, whose diligence founded me, fashioned, and loved me, and adorned me on the outside with silver, jewels, and gold, and whose file polished me inside. Farewell.⁶⁰

However, Theodulf is careful to consistently juxtapose the physical beauty of these manuscripts with the more valuable spiritual truths of the biblical texts contained within, as when he writes, "For it shines with jewels, gold, and purple on the outside, yet it glitters with more splendid honor inside, where after the venerable volumes of the universal law, see, a moderate space is taken up by a small writing."⁶¹ These prefatory poems conform to Theodulf's argument in the OCR that the written word of the Bible is superior to any image on account of its divine inspiration and content.

⁵⁷ Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwestern Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 125-31.

⁵⁸ Vieillard-Troïekouff, "Les Bibles des Théodulfe et leur Décor Aniconique," 345-60.

⁵⁹ While Theodulf contends that *manmade* crosses are not superior to any other work of art (OCR I.19), the sign of the cross gesture was instituted by Christ, is used to consecrate other things, and therefore deserves veneration as one of the *res sacratae* (OCR IV.16). Other references to the cross in the OCR include: I.1, 12, 16; IV.13.

⁶⁰ "Qui sim nosse volens, scito, Bibliotheca dicor, Et veteris legis ius veho sive novae. Nec me sperne, precor, quia cernis corpore parvam: Corpore sum modico, viribus ampla tamen. Me quicumque vides, Theodulfi sis memor, oro, Cuius me studium condidit, aptat, amat. Et foris argento, gemmis ornavit et auro, Cuius et interius lima polivit, ave." Translated in Nikolai Alexandrenko, "The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Translation and a Critical Study," PhD Dissertation (Tulane University, 1971) 250. MGH, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 540. Translated more recently in Theodore Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2014), 136.

⁶¹ "Nam foris hoc gemmis, auro splendescit et ostro, Splendidiore tamen intus honore micat, Quo post catholicae veneranda volumina legis Parva tenet modicum scriptio, cerne, locum." Translated in Nikolai Alexandrenko, "The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans," 247. MGH, *Poetae*, I, 539.

The Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés

In addition to this group of Bibles, Theodulf is associated with another major work of art: the apse mosaic that he commissioned for his private oratory at Germigny-des-Prés (Fig. 52), which features the Ark of the Covenant topped with cherubim and flanked by two larger cherubim.⁶² The inscription along the base of the mosaic reads: “As you gaze upon the holy propitiatorum and Cherubim, beholder, and see the shimmering of the Ark of God's covenant, perceiving these things, and prepared to beset the Thunderer with prayers, add, I beg you, Theodulf's name to your invocations.”⁶³ In the decade between the composition of the OCR and the installation of his mosaic, Theodulf modified his position on images, going from a clear statement against depictions of the Ark to commissioning one himself.⁶⁴

What could have led to this striking change? It is possible that Theodulf was influenced by the ancient churches of Ravenna and Rome during his trip (Nov. 800 - Feb. 801) for the

⁶² For literature on the apse mosaic, see, for example: André Grabar, “Les Mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 7 (1954): 171-83; X. Barral i Altet, “Germigny-des-Prés. Oratoire,” in *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule, Xe supplément à Gallia*, II/4 (Paris, 1991), 127-32; E. Revel-Neher, “*Antiquus populus, novus populus*: Jerusalem and the People of God in the Germigny-des-Prés Carolingian Mosaic,” *Jewish Art*, XXIII-XXIV (1997/98): 54-55; Anne-Orange Poilpré, “Le décor de l’oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés: l’authentique et le restauré,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, XLI (1998): 281-97; Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, “The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés,” 125-39; Paul Meyvaert, “Maximilien Théodore Chrétin and the Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, CXXXVII (2001): 203-220; Lawrence Nees, “Theodulf's Mosaic at Germigny, the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, and Jerusalem,” in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. Cullen J. Chandler and Steven A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, MI: The Medieval Institute Press, 2013), 187-211.

⁶³ “*Oraculum s[an]c[tu]m cerubin hic aspice spectans et testamenti en micat arca dei haec cernens precibusque studens pulsare tonantem Theodulfum votis iungito quaeso tuis.*” Translated in Freeman and Meyvaert, “The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic,” 125.

⁶⁴ For example, in the OCR I.15, Theodulf had beseeched his reader: “*Haec igitur insignia, arca videlicet et quae in ea sunt, propitiatorium sive cherubim, semper a nobis spiritali intuitu cernantur et tota mentis intentione quaerantur. Nec ea in depictis tabulis sive parietibus quaeramus, sed in penetrabilibus nostri cordis mentis oculo aspiciamus. [...] non iam veritatem per imagines et picturas quaeramus, qui spe, fide et caritate ad eandem veritatem, quae Christus est, ipso auxiliante pervenimus.*” Translation: “Let us not, therefore, but only through an inward spiritual vision, behold these memorable things, namely the Ark and its contents, and the propitiatory with the Cherubim, and let us seek them out with the whole strength of our mind. Let us not look for them on painted panels or walls, but with our mind's eye gaze upon them in the inner recesses of our hearts. [...] We do not seek truth through images and paintings; we who attain to that truth which is Christ do so through faith, hope and charity, and with his help.” Translated in Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, “The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic,” 127.

coronation of Charlemagne.⁶⁵ For example, the square motif that decorates the exterior of the Ark of the Covenant in Theodulf's apse closely resembles that of the Ark thrice-depicted in the fifth-century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore⁶⁶ (e.g., Fig. 53). Moreover, the gesture of the large cherub to the right of the Germigny-des-Prés Ark (which is mirrored in the cherub to its left) is the same as that of one of the angels in the arch mosaic in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. These two groups of angels also have their plain hair bands and flowing garments in common. Paul Meyvaert and Ann Freeman suggest that Theodulf may have been inspired by the numerous examples of non-figural motifs in the apses and arches of Italian churches, particularly the crosses in the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, S. Pudenziana and S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, and the Apocalyptic thrones depicted in the Arian and Orthodox Baptisteries in Ravenna and in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome.⁶⁷

However, the mere inclusion of an image in his apse does not indicate that Theodulf was suddenly pro-image. Rather, upon closer examination, the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés reveals an aniconic agenda that remains consistent with the arguments set out in the OCR.⁶⁸ The mosaic can be read as aniconic in three ways: first, it is *not* a depiction of Christ or Mary over

⁶⁵ Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 125-7. Theodulf's faithful attendance of liturgical celebrations during his trip was noted by his fellow traveler Candidus, a disciple of Alcuin. Alcuin in turn noted this in a letter to Theodulf (Letter 225, MGH Epistolae, IV, 368). For another perspective on Theodulf's inspiration for his apse mosaic, see Nees, "Theodulf's Mosaic at Germigny, the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, and Jerusalem," 187-211, in which Nees argues that Theodulf's mosaic was not an allusion to papal Rome but to the eschatological Jerusalem. That the mosaic's motif was borrowed from Ravenna was suggested previously by Jean Hubert in his *Germigny-des-Prés* (Paris: Soc. française d'archéologie, 1931).

⁶⁶ Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic," 127. Previously noted in E. Revel-Neher, *L'Arche d'Alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles* (Paris, 1984), 149; Peter Bloch, "Das Apsismosaik von Germigny-des-Prés, Karl der Grosse und der Alte Bund," in *Karl der Grosse*, Tome III: *Karolingische Kunst*, ed. W. Braunfels and H. Schnitzler (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), 241.

⁶⁷ Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic," 125-9.

⁶⁸ Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic." Lawrence Nees has also argued convincingly that the apse image does not contradict Theodulf's position in the OCR and that the mosaic should not be interpreted as a representation of the ark, but rather a reminder of its absence. "Theodulf's Mosaic at Germigny, the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, and Jerusalem," esp. 178-88.

the altar, as was typical of medieval apses; second, the Ark of the Covenant is depicted as open and empty; third, the hand of God is presented as that of the Son, not the Father.⁶⁹

Meyvaert and Freeman have suggested, convincingly, that Theodulf's choice and placement of the Ark of the Covenant was a response to a statement made by the patriarch of Constantinople at Nicaea II; Theodulf records the patriarch's words in OCR I.20: "Just as the Old Testament had the Cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat, let us likewise have images of the Lord Jesus Christ, of the holy Mother of God, and of the Saints, overshadowing our altars."⁷⁰ In his apse mosaic, Theodulf has reversed the patriarch's proclamation by placing the cherubim of the Old Testament over the altar, instead of Christ and Mary.

Moreover, embedded in this depiction of the Ark of the Covenant is an implicit statement about the hierarchy of word and image: the purpose of the Ark, a visual object, was to contain a text—the very word of God. However, the text of the Ten Commandments is not visible here. The genius of this subject matter is that it embodies the tension between word and image: a container of the text that prohibited representational art, the Ark of the Covenant was itself decorated at the command of God. As William Diebold observes, "There was no more powerful refutation of those who argued for a strict reading of the Second Commandment than these cherubim. [...] Theodulf, who in the [OCR] was intent on arguing against the Byzantine misuse of pictures, here emphasizes that certain images are divinely sanctioned and therefore proper."⁷¹

⁶⁹ While not describing these iconographic choices as aniconic *per se*, Freeman and Meyvaert use them, among others, to draw out the symbolic meaning of the apse in relation to Theodulf's writings. See Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic," 129-35.

⁷⁰ "*Sicut veteres habuerunt cherubim obumbrantem propitiatorium, et nos imagines Domini Iesu Christi et sanctae Dei genetricis et sanctorum eius habeamus obumbrantes altare.*" Translated in Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic," 129.

⁷¹ William Diebold, *Word and Image*, 102-3.

Theodulf's iconographic choice for the apse is especially striking given that he dedicated his oratory to the Savior.⁷²

The second aniconic attribute of the apse mosaic is its representation of the Ark. A series of mid-nineteenth century sketches record that the Ark had originally been depicted with its top curtain drawn back, revealing an empty interior⁷³ (Fig. 54). This emptiness recalls Theodulf's words about contemplating the invisible in OCR I.19:

But we who do not follow the letter of the law but rather the spirit that gives life, we who are not the carnal but the spiritual Israel, who disregard what is visible so that we may contemplate the invisible, we rejoice in having received from the Lord not only mysteries surpassing images (in themselves devoid of any mystery), but mysteries of such magnitude that they surpass even the Tables of the Law and the two Cherubim. For these Tables and Cherubim were only exemplars of things to come; the Jews possessed in a material way things which, through their symbolism, were open prefigurations of things to come. To the extent that the body exceeds its shadow, or truth its image, or real things their prefigurations, to that measure the New Testament surpasses the Old.⁷⁴

The large angels and cherubim of Theodulf's mosaic simultaneously gesture to the empty Ark and past it to the altar below, where Christ was made present in the eucharist.⁷⁵ As one of the *res sacratae*, whose construction was commanded by the very voice of the Lord, the Ark of the Covenant was sacramental—it mediated divine presence, prefigured Christ and, with the manna

⁷² As mentioned in a twelfth-century copy of abbatial list from Fleury (BnF, lat. 1720, ff. 6v-7v), which states: "*Et vero Theodulfus aulam a se constructam omnium conditori ac salvatori rerum Deo consecrans...*" Noted in Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic," 136, n. 10.

⁷³ The vertical line that defines the dimensions of the Ark's interior was obscured at a later date when several gold tesserae were replaced. Anne-Orange Poilpré, "Le décor de l'oratoire de Germigny-des-Prés," 285, 287. On the changes made to the mosaic, see also Meyvaert, "Maximilien Théodore Chrétin and the Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 203-220.

⁷⁴ "*Nos enim, qui non sequimur litteram mortificantem, sed spiritum vivificantem, qui non carnalis, sed spiritalis Israel sumus, qui spretis visibilibus invisibilia contemplamur, non solum imaginibus maiora mysteria, quae omni mysterio carent, sed ipsis tabulis seu duobus cherubim maiora et eminentiora mysteriorum insignia a Domino accepisse nos gratulamur. Cum videlicet tabulae et duo cherubim exemplaria fuerint futurorum, et cum Iudaei habuerint carnaliter res, quae typicis operatae figuris praefigurationes fuerint futurorum, nos habemus in veritate spiritaliter et, quae illis exemplaribus sive praefigurationibus carnalibus praefigurabantur. Quantum ergo eminent umbrae corpus, imagini veritas, figurae res gesta, tantum eminent veteri Testamento novum.*" Translated in Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 131. On the OCR's distinction between the material and spiritual realms, see Chazelle, "Images, Scripture, the Church, and the *Libri Carolini*," 53-76.

⁷⁵ Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 131.

it contained, the eucharist. Like the other *res sacratae*, the eucharist was instituted by God, but unlike the other holy objects, the eucharist is not merely an image or prefiguration of Christ but is *Christ himself*.⁷⁶ In Theodulf's oratory, the Ark is shown empty because the New Testament has surpassed the Old; the manna has been replaced by the celebration of the eucharist on the altar below.⁷⁷

Finally, an aspect of the apse mosaic that is especially noteworthy for our present discussion is the rendering of the hand of God at the mosaic's center, between the two large angels and directly above the Ark. Unlike traditional depictions of the hand of God, examples of which were discussed in Chapter Two, the hand in this mosaic bears a distinctive, dark red line in the center of the palm.⁷⁸ Though not the first to note the presence of the hand's wound, Meyvaert and Freeman were the first to attempt to explain it. They suggest that Theodulf may have taken special note of the fact that the risen Christ in the apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian lacked his distinctive post-resurrection wounds (cf. John 20:24-31) and corrected their absence in his own mosaic. Perhaps, Meyvaert and Freeman speculate, Theodulf decided to include the Hand of God (which is also pictured holding a laurel over the head of Christ in SS. Cosmas and Damian) in his own oratory, but since he was disinclined to commission an image of the Father, he made the incredibly innovative choice of presenting it as the wounded hand of Christ.

⁷⁶ E.g., OCR II.27, 29.

⁷⁷ Nees, "Theodulf's Mosaic at Germigny, the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, and Jerusalem."

⁷⁸ An image of the Evangelists from the Fleury Gospels (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 348, f. 8v, Fig. 55), a manuscript that is thought by some to have been commissioned by Theodulf, bears a remarkable resemblance to the mosaic's Hand of God. Dating to about 820, this folio's Hand of God, which is uniquely positioned upright—rather than its usual descent from the arc of heaven, is given the same elongated and splayed fingers as in Theodulf's apse. Its palm also bears a deep indent, though it is difficult to discern whether it is intended to be a wound. Additionally, the arches and columns of the page are similar to the fifteen canon tables that precede it, as well as those belonging to the Bibles produced in Tours, and the chapter lists of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (ff. 51, 51v, 52, 52v, 53, 115v, 116, 116v, 142, 142v). To my knowledge, the only other upright depiction of the Hand of God is found in one of the margins of the Vivian Bible (also known as the First Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris, BnF, Lat. 1, f. 423, Fig. 56). Rendered in gold, the hand is positioned over a cross of the same size and is flanked by angels.

Theodulf may have also been inspired by a particular line in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, a work with which he was familiar, which reads, "The Hand of God is from the Son of God, because all things were made through him."⁷⁹ That Theodulf dedicated an entire poem to the motif of Christ's wounds indicates that it was significant to his thinking. Titled *Wherefore did the scars of Christ's Passion remain in the body of his Resurrection?*,⁸⁰ the poem lists four reasons for Christ's post-resurrection scars⁸¹ and describes the power of beholding Christ's wounds in such a way that suggests viewing an image (e.g., "*signa vident*"). But perhaps most compelling is the connection Meyvaert and Freeman make between the wounded hand of Germigny-des-Prés and the following passage from the OCR:

From above the cover of the Ark, that is from between the two angels, God speaks—for the Son, through whom all things are made, is the Word of the Father. And since He is of one substance with the Father, as He himself proclaimed in the Gospel 'I and the Father are one,' or as He said to Philip 'He who sees me sees the Father,' in Him—from between the two Testaments, the voice of the Father is forever heard.⁸²

⁷⁹ "*De Filio Dei...Manus Dei est, quod omnia per ipsum facta sunt.*" Isidore, *Etymologiae*, VII.ii.23 (PL 82.265-6); Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 133.

⁸⁰ "*Quam ob rem cicatrices, quam Dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obductae non sint.*" (MGH *Poetae*, I.465-6, carmen 11). The title is translated in Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 133; the entire poem is translated in Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans*, 43. On this poem, see Helen Waddell, *Poetry in the Dark Ages. The Eighth W. P. Ker Memorial Lecture* (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1948), 21-2.

⁸¹ The reasons are: 1) "that the disciples might know and put down deep in their hearts that they had seen the body, not an invisible emanation of the wind; that sure faith of the resurrection Lord might life their spirits, and that they might proclaim the hope of the resurrection through all ages," 2) "that by praying on our behalf in human form, he might show to the Father our wounds taken upon himself and might mercifully show by his constant service those toils which he suffered for the human race," 3) "that the elected might never stop to render praise, as long as they see, O passion, your marks, and seeing in his cruel punishment their salvation, in his descent to hell their ascent to heaven," and 4) "that at the end of time sinners, seeing him, will be saddened and seized by heavy grief." Translated in Alexandrenko, "The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans," 89-90.

⁸² "*Desuper quo propitiatorio, id est de medio cherubim loquitur Deus, quia idem Filius est Verbum Patris, per quem facta sunt omnia. Et cum sit unius cum Patre substantiae, sicut ipse in evangelio ait: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus,' sive ut Philippo ait: 'Qui videt me, videt et Patrem,' Dei Patris in eo semper de medio duorum Testamentorum vox auditur.*" OCR I.15. Translated in Freeman and Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," 135. Theodulf, like Augustine before him, interpreted the two cherubim on the Ark as symbols of the Old and New Testaments (e.g., OCR I.15); this is represented at Germigny-des-Prés in the faintly discernible cruciform halo of the angel to the Ark's right.

The voice of the Father is his Son, the Word, through whom all things were created, visually represented in this instance by the wounded hand of the Risen Christ.

The particularities of his potential inspiration and motivation aside, the fact remains that Theodulf made the bold decision to depict an entirely novel motif in his private oratory at Germigny. By modifying the traditional hand of God the Father to become the wounded hand of the Risen Christ, Theodulf avoided an anthropomorphic depiction of the Father and also affirmed his opinion, as previously stated in the OCR, that what is worshiped should not be pictured in paintings or murals, but recalled with the mind's eye.⁸³

Theodulf and the Ashburnham Pentateuch

Some intriguing evidence allows us to entertain the thought that Theodulf actually encountered the Ashburnham Pentateuch in his lifetime. While there is no record of Theodulf traveling to Tours, where the Ashburnham Pentateuch seems to have been by the end of the eighth century,⁸⁴ it is entirely possible that he made the journey—whether on land or via the Loire—at some point during his twenty-odd years in Orléans, or that he came into contact with the manuscript via another source.⁸⁵

May Vieillard-Troïekouff has noted the stylistic similarities among the canon tables of Carolingian manuscripts, the “Mosaicists and illuminators [of which] were inspired by the same

⁸³ OCR I.15.

⁸⁴ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 318. The provenance of the AP is addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁸⁵ Indeed, from four of Alcuin's letters and some of Charlemagne's capitularies, we know that Alcuin and Theodulf engaged in a conflict (801-03) over a young cleric, who, after being imprisoned by Theodulf for a misdemeanor unknown to us, escaped to St. Martin of Tours and took refuge. For a summary of the dispute, as well as an analysis of the social and legal aspects, see Hélène Noizet, “Alcuin contre Theodulf: Un Conflit Producteur des Normes,” *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 111-3 (2004): 113-29. It seems that Alcuin and Theodulf had already had some contact in Charlemagne's court as Theodulf was wrapping up his work on the OCR in the middle of 793. In fact, Ann Freeman has suggested that some of the corrections found in Theodulf's working copy of the OCR (Vat. lat. 7207) may have been inserted by Alcuin. Freeman, “Additions and Corrections to the *Libri Carolini*,” 164.

fifth- or sixth-century manuscript.”⁸⁶ Could this model have been the Ashburnham Pentateuch? The canon tables of the ninth-century Bibles from Tours and Fleury bear the same traits: lists separated by marble columns, which are capped with Corinthian capitals, which in turn support arches adorned with pearls and other jewels (cf. Figs. 57 and 58). Pairs of birds (e.g., herons, peacocks) perch either on the outer capitals or in the blank spaces in the pages’ upper corners. Predating these examples by about two hundred years, the Ashburnham Pentateuch contains ten canon table-like chapter lists of the same composition (ff. 51-53, 115v-116v, 142-142v).⁸⁷ As mentioned above, it also seems that the manuscript was in Gaul by the third quarter of the eighth century, that is, well before the Bibles from Tours and Fleury were made.

Of course, this is not conclusive evidence of the AP’s influence, but it becomes more compelling when compounded with the apparent links between the AP and Theodulf’s apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés. For example, Vieillard-Troïekoureff has also suggested that the canon table arches, including those of the AP, influenced the decoration, which includes floral and interlaced patterns and Corinthian-like capitals, of the window arches of the oratory’s apse.⁸⁸ A more concrete connection between the AP and the mosaic is their respective depictions of the Ark of the Covenant. Bezalel Narkiss noted that, after that of the AP (f. 127v, Fig. 11), the Ark of the Covenant depicted at Germigny-des-Prés is one of the earliest of its kind;⁸⁹ unlike the majority of early Christian depictions of the Ark of the Covenant, these two images both include

⁸⁶ “Mosaïstes et enlumineurs se seraient inspirés d’un même manuscrit romain des Ve -VIe s.” Vieillard-Troïekoureff, “Les Bibles des Théodulfe et leur Décor Aniconique,” 355; “Tables de Canons et Stucs Carolingiens: Le décor architectural et anicônique des bibles de Théodulfe et celui de l’église de Germigny-des-Prés,” 159.

⁸⁷ As noted in the AP’s entry on the BnF’s Gallica site: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019392c.r=pentateuque%20d%27ashburnham>. Last consulted: 29 January 2016.

⁸⁸ Vieillard-Troïekoureff, “Tables de Canons et Stucs Carolingiens,” 164-8.

⁸⁹ Bezalel Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham: la ilustración de codices en la antigüedad tardía: introducción al facsímil de Bezalel Narkiss* (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2007), 375. Though there seems to be a contemporaneous Byzantine example at the Mount Athos Monastery (Pantokrator 61, f. 165), which depicts two tetramorph (labeled “cherubim”) atop the ark.

the golden cherubim that guarded the ark, their wings touching (e.g., Exodus 25, 37; 1 Kings 6:27).⁹⁰

We can argue that Theodulf encountered the Ashburnham Pentateuch—either in person or through a secondary source—but even so, what is the likelihood that he was actually responsible for its erasures? In a chapter on the relationship between pictures and the Scriptures in the OCR, Theodulf asks, with his usual rhetorical scoff, how an artist can possibly portray verses such as, “Hear Israel, the Lord your God is one God.”⁹¹ Would he have similarly bristled at the AP’s anthropomorphic depiction of the Trinity?

Theodulf’s own iconographic innovations provide a good starting point for evaluating the possibility of his involvement in the AP’s erasures. As mentioned above, the hand of God in Theodulf’s apse mosaic is unique in art history because of the wound it bears, which renders it the hand of Christ, not the Father. On account of this iconographic singularity, it stands to reason that if any of the AP’s Hands of God (which are the most common portrayal of divinity in the manuscript)⁹² have been similarly corrected, it would suggest that the Ashburnham Pentateuch passed through Theodulf’s hands—a tantalizing thought!⁹³ There is but one extant instance in the entire manuscript that might bear such an alteration: folio 6 (Fig. 8), which illustrates scenes from Genesis 3:21-4:9.⁹⁴ At the far-right side of the page’s middle register God reproaches Cain for killing his brother. Cain’s arms are thrown back over his head in response to the Hand of God accusing him from the arc of heaven. The accompanying inscription explains, “Here Cain is

⁹⁰ Cf. Diebold 99.

⁹¹ “*Audi israhel, dominus, deus tuus, deus unus est, et cetera huiuscemodi, in quibus nihil sonant, quae pingi possint, a pictoribus demonstrantur?*” OCR III.23.

⁹² Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, “Biblical Manuscripts in Rome 400-700 and the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 111.

⁹³ Investigating the other hands in the manuscript for such changes was energetically suggested to me by Paul Meyvaert.

⁹⁴ Instances of the Hand of God in the AP that certainly do not bear a “wound” are ff. 10v, 22v, 68r, 127v.

interrogated by the Lord about Abel...his brother and he denies to God that he killed him and says: Am I my brother's keeper?"⁹⁵ As always, it is the right hand of God that emerges from above, and because of its position in the upper righthand corner of the register, it is turned slightly, revealing its palm, which bears a curved brown line.⁹⁶ However, upon inspection of the image with a magnifying glass at the Bibliothèque Nationale, it does not appear that the curved line was an addition to the manuscript. More to the point, given that this particular hand is not central to the composition, it would not be an obvious choice for Theodulf to add his signature wound. Rather, adding the wounded hand of God to the Creation page, as the first full-page miniature, would make more of a statement. Theologically speaking, of the three persons depicted on the AP's Creation page, Theodulf would only have been willing to preserve a depiction of the Second Person of the Trinity; however, based on the iconographic choices he made in commissioning the apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés and his poem on Christ's wounds, it seems more likely that he would have preferred a Creation image that only presented the disembodied hand of God.

While Theodulf was certainly no iconoclast—the position laid out in the OCR explicitly inhabits the space between iconoclasm and iconodulism—it would not be out of character for him to assert his own particular position over another. Theodulf's background in Muslim-occupied Spain is also relevant in considering him as the possible figure behind the erasures of the AP.⁹⁷ It is indeed possible that the thirty years or so that he spent living as a Christian

⁹⁵ “*Hic Cain interrogatur a d[mn] de Abel...fratr[] suum et negat d[mn] quod occiderit eum et dicit num d[mn] ne custos sum fratris mei.*” Transcribed and translated in Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 341.

⁹⁶ There is a similar hand in the upper right hand of the top register, but it is too damaged to discern whether it also bears a similar mark.

⁹⁷ In the process of identifying Theodulf and his work as Visigothic, Ann Freeman suggested that he was from Saragossa in particular, which suffered during several insurrections under Muslim rule, and that he was part of a large group of fugitives during 778-782. Ann Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne’s Court,” *L’Europe héritière de l’Espagne wisigothique*. Colloque international du CNRS tenu à La Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris 1990): 185. She cites *Carm.* 45, MGH, *Poetae latini*, 1 p. 543, line 16; *Carm.* 23, MGH, *Poetae*

regulated by Muslim rule influenced his understanding of his own faith. While Christians and Jews were allowed to live in relative peace—though they were specially taxed—polytheists were forced to choose between conversion and death.⁹⁸ Perhaps this fraught history fueled Theodulf's aniconic position and his hesitation to depict anything but the hand of the Son.

Although we can reasonably entertain the possibility that Theodulf encountered the iconography of the AP (even if diffused through another source), it seems safe to say that we have ruled him out as the one who ordered the erasures of the manuscript's Creation figures. The redactor's decision to erase the Son and Holy Spirit, leaving only the Father, is not consistent with what we know of Theodulf's iconographic choices.

Claudius of Turin: An Instance of Carolingian Iconoclasm and Response

While the OCR is unique as a comprehensive Carolingian treatise on image theory, it should also be noted that Theodulf's was not the only voice in the conversation; several other Carolingian authors took issue with images and the debate continued well into the mid-ninth century.⁹⁹

Claudius of Turin (780-827) is notable in that he asserted a much more extreme, iconoclastic position than his fellow Goth Theodulf and eventually elicited criticism from the Carolingian court.¹⁰⁰ A few years after the death of Charlemagne, during the reign of his son Louis the Pious, Claudius became the bishop of Turin in northern Italy. Almost immediately, he

latini, 1, p. 481, line 28; *Carm.* 28, MGH, *Poetae latini*, 1, p. 497, line 141. See also, Yitzhak Hen, "Charlemagne's Jihad," *Viator* 36 (2006): 45-7.

⁹⁸ Hen, "Charlemagne's Jihad," 46. See also, for example, Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam*, trans. David Maisel (London and Toronto: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985).

⁹⁹ The content of this section is drawn largely from chapter seven, "Art and Argument in the Age of Louis the Pious," of Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 287-365.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Pascal Boulhol, *Claude de Turin: une évêque iconoclaste dans l'occident carolingien. Étude suivie d l'édition du Commentaire sur Josué*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 38 (Paris 2002).

set to destroying the images of the local basilicas, which, according to him, were being venerated by the congregations.¹⁰¹ In his *Apology and Response of Bishop Claudius of Turin against Abbot Theutmir*, written around the year 825, Claudius vehemently emphasizes the spiritual in all aspects of Christian worship and on those grounds rejects religious images, the cult of the cross, penitential pilgrimages to Rome, and probably the cult of the saints (though portions of the *Apology* are missing). For example, he argues that material representations of Jesus do not provide a full, sufficient picture: the crucifix,¹⁰² which seems to have one of his primary targets, neglects the resurrection. Some of his arguments are reminiscent of Theodulf, such as Claudius' point that images are nothing more than their material make up and therefore possess no holy correspondence with the saintly figures they depict. However, Claudius diverges from mainstream arguments when he uses 2 Corinthians 5:16 ("Even though we knew Christ according to the flesh, we now know him that way no longer") to reject all materially-based worship *tout court*. For Claudius' purposes, images deserved not a lick of honor: every kind of worship belongs to God alone.¹⁰³

There were several diverse responses to Claudius' iconoclasm and *Apology*. Some refuted Claudius with very traditional arguments, while others added new emphases in favor of images. Louis the Pious commissioned Jonas of Orléans (780-842/3), Theodulf's replacement as bishop, to disprove Claudius' iconoclastic teachings. He did so in a three-volume work, *On the Cult of*

¹⁰¹ Claudius of Turin, *Apology and Response of Bishop Claudius of Turin against Abbot Theutmir, Epistolae*, MGH, Epp. 12, pp. 610-13, translated in George E. McCracken, ed., *Early Medieval Theology*, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 9 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 241-6, and discussed in Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 288-94.

¹⁰² Noble interprets Claudius' reference to "material crosses" to mean crucifixes. In his suggestion that the date for monumental crucifixes be moved up to the early ninth century, he references Lawrence Nees' essay, "On the Image of Christ Crucified in Early Medieval Art," in *Il Volto Santo in Europa: Culto Immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo*, ed. Michele Camillo Ferrari and Andreas Meyer. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Engelberg (13-16 Settembre, 2000), (Lucca, 2005), 345-85. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 296, n. 29.

¹⁰³ As noted by Noble, Claudius uses the terms "worship" and "adore" interchangeably throughout the *Apology*, which suggests that the distinction (which had been so central to the Carolingian response to Nicaea II) was not a significant detail for everyone. *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 291-2.

Images, in which he chastises Claudius for being scandalous and divisive instead of pastoral in his actions.¹⁰⁴ Jonas spends much time correcting Claudius' imprecise use of terminology and poor reading of Scripture and also reiterates the licit use of images to teach and decorate.

Claudius was also refuted by Dungal of Pavia, a monk at St. Denis, in his *Responsa contra Claudium*.¹⁰⁵ This book overlaps with much of Jonas' response to Claudius, relying on similar arguments and patristic sources, but Dungal is even more affirmative in the teaching role of images—for which he cites Gregory the Great's argument, as well as the intercession of saints and the veneration of their relics. In fact, he occasionally mentions images among venerable objects (e.g., ch. 240). Noble observes that “he not only assigns a form of worship to images, but he also equates that form of worship with the cult that is owed to relics and, thereby, invests pictures with a kind of ontological holiness.”¹⁰⁶ In this respect, Dungal's *Responsa* is perhaps a signpost of the growing acceptance of religious images in the mid-ninth century.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

As we have seen in the texts recounted in this and the previous chapter, the Christological and Trinitarian controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries led Carolingian theologians to reassert the indivisible unity of the Persons of the Trinity, as well as the unity of the divine and human natures of Christ. This emphasis on divine unity is consistent with Carolingian visual depictions of Creation, such as those found in the Moutier-Grandval and Vivian Bibles produced

¹⁰⁴ Jonas of Orléans, *De Cultu Imaginum* (PL 106:307C-313B). Discussed in Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 295-306.

¹⁰⁵ *Dungali responsa contra perversas Claudii taurinensis episcopi sententias* (PL 105:465A-530A); *Responsa contra Claudium: A Controversy on Holy Images, A New Edition*, ed. Paolo Zanna, Per verba 17 (Florence, 2002). Discussed in Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 306-13.

¹⁰⁶ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 312.

¹⁰⁷ Claudius' position was also addressed to varying degrees in the following works: Agobard of Lyon, *De picturis et imaginibus*, 19; Einhard, *Questio de adoranda cruce*; and Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, 8. Discussed in Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 313-28.

at Tours, in that they present only one Creator; though this Creator is depicted with a plain, not cruciform, halo, he is easily identified as the Son by the accompanying inscriptions and miniature crosses. Contemporary commentaries on Genesis described the act of Creation as a cooperative, incorporeal effort of all three persons of the Trinity, but there seems to have been an implicit acknowledgement that the Second Person of the Trinity was the physical medium between the other two Persons of the Trinity and the physical created world. These texts and debates were concurrent with the composition of the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* by Theodulf of Orléans, which, while condemning iconoclasm, refused to endorse II Nicaea's claim that religious images had a valuable place in Christian worship and were to be venerated. The small group of images commissioned by Theodulf himself was consistent with this aniconic view.

Central to the theological tensions of this period is the fundamental difference between text and image: texts are malleable and open to interpretation, while images are comparatively less so. The most obvious example of this is that of Bible: a text that has been interpreted in an endless variety of ways while changing relatively little over time. In fact, in disputes such as the iconoclastic and adoptionist controversies it was common for opposing parties to use the same texts to support their arguments. Images, on the other hand, are in a sense much more concrete. Not only do images offer less variety in the way of interpretation, their artists are also compelled to commit to details that theologians never do, as Leo Steinberg noted about the difference between Renaissance artists and theologians: while Renaissance theologians could choose to remain silent on aspects of Christ, such as his sexuality, Renaissance painters, who employed the current naturalistic style were forced to consider quotidian, bodily details such as the length of

Christ's fingernails and how much of his form should be revealed or covered.¹⁰⁸ These choices sometimes led to missteps on the part of the artist, but they also provided an opportunity for innovative theological iconography, as discussed at length in Sternberg's groundbreaking book.

While medieval artists did not employ the same naturalistic mode of representation as their Renaissance successors, their iconographic choices were nevertheless weighty—an obvious and relevant example for the task at hand is whether and how medieval artists chose to depict the Trinity when illustrating texts that mentioned God's presence.¹⁰⁹ Because of the fundamental interpretive difference between text and image, many texts were able to remain the same as their interpretations shifted, while offensive or out of date images were subject to revision in order to present the current doctrine.

The singularity of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's anthropomorphic Trinity in contrast to Carolingian depictions of the lone Logos at Creation, as discussed in Chapter Three, along with the textual emphasis on an incorporeal and unified Trinity at Creation as outlined above, may very well have contributed to the motivations behind the erasures of the AP, which is the subject of our penultimate chapter.

¹⁰⁸ Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 16-7.

¹⁰⁹ For an excellent study of the dynamic relationship between texts and the images that are inspired by them, see Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustrations of a Text* (Mouton, 1973).

CHAPTER VI

ERASING GOD: THE ASHBURNHAM PENTATEUCH IN ITS NINTH-CENTURY

CONTEXT

In Chapter Four we saw that in the face of the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy and the Trinitarian debates closer to home, Carolingian theologians reaffirmed the indivisible unity of the Trinity, as well as the Godhead's cooperative, incorporeal presence in the act of Creation. These textual descriptions of the Trinity were reflected in visual depictions of Creation, which portrayed a single Creator—the Logos. Such images can rightly still be interpreted as Trinitarian, as Alcuin of York declared that, "Wherever in Holy Scripture we read, 'God alone,' this should not be taken as referring to any one person in the Holy Trinity, but to the entire Trinity."¹ Moreover, in the previous chapter, we saw that Theodulf of Orléans, one of Charlemagne's theological advisers and a key figure in the Carolingian Renaissance, maintained the essential difference between words and images in which words were the superior conveyer of spiritual truth and transformation. In his *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum*, written at the command of Charlemagne, Theodulf asserted a middle way between iconoclasm and the veneration of images; his position on religious images was reflected in the iconographical choices made in his commissioned Bibles and his apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés.

The articulations of the Christian God set out in images and texts during the late antique and early medieval periods travelled along parallel but distinct paths: images and texts served the same general community (writ large) and were inspired by and responded to many of the exact

¹ "Ubique in Scriptura sancta legitur, 'solus Deus,' non de unaqualibet persona in sancta Trinitate intelligendum est, sed de tota sancta Trinitate." Alcuin of York, *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*, II.18 (PL 101:35). Translated in Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 19.

same sources. However, there are important fundamental differences between them as vehicles of meaning. Texts are rather fluid and malleable, able to support various interpretations simultaneously and over time. The most obvious and relevant example of this is of course the biblical text. Images, meanwhile, are comparatively more concrete on account of their visual nature (or are at least perceived as such) and therefore are often not as accommodating to a diversity of interpretations. A prime example of this is found in images of the Christian God. Whereas a textual source can simply make mention of the Trinity and leave it at that, an iconic image of God or a scene concerning God must make commitments as to whether and how to depict the persons of the Trinity.

Therefore, two related questions underlie this dissertation: how does an image formulate an argument differently than a text? And then, how is that argument affected when an image is changed or defaced? As an illustrated biblical codex, the AP can be understood as text, image, and object, and so an analysis of one of its images must take each aspect of its content and materiality into consideration. This chapter will first describe and analyze the erasures before moving on to locate them within the larger history of manuscript alterations. It will then conclude with a consideration of several possible motivations for the erasures.

The previous chapters have demonstrated that the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch were executed in a political and theological climate that can be characterized by its efforts at reform and regulation, skepticism about religious images, and an emphasis on the unity and equality of the persons of the Trinity. Because consistency across a variety of texts was one of the major goals of the Carolingian reforms, it is perhaps not surprising that the content of a religious image be edited as well.

The Ashburnham Pentateuch and its Erasures

The Ashburnham Pentateuch Comes to Tours

While the precise origins of the Ashburnham Pentateuch remain uncertain, there are comparatively more clues about its subsequent travels. David H. Wright has argued that a series of alterations made to the AP in the third quarter of the eighth century occurred in “the unidentified major north-Frankish center that produced the main part of the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* [Vatican, Pal. lat 493], which has elaborate foliage decoration on its initials exactly like that on the first substitute page of text in Ashburnham”² (f. 3). At this time, twelve folios of text (ff. 3, 4, 8, 37-8, 60-4, 122, 129) were replaced, in addition to several corrections.

Verkerk suggests that the transfer of the AP from Italy (its origin according to her) to France was characteristic of the trend of northern monasteries acquiring Roman books.³ Indeed, Rome maintained a powerful presence as both a physical location and a conceptual reality during the early Middle Ages.⁴ This influence was evidenced not only in the export of Roman books, but also of Roman corporeal relics, the translation of which forged concrete connections between

² David H. Wright, “Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, BD., H. 3 (2006): 412. Wright disagrees strongly with Verkerk’s argument that the manuscript was in Fleury by the eighth century, which she bases on the Frankish uncial script of its twelve restored pages, one of which (f. 3) bears a capital letter *I* that is strikingly similar in its embellishment to an initial *P* found in an eighth-century book of homilies from Fleury (Paris, BnF, NAL 1598, f. 1). Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 55. Cf. CLA, V, No. 693b; VI, No. 802.

³ Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 55; Verkerk, “Roman Manuscript Illumination 400-700 AD and the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. J. Williams (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 97-120; Ganz, “Roman Manuscripts in Francia,” in *Roma fra oriente e occidente, 19-14 aprile 2001 Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo*, 49 (Spoleto, Italy: Presso la sede del centro, 2002): 615.

⁴ The intended referent for the invocation of Rome is a tricky business, not only in modern scholarship, but also in the Carolingian context. As Lawrence Nees has noted, “The meaning of the word ‘Rome’ is inherently complex in the medieval context, since the single name can evoke the Rome of Julius Caesar, Vergil, Saint Peter, Constantine, or Pope Gregory, among many other possible associations.” Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 5. Charlemagne’s devotion to Rome is recorded in his biography. Thomas F. X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010), 7-50 (see chapters 27-8 especially). This devotion is discussed, for example, in Rudolf Schieffer, “Charlemagne and Rome,” in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honor of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Boston: Brill, 2000), 279-95.

Rome and the rest of the Christian West. As Julia M. H. Smith has demonstrated, Roman relics that were translated north of the Alps were part of a system of early medieval gift exchange, characterized by “papal efforts to translate spiritual prestige into reliable political support and enduring authority.”⁵ Relics from Rome carried with them implicit (and sometimes explicitly written) endorsement from the pope. In addition to their sanctifying powers, saints’ bodies were also symbols of status and alliance: “As mediators of friendship between emperors, kings, bishops, aristocrats, and the papacy, Roman relics travelled along routes of obligation, loyalty, and reward: their possession is an isotopic tracer of royal or imperial affiliation.”⁶ Relics’ histories were frequently rewritten to incorporate their new communities. In fact, this period produced a new literary genre—*translationes*—which sought to justify the acquisition of relics.

The spiritual and cultural influence of Italy, and Rome in particular, was also discernible in Carolingian architecture.⁷ For example, Charlemagne’s Palace Chapel at Aachen was built on top of Roman ruins, using columns and marble from Ravenna and Rome; it is also a significant example of the spiritual and political tie formed and affirmed through relics, as Pope Leo III dedicated the chapel in 805 and the cloak of Saint Martin was installed in the church.⁸ Given the political and spiritual magnetism of Rome, it is not surprising that the Ashburnham Pentateuch—whether it was indeed Roman in origin, or just thought to be—was highly valued by its early medieval readers.

⁵ Julia M. H. Smith, “Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia,” in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honor of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Boston: Brill 2000), 332.

⁶ Smith, “Old Saints, New Cults,” 332.

⁷ However, Lawrence Nees has rightly warned against the overapplication of concepts of Roman rebirth (e.g., Modoin of Autun’s “*nova Roma*”) to the Carolingian Renaissance. Nees, *A Tainted Mantle*, 8-9, 110-43.

⁸ E.g., Eugene W. Kleinbauer, “Charlemagne’s Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies,” *Gesta* 4 (Spring, 1965): 2-11; Richard Krautheimer, “The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture,” *The Art Bulletin* 24, No. 1 (Mar., 1942): 1-38.

Around 800 another page of text in the AP was replaced with a folio written in Carolingian minuscule script, possibly in the vicinity of Saint Amand.⁹ Eventually, the AP made its way to Tours, as evidenced by a page restored in Tours minuscule¹⁰ (f. 33), and the mostly-erased inscription, “*sancti gatii*,” at the bottom of folio 5, which suggests that the AP may have been housed at the monastic library of St. Gatien at Tours.¹¹ Additional traces of its ninth-century existence include several Tironian notes (i.e., shorthand) throughout the manuscript, which read “*de sacramento*” (f. 93v), “*hic de est folium*” (f. 118v), and an illegible note in the right margin of folio 121.¹² There are also several liturgical notations that mark readings for Easter and ordination services, which indicate that the manuscript was used in church services at some point in its life.¹³ This is but one of the many mysteries of the Ashburnham Pentateuch; it is a bit strange that a luxurious manuscript would be used liturgically to such an extent that it would be marked up. But these notations are also a useful reminder that, while it is easy for us to think of a manuscript being used in only one way, in fact manuscripts—especially those as old as the AP—were often used in various ways by different people.

Missing folios are noted in Carolingian minuscule (“*Id desunt folium...*”) on ff. 70v and 76v, and a similar note has been crossed out on the bottom of folio 71v. The Ashburnham Pentateuch remained at Tours until it was stolen in 1842 by Professor Guglielmo Libri (recounted in further detail in the final chapter below).

⁹ CLA 9.1378 and Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südost deutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1980), 103-4. Cited in David H. Wright, “Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*,” 413.

¹⁰ CLA, V, Nos. 693a and 693b.

¹¹ Bezalel Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham: la ilustración de codices en la antigüedad tardía: introducción al facsimil de Bezalel Narkiss* (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2007), 319.

¹² Lowe, CLA, V, No. 693a. Narkiss transcribed the note on f. 93v as “*de supra gloria restores*,” *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 319.

¹³ These include “*de unguento*” on f. 82, “*lectio pascha*” on f. 109, and “*lectio ordinationis diaconorum*” on f. 125. Transcribed in Narkiss, *El Pentateuch Ashburnham*, 318. Narkiss believes the notes to have been written by the original colourist of the manuscript and then later retraced by a Merovingian scribe. See also, Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 46.

The Discovery of the Erasures by Bezalel Narkiss

For most of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's existence, the erasures and overpainting of the Creation page have gone unnoticed. It was not until the year 1961-62, while examining the Ashburnham Pentateuch in Paris, that Bezalel Narkiss came to suspect that the round object near the hand of the Creator in the upper left of the miniature was not a sphere, as Otto van Gebhardt had suggested in his 1883 study, but was in fact a halo belonging to another figure. Narkiss was able to confirm this theory by viewing the manuscript under ultraviolet light, which revealed a distinct person standing next to the extant Creator. In his 1969 article, "Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch," Narkiss admitted that at the time of this initial viewing he did not understand the implications of his discovery and assumed the obliterated figure was merely a failed attempt by the artist.¹⁴ Over the eight years following his first viewing, Narkiss made three trips back to the Bibliothèque Nationale to study the AP before writing the above-mentioned article, in which he thoroughly describes the current state of folio 1v and hypothesizes about the original content of its image. In the article he also alludes to a more comprehensive study of the AP that he hoped to publish, which he did, though not until 2007, one year before his death.¹⁵

The Erasures Themselves: Material Considerations

Almost fifty years after Narkiss' first encounter with the AP in Paris, I too sat down with the manuscript in the reading room at the Richelieu location of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The Ashburnham Pentateuch is a large, heavy book; its wooden nineteenth-century

¹⁴ Cf. Michael Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), 140.

¹⁵ That is, the commentary on the Ashburnham Pentateuch, which accompanies the facsimile of the manuscript, published by Patrimonio Ediciones and noted above.

covers are bowed, its pages curled from water damage and age. The right-hand figure in each of the four Father-Son pairs was likely covered with a thick pinkish-purple paint, which as Narkiss noted bears a striking similarity to the dusky hues of the Genesis frontispieces in ninth-century Bibles from Tours.¹⁶ These patches of overpainting carefully conform to the body of the extant Creator. The figure of the Holy Spirit, which dipped over the green waters in the center of the page, was covered half in green and half in pink paint. Some of the overpainting that was also damaged by water, particularly in the flaking near where the Holy Spirit's head once was at the center-left of the page, reveals the thickness and texture of the paint. What Narkiss described as a shining quality is now only visible in the bottom right instance.

It should be mentioned that there are no other such erasures or overpainting within the AP, despite the presence of the same beardless Logos figure at the plague of the firstborn (f. 65v, Fig. 5). Therefore it stands to reason that there was something about this image of divinity in particular that offended its redactor.

The conservative nature of these modifications is also noteworthy; rather than simply scraping away the image, excising the page from the binding, or destroying the book altogether, the editor carefully matched the color of paint with which he covered the offending figures to the pink and green patches of the folio's image. His efforts were so successful that they went unnoticed for over one thousand years. This care demonstrates that the AP was a valued manuscript, despite its apparently problematic image.

¹⁶ E.g., the Vivian Bible. Bezalel Narkiss, "Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Pentateuque de Tours)," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, Vol. XIX (1969): 45-60.

The Spirit of the Lord, Erased: an Active Space?

Having described the physical details of the AP's erasures and overpainting, we might push our analysis a bit further. As Michael Camille has argued, "we must examine such cases not so much as acts of vandalism but as acts of representation. We tend to associate creation with construction, not destruction, but the selective obliteration of parts of an image surely constitutes not merely editing and expurgation, as with a text, but an embodied response."¹⁷ That is, the erasures and overpainting, in this case, of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, are not merely the absence of an image, but might also be understood as a vehicle of new meaning.¹⁸ To do so we need to consider both what has been removed (image) and what is left behind (text).

The Role of Captions in the Ashburnham Pentateuch

All nineteen of the manuscript's extant images include inscriptions, which are written in an uncial script of either brown or white ink. The draftsman included identifying captions along with his underdrawings. The captions are based on the *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate versions of the biblical text, from which they directly quote only on occasion.¹⁹ These captions were then rewritten by the colorist, who also painted the images.²⁰

¹⁷ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 140.

¹⁸ A nice modern example of this is Robert Rauschenberg's *Erased de Kooning Drawing* (1953, SFMOMA), for which Rauschenberg requested a drawing from de Kooning and then meticulously erased, framed, and labeled it (with the assistance of Jasper Johns), thereby questioning not only the role of the artist, but also what constitutes a work of art, using negation to create something new.

¹⁹ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 382.

²⁰ The phrasing of the two sets of captions is not always identical. For example, for the separation of the land from the waters in the Creation image, the draftsman's underscript reads: "*hic montes segregavit mare et ab arida terra*," while the colorist's overscript reads: "*hic ubi segregavit mare ab arida et montes*." Narkiss translates these as: "Here are mountains, separating the sea from the dry land," and "Here is where the sea is separated from the dry land and mountains." Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 385. His translation is a bit puzzling, perhaps because he seems to be forcing his point about the influence of the Jewish Midrash. I suggest a translation of: "Here where even the mountains separated the sea from the dry land." While the difference between the texts of the underscript and overscript does not significantly change the meaning of the inscription, it does reveal that the colorist had some license to interpret and even alter the content of the manuscript.

There are instances in which the captions and images do not perfectly correspond, as in the scene of Lot sleeping with his daughters (f. 18, Fig. 59). The caption describes Lot as drunkenly sleeping with his daughters, but the image portrays him seated on a chair near a mattress accepting a chalice from one of his daughters.²¹ In other words, thanks to the inscription, the image is able to imply the rest of the story without having to portray the distasteful bits. Some captions and images are outright contradictions, as in the depiction of Noah's sacrifice after exiting his ark (f. 10v, Fig. 60). While the caption, which reflects the biblical account, describes Noah making an animal sacrifice, the image instead presents a eucharistic scene in which Noah is apparently blessing a chalice.

The inscription-image relationship in the Ashburnham Pentateuch demonstrates a preference for the written word inasmuch as the text gives the authoritative story (e.g., Lot and his daughters). However, there is a give and take as the images often function as commentary or Christian interpretations of the biblical inscriptions. The images seem to have visual primacy in that, in contrast, the inscriptions are crammed to fit into the spaces around figures or inside doors and windows, never obstructing an image. This choice in layout indicates that the purpose of the inscriptions was to serve the images of the manuscript, and not vice versa.

The Relationship between the Captions and Erasures of the Creation Image

Having briefly considered the relationship between the script, captions, and images throughout the Ashburnham Pentateuch, we can now return to the erasures of the manuscript's Creation image (f. 1v, Fig. 3). So what was left behind when the redactor erased and painted over the figures of three of the Sons, one of the Fathers, and the Holy Spirit?

²¹ “*Loth ubi inebriatus dormivit cu[m] filias suas.*” Narkiss’ translation: “Lot where he is drunk and slept with his daughters.” Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 348.

In addition to the three extant Fathers and one Son, the inscriptions of the page remain, though some are difficult to read on account of later water damage. In the upper left hand corner of the page, the title *omnipotens* was written above the heads of the Father and the painted-over Son. The draftsman's underscript to the left of the Father's head and colorist's overscript above the Son's head, while differing slightly, identify the scene as the creation of heaven and earth.²² The earth is represented by the brown rectangle to the right, which is labeled *terra*, and heaven is the seven blue and purple bands above, labeled "*hic caelum*."

The top right corner of the page depicts the creation of light on the first day. God the Father is again labeled *omnipotens*, gesturing to what was once an orange block of color, now washed away, and the Son has been obscured by pink and a little bit of orange paint. This scene is conflated with the subsequent separation of light and darkness; a dark blue patch of color directly below the orange square represents the darkness. It is inscribed: "Here is where the Lord divided light from darkness."²³ The separation of the waters is conflated with the scene of the Spirit of God hovering over the waters, which are reused as the waters above the firmament. A similar oblong patch of wavy green represents the waters below the firmament. The firmament itself is seen as a purple band dividing the two green patches, inscribed as: "Here is where [he] separated waters from waters."²⁴ Just to the left, God the Father stands on the dry land of the next scene and extends his hand toward the two bodies of water. The Son has once again been covered with pink paint.

²² Underscript: "*hic d[ns] ubi creavit caelum et terram*." Overscript: "*hic [dms] ubi cr[eavit] terram*." Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 333.

²³ Underscript: "*hic ubi divisit d[omi]n[u]s lucem a tenebris*." Surviving overscript: "*tenebras*." Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 333.

²⁴ "[*Hic*] *ubi segregavit aquas ab aquis*." (Narkiss notes that this is non-grammatical.) Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 333.

The separation of the waters and the land takes up the bottom half of the miniature. In the left corner, the earth is once again represented by a brown rectangle; this time, three mountain ranges emerge from its horizon. The scene is labeled: “Here [is] the earth, where it is separated from the waters under heaven.”²⁵ In the bottom right corner of the page the Father-Son pair has been flipped, mirroring their other depictions, so that they now face and gesture to the left, with the Son standing on the opposite side (i.e., to the left) of the Father—an inconsistency which led to the redactor painting over three Sons and this particular Father. The Son is labeled *omnipote[ns]* and between him and the mountains, seemingly issuing forth from the his hand, is the inscription: “Here [is] where the sea separated even the mountains from the dry [land].”²⁶

Of this folio’s erasures, the most interesting in terms of text-image relations is that which was done to the Holy Spirit. Whereas the other erasures of this folio left a figure behind to perform the action, the illustration of Genesis 1:2 (the Spirit of the Lord hovering over the waters) has been rendered visually subject-less: just below the first scene of the page, the Holy Spirit was once depicted as a winged man. While his body, which hovered head-down, was covered in green and pink paint, the inscription was left intact. It reads: “Here is the Spirit of the Lord, where [he] is hovering over the waters.”²⁷ The resulting effect is ghostly, as this inscription containing the demonstrative “*hic*” is no longer accompanied by a figure²⁸—only an ambient field of color, almost anticipating the paintings of Mark Rothko. In fact, unaware of the erasures and overpainting, von Gebhardt wrote that, “The ‘Spirit of God’ has the form of a cloud.”²⁹ While the erasure is itself a negation of what was once depicted, its coexistence with the adjacent

²⁵ “*Hic terra ubi segregata est ab aquis sub caelo.*” (Narkiss notes this as non-grammatical). Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 334.

²⁶ Versus Narkiss’ translation: “Here is where [God] separated the sea from the dry [land]; and mountains.” The underscript reads: “*hic montes segregavit mare et ab arida terra.*” Narkiss translates it as: “Here are mountains separating the sea from the dry land.” Narkiss 334.

²⁷ “*Hic sp[iritu]s d[omi]ni ubi superferebatur super aquas.*” Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 331.

²⁸ As Gertrude Stein might say: “there is no *here* here.”

²⁹ Oscar von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London: Asher and Co., 1883), 11.

inscription is reifying, perhaps in spite of itself. That is, reading the inscription, “Here is the Spirit of the Lord...,” one naturally asks, “where?” To which the answer is now “nowhere”—or perhaps “everywhere.” The erasure is thus an embodied response to the content of the page; it not only works to negate the divine figures it obliterates, but it also becomes a statement about those very figures. Additionally, the overpainting creates a new space, which is activated by text. By leaving behind the inscription, “Here is the Spirit of the Lord,” the redactor has thus ascribed meaning—or at least allowed the possibility of meaning to be ascribed—to the erasure and overpainting. This active void is reminiscent of the similarly charged space between the cherubim of the mercy seat, as described, for example, in Numbers 7:89 and depicted in the AP’s own folio 127v (Fig. 11) and Theodulf’s apse mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés (Fig. 52).³⁰

Whether or not the redactor intended such an interpretation, which is impossible to determine definitively, it seems that he was not concerned with maintaining consistency between the inscriptions and images of this page so much as he was preoccupied with censoring this particular visual depiction of God. Because this folio is the only (extant) target of erasure in the entire Ashburnham Pentateuch³¹ and other images of God remain untouched on several other folios throughout the manuscript (ff. 6, 25, 65v, 76) we must ask (and will attempt to answer below): what was it about the Creation image that led to its erasure?

³⁰ These are parallel in effect to later depictions of the annunciation that use the empty/negative architectural space between Gabriel and Mary to suggest the presence of the Holy Spirit (e.g., Giotto’s Arena Chapel and the Daphni Monastery).

³¹ According to Bezalel Narkiss, “Of the 69 original miniatures, there were 37 in Genesis, (an average of 4 miniatures per quire), 16 in Exodus, 3 in Leviticus and 13 in the book of Numbers.” Of the eighteen images that remain, twelve belong to Genesis, five to Exodus, and two to Numbers. Based on a study of the text and the extant miniatures, Narkiss conjectured the original layout of the manuscript. Because of the level of detail of the extant Creation image, Narkiss hypothesized that there were at least four miniatures between the extant folio 1v (Creation) and folio 6 (postlapsarian Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel). Bezalel Narkiss, “Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” *Cahiers Archeologiques* 22 (1972): 19, 28, 30; Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 445-6. Of all the missing images of the manuscript, these four or five are the most significant for the present essay as they likely would have repeated the anthropomorphic Trinity from folio 1v. Of course, it would be very interesting to recover these images and discover whether the figures of the Son (assuming the Holy Spirit would have only appeared hovering over the water in f. 1v) had also been erased.

Conclusion

In the sixth century, the scribe, draftsman, and colorist of the Ashburnham Pentateuch coordinated their efforts to produce the manuscript; even so, inconsistencies between some of the inscriptions and illustrations already demonstrated a tension between word and image. This tension was furthered in the ninth-century erasures and overpainting, which when considered alongside the existing inscriptions reveals not only a preference for the written word, but also what is possibly a creative aniconic “solution” to the problem of imaging the divine.

A Brief History of Selective Destruction in Manuscripts

To better understand the Ashburnham Pentateuch’s erasures as theologically-motivated codicological phenomena, it will be useful to place them within the larger context of other revisionist, vandalistic, iconoclastic acts against manuscripts.³² This section considers the destruction of an image as an embodied response. As Camille points out, acts of destruction, particularly in cases in which only part of an image has been removed, can also be a creative act in which a new statement is asserted. Thus our course is plotted not only between the reference points of image and word, but also erasure.

Though writing about Byzantine Iconoclasm in particular, Jaś Elsner has similarly conceived of iconoclasm as a kind of discourse—“the visual and literary production of a society’s self-reflections about how it related to itself and its God.”³³ In which case, Elsner

³² On the general topic of unintentional and intentional damage to manuscripts (but with no discussion of damaged images), see Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 94-116. On iconoclasm in the Middle Ages and beyond see, for example, David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), esp. 345-428.

³³ Jaś Elsner, “Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium,” *The Art Bulletin* 94.3 (2012): 386.

suggests, the historian's task is not to recover all the details of such-and-such event but to understand "how perceived problems and changes were articulated, invented, and mythologized."³⁴ This conception renders the discourse as existing not simply between two historical parties (in this case, iconophiles and iconoclasts), but also includes the historian herself, who, like the historical actors she examines, acts out of her own motivations and interpretations, and therefore must reflect upon "what we think we are doing in writing history at all."³⁵ In understanding the erasures of the AP, then, we might ask, which is more historically significant: what the redactor actually erased, or what the redactor *thought* he was erasing? It is worth noting that by virtue of my study of the Creation page of the AP and the presentation of my own theories, I too could be considered one of the manuscript's redactors as I direct the reader's attention to select aspects of the AP.

This section will focus on the most contemporaneous examples to the AP's erasures and overpainting when possible, but also considers evidence drawn from throughout the history of Christian art. This brief, iconographically-organized survey will demonstrate the unique mode of and potential motivation for the AP's erasures. Here too, as with the AP, we must consider what has been removed and what is left behind.

Corrective acts against manuscripts are not uncommon, especially in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period. The majority of such acts consists of the physical removal of the image, presumably by the owner or reader. For example, the offending appendages of lewd marginal figures are often erased by being rubbed away.³⁶ Meanwhile, more spiritually threatening images, such as depictions of Satan or demons, tend to have their eyes or faces

³⁴ Elsner, "Iconoclasm as Discourse," 386.

³⁵ Elsner, "Iconoclasm as Discourse," 386.

³⁶ Michael Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 139-54; *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). Such erasures of pigment can be accomplished with relative ease by applying moisture (e.g., saliva) and rubbing the surface with a finger.

scratched out.³⁷ Such aggressive actions hint at a embodied connection between the image and reader. There is no attempt to conceal this category of erasure; instead, the removal of such images creates a visible lacuna on the page. Obliteration by painting, on the other hand, is considerably less common. Thus, because it lacks the impassioned character of those erasures and scratchings motivated more by superstition than doctrine, the carefully executed alterations of the AP's Creation page, described above, should not be regarded as an act of selective iconoclasm in response to idolatry but as a thoughtful act of theological correction in response to heterodoxy.

Removal of the Trinity

As mentioned above, the majority of anthropomorphic images of the Trinity are of the Hospitality of Abraham.³⁸ Often interpreted as an allegorical revelation of the Trinity and not the persons of the Trinity *per se*, images of the Hospitality of Abraham therefore are not common targets of vandalism or iconoclasm.³⁹

An eleventh-century manuscript of the seventh-century text *Scala Paradisa*, or the *Heavenly Ladder*, written by John Climacus, provides an example of a removed anthropomorphic Trinity. The page in question (Princeton, Garrett 16, f. 190v, Fig. 61) bears the thirtieth and final chapter of John's text, which describes the Pauline virtues of faith, hope, and love as a trinity. John repeatedly declares that God is love and after warning that, "someone eager to define this is

³⁷ Karl Fugelso, "Early Modern Responses to Dante's Authority: Iconoclasm in Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy," *Manuscripta* 45-46 (2003): 25-48; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Second Horst Gerson Memorial Lecture (University of Groningen, Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1985; reprinted in Public, Toronto, 1993).

³⁸ It seems that the various combinations of symbolic non-anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity (e.g., dove, lamb, man; dove, man, hand) are not as a group subject to iconoclastic acts.

³⁹ On the patristic interpretation of this theme, see Chapter Two. On the early medieval interpretation of this theme, see Chapter Three.

blindly striving to measure the sand in the ocean,”⁴⁰ John nevertheless goes on to declare that, “There is nothing wrong about offering human analogies for longing, fear, concern, zeal, service, and love of God.”⁴¹ He then lists several metaphors for the love between a Christian and God, including a comparison with a mother and nursing infant. In praising the purity of God, John states, “Purity makes of a disciple someone who can speak of God, and he can move on to a knowledge of the Trinity.”⁴²

Given this chapter’s focus on faith, hope, and love, as well as the references to God and the Trinity, it is not surprising that the chapter once included a marginal miniature of the Trinity. From the discoloration left by the image’s gold on the facing page (f. 191), it is possible to discern the original content of folio 190v, which seems to have portrayed three winged men/angels, the middle one with a cruciform halo, seated at a table, and labeled as the Holy Trinity.⁴³ The extant inscription that accompanied the removed image beseeches the reader, “Let our model of charity be our Lord himself, Christ and God, and the divine apostle Paul. Let our model of faith be Abraham, who was justified out of faith. And let our model of hope be Enos, who first hoped to call upon the Lord.”⁴⁴ The reference to Abraham and the presence of the table could very well imply that the miniature was a depiction of the Hospitality of Abraham, which has traditionally been interpreted as a Trinitarian image (as discussed in chapter one above).

Unfortunately, the details as to when and why this image was cut out from the page remain a mystery. Since several of the manuscript’s other images of divinity remain intact (e.g., ff. 121v,

⁴⁰ John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent, Classics of Western Spirituality*, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 286.

⁴¹ John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 287.

⁴² John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 288.

⁴³ Martin viewed the caption under ultraviolet light. John Rupert Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 44; Sofia Kotzabassi and Nancy Patterson, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 122.

⁴⁴ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 44.

154, 187v, 194), iconoclastic motivations seem unlikely. Rather, given that the images of Christ that were also excised from the manuscript (discussed below) were usually located within medallions and in that sense were already framed, it may have been a collector that did the damage (which would then suggest a much later date for the excisions).⁴⁵ Even during the Middle Ages, initials were removed from manuscripts in order to be repurposed in new manuscripts by being pasted in.⁴⁶ This is distinct from the later practice (ca. eighteenth century) of cutting out decorated initials for scrapbook collections.

Removal of the Father

On account of the fact that anthropomorphic images of God the Father are rare before the mid-fourteenth century, there are also few images from which the Father has been removed. One of these examples is found in a thirteenth-century English Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.4, f. 119r, Fig. 62). Within a large initial *D* is a depiction of the Godhead presenting the Crucifixion to two nuns. Originally, the Father's face was visible, but the illuminator or one of the book's first owners seem to have thought better of it, erased his face, and painted a golden quatrefoil disc over it.⁴⁷

Perhaps the erasure example that bears the closest resemblance to the Ashburnham Pentateuch is that of the depiction of Moses receiving the Law from God in the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms Kaufmann A77, IV f. 32, Fig. 63), which dates to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The scribe's

⁴⁵ I.e., as early as the fourteenth century, but most likely in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Christopher de Hamel, *Cutting up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit* (Charlottesville, VA: Book Arts Press, 1996), 6, 10; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 114-6.

⁴⁶ De Hamel, *Cutting up Manuscripts*, 6.

⁴⁷ Michael Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 141, n. 5. On fourteenth century images of the Beatific Vision, see Lucy Sandler, "Face to Face with God: The Iconography of the Beatific Vision Reconsidered," *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference* (Dover, NH: Boydell Press, 1986), 224-35.

colophon states that the manuscript was made by “Nathan, son of Rabbi Shim'on ha-Levi” for his brother-in-law, “the noble Rabbi Abraham son of the scholar, Rabbi Berekhiya.”⁴⁸ In her 1985 article, Evelyn M. Cohen suggested that the images were most likely rendered by a Christian artist who was apparently unaware of the Jewish taboo of imaging God; the painting originally portrayed a complete personification of God, who passed the tablets to a horned Moses.⁴⁹ Cohen believes that God’s figure was soon thereafter--perhaps immediately upon its receipt by the owner--painted over with the form of Mount Sinai, which was topped with a cluster of Israelites, thereby transforming the scene from Moses receiving the Law to Moses presenting the Law to the Israelites.⁵⁰ The horns of Moses were also removed at this time. However, the hand of God remains visible--perhaps intentionally, grasping the edge of the tablets, and was the clue that led Cohen to discover the overpainting of the image. While this example is similar to the AP in that its redactor attempted to completely hide the offending image of divinity, still, it is distinct in that, being a Jewish manuscript, it was the Father who was erased.

*Removal of the Son*⁵¹

As the Incarnate One, Christ is decidedly the most imageable member of the Trinity.⁵²

Therefore depictions of Christ that have been removed from medieval manuscripts for apparently

⁴⁸ Translated in Evelyn M. Cohen, “The Artist of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah,” *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, August 4-12, 1985. Division D. Volume II: Art, Folklore, Theatre, Music* (Jerusalem, 1986): 25.

⁴⁹ The depiction of Moses with horns is a tradition that has its origin in Jerome’s mistranslation of Exodus 34:29-35, in which the original Hebrew can mean either “shining rays” or “horns.”

⁵⁰ Evelyn M. Cohen, “The Decoration of Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts,” in *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Leonard Singer Gold (New York: New York Public Library and Oxford University Press, 1988), 49-50; “The Artist of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah,” 25-30.

⁵¹ To date, I have found no examples in which the Holy Spirit alone has been removed from an image.

⁵² Indeed this was major part of the iconodule argument in support of images of God. The first anathema of the Second Council of Nicaea condemns those who refuse to confess that “Christ our God can be represented in his humanity,” demonstrating that the question of holy images had mainly to do with the reality of the incarnation. Norman Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 138.

theological or iconoclastic reasons, as in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, are often more puzzling than those of the Father. It is sometimes possible to discern when images of Christ have been removed by collectors (usually by excision) or by pious viewers (usually by partial erasure rendered through kissing and touching of his face and/or feet over time).

The early ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württemberg, Landesbibliothek, MS. 23, f. 127v, Fig. 64) contains a strange instance of a removed image of Christ because the accompanying image of the Father has been left totally intact, and in that sense is similar to the erasures of the AP. The text of the page is the brief Psalm 109 (Vulgate), which has been used as proof for the Trinity as far back as the Christian apologists.⁵³ Its opening lines read: “The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand: Until I make thy enemies thy footstool.”⁵⁴ This is illustrated in the miniature at the bottom half of the page, which originally depicted the Son seated at the right hand of the Father, both figures facing each other and seated within figure-eight mandorlas. The Father’s feet rest on a footstool as he holds a codex in his lap and addresses the Son with an extended finger. The Son, meanwhile, responds with an open palm; his feet resting on a prostrate figure (i.e., the enemy) instead of a footstool. At some point, both the Son and the prostrate figure were almost entirely rubbed away, thereby demonstrating a strange bit of selective iconoclasm. Unlike the AP’s erasures, there was no attempt to camouflage this erasure. Florentine Mütherich has suggested that this erasure occurred during the Reformation.⁵⁵

Returning to the John Climacus manuscript (Princeton, Garrett 16), there are two images of Christ that have been removed through careful excision. The first is found in the margin of folio

⁵³ See, for example, Irenaeus of Lyons, *Epidexis*, 49; Augustine of Hippo, *De Trinitate*, book 5.

⁵⁴ “*Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis donec ponam inimicos tuos scabillum pedum tuorum.*” Translation, Psalm 109:1, Douay-Rheims Bible.

⁵⁵ Florentine Mütherich, in Bernard Bischoff et al., *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter, Bibl. Fol. 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart*; I. *Facsimile* (Stuttgart, 1965) and II. *Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart, 1968), 131. Cited in Yolanta Zaluska, “Le dogme trinitaire et l’essor de son iconographie en Occident de l’époque carolingienne au IV^e Concile du Latran (1215),” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 37^e année, n. 147 (Juillet-Septembre 1994): 216.

128 (Fig. 65), which bears the text of chapter twenty-four, on meekness, simplicity, and other virtues. There, two monks are depicted facing each other with hands raised in prayer towards a circular hole in the manuscript directly above them. Based on similar images in other eleventh century manuscripts (e.g., the Theodore Psalter and the Barberini Psalter), J.R. Martin concluded that the excised image was most likely a medallion bearing the image of Christ and that the caption, from which only an acute accent remains, labeled the image with the Savior's name (IC XC).⁵⁶

A similar scene accompanies the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder*, which is on prayer: in the margins a monk stands with hands raised in prayerful attitude toward the excised circle above him (f. 180v, Fig. 66). The gold imprint on the facing page (f. 181) reveals traces of a cruciform halo and the letters IC XC, indicating that the missing image was certainly a portrait of Christ.⁵⁷ The careful excision of these two images, as well as their format as medallion-enclosed portraits, coupled with the manuscript's other images of Christ that were left intact (ff. 121v, 187v, 194), may point to a collector as the culprit.

It should also be noted that one of the most common causes of the destruction of religious images is not the act of vandalism or iconoclasm, but overuse. A fact that is easily lost on modern viewers of (now) museum- or library-bound images and objects is that such artifacts were once regularly and physically used in public and private devotion. Therefore, medieval religious images, especially of Christ, often show signs of wear from concentrated touching, , and frequent handling. For example, Christ's face in the crucifixion image from a manuscript containing the Bible and Select Masses (San Marino, Huntington Library MM 26061, f. 178v, Fig. 67) has been

⁵⁶ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 37.

⁵⁷ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 43; Kotzabassi and Patterson, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century*, 122.

completely rubbed away over time from frequent kissing.⁵⁸ Such physical devotion was often instructed by the images themselves, particularly in the later Middle Ages; for example, the inscriptions of images of the crucifixion or the *arma christi* would offer indulgences to those who kissed Christ's side wound.⁵⁹

Removal of Immoral Figures

In contrast to erasure by affection, subject matter has also often been removed due to a perceived moral danger. Such is not the case with the AP, but for the purpose of demonstrating what the AP's erasures are *not*, it will be briefly discussed here. The two most common categories of subject matter removed from medieval manuscripts are those of sexual and demonic nature.⁶⁰ It is often the case that depictions of immoral people or acts have been rubbed out of medieval manuscripts.⁶¹ Similarly, the grotesque figures that dance across *bas-de-page*

⁵⁸ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 141. For a similar example of Christ's wound, see Paris BnF MS Fr. 574, f. 140v, discussed in David Areford, "The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 220-1 and 238, cited in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 312, n. 57. Perhaps in an effort to prevent this type of damage to images, proxies for kissing emerged in the later Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, the kiss of peace among the laity was replaced by the use of the "peace-board" (*tabula pacis* or *osculatorium*), a small piece of wood or metal with an image of the Virgin, the church's titular saint, or the crucifixion, which was passed around to be kissed by all present. Most of the scholarship on this phenomenon dates to the nineteenth century, but see, for example, Guy-Marie Oury, *Les Gestes de la Prière* (Paris: St Paul, 1998), 133-42; J. Braun, *Das Christlike Altargerät in seinem Sein und seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932), 560-72. Another form of kissing proxy was the osculatory, which was a flap of parchment or leather that was inserted into books; these proxy images, which could be abstract designs or depict devotional objects such as the crucifix, were also painted into the bottom margin of the page. For examples and further discussion, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 325-30; *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 194; Kathryn M. Rudy, "Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals They Reveal," *Proceedings from the Harley Conference*, British Library, 29-30 June 2009, *Electronic British Library Journal* (2010), article 5. On other physical evidence of manuscript use, see Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer," *Journal of Historian of Netherlandish Art* 2, Issue 1-2 (Summer 2010): 1-44.

⁵⁹ Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 65, 96.

⁶⁰ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 144.

⁶¹ This also sometimes included the partial erasure (usually of the eyes or face) of Muslim or Jewish figures.

scenes of Gothic manuscripts with, say, offensively displayed genitalia have often been partially, if not totally, removed.⁶²

An example of the former is found on folio 63 of the Stuttgart Psalter (Fig. 68), which bears the text of Psalm 49 and two illustrations. The first image corresponds to verses 16-18 of the Psalm: “But to the sinner, God said: why do you describe my justices? Truly, you hated discipline and you threw my words behind you. If you saw a thief you would run with him and with adulterers you have set down your portion.”⁶³ From right to left, this image illustrates these verses quite literally: at the right, from the arc of heaven, the hand of God reprimands a man who throws a book behind another (partially erased) man. To the left, a man holding hands with a thief runs out of the frame, past two adulterers (mostly erased) who lie under a tree.⁶⁴ Presumably, a reader of the text erased the offending figures as in an expression of disapproval and an assertion of their own piety.

An example of marginalia modified for sexual content is found in the fourteenth-century Gorleston Psalter (London, British Library, Add MS 49622, f. 98v, Fig. 69). Bearing no apparent relation to the page’s text (Psalm 76), the *bas-de-page* marginalia depicts a nun emerging from the end of the initial’s stem; she is approached by a cowled grotesque, whose bare arms reach out

⁶² For an engaging treatment of the marginalia of medieval manuscripts, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁶³ “*Peccatori autem dixit Deus quare tu enarras iustitias meas. Tu vero odisti disciplinam et proiecisti sermones meos retrorsum. Si videbas furem currebas cum eo et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas.*”

⁶⁴ Other examples of erased copulating couples include Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 193, f. 216; Paris, BnF, fr. 25528, f. 35v; Paris, BnF, fr. 749, ff. 36v, 53. For more on this iconographical motif in medieval manuscripts, see Michael Camille, “Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation,” in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schulz (Minneapolis, 1997), 58-90; Alison Stones, “Illustrating Lancelot and Guinevere,” in *Lancelot and Guinevere: A Casebook*, ed. Lori Walters (New York: Garland, 1996), 125-158.

as if to embrace her. His body has been almost entirely erased, leaving the rest of his offensive anatomy and/or gesture to the imagination.⁶⁵

Removal of Demonic Figures

Related to the removal of immoral content is the erasure of demonic beings from manuscripts.⁶⁶ Both subjects are often deemed inappropriate or even dangerous for contemplation and are therefore removed from their vignettes. Again, this is a far cry from both the content and mode of erasure found in the AP; a consideration of the removal of demonic beings by erasure or scraping illustrates by contrast the distinct qualities of the modifications made to the AP's Creation folio.

Returning once more to the John Climacus manuscript (Princeton, Garrett 16), we find at least seven examples in which demons have been partially or completely erased (ff. 81, 86, 87, 93v, 115v, 125, 187v). For example, a "well-meaning but overzealous reader" has almost totally effaced the image of a monk being approached by a winged demon of blasphemy (f. 125, Fig. 70), the illustration of the second part of chapter twenty-three in the *Heavenly Ladder*.⁶⁷ "The abhorrence felt for this vice can be judged from the thoroughness with which the demon has been erased,"⁶⁸ in the most complete erasure of a demon in the manuscript; the editing hand seems to have gotten carried away and took to erasing most of the blaspheming monk's figure as well.

⁶⁵ A similar example is found in the *Roman de la Rose* (Paris, BnF, fr. 22526, f. 106), in which a marginal image depicts a nun leading a man by his genitals (using a strategically placed rope); only the man's genitals have since been erased. It should also be noted that not all erasures of genitals were due to sexual offense—some seem to have been removed for the mere fact of displayed nudity. For example, this is likely the case in the *Oscott Psalter* (London, British Library, Add MS 50000, f. 173v) and the *Hours of Blanche of Savoy* (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 390, f. 18).

⁶⁶ Depictions of women's bodies were also the target of erasure and carried some association with the demonic, as evident, for example, in the representation of female demons in folios 87, 115v of the John Climacus manuscript.

⁶⁷ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 36.

⁶⁸ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 37.

Many of the manuscript's other demons are only partially removed, as though the erasing hand deemed that their visual power had been sufficiently diminished.

The marginal miniature that illustrates the twenty-ninth chapter, which is on tranquility, (f. 187v, Fig. 71) provides an example of erasure that targets a demon while leaving a proximate depiction of Christ intact, thus revealing the spiritual/superstitious motivations of the erasing hand.⁶⁹ In the image, which is an adaptation of the Anastasis, a half-figure of Christ, nimbed and labeled (IC XC), pulls a monk out from a sarcophagus as partially-erased winged demons cling to the monk's feet and other hand. Along the bottom of the page is written a paraphrase of Psalm 113:7, which describes the Lord lifting the needy from the earth.⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that although this is an image of Christ's victory over evil, the viewer still deemed it necessary to remove the demons, "literally reenacting Christ's own cleansing power."⁷¹ In that sense, the act of erasure served an apotropaic function in which the viewer participated in Christ's battle.

A similar modification is found in a late-fourteenth-century manuscript of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* (New York, Morgan Library 498). Within the initial *F* of the beginning of Book Two (f. 57, Fig. 72), Bridget kneels in prayer to Christ, who addresses her from the blue arc of heaven within the upper portion of the initial. The historiated initial originally depicted the Devil tempting Bridget, but at some point his figure was almost completely rubbed out. Again, this demonstrates not so much a kind of iconoclasm as it does a fear of visual representations of evil, and therefore is distinct from the modifications found in the Ashburnham Pentateuch.⁷²

⁶⁹ Other untouched images of God in this manuscript include the Hand of God (f. 154) and additional images of Christ (ff. 121v, 187v, 194).

⁷⁰ Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John of Climacus*, 43; Kotzabassi and Patterson, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century*, 122.

⁷¹ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 145.

⁷² There are some instances in which demonic figures were removed by excision rather than erasure. For example, the face of the devilish serpent was excised from the image of the Fall in the twelfth-century *Bible de Burgos* (Burgos, Biblioteca Provincial, f. 12v).

*Images Replaced by Text*⁷³

Sometimes manuscript modifications physically assert the written word over images by replacing the latter with text. The canon tables of the Syrian late-sixth-century Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. I.56) bear three such examples.⁷⁴ In the first (f. 6v, Fig. 73), an illustration of Christ raising the widow's son (Lk 7:11-17), which spans the left and right margins, the depiction of Christ and the widow in the left-hand margin has been rubbed out and replaced with an inscription regarding the consecration of a bishop in 1179. Two pages later (f. 7v, Fig. 74), in the same left-margin location, a similarly-late inscription has taken the place of an original illustration. On the next page, a scene that is possibly Christ raising the daughter of Jairus (Lk 8:40-56; Mk 5:21-43), which frames the canon table as on f. 6v, has been partially covered with text, leaving behind only Christ and two accompanying figures. In this twelfth-century example of manuscript modification, rather than take advantage of the space already available along the bottom of these pages, the editor thought nothing of removing and writing over the marginal illustrations—even images of Christ.

⁷³ Another fascinating category of manuscript modification is that in which text is replaced by new text. For example, it is common to find manuscripts with identifying heraldry and inscriptions erased and/or amended to reflect new ownership (e.g., New York, Morgan Library, M 300, ff. 10, 12, 39v, 43v; Princeton, Taylor 7, f. 16v; Princeton, Kane 33, f. 1). On a separate note, as early as the seventeenth century, initials and script were cut out of manuscripts to satiate antiquarian interests. From about the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, it was common practice to cut out illuminated initials as collector's items. See De Hamel, *Cutting up Manuscripts*, 8-10. For example, a nineteenth-century French album, now housed at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, contains dozens of decorated and historiated initials, carefully excised from three thirteenth-century manuscripts (Collegetville, MN, HMML, Bean MS 3)—and some of *its* initials have since been removed (ff. 28, 37, 47-53)! Even the most carefully cut out initials and miniatures reveal a disregard for the manuscript as a “useful” object, since such removal renders the text on the back of the page illegible, interrupted by gaping holes (e.g., Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, Cod. A.II.1.1-4).

⁷⁴ C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, eds., *The Rabbula Gospels: Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I,56 in the Medicaean-Laurentian Library* (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf Verlag, 1959); Massimò Bernabò, ed., *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. I.56, L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, Folia picta 1 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008); Massimò Bernabò, “The Miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels: Postscripta to a Recent Book,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 343-58.

Conclusion

It should also be noted that the datability of the AP's erasures stands in significant contrast with the manuscript modifications discussed in this section. In the vast majority of cases, it is impossible to date such alterations with any precision as they do not, unfortunately, come with a time stamp. That is, the instances of image removal by abrasion or excision, which are the most common, do not leave many clues for the historian, as in the case of the AP's overpainted erasures, which are roughly datable by the pigment used and the timeline established by its various textual additions. That said, generally speaking, the removal of demonic or immoral representations by erasure or scraping was likely executed by a pious reader, that is, at a time when a manuscript was still a "used" object (though sexual content might just have well been erased by a Victorian collector).⁷⁵ Meanwhile, more benign narrative miniatures or portraits of divinity that were cut from manuscripts were likely removed by collectors; this was especially the case during periods in which religious manuscripts were no longer used devotionally but had become objects of historical curiosity. This type of excision began in the eighteenth century and unfortunately extends into the twentieth century and beyond.⁷⁶

All of which is to say, the combination of the mode of removal (abrasion, excision, overpainting) and the object of removal (deity, sinner, demon) often reveals something about the date and identity of the redactor. When considered against the backdrop of other modified manuscripts, the Ashburnham Pentateuch emerges as an unique specimen because of the combination of its early date, its alteration by erasure and overpainting, and the targeted Son and

⁷⁵ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 147. Camille argued that erasures of demonic and sexual images did not begin to happen until the end of the Middle Ages—the fifteenth century at the earliest: "As people might have continued to scrape away the gaze of demons and devils from their books during the subsequent centuries of witchhunts, when real bodies were excised and not just painted ones, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I would argue, saw most of the erasures in medieval manuscripts" (Camille, 153-4).

⁷⁶ Obviously, there may indeed be additional extant examples of overpainting, which still have yet to be identified—perhaps because they are even more "successful" than that of the AP.

Holy Spirit—in addition to the apparent mistake of removing one of the Father figures. Together these factors indicate that the motivation behind the erasures was not a more common impetus, such as superstition or devotion, but rather that the erasures were the result of a particular historical moment.

Thus, it is important to treat the various forms of manuscript modifications as legible sources—as embodied responses. Although the meaning of erasures, excisions, and the like are difficult to access, it is possible to "read" them through an extensive study of their political, cultural, theological, and artistic contexts. It is true that sometimes a pipe is just a pipe—sometimes damage to a manuscript is just that. But even unintentional damage can yield information about the life of a codex. Moreover, intentional erasures, overpainting, and excisions often reveal something significant of the thoughts and beliefs of at least one historical figure and are therefore worth exploring. The examples surveyed in this chapter indicate that the mode of modification can be significant in understanding motivations. As it stands, there is still relatively little known about most modified manuscripts. For the purpose of identifying useful *comparanda*, digital databases ought to more carefully record instances of damaged manuscripts and employ consistent terms in their descriptions.

The Best Intentions: Possible Motivations for the Ashburnham Pentateuch Erasures

Having analyzed the erasures of the AP's Creation page and considered them in contrast to the larger "tradition" of manuscript miniature destruction, this chapter will conclude by returning to the AP for a consideration of several possible motivations for its erasures. These include political, theological, and iconographic factors, some of which bear more weight than others.

It is difficult to imagine a logical reason for the inconsistent erasure of the three Sons and one Father; therefore it seems safe to assume that this was not the redactor's actual intention. Because the majority of the targeted figures were the Son, we can suppose this to be the redactor's aim. However, while it is surprising that someone would erase the incarnate—and therefore imageable—Son, it is not without precedent (see the section above). Still, the following analysis operates under the assumption that the redactor intended to erase four of the same figure and that the Son was indeed the target; the reasons behind such a decision could vary, as will be explained below. That said, the possibility must also be considered that there was a case of mistaken identity and that the Father could have been the intended target of erasure.

Anti-adoptionist

Because it is to date the only published suggestion for the motivations behind the erasures of the AP's Creation page, let us begin by considering Bezalel Narkiss' hypothesis regarding the anti-adoptionist sentiments of the Carolingians. In his initial article on the manuscript, Narkiss writes that:

The Adoptionists, Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, basing their theories on Augustinian Christology, assumed Jesus Christ to be the Son [of] Man, merely *adopted* by the Father. The most vehement opponents of the Adoptionists were the theologians in the Court of Charlemagne, mainly Alcuin of York, who thought that it harked back to the Nestorian heresy, and, therefore, had the flavour of dualism. This may be the reason for crossing out the second image of [the] Creator in the Pentateuch.⁷⁷

He also concludes that, "Among the anti-Adoptionist thinkers of the eighth and ninth centuries, the idea of angels representing one Person of the Trinity, or acting as helpers and messengers to God, in the act of Creation, was polytheistic. This is probably why the angel too, together with the Second Person of the Trinity, was effaced and later overpainted in the Carolingian

⁷⁷ Narkiss, "Towards a Further Study," 58.

illumination workshop of Tours.”⁷⁸ As one of the major theological controversies of the time, adoptionism is indeed a natural place to look for understanding Carolingian conceptions of the Trinity.

The actual “adoptionist” position of eighth and ninth century Hispanic theologians Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel was discussed above in Chapter Four. Here the Carolingian interpretation of those positions is more relevant as it was their perception and response that would have motivated the erasures, if that was indeed the case. In the late eighth century, Carolingian theologians condemned these Hispanic theologians for allegedly teaching that Jesus was adopted as the Son of God at his baptism.⁷⁹ Theologians, such as Alcuin of York, Hincmar of Reims, and Theodulf of Orléans, responded to adoptionism by emphasizing the indivisible, unconfused two natures of Christ, as well as the absolute unity of the Trinity.

If, as Narkiss suggests, the decision to erase the figures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch was motivated by anti-adoptionist sentiments and attempted to counter a polytheistic or dualistic articulation of the Trinity, then, yes, presenting a single Creator would be a logical assertion of the unity of God. Still, the removal of the Son requires explanation; if the erasures were intended to refute the Carolingian conception of adoptionism in particular, it would have made just as much sense to preserve the image of the Son at Creation, thereby asserting his coeternality with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Arguably, the most anti-adoptionist thing to do would have been not to erase any of the figures at all.

⁷⁸ Narkiss, “Towards a Further Study,” 58. About thirty years later, Narkiss essentially restates this theory in his commentary to the facsimile. Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 319.

⁷⁹ John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 2.

Adoptionist

In fact, an adoptionist motivation might make more sense than anti-adoptionist sentiments. A possible interpretation could be that by removing the Son an adoptionist redactor was trying to present a time “when he was not,” to borrow Arius’ fateful phrase. Of course, a complication of this interpretation is that removing the Son from Creation, and thereby challenging his coeternality with the Father, is characteristic not so much of ninth-century Hispanic adoptionism—which, as discussed in Chapter Four, taught that Christ’s humanity, though not his divinity, was adopted—but rather, the erasure of the Son is more reflective of the brand of adoptionism of earlier heresies such as Arianism and Nestorianism (non-Chalcedonian), which did not have a strong presence in the Carolingian empire.

Anti-Manichaeism

A ninth-century viewer might have even interpreted the anthropomorphic depiction of the Trinity as symptomatic of Manichaean materialism, which could not conceive of an immaterial deity such as the God the Father of Christianity. This third-century heresy still held some rhetorical caché in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁸⁰ For instance, in his *Questiones in Octateuchum*, Wigbod quotes at length from Augustine’s *De Genesi contra manichaeos* and *De Genesi ad litteram* to describe God’s relationship with Creation. Wigbod/Augustine dismisses the Manichees’ version of Creation for many reasons, including that “they distinguish between the nature of the soul and the nature of God,” and also because they refer to God as changeable

⁸⁰ A well-known heresy that was preserved in a sense through Augustine’s writings, Manichaeism was also a useful insult, as during the adoptionist controversy when Elipandus slighted his opponent Beatus by comparing him to Faustus the Manichaean. As noted above, we also know that a copy of Augustine’s *De Genesi contra manichaeos* was in the library at Aachen by the time of Louis the Pious. E.g., Elipandus of Toledo, *Epistola Episcoporum Hispaniae ad Episcopos Franciae*, in MGH, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II, G.H. Pertz, ed. (Hanover: 1826) 118.27-30; 119.19. Cited in Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, 44, n. 145. For a broader discussion of Manichaeism in the Middle Ages, see Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (1947; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

(*commutabilem*) and confused (*commixtam*).⁸¹ In response to the Manichees, Wigbod/Augustine explains that the Holy Spirit is not contained or limited by the waters over which he hovers nor does he do so in a physical sense, “but through the power of his invisible sublimity.”⁸² The AP’s image of the Holy Spirit as a winged man hovering over the waters could have been taken to be exactly the type of misinterpretation of Genesis 1 that the Manichees had been guilty of and which Augustine had carefully corrected. Perhaps the anthropomorphic depiction of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Ashburnham Pentateuch was too physical and/or literal for its ninth-century viewers.

The four Father and Son pairs of the AP’s Creation image, dubbed a “Binity” by Narkiss, could have been perceived as an illustration of elements of Manichaean dualism, which separated and opposed “good” and “evil,” “light” and “darkness.” It is possible that the coupled Creators were interpreted as manifestations of these polarities and therefore as a denial of the singularly omnipotent Christian God. Alternatively, the figures could have been read as Manichaean in the sense of being “too material” in their conception of God. And so it could have been that even though Manichaeism was no longer a viable alternative to orthodoxy (at least, not in the West), it still had enough presence in the theological imagination—as evidenced by Wigbod’s reference—to compel a Carolingian viewer of the AP to rub out anything that could be misinterpreted as Manichaean.

⁸¹ “...*quod illi animae naturam a Dei natura discernunt...*” Wigbod, *Questiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96:1142A), cf. Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi ad litteram* VII.11.17 (PL 34:361).

⁸² “...*sed per potentiam invisibilis sublimitatis suae.*” Wigbod, *Questiones in Octateuchum* (PL 96:1112D), cf. Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II.4.8 (PL 34: 219-46).

Response to Jews

On a more political note, it is possible that the monotheistic tone of the AP's erasures implies a redactor who wanted to affirm the Jewish communities of the Carolingian empire. Jews had long been contributing members of the Roman Empire with a significant presence in Gaul from at least the fourth century—though they existed in their own marginal spaces, both physically and legally.⁸³ In the eighth century, Charlemagne's father Pepin not only maintained a policy of toleration and judicial autonomy for Jewish citizens, but also issued edicts affirming property rights for the Jewish communities in Southern Gaul.⁸⁴ Pepin's sister allegedly married a Jewish king, which would have required her conversion and likely would have influenced her brother's relation to his own Jewish citizens.⁸⁵

When Charlemagne came to power, he maintained a good relationship with the Jews in Gaul by preserving the policies of his father. Under Charlemagne, new Jewish communities were established. For example, he gave a third of the city of Narbonne in Southern Gaul to the Jews, which contributed to him being celebrated as their protector.⁸⁶ He also took measures to encourage the success of Jewish merchants,⁸⁷ who were valued for their connections to Eastern trade.⁸⁸ Some scholars think that Charlemagne had something to do with the Jewish scholar

⁸³ James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism* (New York: The World Publishing Company; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961), 307-12.

⁸⁴ Bernard Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 66-7.

⁸⁵ Aryeh Graboïs, "Un principaute juive dans la France du midi à la époque carolingienne?" *Annales du Midi* 85.112 (1973): 196, 199; Arthur J. Zuckerman, *Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 122. Noted in Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 164, n. 3.

⁸⁶ Esther Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A history from Late Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 7.

⁸⁷ For example, several scholars have noted the frequency that "Jew" appears among discussions of merchants in Carolingian documents. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 166, n. 25.

⁸⁸ Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, 8.

Kalonymus moving from Lucca to Mainz, as such an acquisition was characteristic of Charlemagne's campaign to draw great thinkers to his court.⁸⁹

Furthermore, by 820 there is evidence of Jews in Aachen, the site of Charlemagne's palace and the center of power during his reign.⁹⁰ Charlemagne had some of the Jews of his court serve as diplomats, as a certain Isaac did to Abbassid Caliph Harun-al-Rashid in Baghdad, returning four years later in 802 with gifts from Harun.⁹¹ In other words, there was a degree of pro-Jewish sentiment in the Carolingian court around the time of the AP's erasures. It is therefore conceivable that the redactor of the Ashburnham Pentateuch made the changes to its Creation page in an effort to present a monotheistic image more consistent with Jewish beliefs. Still, the question remains why a manuscript housed in a Christian monastery library would have, or be anticipated to have, a Jewish viewer to please with this amended image. Not to mention the fact that even though many Jewish communities did have religious images, their depictions of the deity were limited to the hand of God.⁹² Therefore, even the depiction of a single Creator should have been taboo, particularly against the backdrop of medieval Jewish thinkers who wrote against the application of anthropomorphic traits to God, most notably Moses Maimonides in the twelfth century.⁹³ Still, even without a particular Jewish audience, the contact with Judaism in Gaul may have contributed to the erasures of the AP.

⁸⁹ Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 72-3.

⁹⁰ Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans la Monde Occidental, 430-1096* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 17. Noted in Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 166, n. 22.

⁹¹ Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, 8; Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 16-7, 82-3.

⁹² Cf. the discussion of the Kaufmann Mishnah Torah, above.

⁹³ Moses Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. Chaim Rabin (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1995). However, there are exceptions, particularly in the later Middle Ages, as found in the mid-fourteenth-century Sarajevo Haggadah (Sarajevo, National Museum, f. 2). The manuscript's Creation cycle concludes with a robed figure seated on a bench. Some scholars have interpreted this as an anthropomorphic depiction of God resting (Gen. 2:2-3), but it has more recently been argued that the image is meant to be a Jew observing the Sabbath. E.S. Saltman, "The Forbidden Image in Jewish Art," *Journal of Jewish Art* VIII (1981): 48; M. Metzger, *Haggada Enluminée*, I (Leiden, 1973), 258-62. Cited in Herbert R. Broderick, "Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47, Bd. H. 3 (1984): 328. On the Jewish adaptation of Christian

Response to Muslims

The other major monotheistic presence in Europe at this time was of course Islam, which had conquered Iberia by the mid-eighth century. As demonstrated in the debate surrounding the adoptionist controversy, even during the Muslim-occupation of Spain there was a notable transmission of ideas with Gaul. Yitzhak Hen has argued that Spanish Christian transplants to the Frankish court—quite possibly Theodulf of Orléans himself—brought with them the concept of *jihad*, which was then adapted by Charlemagne and his councilors to justify his long bloody invasion, taxing, and forced conversion of the pagan Saxons (which occurred off and on from 772-804), as articulated in the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*.⁹⁴ If Hen's analysis of the *Capitulatio* is correct, it can be taken as significant evidence of the conceptual presence and influence that Islam exercised in Carolingian court culture, albeit in a diffused and controlled manner. If such a distinctly Islamic notion could be adopted by the Carolingians, is it not reasonable to imagine that other elements of Islam also manifested in the Frankish kingdom? Perhaps the threat of Muslim conquest inspired the redactor of the Ashburnham Pentateuch to take the strict monotheism of Islam more seriously, and thus whether the removal of the Son and the Holy Spirit was intended to compete with an Islamic conception of monotheism or to defend against a charge of polytheism, it could have been committed in response—however diffused—to Islam.

iconographic models, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Coping with Christian Sources: What did Jewish Miniaturists *not* Paint?" *Speculum* 75, No. 4 (Oct., 2000): 816-58. There are several depictions of God in Jewish books printed in Western Europe from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including a vignette of Ezekiel's vision on the title page of the *Minhat Shai* (Mantua, 1742), now housed in the Judaica Collection at Yale University.

⁹⁴ Yitzhak Hen, "Charlemagne's Jihad," *Viator* 37 (2006), especially 45-51. *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* (775-790), ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH, *Capitularia regime Francorum* 1 (Hannover 1883) no. 26, 68-70.

Politics and Power

It is no secret that politics and religion were often indivisibly intertwined in the Middle Ages.⁹⁵ Therefore, in exploring possible motivations for the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, we must also consider politics more explicitly. While there is no concrete evidence to suggest that Charlemagne or his son Louis had any direct involvement in the erasures, in some ways, the presentation of a single Creator in the manuscript is consistent with Carolingian conceptions of power and divine kingship.⁹⁶

The tradition of likening Christian rulers with the kings and leaders of the Hebrew Bible dates back to Constantine. Such associations were effective in legitimizing rulership and reinforcing it as divinely ordained. The Carolingians continued to employ this biblical credentialism as Charlemagne conceived of himself as a new David, Aachen as a New Jerusalem, and is said to have modeled his throne after that of Solomon.⁹⁷ King David was an especially useful figure for Charlemagne to assert his own role as head of both the church and state.⁹⁸ Around this time, David was the most popular figure in Psalter prefatory images and was understood to prefigure Christ.⁹⁹ Therefore, by associating himself with David, Charlemagne not

⁹⁵ There are numerous studies on this topic. Some of the most recent include: David S. Bacharach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300-1215* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2003); Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven, eds. *Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages: Germany and England by Comparison* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2013); A.E. Redgate, *Religion, Politics, and Society in Britain, 800-1066* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain, 600-800: Religion Politics, and Society* (New York: Rutledge, 2006). Scholarship on Carolingian politics and religion in particular includes: Alan Doig, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen: Apocalyptic and Apotheosis," in *Bishop Robert Grosseteste and Lincoln Cathedral: Tracing Relationships between Medieval Concepts of Order and Built Form*, ed. Nicholas Temple, John Shannon Hendrix, and Christian Frost (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 179-200; Frank Eyck, *Religion and Politics in German History: From the Beginnings to the French Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

⁹⁶ On Carolingian conceptions of kingship, see, for example, Walter Ulmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (New York: Methuen, 1969), esp. 43-110; Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Making of a European Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁹⁷ Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, 234; Ulmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, 33; Notker the Stammerer, *The Deeds of Charles the Great*, Book 1. 27, trans. Noble in *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, 83.

⁹⁸ Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 226.

⁹⁹ Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, 225.

only invoked a great biblical king, but also implicitly likened himself to Christ. Heinrich Fichtenau suggests that because, “The Spanish theologians almost over-emphasised the identity of Father and Son and the unity of the Trinity,” in response, Carolingian theologians “achieved a compact notion of God” in which Christ was “almost the sole representative of the holy Trinity,” which in turn influenced “any image of earthly rule by king or by emperor.”¹⁰⁰ Charlemagne was also linked to the Father, as in the 775 letter from Cathwulf, which addressed the king as “the viceregent of God,” in contrast to “the bishop [who] is in the second place only, the viceregent of Christ.”¹⁰¹ In the same letter, Cathwulf referred to Charlemagne as both Solomon and David.¹⁰² It should also be noted that the association between God and king was a two-way street, as Carolingians described God as the “true Emperor” and the “good King.”¹⁰³

Despite the abundance of textual articulations of divine kingship during Charlemagne's reign, (extant) images of the emperor are limited to imperial coinage from the year before his death.¹⁰⁴ It was not until the reign of his son Louis the Pious (778-840) that imperial images became more prominent and widespread. One such example is found in Rabanus Maurus' *In honorem sanctae crucis* (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 124, f. 4v, Fig. 75), in which the text of the *carmen figuratum* is overlaid with an image of Louis dressed as a Roman soldier, visually and textually connecting the king with Christ.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire: The Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Peter Munz (New York: Harper, 1957), 49.

¹⁰¹ MGH, *Epp.* IV.503, 3. Translated in Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 77. For more on the role of this letter in Charlemagne's kingship, see Joanna Story, “Cathwulf, Kingship, and the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis,” *Speculum* 74, No. 1 (Jan., 1999): 1-21.

¹⁰² Lawrence Nees suggests a connection between this letter and Carolingian court art in his article, “Godescalc's Career and the Problems of ‘Influence’,” in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. John Lowden and Alixe Bovey (London and Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 21-43.

¹⁰³ E.g., MGH, *Poet.* i, p. 365. Discussed in Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, 47, 53.

¹⁰⁴ Discussed in Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, 208. See also Peter-Hugo Martin, “Eine Goldmünze Karls des Grossen,” *Numismatishces Nachrichtenblatt* 8 (1997): 351-5.

¹⁰⁵ Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, 231. Cf. Elizabeth Sears, “Louis the Pious as *miles Christi*: The Dedicatory Image in Hrabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*,” in *Charlemagne's Heir: New*

Referring to himself as “King by the grace of God” (*gratia Dei rex*), Charles the Bald (823-877) simultaneously asserted his absolute political authority and its divine origins.¹⁰⁶ This was similarly expressed in his visual representations. For example, in a prefatory miniature in his Psalter (Paris, BnF Lat. 1152, 3v, Fig. 76), Charles is seated on a bejeweled throne, dressed in imperial purple and gold, with a scepter in his right hand and a cross-inscribed orb in his left. A gilded hand of God issues from above, as though it has just placed the crown atop Charles’ head. This image appears two pages after the frontispiece that features King David as a musician and no doubt suggested an association between the two. A more elaborate version is found in the Codex Aureus (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14000, f. 5v, Fig. 77), in which Charles is enthroned under a substantial canopy, flanked by four soldiers. The blessing Hand of God appears above his head, but even more significant are the two angels that flank Charles in the upper corners of the page. As William Diebold has observed, angels such as these are common in depictions of Christ enthroned in the *maiestas domini*, and in fact, the only Carolingian instances of angels accompanying a non-divine figure appear in images of Charles the Bald.¹⁰⁷

The Carolingian beginnings of divine kingship were taken to their logical conclusion by the Ottonian rulers that followed them, who conceived of themselves not just as heirs to the empire and divinely appointed in the tradition of David, but as *christomimetai*—impersonators of Christ.¹⁰⁸ About one hundred and fifty years after the erasures of the AP, a vivid manifestation of

Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 605-28.

¹⁰⁶ Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, 40-1.

¹⁰⁷ William Diebold, “The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, No. 1 (Mar., 1994): 9. The other two examples are folio 1 of the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura and on the carved ivory Throne of Peter.

¹⁰⁸ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 65. I am indebted to Laura E. Wangerin, who brought this image of Otto III to my attention and writes about Ottonian conceptions of kingship in her recent dissertation *Tenth Century*

this concept is found in the frontispiece of the Liuthar Gospels (also known as the Aachen Gospels, Aachen Cathedral Treasury, f. 16, Fig. 78).¹⁰⁹ One is immediately struck by the fact that Otto III has clearly supplanted Christ in what would otherwise be a *maiesta domini* image.¹¹⁰ Of this image, Ernst Kantorowicz remarked that, “the emperor's assimilation with Christ is indicated, not by means of facial and physiological resemblance between ruler and divine prototype, but rather by a christological and indeed meta-physiological resemblance: the image...represents the emperor's two natures, human and divine, or rather, a ruler ‘human by nature and divine by grace.’”¹¹¹ Otto III is enthroned, but not bound by terrestrial architecture; rather, the personification of the Earth holds him aloft. At his feet princes, soldiers, and bishops venerate him. But what makes this image distinctive are the attributes borrowed from Christ: the mandorla within which Otto is enthroned; the four evangelists, represented by their apocalyptic symbols, which hover around Otto's head; and the Hand of God, which seems to be either nimbed by a cruciform halo, or inscribed upon a cross, with long fingers that appear to touch the emperor's head.

At the risk of gross oversimplification, we can also interpret the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch against the backdrop of Carolingian conceptions of divine kingship, in which case, the presentation of a single Creator in the AP might have mirrored the exclusive, divinely-appointed sovereignty of the ruler. However, given the close association between Christ

Governance: A Comparative Study of the Ottonians and the Anglo-Saxons, PhD Dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2014), 249-303, and in her forthcoming book.

¹⁰⁹ On the date of the manuscript and identity of the emperor depicted therein, see, for example, Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (1991; London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 59-60 and Eliza Garrison, *Ottoman Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 39.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, 3, f. 12v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bibl. 140, f. 10v; Cambrai, Bibliothèque de Ville, 386, f. 11v.

¹¹¹ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 65.

and the king, the erasure of Christ makes this theory unsatisfactory—unless of course, the redactor actually intended to erase the Father, a possibility discussed in the next section.

Iconographic Considerations

In addition to theological and political motives, we must also assess the influence that contemporaneous images might have had on the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation figures. As discussed in Chapter Four, Carolingian biblical commentaries and theological treatises reveal a particular concern for maintaining the unity of the Trinity and the incorporeal presence of the Father and Holy Spirit. This concern is reflected in Carolingian depictions of Creation, which present only the Logos as Creator (e.g., the Moutier-Grandval Bible, the Vivian Bible, the Stuttgart Psalter), as discussed in Chapter Three. Thus, the Ashburnham Pentateuch's erasures could be interpreted as an attempt to conform the image to the iconographic expectations of the period. Perhaps the undiscerning redactor was more concerned with presenting a *single* figure as the Creator than with which particular person he erased—which would account for the inconsistency in removing three Sons and one Father.

On the other hand, it may have been the case that the redactor actually *did* intend to erase the Father, but was unfamiliar with late antique iconographic conventions, or, rather, lack of conventions. Instead, he was accustomed to medieval depictions of Christ “seated at the right hand of the Father,” as in the Utrecht Psalter (ff. 64v and 90, Fig. 32) and the Stuttgart Psalter (f. 127v, Fig. 64), based on the Nicene Creed and biblical passages such as Psalm 110:1 (Psalm 109:1 Vulgate), Matthew 26:64, Mark 16:19, Acts 7:55, and Hebrews 8:1. If he assumed the use of this iconographic convention, the redactor could have reasonably assumed the figure on the

left (i.e., the viewer's right) to be the Father.¹¹² This mistake led the redactor to erase the left-hand figure of each pair, inadvertently removing the very person he aimed to preserve. Because the other figures of divinity in the manuscript only appear as a single figure in each instance—and therefore are able to be interpreted as the Logos—the redactor did not need to erase them.

An issue with this theory is that—according to Narkiss—the redactor would have been able to distinguish between the Father and Son because the Father was depicted with a beard while the Son was not.¹¹³ In the manuscript's current state, it is difficult to verify whether that was in fact the case. The first extant Father figure is too damaged to confirm, though the second and third extant Father figures still have visible beards. The fourth extant figure, the Son, does seem to have been beardless, as his face lacks even remnants of the vertical brushstrokes seen in the other figures' beards, but it too is severely damaged, making a definitive answer impossible. In contrast to the other three extant figures, the fourth extant figure is the only one that has a pinkish-flesh colored face, which also seems to be more round than the others, perhaps indicating that it is indeed distinct from the other three.

Carolingian Image Theory/Theology of the Image

Another essential facet, which intertwines with each of the above explanations, is the Carolingian conception of what images can and cannot do, discussed above in Chapter Five. Regardless of the particular theological point(s) that inspired the erasures of the AP's Creation page, at the root of the decision was a belief that images have influential power and can easily mislead an unsuspecting viewer (which then necessitates that incorrect images be corrected), as

¹¹² My thanks to the Medieval Research Group in Minneapolis, MN, for their warm reception of my presentation on this topic and the lively discussion that led to this theory.

¹¹³ Narkiss, "Towards a Further Study," 50; *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 329.

well as an assumption that images are subordinate to the authority of the written word.¹¹⁴ As Theodulf of Orléans asserted in his *Opus Caroli Regis*, images are permissible for their ability to educate and decorate, but their significance ends there.¹¹⁵ According to Theodulf, only the images and objects that were commanded and blessed by God have the ability to mediate divine presence. These holy things (*res sacratae*) include the Ark of the Covenant, liturgical vessels, the eucharist, the cross, and Scripture.¹¹⁶ Unconsecrated man-made images, on the other hand, do not participate in any spiritual reality nor are they capable of elevating a person's devotion. Thus, in a sense, Carolingian image theory was just as, if not more, responsible for the erasures of the AP as the desire to present a particular Trinitarian doctrine was.

Conclusion

Having assessed several possible explanations for the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, let us conclude by drawing these threads together. In the end one must return to the physical evidence. The starting point was a luxurious sixth-century manuscript, possibly of Italian origins, that depicted the Father and Son four times, accompanied by a single depiction of the Holy Spirit as a winged man. In its original sixth-century context, this anthropomorphic depiction of the Trinity may have been conceived of as a triumphant jab at the Arians, who had recently been pushed out of power in Italy. At a later date and place—likely early- to mid-ninth century Tours, France—that image was drastically altered when three of the Sons, one Father, and the Holy Spirit were erased and painted over.

¹¹⁴ E.g., OCR II.30.

¹¹⁵ E.g., OCR *Preface*; II.13.

¹¹⁶ E.g., OCR III.24; IV.13.

À la Michael Camille, I have argued here for an understanding of manuscript erasures as embodied responses.¹¹⁷ In the course of this dissertation, I have demonstrated that the particular combination of the mode and target of erasure in the Ashburnham Pentateuch reveals something significant about the redactor's motivations. The erasures and overpainting were not characteristic of the frantic responses of a superstitious reader or of the cool blade of a (much later) collector. Rather, they were the movements of a calculated corrector, someone who sought to preserve and continue to use the Pentateuch. It seems safe to say that the redactor did not intend the inconsistency of presenting three Fathers and one Son, but rather almost certainly intended to leave behind a single Creator. Whether he meant it to be the Father or the Son is still uncertain, though preserving the Son would be more consistent with the Carolingian iconographic context.

In the process of investigating possible motivations for these erasures, we must also consider which is most important to the historian: what actually happened, or what people thought happened? In this case, which matters more: what the person actually erased (which we know from the physical evidence), or what they thought they were erasing (which is perhaps impossible to identify)? The motivations for the erasures may remain an intriguing mystery—indeed, the Ashburnham Pentateuch has kept its secrets for over one thousand years—but the very fact of the figures' removal is a valuable source in its own right. Despite the uniqueness of the erasures (on account of their either unorthodox or mistaken nature), they are in many ways consistent with the theological climate at the time. They demonstrate a great care for theological orthodoxy—however conceived by the historical individual behind the erasures—and an attention to detail that was characteristic of the Carolingian reforms.

¹¹⁷ Camille, "Obscenity under Erasure," 140.

The early ninth century, and the eighth century before it, was a time of religious, political, and cultural complexity. A variety of factors could have contributed to the erasures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch's Creation image, ranging from a Carolingian response to the iconoclastic controversy in the East to adoptionism in Muslim-occupied Spain in the West. In fact, it may never be possible to name with any certainty the precise motivation behind these erasures. However, that may not be so bad after all—indeed, it may even be appropriate. In that respect, I suggest that it was perhaps not one particular theological point or controversy that motivated the redactor, but instead that he was acting out of the complex milieu of theological and political change and strife of his time. His actions reveal a concern for theological orthodoxy, iconographic consistency, and political stability. While there was a diversity of theological concerns in the early ninth century, including the debates over the *Filioque*, Gottschalk's *trina deitas*, and adoptionism, the Carolingian position and response in each of these conversations was characterized by a drive to preserve the absolute unity of the Trinity; the Son was often used as a physical representation of the Trinity. This emphasis and the Carolingian theology of the image were also reflected in images of Creation, which depicted the Logos as the sole Creator, and images of the Trinity, which were never anthropomorphic.

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE: THE AFTERLIVES OF THE ASHBURNHAM PENTATEUCH

The Afterlives of the Ashburnham Pentateuch

As with so many medieval manuscripts, the Ashburnham Pentateuch enjoyed something of an extended life as it was reimagined and repurposed—beginning with the liturgical notations that were added early on,¹ then its role as inspiration for some Carolingian Genesis images, and most clearly as a model for the frescoes in St. Julien at Tours. After considering the AP's influence in the ninth and eleventh centuries, the following pages will briefly trace the life of the AP beyond the Middle Ages, while also noting developments in Trinitarian images. Finally, this chapter will conclude with recommendations for future study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

The Bibles at Tours

In addition to eliciting the erasures that have been the focus of this dissertation, the Ashburnham Pentateuch also seems to have inspired copies to varying degrees. In the Carolingian era, this influence can be seen most clearly in the Genesis frontispieces of Bibles, mostly from Tours.² In the AP, Eve is presented nursing in the top register of the folio (f. 6, Fig. 8), seated on a bench beneath a dense green canopy.³ A postlapsarian makeover has given her drawn-up hair and purple garments. She is flanked by scenes of Adam and Eve after the

¹ CLA, V, No. 693a.

² See Chapter Three above for a detailed description of these full-page miniatures. Dorothy Verkerk cites Rand that one of the possible influences of the AP on Carolingian manuscripts is the rediscovery of the late antique ruling technique around the same time that the manuscript came to Tours. E. K. Rand, *Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1929), 17, 82, cited in Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 52, n. 20.

³ It is interesting to note that images of Eve nursing disappear after the AP was used as a model for manuscripts at Tours in the ninth century and do not appear again until the early eleventh century, when an image of Eve nursing appears on the Hildesheim doors, around the same time that the AP was used as a model for the frescoes at St. Julien at Tours. Could there be a connection between the AP and the later production of images of Eve nursing?

Expulsion and Cain and Abel making their offerings to God; Eve's role as mother is presented here as an introduction to the murder of Abel—that is, as further evidence of the consequences of her sin, which in turn is in keeping with the Church Fathers' conception of her role as counterpart to the Virgin Mary.⁴

In contrast, the Carolingian depictions of Eve nursing are visually linked to the Creation of Adam and Eve, and not to their postlapsarian lives, and unlike the AP's more organic, seemingly haphazard vignettes (discussed above in Chapter Two), the Carolingian manuscripts (discussed above in Chapter Three) present their Creation images in clearly delineated registers. Still, a striking similarity is found in the depictions of Eve. For example, the Moutier-Grandval Bible (BL Add. 10546, f. 5v, Fig. 44) depicts Eve in the center of the bottom register of the miniature, seated on a mound of earth, partially draped in a red garment as she nurses an infant. The artist has framed her with two upright branches between which hangs a garland. As mentioned above, while Eve nursing appears at the end of the Garden narrative in contrast to the AP's location of the scene at the beginning of Cain and Abel's story, an interesting minute detail in the Grandval scene still links Eve with the fratricide. Just to the right of Eve, directly below the end of the garland, two tiny figures—one with his arm raised above his head—hover in the field of blue. In a 1967 article, Kessler identified this “unnoticed scene” as Cain's murder of Abel and concludes by speculating that, “Perhaps [the illustrator] intended to remind those who studied his work carefully that the child so peacefully nursed by Eve, would some day, like his mother, introduce sin into the world.”⁵ Although the overall presentation of the Genesis narrative differs from that of the AP, the artist of the Grandval Bible transferred the interpretation

⁴ As I argued in my presentation “*Eva Lactans*: Milk, Motherhood, and the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” at the *Gender and Transgressions in the Middle Ages* postgraduate conference at St. Andrews in 2013. E.g., Tertullian, *On the Soul* 43.10; Augustine of Hippo, *City of God* II:37 (24); Augustine, *Letters 211-270, 1-29*, Letter 243, p. 169.

⁵ Herbert L. Kessler, “An Unnoticed Detail in the Grandval Bible,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 17 (1967): 119.

presented in the AP through the insertion of this tiny detail—a visual footnote, if you will.

The image of Eve in the Vivian Bible (Paris, BnF, lat. 1, f. 10v, Fig. 46) differs slightly in that she holds her child facing outward and is not feeding him; her left hand is raised as if in speech or blessing. Indeed, the presentation is very similar to images of Mary holding the infant Christ. Though the Vivian's Eve is seated on a little hill (as in the Grandval, but unlike the bench in the AP), she is dressed in a similar manner to Eve in the AP. In the Vivian Bible the leafy canopy or garland has been replaced with the foliage of the two trees that frame Eve.

Finally, a few decades later, the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, s.n., f. 8v, Fig. 50) places Eve nursing in the bottom register of its Genesis frontispiece alongside the Expulsion. In this instance, Adam, tilling the earth, and Eve, seated on a small mound, are both framed by a leafy garland strung between two branches; dressed only in rough animal hides, their appearance is more akin to conceptions of John the Baptist or Mary Magdalene—their trials are visible in their garb and posture. Eve nurses her child with a hand on his leg and arm, though the stiff gesture lacks the warmth or intimacy and appears more to be the posture of bracing for a difficult task.

In his 1967 article, as well as his dissertation, Kessler follows Wilhelm Köhler's suggestion that the Cotton Genesis (British Museum, Cotton Otho B VI) was the model for the Grandval Bible;⁶ Kessler states that, "The creation of this handsome frontispiece, therefore, represents a significant innovation of the ninth century Tournian artist who united the individual scenes of the model into an impressive full page illustration."⁷ Although he initially

⁶ Wilhelm Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1/2: *Die Schule von Tours* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1933), 118 ff; Herbert L. Kessler, "The Sources and Construction of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas, and Apocalypse Frontispiece Illustrations in the Ninth-Century Tournian Bibles," PhD dissertation (Princeton University, 1965), 21. See also, Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁷ Kessler, "An Unnoticed Detail," 113.

denied the influence of the AP on Carolingian manuscripts,⁸ Herbert Kessler later acknowledged that the Ashburnham Pentateuch may have influenced the Grandval Bible, stating that, “The [motif of Eve nursing under a bower] may well have been derived from the Ashburnham Pentateuch...”⁹ While the images of Eve described above would not be mistaken for one another, as each is rendered in a distinctive style, their similarity to one another and to that of the AP is apparent. Therefore, rather than chalk it up to some lost model, I suggest that it is just as if not more likely that the AP was the inspiration for these images (whether directly or via the Grandval).

The possible influence of the AP on Carolingian manuscripts also raises the question of what constitutes medieval originality. In the quotation cited above, Kessler believed that the Grandval illustrator compiled the individual images of the Cotton Genesis model into a single full-page miniature. I suggest here that it is just as likely that the artist referenced the images of the AP, which though more organic in organization, bear a closer resemblance in terms of visual presentation by including several scenes in one miniature, within a loosely linear structure. In an

⁸ “In the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Nouv. Acq. lat. 2334, fol. 6r), Eve is shown in a bower nursing her child in the sequence of scenes tracing the history of Cain and Abel. *Because there is evidence that the Ashburnham Pentateuch was already in Tours during the ninth century, it is tempting to see its direct influence in the Touronian Bibles. This, however, is unlikely.* First, we would have to assume that, independently, four artists consulted the same new model for the single motif of Eve nursing her child. Second, the Ashburnham and Touronian scenes are distinctly different. In the former, Eve sits on a bench within a shelter consisting of a flat roof supported on four poles, while in the latter, she is seated on the ground under a bower made of a garland draped in the trees or suspended from two poles. Thus the model constructed from the Carolingian copies does not conform to the Ashburnham Pentateuch. Third, as we shall note below, the motif of Eve in a bower has a specific textual basis which also explains other details in the Carolingian depictions. *It is our conclusion, therefore, that this element was found already in the same model used for the other Genesis scenes in the Touronian Bibles, even though we cannot demonstrate with parallel examples that Eve appeared in the Cotton Genesis recension nursing her child in the scene of Labor after the Expulsion.* Such an image would be proleptic, for the actual conception and birth of Cain and Abel is recorded only in Gen. 4 and it would be understandable if later copyists replaced it with a depiction more consistent with the flow of narrative.” Herbert Kessler, “*Hic Homo Formatur: The Genesis Frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles*,” *The Art Bulletin* 53, No. 2 (Jun., 1971): 151 (emphasis added). Several pages later in the same article, Kessler seems to contradict himself or at the very least to temper his previous statement: “Most important and quite possibly directly influential on the Carolingian Bibles is the Ashburnham Pentateuch which was probably known to the ninth-century artists at Tours. [...] Whether the Ashburnham Pentateuch actually inspired the Touronian artist remains an open question” (159).

⁹ Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 161.

argument made for the originality of medieval artists more than twenty years ago, Lawrence Nees mentions Hanns Swarenski's term "creative copying," which refers to the artistic process of adapting and often combining models in novel ways.¹⁰ Indeed, this seems to have been the case not only with the artist of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, who had precedent for his own Creation image in late antique anthropomorphic depictions of the Trinity, but also for the artists of the Carolingian Genesis frontispieces discussed above, who were informed by their own precedents, such as the Cotton Genesis and the AP, and created something distinctively their own.

Carolingian canon tables also seem to have been modeled after the chapter lists of the AP, as mentioned above in Chapter Five. They bear lists separated by marble columns, which are capped with Corinthian capitals, upon which pairs of birds often perch. The table arches are decorated with pearls and other jewels (cf. Figs. 57 and 58).¹¹

In other words, despite its problematic anthropomorphic representation of the Trinity at Creation, the AP was valued by the Carolingians; this is evidenced not only in the nature of their careful "correction" of the Creation folio, but also in the use of the AP as inspiration for their own manuscript images.

The Frescoes at Tours

Careful examination of the pages of the AP reveals indented lines in the vellum around some of the figures on ff. 1v (Fig. 3), 6 (Fig. 8), 9 (Fig. 79), 10v (Fig. 60), and 68 (Fig. 12).¹²

Because all of the elements of the Creation image (Fig. 3) were traced with the sole exception of

¹⁰ Lawrence Nees, "The Originality of Early Medieval Artists," in *Literacy, Politics, and Artistic Innovation in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Celia Chazelle (Lanham, Md.; New York; and London, 1992), 91-2.

¹¹ May Vieillard-Troiekouff, "Tables de Canons et Stucs Carolingiens: Le décor architectural et anicônique des bibles de Théodulfe et celui de l'église de Germigny-des-Prés," 159.

¹² Narkiss leaves off f. 68 from this list, but based on my personal inspection of the manuscript, I believe it should be included; that it was traced is also consistent with the folio being used as a model at St. Julien, discussed here. Cf. Bezalel Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham* (Valencia: Ediciones Patrimonio, 2007), 329, n. 13.

the figures that were erased and overpainted, the tracing likely dates to sometime after the erasures. David Wright has suggested that this occurred “probably in the middle of the ninth century, just as two figures in the Vatican Vergil were traced at Tours to serve as part of the audience for St. Paul preaching in the Vivian Bible of around 846.”¹³ Near the end of the eleventh century, the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the tracings, or even copies made from them, were used as a model for the frescoes at the abbey church of St. Julien at Tours.¹⁴ Because of the damaged state of the frescoes, André Grabar concluded that the 1892 watercolors by L. Ypermann are the most reliable source for their content (Fig. 80).

Based on Ypermann’s images of the west tower frescoes, the links to the AP are immediately evident. The entire top register of the fresco depicts the crossing of the Red Sea; the most notable similarity to the AP is Pharaoh’s white horse, which stands on the shore with his head turned away (cf. AP f. 68, Fig. 12). The bottom register of the fresco depicts four scenes: Moses on Mt. Sinai, Moses breaking the tablets, the Levites killing idolaters, and the Ark of the Covenant in the wilderness. Although the top of this scene is damaged, obscuring the center of the clouds atop the mountain, it is clear that the composition has been copied from the same scene as depicted on folio 76 of the AP (Fig. 7); the distinctive layered and flame-like shape of the mountains is foregrounded. As in the AP, God (though his face in the fresco is lost) addresses Moses from the center of a white cloud from which emerge wavy rays.

The next two scenes (Moses breaking the tablets and the Levites killing the idolaters) also bear some damage; they do not have a corresponding page in the AP as it survives. However,

¹³ David H. Wright, “Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69, BD., H. 3 (2006): 412-3; “When the Vatican Vergil was in Tours,” in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800 1250, Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), 53-66.

¹⁴ “Mais un fait inattendu donne à ces peintures des Tours une importance considérable. Il se trouve, en effet, que ces fresques s’insèrent directement de plusieurs miniatures de célèbre Pentateuque de Tours (Bibl. Nat. nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334)...” André Grabar, “Fresques Romanes copiées sur les Miniatures du Pentateuque de Tours,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 9 (1957): 331.

Grabar suggested that, because the frescoes follow the model of the AP so closely, it is likely that the manuscript bore images like these in its original state.¹⁵ About a decade later, Annabelle Simon Cahn proposed that the fragmentary widow page (currently bound between folios 133v and 134, but hypothesized by Grabar to belong between folios 69v and 70) was organized in two registers, which were intended to be read counterclockwise, beginning in the upper lefthand corner: “It began with Moses’ descent and was punctuated by the altar with the Golden Calf in the upper register and contained the Execution of the Idolators in the lower register. What survives on the widow is a portion of the altar and several Levites.”¹⁶ Not only did the artist of the frescoes shift the scenes from the vertical example of the AP to the horizontal orientation dictated by the space of the wall, but he also “further modified his model and inverted the scenes of the Worshipping of the Golden Calf and Moses breaking the Tablets of the Law,”¹⁷ in another example of medieval “creative copying.”

The fourth scene in the fresco depicts the Ark of the Covenant in the wilderness and is a close copy of the same scene in the bottom register of folio 76 in the AP (Fig. 7). The Ark is raised on a platform in the center of the Tabernacle, its centrality emphasized by the chandelier that hangs overhead. It is framed by a series of pillars, an effect that is reinforced by the white and colored curtains, which are drawn back in exactly the same manner as those in the manuscript.

That the Ashburnham Pentateuch would be so faithfully followed as a model for

¹⁵ “Mais comme toutes les autres images de Saint-Julien suivent les miniatures de ce manuscrit, on serait tenté de l’admettre aussi pour les deux épisodes de l’Adoration du veau d’or (avec Moïse brisant les tables de la Loi et l’exécution des idolâtres par les lévites). L’hypothèse est d’autant plus plausible que dans son état actuel, le Pentateuque présente une lacune à l’endroit même où aurait dû se trouver l’illustration qui correspond à la partie envisagée de la fresque de Saint-Julien.” Grabar, “Fresques Romanes,” 332, 338. See also Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 320; “Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22 (1972): 19-38.

¹⁶ Annabelle Simon Cahn, “A Note: The Missing Model of the Saint-Julien de Tours Frescoes and the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 16 (1966): 206.

¹⁷ Cahn, “A Note,” 206.

monumental art in a public setting is a clear indication of the continued appreciation for the manuscript in France.

Ex Libris: Professor Libri and the Ashburnham Pentateuch

After being literally and figuratively elevated by its use as a model for the frescoes at St. Julien, the Ashburnham Pentateuch enjoyed a rather quiet existence for several centuries in the library at St. Gatien, with occasional modifications by way of notations, cropping, and rebinding. Like other monastery libraries during and shortly after the French Revolution (1789-99), the collection of St. Gatien—including the AP—was transferred to the local municipal library, where it remained for about fifty years until it disappeared in 1842.¹⁸ Five years later, one professor Guglielmo Libri sold 1,923 manuscripts, including the AP, to the Earl of Ashburnham.¹⁹ Scholars believe that while the AP was still in Libri's possession, he erased the identifying *sancti gatii* inscription at the bottom of folio 5 and added a Greek inscription attributing it to the Roman monastery of Grotta Ferrata on folio 116v, apparently in an attempt to conceal the manuscript's true origins.²⁰ Libri also had the AP bound in a "pseudo-antique binding with cedar-wood boards held together by two cross-bars to prevent them from bending, a technique used in wooden Byzantine icons," after coming under suspicion of theft in 1845 and fleeing to England.²¹ In 1883, the German art historian Oscar von Gebhardt published a facsimile of the manuscript at the request of the Earl, perhaps in an attempt to get a better price from the British Museum; however, the sale was prevented by Léopold Delisle, the Chief Administrator of the Bibliothèque

¹⁸ Oscar von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London: Asher and Co., 1883), 1.

¹⁹ Gebhardt, *The Miniatures*, 2. On the professor, see P. A. Maccioni Ruju and M. Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802-1869): Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist, and Thief, A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 1995).

²⁰ Gebhardt, *The Miniatures*, 3; Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 322; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 58.

²¹ Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 322.

Nationale de France, who, in the Parisian journal *Les Temps*, identified the AP as the stolen Pentateuque de Tours.²² Five years later, the AP was returned to France to be housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, where it remains in the Grand Reserve to this day.²³

It is interesting to note that shortly after the publication of Oscar von Gebhardt's facsimile, images of the AP were featured in *LIFE* magazine. Indeed, the manuscript has continually been of interest to scholars on account of its captivating illustrations; moreover, as this dissertation has demonstrated, the production and modification of its Creation image are prime examples of the changing theology of the image during the transition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages, a period of which it is a physical embodiment. More specifically, the AP is singular in its Western representation of the Holy Spirit as a winged man and it also boasts one of only a few extant images of all three persons of the Trinity being depicted at Creation. But it has not only managed to hold the attention of academics for over a century—the dramatic details of its theft from and return to France have also made it the subject of public intrigue as well. And despite its probable Italian origins, it has long been adopted as an item of French culture, as evidenced by consistent efforts to change its name officially from the “Ashburnham Pentateuch” to the “Pentateuque de Tours.”²⁴

²² Léopold Delisle, “Les très anciens manuscrits du fonds Libri dans les collections d’Ashburnham Place,” *Les Temps* (25 Fév. 1883); Narkiss, *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, 322; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 58.

²³ Maccioni Ruju and Mostert, *The Life and Times*, 325-31; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 58.

²⁴ One of the most insistent expressions of this sentiment is provided by André Grabar: “...du célèbre Pentateuque de Tours (Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat., 2334), celui qu’on devrait cesser d’appeler Pentateuque Ashburnham: ce collectionneur anglais n’en avait-il pas été propriétaire – à la suite d’un vol. en 1842, qu’il avait d’ailleurs ignoré – que pendant une quarantaine d’années: tandis que la présence de ce manuscrit à Tours est attestée pendant plus de mille ans, du IX^e au XIX^e siècle.” Grabar, “Fresques Romanes,” 331. See also, “Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Pentateuque de Tours),” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969): 45; H. J. van Ginhoven, “Le Miniaturiste du Pentateuque de Tours ou Pentateuque d’Ashburnham et sa méthode de travail (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334),” *Cahiers archéologiques* 42 (1994): 61; cited in Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, 58, n. 36.

Trinitarian Images in Medieval Art and into Modern Oblivion

As we consider the long-term influence of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, it is also worth looking forward to the development of Trinitarian iconography. As discussed in Chapter Three, in the years that coincided with and followed the erasures of the Creation page in the early ninth century, Carolingian artists relied on symbolic depictions of the Trinity, never employing an anthropomorphic representation of all three persons. Carolingian Creation images were always limited to the Logos.

After the Creation image of the Ashburnham Pentateuch in the late sixth century, the next anthropomorphic image does not appear until about 1012 in the Grimbald Gospels (London, British Library, MS Add. 34890, f. 114v, Fig. 81). At the top of John's author portrait, three identical figures hold books or scrolls in their left hands. They are enthroned within three medallions, which are each held aloft by four angels. Only the central figure is distinguished by a cruciform halo. In addition to the *Filioque* controversy and resulting schism in 1054, this image and subsequent examples like it coincided with an increasing devotion to the Trinity in the development of new offices, masses, and feasts.²⁵ An Office of the Holy Trinity was composed in the early tenth century by Stephen of Limoges, but it was not assigned its official date of celebration (on the first Sunday after Pentecost) until the early fourteenth century.²⁶ From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, illustrated devotions to the Trinity also became standard

²⁵ See François Boespflug and Yolanta Zaluska, "Le dogme trinitaire et l'essor de son iconographie en Occident de l'époque carolingienne au IV^e Concile du Latran (1215)," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 37^e année, n. 147 (Juillet-Septembre 1994): 181-240.

²⁶ See, for example, Ritva Jonsson, *Historia: Études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 15 (Stockholm, 1968), 115-83; Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinische Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1991), 3: 421-29, cited in Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug, "Performing Latin Verse: Text and Music in Early Medieval Versified Offices," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 278-9; Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 2nd ed. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2005), 509, 590, 694.

components of books of hours (e.g., Fig. 82).²⁷ It is said that Pope Urban VIII forbid three-faced depictions of the Trinity in 1628, but this information is only preserved in secondary sources. In 1745, Pope Benedict XIV issued the brief *Sollicitudini Nostrae*, which describes three categories of Trinitarian images: the approved symbolic images (as in images of the baptism of Christ), the tolerated images of three similar persons (as found on early Christian sarcophagi and the AP), and the prohibited monstrous depictions, such as one body with three heads or faces (e.g., Fig. 2).²⁸ However, such prohibited images continued to be produced in popular art into the nineteenth century, as found in the work of artists such as Fridolin Leiber.

Future Scholarship

It has been the goal of this dissertation to make a contribution to the study of early medieval art through its survey of Trinitarian images and theological writings. This dissertation also adds to the formidable but still small body of scholarship dedicated to the Ashburnham Pentateuch by furthering the understanding of the manuscript's reception and influence in the Middle Ages. That said, there is still much to be done.

In his 2006 review of Dorothy Verkerk's monograph on the AP, David H. Wright lamented that, "there has never been a responsible codicological treatment of it."²⁹ One year later, Bezalel Narkiss published his commentary on the facsimile of the AP, in which he devotes a forty-page appendix to codicology and to paleography. Whether his commentary can be described as "responsible" is another story as none of his colleagues have confirmed his early

²⁷ E.g., Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 28 and plates 10, 12, 14, 92, and 94.

²⁸ Jan Hallebeek, "Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity. On the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity," in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity*, Second Conference of Church Historians Utrecht, ed. Willem van Asselt, Paul van Geest, Daniela Müller, Theo Salemink (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 372.

²⁹ Wright, "Review of Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*," 411.

dating of the manuscript, nor, as with Verkerk's book, his Roman attribution. Nonetheless, Narkiss certainly knew the manuscript well, having studied it for almost forty years; his passion for the AP was clear in his scholarship, and while many of his most interesting claims about the AP leave the reader wanting more or better evidence, it can be said without a doubt that Narkiss brought deserved-attention to the manuscript and pushed the conversation forward.

The exact date and origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch continue to elude us, but perhaps not forever. As David Ganz has recommended, a careful study of the manuscript's inscriptions is a possible avenue for dating; comparisons with the Vatican multivolume Vulgate edition might yield more information about the use of biblical language and possible implications. Additionally, a promising digital tool is currently being developed at Yale University as part of the Mellon-funded Digitally Enabled Scholarship of Medieval Manuscripts (begun in 2012).³⁰ A sub-project headed by Alistair Minnis uses hyperspectral imaging to analyze inks and pigments. This computer program has already yielded preliminary benefits in the study of Middle English manuscript production, particularly in terms of distinguishing scribal hands. Such technology could assist in similarly understanding the production of the Ashburnham Pentateuch—for example, the relationship between the inscriptions, drawings, and text of the manuscript. Another point of interest is an upcoming exhibit at the Musée de Cluny in Paris, which in the fall of 2016 will host an exhibit of the BnF's Merovingian works, including the Ashburnham Pentateuch. It is possible that with the additional attention cultivated by the exhibit, the BnF will be able to fund chemical testing of the pigment of folio 1v, which may shed some light on the date of the erasures. However, the proverbial clock is ticking because, as with all of us mortals, the manuscript only continues to deteriorate.

³⁰ Information this project can be found at: <http://ydc2.yale.edu/research-support/digitally-enabled-scholarship-medieval-manuscripts>. A status report was presented at the 50th Annual Conference for the International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI on May 17, 2015.

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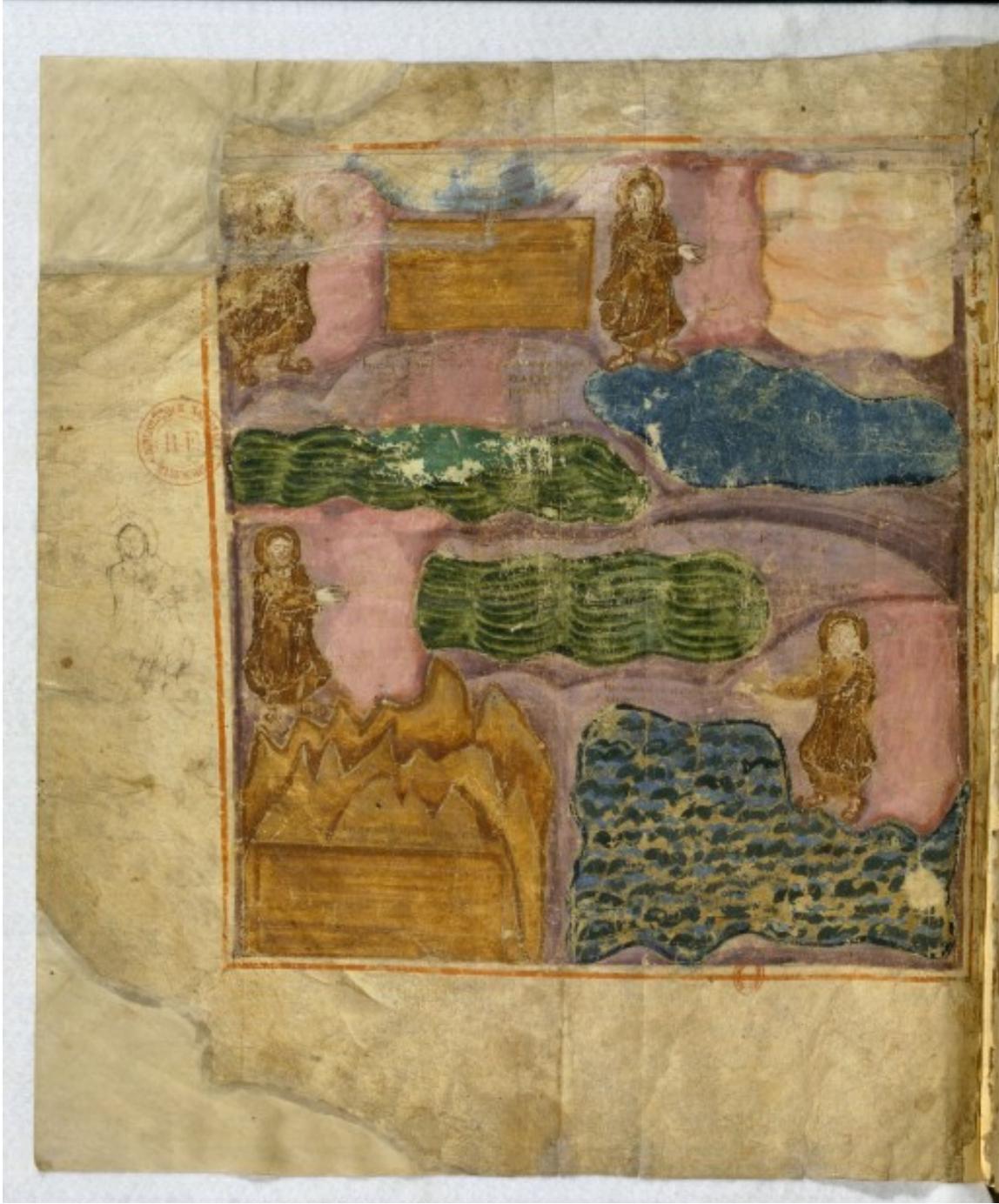
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1. Andrei Rublev, *The Holy Trinity*, 1425



3. Creation, Ashburnham Pentateuch, Paris, BnF, NAL 2334, f. 1v



4. Reconstruction of upper left half of folio 1v (figure 3 on p. 52 of Bezalel Narkiss, "Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Pentateuque de Tours)," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, Vol. XIX (1969): 45-60).



5. Plague of the Firstborn, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f.65v



6. Jacob and Esau, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 25



7. Moses Receiving the Law, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 76



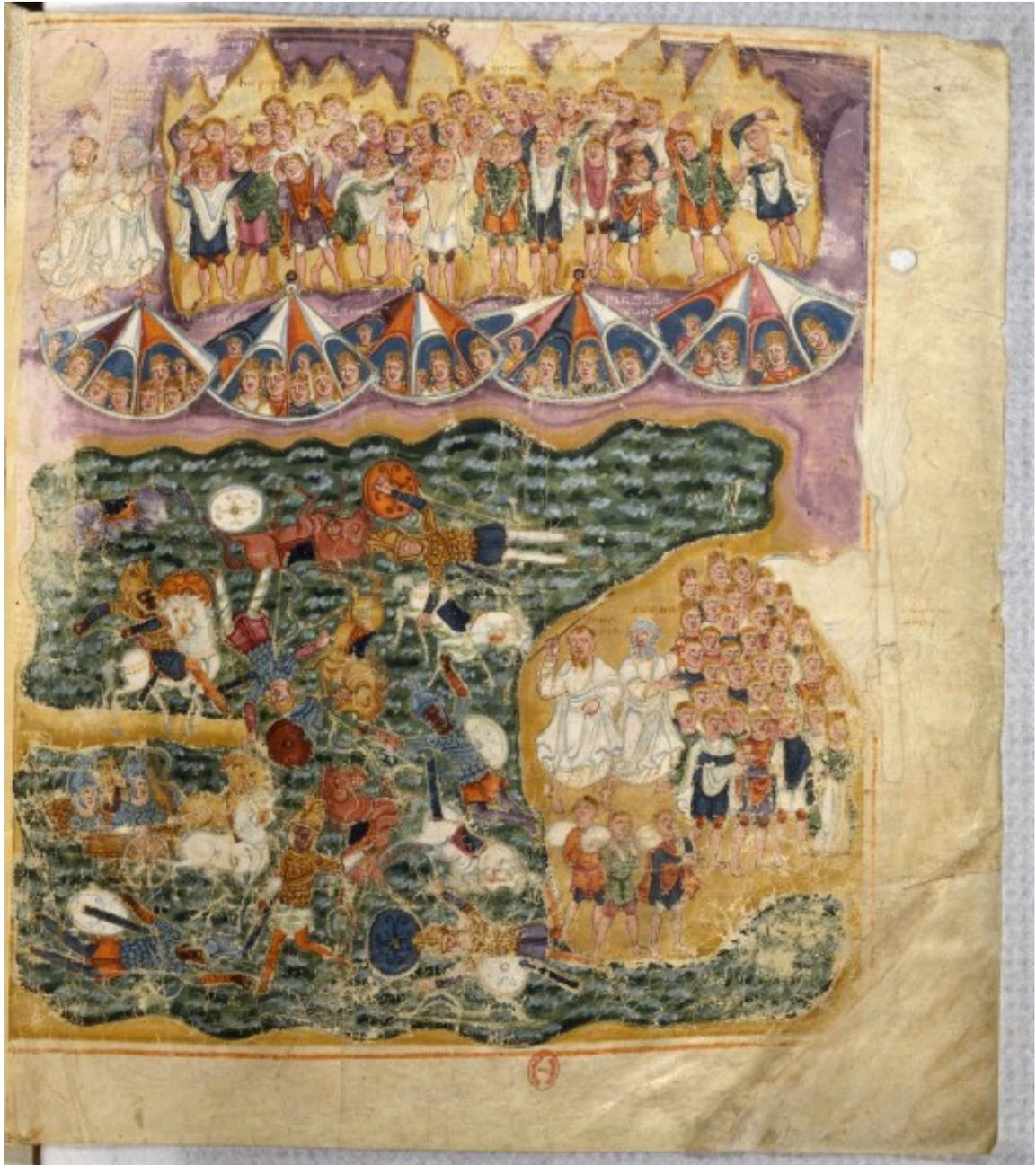
8. Cain and Abel, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 6



9. Rebecca Praying, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 22v



10. Increased Oppression, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 58



12. Crossing of the Red Sea, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 68



13. Arles Sarcophagus (and detail), Musée de l'Arles Antique



15. Sarcophagus fragment, Rome, 4th c.



16. Sarcophagus, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (detail)



17. Hospitality of Abraham, Via Latina Catacomb, Rome



18. Hospitality of Abraham, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome



19. Hospitality of Abraham, San Vitale, Ravenna



20. Reliquary, Museo Pio Cristiano, Rome, 4th-5th c



21. Baptism of Christ, ivory plaque, British Museum, 6th c



22. Egyptian terracotta lamp, Benaki Museum, Athens



23. Creation, Cotton Genesis, London, British Library, Cott. Otho. B. VI, f. 1 (17th c. watercolor made for Peiresc by Daniel Rabel. Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Fr. 9530, folio 32r)



24. Creation, Vienna Genesis, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Theol. Gr. 31, ff. 1-1v (detail)



25. Martyrdom of Stephen, Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, BnF, Lat. 9428, f. 27 (detail)



26. Collect for the Mass of Pentecost, Drogo Sacramentary, f. 78 (detail)



27. Moses Receiving the Law, Moutier-Grandval Bible, BL Add. 10546, f. 25v



28. Christ giving the Law, Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 14 (detail)



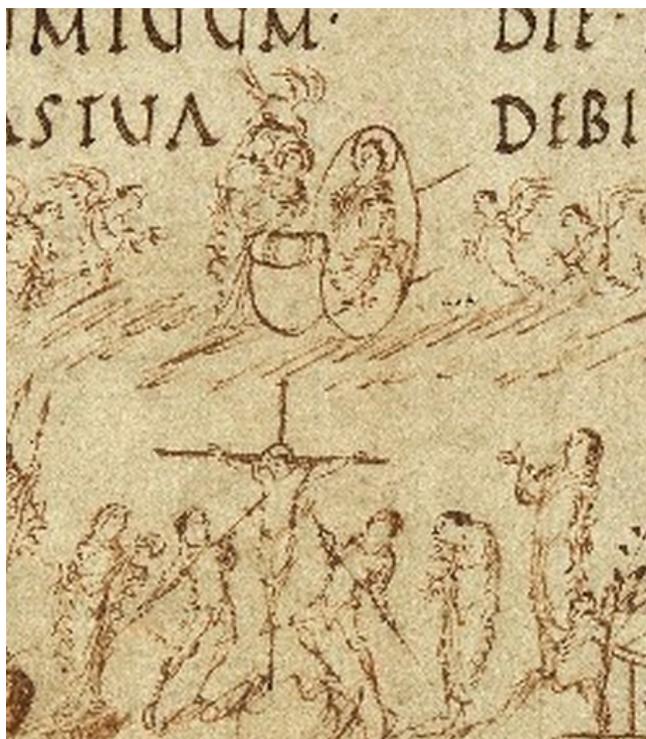
29. *Te Deum*, Utrecht Psalter, f. 88 (detail)



30. Baptism of Christ, gem engraving, Freiburg



31. Baptism of Christ, ivory book cover, Antwerp

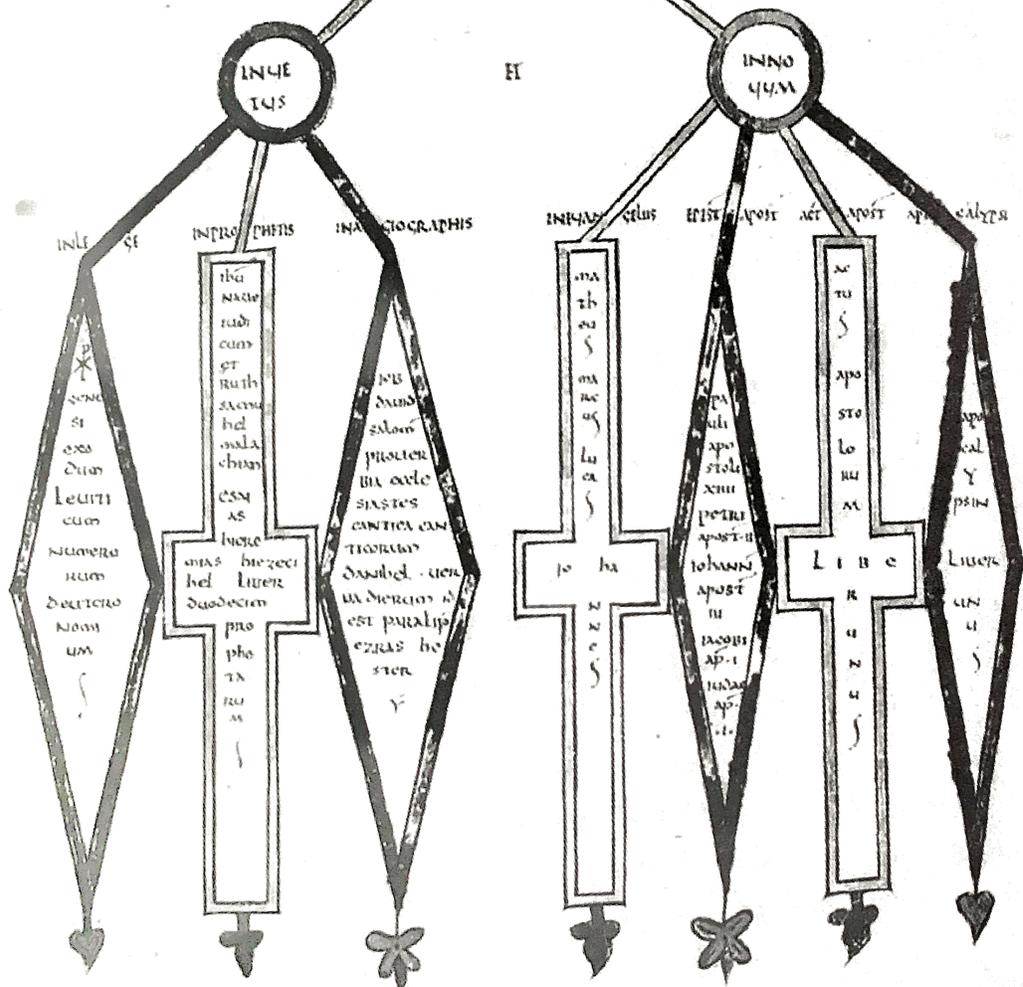


32. Lord's Prayer and Creed, Utrecht Psalter, f. 90 (detail)



33. Canticle of Simeon and Great Doxology, Utrecht Psalter, f. 89v (detail)

AGTORITAS DIQUA CONTINE TQR INTESTAMENTA DUO IDEST



Sic sunt ueteris *nomi q* testamenti secundum hieronymum libri
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 scripta sunt in quinquaginta noua quibus adde dom xpian de quo et per quos ista con

34. Lamb, Codex Amiatinus, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, f. 6

SCRIPTURA DIVINA DIVIDITUR IN TESTAMENTA DomiNI IesuSu ET

IN Veteris
Testamenti

IN Novi
Testamenti

GENESI EXODUM
LEVITICUM NUMEROS
IUDICUM RUTH
I SAMUELIS II SAMUELIS
LIBRI IIII
PARALIPOMENON

LIBRI II. PSALMORUM LIB. V. SALOMON LIB. V
IDEST PROVERBIA SAPIENTIA ECCLESIASTICA
ECCLESIASTES CANTICA CANTICORUM
PROPHETAE ID EST ESAYAS HIEREMIAS
EZECHIEL DANIEL OSEE AMOS MICHA
IAS IOHEL ABDIAS IOKIAS NACHUM ABYBAEL
SOPHONIAS AGGEUS ZACHARIAS MALACHI
IUDITH ESTER IUDITH

ESDRAS LIBRI
DomiNI
Novi
Testamenti

EVANGELIA III
ID EST MATTHEUS
MARCO LUCAS
IOHANNES
ACTUS APOSTO
LORUM EPISTOLAE
PETRI AD ROMANOS
AD CORINTHOS II
AD GALATAS I AD PHILIPPENSIS I
AD COLLOS I AD EPHESIOS I AD THESSALONICENSES II
AD TIMOTHEUM II AD TITUM I AD PHILEMONEM I APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS

LIBRI APOSTOLICI ID EST AD ROMANOS II AD CORINTHOS II
AD GALATAS I AD PHILIPPENSIS I AD COLLOS I
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AD TIMOTHEUM II AD TITUM I AD PHILEMONEM I APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS

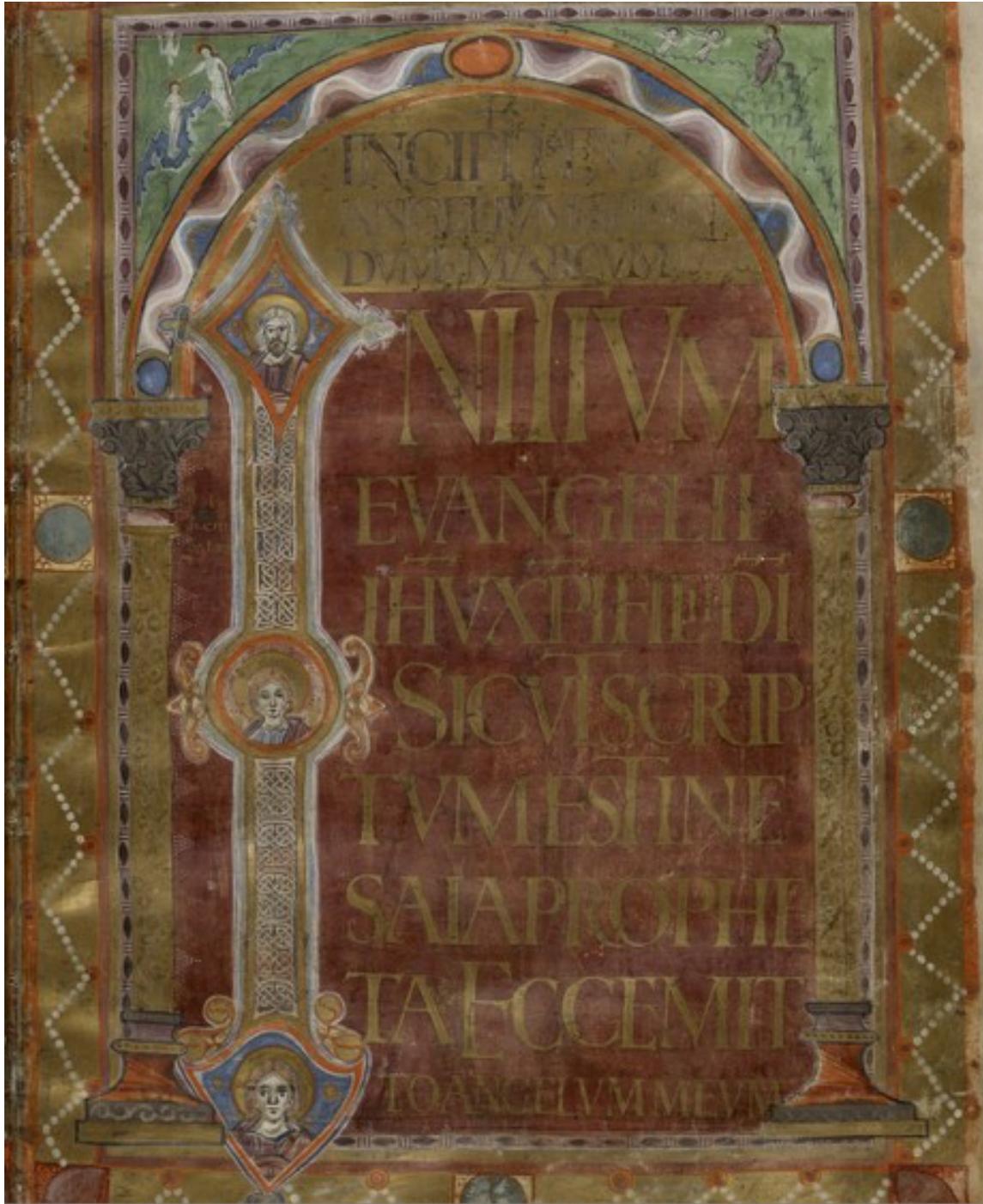
LIBRI APOSTOLICI
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AD GALATAS I AD PHILIPPENSIS I AD COLLOS I
AD EPHESIOS I AD THESSALONICENSES II
AD TIMOTHEUM II AD TITUM I AD PHILEMONEM I APOCALYPSIS IOHANNIS

Sicut autem veteris nouique testamenti sicut dicitur scilicet hylarius no
tante arbis antistes et epiphanius cyprus quem latino pect
mus sermone transferri LIBRI LXX. in illo prologio non
vero portasse processerit quas invasione belon inue
nit populus hebreorum.

35. Male bust, Codex Amiatinus, f. 7



37. Psalm 85, Corbie Psalter, Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 18, f. 77v (detail)



38. Gospel of Mark Incipit, Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons, Paris, BnF, Lat. 8850, f. 82

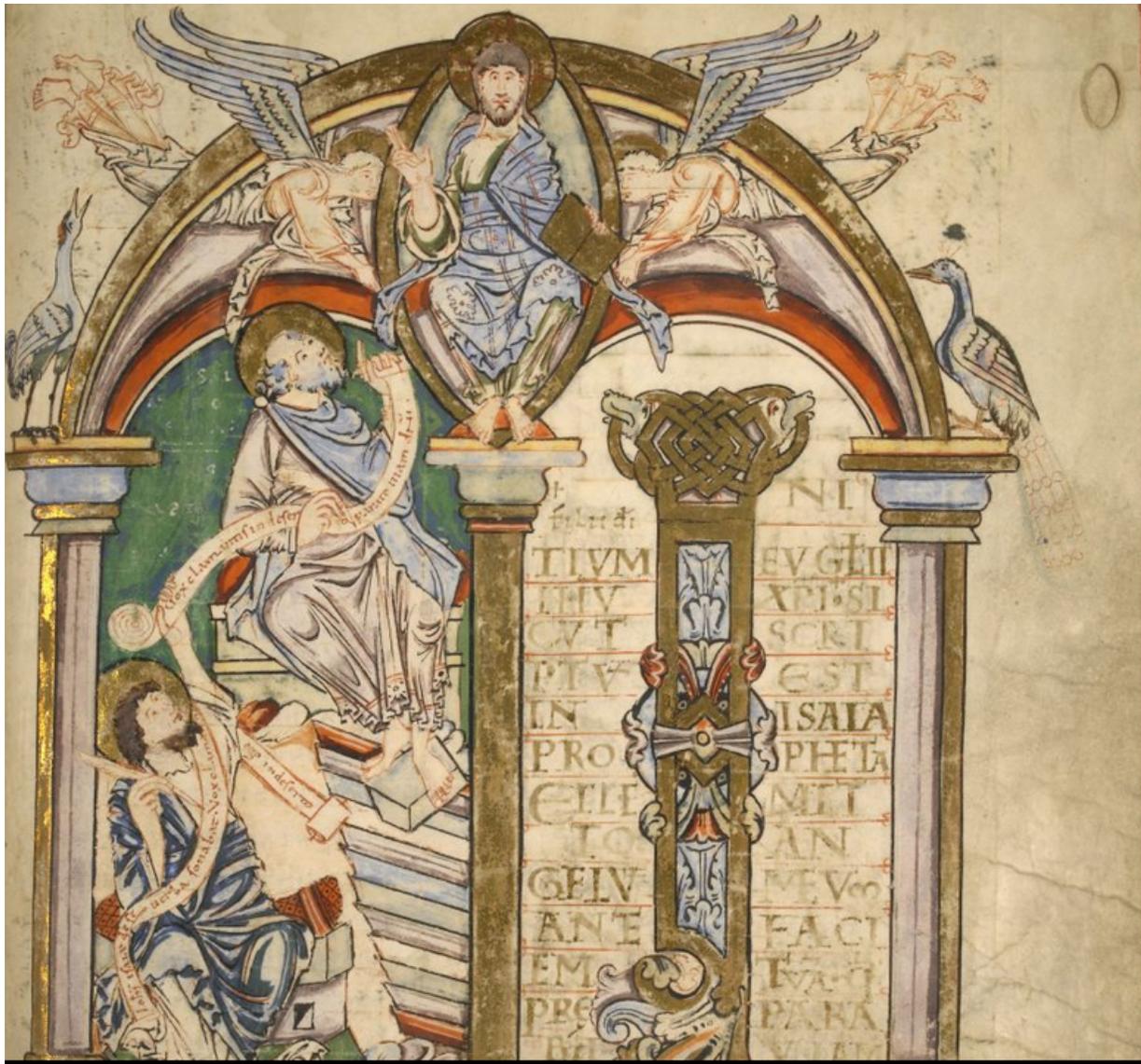


Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

39. Evangelist Portrait, Gospel Book of St. Médard of Soissons, f. 81v



40. Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, f. 6v (detail)



41. Boulogne Gospels of Saint-Bertin, Boulogne, Bibliothèque de la Ville 11, f. 56 (detail)

Hæc uulgo pictura man& dignissima laude
Et manus eximia . Laude eluente simul,



42. Miscellany from Lorsch, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 834, f. 28v



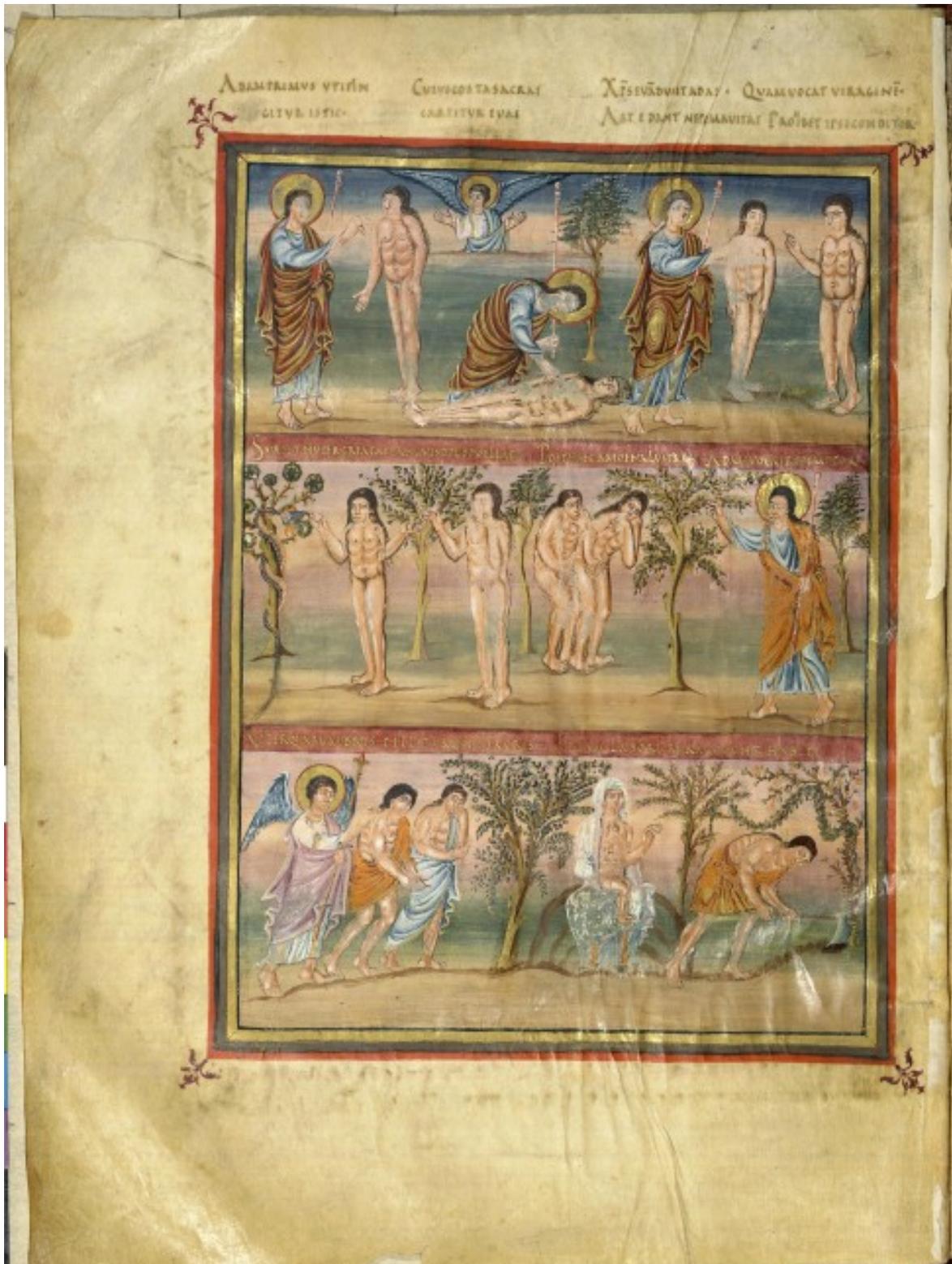
43. *Maiestas Domini*, Gundohinus Gospels, Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 3, f. 12v



44. Genesis Frontispiece, Moutier-Grandval Bible, f. 5v



45. Genesis Incipit, Moutier-Grandval Bible, f. 7 (detail)



46. Genesis Frontispiece, Vivian Bible, Paris, BnF, Lat. 1, f. 10v



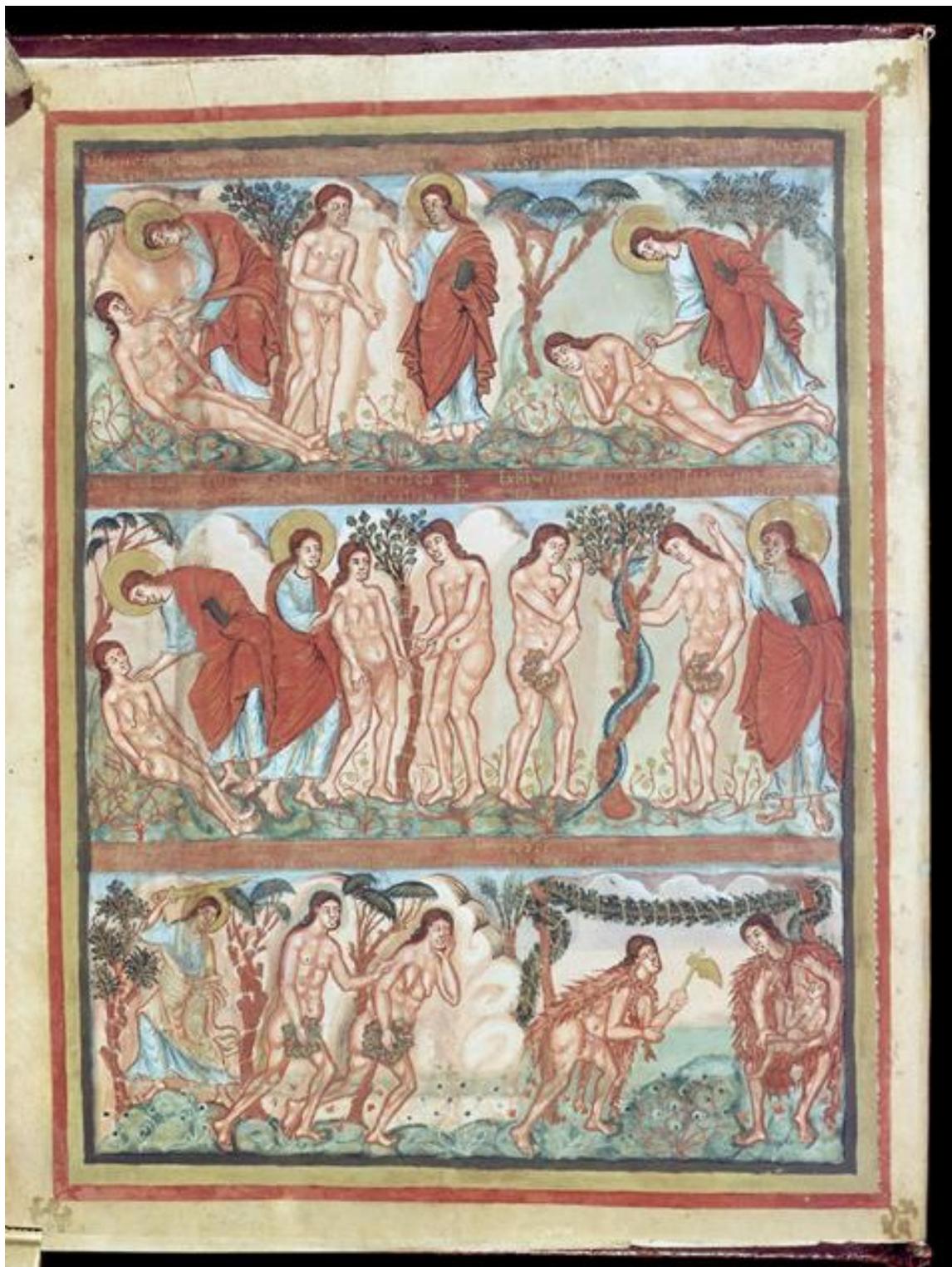
47. Genesis Incipit, Vivian Bible, f. 11 (detail)



48. Psalm 103, Stuttgart Psalter, Stuttgart, Württemberg Landesbibliothek, MS. 23, f. 116v (detail)



49. Psalm 38, Stuttgart Psalter, f. 50v (detail)



50. Genesis Frontispiece, Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, s.n., f. 8v



52. Apse Mosaic, Theodulf's Oratory at Germigny-des-Prés



53. Ark of the Covenant, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Croquis de la MOSAÏQUE DE GERMIGNY autographié
d'après un Dessin de M^r Chrétin mosaïste chargé de sa restauration.

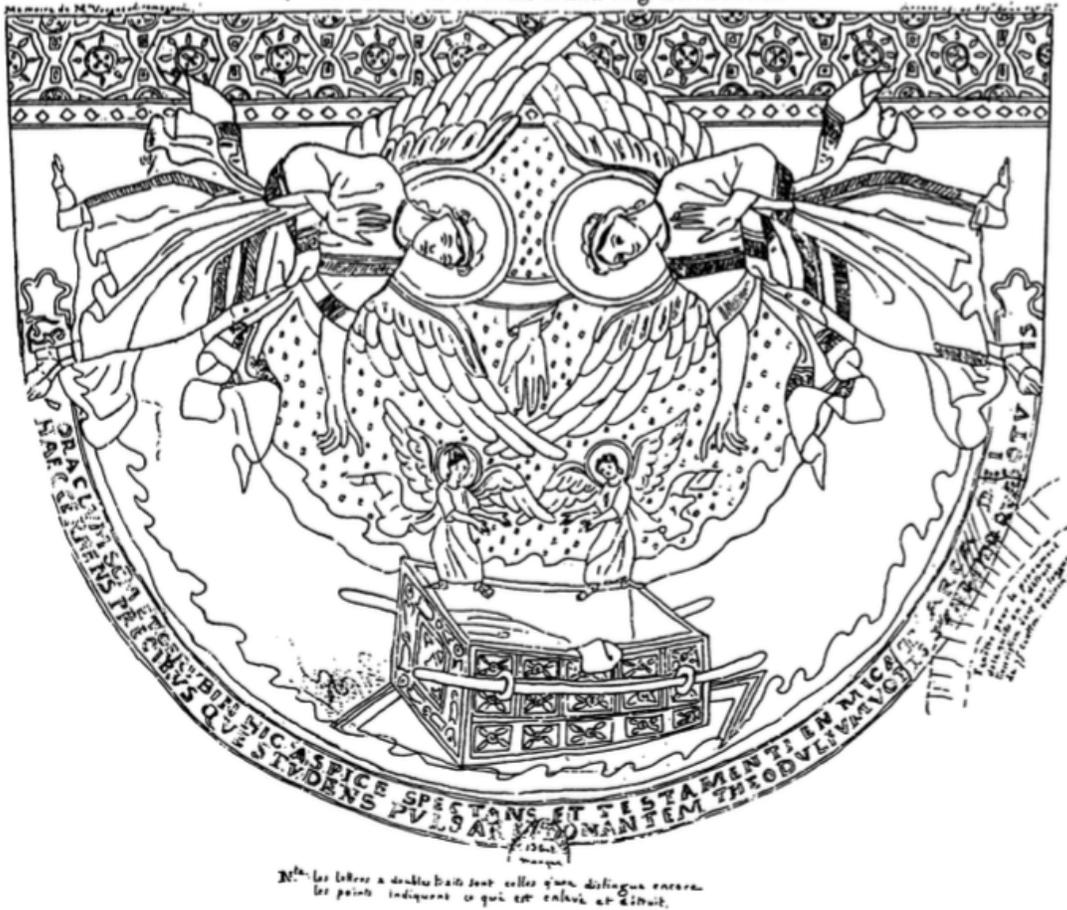


FIGURE 2. Germigny-des-Prés, apse mosaic, sketch after drawing by Théodore Chrétin (after Vergnaud-Romagnesi, Addition à la notice sur la découverte en janvier 1847 de deux inscriptions dans l'église de Germigny-des-Prés, Orléans, [1847]).

54. Sketch of Theodulf's apse mosaic, after the drawing by Théodore Chrétin, published in Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, "The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés," *Gesta* 40, No. 2 (2001): 130.



55. Evangelists, Fleury Gospels, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 348, f. 8v



56. Vivian Bible, f. 423



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

58. Canon Table, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 116v



59. Lot and his Daughters, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 18



60. Departing from the Ark, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 10v



61. *Scala Paradisa*, Princeton, Garrett 16, f. 190v (detail)



62. English Psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.4, f. 119 (detail)



63. Kaufmann Mishneh Torah, Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Kaufmann A77, IV f. 32 (detail)



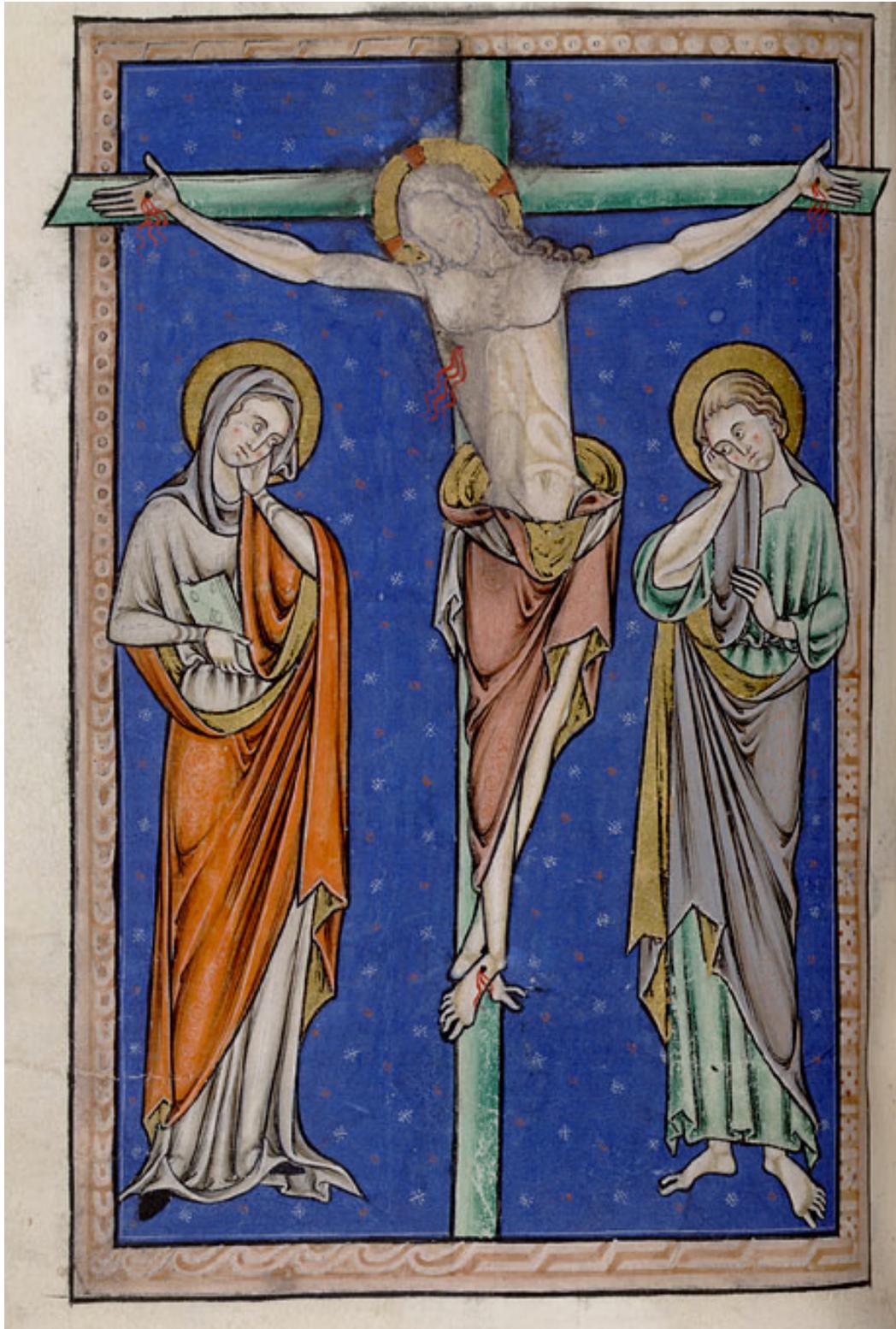
64. Psalm 109, Stuttgart Psalter, f. 127v (detail)



65. *Scala Paradisa*, f. 128 (detail)



66. *Scala Paradisa*, f. 180v (detail)



67. Bible and Select Masses, San Marino, Huntington Library MM 26061, f. 178v



68. Psalm 49, Stuttgart Psalter, f. 63 (detail)



69. Gornseton Psalter, London, British Library, Add MS 49622, f. 98v (detail)



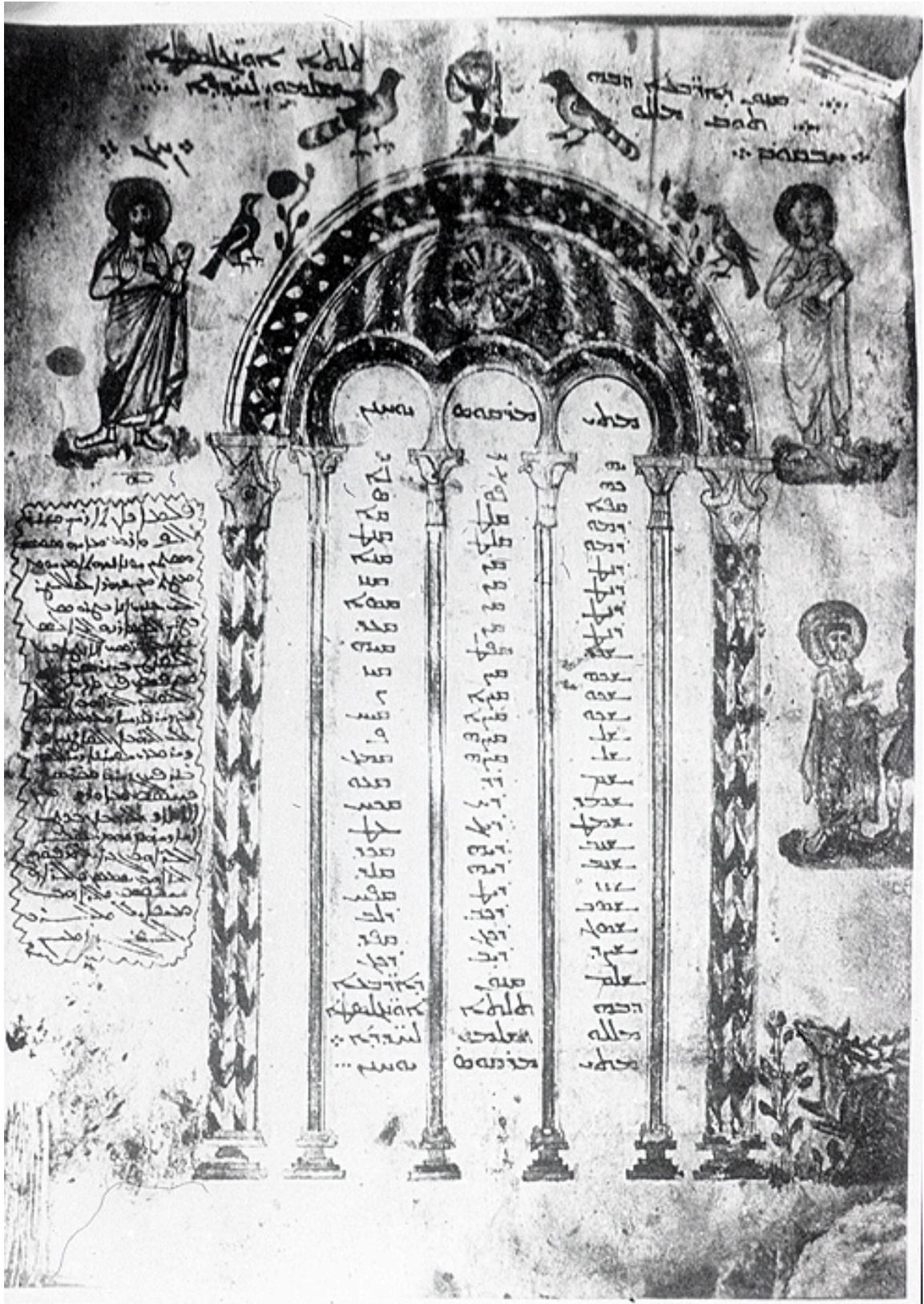
70. *Scala Paradisa*, f. 125 (detail)



72. Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations*, New York, Morgan Library 498, f. 57 (detail)



73. Rabbula Gospels, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. I.56, f. 6v



74. Rabbula Gospels, f. 7v

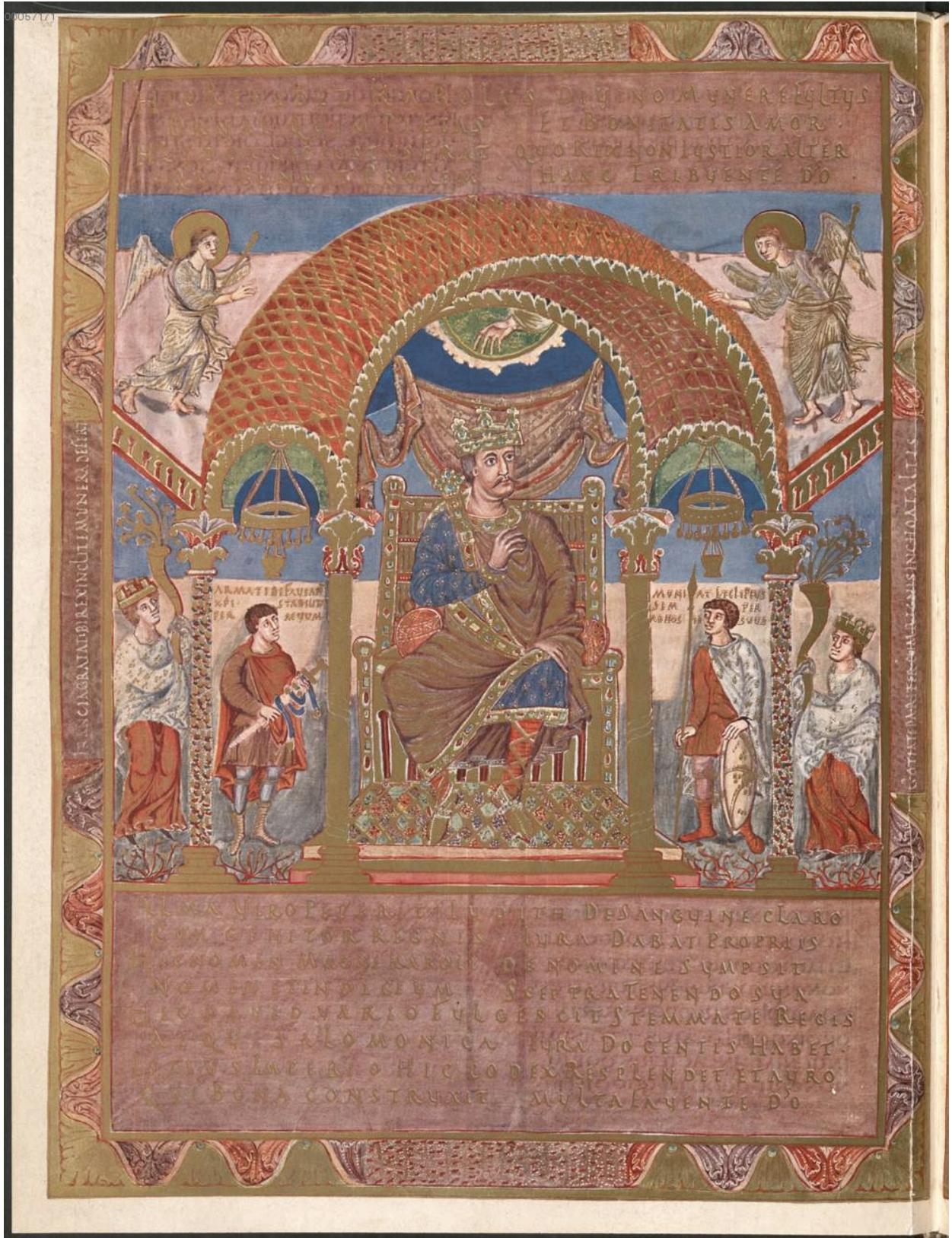


75. *In honorem sanctae crucis*, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 124, f. 4v



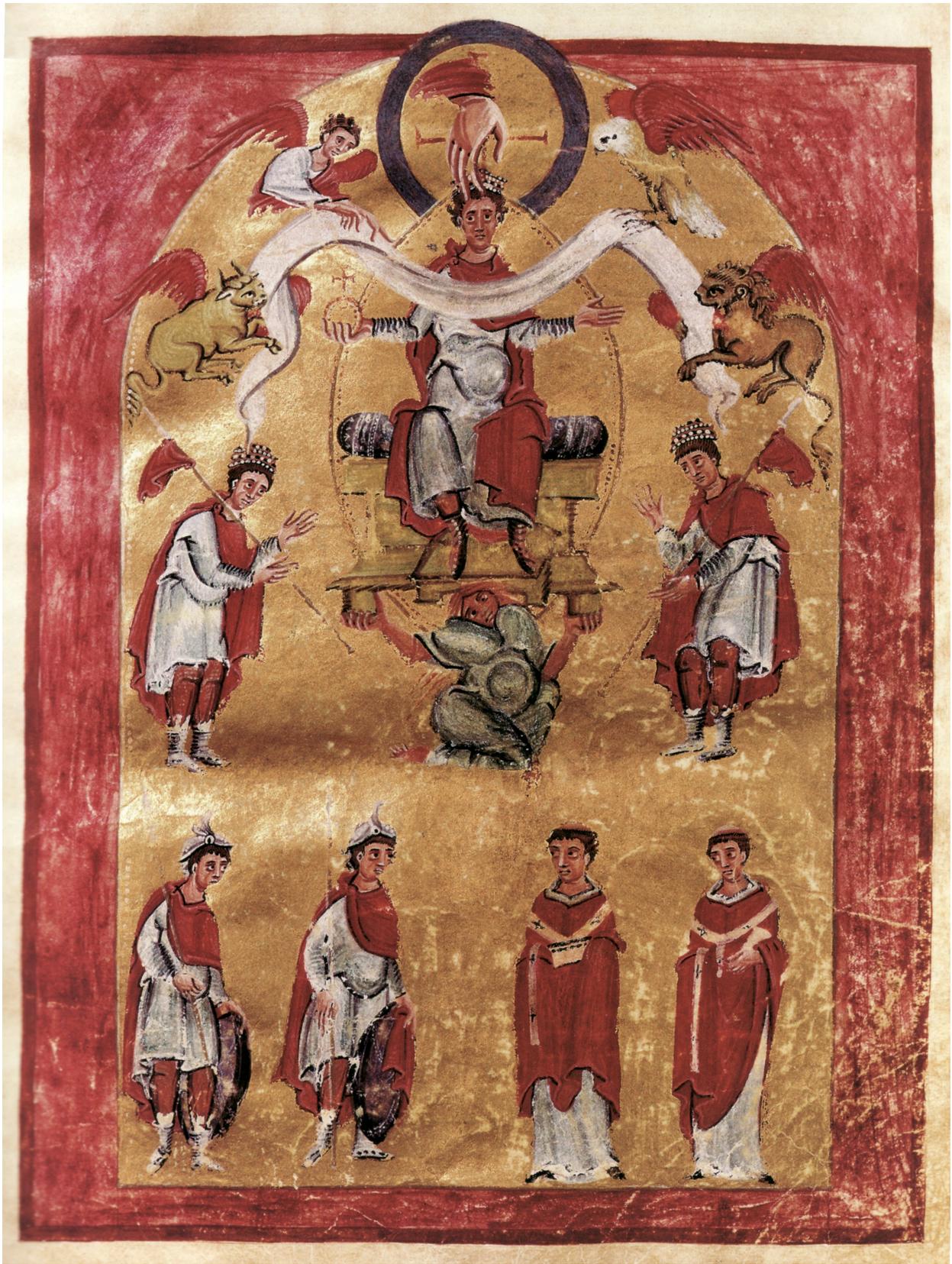
76. Psalter of Charles the Bald, Paris, BnF Lat. 1152, 3v

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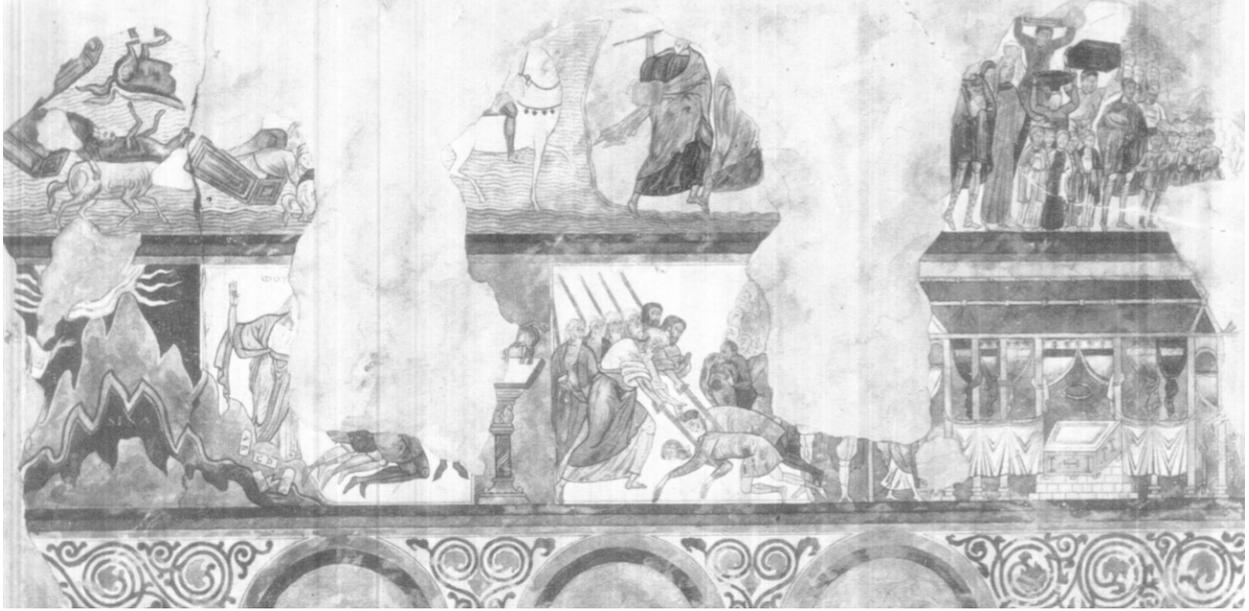
77. Codex Aureus, f. 5v



78. Frontispiece, Liuthar Gospels, Aachen Cathedral Treasury, f. 16



79. Deluge, Ashburnham Pentateuch, f. 9



80. Watercolor by L. Ypermann, 1892, made after the frescoes in the abbey church at St. Julien at Tours, published in Grabar, "Fresques romanes"



81. Evangelist Portrait, Grimbald Gospels, London, British Library, MS Add. 34890, f. 114v



82. Book of Hours, British Library, Royal 2 B XV, f. 10v