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THE QUINITY OF WINCHESTER

BY ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

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THE QUINITY OF WINCHESTER

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

Note. For the kind permission to reproduce Figures 7, 10, 11, 35, I wish to express my thanks to the British Museum, to the Very Reverend The Dean of Winchester, and to Dr. Erwin Rosenthal, at Berkeley. My thanks are due also to Professors Walter J. Fischel and George H. Williams, at Berkeley; to Mr. T. D. Kendrick of the British Museum; to the Frick Art Reference Library in New York; to the Index of Christian Art at Princeton; and to the Warburg Institute in London, for information, suggestions, and courtesies. Finally I am greatly indebted to Mr. Francis Wormald, of the British Museum, for valuable information and suggestions, for several manuscript photographs, and for calling my attention to the Trinity in the Harley Manuscript.

WRITTEN between 1012 and 1020 A.D., the manuscript of the *Officia* of the New Minster has long been appreciated as a remarkable specimen of the Winchester School of painting. Among other illustrations, the manuscript contains a most puzzling drawing which, though generally known for thirty years or more, has not yet received the attention that this strange image deserves.¹ Only one student of art, hitherto, has made a serious effort to explain the meaning of this representation.² His suggestions, however, go far astray and have failed to hit the mark, mainly because the subject has been treated as an isolated phenomenon, regardless of the parallels in contemporaneous imagery.

The drawing (Fig. 1) belongs to the *Officium Trinitatis*.³ But instead of showing an image of the Holy Trinity, as might well be expected, the artist has produced an astounding medley of divine figures. Prominence has been given, undoubtedly, to two almost identical male figures, which occupy the right half and the center of the little image. The head of each is surrounded by a cruciform-halo. Each holds a book in his left hand while the right hand indicates that a sprightly conversation is being carried on. They are evidently God the Father and God the Son. The Son is seated at the right hand of the Father, a posture which accords with the texts of many a prayer and many a passage of the New Testament, and which, of

course, is authorized by the first verse of Psalm 109 (110). The Son occupies the center of the image. The Virgin Mary is seen at his right hand, an appropriate place when we think of the numerous legends of Mary's Assumption and her Coronation in Heaven. Here, however, such scenes are not yet alluded to. Their illustration belongs to an altogether later period.⁴ The Winchester drawing shows Mary holding in her right arm the Infant Jesus, who is distinguished by a little cruciform-halo and a book in his left hand. The rhetorical gesture of his right hand manifests his participation in the dialogue which is being carried on between the Father and the Son. Mary is without a halo. She wears a crown which almost serves as a nest for the dove seated on her head. The dove, the Holy Ghost, also has the cruciform-halo, a symbol which thus, very oddly, appears four times in the drawing.

The group of five persons is framed by a studded circular aureole. Within that circle we find God the Father, the Son, and the Virgin seated on a similarly studded semi-circular vault which indicates the celestial globe. Here the vault serves, as indeed it often does, as a celestial throne, a bench-throne which unites the main figures. The feet of Christ rest on a shackled and wriggling figure, Lucifer, whose body cuts through the lower part of the circular aureole of heaven. In the depth below, the fanged jaws of Hell are wide open and ready to devour him. The infernal jaws, of course, are below the circle of the celestial sphere; and so are the two personages who are squeezed, right and left, into the spandrels of the underworld. They are Judas and Arius, according to the inscriptions. Both are naked, and their feet shackled. Judas has a crook in his left hand, perhaps a reminder of his forfeited office of apostle.⁵

Were it not for the left group — Mary, the Infant Jesus, and the dove — we would readily call the image an illustration of the first verse of Psalm 109 (110): "The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." However, what the artist shows is not the Two Persons of Psalm 109, so to speak, the "Binity," which is often depicted (Figs. 4-7, 9, 10),⁶ nor even the Trinity, which in later times, though

4. *Infra*, n. 8.

5. Satan sometimes carries a crook; see, e.g., Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. LXXXIII, fig. 526. The crook as carried by Judas has barbs, which is a curious feature.

6. In addition to the Utrecht and Canterbury Psalters (Figs.

1. British Museum, Cotton MS Titus D. XXVII, fol. 75^v. See British Museum, *Schools of Illumination*, London, 1914, I, p. 10, and pl. 12b; Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris and Brussels, 1926, I, p. 19, and pl. 24b. See also next note and below, n. 36, as well as J. B. MacHarg, *Visual Representations of the Trinity*, Columbia University Diss., Cooperstown, N.Y., 1917, p. 103.

2. Alfred Hackel, *Die Trinität in der Kunst*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 69 ff.

3. See *Schools of Illumination*, I, p. 10.

without proper reason, frequently illustrates that Psalm (Figs. 10, 34).⁷ It is a Quaternity of God the Father, the Son, St. Mary, and the Holy Ghost; or, if we add the Infant on the lap of the Virgin, we face the seemingly unique representation of what logically must be called a "Quinity."

It is strange enough to find the Virgin seated on one throne with the Trinity, and it is a most unusual composition at that early date when the cult of Mary was not yet at its climax and when even the familiar Coronation of the Virgin, or her throne-sharing with Christ, was as yet icono-
2, 3) see Fig. 4, the *Officia* of Westminster (Maidstone Museum MS, fol. 32^v), published by E. G. Millar, "Les principaux MSS à peinture du Lambeth Palace à Londres," *Bulletin de la société française de reproduction de MSS à peintures*, 8^e Année, Paris, 1924, pl. XI, fig. f; also Fig. 9, the Ormesby Psalter (Oxford, Bodl. Libr. MS Douce 366, fol. 147^v), in Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, II, pl. 4; cf. Figs. 5 and 6; also Fig. 7, the matrix of the seal of Godwin the Minister (eleventh century), in the British Museum; see O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era . . . in the . . . British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 32 f., No. 31; A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1926, IV, pp. 19 ff.; and M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, London, 1926, pp. 10, 74 ff., who with Dalton stresses the relationship with the Winchester Offices and the Utrecht Psalter, but styles that representation of Psalm 109 a "Holy Trinity trampling on Sin." The assumption is that a small piece of ivory, which is broken away above the heads, displayed the dove. However, Mr. T. D. Kendrick, of the British Museum, has been kind enough to inspect the seal once more and to inform me that he does not think it is possible to identify with certainty the object above the two heads. The mutilation is regrettable, since the Godwin seal might have represented our earliest Western evidence of a Trinity with dove formed on the basis of Psalm 109 (110). For the seal itself, see also F. Wormald, "The Seal of Nectan," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-1939, p. 70, and pl. 13e.

7. The Belgrade Psalter (Fig. 34; Belgrade, Nat. Libr. MS, fol. 189) is of course very late, but it may have preserved an earlier iconographical type; cf. J. Strzygowski, "Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters in München," *Abhandlungen der kaiserlichen Akademie in Wien*, LII, 1906, p. 57, fig. 26; cf. pl. xxxvii, fig. 85, for the Serbian Psalter in Munich, where Christ, sitting on the left side of the Father, is seen with the dove in his lap. Cf. A. Baumstark, "Frühchristlich-syrische Psalterillustrationen in einer byzantinischen Abkürzung," *Oriens Christianus*, v, 1905, p. 313, for the introduction of the dove into illustrations of Psalm 109 (110). The Princeton Index of Christian Art files, as the earliest evidence of this type, the Gospel Book of Pembroke College, Cambridge, of the early twelfth century (MS 120, fol. 6); M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 124. See, however, below, p. 77. In the Winchester Bible (Fig. 10), the Trinity illustrates the so-called Gallican version of the psalm and alludes to the "Messianic" interpretation; the Hebrew version (right), showing two kings, may render the "historical" interpretation (cf. Fig. 5). Messianic and historical interpretations were interlaced and exchangeable anyhow. When the king entered into a city or visited a monastery, the verse *Dixit Dominus* (Ps. 109:1) was sung at Vespers, indicating that the historic event was conceived in the light of the prophecy, or that the messianic promise had become "history" at the king's advent. See the *Antiphonae de susceptione regum* (to which Mr. W. A. Chaney has kindly called my attention) in the gallicized *Liber responsalis*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVIII, col. 828C, and ART BULLETIN, XXVI, 1944, pp. 208-210. Mr. W. Oakeshott, *The Artists of the Winchester Bible*, London, 1945, p. 16 (cf. pl. xxxviii) dates the design "ca. 1210."

graphically undeveloped.⁸ In fact, we have to go on to the fifteenth century to meet another *Μαρία σύνθρονος*, a Virgin sharing the throne with the Trinity. One of the few specimens of a genuine "Quaternity" is found, for example, in the Book of Hours of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy; and the very competent editor of the manuscript has rightly stressed the extraordinary composition of that miniature (Fig. 12).⁹ The crowned Virgin appears there as the central figure on the celestial throne. She is seated between God the Father at her right side and the Son at her left, a place reminiscent almost of the "theology" of the Emperor Julian, who styled the Great Mother the *synthronos* of Zeus, and Helios, the *synthronos* of the Mother.¹⁰ In the Franco-Burgundian miniature the Holy Spirit seems to be missing. However, around the three sharers of the celestial throne there floats, or rather flows, a belt-like circle which is doubtless supposed to represent the Spirit. In that case, the Third Person of the Trinity envelops the three sharers of the throne equally, whereas in the Winchester drawing the Holy Spirit seems to be attached exclusively to the Virgin. He becomes, as it were, one with her.

This unity of the Virgin with the Spirit has prompted a far-fetched interpretation of the figure.¹¹ It has been assumed that the drawing betrays the influence of Early Christian doctrines, according to which the Holy Ghost was considered as female, nay, as the Mother of Christ. It is true that in several gnostic writings the Spirit appears as a woman; and an echo of this doctrine is found still in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, in which the bishop is said to take vicariously the place of God the Father, and the deacon that of the Son, whereas the Holy Ghost is said to be represented by the deaconess.¹² Most of those doctrines — unknown or

8. See Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," ART BULLETIN, VII, 1925, p. 156. The type of Mary as "Throne-sharer" with Christ after the pattern of S. Maria in Trastevere — see J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg, 1917, p. 1167, fig. 532 — is not found before the twelfth century.

9. V. Leroquais, *Un livre d'heures de Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne (1404-1419)*, Paris, 1939, pl. XIV. Related representations are found not rarely in connection with the Virgin's Coronation. See also the hermetic "Quaternity" (early fifteenth century) in the *Buch der heyligen Dreyualdekeit* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinet MS 78 A.11); cf. G. F. Hartlaub, "Signa Hermetis," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, IV, 1937, p. 109, fig. 6, where the dove is likewise on the head of the Virgin Mary.

10. Julianus Imp., *Oratio*, v, 167B: ὁ μέγας Ἡλῖος, ὁ σύνθρονος τῇ Μητρὶ; and 179D: ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπων μήτερ, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου σύνθρονε καὶ σύνθρονε Διός.

11. Hackel, *loc. cit.* Equally far-fetched is the general setting into which the drawing has been placed by Hermann Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 186.

12. See H. Usener's "Dreiheit," *Rheinisches Museum*, LVIII, 1903, pp. 41 ff., and *Das Weihnachtsfest*, Bonn, 1911, pp. 118 ff., as well as E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 229 ff. *Didascalia Apostolorum*, II, 26 (= c.IX), ed. by R. H. Connolly, Oxford, 1929, p. 89, and the notes on p. 88; see also the *Odes of Solomon*, xxxvi, 3, ed. by R. Harris and A. Mingana, Manchester,

unnoticed during the Middle Ages — appear irrelevant to the Winchester drawing. However, one well-known patristic work, St. Jerome's *Expositions on the Prophets*, should probably be accounted for. For here, in fact, the Saint quotes the Aramaic Gospel of the Ebionites and adduces from this source, which has been looked upon as the original version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the curious sentence "modo tulit me mater mea spiritus sanctus in uno capillorum meorum." But the scholarly Jerome explains also that there is no reason for feeling scandalized at the phrase "Just now my Mother the Holy Spirit has carried me by one hair (to Mount Tabor)," since in Hebrew and Aramaic the word for "spirit" (*ruach*, *rucha*) is female just as it is a neuter in Greek (*pneuma*), and male in Latin. But, says Jerome, this makes no difference, and he adds rather daringly: *In divinitate nullus est sexus*.¹³

No doubt Jerome's *Expositions* were known in England as well as on the Continent. But there is no reason to believe that the Winchester master has borrowed his inspiration for representing the oneness of the Spirit with Mary from Jerome or, through him, from a gnostic source. The Winchester drawing actually does not require any gnostic interpretation. It can be explained most satisfactorily from its own environment and direct sources, among which, it is true, St. Jerome will turn out to be of major importance.

It is obvious that the group of the Virgin Mary, the Infant, and the dove has been tacked onto the other two figures without an original inner connection. Admittedly, the artist has succeeded marvellously in bracing and enlivening the scene. The Infant argues, Mary listens attentively, and only the dove appears incommunicative. Yet, there is no question that the "Binity," Father and Son, forms the original nucleus of the image. From these two figures, therefore, the interpretation must start.

The model of the Binity is found in the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 2), or in one of its derivations, among which the MS Harley 603 is perhaps of a date earlier than the Winchester drawing.¹⁴ The divergences of the drawing from its model are relatively insignificant. In the Utrecht Psalter the two

figures illustrating Psalm 109 are youthful and beardless; in the Winchester drawing both are bearded, whereas in the Canterbury Psalter, a twelfth-century copy of the Utrecht Psalter, the Son alone has a beard (Fig. 3).¹⁵ Moreover, in the Psalters, both Utrecht and Canterbury, the left figure, the Son, alone has a cruciform-halo, and only the right figure with plain halo is seated on the celestial globe, whereas the left is seated on a bench (Fig. 2) or on a rounded throne with low back and armrests (Fig. 3). Also the feet of the cross-nimbed figure rest on *two* enemies, whereas the figure in the Winchester drawing makes only *one* enemy, Lucifer, his footstool.

We have to concentrate, for a moment, on the haloes as represented in the Psalters. The distinction between cross-haloed and plain-haloed divinities is anything but unusual, or clear, in the Utrecht Psalter. Whatever may have been the reason for thus distinguishing between the divine persons in the other drawings of that Psalter (and it might be worth while investigating the matter), in the model of the Winchester drawing the cause is a curious, though very common, interpretation of the first words of Psalm 109: "The Lord said unto my Lord." Usually the Lord that speaks would be considered as God the Father, and the Lord spoken to, either as King David — the "historical" interpretation (Figs. 5, 10) — or as Christ — the "messianic" interpretation (Figs. 4, 6, 7, 9, 10).¹⁶ The difference was not too great, since David himself was "messianic" and was both the ancestor and prefiguration of Christ. The commentators on the Psalm, therefore, hold that David and Christ are almost exchangeable here. "Qui filius Dei est, ipse et filius David est," writes Jerome. And St. Augustine explains, "Filius David secundum carnem, dominus David secundum divinitatem; sic Mariae filius secundum carnem et Mariae dominus secundum maiestatem."¹⁷ The Utrecht Psalter, however, does not make the

1920, II, pp. 384 f., and J. H. Bernard, "The Odes of Solomon," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XII, 1911, p. 28 (where, however, the Order of Severus should be ruled out). Further, J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen, Heft 7-8)*, Münster i.W., 1925, p. 148, n. 91.

13. Hieronymus, *In Iesaiam*, c.XL, 9, and *In Michaeam*, c.VII, 7, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XXIV, col. 405A, and XXV, col. 1221D; cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 18. The variant "Videbitis Regem regum procedentem a matre (instead of a Patre)" in the *Magnificat* antiphon *In nativitate Domini*, which is found in some manuscripts of the Breviary, does not refer to the Holy Spirit at all, but to the Virgin; see Anselm Manser, "Christkönigszüge im römischen und benediktinischen Adventsgottesdienst," *Heilige Überlieferung (Festschrift für Abt Ildefons Herwegen)*, ed. O. Casel, Münster i.W., 1938, p. 133.

14. E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, 1932, pl. CI (fol. 64^v). The Harley MS 603, fol. 56^v, is a faithful copy of the Utrecht Psalter.

15. M. R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter*, London, 1935, fol. 199^v, and p. 37. The description offered by the editor ("the Father on a throne and the Son with book on a rainbow; under the Father's [1] feet are two prostrate enemies") is hardly correct, since it disagrees with the text of the Psalm. The enemies form the footstool of the Son, who sits practically always at the right side of the Father. For an exception (Serbian Psalter; above, n. 7), see the suggestions of Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

16. For the "historical" conception, see, in addition to (Fig. 10) the Winchester Bible (above, n. 7), also (Fig. 5) the *Luttrell Psalter* (fol. 203), ed. by E. G. Millar, London, 1932, pl. 158. See also Fig. 33, the Jerusalem Psalter (*infra*, n. 20). In the Chludoff Psalter — Moscow MS 129, fol. 111^v — a photostat of which I owe to the kindness of the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, David stands before the throne of Christ, and the Divine Hand, emanating rays, stretches downwards from heaven. The underlying idea, quite foreign to the West, is very similar to that represented in the Jerusalem Psalter.

17. Hieronymus, *Tractatus in Librum Psalmorum*, cix, ed. G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III, 2, Maredsou, 1897, p. 198, and *Breviarium in Psalmos*, cix, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XXVI, cols. 1163 f.; Augustinus, *In Joannis Evangelium*, viii, 9, *ibid.*, XXXV, col. 1456, and *Enarratio in Psalmos*, cix, *ibid.*, XXXVII, cols. 1449 f.; see also Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, cix, *ibid.*,

distinction between God the Father and Christ (David), but distinguishes between the Son of God and the Son of man, or else between the "Lord of David" and the "Son of David." In other words, the plain-haloed figure is not God the Father but the youthful *Filius Dei*, co-equal with the Father,¹⁸ who receives as his throne-sharer in heaven the cross-haloed and likewise youthful *Filius David*, the incarnate Christ. The difference is accentuated also by the seat. The *Filius Dei* is seated on the celestial globe as King of the Universe; the incarnate *Filius David* sits on a throne.¹⁹

Christ *secundum quod Deus*, addressing Christ *secundum quod homo* and bidding the latter to sit down at his right side, may appear as a strange fashion of interpreting the phrase "Dixit Dominus Domino meo." However, according to the patristic and other authorities, this duplication of the Second Person is correct. It is soundly based upon the various glosses explaining the psalm. The gloss, added to Psalm 109 in the Canterbury Psalter and phrased apparently after the text of the *Glossa ordinaria*, even begins with the summary *Materia est Christus secundum utramque naturam*. Moreover, in the explanation following thereafter, the human nature of the one seated at the right side of the one whose nature is divine is stressed time and time again.²⁰ In essence, the gloss goes back here to

LXX, col. 793, and Beda, *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, ii, 34, ed. M. L. W. Laistner, *Beda's Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 104.

18. For reasons of convenience, and in accordance with the Princeton Index of Christian Art, De Wald, in his edition of the Utrecht Psalter (p. 5, n. 3), styles the Christ before the Incarnation the "Christ-Logos." Except in a symbolical form (Hand of God, etc.), God the Father is not represented in the Utrecht Psalter. He is replaced by the co-equal Christ-Logos, who thus becomes the Creator God, in full agreement with the general christocentric concepts prevalent during the earlier Middle Ages; see, for an Anglo-Saxon example in a very prominent place, the Laws of King Alfred, *Introductio*, §3, ed. Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1903-1916, I, pp. 26 f.: "on VI dagum Crist geworhte heofonas 7 eorðan." By the twelfth century, the Trinity occasionally replaces the Creator Christ-Logos. See, for the general problem, Adelheid Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 42 ff., 45, n. 4, whose article "L'Iconographie de la Trinité," *L'art chrétien*, I, 1934, has not been accessible to me.

19. The sharing of one bench-throne is found more frequently than the enthronement on two different seats. The two seats are equal (Fig. 6) in the *Stuttgart Psalter* (fol. 127^v), ed. by E. T. De Wald, Princeton, 1930. The difference of the seats is strongly accentuated in a Greek Psalter (Fig. 33) at Jerusalem of ca. 1053-1054—Hagios Taphos MS 53, fol. 162^v—published by Baumstark, in *Oriens Christianus*, v, pl. VII, 1, and pp. 316 ff. The Father is represented by the *etoimasia*, the "empty" throne with back and armrests, whereas Christ, the *Dominus* of the kneeling David, sits on a throne without back. In the Albani Psalter, the Father is seated on a globe and points with his hand at an empty throne at his right side; see Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albani Psalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin, 1895, p. 120.

20. James, *Canterbury Psalter*, p. 3, claims that a great body of the glosses in that psalter is taken from "the 9th century (and earlier) *Glossa ordinaria*." See, however, on the *Glossa ordinaria*, Beril Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford,

the authority of St. Jerome. He was probably the first author within the Latin tradition to emphasize that the throne-sharing Jesus was not Christ *secundum divinitatem*—who, of course, held the throne of heaven from eternity—but Christ *secundum humanitatem*, who rose from the dead and ascended in the flesh.²¹

This uncanny duplication of the Second Person of the Trinity—rare in Western and very common in later Eastern art²²—has been adopted not only by the Master of the Utrecht Psalter but also by that of the Winchester *Officia*. It is evident, however, that the concept of the double nature of Christ had to be modified by the Winchester artist, since the subject he wished to illustrate was not Psalm 109, but the Office of the Trinity. In a Trinity, God the Father could not well be absent nor could he be represented vicariously by the co-equal Son. The artist, therefore, when adjusting himself to the new task, quite obviously had to face certain difficulties.

We have to bear in mind that in the early eleventh century the representation of a Trinity was a relatively new and uncommon topic. Popular enough, it is true, were the symbolic Trinities showing, say, in connection with the Baptism, the divine hand in the clouds, the descending dove, and Jesus in the Jordan. But an "anthropomorphic" Trinity was, iconographically, as yet a type almost unknown in the West. To be sure, anthropomorphic Trinities were not lacking entirely, and it is quite surprising to find that most of the early efforts in that direction were carried out by Anglo-Saxon artists.²³ Nevertheless, of the

1941, pp. 31 ff., 39 ff., and her fully justified doubts as to the date of the *Glossa* and Walafrid Strabo's "authorship." It is interesting to note, with regard to the general christological changes developing during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that the Two-Natures interpretation of Psalm 109, so basic with the early commentators, is almost without interest to the expositors of the psalm from the twelfth century onwards. See, for the earlier interpreters, in addition to Jerome, Augustine (*Enarratio in Psalmos*, cix), and Cassiodorus (*supra*, n. 17), also Pseudo-Bede, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XCIII, col. 1033 (on the authorship of this work, see M. L. W. Laistner, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1943, p. 159); and for the later commentaries, e.g., Petrus Lombardus, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CXCII, col. 997, or Honorius Augustod., *ibid.*, CXCIV, col. 693 (among the works of Gerhoh of Reichersperg).

21. Hieronymus, ed. Morin, *op. cit.*, p. 198, and *Breviarium in Psalmo*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XXVI, col. 1163 f. It was accepted also in the East; see Ioannes Chrysostomos, *In Ascensionem*, c.3, Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, L, col. 446. See also Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose interpretation of Psalm 109 is known through the medium of Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia*, v (Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, LXXXVIII, cols. 254 f.), and who in some respects agrees with the conventional exegesis, although in this Psalm (as in Psalms 2, 8, and 44) he sees his opportunity for stressing most emphatically a succession in time of the divine after the human nature; cf. H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus*, Freiburg, 1880, §§459 ff., pp. 454 ff.; F. Baethgen, "Der Psalmenkommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, v, 1885, pp. 75 ff., and below, notes 45 and 62.

22. See below, p. 83.

23. If we disregard the Trinity of the Lateran Sarcophagus



FIG. 1. Offices of New Minster, Winchester (Cotton MS Titus D. XXVII, fol. 75^v), Officium Trinitatis



FIG. 2. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 64^v, Psalm 109



FIG. 3. Canterbury Psalter, fol. 199^v, Psalm 109



FIG. 6. Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 127^v, Psalm 109



FIG. 4. Offices of Westminster (London, Maidstone Mus. MS, fol. 32^v), Psalm 109



FIG. 5. Luttrell Psalter, fol. 204, Psalm 109



FIG. 7. London, British Museum: Seal of Godwin, Ivory, XIth Century, Psalm 109



FIG. 8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Lat. MS 757, fol. 222^v, Book of Hours, Trinity



FIG. 9. Ormesby Psalter, fol. 147^v,
Psalm 109

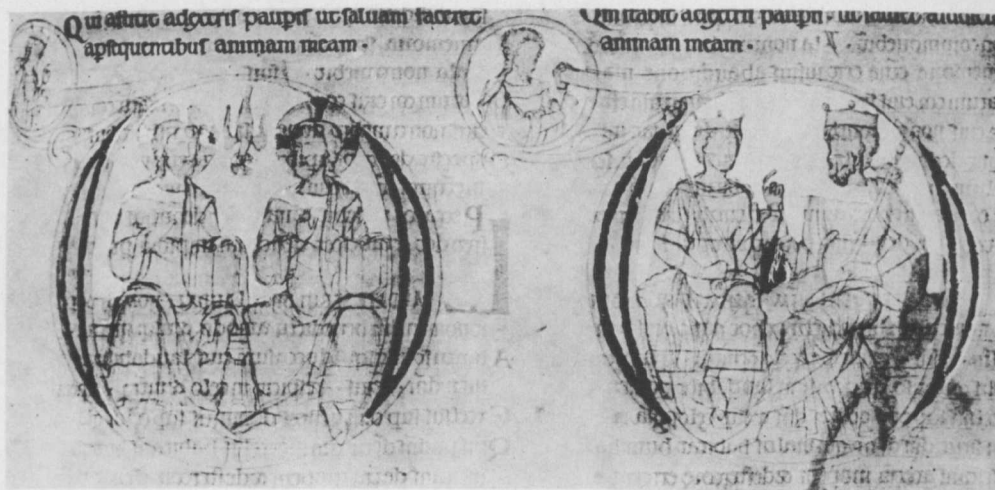


FIG. 10. Winchester, Winchester Bible: Psalm 109



FIG. 11. Berkeley, Coll. Erwin Rosenthal:
Christ in Abraham's Bosom



FIG. 12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Lat. n. a. MS 3055, fol.
159^v, Book of Hours of Jean sans Peur, Trinity with Mary



FIG. 13. Utrecht Psalter, fol.
89^v, Gloria in Excelsis



FIG. 14. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 90,
Credo



FIG. 15. Canterbury Psalter, fol. 278^v, Gloria in
Excelsis



FIG. 16. Canterbury Psalter, fol. 279, Credo



FIG. 17. Chludoff Psalter, fol. 45,
Annunciation (Ps. 44:11)

later conventional types toward which the Winchester master was groping — the three male figures, identical or not, or the two male figures with the dove hovering between them (Figs. 8, 10) — there were no antecedents in Western art.²⁴ This, however, may not hold good for the East. The three male figures, seated on one throne, represent a type that can be traced back to the Coptic circle of art, to the sixth century or, perhaps, the seventh.²⁵ The type of the two *synthronoi* with the dove between them is found in the somewhat archaic Belgrade Psalter (Fig. 34, and above, n. 7) which, though itself late mediaeval, is credited with representing a tradition of long standing.

This is certainly correct in view of the non-Christian tradition. Not to mention specimens antedating the Christian era, there is a famous and frequently discussed Egyptian amulet of the British Museum, belonging to the first or second century after Christ, which forms an early representation of that pattern of triune deity (Fig. 20).²⁶ Moreover, certain "prototypes," as developed by the imperial art of the later Roman Empire have to be accounted for. The *synthronismoi* of two or three emperors, frontally aligned, are commonly known (Figs. 18, 19), and their relationship to later images of the Trinity, though hitherto uninvestigated, is almost self-evident (cf. Fig. 8).²⁷ But it

(see, e.g., Heimann, "Trinitas creator mundi," p. 43) and a perhaps dubious one in a Lorsch MS, to which the explanation of "Trinity" has been added by another, if contemporary, hand (Bibl. Vat., MS Pal. Lat. 834, fol. 28; cf. A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, Florence and Paris, 1928, I, pl. 61), the oldest Western anthropomorphic Trinities turn out to have originated in England: the one in the Sherborne Pontifical (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. MS 943, fols. 5^r, 6, 6^v; see Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1937, pls. VIII-X); another in the British Museum, Harley MS 603, fol. 1 (see below); and a third, of ca. 1050 A.D., in the Psalter of Bury St. Edmund's (Vat. Regin. MS lat. 12, fol. 88), for the knowledge of which I am indebted to the friendliness of Mr. F. Wormald.

24. For Fig. 8, see *infra*, n. 69; and for Fig. 10, *supra*, n. 7.

25. The claim of Miss Heimann, "Trinitas creator mundi," p. 46, as to the "Byzantine," that is, Eastern origin of this Trinity, is doubtless correct. However, the Trinity in the Homilies of the Monk James (see, e.g., H. Omont, in *Bulletin de la société française de reproduction de MSS*, XI^e année, pl. XIX), usually considered as the earliest evidence for the three throned figures, has antecedents which I intend to discuss in another connection.

26. See W. Spiegelberg, "Der Gott Bait in dem Trinitäts-Amulett des Britischen Museums," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXI, 1922, pp. 225 ff.; Hugo Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, pp. 51 f., and for the earlier literature on the amulet, O. Weinrich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion*, Tübingen, 1919, p. 28. For the interesting inscription on the back of the triangular green stone ("One is Bait, one is Hathor, one is Akōri; their power is one. Be greeted, father of the universe; be greeted, trimorphous god"), see Spiegelberg, *loc. cit.*, and for the acclamation, Erik Peterson, *Εὐς θεός*, Göttingen, 1926.

27. For the three emperors — Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans (Fig. 19) — see O. Seeck, "Zu den Festmünzen Constantins und seiner Familie," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXI, 1898, pl. III, 6; cf. Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (*Numismatic Studies*, v), New York, 1944, p. 199. For the two emperors (Fig. 18), Valens and Valentinian, see Friedrich Kenner,

has hardly been emphasized in this connection that large numbers of gold coins, of a date as late as the Theodosian era, are available showing the imperial throne-partners in the unity of a winged demon. For we see the two emperors, not with a dove, but with another "bird," a *Victoria*, floating between their haloed (Fig. 22), or simply diademed (Fig. 21), heads and, on some coin issues, even ready to crown them (Fig. 23). Nor has an early specimen of this type, a medallion issued by the Dyarchy, attracted attention, although it actually displays a god with his human-imperial incarnation, his co-ruler and *synthronos*, at his right side and with a Victory hovering above and between them — Hercules with Diocletian's colleague Maximian, the first *Augustus* of the Herculan dynasty (Fig. 24).²⁸

How easily those types were translated into the language of Christian imagery is strikingly disclosed by a gold medallion of the emperor Constans with his brother Constantius II, which recently has been published for the first time (Fig. 25). The two emperors, both in "liturgical" attire and both haloed, are enthroned as usual, though turned to each other as if in conversation. Only the divinity has been changed; for between their heads there now hovers, not the *Victoria*, as unifier, but the Christogram, the χ of Constantine's labarum. The intrinsic value of the image is still the same as before, a manifestation of the imperial glory and triumph. But the emperors, formerly bound together in *unitate Victoriae*, now appear as one in *unitate victoriae Christi*, since the victorious Christ has taken the place of Victory to secure, now as ever, the emperors' triumph over the *barbarae gentes*.²⁹

"Römische Medaillons," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XI, 1890, pl. IV, No. 536, facing p. 76, and for other similar coinages, Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 175, and pls. III, 7, XXXI, 1. See also *supra*, n. 25, and for the Christian interpretation of the triad, Garrucci (*infra*, n. 30), pl. 189, fig. 7.

28. For the emperors without halo (Fig. 21), see H. A. Grueber, "The First Corbridge Find," *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. IV, vol. XIII, 1913, p. 35, and pl. v, 6; for the haloed emperors (Fig. 22), see Pearce, *ibid.*, ser. v, vol. XVIII, 1938, pl. XIV, 8; and *ibid.*, pl. XIII, 5, for Victory crowning the emperors (Fig. 23). The type goes back at least to the era of Diocletian; see Kenner, "Nachtrag zu dem Münzfunde aus Brigetio," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXIII, 1891, p. 91, and pl. VIII, 3. For the bronze medallion of Hercules and Maximian, both crowned by Victory (HERCULIO MAXIMIANO AUG.; obverse: JOVIO DIOCLETIANO AUG. with the portrait of Diocletian), see F. Gnecci, *I medaglioni romani*, Milan, 1912, III, p. 124, and pl. CXXIV, 1. Iconographically, this type falls in, I guess, with the well-known "winged creatures as spandrel fillers," which have been so ably discussed by Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 1-27, especially p. 18 f.; see also B. Rowland, Jr., "Gandhāra and Early Christian Art," *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 44 ff.

29. This medallion, highly suggestive and so very telling in view of the "transition," was first published by Miss Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI, 1, and p. 179, n. 181; see also pl. XXXIII, 6, 7, and *passim*, for the emperor as *triumphator gentium barbararum* by virtue of the Labarum, a type which in connection with certain litanies will be discussed elsewhere. Hercules sharing the throne with the emperor Maximian (Fig. 24) also has a Christian

It may appear relevant to mention here that the scheme of the two emperors with the winged *Victoria* has survived in the coinage of the Germanic tribes and that it is found on a Frankish third of a gold *solidus* as well as on an Anglo-Saxon thrymsa of the seventh century.³⁰ Decisive, however, for the transition from imperial to Christian concepts are documents of a different kind: the gold-glasses of the Early Christian period. Here the "survival by transference" of the coin images can be grasped almost at a glance, even though the throned figures themselves have been exchanged, and not only the unifying deity. Roman martyrs, preferably Peter and Paul, the Roman apostles, are the favorite figures displayed by the gold-glasses. Sometimes their busts are shown facing each other, sometimes the figures in full sit on chairs. As the "unifier" hovering above the apostles' heads there may be seen, similar to the imperial medallion, the Christogram (Fig. 26 a), or a large crown (Fig. 26 b); or the two symbols might be combined so that the sacred characters are surrounded by the knotted wreath of immortality (Fig. 26 c). On other glasses, the unifier is Christ himself, "coming on the clouds of heaven" and ready to crown his martyrs with, says Prudentius, the *corona civica aeternae curiae*, the crown of the kingdom beyond and of the martyrs and saints (Fig. 26 d).³¹ Gone are the Caesars. Their successors are the Roman apostles and martyrs, crowned rulers and Caesars of the second Rome — a highly suggestive illustration and most faithful mirroring of Prudentius' verses, of the sermons of Pope Leo the Great, and of the spirit which, half a millennium later, dictated *O Roma nobilis* and the cycle of related poems.

One gold-cup, however, rouses our attention in particular. Its general design (Fig. 26 d) is traditional: two seated parallel: St. Demetrius of Thessalonica as throne-sharer of Manuel Angelos, Emperor of Thessalonica; cf. Longuet, "Deux monnaies de Manuel l'Ange Comnène Ducas, empereur de Thessalonique (1230-1262)," *Revue numismatique*, vol. VII, v^e sér., 1943, p. 138. The function of *Victoria* has been taken over here by St. Michael, who in full military attire is displayed on the obverse.

30. See, for France, P. le Gentilhomme, "Trouvaille de monnaies d'or des Mérovingiens et des Wisigoths," *Revue de la numismatique*, 4^e sér., vol. XXXIX, 1936, pl. III, 40, and pp. 100 f., 123, n. 138; for England, Charles Oman, *The Coinage of England*, Oxford, 1931, pl. 1, 5, and p. 6, and G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, London, 1932, pl. 1, 9, who (p. 4), when describing the thrymsa, rightly calls the winged creature "Victory or Angel." A very good reproduction of the English coin is offered by N. T. Belaiew, "On the Geographical Distribution of the Sceattas," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, pl. VII, 10; cf. p. 217.

31. See for Figs. 26 a-d, R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana*, Prato, 1873, pls. 181, 2; 179, 2 (for a photograph, see P. Ducati, *L'arte in Roma dalle origini al sec. VIII*, Bologna, 1938, pl. CCXLIII, 1); 183, 8; 189, 3. There is any number of similar designs with small variations to be found in those plates; see, e.g., pl. 181, 1, and 3-6; pl. 182, 1; 184, 3, etc. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, II, 555 f., addressing St. Stephen: "Aeternae in arce curiae/ gestas coronam civicam"; cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, text vol. II, p. 145. For the wreath surrounding a symbol as well as for the symbolism of the knot, see E. R. Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 139-159, especially 150 ff.

figures with the plain-haloed *Christus coronator* hovering above and between them. According to the inscriptions, the figure to the right is the Protomartyr St. Stephen, and the one to the left is Christ. No doubt, the latter, indeed, is meant to be Christ; the teacher's scroll in his left hand and the quartered globe at his feet duly justify the inscription. It is startling, however, that Christ should appear twice in the same image. He is, at the same time, the one who crowns and who is crowned, who imposes the crown on the martyrs and who receives it as the *martyr synthronos* of the Protomartyr. For Christ himself is the "faithful and true martyr" according to the Johannine writings (Apoc. 1:2, 5; 3:14, 15; John 18:37), and his alignment with Stephen, therefore, makes perfect sense. Yet, the image has perplexed modern scholars, who usually assumed an error on the part of the artist and rejected the possibility "che egli (il Salvatore) incoroni sè stesso." However, to Early Christian minds a concept such as "He that crowneth and is crowned, that imposeth the crown and receiveth it" would have come most natural; and a similar idea is expressed very strongly in the Byzantine liturgies (below, p. 83). Even in the light of the Utrecht Psalter and the Winchester drawing the possibility of a "reduplication" of Christ in imagery should not be ruled out; rather should it be accepted that the Christ Son-of-Man is crowned here by the haloed Christ Son-of-God or Christ-Logos.³²

In the design of the gold-glass, at last, the figure of Christ has been included in that ancient scheme of the two throned figures with a third hovering in the heights above and between them. The next step, however, was long delayed. For a corresponding arrangement of the Holy Trinity, reflecting, as it were, the doxology *Qui tecum vivit et regnat* with the ensuing *in unitate Spiritus sancti*, does not seem to occur in Western art before the beginning of the twelfth century.³³

At any rate, to the master of the Winchester drawing this scheme must have been unknown. In his effort to produce a Trinity, therefore, he could not yet rely upon an established pattern of his subject. He had to develop his scheme more or less by himself on the basis of the imagery then known, and known to him. He chose a very suit-

32. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 165 ff., claims that the inscription has been displaced and that the figure to the left was meant to be St. Laurence; Hermann Vopel, *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser (Archäologische Studien zum christlichen Altertum und Mittelalter, V)*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 54, believes that the artist simply stuck to the traditional pattern of representing *Christus coronator* even though this cliché did not fit the actual design. Much more correct is the opinion (quoted by Vopel, p. 54, n. 4) of W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, 1880, II, p. 1399, who consider one figure as Christ the teacher on earth, whereas "the other shows Him as seen by St. Stephen in vision from heaven."

33. For the doxology in this connection, see Fulgentius, *Epistola* XIV, c.35, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXV, col. 424, the Fourth Question proposed to him by the African Deacon Ferrandus.



FIG. 18. Gold Medallion, Valens and Valentinian



FIG. 19. Gold Medallion, Constantine II (center) with Constans and Constantius II (338 A.D.)



FIG. 20. London, British Museum: Egyptian Amulet of Green Stone, I-II Century A.D.



FIG. 21. Gold Solidus, Valens and Valentinian I with Victory



FIG. 22. Gold Solidus, Theodosius I and Gratian, Haloed, with Victory



FIG. 23. Gold Solidus, Theodosius I and Gratian Crowned by Victory



FIG. 24. Bronze Medallion, Hercules and Maximian Crowned by Victory



FIG. 25. Gold Medallion, Constans and Constantius II with Christogram



FIG. 26 a. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana: Gold-Glass, Peter and Paul Crowned by Christ



FIG. 26 b. Rome, Vatican, Museo Cristiano: Gold-Glass, Peter and Paul



FIG. 26 c. Gold-Glass (Garrucci), Peter and Paul



FIG. 26 d. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana: Gold-Glass, Christ and St. Stephen Crowned by Christ



FIG. 27. Gold Medallion (a) and Solidus (b), Postumus and Hercules



FIG. 28. Small Gold Medallion, Probus and Sol Invictus



FIG. 29. Gold Medallion (a) and Solidus (b), Constantine I and Sol Invictus



FIG. 30. Lavra, St. Nicholas: Wall Painting, King of Kings and High Priest

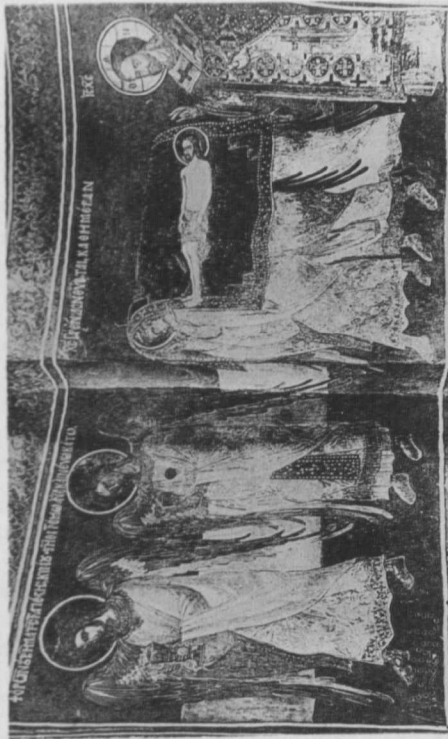


FIG. 31. Lavra, St. Nicholas: Wall Painting, Divine Liturgy ("Thou that offerest and art offered")



FIG. 32. Lavra, St. Nicholas: Wall Painting, Divine Liturgy ("That acceptest and art distributed")



FIG. 33. Jerusalem Psalter (Hagios Taphos MS 53, fol. 162v), Psalm 109



FIG. 34. Belgrade Psalter, fol. 189, Psalm 109

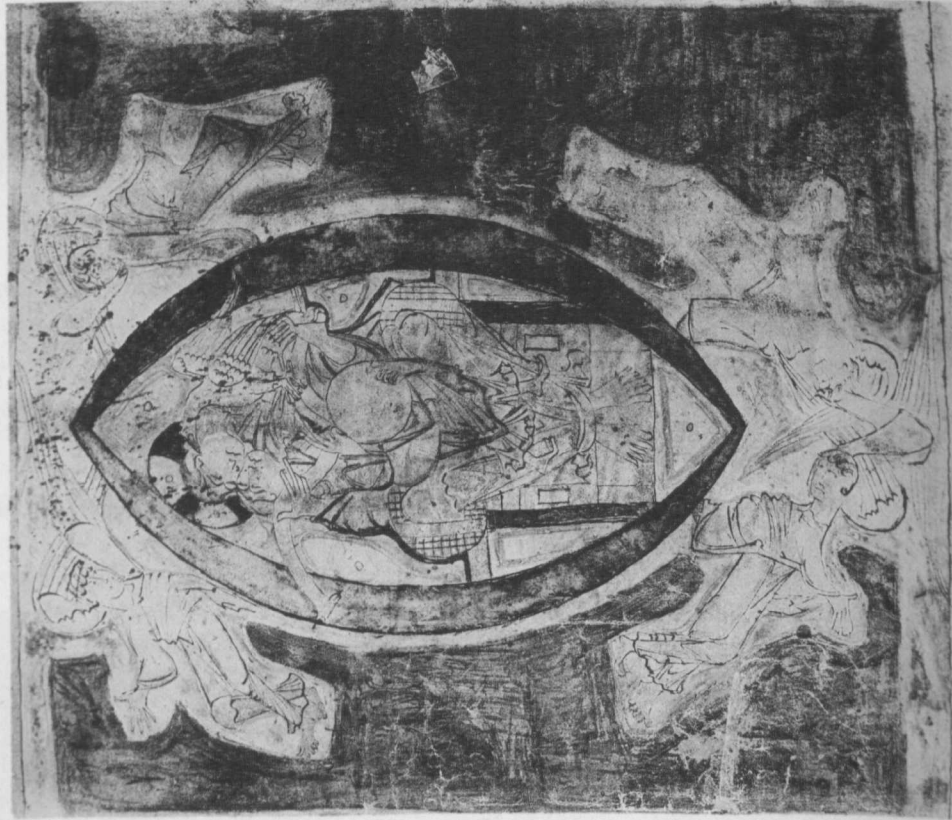


FIG. 35. London, British Museum: Harley MS 603, fol. 1, Trinity

able model, the Psalter illustrations of Psalm 109. There was but one pitfall. Through the agency of this model in the Utrecht conception, the idea of the "double nature" crept into his design. It thrust itself upon the artist, although the difficult problem *utriusque naturae*, all by itself, had nothing to do with a Trinity. However, the artist deviated from his model. In the Winchester drawing the "double nature" is not reflected in the group to the right, in the Two Persons, where this feature is found in the Utrecht Psalter. For in the drawing the two male figures are not distinguished from one another. They both have cruciform-haloes; they are seated together on one bench; and the divine Son, now bearded like the Father, has become the peer of the Father instead of assimilating himself to the youthful type of his own incarnation. Since the group to the right represented, quite obviously, the Father and the divine Son, the Winchester master, to solve his problem, moved the representation of the "double nature," as it were, to the left, that is, he added to the "Binity" of the Psalter model the left group: Mary with the Infant Jesus and the dove.

It may be mentioned immediately that this left group was a result of the artist's own inventive imagination as little as that of the "Binity." That additional subject, too, was borrowed from the Utrecht Psalter. To identify the model, we have to turn to those liturgical formulae which allude to Psalm 109 and to the Son's throne-partnership with the Father: to the *Gloria* ("Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris") and the Apostles' Creed ("Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris"). The illustrations of *Gloria* and *Credo* display, in the Utrecht Psalter (Figs. 13, 14) as well as in its derivations (Figs. 15, 16), the Virgin Mary approaching God on the throne of heaven, with the dove on her head (both without halo) and with the Infant (cross-haloed) in her arms. The editor of the Utrecht Psalter correctly has labelled each of those drawings as "Trinity," if a symbolical Trinity. Yet, on closer inspection, one discovers that those "Trinities" illustrating *Gloria* and *Credo* are just as strange as the one in the Winchester *Officia* and that they, too, in fact, display "Quinities." The drawing illustrating the *Gloria* shows, in addition to the Father, and to Mary with the Infant Jesus and the dove, yet another symbol, the Lamb of the Apocalypse — with, or without, its victorious cross-staff — representing, as it were, Christ *secundum quod Deus*. And in the *Credo* illustration we find the *Etoimasia*, the "empty throne," prepared on a globe, which is also a symbol of the divine Christ (Figs. 14, 16; cf. Fig. 33). In other words, through the symbols of Lamb and Throne, both apocalyptic, the *divinitas Christi* appears to be indicated, whereas the *humanitas Christi* is represented, in both prayers, by the Infant Jesus, the Incarnate, in the arms of his mother.

When now we turn back to the Winchester drawing, it is easy for us to account for the artist's intentions, as well as for his models. The two Persons in the right section of

the image represent the Father with the Son — the Son *secundum divinitatem* and in his appearance the likeness of the Father. To produce a Trinity it would have been sufficient to add a dove. But this the artist, apparently, considered as insufficient, because by the simple addition of the Holy Spirit to the "Binity" he would have ignored Christ *secundum humanitatem*. He therefore contrived the expedient of setting forth the human nature of Christ by representing the Incarnation itself: the Virgin Mother and, closely attached to her, the Holy Spirit. Hence, the throned *Christus Deus* and the Infant *Jesus homo* in the arms of Mary belong together; together they form, as it were, one Person, the divine and the incarnate Christ, that is, the "complete" Saviour *secundum divinitatem* and *secundum humanitatem*. The enigmatic character of the drawing thus derives from the artist's strange endeavor to show the Second Person in its two natures simultaneously. In fact, the whole group — the enthroned Christ, the Infant, and the Virgin — together form the Second Person of the Trinity, to which there has been added the Third Person, the dove.

A few words may be said about the dove, which appears, to say the least, thoroughly uninterested in the *sacra conversazione* of its co-equals. It turns its back toward that group. But it would be unjustified to charge the bird with impoliteness or even indifference. The dove, here a symbol also of the vehicle of the Incarnation, should be compared with similar representations, for instance, with the Annunciation in the Chludoff Psalter (Fig. 17), where the dove nests on St. Mary's head and halo in a manner similar to that of the Winchester drawing, that is, alighting from the right side.³⁴ We may recall that in Early Christian art, in scenes of divine ascensions and descensions, the right side often indicates both "East" and "Heaven."³⁵ This symbolism, however, has seemed indecisive to the master of the Utrecht Psalter (Figs. 13, 14; cf. Figs. 15, 16). In the Psalter, the dove's head is consistently turned toward the Infant Jesus, so that the direction of its bill simply depends upon whether the Child is carried in the right arm of the Virgin or in the left. In the Winchester drawing the Infant is in Mary's right arm — hence the dove turns its back to the group of Father and Son and seems to be occupied with Mary alone. This "oneness" of Mary and the dove refers to the Incarnation. There is no

34. J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustrationen im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxx, 5, 1903, p. 49, fig. 63. The iconographic type, of course, is much older, as is illustrated by the gold-foils found in Mycenae and showing the goddess with the dove on her head; see H. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, New York, 1878, p. 180, fig. 267; Wolfgang Reichel, *Über vorhellenische Götterculte*, Vienna, 1897, p. 77, figs. 31–32. In more recent literature, see also G. H. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Munich, 1930–1933, p. 305, and M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, London-Paris, 1927, pp. 340 ff.

35. See F. J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, Münster i.W., 1918, pp. 37 ff. ("Rechts und Links, Osten und Westen in religiöser Bewertung").

need to assume "gnostic" influences upon the artist in order to elucidate his drawing, a suggestion all the more irrelevant as the design of the left group, centering in Mary, was not an independent creation of the artist.

The originality of the Winchester master, on the whole, appears limited. It is restricted — if we except one item — to the combination of the Psalter illustrations of Psalm 109 with those of the *Gloria* and the Creed, which refer to that psalm. This, in itself, is a matter of major interest, since the fact that Psalm 109 is fundamental to the development of the iconography of the Trinity (Figs. 10, 34) has not yet been studied sufficiently.³⁶

The connection of the Winchester drawing with Psalm 109, however, is also revealing with regard to another detail. Only through the medium of that Psalm can we understand the presence of the third group of figures in the image, the "enemies" serving the Son as a footstool. In the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 2, also Figs. 3, 4, 9) the feet of the *Dominus* rest on two anonymous enemies, in full agreement with the text of the psalm. In the Winchester drawing there is but one enemy, Lucifer,³⁷ whereas the *inimici* suffering in Hell form the "footstool" in a rather indirect and detached fashion. Moreover, these enemies no longer are anonymous; they are named; they are Judas and Arius. It is true that Judas and Arius are sometimes put into parallel in theological writings.³⁸ Yet, it is also true that the presence of Arius in the *Officia* of Winchester would remain obscure unless we realize that this figure is inspired quite plainly by the gloss, or glosses, to the 109th Psalm.

We have to remember that Psalm 109 had been in the very center of the struggles between the orthodox Christians and the heterodox Arians. The orthodox champions had tried to prove the equality of the Son with the Father

by calling upon the evidence of that Psalm, asserting that its words manifested the co-equality of the two *synthronoi*. The Arians, claiming the inferiority of the Son to the Father, ridiculed those alleged proofs. Mockingly they said that the metaphor of the Son sitting at the right side of the Father proved next to nothing; from this evidence one might as well deduce the superiority of the Son over the Father because *qui est in dexteram, ipse est maior*.³⁹ To this St. Ambrose found it easy to reply: *Divinitas gradus nescit*.⁴⁰ Still, the Arians continued to heckle and to minimize the significance of the throne-partnership as described in the Psalm. They claimed that according to the selfsame verse the Son shared the divine throne not as an equal but only because he had been "ordered" to do so — *quia iussus sedet ad dexteram*. And they concluded that the Father who ordered was greater than the Son who obeyed.⁴¹

In short, the Arians, though quite ready to acknowledge the mediatorship of the Son, refused to recognize a status of the Glorified co-equal with that of the Father. "Gloria Patri *per* Filium" was the wording of the Arian doxology which, though having an old tradition and orthodox background, made the Orthodox gradually, as it were, "Perconscious" and prompted them to emphasize all the more vigorously that the King of Glory shared the throne with God as a co-equal.⁴² The orthodox defense eventually resulted in an actual overstress of the God-equal kingship of the triumphant Christ at the expense, perhaps, of his priesthood, a feature which was to impress itself deeply upon the whole development of Western civilization in both the Middle Ages and the age of the Reformation.⁴³

Psalm 109, at any rate, was in the center of the christological discussions of the early Church, and it thus happened that St. Jerome, too, took a stand in those disputes of his times. In his *Commentary* on Psalm 109,⁴⁴ Jerome distinguishes between the two natures of Christ and asserts that the words of the psalm were spoken to Christ the man, and not to Christ the God.

36. According to Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 2, the contamination of the two subjects (psalm and *Gloria* or Creed) has been noticed already by J. O. Westwood, in *Reports Addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum on the Age of MSS*, London, 1874, p. 10 (not accessible to me). Hackel, *Die Trinität*, p. 64, hardly more than mentions the *logos synthronos*. The meaning of the Winchester drawing has been recognized already by J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1911, p. 117, who has suggested that it symbolizes "the human as distinct from the divine character."

37. The crown-like tufts of hair and the snout-like nose are characteristic of the representations of the devil in the Winchester School; see the *Register of New Minster*, in *Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 13, b, or the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, in Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, I, pl. 25, b, as well as the Harrowing of Hell (Cotton MS Tiberius C.vi) in W. Worringer, "Über den Einfluss der angelsächsischen Buchmalerei auf die frühmittelalterliche Monumentalplastik des Kontinents," *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, VIII, 1, 1931, pl. x, fig. 12. The artist may have alluded to Ps. 109:3 ("ante luciferum te genui"), when replacing the customary *inimici* by Enemy, for *lucifer*, the morning-star, is occasionally interpreted as *Lucifer*, the devil; see, e.g., Pseudo-Beda, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XCIII, col. 1034B; Honorius Augustodunensis, *ibid.*, CXCIV, col. 695D. See also Fig. 7.

38. See, e.g., Beda, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, I, 18 and 20, ed. Laistner, p. 12, lines 17 and 24.

39. A. Spagnolo and C. M. Turner, "An Arian Sermon from a MS in the Chapter Library of Verona," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIII, 1912, pp. 20 ff. The Arian arguments against the relevance of Psalm 109 have been refuted in patristic literature time and time again; see, e.g., Hieronymus, *In Ps. cxlviii*, ed. Morin, pp. 308 ff., and *passim*.

40. Ambrosius, *De fide*, II, c.12, especially §105, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XVI, col. 606.

41. See, e.g., Hieronymus, ed. Morin, p. 309, who argues, "Una natura iubet et facit: Deus iubet, Deus facit. Iubet pictor ut pingat pictor, et pictor pingit quod pingi praeceperat." See also Pseudo-Beda, *Patrologia latina*, XCIII, col. 1034C.

42. See the interesting discussion of Fulgentius, *Epistola*, XIV, 35-37, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXV, col. 425C, and for the problem, J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, Münster, 1925, pp. 180 ff., 184 ff.

43. Jungmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f., 188 ff., especially 195 ff.; see also O. Casel's review of Jungmann in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VII, 1927, p. 181, No. 51.

44. Hieronymus, ed. Morin, p. 198.

The God does not sit; it is the assumption of the flesh who is seated. To him, who is man, who has been received into heaven, order is given to sit. This we are saying as against the *Arians* and those who maintain: "Greater is the Father, who orders him to sit, than the one, to whom that order is being given!"

Hence, through the *Commentary* of Jerome the name of Arius came to be connected with Psalm 109 so closely that the reference to Arianism remained a permanent requisite in many of the later expositions on that psalm. It is, therefore, on the strength of Jerome's gloss, or of one of its derivatives, that the Winchester artist placed Arius as "enemy" under the foot of the Lord.⁴⁵ Only through the gloss do we understand both features: (1) the presence of Arius in a Trinity and (2) the artist's urge to represent the two natures of Christ.

The composition of the Winchester drawing, by now, has become perfectly conclusive. From Jerome's time-bound anti-Arian arguments in his *Commentary* on Psalm 109 there derived the figure of Arius; and in this respect the artist worked independently: Arius does not appear in the Utrecht Psalter. From the same gloss there further derived what may have appeared to the artist as a dogmatic necessity: the distinction between the *humanitas* and the *divinitas* of Christ. This distinction had been carried through already by the master of the Utrecht Psalter. However, in the Psalter the subject of the "two natures" had been indicated very discretely either by a halo-variant or by the introduction of the Lamb or the Throne, at any rate in a purely symbolical fashion. The Winchester master has by far outstripped his model. The topic of the two natures, which may have appeared to him as indispensable even in the picture of a Trinity, has been emphasized so forcefully that, in fact, the image might be taken to display an antithesis rather than a synthesis of the God-Christ and His human manifestation.

It might be held that the artist, involuntarily and certainly *optima fide*, has depicted an almost "Nestorian" christology by splitting the two natures of Christ; his work, to be sure, is not in agreement with the "unsevered and unseparated" of Chalcedon or with the corresponding phrases of the Athanasian Creed. Also it might be held

that his efforts to meet the requirements of St. Jerome's gloss have led him to introduce a Virgin Mary that appears as a *christotokos*, mother of Christ, rather than a *theotokos*, Mother of God. The artist certainly did not wish to indicate a polarity of the two natures; but his attempt to illustrate the *Officium Trinitatis* on the basis of Psalm 109 has resulted in a garbled rendering of the triune Deity. He has produced a weird "Quinity," which — it may be mentioned by the way — is in no respect a forerunner of the mariolatrous Quaternities of the later Middle Ages. The "Quinity of Winchester," after all, is meant to be a Trinity, in fact so orthodox and anti-Arian a Trinity that it is on the verge of overbalancing the dogma and turning it to the contrary.

The Winchester Trinity, though probably unique and without a true parallel, reflects nevertheless a rather broad and general artistic or human problem. The difficulty of representing at once the two natures and yet avoiding their, so to speak, "frontal" meeting in the same image has not really been mastered by the artist; it has led him to his quasi-"Nestorianism." This difficulty, however, is restricted to mediaeval and, for that matter, to Christian art in general, as little as the underlying problem itself. It all reappears with any representation of the two natures of any deified human being; and it all turns up unfailingly as soon as the divine, instead of being recognized as an immanent component of the human, begins to lead a life of its own — and vice versa. In this respect there has been much more of "Nestorianism" in history than might be assumed.

Problems of that kind were known to some extent even in Greece where, for example, a divine Heracles was worshipped as distinct from Heracles the man and hero.⁴⁶ "Those Greeks," writes Herodotus,⁴⁷ "I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two cults of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal and calling him the Olympian, but bringing offerings to the other as to a dead hero." This was a simple solution. A greater difficulty arose whenever and wherever the deity that received the honors was identical with the one who paid those honors as high priest or worshipper. The reliefs in the temple of Abu Simbel, in Nubia, show Ramses II, the king and therewith the head of all cults in Egypt, as he inaugurates his own sanctuary and worships his own image.⁴⁸ This may appear as strange, or even ridiculous, to

45. See, e.g., Cassiodorus, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXX, col. 794A, who forms one of the main sources of mediaeval psalter exegesis; or Beda, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, II, 34, ed. Laistner, p. 20, lines 24 ff., who interprets Psalm 109:1, on the basis of Hieronymus, *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. Morin, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 80. This, I believe, clearly evidences that the "Nestorianism" of the Winchester artist results from a second-hand "anti-Arianism" rather than from a direct touch of Nestorian doctrines. However, we should be aware of the fact that a subcurrent of Nestorian ideas, supplied by Theodore of Mopsuestia (above, n. 21) and, to a lesser degree, by Junilius Africanus was certainly permeating Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Psalter exegesis; see G. I. Ascoli, *Il codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana (Archivio glottologico Italiano, v)*, Rome, 1878, and James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay, "Notes on the 'Introductions' of the West-Saxon Psalms," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIII, 1912, pp. 520-558 (esp. pp. 524 f.); see also M. L. W. Laistner, "Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages," *Harvard Theological Review*, XL, 1947, pp. 21, 26 f.

46. For the problem, see A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 142 ff., and Wilfred L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*, London, British Academy, 1944, pp. 39 f.

47. Herodotus, II, 44; Nock, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

48. J. Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique*, Blois, 1912, I, p. 395; the difference does not appear as too great in this connection if really the king should worship only his *Ka*, as is suggested by Nock, "Σύνναος θεός," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XL, 1930, p. 14, n. 1, since the representation of the *Ka* itself leads continuously to the "duplication" of a figure in imagery; see, e.g., Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 54, 210.

the modern mind; but we should be careful when applying such qualifications, even though they may be found in antique literature itself. Athenaeus, for instance, disapproves of Alexander the Great who, vested in the gods' attire and adorned with their insignia, received almost divine worship and, at the same time, offered to them the sacrifices.⁴⁹ Similar situations could turn up very easily in the Roman Empire: the emperor as *Pontifex Maximus* would offer sacrifices and also, at least in the provinces, receive them. In fact, Cassius Dio ridicules Caligula because he consecrated himself to his own service as Jupiter Latiaris, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἱερᾶτο.⁵⁰ Later, in the third century, after the Tetrarchy had established the "Jovian" and "Herculian" dynasties, the situation became even more complex and involved, when "the Genius of each emperor, itself divine and an object of worship, was declared to be the very Genius of Jupiter and Hercules themselves."⁵¹

It is one thing, however, to believe in the simultaneity of the two natures, and to write about it, or even to act accordingly; and it is another thing to represent the two natures in an image — sculpture, coin, or painting. "It was easy for the poet to find in Nero *in uno et Martis vultus et Apollinis*, but how was the sculptor or painter to render this subject?"⁵² The Roman engravers, who had to sink the dies for coins displaying the image of the imperial *deus et dominus*, sometimes may have struggled heavily to solve that difficult problem. It was easy enough to represent the emperor as god by furnishing him with the attributes of the deity, but it was hard to represent him as at once god and man. Various efforts by the Roman or provincial die-sinkers led in that direction, and at least one of the result-

ing solutions, repeatedly applied during the third century, deserves our attention.⁵³ Postumus, the Gallic emperor, seems to have started issuing a type of coin which, by means of jugate busts, combines the profile images of the emperor and of Hercules, a Hercules, to wit, whose features were so strongly assimilated to those of his human-imperial double that they suggested almost identity (Fig. 27).⁵⁴ The same holds good for the jugate busts of Probus and *Sol invictus*, the emperor's *comes* (Fig. 28).⁵⁵ Coins of Carus show the emperor with the same god and in the same configuration, and in this case the inscription *DEO ET DOMINO CARO AUG(usto)* seems to mark the intention of a human-divine duplication even more clearly.⁵⁶ Finally, if we pass over some other combinations,⁵⁷ a gold medallion of the early fourth century (Fig. 29 a) displays the profile of *Invictus Constantinus*, who on his shield exhibits the chariot of the Sun deity, and at the same time the jugate profile bust of a *Sol invictus* whose features strike us as representing — especially in the *aureus* (Fig. 29 b) — almost a twin-likeness of Constantine the Great himself.⁵⁸

53. Alföldi, *loc. cit.*, discusses various solutions, including the one to be discussed here.

54. For Fig. 27a, see Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923-1933, v, 2, pl. XIII, 11; see also pl. XIII, 9-10. The similarity is less striking in pieces such as Fig. 29b, after Gneecchi, *Medaglioni*, pl. CXVI, 7, where the beards differ and the god's nose and forehead are formed more nobly than the emperor's; see also Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, 10, and Toynbee, *Medallions*, pl. XLVI, 8. See, for the general religious background of the jugate heads, H. Usener, "Zwillingsbildung," *Kleine Schriften*, IV, 1913, pp. 334 ff., especially 355 f. Another interesting form of "reduplication" is mentioned by Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22, 3: "Templum etiam numini suo proprium et sacerdotes et excogitissimas hostias instituit. In templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum amiciebaturque cotidie veste, quali ipse uteretur." See also the study of Bickermann, above, note 49.

55. Fig. 28: Toynbee, pl. II, 7; see also Gneecchi, pls. CXIX, 7, and CXXI, 1-3.

56. The legend is found before, e.g., under Aurelian; cf. W. Kubitschek, "Dominus et Deus auf Münzen Aurelians," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, N.F. VIII, 1915, pp. 167 ff., and in general for the title *Dominus et Deus*, Franz Sauter, *Der römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius* (Tübinger Beiträge, XXI), Stuttgart, 1934, pp. 36 ff.; also Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, L, 1935, pp. 92 ff., who in his article quoted above (n. 52) stresses the fact "dass ein Doppelwesen gemeint ist"; see also Mattingly concerning Diocletian, above, n. 51.

57. See Mattingly-Sydenham, *s.v.* "Hercules, Juppiter, Sol," for Probus, Victorinus, Carausius, Diocletian with Sol, for Probus with Hercules, and for Postumus and Diocletian with Juppiter; see, for a jugate bust with Saturn, also Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher der vierten Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes*, LXV, 1930, p. 382, n. 2; W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-1937, II, col. 1461.

58. The beautiful medallion (cf. ART BULLETIN, XXVI, 1944, fig. 6) is now splendidly reproduced by Miss Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, 11; see also J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, Paris, 1908-1912, II, pp. 238 ff., and E. Babelon, in *Mélanges Boissier*, 1903, pp. 49 f. For Fig. 29b, see Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 236, pl. VII, 14; also Alföldi, "The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXII, 1932, pl. II, 15-16.

49. See Athenaeus, XII, 537 F, quoting Ehippos; E. Neuffer, *Das Kostüm Alexanders des Grossen*, Diss. Giessen, 1929, pp. 11 f., 39 ff.; cf. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XV-XVI, 1936, p. 137, who adduces several examples of "self-worship." Another kind of "duplication" seems to have started with Philip II of Macedonia, who, when celebrating the marriage of his daughter (at Aigai, 336 B.C.), had his enthroned image allocated to those of the twelve gods to watch the play in the theatre; that is to say, the king *in natura* was to preside over the performance (had he not been murdered on that occasion) whereas the king *in effigie* was to attend as the "thirteenth god" in the midst of the twelve gods; cf. Diodorus, XVI, 92, 5. See, also, for Alexander, Elias Bickermann, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXVII, 1929, p. 25, note 2. The whole article is relevant to the problem here under discussion.

50. Dio, LIX, 28, 5; Eitrem, *op. cit.*, p. 127. For the very broad problem implicit in αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, and its connection with the godhead which is αὐτοπάτωρ, Father and Son at the same time (τίκτων αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν), see the material collected by Julius Amann, *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, XII), Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 31 ff. and 50 ff.

51. Harold Mattingly, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge, XII, 1939, p. 330, whose definition is well illustrated by the medallions; cf. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pl. III, 15-16. See also Mattingly, in his review of Miss Toynbee's book, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. VI, vol. IV, 1944, p. 126, concerning the legend IOVI DIOCLETIANO AUG.

52. Alföldi, "Zur Kenntnis der römischen Soldatenkaiser: II," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXXVIII, 1928, p. 192, a study to which I owe very much.

"Co-equality" with the god, as suggested by the coin inscriptions of Carus and others before him, probably was not always intended. The god might be honored as the *comes* or *consors* of the emperor, and the emperor, in his turn, might appear as the god's duplication in the flesh.⁵⁹ However, the iconographical solution of representing the emperor as both "god" and "lord" at the same time is interesting because it is reminiscent, at least in one respect, of Christian solutions. The master of the Utrecht Psalter, for example, when representing the incarnate Christ at the side of the divine Christ (or "Christ-Logos"), distinguishes the otherwise identical figures merely by a slight variance of the halo: a plain one for the *Deus*, and a cruciform-halo for the *Dominus*. This distinction by means of the "headgear" is most conspicuous in the medallions of Probus or Constantine: the god, whose features are identical with those of the emperors, wears the radiate crown whereas Probus is helmeted and Constantine laureate. This parallel does not suggest a "borrowing" from imperial coins on the part of the mediaeval artist; it merely implies a similar solution of a task which by its very nature was difficult to solve.

When now we turn back again to the general period of the Winchester drawing, we find that difficulties of a pertinent kind were felt by the Church itself. This is evinced, above all, by the Council of Constantinople in 1156.⁶⁰ The question had arisen whether the sacrifice of the mass should not be offered solely to the Father and the Holy Spirit, since Christ as the High Priest could not offer himself to Himself; or else, the idea of Christ the High Priest had to be discarded. In other words, the problem had turned up whether the straight and square confrontation of the two natures of Christ — as Offerer and as Recipient of the sacrifice — was still compatible with the Chalcedonian Creed or whether this duplication produced a "Nestorian" split of the unity of the Double Nature. A high member of the Eastern hierarchy, Soterichus, patriarch-elect of Antioch, and a small group of bishops following him, therefore had objected to a prayer to be said at the "Great Entrance" while the Cherubic Hymn was being sung, which contained the formula: "Thou art He that offerest, and art offered; and that acceptest and art distributed."⁶¹ This prayer, which in the Byzantine liturgies can be traced back to the ninth century at the latest, appeared to the Patriarch as "Nestorian" because he felt that it placed the sacrificial Christ — *secundum humanitatem* — almost antithetically

against Christ *secundum divinitatem*, who received the sacrifice, and that therefore it suggested "two Christs." The synod rejected the scruples of the patriarch-elect; it even declared him incapable of being invested with his high office. The matter, however, relevant to the problem here at issue is that among the authorities which the assembly adduced in order to prove the orthodoxy of the formula, we find Psalm 109.⁶² This reference is significant, since indeed the first verse of the psalm seemed to suggest a similar duplication — *Dominus Domino*.⁶³ The synod meant to demonstrate by this quotation that the abrupt confrontation of the two natures was in full agreement with the dogma, since they believed the psalm to emphasize, not the severance, but the oneness of the two natures.

It has seemingly never been investigated — and to do so is far beyond the scope of this study — to what extent the decision of 1156, confirming so energetically (as it does) the concept of Christ the High Priest, may have been responsible for the development of an iconographical subject which began to make its appearance in the wall-paintings of Eastern churches in the twelfth century, or shortly thereafter.⁶⁴ We have to think, in the first place, of the type of the Χριστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς, the Christ in episcopal — and that is, sacrificial — attire, a representation which became very common in the decorations of Orthodox churches (Fig. 30), whereas it remained almost unknown in the West.⁶⁵ In the second place, however, we have to recall the great cycles of the "Divine Liturgy" illustrating almost programmatically that very verse which had caused the trouble in 1156: "Thou art He that offerest, and art offered [Fig. 31]; and that acceptest and art distributed [Fig. 32]." Did not, dogmatically, the Council of 1156 free the way to, and even encourage, those images in which the divine Christ in episcopal apparel is shown as he dismisses and blesses the cortège of angels carrying the sacrificed human Christ, and, at the same time, as he re-

62. See Mai, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 f., where the Council refers to Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Prooemium in Psalterium*. See above, note 21.

63. In the Hebrew original, of course, there is no duplication, since the *Tetragrammaton* (Jehovah) addresses the *ādōn*, as has been pointed out already by Hieronymus, *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, ed. Morin, *op. cit.*, III, 1, p. 80. The duplication results from the translation which renders the sign standing for Jehovah likewise with *Dominus* (κύριος).

64. For the date of the illustrations (twelfth to fifteenth centuries), see J. D. Ștefănescu, "L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient," *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, I, 1932, pp. 22 ff., and for the illustrations of the "Great Entrance," pp. 72 ff.

65. D. V. Ainalov, "Nouveau type iconographique du Christ," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II, 1928, p. 24, traces the concept of Christ the Priest to the apocryphal tradition of the sixth century which has influenced the illustration of Luke 4:14 f. This, however, does not match exactly the type of Christ officiating in the Divine Liturgy, for which L. Bréhier, "Une nouvelle théorie de l'histoire de l'art byzantin," *Journal des savants*, N.S. XII, 1914, p. 36, suggests Cappadocian origin. See, for Fig. 30, G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris, 1927, pl. 262, fig. 1 (St. Nicholas, in Lavra). The very rare Western representations of *Christus Pontifex Maximus* will be discussed elsewhere.

59. See, for the gods as the emperors' *comes*, the forthcoming study of A. D. Nock, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXVIII, 1947.

60. The Acts of the Council are published by Angelo Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, X, 1844, pp. 1-93; cf. K. J. Hefele, *Konziliengeschichte*, Freiburg, i.Br., V, 1886, pp. 567 ff.; Jungmann, *op. cit.*, p. 210. For the allegation on the part of the iconoclasts saying that the iconophiles were "Nestorians," see G. B. Ladner, "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Mediaeval Studies*, II, 1940, pp. 148 f.

61. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, I, pp. 318, 34 (Basil), 378, 5 (Chrysostomos), 431, 6 (Armenian).

ceives paten and chalice from the procession of angels vested in the raiment of priests and deacons?⁶⁶ In those paintings, indeed, the duplication of "Offerer" and "Recipient" is shown most clearly, in a straightforward fashion the "naturalism" of which by far surpassed the concept of the Winchester drawing. Eastern art felt unshocked at the portrayal of Christ confronting Himself in even more than one aspect. It felt unembarrassed at displaying the divine-human duplication in that naturalistic and forthright fashion which despite (or through?) its undeniable hieratic grandeur, its stern dignity, and its almost inexhaustible symbolism evokes somewhat bewildering, not to say uncanny, feelings in the unprepared occidental spectator.

Even at the complete loss of this element of breath-taking emotion and sacred awe, the West has preferred to represent the two natures separately, either the one or the other. The God and the Man, when shown in the same panel, would be distributed to two different registers: in a lower compartment, the Madonna with the Infant, or the Crucified; in an upper, the exalted "King of Glory." It is like distributing the two natures to the two sides of a coin, a solution actually suggested by a seal of Charles the Bald: on the obverse side, an acclamation to the King of Glory; on the reverse, a supplication to the Son of Man.⁶⁷ In all that there is tension, too, but not the awesome and perplexing tension that results from the duplication of a figure, from man's meeting squarely with his own otherness, his divine or deified self.⁶⁸ Nor is anything like it to be found in the later Western images of the Trinity. True, the Trinities sometimes show three identical divine figures (Fig. 8), perplexing through the triplication of the same; but in these images the human nature of the Second Person suffers restriction — the manifest deficiency which the Winchester artist tried to overcome. Another type, very popular in later times, shows the "Throne of Grace," that is, the Father holding the crucified Christ before him, with the dove hovering in the center or the upper part of the image; but in this case, the unity and co-equality of the Three Persons remain in the sphere of the dogma without convincing the eye alone. These Trinities lack the inner tension, human or hieratic, which is absent also from the monstrous three-faced, three-headed, or three-busted Trinities which eventually were severely censured by the Church.⁶⁹

66. See, for Figs. 31-32, Millet, *op. cit.*, pls. 256, 2 and 257, 2; see also pl. 262, 1-2, and in general the discussion of Ștefănescu, *supra*, n. 64.

67. Obverse: *Gloria sit Christo Regi victoria Carlo*. Reverse: *Jesu Nate Dei Carlum defende potenter*. See B. de Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, Paris, 1728-1733, I, p. 274, pl. XXI, 9.

68. For the general problem of the "celestial second self" (*himmlischer Doppelgänger*), see R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 178 ff.:

"Ich gehe meinem Abbild entgegen,
Und mein Abbild geht mir entgegen. . . ."

69. For Fig. 8, see V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1927, pl. ix. The

We realize that to abandon the face-to-face confrontation of the two natures in one pictorial composition meant also to abandon a very strong and effective element of stir and commotion. And yet, it has been demonstrated by one, admittedly singular, specimen that it was not altogether beyond artistic reach or possibility to depict, if on a very different level, a meeting of god or man with his other self, a "meeting" which contained a maximum of tension and inner emotion, and which yet avoided, through its simple humanity, the perplexities of duplication or triplication.

The unfinished, not too well-known Trinity, which has been sketched on the first folio of the MS Harley 603, is seemingly a *hapax gegrammenon*, a unique piece, and at the same time a masterpiece. There is no reason to reject the assumption that the sketch is contemporary with the main part of the codex — itself a copy of the Utrecht Psalter — and that therefore an Anglo-Saxon master working in the first decades of the eleventh century should be held responsible for that image (Fig. 35).⁷⁰

In a rather large mandorla a simple throne-bench is decked with the customary roll-shaped cushion. On this God the Father is seated. A cruciform halo surrounding his head frames the soft waves of his parted hair. His feet rest on a footstool. His ankles, or rather the heels of his feet, are about to touch while the knees fall far apart and thus form a lap. In the lap, and balanced by the right knee, the Son is held, whose little feet are dangling in the air. The Son carries in the left hand a globe which appears very large, somewhat out of proportion with his stature. The Son is of an unusual age, neither babe nor adult. He may be seven, or ten, or twelve; one cannot tell. He is without halo, but he shares, as it were, the Father's crown of light and pain. A scroll — does it indicate the *Verbum*? — winds across the Child's chest and over his right shoulder. It is held by the Father in the left hand and is gently supported by his right, which, at the same time, supports the cheek of

earliest Western specimen of this type seems to be the Trinity in Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*; cf. Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," p. 46, pl. IV, c, who discusses also some of the "monstre" Trinities (*monstrum in rerum natura*, according to Archbishop Antonine of Florence). Pope Urban VIII had those images publicly burned in 1628; cf. Usener, "Dreiheit," p. 182. For the "Throne of Grace," see MacHarg, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff. (*supra*, n. 1). A related concept within Eastern art has been reproduced by Helen Rubissow, *The Art of Russia*, New York, 1946, pl. 2, to which Professor G. H. Williams, in Berkeley, has kindly called my attention. The fourteenth-century icon shows the Infant Jesus, with the dove in his chest, on the knees of the Father. The type can be traced back, in the East, to the twelfth century (see H. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei*, Vienna, 1926, pl. XVIII, and p. 34 f.) and may be even older. It is most interesting to note that the representation of the anthropomorphic Holy Spirit was forbidden by Pope Benedict XIV (1740-58).

70. The manuscript is well known; see, e.g., Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 115 f. Reproductions of the Trinity, however, are not known to me, nor does the Princeton Index seem to have this Trinity in its files. Mr. Francis Wormald, of the British Museum, has most kindly called my attention to this Trinity and has also provided me with a print of the image. To determine date, school, hand, or stemma of the sketch is beyond my present possibilities, and a more searching study than the one offered here must be left to the experts.

the Child. On the scroll, where it passes over the Father's left arm, and almost vertically above the globe, the dove has placed its feet. The Spirit that "bloweth as it listeth" seems surprised at realizing what Oneness it has produced. And the surprise is even greater with the four strange-looking angels which surround, and supposingly carry, the mandorla. They are the angels "desirous to look,"⁷¹ the angels who, curious and furtive, yearn to watch the mystery that comes to pass behind the curtain of light formed by the mandorla.

An enthroned figure with the Child on its lap, all by itself, is anything but a rare and unfamiliar topic. Abraham, a bit stiff and hieratic, may be seen occasionally holding, not only Lazarus, but also the Infant Jesus on his knees (Fig. 11).⁷² This, however, is subject matter belonging to a slightly later period. Here we may forget about it all the more readily as the one and only relevant model of the composition reveals itself at the first glance: the Madonna, the enthroned Virgin Mary with the Babe on her lap or her knees. Two remarkable changes of the model appear as the ingenious device of the artist. First, the Babe no longer is a babe, an "Infant Jesus." He is far too advanced in age to depend on the Mother or to sit on her lap. His nourishment is of a kind different from the milk of his Mother's breast. He has ceased to be, as it were, *Mariae filius*. Still, he is not yet the Teacher, the adult Christ, not yet *Mariae dominus*, though his boyhood does not permit us to forget entirely that the Child was born in the flesh by a mortal Mother. This impression, however, is counterbalanced, or even eclipsed, by the second change which the artist has contrived. The place of the Mother has been taken by the Father. The birth *in carne* has been supplemented and supplanted, most visibly, by the *generatio in spiritu*, as befits the age of the boy. If ever a "Generation in the Spirit" has been convincingly demonstrated, and in a manner both delightful and stirring, it is in this Anglo-Saxon sketch. The delicacy of the feelings which it discloses seems to make the most delicate Madonna appear somewhat coarse and with some residuum of the *christotokos*. The scene showing the Son in the arms of his Father has the touch of an unsurpassed purity and chastity, the touch of a loving tenderness which differs from that of a mother and yet includes it. Moreover, it has the touch of simplicity without rusticity, of that simple beauty and unbroken passion which are so familiar to us from the figures on Greek vases and from the verses of early Greek lyrics.

The Son is doubtless the Father's equal. It is not only

71. Cf. I Peter 1:12 concerning the mysteries of salvation "which things angels desire to look into." In the sense of angelic curiosity, which tries to glimpse behind the curtains of the Holy of Holies, this verse was quoted by Moses Bār Kēphā (813-903) in his *Exposition of the Liturgy*; see R. H. Connolly and H. W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, London, 1913, p. 67. The verse fairly describes the curious eyes of the angels surrounding the mandorla.

72. See the delightful study of Erwin Rosenthal, "Abraham and Lazarus. Iconographical Considerations of a Medieval Book Painting," *The Pacific Art Review*, IV, 1945-1946, pp. 7 ff. Cf. Gerstinger, *loc. cit.*, above note 69.

the physical features — the double-curve of the lips, the strangely drawn brows vaulting over the half-closed lids of slightly slanted eyes, the long straight nose — which betray the co-equality. It is, above all, the Child's spirit which has been awakened to equal that of the Father. Anselm's pressing question, posed more than two generations later, *Cur Deus homo? Cur homo Deus?*, has found a clear and forthright answer in this embracement without words, and with thought silenced. The mute oneness of Father and Son beyond word or thought solves, as it were, the mysteries of incarnation and deification. The Son that lifts and lends his face to the Father and still clings to the globe of the universe, the Father that bends his head down to the Son, they both seem to be melting away in that timeless moment of surrender, one spirit, one flesh, each meeting his own self in the other, each God and man at the same time. What difference does it make who holds the globe! It is as though the Father, while with half-closed eyes he presses the cheek of the lad to his cheek, were speaking, not through the medium of word or thought, but through the co-equal rhythm of the pulses: "What difference which of us should hold the globe! What difference who has created this universe! We ourselves do not know. What I have created, is your creation; for what I have done, has been done for you, and therefore by you. If your nature be human, I am man too. And if I be the creating God, you are the creating God too." Here there is no split. It is the true Oneness of the Two Natures. And it is all human or, which is the same, all divine. And it is both at once.

Goethe, in his notes on the paintings of Philostratus, discusses the relationship between Heracles and his son Telephos as depicted by the Greek master. He calls the conception "infinitely tender" (*unendlich zart*), and he meditates: "Unfortunately, the more modern art" has been hindered by religious accidents from forming the most delightful proportions, the relations of father to son, of fosterer to infant, of educator to pupil, whereas surely ancient art has handed to us the most delicious documents of that kind."⁷³ Goethe, as always, has struck the vital chord; his verdict has proved, on the whole, to be justified. To the rule, however, the Harley Trinity forms the exception. Like so many works of Anglo-Saxon art, this sketch discloses an un-Roman lyrical undercurrent. It is as though from far away "a glance has flashed" to meet the artist. There does not seem to occur, in the Middle Ages, an epistrophe of his concept.

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73. "Modern," here, is used by Goethe in the humanistic sense, for example, of Petrarch, *De rebus familiaribus*, VI, 2 (edited by J. Fracassetti, Florence, 1859, I, p. 314): "dicantur antiquae quaecumque ante celebratum. . . Christi nomen, novae autem ex illo usque ad hanc aetatem."

74. *Goethes Werke*, ed. H. Grimm, Weimar, 1898, XLIX, i, p. 129: "Leider war die neuere Kunst durch religiöse Zufälligkeiten verhindert, die köstlichsten Verhältnisse nachzubilden: den Bezug vom Vater zum Sohn, vom Ernährer zum Säugling, vom Erzieher zum Zögling, da uns doch die alte Kunst die herrlichsten Documente dieser Art hinterliess." Cf. p. 72: "Hercules als Vater: unendlich zart und zierlich."