

Carolingian Crucifixion Iconography: An Elaboration of a Byzantine Theme*

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Résumé

On retrouve dans l'art carolingien du neuvième siècle un type de représentations de la crucifixion qui met en relief un grand nombre de motifs symboliques, parmi lesquels on peut relever le serpent lové au pied de la croix, les personnifications féminines de l'Église et de la Synagogue, ainsi que celles du soleil, de la lune, de la terre et de l'océan, et, enfin, des représentations de la résurrection des morts. L'origine de cette iconographie reste incontestablement byzantine, mais les enlumineurs et les sculpteurs d'ivoire carolingiens ont enrichi l'archétype pendant de nombreuses décennies. La plupart de ces transformations provenaient du désir de développer un symbolisme triomphal, inhérent à ce type de modèle. Le motif du serpent lové au pied de la croix semble l'une des additions les plus importantes et apparaît pour la première fois dans le *Sacramentaire de Drogon*.

Drogon. Le serpent, symbole de Satan, signifie doublement: il sert de référence typologique à la chute d'Adam et représente le Christ triomphant du Malin. Quoique l'on puisse déduire le sens du motif des écrits bibliques et patristiques, l'explication la plus plausible provient de la liturgie carolingienne de la période. La personnification de la Synagogue semble être l'un des éléments les plus variables de ces crucifixions. Elle est représentée par un grand nombre de poses, de gestes et d'attributs différents —et apparaît même, en ce qui concerne le *Sacramentaire de Drogon*, sous forme masculine—. Dans certains cas, on pourrait croire que la diversité formelle de ce motif laissent entrevoir une attitude plus bienveillante à l'égard du Judaïsme que ne le reflétait le modèle byzantin lui-même.

In ninth-century Carolingian art a type of Crucifixion image emerges that features a number of highly symbolic motifs, including female personifications of the Church and Synagogue, a serpent coiled around the base of the cross, personifications of the sun, moon, earth and ocean, and figures of the awakened dead. The earliest extant example of this iconography is found in the Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 1), which was produced at Metz ca. 850 for Archbishop Drogo (823-55), an illegitimate son of Charlemagne.¹ Other versions of this imagery appear on a number of Carolingian ivory carvings, such as a bookcover in Paris (Fig. 2), from the later Metz group, dated ca. 870;² and the cover of the Pericopes of Henry II in Munich (Fig. 3), made at the Court School of Charles the Bald, also ca. 870.³

A large number of studies have appeared, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, that have attempted to discover the origin and meaning of this complex imagery.⁴ None of these efforts, however, has considered these Crucifixion scenes as products of various stages in an evolutionary process. Such an approach is critical to a full comprehension of the iconography. In this article the pictorial and textual sources of the individual elements of the composition will be analysed and the various stages in its development will be identified. Through this method is gained not only a more complete understanding of the overall meaning of these images, but also an insight into the working methods of Carolingian artists.

Any discussion of the origin and development of this Crucifixion imagery must begin with its earliest known manifestation in the Drogo Sacramentary. As seen in Figure 1, the central figure of Christ on the cross is flanked by



Figure 1. Drogo Sacramentary, Crucifixion. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 9428, fol. 43v (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

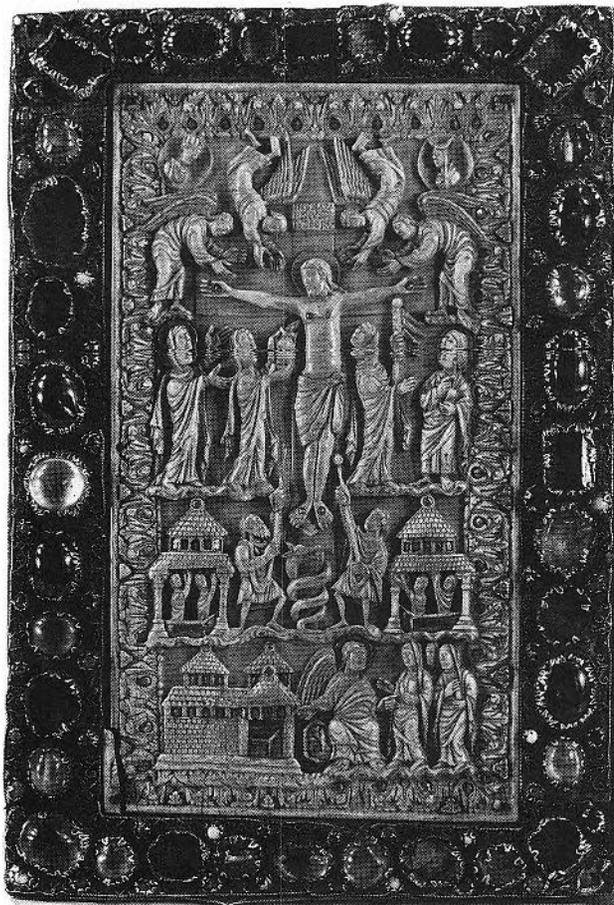
the mourning figures of the Virgin on the far left and John the Evangelist on the far right. Christ is dressed in a knee-length loincloth (*perizoma*), and his feet are affixed to a *sppedaneum*. Between the Virgin and Christ, to the left of the cross, stands a female personification of the Church, or Ecclesia. She holds a three-pointed banner attached to a lance in her left hand and raises a chalice in her right hand to catch the flow of blood and water that issues from the

wound in Christ's side. Between Christ and John the Evangelist, to the right of the cross, is seated the figure of an old man who holds a large round object in his left hand and gestures toward Christ with his right hand. A large serpent is coiled around the base of the cross, and on either side of the cross is a sarcophagus, from which a tiny figure emerges, raising its arms toward Christ. In the sky above Christ's head is a wreath flanked by the half-figure of a hovering angel on either side. The angels are in turn flanked by personifications of the sun (on the left, above the Virgin) and the moon (on the right, above John).

The other Carolingian examples of this iconography postdate the Drogo Sacramentary by at least twenty years, but almost all of the details of the Drogo Sacramentary Crucifixion scene can be found in the later Carolingian works, with a few additions and omissions. Added motifs include figures of Stepaton and Longinus, personifications of the earth and ocean, and representations of the Three Women at the Tomb. Moreover, in a number of the later works, female personifications of Synagogue or Jerusalem are depicted to the right of the cross, replacing the figure of the old man, who is unique to the Drogo Sacramentary. These female personifications are represented in a variety of poses. On the Nicasius diptych in Tournai (Fig. 4), for example, a female figure, identified as a personification of Jerusalem by inscription—*HIERUSALE(M)*—stands facing the cross and looks up and gestures toward Christ.⁵ On the Metz ivory bookcover in Paris (Fig. 2), a female personification of Synagogue holds a banner, stands with her back to the cross, but turns her head to look up and over her shoulder at Christ.⁶ On an ivory plaque in Florence (Fig. 5), a female figure of Synagogue walks away from the cross at the far right of the scene.⁷ She does not look back at Christ. On the bookcover from the Court School of Charles the Bald in Munich (Fig. 3), to the far right of the cross a standing personification of Ecclesia confronts a seated personification of Synagogue who wears a crown and holds an orb.⁸ Ecclesia lays one hand on Synagogue's orb, as if to claim it for herself.

Was the illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary the source for the later Carolingian Crucifixion scenes? Or was the Drogo Sacramentary illustration itself based on an earlier pictorial model? A possible source for this imagery is revealed by an examination of Byzantine Crucifixion scenes. An early tenth-century Byzantine enamel quatrefoil in Tbilisi depicts a scene of the Crucifixion with features closely related to the Carolingian versions: two angels hovering in the sky above the cross, the Virgin at the far left of the scene, Ecclesia holding up a chalice to the left of the cross, John the Evangelist to the right of the cross, and Synagogue at the far right, walking away from the cross.⁹ The

Figure 2. Ivory plaque, Crucifixion. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 9453 (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

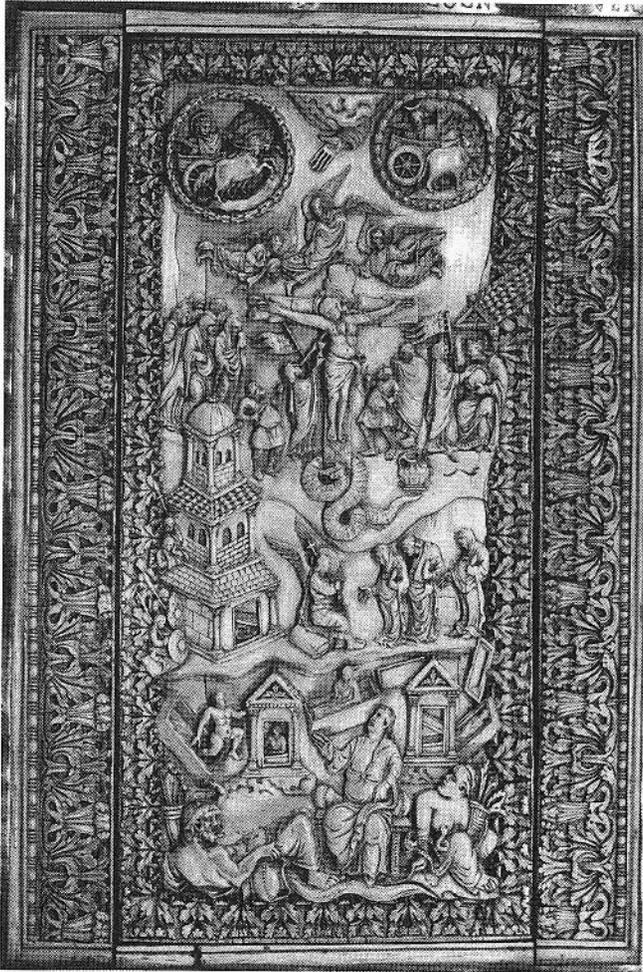


only feature of the scene on the Tbilisi enamel that is not found in the Carolingian examples is a skull of Adam at the base of the cross.

The similarity between the scenes of the Crucifixion on the Tbilisi enamel and the related Carolingian works suggests a common archetype. Since the Carolingian examples predate the Tbilisi enamel, a few scholars have suggested that this imagery developed in the West during the Carolingian period and influenced middle Byzantine Crucifixion scenes.¹⁰ Most scholars, however, believe that the iconography of Ecclesia and Synagogue beside the cross is Byzantine in origin, since this imagery is fairly widespread in Byzantine art, not confined to a few monuments.¹¹

A variation of the iconography seen on the Tbilisi enamel can be seen in another Byzantine monument, an eleventh-century Gospel book in Paris (Fig. 6), where personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue hover in mid-air on either side of the cross, being propelled by angels.¹² In this illustration Ecclesia is without a chalice,¹³ but many middle and late Byzantine Crucifixion images conflate the iconography seen on the Tbilisi enamel—Ecclesia with a chalice—with that depicted in the Byzantine Gospel book—

Figure 3. Ivory plaque, Crucifixion. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm. 4452 (photo: Staatsbibl.)



Ecclesia and Synagogue propelled by angels.¹⁴ The scene on the Tbilisi enamel is the earliest of these Byzantine examples, and it is also the closest to the Carolingian versions, since Ecclesia and Synagogue are both standing at ground level and the propelling angels do not appear.

The Byzantine origin of this iconography cannot be conclusively established without finding either a Byzantine image that predates the Drogo Sacramentary or a Byzantine textual source.¹⁵ However, the earlier evolution of this imagery in the East can be partially substantiated by other visual evidence. If one compares early Western and early Eastern depictions of Ecclesia, such as the personifications of Ecclesia in a fifth-century mosaic at Santa Sabina in Rome (Fig. 7),¹⁶ and a personification of Ecclesia in a sixth/seventh-century fresco in the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit,¹⁷ it can be seen that the Western figures' attributes are codices, while the Eastern figure's attribute is a chalice. Since the Eastern personification is more closely related to the subsequent iconography of Ecclesia catching the blood of Christ in a chalice, it seems most likely that this imagery developed in the East.

At the very latest, this iconography must have emerged by the middle of the ninth century, since by ca. 850 it had become known in the Latin West and was copied in the illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary. However, an even earlier date for the development of this Byzantine iconography can be hypothesized on the basis of a scene of the Crucifixion in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 8), dated ca. 820.¹⁸ In this image a figure of the psalmist stands to the left of the cross and holds up a chalice to catch the blood and water from Christ's side, in illustration of Psalm 115 (116):13: "I will take the chalice of salvation: and I will call upon the name of the Lord" (Douai version). The similarity of this figure to the later Carolingian depictions of Ecclesia beside the cross suggests that the scene in the Utrecht Psalter derives from the same pictorial tradition.¹⁹ Therefore, the iconography of Ecclesia at the Crucifixion can probably be dated at least as early as ca. 820.

The influence of Byzantine Crucifixion iconography in the Latin West during the Carolingian period would certainly not be the first instance of Eastern influence on Western Crucifixion images. In the earliest Western scenes of the Crucifixion, for example, such as an early fifth-century ivory plaque in the British Museum, Christ is dressed in a very short loincloth, much briefer than the knee-length loincloth seen in the Carolingian works.²⁰ This costume is quite distinct from the ankle-length, sleeveless tunic (*colobium*) depicted in early Byzantine art, as seen in the Rabbula Gospels of 586 (Florence, Bibl. Laur., MS Plutarch I, 56, fol. 13r).²¹ By the eighth century, however, the Byzantine *colobium* is frequently represented in Western Crucifixion images, such as in a fresco dated 741-52 in the Theodotus Chapel of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome.²²

The knee-length loincloth worn by Christ in the Carolingian works is also Byzantine in origin. The earliest extant depiction of this costume is on a seventh/eighth-century icon at Mount Sinai, and eventually the *perizoma* supplants the *colobium* as the standard garment for Christ in Eastern Crucifixion scenes.²³ The long, Byzantine type of loincloth is first seen in Western art in the eighth century, in such works as the Merovingian Gellone Sacramentary (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 12048, fol. 143v), dated ca. 780.²⁴ Other details of Carolingian Crucifixion imagery also reflect Byzantine iconography. The motifs of the hovering angels and the *suppedaneum*, for example, first appeared in Byzantine art in the seventh/eighth century, and are depicted on the aforementioned icon. The hovering angels were incorporated into Western Crucifixion imagery prior to the Carolingian period, as is witnessed by the Gellone Sacramentary illustration. The *suppedaneum* may not have been adopted in the West until the ninth century; the Drogo

Sacramentary is one of the earliest known Western manifestations of this motif.²⁵

Another feature of Byzantine Crucifixion iconography that was incorporated into Western versions is the sagging, contrapposto pose of Christ, as seen on the Tbilisi enamel, where Christ's hips are swung out to his right. His drooping body is suggestive of the fact that he is dead on the cross,²⁶ and his twisted form would seem to be a logical development of the affixing of his feet to a *suppedaneum*. This pose is not represented in a fully developed manner in Byzantine art until the tenth century,²⁷ but a mid-ninth-century Byzantine icon at Mount Sinai shows Christ's left leg slightly overlapping the right, thus representing an early phase of this twisted pose.²⁸ On some Carolingian ivory carvings (Fig. 2) Christ's left leg also seems to be slightly more prominent, reflecting his pose on the icon. In other Carolingian works, however, such as the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., MS Biblia fol. 23, fol. 27r), dated ca. 830, Christ's right leg overlaps the left.²⁹ In the Drogo Sacramentary Christ's right leg is also more prominent, and his hips are swung out to his left, the reverse of the pose seen in Byzantine art. Nevertheless, the essential similarity of this pose to Eastern versions suggests that the contrapposto pose of Christ on the cross must have emerged in Byzantine art by the middle of the ninth century, and was copied in reverse by the artist of the Drogo Sacramentary.

It should now be possible to suggest a probable reconstruction of the Byzantine model or models, depicting Ecclesia and Synagogue flanking the cross, that was consulted by the Carolingian artists. The Carolingian work that is most closely related to the Tbilisi enamel—the earliest extant Byzantine example of this iconography—is the ivory plaque in Florence (Fig. 5). In both images Ecclesia and Synagogue are depicted without banners, with Synagogue at the far right of the scene, walking away from the cross. Thus the Florence plaque is probably the most faithful reflection of the Byzantine model. Other details of the Carolingian Crucifixion scenes may also have been present in the Byzantine model. The figures of Stephaton and Longinus, for example, are commonly depicted in Byzantine Crucifixion scenes. In addition, the figures of the awakened dead could also derive from a Byzantine model. Stephaton, Longinus and figures of the awakened dead are depicted in the scene in the Byzantine Gospel book in Paris (Fig. 6). The awakened dead are not frequently seen in Byzantine art, however,³⁰ and might instead represent Carolingian additions to the Byzantine model: figures of the awakened dead are depicted beneath the cross in a scene of the Crucifixion in the Utrecht Psalter (fol. 90r).³¹ Such an image could have inspired the inclusion of this motif in the later Carolingian works.

Figure 4. Ivory plaque, Crucifixion. Tournai, Cathedral Treasury (photo: A.C.I. Brussels)

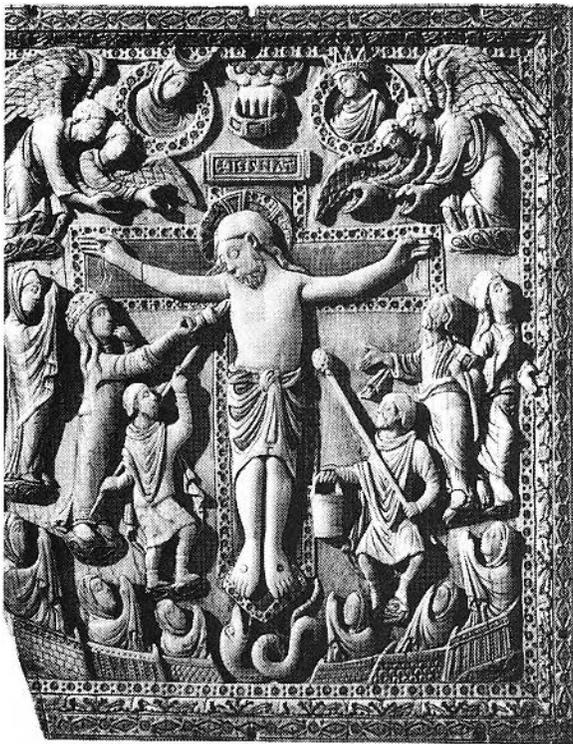


A number of additions were made to this Byzantine model by Carolingian artists. These include the serpent at the base of the cross, the wreath above Christ's head, the banners held by Ecclesia and Synagogue, and the personifications of the earth and ocean. The personifications of the sun and moon probably also represent Carolingian additions. These figures are seen in some early Byzantine Crucifixion images, such as a sixth-century lead ampulla in Monza,³² but were rarely depicted in Byzantine art after the sixth century. (Instead, non-anthropomorphic symbols were used.) Consequently, while these figures probably derive ultimately from Byzantine art, they were not likely to have been included in the same model that depicted Ecclesia and Synagogue. Personifications of the sun and moon had already become associated with Western scenes of the Crucifixion by the early Carolingian period, as seen, for example, on the Harrach ivory diptych from the Court School of Charlemagne.³³

The wreath above Christ's head appears for the first time in a Crucifixion scene in the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 8). The serpent at the base of the cross and Ecclesia's banner appear for the first time in the Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 1). Later Carolingian ivory carvers added personifications of the earth and ocean, and scenes of the Women at the Tomb. In addition, Carolingian artists, with the exception of the carver of the Florence plaque, frequently altered the Byzantine type of Synagogue. On the Paris plaque (Fig. 2), for example, she was moved closer to the cross and provided with a banner identical to that of Ecclesia, while on the Munich plaque (Fig. 3) she was engaged in a confrontation with Ecclesia. In the Drogo Sacramentary she was dropped altogether and replaced with the figure of an old man.

In summary, the Carolingian Crucifixion scenes that depict Ecclesia and Synagogue beside the cross derive ulti-

Figure 5. Ivory plaque, Crucifixion. Florence, Museo Nazionale (photo: Gab. Fotografico, Soprintendenza beni artistici e storici, Florence)



mately from a Byzantine archetype, but numerous Carolingian additions were introduced in a process of elaboration that spanned several decades. Now that the various stages in the evolution of this imagery have been identified, the meaning of these different phases can be discussed.

The core of this iconography features figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue flanking the cross. The connection between the personification of Ecclesia and the Crucifixion is founded in the New Testament: "...Christ also loved the Church and delivered himself up for it" (Ephesians 5:25). This connection was made more emphatic in both Eastern and Western patristic literature: "As a wife was made for Adam from his side while he slept, the Church becomes the property of her dying Saviour, by the sacrament of the blood which flowed from his side after his death" (St. Augustine).³⁴ The "sacrament of the blood" is symbolized by the Eucharistic wine, which is dispensed in Ecclesia's chalice.³⁵ Another relevant text is found in the writings of St. John Chrysostom: "For 'there came forth water and blood.' Not without a purpose, or by chance, did those founts come forth, but because by means of these two together the Church consisteth.... When thou approachest to that awful cup, thou mayest so approach, as drinking from the very side."³⁶

The figure of Synagogue is, of course, the Old Testament counterpart of Ecclesia. The Byzantine type of Synagogue at the Crucifixion, with her back to Christ, walking

away from the cross, is explained by patristic exegesis. St. Augustine, for example, in his commentary on Psalm 44 (45), interpreted the text of Matthew 25:31-41, which describes Christ placing the blessed on his right hand and the damned on his left at the Last Judgement, as a reference to Ecclesia and Synagogue: "'The queen stands on your right' but she that stands on your left is no queen, for she is the one to whom is said, 'Go forth ... from me into the eternal fire.' But to the one on the right is said, 'Come hither, you blessed of my father and inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world.'"³⁷ Similar concepts were expressed by the Eastern fathers, such as St. John Chrysostom, who saw Synagogue as rejecting Christ while Ecclesia was faithful to him: "But that spouse [Synagogue] was ungrateful towards him who had been an husband to her, whereas, the Church ... continued to embrace the Bridegroom [Christ]."³⁸

The symbolic representation of the Crucifixion deriving from these texts stresses the role of Christ as the source of the Church and the Eucharist. It also symbolizes the triumph of Ecclesia and the New Covenant over Synagogue and the Old Covenant. This imagery was adopted by Carolingian artists who embellished it with additional symbolic motifs.

The first stage in the Carolingian reworking of the Byzantine archetype is seen in the Utrecht Psalter. In the Crucifixion scene on fol. 67r of this manuscript (Fig. 8), a figure of Ecclesia beside the cross was transformed into a male figure of the psalmist, in order to illustrate literally the words of the associated Psalm: "I will take the chalice of salvation." In addition, a wreath was placed above the head of Christ. The wreath refers to Christ's triumphant martyrdom and kingship and augments the theme of triumph already implicit in the Byzantine core. The inspiration for the addition of this motif was probably biblical, explained by such passages as Hebrews 2:9: "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour: that, through the grace of God he might taste death for all."³⁹

The second stage in the Carolingian evolution was the most important and is seen in the Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 1). The artist of this manuscript took the Byzantine imagery of Ecclesia and Synagogue beside the cross and exchanged the Byzantine type of Synagogue for an old man. He also added some motifs already seen in earlier Carolingian art, such as the personifications of the sun and moon, the wreath above Christ's head, and figures of the awakened dead. Finally, to this already complex iconography he added two more, completely new symbolic motifs: the serpent at the base of the cross, and Ecclesia's banner.

Each of these added motifs carries a strong triumphal symbolism. The personifications of the sun and moon, for example, while they suggest the eclipse of the sun that occurred while Christ was on the cross (Matthew 27:45, Mark 15:33, Luke 23:44), also act as triumphal features. This iconography derives ultimately from late antique art: personifications of the sun and moon are utilized in a triumphal context on the Arch of Constantine.⁴⁰ Combined with a Crucifixion scene, these personifications refer to Christ's triumph over death and his rulership of the heavens.

The serpent is a symbol of Satan, serving as a typological reference to the fall of Adam in the Garden of Eden and as a symbol of Christ's victory over Satan.⁴¹ The placement of the serpent below Christ's feet is explained by such biblical passages as Hebrews 2:8: "Thou hast subjected all things under his feet."⁴² Thus the text of Hebrews 2:8-9 links the wreath and serpent together as dual symbols of kingship and triumph.⁴³ Another biblical passage also ties together the wreath and serpent: "For he must reign, until he hath put all his enemies under his feet. And the enemy, death, shall be destroyed last" (I Corinthians 15:25-26). Consequently, the wreath and serpent in the Drogo Sacramentary illustration are thematically united, and Christ is represented as the imperial conqueror of Satan. The motif of the serpent at the base of the cross in this image may have been inspired by a scene of Christ lancing a coiled serpent similar to one in the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 9),⁴⁴ since in this illustration Christ is crowned with a wreath by an angel. Thus the wreath and serpent are symbolically linked in the Utrecht Psalter image as well.⁴⁵

The concept of the defeat of the serpent by Christ on the cross, which is already implicit in the New Testament, was expanded in patristic literature. According to an early Christian legend, the wood of the cross came from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden, where the serpent (Satan) had initiated the Fall of Man.⁴⁶ This event was related to the Crucifixion by St. Irenaeus: "... so that as by means of a tree we were made debtors to God, [so also] by means of a tree we may obtain the remission of our debt."⁴⁷ This theme was amplified in the Carolingian period. In the Carolingian votive Mass *De sancta cruce*, for example, the *praefatio* reads: "On the wood of the cross, you delivered mankind, so that whence came death, there life would reappear. And [so that] he who conquered on the wood, on the wood would also be conquered."⁴⁸ In the *praefatio* for Holy Saturday (*Sabbato sancto*) on fol. 54v of the Drogo Sacramentary another reference to the defeat of Satan is found: "Breaking the prison of the underworld, he raised the bright banners of his victory, and triumphing over the devil, the victor rose from

Figure 6. Crucifixion. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS gr. 74, fol. 59r (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

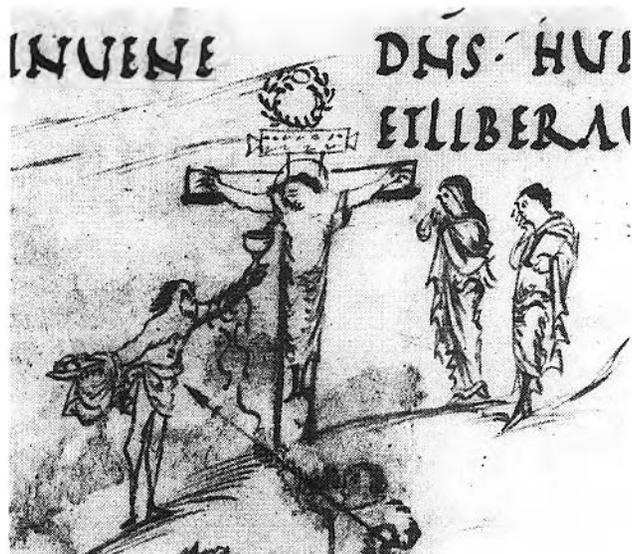


the dead."⁴⁹ This text refers to the conquest of Satan at the Anastasis, or the Harrowing of Hell, an event that was, however, related to the Crucifixion.⁵⁰

The figures of the awakened dead, like the personifications of the sun and moon, have a symbolic as well as a narrative significance. Their meaning ultimately derives from Matthew 27:52, which states that at the moment of Christ's death "...the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose." They also serve as triumphal symbols and are linked to the figure of the serpent, since in defeating Satan, Christ freed mankind from the sentence of death inflicted upon Adam and his descendants: "For by a man came death: and by a man the resurrection of the dead. And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (I Corinthians 15:21-22); "For he came down and died, and by that death delivered us from death: being slain by death, he slew death" (St. Augustine).⁵¹ The Carolingian Mass text already cited (*De sancta cruce*) also refers to the figures of the awakened dead: "On the wood of the cross, you delivered mankind." Thus the awakened dead represent all of mankind, who are offered salvation through Christ's sacrifice. These figures also represent a typological reference to the Anastasis, when Christ broke down the gates of Hell and defeated Satan in order to save the captive souls of the dead, symbolized by Old Testament patriarchs and prophets.⁵²

Ecclesia's banner, known as a *vexillum*, is also a symbol of victory, and is partially explained by the text from the Holy Saturday Mass: "He raised the bright banners of his victory." The banner is also thematically associated with kingship: in 796 Pope Leo III gave to Charlemagne a triumphal banner that was described as a *vexillum Romanae urbis*.⁵³ Charle-

Figure 8. Utrecht Psalter, Crucifixion. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibl., MS 32/484, fol. 67r (photo: Universiteitsbibl.)



manuscript, Archbishop Drogo, who served as archchaplain of the Empire under his half-brother Louis the Pious (814-40).⁶⁰ During Louis's reign the Jews of the Carolingian realm were protected through numerous legal measures, and were even appointed to key government positions.⁶¹ It might be assumed that Drogo, as Louis's archchaplain, concurred with his half-brother's views on Judaism, and might have desired that this attitude be expressed pictorially in a manuscript intended for his personal use.⁶²

The next generation of Carolingian artists incorporated many of the innovations introduced by the artist of the Drogo Sacramentary, but reverted to the original Byzantine iconography of a female personification of Synagogue. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the portrayal of Synagogue in the Drogo Sacramentary are reflected in the later Carolingian works. On the ivory plaque in Munich (Fig. 3), for example, Synagogue is seated and holds an orb, like the old man in the manuscript. On the ivory plaque in Tournai (Fig. 4) she faces the cross and looks up and gestures toward Christ, also reminiscent of the figure in the Drogo Sacramentary. Moreover, the negative attitude toward Synagogue, characteristic of Byzantine art, was not universally adopted by later Carolingian artists. A positive view of Synagogue is clearly depicted on the Tournai plaque, where her gesture seems to acknowledge Christ.⁶³ And on the ivory plaque in Paris (Fig. 2), although Synagogue turns her back to the cross, she seems to be hesitant to depart from the scene, as is indicated by her backward glance.

The most radical departure from the Byzantine iconography of Ecclesia and Synagogue beside the cross is seen on the Munich plaque, where a seated figure of Synagogue holds an orb of rulership that is claimed by a standing fig-

Figure 9. Utrecht Psalter, Christ lancing a serpent, fol. 53v (photo: Universiteitsbibl.)



ure of Ecclesia. This imagery symbolizes the transfer of power from the Old Covenant of Synagogue to the New Covenant of Ecclesia, and was probably inspired by the text of the *Altercatio*.

The later Carolingian Crucifixion ivories also introduce two more motifs that expand the triumphal imagery in the Byzantine model and its earlier Carolingian variants: personifications of the earth and ocean, and scenes of the Women at the Tomb.

The personifications of the earth and ocean derive ultimately from late antique triumphal iconography, and are depicted in this context on the Arch of Galerius.⁶⁴ In early Carolingian art they are seen in the Utrecht Psalter, although not in conjunction with the Crucifixion.⁶⁵ On the later Carolingian Crucifixion ivories the personifications of the earth and ocean serve as earthly equivalents of the personifications of the sun and moon, and expand the symbolic realm of Christ's rulership beyond the heavenly sphere to the earthly zone.⁶⁶

Scenes of the Women at the Tomb had been associated with Crucifixion scenes at an early date, as seen in the Rabbula Gospels.⁶⁷ These two scenes were also combined in earlier Carolingian examples, such as the Harrach diptych.⁶⁸ In the later Carolingian ivory carvings of the Crucifixion, the images of the Women at the Tomb represent not just the continuation of the narrative beyond the Crucifixion, but the promise of life after death that was implicit in the Resurrection of Christ.⁶⁹

In conclusion, the core of the iconography of the Carolingian Crucifixion scenes with Ecclesia and Synagogue

Figure 10. St. Peter presenting *vexillum* to Charlemagne. Rome, Bibl. Vat., MS lat. 5407, fol. 186r (photo: Bibl. Vat.)



flanking the cross is Byzantine. However, Carolingian artists, beginning with the artist of the Utrecht Psalter, made a considerable number of changes and additions to the Byzantine model. The majority of these changes resulted from a desire to augment the triumphal symbolism of the Byzantine archetype. The culmination of this process of accretion is represented by the Munich plaque (Fig. 3), which stresses the cosmic kingship of Christ, symbolized by the personifications of the sun, moon, earth and ocean; his triumph over death, reflected in the motifs of the serpent and the Women at the Tomb; and the triumph of the Church, indicated by Ecclesia's banner and her acquisition of Synagogue's orb. In addition, the image incorporates the concept of Old Testament prophecy and New Testament fulfillment. The figure of Synagogue represents the Old Law, which yields to the New Law of Ecclesia; and the serpent, which represents the Old Testament Fall of Man, contrasts with the New Testament sacrifice of Christ on the cross and his redemption of mankind, symbolized by the figures of the awakened dead. Thus the Carolingian versions of this iconography comprise a far more all-encompassing theological commentary than their Byzantine model. These works also reveal the vitality and independence of Carolingian artists, who freely modified Byzantine and earlier Carolingian imagery in a continuous process of creation and variation.

* I would like to thank Robert Deshman for reading this manuscript and offering numerous helpful suggestions.

- 1 Wilhelm Köhler and Florentine Mütterich, *Drogo-Sakramentar*, Codices selecti, XLIX (Graz, 1974), *Kommentar*, 23; facsimile, fol. 43v; Wilhelm Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, III, part 2: *Metzer Handschriften* (Berlin, 1960), 151, 159, plate 83c; Franz Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie des Drogo-Sakramentars* (Graz, 1977), 17-19; Sonia Simon, "Studies on the Drogo Sacramentary: Eschatology and the Priest-King," Ph.D. diss. (Boston University, 1975), 69-89; Elizabeth Leesti, "New Testament Illustrations in the Drogo Sacramentary," Ph.D. diss. (University of Toronto, 1984), 116-43. For the Drogo Sacramentary in general, see also Robert Calkins, "Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta*, XXV (1986), 17-23. There have been attempts to date the manuscript to a period prior to 835 because of the fact that it did not originally contain the Mass for All Saints (which was added to folio 1 by a later hand). Since the Mass for All Saints was instituted in the Carolingian realm in 835, it has been suggested that the manuscript must date from before this time. However, the Drogo Sacramentary is not a complete sacramentary text, and does not contain many of the Masses found in a standard Frankish sacramentary. For further discussion of the date of the manuscript, see Leesti, "Drogo," 4-6, and below, n. 62.
- 2 Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I: *Aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.-XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1914), 48, no. 86, plate XXXVI. For the date of the later Metz ivories, see Florentine Mütterich, "Die Elfenbeinschmuck des Thrones," *La cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, *Atti della pontificia accademia Romana di archeologia*, ser. 3, *Memorie*, X (Vatican City, 1971), 265ff.
- 3 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 25-26, no. 41, plate XX. Peter Lasko (*Ars Sacra: 800-1200* [Harmondsworth, 1972], 35ff.) dates this plaque ca. 820-30 because of its stylistic resemblance to the ivory covers of the Psalter and the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, which are copied from the Utrecht Psalter. Following Lasko's dating, Christian Beutler (*Der Gott am Kreuz: Zur Entstehung der Kreuzigungsdarstellung* [Hamburg, 1986], 6) sees the Munich plaque as the prototype for the Carolingian Crucifixion images discussed here. However, the Munich ivory is more closely related in style to the *Cathedra Petri*, made for Charles the Bald ca. 870, than it is to the Utrecht Psalter. Consequently, the traditional date for the Munich plaque remains the most likely probability. For the *Cathedra Petri*, see *Cathedra lignea di S. Pietro*; Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991).
- 4 The literature on this topic is vast, and is summarized in Leesti, "Drogo," 116-43. The most comprehensive studies include Charles Cahier, "Cinq plaques d'ivoire sculpté représentant la mort de Jésus-Christ," *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature*, II (1851), 39-76; Johannes Reil, *Christus am Kreuz in der Bildkunst der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1930); Reiner Haussherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz, zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes* (Bonn, 1963); Stanley Ferber, "Crucifixion

- Iconography in Carolingian Ivory Carvings of the Liuthard and Metz Groups," Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1963); Amy L. Vandersall, "The Ivories of the Court School of Charles the Bald," Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1965), 83-136; Stanley Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques," *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII (1966), 323-34; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, Janet Seligman, trans., II (London, 1972), 88ff.; Simon, "Drogo," 69-89; Robert Melzak, "The Carolingian Ivory Carvings of the Later Metz Group," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1983), 181-98; Beutler, *Gott am Kreuz*.
- 5 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 78-79, no. 160a, plate LXXI; Frauke Steenbock, "Das Nicasius-Diptychon in Tournai," *Das erste Jahrtausend*, ed. Victor H. Elbern, III (Düsseldorf, 1964), 1007-13, fig. 1; Warren Sanderson, "A Group of Ivories and Some Related Works from Late Carolingian Trier," *Art Bulletin*, LVI (1974), 159-75, fig. 3.
 - 6 Similar figures of Synagogue are seen on two ivory carvings in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 47-48, no. 85, plate XXXVI; 49, no. 88, plate XXXVII); a plaque in Gannat (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 49-50, no. 89, plate XXXVIII); the Adalbero plaque in Metz (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 43-44, no. 78, plate XXXII); and an ivory plaque jointly owned by the Metropolitan Museum and the Louvre (Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du moyen âge* [Fribourg, 1978], 190, no. 85).
 - 7 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 58, no. 114, plate L.
 - 8 Similar figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue are seen on the ivory cover of Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 9383 (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 46-47, no. 83, plate XXXV); an ivory plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 66, no. 132a, plate LVII); and possibly an ivory pyx in Cologne (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 58, no. 116a, plate LI).
 - 9 Klaus Wessel, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen, 1967), 70-73, no. 18; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, IV, part 1 (Gütersloh, 1976), fig. 101.
 - 10 Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikongraphie der Kirche und Synagogue* (Stuttgart, 1894), 135; Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. XXV (Rome, 1940), 41, 100-103. Pre-Carolingian Western origins have also been suggested. For example, Christian Beutler (*Gott am Kreuz*) suggests that this iconography was developed at Milan between 384 and 394 and revived in the ninth century. His argument is based largely on certain iconographic parallels between the Munich Crucifixion ivory and a late antique silver plate from Parabiago. While it is true that both works feature personifications of the sun, moon, earth and ocean, the central register of the plate depicts the pagan goddess Cybele, not the Crucifixion. Beutler's attempt, on the basis of textual sources, to reconstruct a late fourth-century work that depicted a scene of the Crucifixion in place of the pagan goddess is not convincing. In addition, according to Hans Achelis (*Die Katakomben von Neapel* [Leipzig, 1936], 71-72, plate 46) Ecclesia is depicted beside the cross in a badly damaged fifth/sixth-century fresco in the catacomb of San Gennaro in Naples. However, Achelis's theory has not received wide acceptance; see, for example, Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 395; Johannes Reil, "Die Darstellung der Kreuzigung Christi in der Katakomben von Neapel," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LIV (1935), 52-61; Elisabeth Lucchesi Palli, "Kreuzigung Christi," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, II (Freiburg, 1970), 609.
 - 11 A. Haseloff, in H.V. Sauerland and A. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier* (Trier, 1901), 180-82, 213; O.M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), 660; George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), 95-97; Anastasios K. Orlandos, *L'architecture et les fresques byzantines du monastère de St-Jean à Patmos* (Athens, 1970), 216, 362.
 - 12 Henri Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle* (Paris, n.d.), I, 8, plate 51.
 - 13 Instead, a female figure seated at the base of the cross catches the blood from the wound in Christ's feet in a large basin. For a discussion of this figure in Byzantine art, see Sauerland, *Psalter Egberts*, 179-84, 213.
 - 14 See, for example, the late eleventh/early twelfth-century fresco cycle at Kastoria (Ann W. Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta*, XXI [1982], 21-29, fig. 7); and the late twelfth-century fresco cycle at Ktima (Cyril Mango and Ernest J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX [1966], 119-206, fig. 32). For more Byzantine examples, see Bianca Kühnel, "The Personifications of Church and Synagogue in Byzantine Art: Towards a History of the Motif," *Jewish Art*, XIX/XX (1993/94), 112-23; Leesti, "Drogo," 168, n. 62; Orlandos, *Patmos*, 215, n. 4. The iconography of Ecclesia and Synagogue propelled by angels is seen in a few Western examples, such as an eleventh-century ivory plaque from S. Italy in Berlin (Herbert L. Kessler, "An Eleventh Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, VIII [1966], 67-95, fig. 1); and a thirteenth-century Exultet roll in Troia (Myrtila Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* [Princeton, 1936], II, plate CLXXIX).
 - 15 Orlandos, *Patmos*, 216, 362, believes that a Byzantine source is found in the *Great Canon* of Andrew of Crete. For a discussion of this text, see below, n. 38.
 - 16 Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1917), III, plate 47. The two personifications of Ecclesia in this image are labelled *ECLESIA EX CIRCUMCISIONE* and *ECLESIA EX GENTIBUS*.
 - 17 Chapel XVII; Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*, I (Cairo, 1904), plate XLV; Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, IV, part 1, fig. 98.

- 18 Koert van der Horst and Jacobus H.A. Engelbregt, *Utrecht-Psalter: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift 32 aus dem Besitz der Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht: Kommentar* (Graz, 1984); Ernest T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1933), 52, plate CV; Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: sources et apport carolingien* (Paris, 1978), 143-44, plate 90, 14.
- 19 Knut Berg ("Une iconographie peu connue du crucifiement," *Cahiers archéologiques*, IX [1957], 326) believes that the female personification of Ecclesia beside the cross is a Carolingian variation of the male figure in the Utrecht Psalter. Berg identifies this figure as Joseph of Arimathea, based on the writings of the Carolingian liturgical commentator Amalarius of Metz. This explanation is very unlikely since the iconography seen in the Utrecht Psalter is unique while that of Ecclesia beside the cross is widespread, and probably predated the scene in the Utrecht Psalter. Another example of a Carolingian variation of the motif of Ecclesia beside the cross is seen in a late ninth-century sacramentary (Tours, Bibl. Mun., MS 184, fol. 3r; Köhler, *Miniaturen*, I, part 1: *Die Schule von Tours, Die Ornamentik* [Berlin, 1933], 424-25, plate 124d) in which a tonsured monk in front of an altar raises up his hands to the cross.
- 20 Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1976), 82-83, no. 116, plate 61. See also the scene of the Crucifixion on the wooden door of Santa Sabina in Rome, dated 422-32; Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen, 1980), plates 52, 54.
- 21 Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani and Mario Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels* (Olten and Lausanne, 1959), 69-70, fig. 13a; David H. Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVII (1973), 197-208.
- 22 Pietro Romanelli and Per Jonas Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964), 54, 61, plates VII, 32; Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, II, 687; IV, plates 179-80.
- 23 Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, The Icons, I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976), 57-58, no. B.32, plates XXIII, LXXXIV. In this example, Christ wears the *perizoma* under a *colobium*, but by the early ninth century the *perizoma* alone is depicted: see Weitzmann, *Sinai*, 79-82, no. B.50, plates XXXII, CV-CVI. The loincloth of Christ may derive from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate; see Montague R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), 104.
- 24 E. Heinrich Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), 229-30, plate 154a; Bernard Teyssèdre, *Le Sacramentaire de Gellone et la figure humaine dans les manuscrits francs du VIIIe siècle* (Toulouse, 1959); *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ed. E.A. Lowe, V (Oxford, 1950), 29, no. 618.
- 25 A pre-Carolingian version of the *suppedaneum* may have been depicted in an early eighth-century fresco in the catacomb of San Valentino in Rome. One of the sixteenth-century drawings of this fresco features a *suppedaneum*, although the other does not. See John Osborne, "Early Medieval Wall-Paintings in the Catacomb of San Valentino, Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XLIX (1981), 82-90, plates XVb, XVlb.
- 26 For the phenomenon of the dead Christ on the cross, see Haussherr, *Gerokreuzer*; L.H. Grondjis, *L'iconographie byzantine du crucifié mort sur la croix*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1947); John Rupert Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 189-96; Hans Belting and Christa Belting-Ihm, "Das Kreuzbild im 'Hodegos' des Anastasios Sinaites. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der ältesten Darstellung des toten Crucifixus," *Tortulæ: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, ed. Walter N. Schumacher (Freiburg, 1966), 30-39; Weitzmann, *Sinai*, 63-64.
- 27 See a tenth-century ivory carving in the Metropolitan Museum; Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), 26, no. 6, plate II; Margaret E. Frazer, "Hades Stabbed by the Cross of Christ," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, IX (1974), 153-61.
- 28 Weitzmann, *Sinai*, 82-83, no. B.51, plate CVII. For a discussion of this motif in Byzantine art, and its influence on Carolingian art, see Weitzmann, *Sinai*, 81, 83.
- 29 *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter* (Stuttgart, 1965), I (facsimile), fol. 27r; II, 75, 186-87; Ernest T. DeWald, *The Stuttgart Psalter* (Princeton, 1930), 24; facsimile, fol. 27r.
- 30 The awakened dead (and Ecclesia with the chalice) are also seen on an eleventh-century Byzantine ivory plaque in Leningrad; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz. Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 74, no. 201, plate LXVI. For additional discussion of this image, see n. 50.
- 31 DeWald, *Utrecht*, 71, plate CXLII; Dufrenne, *Psautier*, 143-44.
- 32 André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), 22, plate XI, 1.
- 33 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 15, no. 18, plate X; Dietrich Kötzsche, "Diptychon Harrach," *Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung* (Aachen, 1965), 341-42, no. 527, fig. 101; Hermann Fillitz, "Die Elfenbeinreliefs zur Zeit Kaiser Karls des Grossen," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XXXII (1966), 22ff., figs. 11, 13.
- 34 *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XII, 8; *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844ff.), XLII, 258; translated in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, First Series, ed. Philip Schaff, reprint (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969ff.), IV, 186. Cited by Simon, "Drogo," 82.
- 35 The association of Christ's blood with the communal wine was established at the Last Supper when Christ blessed the wine, saying, "For this is my blood of the new testament" (Matthew 26:28). For a study of the Eucharistic chalice in the medieval period, and the liturgical implications of Ecclesia with the chalice in Carolingian Crucifixion scenes, see Victor H. Elbern, "Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVII (1963), 139ff.

- 36 *Homilies on St. John*, LXXXV, 3; *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857ff.), LIX, 463; translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XIV, 319. The water from Christ's wound also has a sacramental significance—that of baptism: "That blood was shed for the remission of sins; that water it is that makes up the health-giving cup, and supplies at once the laver of baptism and water for drinking" (St. Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, CXX, 2; *Patrologiae Latina*, XXXV, 1953; translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 434). For Ecclesia, see the works cited in n. 4; Weber, *Geistliches*; S. Tromp, "De Nativitate Ecclesiae ex Corde Iesu in Cruce," *Gregorianum*, XIII (1932), 489-527; Margaret Schlauch, "The Allegory of Church and Synagogue," *Speculum*, XIV (1939), 448-64; Alfred Raddatz, "Die Entstehung des Motivs 'Ecclesia und Synagogue.' Geschichtliche Hintergründe und Deutung," Ph.D. diss. (Humboldt University, 1959); Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald, trans. (New York, 1970); Schiller, *Ikonographie*, IV, part 1, 38-117; Adolf Weis, "Ekklesia und Synagoge," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt, IV (Stuttgart, 1958), 1189-1215; Wolfgang Greisenegger, "Ecclesia;" "Ecclesia und Synagoge," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I, 1968, 562-78.
- 37 *Enarratio in Psalmum XLIV*, 24; *Patrologiae Latina*, XXXVI, 509; translated in Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 33.
- 38 *Homilies on St. Matthew*, III, 4; *Patrologiae Graeca*, LVII, 35; translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, X, 17. Orlandos, *Patmos*, 216, 362, believes that the source for the iconography of Ecclesia and Synagogue beside the cross derives from the *Great Canon* of St. Andrew of Crete (ca. 660-740):
 As a mixing-bowl Thy Church has received Thy Life-bearing Side,
 Whence springs to us the double fount
 Of forgiveness and of knowledge,
 O Saviour, in type of the Old and New Covenant,
 And of the two together.
 (Ode 4; *Patrologiae Graeca*, XCVII, 1352; translated in Derwas J. Chitty, *The Great Canon: A Poem of Saint Andrew of Crete* [London, 1957], 21.) This text may refer to the presence of Synagogue at the Crucifixion, but does not explain why she walks away from the cross in the Byzantine Crucifixion scenes. Consequently, Andrew of Crete cannot be the source for this iconography. For Synagogue, see the works cited in n. 36; Marie-Louise Thérél, "L'origine du thème de la 'Synagogue répudiée,'" *Scriptorium*, XV (1971), 285-90.
- 39 Robert Dushman, "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler 'Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald,'" *Viator*, XI (1980), 392-93; *idem*, "Christus rex et magi reges: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, X (1976), 374-77; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 79, 87, 91-92.
- 40 Hans Peter L'Orange and Armin von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin, 1939), 162-65, 174-81, fig. 1, plate 38. For the antique origin of these motifs, see also Beutler, *Gott am Kreuz*, 11ff.; Louis Hautecoeur, "Le soleil et la lune dans les Crucifixions," *Revue archéologique*, XIII (1921), 13-32.
- 41 Dushman, "Exalted Servant," 393; *idem*, "Christus rex," 376; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 87-90. Additional interpretations for the serpent are advanced by Ferber, "Crucifixion," 324-25: as the brazen serpent of Moses (Numbers 21:9), and as a reference to an eighth-century Metz legend, in which St. Clement exorcised a number of demons in the form of serpents. Elizabeth A. Kirby ("The Serpent at the Foot of the Cross, 850-1050," *Riforma Religiosa e Arti nell'Epoca Carolingia*, ed. Alfred A. Schmid [Bologna, 1979], 129-34) suggests that the serpent in these Crucifixion images is a liturgical reference, to the lighting of the New Fire during Holy Week.
- 42 Dushman, "Exalted Servant," 393.
- 43 Dushman, "Exalted Servant," 393; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 87.
- 44 DeWald, *Utrecht*, 41-42, plate LXXXIV.
- 45 The imagery of Christ lancing the coiled serpent is probably derived ultimately from imperial iconography (Dushman, "Exalted Servant," 400-401; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 90). Compare a Constantinian coin depicting a *labarum* piercing a serpent (Walter Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, rev. ed. [New York, 1969], 111, plate 55b); and unidentified emperors (or warriors) on horseback and on foot lancing serpents on Einhard's arch, a piece of goldsmith's work dated ca. 820-40, now destroyed (Hans Belting, "Der Einhardsbogen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVI [1973], 93-121, figs. 1a, 1b; Kurt Weitzmann, "Der Aufbau und die unteren Felder des Einhard-Reliquiars," *Das Einhardkreuz*, ed. Karl Hauck [Göttingen, 1974], 33-49). The motif of the coiling serpent could also derive from depictions of the serpent coiled around the tree in the Garden of Eden. Compare an illustration on the Genesis frontispiece in the Grandval Bible (London, Brit. Lib., MS Add. 10546, fol. 5v; Köhler, *Miniaturen*, I, part 2: *Die Schule von Tours, Die Bilder*, 20-22, plate 50), dated 834-43.
- 46 Gerhart B. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," *Speculum*, LIV (1979), 235-36.
- 47 *Contra Haereses*, V, 17, 3; *Patrologiae Graeca*, VII, 1170; translated in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; American edition ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, I (Buffalo, 1885), 545.
- 48 Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, II (Fribourg, 1979), 44: "... salutem humani generis in ligno crucis constituisti, ut unde mors oriebatur inde vita resurgeret. Et qui in ligno vincebat, in ligno vinceretur." For other Carolingian texts that associate the serpent (death) with the cross, see Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 87ff.; Cahier, "Cinq plaques," 45, n. 3.
- 49 "Qui inferorum claustra dirumpens, victoriae suae clara vexilla suscepit, et triumphato diabolo victor a mortuis resurrexit."
- 50 Beat Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends* (Vienna, 1966), 160ff.; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 88; Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 147ff. These two events are related pic-

- torially in an eleventh-century Byzantine Crucifixion scene (see n. 30), in which the figures of the awakened dead are identified as Adam, Eve, David and Solomon, the Old Testament figures freed by Christ in the Anastasis.
- 51 *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, XII, 10; *Patrologiae Latina*, XXXV, 1489; translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 84. For the depiction of the awakened dead in Carolingian Crucifixion scenes, see also Brenk, *Tradition*, 165-71; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 87-88; Karstonis, *Anastasis*, 147-48.
- 52 For the connection between the awakened dead and the Anastasis, see n. 50.
- 53 Simon, "Drogo," 83-84. See also Raddatz, "Entstehung," xvi, 57-58; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Annales Regni Francorum* (Hanover, 1895), 98.
- 54 Rome, Bibl. Vat., MS lat. 5407, fol. 186r; Wolfgang Braunfels, *Die Welt der Karolinger und ihre Kunst* (Munich, 1968), 102, 108, fig. 50. Similar banners, probably also symbolizing triumph, are carried by Christ and angels in the Utrecht Psalter. See, for example, fols. 3v, 7v; DeWald, *Utrecht*, 6, plate V; 9, plate XII.
- 55 Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 3; Weber, *Geistliches*, 19, 38, 40; Cahier, "Cinq plaques," 56; Leesti, "Drogo," 136-40. Alternative theories include: the Old Testament prophet Hosea (Raddatz, "Entstehung," i-iv, 5; Unterkircher, *Iconographie*, 18; Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 106, 110; Schiller, *Iconographie*, IV, 45); the centurion who acknowledged Christ as the son of God at the Crucifixion (Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 104); the Pharisee Nicodemus, who helped Joseph of Arimathea bury Christ (Berg, "Iconographie," 326); and Drogo himself, in the guise of Melchisedek (Simon, "Priest-King," 43-44, 88-89).
- 56 *Patrologiae Latina*, LXXXVIII, 187-88; translated in Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 29. The relationship of this text to the old man in the Drogo Sacramentary illustration was first noted by Cahier, "Cinq plaques," 56-57, n. 3.
- 57 Raddatz, "Entstehung," 5, 60; Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 106; Unterkircher, *Iconographie*, 19; Reil, *Christus am Kreuz*, 103; Leesti, "Drogo," 136-40. Alternative theories include: a shield (Weber, *Geistliches*, 18, 39-40); and a paten (Berg, "Iconographie," 326; Simon, "Priest-King," 43-44, 88-89).
- 58 See, for example, one of Abbot Suger's stained glass windows at Saint-Denis, dated ca. 1140; Marie-Louise Th  rel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-  glise: sources historiques, litt  raires et iconographiques* (Paris, 1984), 217ff., fig. 100; Philippe Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vierge: les origines et les premiers d  veloppements d'un th  me iconographique* (Montreal, 1980), 32ff., plate 48b.
- 59 *Patrologiae Latina*, XLII, 1131-40; English paraphrase in Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 36-38. For the authorship of the *Altercatio*, see *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. Eligius Dekkers (Bruges, 1961), 132, no. 577. For the possible derivation of the *Altercatio* from a lost fifth-century Byzantine source, see Raddatz, "Entstehung," xli-xliii, n. 285; Schlauch, "Allegory," 456, n. 1.
- 60 For a biography of Drogo, see Christian Pfister, "L'archev  que de Metz, Drogon," *M  langes Paul Faber* (Paris, 1902), 101-45.
- 61 For Carolingian Jewish policy, see Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (Minneapolis, 1977), 66ff.; Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 52ff.; Raddatz, "Entstehung," 33-56.
- 62 Raddatz, "Entstehung," vii. Because of the benevolent attitude toward Judaism expressed by the Crucifixion scene in the Drogo Sacramentary, Raddatz dates the manuscript ca. 830, during Louis's lifetime. However, after Louis's death Drogo continued to serve as archchaplain under his nephew Lothair I (840-55), who does not seem to have negated his father's pro-Jewish policies (see Bachrach, *Jewish Policy*, 120-22). Furthermore, the Drogo Sacramentary was a personal possession of Drogo, not a statement of official imperial policy.
- 63 Steenbock, "Nicasius-Diptychon," 1011.
- 64 Hans Peter Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki*, Deutsches Arch  ologisches Institut, Arch  ologische Forschungen, I (Berlin, 1975), 71-73, plates 58, 59; Margaret S.P. Rothman, "The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs on the Arch of Galerius," *American Journal of Archeology*, LXXXI (1977), 427-54. For the late antique origin of these motifs, see also Beutler, *Gott am Kreuz*, 11ff.; Eug  nie Strong, "Terra Mater or Italia," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXVII (1937), 114-26; J. Schwarz, "Quelques sources antiques d'ivoires carolingiens," *Cahiers arch  ologiques*, XI (1960), 145-62. For the theme of imperial triumph over personifications of earth and ocean, see also Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park, PA, 1987), 73ff.
- 65 For example, fols. 58r (earth) and 1v (ocean); DeWald, *Utrecht*, 46, plate XCIII; 4, plate I; Dufrenne, *Psautier*, 78-81, plate 13, 1; 75-76, plate 6, 7.
- 66 Haussherr, *Gerokreuzes*, 116; Ferber, "Crucifixion," 327ff.; Melzak, "Metz Group," 188-90; Robert Melzak, "Antiquarianism in the Time of Louis the Pious and its Influence on the Art of Metz," *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 634, 639.
- 67 See n. 21. The two events are also combined on a number of Palestinian ampullae; see, for example, Grabar, *Ampoules*, 24-27, plates XIV, XVI, XVIII.
- 68 See also two ivory carvings from the Court School of Charlemagne, formerly linked but now separated, that depict the Crucifixion and the Women at the Tomb; Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 11-12, nos. 8, 9, plate V. The combination of these events in early Byzantine and early Carolingian art was noted by Victor H. Elbern, "Vier karolingische Elfenbeink  sten," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins f  r Kunstwissenschaft*, XX (1966), 4.
- 69 Ferber, "Crucifixion," 326ff.; Melzak, "Metz Group," 190.