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**THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF  
PRUDENTIUS**

BY

**HELEN WOODRUFF**



REPRINTED FROM ART STUDIES : 1929



THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS







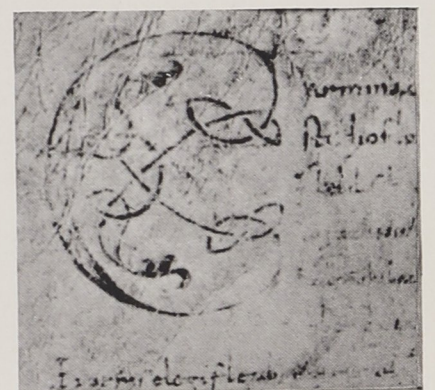
1. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12.  
*Arithmetic of Boethius* (Boinet)



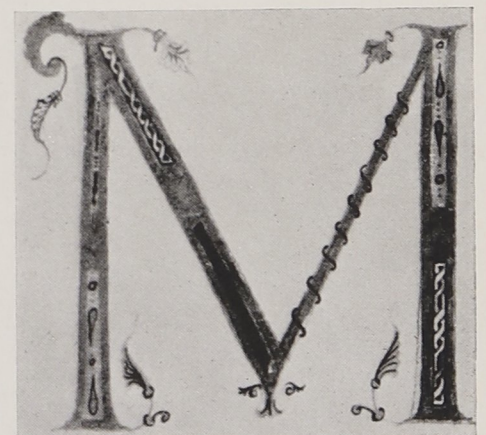
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,  
Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)



2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (42),  
*Luxuria enters battle in biga*; (43), *Luxuria flatters the Virtues*



4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,  
Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)



5. Collection A. Chester Beatty.  
Manuscript of School of Tours,  
9th century (Catalogue of  
H. Y. Thompson Coll.)

# THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS <sup>1</sup>

BY HELEN WOODRUFF

THE work of the late Richard Stettiner <sup>2</sup> on the illuminated manuscripts of Prudentius, comprising a critical study of the illustrations (1895) and a reproduction of the illustrations themselves (*Tafelband*, 1905), represented as comprehensive a view of this subject as was possible with the material then available. The last twenty odd years have brought to light enough additional material having a direct bearing on the Prudentius illustrations to justify an attempt at a reëstimate of the problem. It is with the purpose of bringing the investigation up to date in the light of information now available that the present analysis is undertaken. It proposes to substitute a new stemma for the development of the illustrations, to date and place some of the intermediate lost archetypes, and to introduce a new theory regarding the date, origin and character of the original. The study is limited to a consideration of the illustrations of the *Psychomachia*.

As far as possible Stettiner's terminology and grouping will be used. A complete description of the separate scenes of the illustrations will be omitted, since such a description is to be found in Part III of Stettiner's text. The reproductions in the *Tafelband* are too small in many cases for a study of style, but are adequate for a comparison of corresponding scenes. Reference will therefore be made to the *Tafelband* only where illustrations do not accompany this article. The volume of 1905 is to be found in almost any library, but few copies of the text are available in America. A summary statement of the existing problem concerning the Prudentius manuscripts will therefore be made, and Stettiner's conclusions given.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens <sup>3</sup> was born about 348 in northern Spain near the Pyrenees, when Constans and Constantius were emperors. His knowledge of the Latin classics was considerable, and definite influence of Horace, Virgil and others is found in the style and meter of his writings. Of Greek he had

<sup>1</sup> This study was undertaken by the writer as Fellow of the Archaeological Institute in Mediaeval and Renaissance Archaeology; I am indebted to Professor C. R. Morey, Chairman of the Committee of the Institute on Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, for suggestions and advice.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Stettiner, *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1895; *Tafelband*, Berlin, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1862), vols. 59, 60. W. Smith and H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London, 1887. Theodorus Obbarius, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*, Tubingae, 1845. F. St. J. Thackeray, *Translations from Prudentius*, London, 1890. A. Dressel, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis; Quae Extant Carmina* (Lipsiae, 1860), vol. LXVIII. J. M. Burnam, *Glossemata de Prudentio*, in *University of Cincinnati Studies*, vol. I, Series II, 1905. E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen* (Berlin, 1882), vol. II. L. Delisle, *Note sur le manuscrit de Prudence*, No. 8084, *du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Impériale, Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6<sup>e</sup> Série, t. III.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

little knowledge, though he frequently bestowed Greek titles on his poems. It is known that he practised law and twice held civil office, once under Theodosius. After a visit to Rome, where the political problems, the glamor attached to the accounts of the martyrs, and the new Christian art stirred his interest, he began his important writing. In 405 appeared a collection of his poems, but the *Psychomachia* was not among them. It is believed that he received his religious impressions late in life, and possibly entered some religious society. Little is heard of him after 405, and by 410 he was probably dead. The *Psychomachia* doubtless dates from these last years of his life. This poem, "The War of the Soul," is a description of the struggle between passion and duty — an allegorical treatment of the Virtues battling with their adversaries the Vices, and their complete and overwhelming victory, not without a certain spice of intrigue. The *Psychomachia* was to become the most popular of Prudentius' writings during the Middle Ages.

If Prudentius belongs in the period of the aftermath of classic writing, he nevertheless was of that period of great Christian development which forms the link with the Apostolic Age. The best literature of his day was the product of Spain and Gaul quite as much as of Italy. Among the writers were Paulus Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, the friend of Augustine; C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, a Spanish presbyter who rendered the Gospels into Latin verse; to Caelius Sedulius of Seville; Priscillian, Bishop of Avila; Ausonius and Rutilius, both natives of Gaul; Paulinus, Bishop of Nola; and the three great luminaries, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose.

While Prudentius is mentioned by many of the early writers, Gennadius, presbyter of Marseilles, is the first biographer to give a list of his works.<sup>1</sup> Gennadius' activity belongs to the fifth century, that is, to the period immediately following the writing of the poems themselves. In the sixth century the poems were studied and edited by Vettius Agorius Basilius, the consul. The oldest extant copy of the writings of Prudentius belongs to this century,<sup>2</sup> but it contains no illustrations and no indication that an illustrated *Psychomachia* existed. It is curious that with the frequent quotation of Prudentius by such writers as Sidonius Apollinaris, Avitus, Leo, Rabanus Maurus and Alcuin, none gives any indication that he knew of an illustrated *Psychomachia*, though an illustrated copy must have been in circulation. In the tenth century Prudentius was used as a common schoolbook by the Archbishop Bruno. On no other book except the Bible are so many Old German glosses found.

Of the extant manuscripts dating before the end of the thirteenth century, twenty contain from two to ninety illustrations of the *Psychomachia*.<sup>3</sup> Stet-

<sup>1</sup> *De Viris Illustribus*; Migne, *op cit.*, vol. 58, col. 1067.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8084.

<sup>3</sup> The scenes and the verses which they immediately precede are as follows: *Praefatio*, scene (1), v. 1, Abraham sacrifices Isaac; (2), v. 15, Lot captured by the kings; (3), v. 19, Abraham rescues Lot; (4), v. 34, Abraham returns

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

tinier shows conclusively that these illustrations derive from a common original; they have the same general arrangement of figures, illustrate the same portions of the text, and the figures usually employ the same weapons.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the common derivation, two lines of development can be traced, and the manuscripts divided into two groups. Group I represents the Virtues in long garments with a mantle often drawn over the head, unless the text specifically designates another costume, as the armor which Pudicitia and Patientia wear; the Vices are in either long or short tunics, sometimes with mantle fastened on the shoulder, and occasionally in short, belted garment fastened, on one shoulder and leaving the other bare. Group II generally represents the Virtues as warriors, in mail and wearing helmets; the Vices in short costume, the skirt of which is divided into three parts resembling the skins worn by shepherds, and is described as a flame-skirt. The hair of the Vices is dishevelled, flying in strands which also suggest flames. Other details as to grouping, arms used and omission of figures also divide the manuscripts into two groups.

with Lot; (5), v. 38, Abraham and Melchisedek; (6), v. 45, Abraham and the angels; *Psychomachia*, (7), v. 1, Prudentius invokes God; (8), v. 21, Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum; (9), v. 30, Fides conquers Cultura Deorum; (10), v. 36, Fides crowns the martyrs; (11), v. 40, Pudicitia attacked by Libido; (12), v. 46, Pudicitia disarms Libido; (13), v. 50, Pudicitia stabs Libido with a sword; (14), v. 53, Pudicitia inveighs against Libido; (15), v. 99, Pudicitia washes sword; (16), v. 107, Pudicitia dedicates sword; (17), v. 109, Patientia undaunted by the Vices; (18), v. 113, Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), v. 118, Patientia derided by Ira; (20), v. 121, Ira throws lance at Patientia; (21), v. 125, Ira's weapon breaks; (22), v. 137, Ira attacks Patientia with sword; (23), v. 145, Ira's sword breaks; (24), v. 151, Ira kills herself; (25), v. 155, Patientia inveighs against Ira; (26), v. 162, Patientia with Job; (27), v. 169, Patientia advises Job; (28), v. 172, Patientia addresses the Virtues; (29), v. 178, Superbia enters ranks; (30), v. 190, Superbia rides spirited horse; (31), v. 194, Superbia threatens Humilitas and Spes; (32), v. 253, Superbia rides down Humilitas and Spes; (33), v. 257, Superbia falls into pit; (34), v. 274, Humilitas derides Superbia; (35), v. 278, Spes lends sword to Humilitas; (36), v. 280, Humilitas decapitates Superbia; (37), v. 282, Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes; (38), v. 284, Spes inveighs against Superbia; (39), v. 305, Spes flies to heaven; (40), v. 310, Luxuria feasting; (41), v. 316, Luxuria hears battle trumpets; (42), v. 321, Luxuria enters battle in chariot; (43), v. 323, Luxuria flatters the Virtues; (44), v. 332, Luxuria persuades men to throw down arms; (45), v. 340, Luxuria tempts men; (46), v. 344, Sobrietas reproaches renegades; (47), v. 407, Sobrietas halts Luxuria; (48), v. 417, Sobrietas throws stone at Luxuria; (49), v. 427, Sobrietas inveighs against Luxuria; (50), v. 432, Jocus throws away cymbals; (51), v. 436, Amor flees; (52), v. 439, Pompa throws away ornaments; (53), v. 443, Voluptas flees; (54), v. 450, Sobrietas declines spoils; (55), v. 454, Avaritia gathers spoils; (56), v. 458, Avaritia conceals spoils in garment; (57), v. 464, Avaritia's offspring; (58), v. 480, Avaritia as cause of crime; (59), v. 486, Avaritia as deluder; (60), v. 490, Avaritia casts men into flames; (61), v. 551, Avaritia disguised; (62), v. 557, Avaritia deceives men; (63), v. 564, Avaritia fetters men; (64), v. 568, Avaritia doubted by Virtues; (65), v. 573, Avaritia attacked by Largitas; (66), v. 584, Avaritia stupefied; (67), v. 589, Largitas binds Avaritia; (68), v. 596, Largitas crushes Avaritia; (69), v. 598, Largitas divides spoils among poor; (70), v. 604, Largitas rejoices with throng; (71), v. 629, Pax arrives; (72), v. 636, Pax intervenes; (73), v. 639, Virtues see Hand of God; (74), v. 644, Concordia orders standards into camp; (75), v. 646, Concordia leads throng to city; (76), v. 665, Virtues arrive at city; (77), v. 667, Discordia stabs Concordia; (78), v. 681, Discordia discovered by Virtues; (79), v. 705, Discordia seized by Virtues; (80), v. 715, Fides strikes Discordia; (81), v. 719, Discordia dismembered; (82), v. 726, Virtues build tribunal; (83), v. 734, Fides and Concordia (Caritas) mount tribunal; (84), v. 740, Fides assembles men; (85), v. 746, Concordia addresses Virtues; (86), v. 799, Fides addresses Virtues; (87), v. 823, Fides and Concordia measure ground; (88), v. 830, Temple; (89), v. 868, Sapientia seated in temple; (90), v. 888, Prudentius offers prayer. During the course of development three additional scenes were added to the series: (3'), v. 34, Abraham routs the kings; (33'), v. 253, Fraus digs pit; (61') v. 501, Ratio shields the priests.

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-166.

# ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

## MANUSCRIPTS OF GROUP I

### 1

- (P1)<sup>1</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318.  
French manuscript of the tenth century, possibly from the region of Tours. *Figures* 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 36, 39, 76, 121, 122.  
Stettiner, pp. 3–10, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 1–12, 15, 16.

The manuscript was formerly in the Colbert Collection; its previous history is unknown. Both the *Psychomachia* and a commentary on the Virtues and Vices (author unknown) contain line drawings. Those of the *Psychomachia* have served as models for the commentary, and are by the same hand. The drawings resemble ninth century work of the School of Tours, notably the *Arithmetic of Boethius*<sup>2</sup> (cf. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 9). The initial letter *C* on fol. 49v. of the Prudentius, which begins an introductory verse of the *Liber de consolatione philosophiae I* of Boethius and is on the same page with the beginning of the *Psychomachia*, suggests the initial style of Tours in its delicate character, the leaf forms which terminate the letter, and the strap ornament within the outlines; it can be compared with a letter *M* in a manuscript of the A. Chester Beatty Collection<sup>3</sup> which came from the Library of St. Martin at Tours (cf. Figs. 4, 5). The characteristic profile of Tours seen in the medallion heads of the Emperors, as in the *Evangelary of Prüm*,<sup>4</sup> can be compared with *Gula* on fol. 53 of the Prudentius.<sup>5</sup> The fact that an illustrated *Psychomachia*, now in Leyden (see below), which is known to be from the region of Limoges, is almost identical with P1 as to iconography, and is in a similar though much cruder style, also indicates that P1 came from central France. A manuscript of the School of Tours, now in Bern,<sup>6</sup> dating from the ninth century has on fol. 54v. an entry headed *Auctores huius monasterii*, in which the *Psychomachia* is twice mentioned, *Sichemachia* and *Prudentii Sichemachie*. Only the names of other authors are mentioned, which suggests that the *Psychomachia* was of particular importance in this Turonian scriptorium.

The manuscript P1 is especially important for the reconstruction of the Prudentius archetype, since it preserves the antique style better than any of the other manuscripts. Abraham in the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac and in

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts will be referred to in the discussion by a letter and number indicating the present location of the manuscript and whether it is the first, second or third manuscript in that place, as P1 for the first Paris Prudentius.

<sup>2</sup> Bamberg, Bibl. Roy., H. J. IV. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, Catalogue*, London, 1927. The manuscript was formerly in the H. Y. Thompson Collection, Ms. No. C.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibl., Lat. theol. fol. 730; A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

<sup>5</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Taf. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Stadtbibl., Cod. 4.



6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. *Psalter* (Boinet)



8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. *Psalter* (Boinet)



7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*



9. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12. *Arithmetic of Boethius* (Boinet)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

the encounter with the Three Angels is derived from the East Christian type of Christ to be seen in the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula*,<sup>1</sup> the sixth century *Codex Rossanensis*,<sup>2</sup> and in the Abraham type of the fifth century *Vienna Genesis*<sup>3</sup> (cf. Figs. 10, 11, 13, 14). Such motives as the orant Avaritia,<sup>4</sup> the Amazon warrior,<sup>5</sup> and Superbia on horseback with mantle flying over her head,<sup>6</sup> could have been copied only from a model much older than the tenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. reg. lat. 596.

Part of the above manuscript P1.

Stettiner, pp. 3-10, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 13, 14, 17, 18.

The manuscript was formerly in the Library of Christine of Sweden. On fol. 27 is a sketch of the Holy Sepulchre consisting of three stories surmounted by a dome which is flanked at the top by two sleeping guards. This type of Holy Sepulchre has been shown to be characteristic of representations produced in Provence.<sup>8</sup> It is further evidence therefore of the South French origin of the manuscript.

### 2

(Le1) Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek. Cod. Vossianus lat. oct. 15.

French manuscript of the ninth century, from Limoges or St. Éparque in Angoulême. *Figures* 12, 40, 41, 82, 93, 104, 109, 127.

Stettiner, pp. 11-16, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 19-30.

L. Delisle, *Notice sur les Manuscrits originaux d'Ademar de Chabannes*, Paris, 1896.

The illustrations to the *Psychomachia* are placed together on fols. 37-43, separate from the text. In the margins of the text, opposite the lines where illustrations are generally inserted, are title inscriptions which are different from those accompanying the drawings. The illustrations are sketchily executed, but in spite of their rude appearance, follow their model closely, as comparison with the manuscript P1 will show (Figs. 10, 76, 104). When the scenes are crowded on the page, the illuminator has drawn a line, or two closely spaced parallel lines, between and sometimes across the bottom of the pictures. The idea of thus framing the illustrations was probably supplied by the model, since a similar use of parallel lines is found in P1 (cf. Figs. 2, 104). The original archetype may have shown complete frames about all of the

<sup>1</sup> Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Plut. I, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Rossano, Cathedral Library; Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Vienna, Bibl. Imp., Cod. theol. gr., 31; Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Taf.* 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Taf.* 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-170, with description of the antique motives. In Part III Stettiner indicates the probable closeness of each scene to the archetype.

<sup>8</sup> E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, in *Art Studies*, II (1924), 85-112.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

illustrations; P1 has a frame about the scene of *Abraham and Isaac*, and the three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which were derived from a model of the same class, employ the frame throughout (cf. Figs. 7, 60). This practice is an indication of the antiquity of the archetype and is to be compared with the use of frames in such manuscripts as the *Vatican Virgil*<sup>1</sup> and the *Ambrosian Iliad*.<sup>2</sup>

On fol. 141v. of the manuscript the following notice is found: *Hic est liber sanctissimi domini nostri Marcialis Lemouicensis ex libris bone memorie Ademari grammatici. Nam postquam multos annos peregit in Domini servitio ac simul in monachico ordine in eiusdem patris cenobio, profecturus Hierosolimam ad sepulchrum Domini, nec inde reversurus, multos libros, in quibus sudaverat, eidem suo pastori ac nutritori reliquit, ex quibus hic est unus.* Holder-Egger has identified this *Ademarus grammaticus* with the historian Ademar of Chabannais, born in 988, connected with the Monastery of St. Éparque in Angoulême, and later with St. Martial at Limoges.<sup>3</sup> In 1028 he undertook a journey to Jerusalem, where he died in 1034. A considerable number of manuscripts owned by Ademar are known, and some of them were certainly copied by his own hand.<sup>4</sup> Whether he also executed the drawings of the Prudentius cannot be determined with certainty, but it is probable that he made these rough drawings himself. Among the sketches bound with the *Psychomachia* is one which can be connected in style with a drawing in a manuscript, now in Paris, which belonged to Ademar.<sup>5</sup> This drawing represents St. Éparque flanked by four heads at the right and one at the left which is labelled *Ademarus* (cf. Figs. 12, 15). The Prudentius manuscript may, therefore, be dated before 1028 and considered an example of the style of St. Éparque or Limoges, that is, of southern France.

### 3

- (C) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. Ms. No. 23.  
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eleventh century, from the Abbey of Malmesbury. Stettiner, pp. 17-22; *Tafeln* 31-34, 49-66.  
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.

The drawings for the *Psychomachia* are executed in black, red, and green, and are framed by two parallel lines about a centimeter apart. When some portion of the drawing extends well beyond the main body of the illustration, that portion is allowed to penetrate into or go beyond the frame. A similar break in the frame occurs in the manuscript P1, where the frame is inter-

<sup>1</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. vat. lat. 3225; P. de Nolhac, *Le Virgile du Vatican et ses peintures*, Paris, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F. 205; Ceriani, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae*, etc., Milan, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> *Neues Archiv für alt. deutsche Gesch.*, VII (1882), 630 ff.

<sup>4</sup> L. Delisle, *Notices sur les Manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes*, Paris, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 3784.



10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (6),  
*Abraham and the angels*



13. Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. I, 56. *Gospel of Rabula*



11. Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31.  
*Vienna Genesis* (detail) (Wickhoff)



14. Rossano, Cathedral Library,  
*Codex Purpureus*



12. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.  
Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1) (Stettiner)



15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 3784. *St. Éparque* (Delisle)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

rupted by an altar (Fig. 7). The practice was, therefore, probably a peculiarity of the archetype.

A dedicatory verse on fol. 2v. indicates that the manuscript came from the Abbey of Malmesbury. The *Athelwerd* mentioned in the verse was probably the abbot of the foundation. Two abbots of the name were connected with the Abbey, one in 982, the other from 1040 to 1050.<sup>1</sup> The style of the drawings is that of the later period.

The manuscript follows a model of the type used by P1 and Le1.

### 4

- (Lo1) London, British Museum. Add. Ms. No. 24199.  
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eleventh century, possibly from Bury St. Edmunds.  
*Figure 60.*  
Stettiner, pp. 23–27, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 35, 37–42, 49–66.  
Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1895), p. 19.  
E. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.  
J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), p. 111.

The line drawings for the *Psychomachia* are executed in green, red, violet, blue, and light brown. At least three hands are to be distinguished in the drawings, although the under-drawing was probably completed by one hand.

On fol. 2 is what appears to be an old library mark which James suggests is that of the Library of Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>2</sup> The style of the drawings is that of the middle of the eleventh century. Thompson suggests that the manuscript is a copy of Anglo-Saxon work made on the Continent.<sup>3</sup> Its style is similar to that of the Cambridge Prudentius, but the lines are less free and more elaborate.

### 5

- (Lo2) London, British Museum. Cotton Ms. Cleopatra C. VIII.  
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the first half of the eleventh century.  
Stettiner, pp. 28–31, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 36, 43–46, 49–66.  
*British Museum Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series I (London, 1910), Pl. VII.  
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21. Pl. XXVI.  
J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), p. 112.

The line drawings are executed in black and red, with an occasional use of green, and once of blue. Two hands can be distinguished in the drawings. There is nothing in the manuscript to indicate its exact place of origin.

<sup>1</sup> Birch, in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVII (1871), 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, VII, 53.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1895), p. 19.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

### 6

- (M) Munich, Stadtbibliothek, clm. 29031 b.  
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the tenth century. *Figure 120*.  
Stettiner, p. 32; *Tafeln* 47, 48.

The extant portion of the *Psychomachia*, v. 13–18, is only a single page of vellum which for many years was used as a wrapper for documents kept in the Archives. The ink of both text and illustration has almost disappeared from the outside of the sheet, but the inside still retains its text, glosses and two drawings. Both the glosses and the style of the illustrations indicate that the manuscript was executed in England.

## MANUSCRIPTS OF GROUP II

### 1

- (Le2) Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek. Codex Burmannorum Q. 3.  
North French manuscript of the late ninth century, related to the School of Reims.  
*Figures 43, 45, 47, 50, 65, 66, 68, 73, 78, 83, 100, 125*.  
Stettiner, pp. 33–37, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 67, 69, 71, 73, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95,  
97, 99, 101, 105, 107.  
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

The manuscript is said to have come from the Monastery of Egmond, north of Utrecht. The tradition, however, goes back only to Gruter (1560–1627), one of the owners of the manuscript. The style of the illuminations does not resemble that of Egmond, a foundation of little importance in the ninth century. A more extensive discussion of this manuscript will be given later.

### 2

- (P2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 8085.  
French manuscript of the late ninth century, related to the School of Reims.  
*Figures 26, 49, 52, 63, 67, 74, 103, 124*.  
Stettiner, pp. 38–42, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 75, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92,  
94, 96, 98, 100, 103, 108.  
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

This manuscript will be discussed later.

### 3

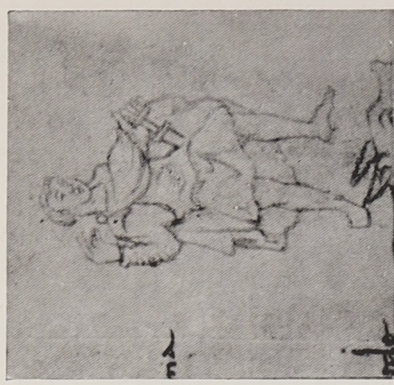
- (B1) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 9987–91.  
North French or Belgian manuscript of the tenth century, possibly from Valenciennes. *Figures 23, 88*.  
Stettiner, pp. 43–46, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 68, 70, 72, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97,  
99, 102, 105–107.  
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.



16. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10791.  
*St. Augustine*. 11th century



17. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be).  
*Romanus denounced by the Prefect*



19. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phil. 1832. Middle Rhine. 10th century. *Orion*



18. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2).  
Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*



20. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). *Physiologus, Nycticorax* (detail)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

The glosses which were added to the *Psychomachia* in the eleventh century in a German dialect have led Steinmeyer to the conclusion that the manuscript was in a monastery in the region of the river Maas at the time the glosses were entered.<sup>1</sup> A fuller discussion of the manuscript will be given later.

### 4

- (V) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Publique. Ms. No. 563.  
French manuscript of the early eleventh century, from the Monastery of St. Amand near Valenciennes.  
Stettiner, pp. 47–51, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 76, 78, 81, 82, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 104, 106, 108.  
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

This manuscript will be discussed later.

### 5

- (Ly) Lyons, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts.  
French manuscript of the eleventh century. *Figures* 38, 75, 79, 80, 81, 87, 98, 106, 112.  
Stettiner, pp. 55–60, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 109–126.  
Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), p. 173, *Taf.* 150.

The illuminator of the *Psychomachia* has elaborated on the usual iconography of the scenes, adding figures and attributes that do not usually appear in the illustrations. He has also been careful to make the costumes consistent throughout, and in one case has divided a single episode into two scenes.

The manuscript came from the collection of Pierre Adamoli (1707–1769), merchant in Lyons.

### 6

- (P3) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 18554.  
German manuscript of the tenth century, from the Middle or Lower Rhine.  
Stettiner, pp. 52–54, and bibliography; *Tafel* 128.

The dialect of the German glosses and three of the four illustrations in the manuscript point to the region of the Lower or Middle Rhine as the place of origin.

### 7

- (B2) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 10066–77.  
Belgian manuscript of the tenth century, from the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège.  
*Figures* 18, 20, 71, 86, 95, 99, 108, 110, 111.  
Stettiner, pp. 61–69, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 167, 169–176.

The manuscript contains, in addition to the writings of Prudentius, an illustrated *Physiologus*. The style of the drawings in the *Psychomachia* and the

<sup>1</sup> E. Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 572–574; Id., in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVI (1873), 1, 2, 92–95.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

*Physiologus* is the same, but some of the *Psychomachia* illustrations have been redrawn, probably in the eleventh century, by two different hands, one more skilled than the other. The actual style has, however, not been changed (cf. Figs. 20, 95).

On fol. 4 appears the following notice in a hand of the fifteenth century: *Sancti Laurentii prope Leodium*. In the eighteenth century the manuscript was in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy, and thence passed into the library at Brussels. The two extant catalogues of the library of St. Lawrence, dating from the thirteenth century, do not mention a Prudentius.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, in the library at Brussels another manuscript from St. Lawrence which offers points for comparison.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript of the eleventh century contains the writings of St. Augustine, and on fol. 2, a drawing of the Saint and an angel. When the angel is compared with the figure of Prudentius at prayer (Figs. 16, 18) a community of style is seen in the manner in which the drapery is caught up behind the knees, the shading by fine parallel lines both on the drapery and the hair, the accents on the fingers, particularly of St. Augustine, and the stress upon the line patterns. The rendering of the features of the face is different, but when it is remembered that there is about a century between the two manuscripts in point of time, the greater emphasis upon the line pattern in the later manuscript is not surprising.

### 8

- (B3) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 9968-72.  
Belgian manuscript of the eleventh century, formerly in the Library of St. Maximinus at Trier, probably executed at the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège.  
*Figures 22, 25, 61, 70, 96, 102, 105.*  
Stettiner, pp. 123-130 and bibliography; *Tafeln* 168, 179-186.  
Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 23.

The manuscript was at one time in the Jesuit Library at Antwerp. On fol. 116 the following notice is found in a hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century: *Codex monasterii sancti maximini extra muros treverorum; si quis abstulerit Anathema sit*. The old catalogue of St. Maximinus does not mention the Prudentius manuscript,<sup>3</sup> but the catalogue itself has now disappeared, and there is doubt as to its date. The catalogue may have been compiled earlier than the writing of the Prudentius.

Four hands are distinguishable in the drawings of the *Psychomachia*. The first hand, that of the original illuminator, can be seen in the drawings to fol. 82. These are strikingly close to those in a Belgian manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century from the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège, now

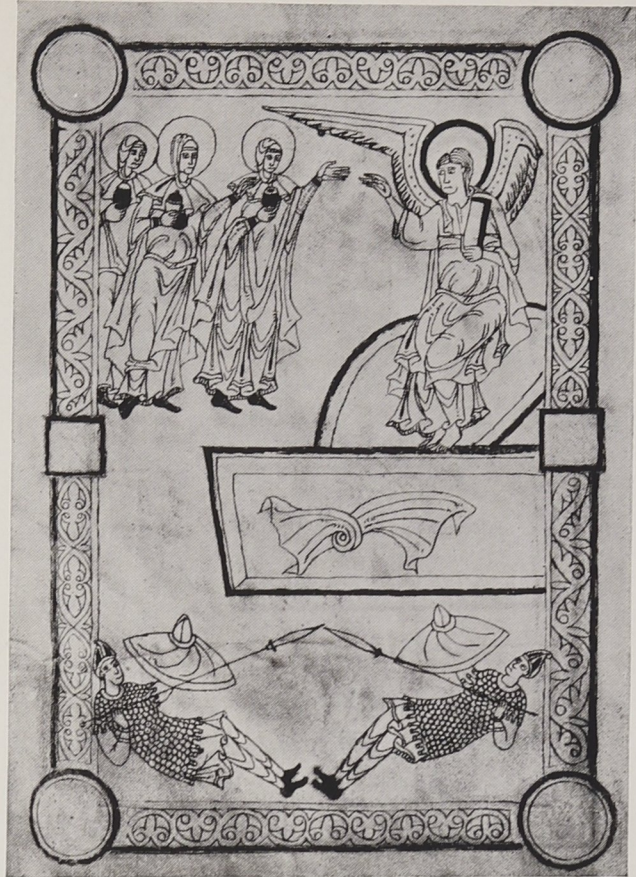
<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Brussels, Bibl. Roy. Ms. No. 10791.

<sup>3</sup> Published by G. H. Becker in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 178 f.



21. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. *Evangelary. St. Matthew.* From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century



24. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. *Evangelary. Holy Women at Sepulchre.* From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century



22. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido*



25. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (13), *Pudicitia strikes Libido with a sword*



23. Leyden, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9987-91 (B1). Scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime*



26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime* (Stettiner)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

in Brussels<sup>1</sup> (cf. Figs. 21, 22, 24, 25). The same unsure and labored line has been used in both, the features are very similar, the armor is the same, the drapery displays a similar flare and is accented in the same way.

The second hand has not changed the style but has noticeably straightened the lines. The third and fourth hands are later in date and will be discussed later.

### 9

- (Be) Bern, Stadtbibliothek. Ms. No. 264.  
South German or Swiss manuscript of the first half of the tenth century, related to St. Gall and Reichenau. *Figures* 17, 27, 35, 42, 43, 54, 72, 77, 89, 92, 94, 101, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119.  
Stettiner, pp. 70–173, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 129–164.  
Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, Leipzig, 1912.

On fol. 1v. is the following inscription: *Bongarsii ab Ill<sup>mo</sup> Principe Domino Frid. Casimiro Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum Bipontino Gr (?)*. The manuscript came into the possession of René Gravisset of Strasbourg with other manuscripts from the collection of Bongars.<sup>2</sup> Jacob Bongars, born in 1554 near Orléans, was for many years a merchant in Strasbourg. Friedrich Casimir, born 1585, inherited the land and castle of Moschelandsberg from his father Johann I of Pfalz-Zweibrücken.<sup>3</sup> Jacob Gravisset, the son of René, presented the manuscript to the city of Bern.<sup>4</sup> Grandidier has suggested that the manuscript came into the possession of the Pfalzgraf Johann as a gift from the heads of the cathedral at the time of the settlement of the Catholic and Protestant controversy.<sup>5</sup> The earlier history of the manuscript is not known.

The manuscript contains, in addition to the illustrations of the *Psychomachia*, a few illustrations to the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon IX* in a hand similar to, but not identical with, the hand which executed the *Psychomachia* drawings. While the *Psychomachia* drawings have been painted throughout, the others have only an occasional wash of green or red, different in tone from the green and red in the *Psychomachia*. In *Peristephanon X*, a third hand has executed drawings in a distinctly different and later style, probably of the late tenth or early eleventh century (Fig. 17).<sup>6</sup> These later drawings have been covered with a wash, chiefly green, blue, red, and lavender, which somewhat obscures the lines beneath. Stettiner recognizes only two hands at work, believing One and Two to be identical.

On stylistic grounds Stettiner ascribes the manuscript to St. Gall. He compares the first and second hands with manuscript No. 64 in the Stiftsbiblio-

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Roy. Ms. No. 5573.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarsius*, Bern, 1874.

<sup>3</sup> L. Häusser, *Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz* (Heidelberg, 1845), II, 741.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Bern, 1875), pp. xx ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire ecclésiastique de la province d'Alsace* (Strassburg, 1787), I, ccvii; *Histoire de l'Église de Strasbourg* (Strassburg, 1776), I, 316, note.

<sup>6</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 157–163.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

thek, which contains a line drawing representing St. Paul and the Jews (cf. Figs. 27, 29). The style of this drawing certainly has points of similarity with the Prudentius and particularly with Hand Two. Manuscript No. 876 in the same library he also brings into comparison, but the similarity is decidedly less marked here.<sup>1</sup> The scene of a teacher and group of students in the *Passio Cassiani* he compares with a scene of the same subject in the Folchart Psalter.<sup>2</sup> The style of the initial letters and the full-page decorations he believes are also in the style of St. Gall. The old catalogue of the library mentions a Prudentius which Stettiner considers to be the manuscript in question, and so he dates it between 863 and 880, during the abbacy of Grimald and Hartmut. He further attempts to show that the manuscript was obtained from St. Gall by Bishop Erchenbald of Strasbourg on his return trip from Italy in the tenth century.

Merton<sup>3</sup> is of the opinion that the manuscript was not written in St. Gall, but rather in some closely connected foundation where a strong current of influence from Reichenau was also felt. Of the three hands at work he connects only Hand Two with the St. Paul drawing in Ms. No. 64, but admits that the color used by this hand is unlike anything in St. Gall. He suggests therefore, that the hand was trained in St. Gall but active elsewhere. The character of the writing is of the tenth century rather than the ninth, and possesses none of the outstanding peculiarities of St. Gall script at this period. The initial ornament is, however, related to St. Gall, and must have been executed within its sphere of influence, though tempered by the style of Reichenau.<sup>4</sup> The figure style of St. Gall in the tenth century was far removed from that of the Bern manuscript, so that the notice in the catalogue of the library, used as evidence for attribution by Stettiner, cannot refer to the present manuscript.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Taf. 166.

<sup>2</sup> St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., Ms. No. 23; F. Landsberger, *Der St. Galler Folchart-psalter* (St. Gall, 1912), Abb. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Compare with the Lectionary in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Merton, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXIX.

<sup>5</sup> No more definite placing of the manuscript than that made by Merton is possible until more is known of the different schools of southern Germany and the Upper Rhine. Certain new comparisons can, however, be indicated. The very close stylistic relation of the Bern Prudentius to the St. Gall manuscript No. 64 is admitted. But No. 64 is the only manuscript in exactly this style now in St. Gall, and none of the manuscripts attributed to the scriptorium by Merton is exactly comparable (Fig. 29). (See Merton, *op. cit.*, for reproductions of other manuscripts.) Further, there are many initial letters in No. 64 which are not of the pure St. Gall type (Figs. 33, 34). On the recto of the folio containing the St. Paul drawing the following saints are mentioned, which, with their dates of celebration, do not conform with the St. Gall calendars published by Merton:

iiii. non. Ian. S. Theogenis. m.

xi. k. Feb. Nat. Sci. Gaudentii epi. &c.

vii. id. Ian. Nat. f. Iuliani diaconi &c.

ii. k. Feb. Dep. S. Iulii pri. &c.

k. Iun. Passio Gratiniani & filini m.

xvii. k. Aug. N. Sci. Quirici & Julittae matris ei.

No. 64 may, therefore, have been an importation to St. Gall.



27. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs*



28. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438. *Wandalbertus' Calendar, November* (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



29. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64. *St. Paul and the Jews. 10th century* (Phot. Baumgartner)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

### 10

- (K) Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. No. 81.  
 Manuscript of the tenth century, from Lower Germany(?) *Figures* 115, 118.  
 Stettiner, pp. 118–122, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 187, 188, 190.

Before the *Psychomachia* appears the *Hamartigenia*, at the end of which is a symbolic account of priestly offices followed by a list of names of cities with German translations. Among the cities is *Zurzach*, a small place in Switzerland. The same list of cities is found in a Swiss manuscript containing the writings of Prudentius and now in the library at Zurich.<sup>1</sup> Stettiner believes that in spite of the probably Allemanian source of the manuscript, it was actually written in Lower Germany because of the dialect of the glosses which are by the same hand as the text.

Some of the German and Latin glosses in the manuscript are like those that were added to the manuscript B1 in the eleventh century. Steinmeyer noted the similarity and suggested that archetypes with an ultimate common origin had been used.<sup>2</sup> Stettiner connects the manuscripts even more closely, and

A manuscript in Rome (Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 438) containing the metrical calendar written by Wandalbertus for the Abbey of Prüm, is illustrated with drawings of the Months in a style similar to, if not identical with, that of the *Psychomachia* drawings in the Bern Prudentius (cf. Figs. 27, 28, 30). Compare the rendering of the profiles, the eyebrow lines, the additional lines between the eye and brow, the treatment of the drapery, the hands, feet and legs. In Figs. 32 and 35 the curious little fold or loop where the edge of the drapery turns over should be noted. (This manuscript was published by A. Riegl, *Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. X [1889], with one reproduction.) Wandalbertus died about the middle of the ninth century. Since the calendar which is the theme of the poem is peculiar to Prüm, it would be strange to find it written and illuminated at any place other than Prüm. Little is known of the style of this scriptorium, since most of the manuscripts were destroyed there by fire. The late tenth century Troper from Prüm (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9448) has a general similarity to the Wandalbertus and to the Bern Prudentius in the proportion of the figures, their movement, and in the treatment of the drapery (cf. Figs. 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 134). Braun considered the likeness close enough to call the Wandalbertus a Prüm product (E. W. Braun, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Trierer Buchmalerei im früheren Mittelalter*, Trier, 1896, p. 87). There are also two ivory caskets of the tenth century, one in the Treasury of the Abbey Church at Quedlinburg, the other in the National Museum at Munich (Kat., V, 175), which have been attributed to Prüm because of their stylistic likeness to the Troper by Vöge (*Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, 1900–1902) and by Creutz (*Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst*, 1908, pp. 202 ff.) The caskets are decorated with figures of the Apostles under arcades, and the tops of the arches are filled with the twelve signs of the Zodiac not unlike the signs which appear in the Wandalbertus.

The drawings executed by Hand Three in the Bern Prudentius recall work originating along the Middle Rhine. Several drawings of a manuscript now in Berlin (Staatsbibl., Phil., 1832) from the library of St. Vincent at Metz, and dated in the tenth century by Kirchner (*Beschreibende Verzeichnisse der Miniaturen-Hss. der preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Leipzig, 1926) are close to Hand Three in treatment of features, drapery and general style (cf. Figs. 17, 19). The style of Hand Three can also be compared with the Brussels Prudentius B2, although exact points of similarity cannot be indicated (cf. Figs. 17, 20). It seems fairly certain that Hand Three was not working in St. Gall.

Prüm was certainly of considerable importance during the ninth and tenth centuries as is shown by the numerous documentary notices referring to the place. (For a discussion of Prüm see S. Beissel, *Miniaturen aus Prüm*, in *Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst*, Jg. 19, pp. 11 ff., 43 ff.) Prüm fell within the artistic circle of Trier, Echternach and Metz, and was located on the direct road between Trier and Liège. (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 1.) Since the two manuscripts B2 and B3, which are closely connected with the Bern Prudentius, were written and illuminated in Liège, and B3 found its way to Trier, the situation of Prüm invites speculation.

<sup>1</sup> Cantonalbibl., Ms. C. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVI (1873), 8 f.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

believes that at some time in the eleventh century B1 and the archetype of the Cologne manuscript were in the same scriptorium in the Maas region, and that the glosses were copied into B1, and a few of the illustrations gone over, using this archetype as model. At the same time and in the same place, the scene of *Abraham and the Angels* was added to the Cologne manuscript in the style of the reworked miniatures in B1. This community of style, however, between the eleventh century drawing in the Cologne manuscript and the redrawn scenes in B1 is not convincing.

### 11

- (H) Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.  
Manuscript of the tenth century, from southwest Germany(?).  
Stettiner, *Tafelband*, p. 18; *Tafel* 127.

The manuscript came from the collection of Mr. Sayle in Cambridge to the Hamburg Museum in 1905. It now consists of only a single page which for some time must have served as a wrapper for documents. The two drawings of Superbia are close to those in the Bern Prudentius.

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The following three manuscripts lie somewhat outside of the general classification. They exhibit features characteristic of both Groups I and II, and yet cannot be considered a group in themselves, since the borrowed elements do not correspond in the three manuscripts.

### 1

- (G) St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek. Ms. No. 135.  
Manuscript of the eleventh century from St. Gall. *Figures* 107, 129.  
Stettiner, pp. 131-137, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 189, 191, 192.  
Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 62, 67 ff. Pls. LXV, LXVI.

The *Psychomachia* was first written and then illustrated. It is evident that the scribe was not copying from an illustrated manuscript, since he left spaces only between the different chapters into which many of the unillustrated copies are divided. Consequently there are not the requisite number of spaces to contain the complete series of illustrations. The illuminator was obliged to select, condense and combine the scenes so that one illustration often embodies several episodes (Fig. 107).

The iconography of the scenes is derived from a manuscript of the Group II class, the attitudes particularly resembling the manuscript B3. The Vices, however, are not represented in flame-skirts, and the Virtues are not depicted as warriors. A manuscript of the Group I class must, therefore, have served as model for the costumes. Stettiner has pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon man-





30. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438.  
Wandalbertus' Calendar, August  
(Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



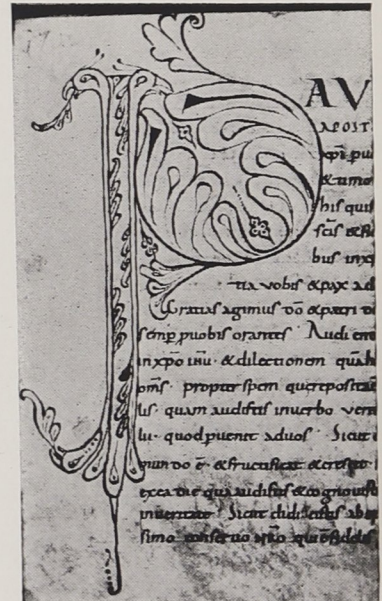
32. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438.  
Wandalbertus' Calendar, April  
(Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



31. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448.  
*Troper of Prüm*. 10th century



33. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64



34. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64



35. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (32),  
*Superbia rides down Humilitas and Spes* (Phot. Völliger)





## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

uscripts, Lo1, Lo2 and Lo3 have certain points with regard to chapter headings, spaces left, and placing of scenes in common with the St. Gall manuscript.

The Prudentius was certainly written and illuminated in St. Gall, and belongs with a series of manuscripts dating from about 1022–1034 which have been published by Merton. The closest parallel in style is furnished by Ms. No. 367.<sup>1</sup>

### 2

- (Lo3) London, British Museum. Cotton Ms. Titus D. XVI.  
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of about 1100, from St. Albans.  
Stettiner, pp. 138–143, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 193–196.  
*British Museum Schools of Illumination*, vol. II, Pl. 1.  
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.

On folios 2, 36v. and 37 are notices of the thirteenth to sixteenth century concerning the previous location of the manuscript: *Hic est liber Sancti Albani quem qui ei abstulerit vel tytulum deleverit anathema sit*. Goldschmidt has definitely established the origin of the manuscript in St. Albans and dated it in the last years of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>2</sup>

### 3

- (P4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 15158.  
French Gothic manuscript, dated 1298, from the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris.  
*Figures* 123, 126.  
Stettiner, pp. 144–148, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 197–200.

On fol. 16v. is the following notice: *Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octagesimo nono perfectus est iste liber a Iohanne dicto de Curia cui senatus angelici post cursum vite sue sanctorumque martyrum confessorum, martyrum virginum, patriarcharum celestiumque omnium concedantur*. Iohannes de Curia is not known. The manuscript came to the Bibliothèque from the Abbey of St. Victor. That the manuscript was written there cannot be concluded with certainty. Stettiner points out as evidence that it was illuminated in a religious foundation the fact that the Virtues are represented in nun's habit, the Vices in citizen's garments, and that before verse 501 is the scene of Ratio protecting the priests from Avaritia, in which Ratio is represented as a monk.

Stettiner offers the stemma given below as a summary indication of what he considers the essential relation between the extant manuscripts and their derivation from the original archetype.<sup>3</sup>

From the first illustrated copy of the fifth century is derived a second of the seventh to the eighth century which served as the archetype of all the extant

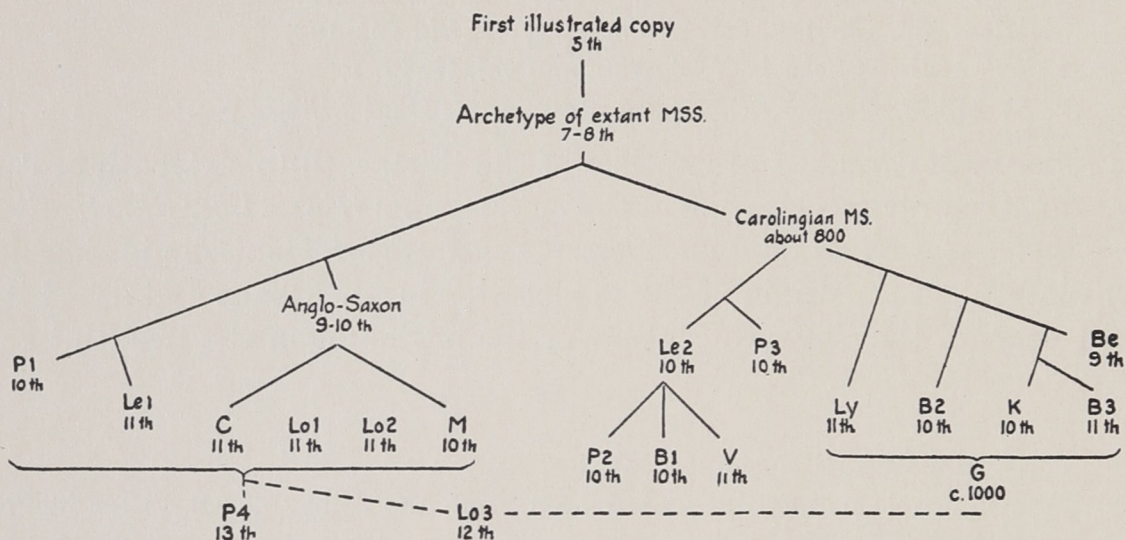
<sup>1</sup> Merton, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXV.

<sup>2</sup> Adolf Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 41 f.

<sup>3</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–202.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

manuscripts. The argument for this supposed reworking rests in part on the following facts. (a) In almost all of the manuscripts certain errors appear, as the representation of five kings instead of the biblical four in the scene of *Lot captured from Sodom*; a marginal gloss which explains this scene in some of the manuscripts compares the five kings with the five natures of man, and appears to have been taken from Isidore of Seville's (died 637) commentary on the book of Genesis. (b) Ira kills herself with a sword in the illustrations of the two manuscripts which Stettiner considers closest to the original instead of with the *missile* mentioned in the text. (c) There is a lack of consistency in



the costume used for a specific figure in the various scenes relating to a single episode. (d) The title inscriptions which accompany the illustrations do not conform with the description in the text in every case, as when Spes instead of Humilitas is mentioned as flying to heaven.

The manuscripts of Group I are on the left side of the stemma. Stettiner places P1 on the direct line of development from the archetype of the seventh century because its figure style, the architecture represented, the costumes of the figures, and the groupings resemble examples of earlier art (e. g., the *Vatican Virgil*) more than do any of the other manuscripts. Le1 is close to P1, but is a little further removed from the archetype than P1 in the scene of *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*, which Stettiner believes introduces a change. Branching from the same line to the archetype is an Anglo-Saxon version of the illustrations from which are derived the manuscripts Lo1 and C, and Lo2 and M.

The right hand side of the stemma shows the relation of the manuscripts of Group II to the archetype of the seventh century. A Carolingian reworking of the illustrations about the year 800 is assumed. The antique style was lost in this model, and costumes and arrangement of scenes characteristic of the





41. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1).  
 Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*; (2), *Lot captured by the kings*;  
 (3) *Abraham rescues Lot*; (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*  
 (Phot. Rameau)



42. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be).  
 Scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings*

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

period were substituted for the originals. Directly from this ninth century model the manuscript Le2 was derived, and from Le2, the manuscripts P2, B1 and V were copied. P3, which contains only four drawings but complete text and title inscriptions, is related to the Carolingian model along the same line as Le2.

At the end of the direct line from the seventh century archetype, and through the Carolingian model, lies the manuscript Be. At intermediate points appear Ly, B2, K and B3, all introducing some changes and modifications. The manuscript G contains a condensation of the scenes with inspiration drawn from several sources toward the Be end of the development.

P4, a thirteenth century manuscript belonging to Group I, is represented on the stemma as embracing the entire earlier development in Group I, and as receiving an additional influence from Group II. The line of influence from Group II is seen to have passed through Lo3, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the twelfth century, on its way to the model from which P4 is taken.

The manuscripts of Group I are French and Anglo-Saxon; those of Group II have their home along the Rhine and in the Meuse valley.<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the dates of the manuscripts as given by Stettiner do not in every case accord with the dates in the discussion of the manuscripts given above. This stemma should be compared with the one below. The chief differences lie in the development of Group I from the archetype *B*, Group II directly from *A*, the placing of Le1 instead of P1 on the direct line of development from the archetype, the introduction of several lost intermediate models into Group II at which Stettiner only hints,<sup>2</sup> the influence of Group I in Group II, and finally the coming together of the two groups which determines the placing of P4 and Lo3.

The explanation of the hypothetical model *T* in Group I lies in scene (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*. Le1 shows Fides in a garment which bares the upper half of the figure and indicates the breasts. P1, on the other hand, represents Fides in a long garment covering the entire body (cf. Figs. 36, 104). That the original archetype represented Fides with shoulders and breast bare is evident from the fact that the entire Group II shows Fides clothed in this manner, and from the natural interpretation of the text which describes Fides as *nuda humeros*. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts follow P1, thus indicating that the Anglo-Saxon group developed after the change was made. An illustrated *Psychomachia* of the P1 type had come to the notice of the hand which executed Le1 at some time during his activity, though not necessarily at the time he made the drawings to accompany his text, for to the end of the volume containing the *Psychomachia* several extra pages of rough sketches are bound, among the sketches a *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* with the Fides

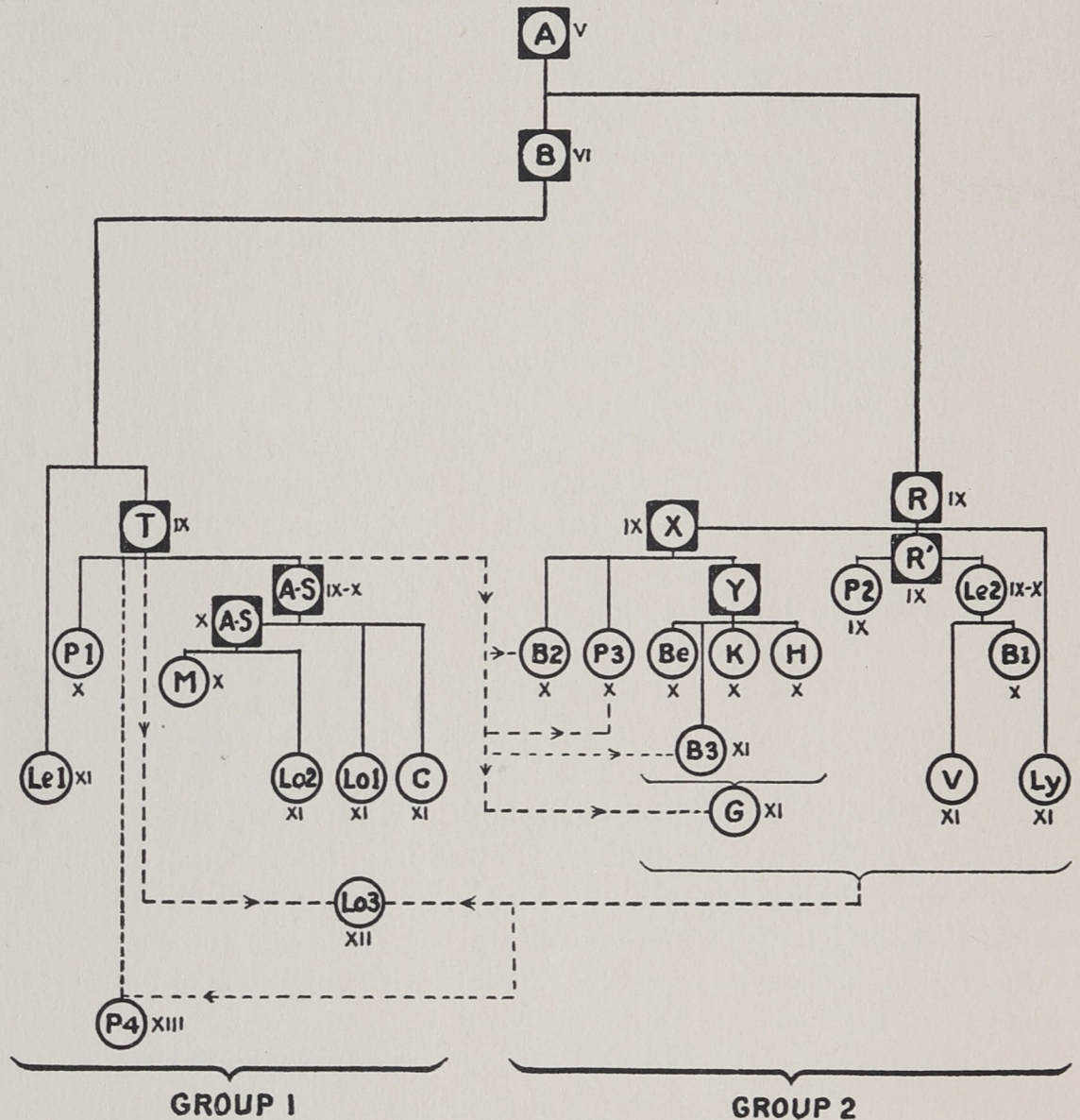
<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

as in P1, the calf standing beside the altar, and the two heads on the altar omitted (cf. Figs. 36, 40, 104).

The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Lo1, Lo2, C and M have many points in common, as attitudes, costumes, attributes and lack of armor, so that they must have derived from a common model executed in the style of Winchester. The characteristic folds of the drapery particularly point to such a



model. This model has been designated as *A-S* on the stemma. In this group, M and Lo2 show a common source in scene (9), *Cultura Deorum conquered by Fides*. Here a calf is seen hurled through the air from a falling altar (Fig. 120). The falling altar is not contained in Lo1 and C. Further comparison is impossible since M is only a fragment containing three drawings. The model *A-S* has been introduced to explain the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon



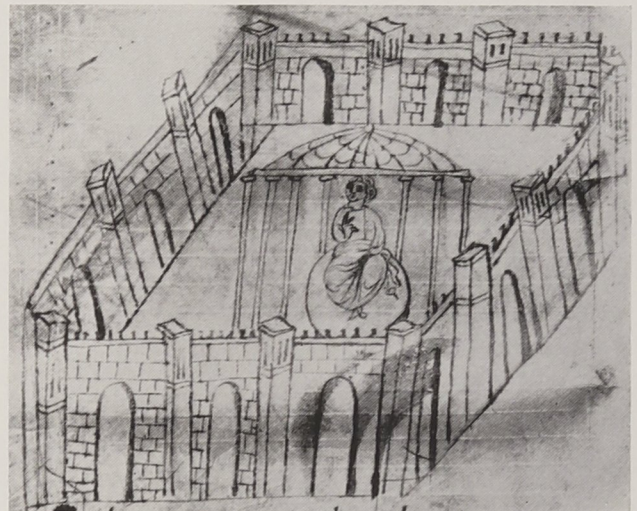
43. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2).  
Scene (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs*



46. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*,  
fol. 11v (detail)  
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)



44. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV.  
*Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 3 (detail)  
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)



47. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek,  
Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (89),  
*Sapientia seated in the temple*



45. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2).  
Scene (12), *Pudicitia disarms Libido*



48. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek,  
F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 7v (detail)  
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)







49. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*; (2), *Lot captured by the kings* (Stettiner)



51. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 30v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)



50. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings*; (3), *Abraham rescues Lot*



52. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (30), *Superbia rides spirited horse*



53. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 5 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

development. In scene (79), *Discordia seized by Concordia*, P1 has three figures at the right of the picture, while the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have four, and Le1 has five. This may indicate that the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are closer to Le1, and hence to the original than P1.

There is no definite way of knowing where the model *T* was made. The most important center for illumination in central France during the ninth century was Tours. It has been shown that P1 was probably written in this center. Tours and England were in close relation through the connection of Alcuin, and a copy of the Prudentius could easily have found its way to York or Winchester from Tours. The model has been lettered *T* on the possibility of an origin in the scriptorium of Tours.

The distinguishing characteristics of the manuscripts of Group II which allow them to be thus grouped must have originated in a special reworking of the archetype. The reworked model has been designated as *R*. A comparison of the manuscripts of Group II with the Utrecht Psalter and other manuscripts of the school of Reims throws light on the character and date of *R*.

Outstanding is the scene of *Fides crowning the martyrs*, which finds an almost exact parallel on fol. 3 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 27, 43, 44). The attitudes, costumes and palms of the martyrs are particularly close. Superbia riding her spirited horse is closely approached by a figure on fol. 5 (cf. Figs. 52, 53). The foreshortening of the horse, the drawing of its tail, and of the mantle and its flying fold should be noted. A striking similarity is found between the scene of *Lot captured by the kings* and the four mounted figures on fol. 30 (cf. Figs. 50, 51).

The earliest representation of demons with flying hair and flame-skirt is, I believe, in the Psalter. The flame-skirt should not be confused with the tunic which is tucked up under the belt making it hang in three sections, of which there are examples in the Psalter, the Ashburnham Pentateuch<sup>1</sup> and other manuscripts. As the distinguishing characteristic of demons its appearance in the Utrecht Psalter is important. A comparison of Figs. 54 and 56 will show the close relation.

Armed figures of victorious warriors are abundant throughout the Psalter, and can be compared with the armed Virtues of the Prudentius (cf. Figs. 54, 55, 58). Several close parallels in attitudes can be selected from the manuscripts (cf. Figs. 45, 48).

One of the most characteristic and frequently occurring arrangements in the Psalter is that of a warrior surrounded by the enemy in the act of throwing various weapons from nearby hills. Just such a scene has been introduced into the Prudentius in scene (17) of *Patientia undaunted by the Vices* (cf. Figs.

<sup>1</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. acq. 2334; O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1883.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

54, 57). A comparison with Le1 will show how essentially this scene has been changed to accord with the northern spirit of the time (Fig. 82). Another arrangement of this kind is found in the battle scene (84), where *Caritas assembles her men*. It compares with fol. 15 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 59, 63), where the tents are placed on both sides of the picture, the figures placed before the tents, and the center of the composition filled by the building and its figures. The Logos seated upon a globe, which appears on many of the folios of the Psalter, has been used in the Prudentius for Sapientia seated in the temple (cf. Figs. 46, 47).

The types of cities surrounded by a wall should be compared in the Psalter and the Prudentius manuscripts, and the manner of shading particularly noted (cf. Figs. 47, 55, 64). The northern drinking horn has been substituted for the goblet in the scene of *Luxuria feasting* and is comparable to the horns used in the Psalter<sup>1</sup> (cf. Figs. 62, 67). The figure of Spes flying to heaven finds a close parallel on fol. 3 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 44, 65).

Tikkanen noted a similarity between the Bern Prudentius and the Utrecht Psalter.<sup>2</sup> The close relation is, however, much more convincing when the Leyden manuscript Le2 is used for comparison. Here the style of the line drawings is maintained throughout (cf. Figs. 43-48). It cannot be far removed from the period and milieu of the Psalter. The dependence of the entire Group II upon such a model will be made clear in the following discussion. The archetype *R* must have been a manuscript of the ninth century, executed in northeastern France, presumably in the school of Reims. The importance of Reims in this period warrants the supposition of a reworking of such a universally popular writing as the *Psychomachia* and its illustrations within the scriptorium. A similar reworking was the lot of the illustrations of the Comedies of Terence; from the same archetype is derived the *Ambrosian Terence*<sup>3</sup> with miniatures in a style resembling the Prudentius drawings in Le1 of Group I, and the *Parisinus*<sup>4</sup> whose illustrations are in a manner close to those of the Utrecht Psalter.<sup>5</sup>

Stettiner has grouped around the manuscript Le2 the three similar manu-

<sup>1</sup> The figure in the Utrecht Psalter of the attendant holding the drinking horn and supporting a pitcher upon a stand should be compared with the Anglo-Saxon rendering of the scene of *Luxuria feasting* (cf. Figs. 60, 62). It will be noticed that the attendant in the Anglo-Saxon illumination holds the pitcher upon the stand, but that he extends a goblet toward Luxuria instead of the drinking horn. The goblet has been retained from the archetype (cf. Figs. 60, 109). The drinking horn was, however, familiar to Anglo-Saxon illuminators as is seen in an eleventh century manuscript containing scenes of the Months (British Museum, Cotton, Jul. A. VI, fol. 4v.) executed in the characteristic style of Winchester. The motive had probably been introduced into England through copies of the Utrecht Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, in *Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae* (Helsingfors, 1903), vol. 31, pt. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Milan, Bibl. Laurentiana, lat. H. 75, inf.

<sup>4</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 7899.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Morey, *I Miniatori del Terenzio illustrato della Biblioteca Vaticana*, in *Rendiconti della Ponteficia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, IV (1926), 26 ff.; Leslie W. Jones, *The Archetypes of the Terence Miniatures*, *Art Bulletin*, X (1927), 103 ff.





## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

scripts, P2, B1 and V, which he claims are copies of Le2 executed at different dates, and probably in different places. The evidence which he gives for this conclusion is briefly as follows: <sup>1</sup>

If the miniatures in Le2, on folios 139 to 141 inclusive, are numbered consecutively from verse 551 to verse 636 as I, II, III, etc., the corresponding miniatures in P2 will be found to fall in the order I, III, IV, V, VI, II, XI, XII, XIII, VII, VIII, IX, X, XIV. When the two double folios 138/141 and 139/140 are reversed, that is, 139 to precede 138, the miniatures will fall in the order in which they occur in P2 as indicated above. The texts of the two manuscripts are almost identical, the iconography of the scenes is the same, with a few exceptions, and although the styles are very different, in that Le2 contains line drawings throughout, while P2 contains fully painted figures, and although the title inscriptions accompanying each picture seldom agree in the two manuscripts, Stettiner, nevertheless, concludes that P2 is a copy of Le2 which at some time must have been incorrectly bound. He dates both of the manuscripts in the tenth century.<sup>2</sup> The differences in style, iconography and titles he accounts for by supposing that the preliminary sketches in P2, which had been made from Le2, were finished, or at least painted, with the aid of a second Prudentius manuscript which also supplied the titles.

Stettiner's proof is further strengthened by the confusion in the manuscripts B1 of the tenth century and V of the eleventh. The pictures and text of B1 were copied page by page from Le2 with almost no variation. When the gathering in Le2 containing the misplaced leaves, indicated in the discussion of P2 above, was reached, the following disorder resulted:

B1 fol. 114	Verses 464-490	Le2 fol. 137
“ 116	“ 551-575	“ 139
“ (now cut out)		“ 138
“ 117	Verses 602-638	“ 141
“ 118	“ 576-601	“ 140
“ 119	“ 638-666	“ 142

The page now removed, which corresponded with fol. 138 of Le2, contained only one miniature. In the eleventh century the disorder was noticed, the page taken out, and a new page containing verses 491-550, but without illustration, and in a hand of the eleventh century, was inserted as fol. 115, thus making the order of the text correct through fol. 116. No attempt was made to correct the manuscript further except by the addition of marginal notes on fols. 117v. and 118v.

The manuscript V was also corrected a century after it was made. The fourth gathering contains folios 25-32 and verses 476-664. Five of the pages,

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 42.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

folios 26–30, were cut out and others inserted, written in a twelfth century hand, and the spaces for illustrations left but not filled. The present arrangement can be seen in the following table:

Fol. 25	old	Verses 476–489
“ 26	new	“ 490–543
“ 27	new	“ 544–563
“ 28	new	“ 564–583
“ 29	new	“ 584–595 and 604–611
“ 30	new	“ 612–638
“ 31	old	“ 596–601 and 639–643
“ 32	old	“ 644–664

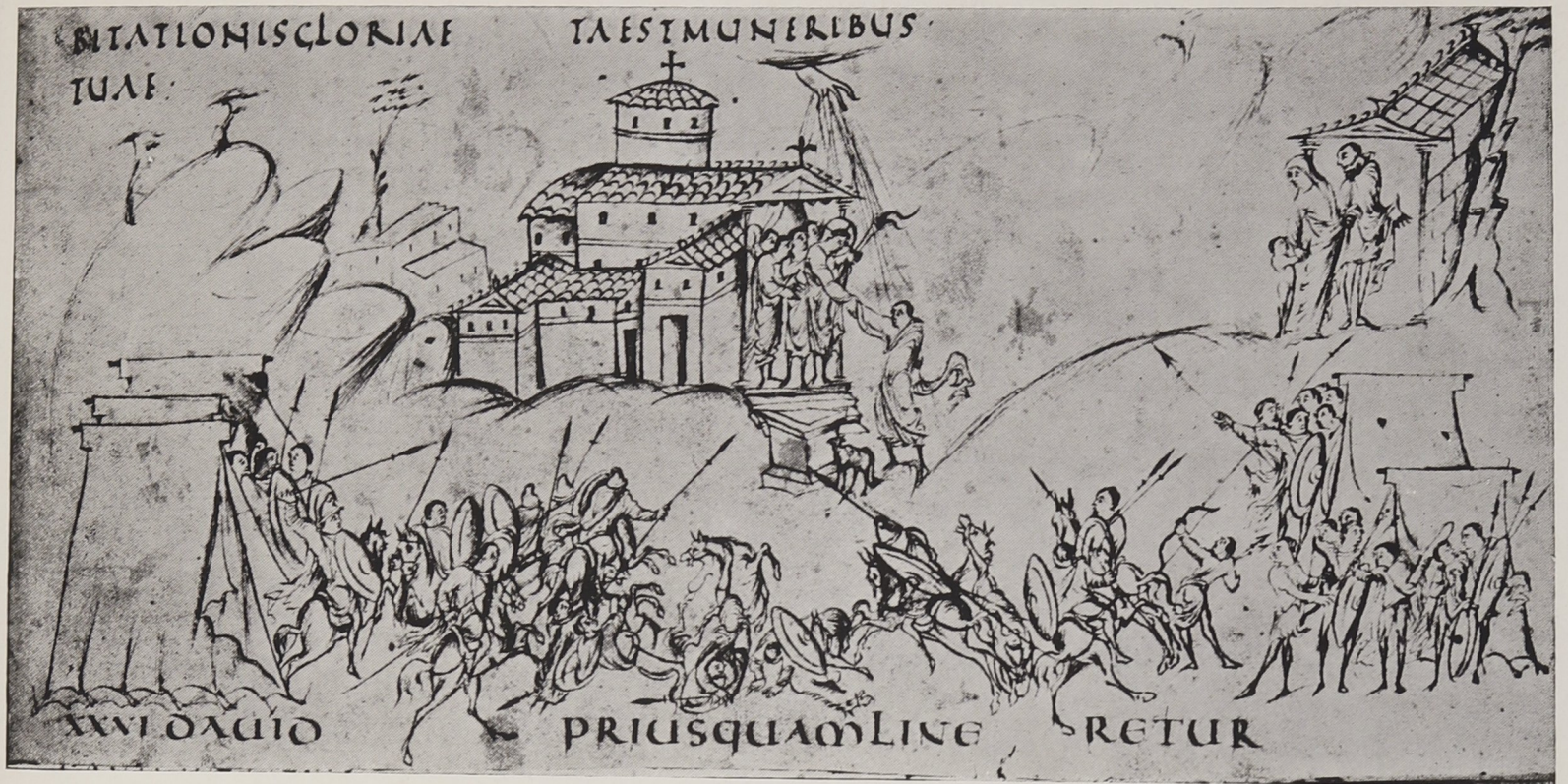
The two missing lines, verses 602 and 603, are found on fol. 31v. in the free space left above the miniature preceding verse 636, and are by the same hand as the original text. This suggests that the scribe first noticed his mistake at this point. The fifth gathering contains verses 665–876, fols. 33–40. Then follows a double page with only the recto of fol. 41 used, and containing verses 868–907, and the verso of fol. 42 with verses 809–915 in a slightly later hand. It is evident from the above that the confusion in the three manuscripts, P2, B1 and V, arises in the same portion of the poem. The disorder in the model Le2 was later discovered and the manuscript correctly bound.

Stettiner's proof that the text of P2 was copied from Le2 is the following.<sup>1</sup> Le2 uses the word *urquet* in verse 253 which has later been corrected by erasure to *urget*. In verse 817 the word *arcae* has been similarly corrected to *arce*. P2 uses the incorrect forms *urquet* and *arcae*, while B1 and V employ the correct forms. This, according to Stettiner, indicates that P2 copied the mistakes from Le2, but that the text of the latter had been corrected before the manuscripts B1 and V were undertaken.

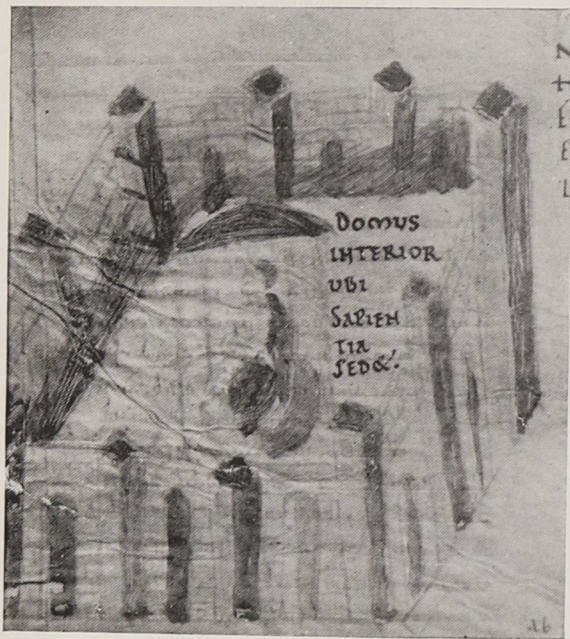
But Le2 begins verse 55 of the *Praefatio* with *Non esse* and a correction mark or *s* above the second *n*. P2 uses the correct form *Nos esse*. B1, which according to Stettiner's argument from the case of *urget* and *arce* was copied later than P2, contains the first form *Non esse*; V employs *Nos*. The correction in Le2, therefore, came after B1 and before V, and P2 must have obtained its correct form from some other source.

Le2 has in verse 64 of the *Praefatio* the word *spiritibus* with two small dots below the *ib*. P2 uses *spiritus*, the correct word. V, on the other hand, has *spiritibus*, which has later been corrected by the erasure of *ib*. In B1 the word has also been altered by an erasure; the space remaining indicates that the word was originally *spiritibus*. Evidently, then, the correction marks in Le2 were added after the copying of both B1 and V, and again P2 must have obtained the correct form from another source.

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 45.



59. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 15 (Pal. Soc. Facs.)



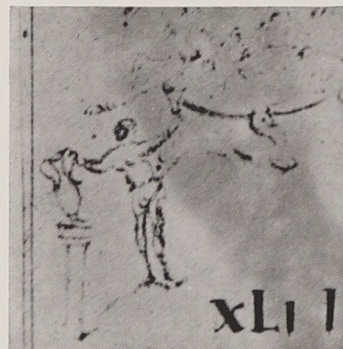
64. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (89), *Sapientia seated in the temple* (Stettiner)



60. London, British Museum, Add. 24199 (Lo1). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting* (Phot. Fleming)



61. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting* (Stettiner)



62. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 24v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)



63. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (84), *Fides assembles men* (Stettiner)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Similar examples occur in the following verses:

- |              |     |                  |                                                                        |
|--------------|-----|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|              |     | sen u            |                                                                        |
| 1. Verse 729 | Le2 | pacificos ses    | (With erasure and correction.)                                         |
|              | P2  | pacificos sensus | (Correct.)                                                             |
|              | B1  | pacificos su sos |                                                                        |
|              | V   | pacificos sensus |                                                                        |
| 2. Verse 651 | Le2 | posterga         |                                                                        |
|              | P2  | post terga       | (Correct.)                                                             |
|              | B1  | posterga         | (A later attempt has been made to correct the mistake.)                |
| 3. Verse 652 | Le2 | litora           |                                                                        |
|              | P2  | littora          | (Correct.)                                                             |
|              | B1  | littora          | (The second <i>t</i> has been inserted.)                               |
| 4. Verse 874 | Le2 | perarat          | (An <i>a</i> by a different hand has been placed above the <i>e</i> .) |
|              | P2  | pararat          | (Correct.)                                                             |
|              | B1  | perarat          |                                                                        |

From the above evidence it is clear that Le2 did not necessarily serve as the model for the text of P2.

There are also instances in which the two texts differ when Le2 uses the correct or usual form, while P2 has made some mistake in spelling or omitted a letter.<sup>1</sup> The mistakes are all of the kind common to scribes and in themselves of little weight, but taken in connection with the differences in the illustration, which will be set forth later, indicate that neither one was copied from the other.

The two texts are, however, very closely related. Verses 105 and 106 in both manuscripts read:

Condere vaginae gladium ne sorde latenti  
Occupet ablutum rubigo scabra nitorem.

Other texts read:

Condere vagine(ae) gladium in tecta rubigo  
Occupet ablutum scabrosa sorde nitorem.

The manuscript B1 copies Le2. V also copied it, but was corrected at a later date to read in the usual way.<sup>2</sup>

Comparison of the texts thus indicates a common source for Le2 and P2, but not the one as the source of the other.

The miniatures also present important differences. The impression that P2 makes against Le2 is that a more antique form and feeling has been retained.

<sup>1</sup> See verse 39. . . . . Le2-partē, P2-parta, B1-partē.

“ 821. . . . . Le2-toga, P2-tota, B1-tota.

“ 23. . . . . Le2-lacertos, P2-lacertas.

“ 33. . . . . Le2-satiata solo, P2-satiatalo.

<sup>2</sup> The unusual reading is also found in a thirteenth century manuscript; A. Dressel, *op. cit.*, LXVIII, 177.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Though this impression is in the main a general one of the whole manuscript, certain specific cases can be indicated, as the shading on the walls of the cities, the shading on the skirts and legs of the figures, their general proportions, the roofs of the tribunals, the over-tunics of the female figures, and the boots worn by the warriors (cf. Figs. 49, 63, 67). It would be difficult for as careless an artist as the author of P2 to produce a more antique appearance than was contained in his model.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the scene of *Luxuria feasting*, scene (40), could not have had Le2 for its model (cf. Figs. 66, 67). The architecture over the figures must be closer to the original in P2, even in the event that Le2 has been somewhat reworked, as is suggested by the present condition of the miniature. A comparison with the ivory, No. 257, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, representing Christ in the house of Simon, shows the exactness of the P2 rendering (Fig. 69). The object in the hand of the attendant is a spoon or ladle; Le2 missed the identity of this object completely. Examination of the original illustration shows conclusively that this portion of the picture has not been retouched.

The chariot used by Luxuria in Le2 is totally different from that in P2 (cf. Figs. 67, 68). Le2 may have placed the wheels at the forward end of the cart for lack of space, but it is hardly conceivable that the draftsman of P2 would have changed the character of the vehicle, and raised the figure of Luxuria and the chariot to accommodate the wheels in the three different scenes where this feature appears, had he been copying from a model like Le2. B1 and V copy Le2 exactly.

In scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime*, P2 follows the text more closely than does Le2 (cf. Figs. 23, 26). In addition to Avaritia there is a group of figures in which one seems to be forcing another to the ground and drawing a rope about its neck. The word *sternit* in the text may be interpreted to mean "she forces to the ground." In Le2 the standing figure holds a staff, but the text definitely states that those injured by Avaritia are left to wander without staff. The figures in P2 suggest Avaritia herself binding a kneeling figure as in Le1. Evidently some confusion and change took place in the model *R*. The fact that the manuscript Ly, which will be discussed later, has the figure with staff and also a figure binding a rope about the neck of a second figure on the ground, although the latter has been placed as an addition to the preceding scene (57), suggests that both groups appeared in *R*. This may have given rise to a gloss which determined the scene in Le2. It does not, however, seem possible that P2 copied Le2.

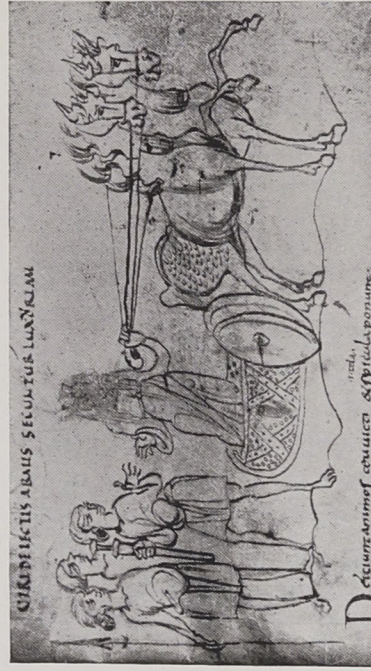
When *Lot is captured by the kings*, scene (2), P2 introduces four kings, and

<sup>1</sup> The paint has been applied throughout the manuscript, but the outlines and features have not all been strengthened.





65. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2).  
Scene (39), *Spes flies to Heaven*



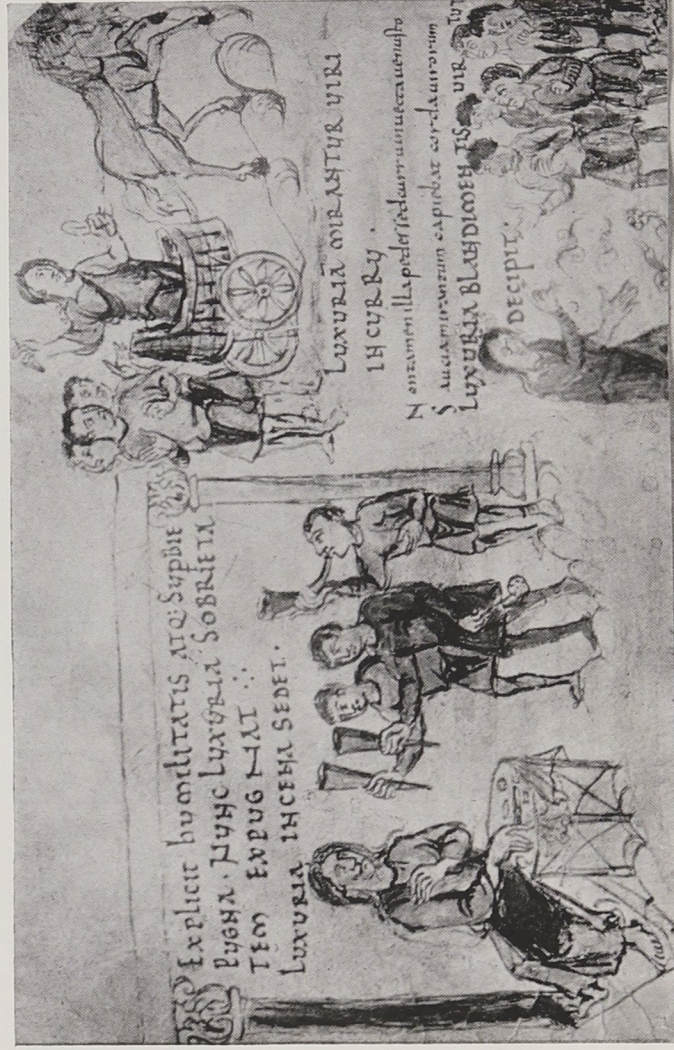
68. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.  
Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (44), *Luxuria  
persuades men to throw down arms*



66. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (40),  
*Luxuria feasting*



69. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.  
*Christ in the house of Simon* (detail)  
(Goldschmidt)



67. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (40),  
*Luxuria enters battle in chariot*

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Le2 five (cf. Figs. 49, 50). Only three horses are indicated in both manuscripts, the additional head in Le2 being inserted between the two figures at the right.<sup>1</sup> In P2 a flock of animals, a figure in short tunic and carrying a staff, a woman and a second male figure are placed below the rest of the scene on a smaller scale. In Le2 the flock is represented by four heads only.

In scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*, the flock and two walking figures appear again in P2, while Le2 represents only a few animals in addition to the group on horses (cf. Figs. 100, 103). Comparison of these two manuscripts with others of Group II will show that P2 with its additional figures is closer than Le2 to the usual scene (cf. Figs. 100, 103, 119). In this case and the one cited above, the miniaturist of P2 could not have drawn the additional figures, which are comparatively accurate in proportion and articulation, had he not found them in his model.

In scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, P2 approximates the manuscripts Le1 and P1 of Group I in costume, attitude and position much more closely than does Le2 (cf. Figs. 73, 74, 76). P2 could certainly not have copied Le2 and have arrived so close to the original archetype. Similarly in scene (6), Abraham's costume with over-tunic in P2 is closer to the other related manuscripts and to Group I than Le2.

If it is assumed that P2 was not copied from Le2, but that both manuscripts were copied from a common model, the differences and similarities are explainable. The illustrator of Le2 started by carefully confining the pictures to the space left for him, bounded on the lateral edges by the extremities of the text. He was therefore unable to include all the flock in scene (4), and in scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings*, he was obliged to change the position of the horse at the right from a galloping attitude to one of standing in order to get the forelegs into the picture (cf. Figs. 49, 50). P2 represents all the horses as running. After the first few pages, Le2 gave up this attempt to control the appearance of his manuscript and allowed the drawings to run into the margins.

A third difference between the two manuscripts lies in the title inscriptions, as Stettiner has noted.<sup>2</sup> In a very few cases they agree, but in other cases the titles of P2 correspond with those of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Group I, while those of Le2 follow other manuscripts of Group II as B2 and B3. In a few places the titles of P2 are taken directly from the text and agree with neither group.

We find, then, that the manuscripts Le2 and P2 differ in text, illuminations and title inscriptions. Both the text and the miniatures could have derived from a common prototype, but this does not fully account for the titles. The

<sup>1</sup> See pages 71 ff. for a possible explanation of the five kings.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

complete explanation lies in the use of two manuscripts as models for both Le2 and P2. On the assumption of this use of two models the following explanation of P2 is offered.

The confusion in the placing of the miniatures and their misplaced titles in P2 must be the result of a disordered model. P2 shows clearly that it was first prepared, the text copied, then the illustrations sketched in, though possibly not painted, and last the title inscriptions added.<sup>1</sup> The letters of the titles are not evenly formed and are sometimes careless in execution. Further, the red used for the titles is that of the miniatures, and may have been added by the illuminator, or by a third hand unacquainted with both text and illustrations. The unintelligent placing of the titles, so that they do not correspond with the scenes which they accompany, in the disordered part of the manuscript discussed above, is explained by the possibility that someone other than the original scribe inserted them, following the order in which they came in the manuscript which supplied the text, without noticing whether they described the particular scene or not. This also suggests that the manuscript which supplied the text of P2 was unillustrated, and one that contained the first lines of titles of the various sections in uncials, as in the manuscript P3.<sup>2</sup> Had the model contained miniatures, the confusion would certainly have been noted, for the pictures would have matched in the model and copy and the correct titles would have been easily inscribed. An unillustrated text offers little as guide to one not entirely familiar with the content of the poem. This supposition is further strengthened by the inscription used in the scene of *Luxuria feasting*, where not only the title belonging with the scene has been copied, but also the *Explicit* belonging to the preceding section (Fig. 67). This does not happen in any of the other illustrated manuscripts. The entire inscription is as follows:

Explicit Humilitatis atque Superbia pugna. Nunc  
Luxuria Sobrietatem expugnat. Luxuria in cena sedet.

Since P2 was not copied from Le2, it is possible to redate the manuscripts and to place P2 earlier than the tenth century, as its character suggests. On the evidence of the text alone, Dr. B. L. Ullman of Chicago has placed P2 in the late ninth century, Le2 in the tenth or possibly late ninth century, but later than P2.<sup>3</sup> This dating agrees with the style of the miniatures.

A comparison of Le2 with B1, a manuscript of the late tenth century, and V of the eleventh century, probably of its second half,<sup>4</sup> leaves no doubt that

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

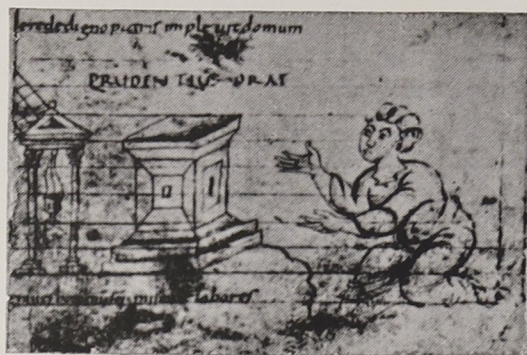
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-55, for description of P3.

<sup>3</sup> W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6, also dates Le2 in the second half of the ninth century; he questions P2 as a copy of Le2.

<sup>4</sup> This is the dating given by Dr. Ullman. Stettiner gives the following dates: P2-tenth century, after Le2; Le2-middle tenth; B1-late tenth; V-early eleventh.



70. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*



73. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Stettiner)



71. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Phot. Langsberg)



74. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*; (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* (Stettiner)



72. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*



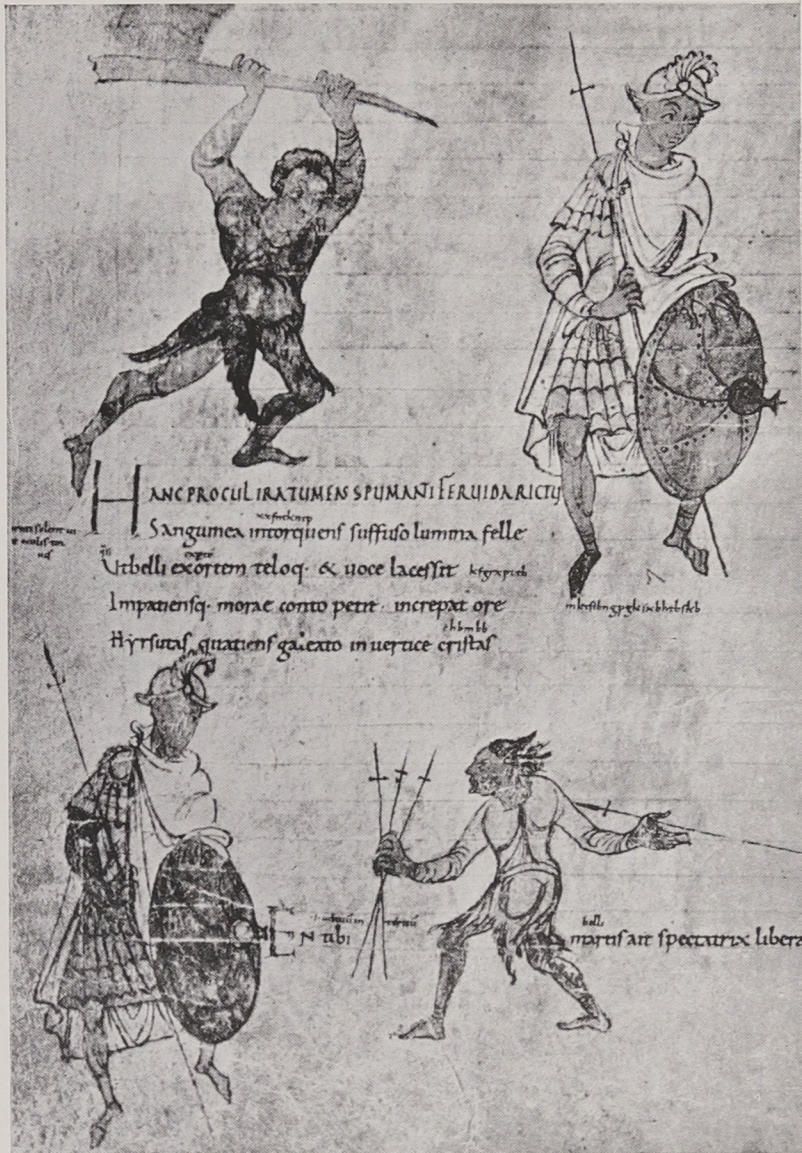
75. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Stettiner)



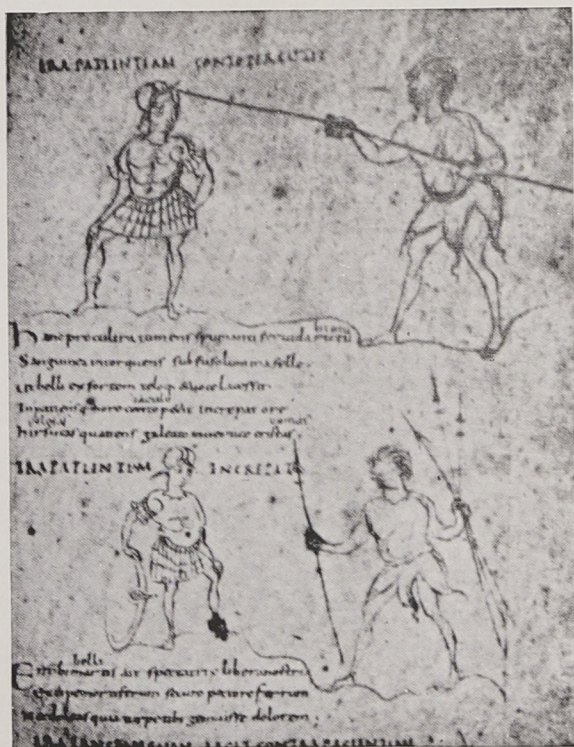
76. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*







77. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)



78. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)



79. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira (Stettiner)



80. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (17), Patientia undaunted by the Vices (Stettiner)

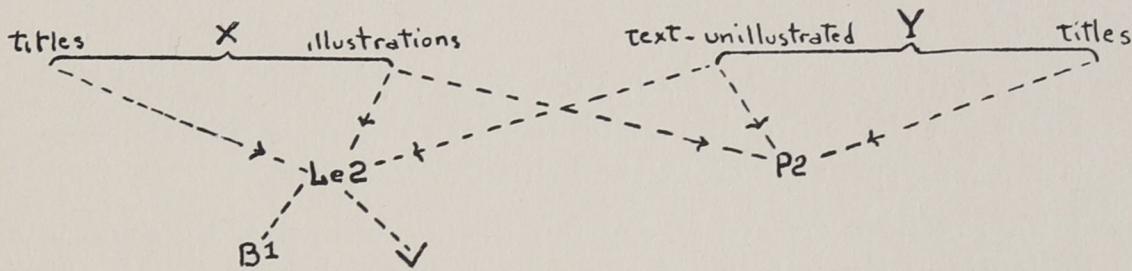


81. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

the two latter are copies of Le2. To account for the confusion in the text and miniatures of both B1 and V, it is necessary to suppose that the confusion in Le2, which Stettiner suggests, existed at the time the copies were made. The miniatures in Le2 are placed correctly as regards the text, so that the disorder in the common model of Le2 and P2 must have been noted by the illuminator of Le2 before he made his sketches. Since the titles of Le2 were taken from the illustrated manuscript no confusion resulted, for the scenes were matched with the model before the titles were taken. It is possible that Le2 was assembled with the illustrations in the order of the confused model to facilitate the entering of the titles. In this order it was sent to the binder.

The relations of the four manuscripts to their archetypes can be seen in the following diagram.



The manuscript V came from the Abbey of St. Amand near Valenciennes.<sup>1</sup> B1 is close to V in style, and since it came from the same model, it was probably written in the same scriptorium.<sup>2</sup> Le2 must also have been in St. Amand at the time the copies were made. The catalogue of St. Amand, compiled under Abbot Hugo (1150–1168) contains the following:<sup>3</sup>

Prudentii tres de psychomachia, cum uno habetur  
Arator de Actibus Apostolorum.

The last mentioned manuscript containing the Arator is V; B1 is one of the manuscripts mentioned, and Le2, the model, is probably the third.

Since P2 and Le2 came from the same two models, it is reasonable to suppose that they were made in the same place. P2 contains in addition to the illustrations to the *Psychomachia* some line drawings in a hand of the eleventh century, apparently copies of Anglo-Saxon work, in a style to be found in northeastern France and Belgium, which indicates that the manuscript was in this region in the eleventh century.<sup>4</sup> Le2 and P2 have their provenance

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> W. Koehler in Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Stettiner, p. 50. Koehler in Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See folios 10v., 22v., 23, 25, 27v., 28, 31v., 49v., 50, 52, 71v. Mr. Meyer Schapiro has called my attention to the fact that a drawing very similar iconographically to that on fol. 10v. exists in a manuscript from Moissac now in Paris. The style of the drawing in the Prudentius, however, seems to me more Belgian than South French.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

within the immediate circle of the influence of Reims, since the closest stylistic parallel to Le2 is the Utrecht Psalter, and the closest to P2 the Douce Psalter, also of the school of Reims<sup>1</sup> (cf. Figs. 6, 8, 67, 74).

The archetype of the manuscripts P2 and Le2 is designated on the stemma as *R'*, which in turn is a derivative of *R*, the actual model in the style of Reims. That P2 and Le2 did not descend directly from *R* is made clear in a comparison with the manuscripts Ly and Be. Both these manuscripts contain the scenes which have been described as characteristic of northern development and in particular of Reims, as scene (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices* (cf. Figs. 54, 57, 80). They also contain scenes which are closer to Group I and hence closer to the first archetype than P2 and Le2. In the following scenes Ly is closer to Be and B2 than to *R'*, using Le2 as representing *R'*:<sup>2</sup>

Scene (18), *Patientia accosted by Ira* (cf. Figs. 77, 78, 79). Ly and Be represent Ira at the left raising a club to strike Patientia. Le2 represents Ira with a long spear aimed at the helmet of Patientia.

Scene (19), *Patientia derided by Ira* (cf. Figs. 77, 78, 81). Ly and Be have Patientia at the left, Ira at the right, holding three arrows in the right hand and one in the left which she is about to hurl. Le2 is similar, but the arrow in the right hand is held upright.

Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (cf. Figs. 83, 86, 87). In Ly and B2 Largitas stands upon a prostrate figure and with the right hand extends a knotted cloth toward a group of lame and blind. In Le2 Largitas kneels beside the prostrate figure and extends her left hand toward the group.

That Be is closer to Group I and therefore closer to the original archetype *A* than *R'* is seen in the following scenes:

Scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom* (cf. Figs. 41, 42, 50). Be and Le1 show a group of captives including Lot and his family. Le2 has only Lot coming from the city with hands bound and led by one of the mounted figures.

Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido* (cf. Figs. 82, 84, 89). In Be and Le1 Pudicitia is clothed in a long tunic and mail. In the left hand she holds a shield, while with the right she stabs Libido. In Le2 Pudicitia is in short tunic and with both hands drives the sword into Libido who is at the right.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79.

<sup>2</sup> Three examples will suffice to show the distinction. The comparison can be extended to scenes (4), (5), (20), (70), (81), (87).



82. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido with sword*; (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido*; (15), *Pudicitia washes sword*; (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*; (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices*



85. Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. *Codex Romanus*, fol. 16v (detail)



83. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)



86. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)



84. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido* (Stettiner)



87. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)







88. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9987-91 (B1).  
 Scene (28), Patientia addresses Virtues



89. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (13),  
 Pudicitia stabs Libido (Stettiner)



90. Brescia, Museum. Ivory Casket



91. Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. Codex Romanus,  
 fol. 100v.



92. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (28),  
 Patientia addresses Virtues

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Scene (28), *Patientia speaks with the Virtues* (cf. Figs. 88, 92, 93). In Be and Le1 Patientia at the right addresses a group of Virtues at the left. The costumes in Be are different and a group of figures engaged in battle is added at the right. In B1, which was copied from Le2, Patientia at the center addresses the Virtues at the right and is assailed by a group of Vices from the left.

Unfortunately Ly, in its present fragmentary condition, lacks the scenes given immediately above from Be, but the almost identical rendering of others, as (18), (19) and (69), allows Ly to be carried with Be to an earlier Reims model than *R'*, that is, to *R*.

The tendency in *R'* is to simplify the scene and reduce the number of figures. Ly and Be generally include in the military equipment of the warrior Virtues a mantle fastened on the right shoulder, thus making them like the majority of figures of the Utrecht Psalter in battle attire. P2 and Le2 omit the mantles. P2 and Le2 are usually more consistent than Be in employing either a long or a short tunic for any particular character. Be sometimes combines a coat of mail with a long tunic, an unusual costume which is also found in Group I, as in scene (13). The more meticulous and later workman of Ly tried to avoid these inconsistencies in dress, which, however, were doubtless contained in his model.

Be, B2 and B3 introduce certain new features which are not contained in the manuscript Ly. It is necessary, therefore, to introduce into the stemma a model which contained the scenes common to these three manuscripts. This model is designated as *X*. The following chosen examples will show the necessity of supposing such an intermediary:

Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (cf. Figs. 70, 71, 72, 75). It will be seen that Be, B2 and B3 have introduced an author portrait, while Ly represents only Prudentius before the altar.

Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes her sword* (cf. Figs. 98, 99, 101, 102). In Be, B2, and B3 Pudicitia in long garment washes her sword in the stream which flows from the right. In Be and B2 the stream issues from a tower; in B3 from the urns of two river-gods.<sup>1</sup> Ly represents Pudicitia in short garment dipping her sword in a stream at the left.

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 252, explains the tower from which the water flows in Be and B2 as having some connection with the tower surmounted by a cross sometimes seen in representations of the Baptism, as on the doors of San Paolo f. 1. m., the Pala d'Oro, Venice, and the ivory on Codex 82 in the Stadtbibliothek at Munich. The title inscription accompanying the scene in most of the manuscripts warrants such a connection with the Baptism as it reads: *Pudicitia gladium suum lavat in Iordane*. Strzygowski uses the appearance of the tower in scenes of the Baptism as sure indication of tenth and eleventh century dating. (*Iconographie der Taufe Christi* [Munich, 1885], pp. 20-24, Pl. III.) That a tower had been erected to mark the spot of the Baptism in the Jordan as early as the sixth and seventh centuries is known from the *De Locis Sanctis* of Adamnanus and the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus (Geyer in *Corpus scrip-*

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates her sword* (cf. Figs. 54, 105, 106, 108). Here Pudicitia stands behind the altar in Be, B2 and B3. In Ly she is placed at the left of the altar. Although the building behind the altar is found in Le1 of Group I, it was omitted from the model *R*. Its reappearance in Be and the related manuscripts does not necessarily mean Group I influence, nor closer relation to the original archetype than *R*. The temple is merely the usual appanage of the altar.

Scene (24), *Ira kills herself* (cf. Figs. 110, 112, 113). The attitude of Ira in Be and B2 is the same, and varies considerably from that in Ly.

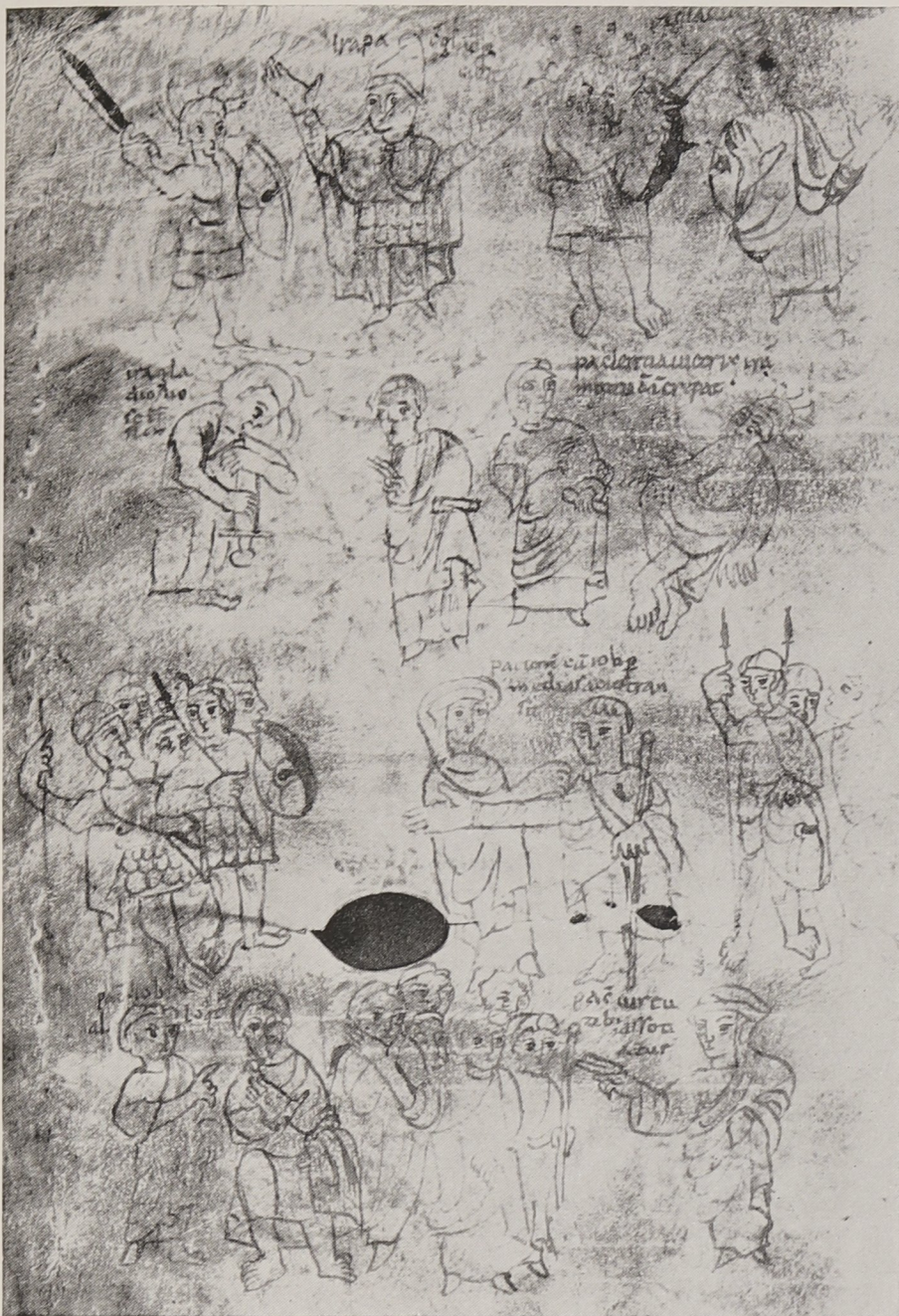
But B2 and B3 contain a few scenes which differ from the corresponding ones in Be, and have a closer connection with Group I than with other manuscripts of Group II. This relation to Group I obviously cannot have come down through the model *R*, and must be accounted for by the supposition that these two manuscripts were retraced in places where the lines had faded subsequently to the original drawing, and with a Group I manuscript as guide. It is not always in the same scenes that B2 and B3 have this relation to Group I, so that to introduce another hypothetical model from which these two manuscripts might have derived does not solve the problem.

B3 shows the work of four different hands working at different periods.<sup>1</sup> Hand One follows Be in essentials, only varying where his personal interest and the later period at which he was working would lead him to change details. Hand One probably made all the preliminary sketches. Hand Two traced heavily, but accurately, the main line of Hand One, but introduced pointed shields, and preferred nude Vices to those with flame-skirts. At a still later period, Hand Three redrew the faded scenes according to a Group I model. Hand Four suggests the use of a Group I manuscript in scene (31), but in scene (30) seems to have followed a model of the *R'* class.

B2 has also been reworked and the lines strengthened. It is in some of these touched-up scenes that the Group I influence is felt.

*torum christianorum*, vol. XXXIX). Both the tower and the river-god sometimes appear, as on the doors of San Paolo f.1.m. It is difficult to explain the fact that B3 represents two river-gods, possibly Jor and Dan, while Be and B2 substitute the tower, since the tower must have been introduced in the model *X* from which the three derive. If both tower and river-god were found in *X*, the difference might be explained on the basis of selection on the part of the individual draftsman. It is also possible that B3 did not understand the significance of the tower, and so substituted the usual personification of the Jordan. In any case, if the tower is associated with the Baptism, it must have appeared in art before the tenth century, since *X* is a ninth century model. Another possible explanation lies in a misunderstanding of the scene and its confusion with the following representation of Pudicitia dedicating her sword. In Le1 it will be noted that these two scenes lie next to each other, and the building which stands behind the altar in the second scene is very close to the river-god of the first (Fig. 82). Working from a faded model, and one in which the illustrations were placed together, or one in which the text was written in two columns so that these two scenes fell opposite on the page, the building might have been associated with the wrong scene. The manuscript G suggests such a mistake (Fig. 107). Here Pudicitia dedicates her sword in just such a tower as Be and B2 use for the source of the stream.

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-129.



93. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (22), *Ira attacks Patientia with sword*; (23), *Ira's sword breaks*; (24), *Ira kills herself*; (25), *Patientia inveighs against Ira*; (26), *Patientia with Job*; (27) *Patientia advises Job*; (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues*



95. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job* (Stettiner)



96. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues* (Stettiner)



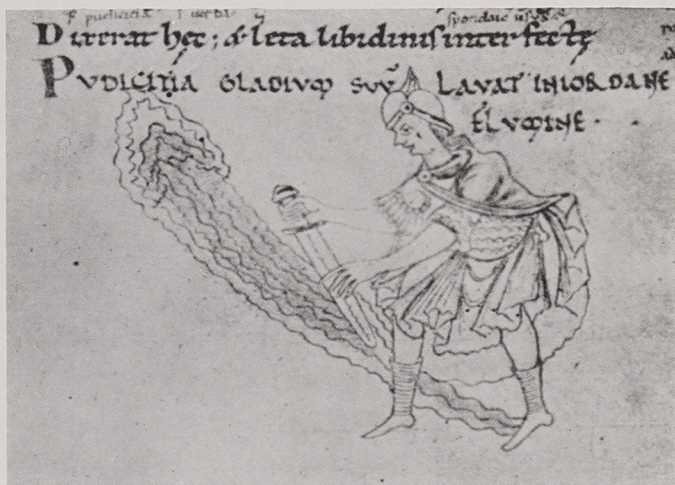
94. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job*



97. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job*







98. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Stettiner)



101. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Stettiner)



99. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword*



102. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Phot. Langsberg)



100. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*



103. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot* (Stettiner)

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

The result of Group I influence is seen in the following examples:<sup>1</sup>

Scene (26), *Patientia and Job* (Figs. 93, 94, 95, 97). The group of two figures at the right of the scene in Be has been changed in B2 and B3 to correspond with the representation in Group I as seen in Le1.

Scene (37), *Humilitas offers the head of Superbia to Spes* (Figs. 109, 111, 114). B2 has followed a Group I manuscript and placed Spes at the left, Humilitas toward the right extending the head of Superbia to Spes, while at the extreme right lies the body of Superbia. Only the horse which appears in Le1 has been omitted. Be presents a different placing of the figures, and different attitudes.

Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues* (Figs. 92, 93, 96). B3 represents Patientia and the Virtues in long garments as in Le1, although the positions are reversed. In Be all the figures are in short tunics and mail.

It is impossible to tell from what point on the Group I branch the manuscripts came which were used in the revisions of B2 and B3. At one place only, scene (40) in B3, is it suggested that Hand Four was familiar with a manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon line (cf. Figs. 60, 61).

The manuscript H is only a fragment of one page with verses 172–177 and 181–189, and two drawings of Superbia. These are close to the representations of Superbia in Be.<sup>2</sup> In line 177 both H and Be read, *Virtus nam vidua . . .* a phrasing which is not common to all the manuscripts. The spelling of *cirros* in line 184, however, is not the same in the two manuscripts. H is placed on the same line of the stemma with Be for lack of further evidence.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscript K lies close to B3 on the basis of its divisions of text, titles, and agreement of wording and spelling, rather than on the basis of the miniatures.<sup>4</sup> K contains only three illustrations, a portion of scene (3), *Abraham goes to the rescue of Lot*, which suggests knowledge of a manuscript of the Be type, scene (4), *Abraham returning with Lot*, which also vaguely suggests Be, and is combined with scene (3<sup>1</sup>) of Be,<sup>5</sup> and finally scene (6), *Abraham and the Angels*, which has no iconographic connection with any of the Prudentius manuscripts, unless it be Lo3, and is in a totally different style from the other two drawings in the manuscript. This last represents Abraham kneeling with arms extended at the right, at the left the three angels, winged and nimbed, the one nearest Abraham cross-nimbed; but it does not include

<sup>1</sup> Other examples in B3 are scenes (25), (35), (36), (40), (48), (50), (74); in B2 scenes (25), (33), (35), (36), (68).

<sup>2</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Taf. 127.

<sup>3</sup> This is Stettiner's placing. The Hamburg Ms. was not included in the 1895 publication, but appeared in 1905 in the volume of plates, with a short notice.

<sup>4</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128.

<sup>5</sup> Be develops the incident of Abraham's pursuit of the kings in an additional scene which, for convenience, is called (3<sup>1</sup>).

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Sarah, the tent, or the tree. The scene does not come in its proper place in the series, but precedes the entire poem and also the six-line account of the work of Prudentius. Stettiner sees in this style the same hand that reworked B1 on fols. 97r., 97v. and 109r.<sup>1</sup> He is led to this conclusion by Steinmeyer's study of the Latin and German glosses in K and B1.<sup>2</sup> Going further than Steinmeyer, Stettiner believes that the glosses in both manuscripts, which are similar, came from the identical archetype. Since the style of scene (6) in K does not appear strikingly like the style of the redrawn scenes of B1, one is inclined to agree with Steinmeyer that the common source of the glosses was somewhat further removed, and that the two manuscripts were not necessarily at any time in the same scriptorium.<sup>3</sup>

The insertion of the model *Y* into the stemma rests on somewhat slender grounds because of the incomplete condition of the manuscripts involved. Be, B3 and K are separated from B2 by the greater development of the battle episodes which center around the rescue of Lot by Abraham, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Be has an additional feature in the messenger bringing the news of the capture to Abraham in scene (2), *Abraham rescues Lot*. This is also suggested in K (cf. Figs. 115, 116). B3 has unfortunately lost the portion of the manuscript containing this scene. Be also inserts an additional illustration, not found in the usual Prudentius series before verse 33, in which a company of armed horsemen pursues a group of confused men on foot into their tents (Fig. 117). In K, before the same verse, a suggestion of this scene remains; the vague outlines of the tents can be detected in the original, but do not show up in the reproduction (cf. Figs. 117, 118). In this same space, before verse 33, should appear the scene of Abraham returning with Lot, which K has attempted to crowd in immediately above the one just described (Fig. 118). Be places the illustration of Abraham's return in the next following space for illustration before verse 28, together with the scene of Abraham and Melchisedek which belongs in the space (Fig. 119). B3, as we have seen above, is carried with K by text, title inscriptions, divisions and omissions. The extra battle scene and the messenger bringing the news to Abraham, which have been described as outside of the usual Prudentius series, comprised a development not found in B2. B2 is closer to Ly in the scenes in question, but even here there is some confusion. This addition to the wars of Abraham appeared, then, in the model *Y*.<sup>4</sup>

The manuscript P3 is a little difficult to place. It contains four drawings, of which only three could have been executed at the time the manuscript was

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

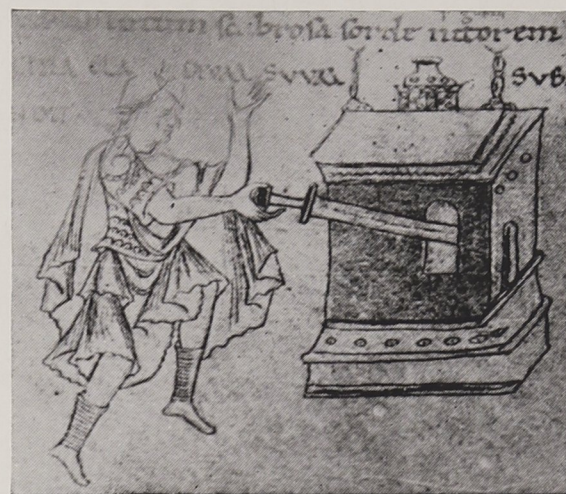
<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für deutsch. Altert.*, XVI (1873), 8 f.

<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the angels in scene (6) of B1 seem to have been reworked from a model similar to Be. Note particularly the positions of the wings and feet (cf. Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Taf. 85, 133).

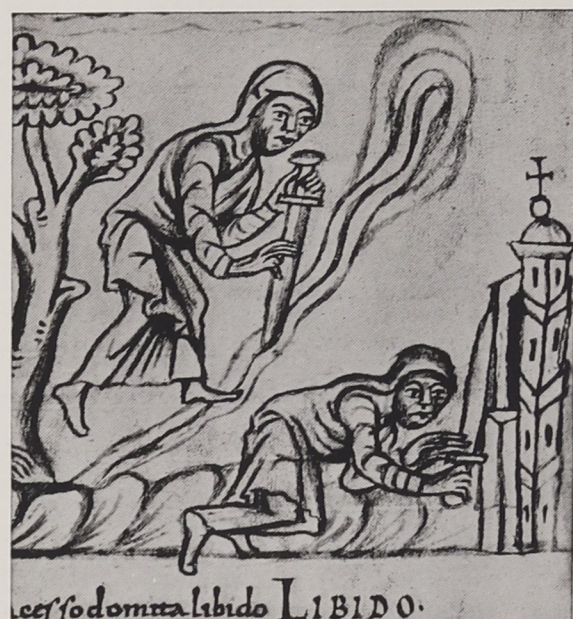
<sup>4</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 183, suggests that such a development took place somewhere along the line leading to Be.



104. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (5), *Abraham and Melchisedek*; (6), *Abraham and the Angels*; (7), *Prudentius invokes God*; (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*; (9), *Fides conquers Cultura Deorum*; (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs*; (11), *Pudicitia attacked by Libido*; (12), *Pudicitia disarms Libido*



106. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword* (Stettiner)



107. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (G). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword*; (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*



105. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968-72 (B3). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*



108. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

prepared, and of the three only one was carried out with any degree of finish. Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, represents Prudentius kneeling upon a prayer stool.<sup>1</sup> In attitude the figure is closest to Le2. Scene (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido*, recalls Be, although the details of the prostrate figure vary. Scene (13), *Pudicitia strikes Libido with a sword*, can best be compared with the corresponding scene in Le1, where Pudicitia is almost identical with the figure in P3, but Libido turned in the opposite direction. The fourth drawing, *Largitas distributing the spoils*, is a fourteenth century sketch, possibly inspired by a manuscript of the Le2 class. The title inscriptions in P3 agree with those of Le2 and its copies.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the Latin glosses, the manuscript contains marginal German glosses of Middle or Lower Rhenish dialect.<sup>3</sup> The text is particularly close to B3, but the spelling and abbreviations in general follow Le2. Stettiner relates the manuscript to the Le2 branch of the stemma.<sup>4</sup> On the evidence of scene (14), which is close in style to Be, the general agreement of the text with B3, and also the possibility of a Group I manuscript determining scene (13), there is less possibility of error if P3 is placed on the other branch of the Group II stem, and for lack of more definite indication, near the model X.

The St. Gall manuscript, G, belongs near the Be, B2 and B3 branch. Here the Vices do not wear the characteristic flame-skirt of Group II, nor are the Virtues represented in mail. Group I influence is suggested in the costumes, and in the architecture of scene (89) (Figs. 107, 129). The illustrations are often a composite representation of several episodes, or a selected scene to cover a considerable portion of the story. The closest parallels in attitude and costume are found in B3. Like Be, G contains the scene of Fraus digging a pitfall for Superbia,<sup>5</sup> but like P4, a manuscript of Group I, also contains the scene of Ratio shielding the priests.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript can be attached to no definite line of the stemma, but must be indicated as having drawn its inspiration from several sources in Group II. Stettiner has made this clear in his arrangement of the stemma, but he has not indicated the possible influence from Group I.

The late thirteenth century manuscript P4 is clearly a manuscript of the Group I class. The details of costume and architecture are purely Gothic, but

<sup>1</sup> A similar figure on a prayer stool is found on an ivory of the tenth century in the Museum of Amiens; Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. I, no. 57 (Liuthard Group).

<sup>2</sup> Stettiner did not publish the titles to P3. I have recently checked the titles and find them so close to Le2 that it is unnecessary to list them.

<sup>3</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> This scene stands before verse 253, together with the scene of Superbia attempting to ride down Humilitas and Spes, scene (32), which normally comes in this place. The digging of the pit is described further on in verse 257 ff. B3 has an empty space here, so that one cannot judge whether the illustration was contained in Y or not. B2 does not illustrate the Fraus episode.

<sup>6</sup> This additional scene comes before verse 501. Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

the general placing of the figures is that of P1 and Le1. A few scenes, however, show a knowledge of some manuscript of the Group II line:

Scene (74), *Concordia orders the standards into camp* (cf. Figs. 122, 125, 126).

Scene (76), *The Virtues arrive at the city* (cf. Figs. 121, 123, 124).

Stettiner has pointed out the manner in which the Anglo-Saxon manuscript Lo3 represents the end of the development of the Prudentius illustrations.<sup>1</sup> Probably a whole series of manuscripts, no longer extant, showed the gradual bringing together of all the various lines of development from Germany, France and England. Lo3 depends on the French manuscripts rather than on the Anglo-Saxon for its Group I elements. For example, in scene (11), *Pudicitia attacked by Libido*, Libido is represented in long tunic and mail as in Le1, while in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts the mail has been omitted. In other scenes Group II has obviously played an important part. Lo3 has therefore been placed on the stemma so that it does not embrace the entire Group I series, but develops from *T* plus a definite Group II influence.

As evidence for an archetype of the fifth century, Stettiner cites the obvious borrowing of antique motives which occurs throughout the illustrations. These he selects from the manuscripts P1 and Le1, which have retained the most decided antique character. Specifically he mentions the figure of *Operatio* in scene (65) clothed as an Amazon, holding shield and battle axe; the temple in scene (88), a correctly constructed three-aisled basilica; *Patientia* in scene (21) clothed in long garment and mantle drawn tightly about the right arm but allowing the hand to extend in speaking gesture, the left hand holding a scroll; *Superbia* on her horse in scene (30) with mantle flying over her head; *Amor* represented as a nude figure, winged, and casting aside bow and arrow; and finally the river-god, personification of the Jordan, in scene (15). Stettiner declares that these motives would not have been revived in the Carolingian period, nor in the Barbarian period, but rather in that period represented by the *Vatican Virgil*, when such antique motives were still a part of the familiar vocabulary of the artists of the West Roman Empire, that is, in the period immediately following the writing of the poem.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196. After the eleventh century the geographical distinction of Groups I and II disappeared. Thus we find demons with flame-skirts representing the Vices on a Romanesque capital in Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand (Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France* [Paris, 1922], p. 23, Fig. 19). The capital was undoubtedly inspired by the *Psychomachia*. An eleventh century Ms. in Paris (Bibl. Nat., lat. 2077) from Moissac, containing a treatise on the Virtues and Vices by St. Augustine, shows a representation of a Vice with flame-skirt on fol. 163, and on the same folio another with flame-hair. The twelfth century *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsberg contains a representation of *Superbia*, mounted, using a lion's skin for saddle, her drapery flying behind, which suggests that it was inspired by a Prudentius illustration of Group II.

<sup>2</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-161.



109. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes*; (38), *Spes in-reighs against Superbia*; (39), *Spes (Humilitas) flies to Heaven*; (40), *Luxuria feasting*; (41), *Luxuria hears battle trumpets*; (42), *Luxuria enters battle in biga*



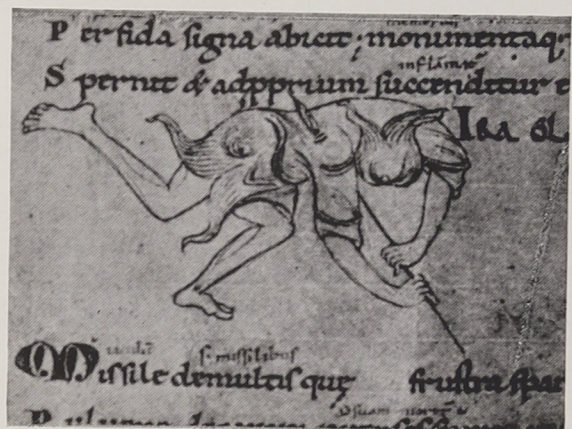
113. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself*



110. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself*



111. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066-77 (B2). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes* (Stettiner)



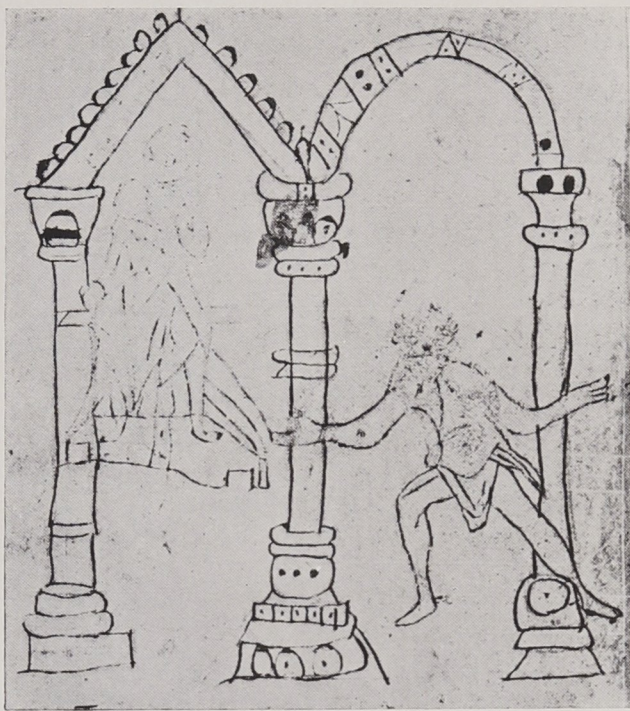
112. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself* (Stettiner)



114. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes* (Stettiner)







115. Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. 81 (K). Scene (3), *Messenger comes to Abraham* (Stettiner)



118. Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. 81 (K). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*; (3'), *Abraham pursues the kings* (Stettiner)



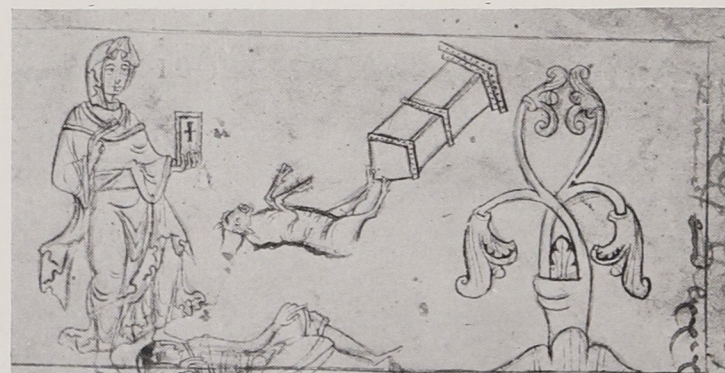
116. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3), *Messenger comes to Abraham*; *Abraham rescues Lot*



119. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*; (5) *Abraham and Melchisedek*



117. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3'), *Abraham pursues the kings*



120. Munich, Stadtbibliothek, Clm. 29031b (M). Scene (9), *Fides conuersa cultura deorum*

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

A comparison of these antique motives with specific monuments of the Early Christian period which have been dated by more recent archaeological research, throws further light on the character and date of the original archetype of the Prudentius. An Amazon shield of the kind appearing in both Groups I and II is found on fol. 100 of the *Codex Romanus*,<sup>1</sup> a manuscript which is now generally dated in the fifth century. The double battle axe is a frequent motive, but should be particularly compared with one in the *Ambrosian Iliad*,<sup>2</sup> a Greek manuscript in the Alexandrian style, probably of the fifth century. The garment of Patientia is a thoroughly familiar one in catacomb frescoes, on the sarcophagi, and in early manuscripts, but taken together with the style, the beginning of schematization, the weight and proportion of the figures, finds its closest parallels in the fifth century *Vienna Genesis*,<sup>3</sup> a manuscript of Asia Minor, and in the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula*.<sup>4</sup> There does not appear to be any exact parallel for Superbia on her horse with mantle flying over her head. This flying bit of drapery recalls the personifications of the *Joshua Rotulus*,<sup>5</sup> and the figures of Poseidon riding over the waves, common on cut gems and coins.<sup>6</sup> The mounted warrior is particularly frequent and in the attitude of Superbia suggests, above all, the mounted figures of Coptic art. A specific instance is the figure on the limestone frieze in the Cairo Museum, dated in the sixth to the seventh century (cf. Figs. 37, 39). Buildings similar to the temple in Le1 can be seen in the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (cf. Figs. 127, 130), and in an *Agrimensores*, called by Zimmermann a Fulda copy of a fourth or fifth century original (Fig. 128).<sup>7</sup> It will be noted that the temple in Le1 has three aisles while the comparative examples cited have one aisle, but that all are surrounded by columns with wall behind. This probably means that the type portrayed in Le1 is a Christianized antique aedicula or temple retaining the peristyle from the artistic prototype.

To the above examples may be added others which have derived from motives common in the Early Christian period. These are not confined to Group I as Stettiner has confined his examples, since in certain cases Group II seems to approximate the older form. Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, is represented in Group II by Prudentius, with arms extended, approaching an altar which is placed before a small building. In some cases, as in P2, the building is reached by a short flight of steps (Fig. 74). A lamp, or *corona*, is

<sup>1</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., lat. 3867; *Picturae ornamenta complura scripturae specimina codicis Vaticani 3867 qui Codex Vergilii Romanus audit*, Rome, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F. 205; M. Ceriani, *op. cit.*, fol. 12v.

<sup>3</sup> Wickhoff, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* (Prato, 1876), vol. III, Pls. 128-140.

<sup>5</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 431; *Il rotulo di Giosuè*, Milan, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Adolf Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Berlin, 1900), Pl. XXXVII, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., lat. 1576; H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei* (Vienna, 1910), p. 91.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

hung in the entrance. Be, B2 and B3 have introduced an author portrait at this place, but retain the building and altar (Figs. 70, 71, 72). Countless examples of such buildings and altars are found in Carolingian art, and notably in the Utrecht Psalter, but from an early period a close parallel is found in the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (Fig. 141) and in the *Ambrosian Iliad*.<sup>1</sup>

Group I omits the building in this scene and retains only the altar and Prudentius in the same attitude of reverence as in P2. The altar is surmounted by a pyx, or box, crowned by a cross; a small cross lies flat upon the altar (Fig. 76). The altar itself is not of the kind with profiled top and bottom taken over from pagan use, as in Group II, but has a large opening on one side and several small openings on another, the openings or chambers being used to house relics, and is of later origin.<sup>2</sup>

The pyx in P1 appears to be of the circular type with conical top. In Le1 its height suggests a miniature tower (Fig. 104). Such receptacles were used to house the Eucharist. Joseph Braun concludes, after a study of the notices concerning the reverencing of the Host on the altar, that the evidence is insufficient to believe that the Host was placed upon the altar as early as the sixth century except at the time of celebration.<sup>3</sup> The first documentary evidence for the practice of leaving the pyx on the altar is in the *Admonitio Synodalis* of the ninth century,<sup>4</sup> and in the writings of Regino of Prüm, *si pixida semper sit super altare cum sacra oblatione ad viaticum infirmis*.<sup>5</sup> Pictorial evidence of the pyx on the altar from a pre-Carolingian period does not exist. Of a later period, besides those of the Prudentius manuscripts, there is an example in the eleventh century Vyscherad Evangelary in the University Library at Prague. On fol. 157v. of the Stuttgart Psalter which derives its motive from models of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries,<sup>6</sup> as illustration to Psalm cxlii, Christ is represented in sitting posture within a sarcophagus which is placed under a vaulted structure (Fig. 133). In front and to the right is a stand which resembles a square, solid altar; upon this is placed a tower-like object surrounded by two superimposed rows of columns and covered by a dome surmounted by a cross. In the margin beside the illustration are the words: *De monumentum (sic) domini dicit*. This tower suggests

<sup>1</sup> M. Ceriani, *op. cit.*, Pict. I, fol. 1v.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), I, 193. Braun believes that this type of altar was used chiefly in Italy. He cites extant examples of the fifth (one), sixth (several), and later centuries.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 574-575.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

<sup>5</sup> Mabillon decided that the pyx was left on the altar as early as the sixth century, and drew his conclusion from the statement made in the Third Canon of the Second Synod of Tours (576): *Ut corpus Domini in alteri non imaginario ordine, sed crucis titulo componatur* (Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 578, and note 26). Braun denies that this statement has any connection with the pyx.

<sup>6</sup> See forthcoming publication of the Stuttgart Psalter by E. T. DeWald.



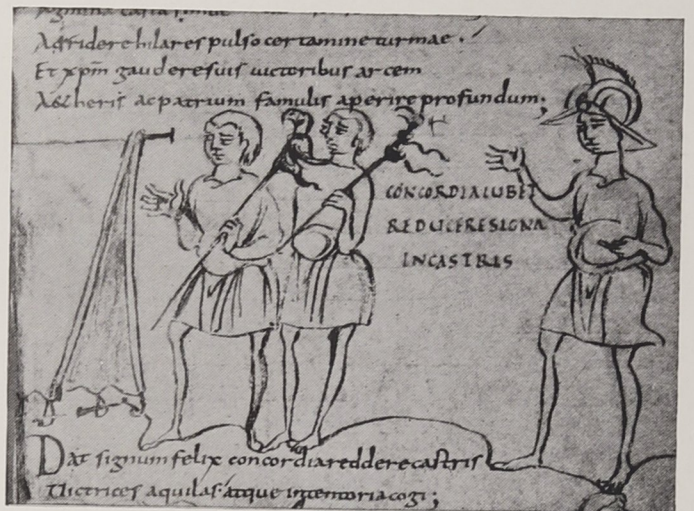
121. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*



124. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*



122. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*



125. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*



123. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*



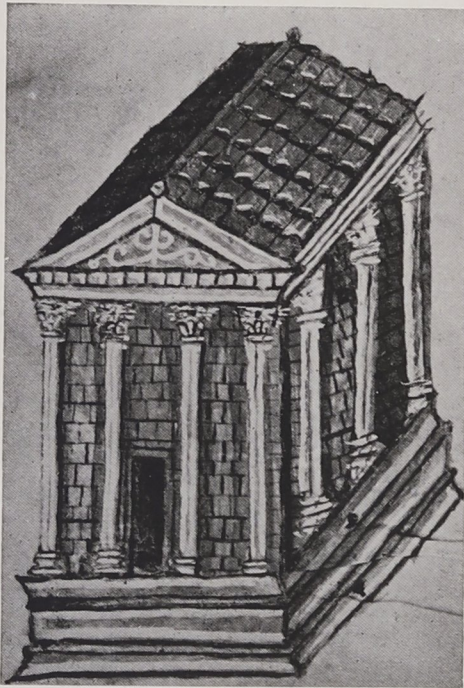
126. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*







127. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1).  
Scene (88), *Temple*; (89), *Sapientia seated in temple*



128. Rome, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1567. *Agrimensores* (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



130. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. Detail from *Presentation of Christ in Temple* (Wilpert)



131. British Museum. Graeco-Roman Gem. *Serapis enthroned* (Dalton)



129. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (B).  
Scene (89), *Sapientia seated in temple* (Stettiner)

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

a Eucharistic *turris*, such as that referred to by Venantius Fortunatus, and other early mediaeval sources.<sup>1</sup> In connection with a discussion of an ivory pyx in the Metropolitan Museum, it was suggested that this form was adopted in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> If this is a pyx for the reservation of the Host, placed upon the altar, it affords another example of the practice.

The pyx upon the altar is, in any case, a constant feature throughout Group I. It must have been represented in the archetype of this group. That this feature was introduced in a ninth century reworking of the Prudentius seems unlikely, since the convincing Early Christian type of Abraham in scene (6) could hardly have been retained in the manuscript P1 had the model been subjected to more than one Carolingian reworking (Fig. 10).<sup>3</sup> Le1 also has the pyx upon the altar so that this feature must antedate the reworking in the model *T*, which changed the scene of *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*. Stettiner would probably have claimed that the pyx was introduced in his supposed seventh century archetype. It will be seen later that it is both unnecessary and practically impossible to assume a seventh century model. If the pyx did appear in the original archetype of Group I, it is evidence that, in some regions at least, the practice of placing the Host upon the altar at times other than the celebration of the Eucharist was known long before the ninth century. Important for the present consideration is the fact that the archetype of Group I differed from that of Group II, and may be looked upon as a later revision.

The cross lying upon the altar may have been derived from the cross which frequently adorns the center of the altar cloth, as on the silver reliquary case from the Sancta Sanctorum now in the Vatican,<sup>4</sup> or in a miniature of the *Menologium of Basil II*.<sup>5</sup> Paulinus of Nola refers to a cross of this sort in the phrase: *altaris faciem signo pietatis adornat*.<sup>6</sup> In the Third Canon of the Synod of Tours appears the following: *Ut corpus Domini in altari non imaginario ordine sed crucis titulo componatur*. It is possible, then, that in the original Prudentius illustration this cross on the altar was the Eucharistic *oblatae* prepared in the shape of a cross, from which the consecrated element was taken to be reserved in the pyx.<sup>7</sup>

Scene (10), *Fides crowning the martyrs*, differs in important details in Groups I and II. In both groups *Fides* stands at the left about to crown the

<sup>1</sup> Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 577.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Breck, *A Tower of Ivory*, in *Art in America*, vol. VIII (1920).

<sup>3</sup> That the model had been reworked once was shown in the discussion of *Fides and Cultura Deorum*.

<sup>4</sup> Braun, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Taf. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II, Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613* (Turin, 1907), Pl. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Poema XIX, Verse 664; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 61, col. 548.

<sup>7</sup> Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 578.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

four figures at the right.<sup>1</sup> In Group II the figures hold palms, clearly labelling them as martyrs; in Group I they have no attributes and are usually designated in the title inscriptions as virtues (cf. Figs. 27, 104). Group II thus follows the text more closely. Further, in Group II, Fides is about to crown the martyrs with a wreath, while in Group I she holds a crown. A wreath is the earlier martyrs' attribute; it is held by the two female figures in the fourth century apsidal mosaic of S. Pudenziana, Rome,<sup>2</sup> while in the sixth century mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, the wreath held by the saints and martyrs has been stylized into the semblance of a diadem.<sup>3</sup>

In scene (17) of Group I we have Patientia represented as an orant when assailed by the Vices. Group II has changed this scene, done away with the orant and substituted one of its most characteristic Reims arrangements (cf. Figs. 54, 82). The orant is evidence of familiarity with symbolic representations of the catacomb variety of the third and fourth centuries. Another such borrowing from funereal art is the banquet of Luxuria in Group I (Fig. 109). A circular table is placed in front of the sigma couch, stylized into a bench, on which sit the participants in the feast, and at one side and in front a servant, who has filled a cup from the pitcher in his right hand, extends the cup toward the guests.<sup>4</sup> A close parallel is seen in the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus,<sup>5</sup> in the *Codex Romanus* (Fig. 91), and on the ivory casket in Brescia which is generally dated in the fifth century (Fig. 90).

The chariot in scenes (42-45) in Group I is the same as that found on an ivory of the sixth century in the Cathedral of Trier (cf. Figs. 109, 140). The chariot of Group II is of a distinctly different type (Fig. 67).

*Sapientia seated in the temple*, scene (89), as represented in Group I could have been copied from coins or cut gems representing Justice seated before a temple (cf. Figs. 127, 131). The building itself is like that found in the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, the stepped base, the columns, and even the ornament on the raking cornice of the pediment being duplicated (cf. Figs. 127, 130).

The above comparisons point to two conclusions: (1) that both Groups I and II employ features which were common in the Early Christian era; and (2) that Group II has retained elements which are older than those in Group I, as the wreath with which Fides crowns the martyrs, while Group I has substituted some features characteristic of the sixth century for those of the fourth and fifth, as the chariot of Luxuria, and the altar at which Prudentius prays.

More important than the above evidence for an early archetype is a con-

<sup>1</sup> The number of martyrs was reduced to three in *R'*.

<sup>2</sup> Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, vol. III, Pl. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 78.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of this scene in Group II see page 46.

<sup>5</sup> Crypt opposite the crypt of Gaudentia; Wilpert, *Roma Sotterranea* (Rome, 1903), Pl. 157.



132. Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Gr. 699.  
*Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Cod. e Vat. Selecti)



134. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448.  
*Troper of Prüm*



133. Stuttgart, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 23.  
*Psalter*, fol. 157 (Phot. Dewald)



135. Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of  
St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). *Abraham*  
*sacrificing Isaac* (Wilpert)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

sideration of the iconography of the scenes belonging to the *Praefatio*. These scenes are taken from the Old Testament, and consequently fall into clearly defined classes which can be compared with other monuments.

Selecting the constant features of scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*, from all the manuscripts of Group II, we find that the archetype of this group must have contained the following: the Hand of God in the upper left hand corner; below, a tree and the ram caught in a thicket; Abraham bearded, in long garment, looking over his shoulder toward the Hand of God, in his right hand a short sword or knife, his left hand grasping the head of Isaac, who is nude and placed upon the altar. This is essentially the scene of the Asiatic-Hellenistic sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, the important distinguishing features being the bearded Abraham in long garment, and Isaac upon the altar.<sup>1</sup> The cyprus tree is a Syro-Palestinian motive.<sup>2</sup> This reconstruction is practically the scene as it appeared in the nave mosaics of Old St. Peter's, which were executed under Liberius (352-366) and repaired under Formosus (891-896) (Fig. 135).<sup>3</sup>

The archetype of the same scene in Group I must have been as we find it in P1 (Fig. 7). The important difference between this and the archetype of Group II lies in the fact that Isaac is clothed, is not placed upon the altar, and that the altar is located above in the upper right hand corner. It can be compared chiefly with the same scene in the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes, a manuscript of the ninth century which derives its iconography from an original of the sixth century illustrated in Alexandria<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 132). It must be, therefore, later than the archetype from which Group II derived the scene, and could not have been introduced into the Prudentius series until the scene represented in this way had been carried to the West.

Scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom by the four kings*, has no parallel in the repertory of Early Christian art. The same is true of scenes (3) and (4), although Abraham's pursuit of the kings recalls in numerous details as well as general placing the scene of Joshua's pursuit of the five kings in the Vatican Octateuch.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alison Smith, *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXVI (1922); Marion Lawrence, *City-Gate Sarcophagi*, in *Art Bulletin*, X, (1927).

<sup>2</sup> Alison Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>3</sup> Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, 376-384.

<sup>4</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 699.

<sup>5</sup> Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 453; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, 468, Fig. 170. The scene in the Octateuch should be compared with scene (3), *Abraham rescues Lot*, in Le2 where the artist has misunderstood the relation of the figure leaning over the neck of the horse to the figure immediately behind, with the result that the two seem to be on the same horse. The original archetype probably had only one figure riding ahead, the courier who led the way for Abraham. The additional figures may have appeared in R', and were possibly inspired by a Joshua scene similar to the Octateuch design. The hand that reworked B1 in this same scene may also have been following a Joshua model, for the similarity is still more marked in this manuscript (cf. *Taf.* 67, 68).

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Scene (5), *Abraham and Melchisedek*, however, offers opportunity for comparison with Early Christian types. The closest parallel with the rendering in Group I is a miniature in the *Vienna Genesis* of the fifth century (cf. Figs. 11, 104). In both Abraham is bearded, in long garment, his hands covered with a cloth; Melchisedek is in a short decorated tunic with mantle.<sup>1</sup>

Group I is closer than Group II to the original archetype in scene (6), *Abraham and the angels* (Fig. 10). Here Sarah is seated in the tent resting her head upon her hand; Abraham, bearded, stands under a tree and speaks to the three angels who stand at the right. The angels are clothed in short garments and mantles. In most of the manuscripts the angels are winged, but Le1 is distinctive in having only one of the angels winged, and even this one appears to have the wings added by the hand of the copyist independently of the model (Fig. 104). The lower edge and side of the first angel's garment have a border of ornament; all three are with empty hands.

The scene of Abraham with the angels in the fourth century mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore is represented by nimbed, wingless angels, in long garments, Sarah standing before a building, and Abraham, bearded, in a long garment (Fig. 136).

The sixth century mosaics of S. Vitale also offer an example of wingless angels as guests of Abraham. Here Sarah stands before the door of a building; Abraham, bearded, stands under the tree. The angels are nimbed.

In the cemetery of S. Callixtus is a relief representing three standing figures and one seated. At the feet of the seated figure is an ox head, the usual symbol of the repast served by Abraham to the angels. If this represents Abraham and the angels it affords another example of wingless angels, and here without nimbi.<sup>2</sup>

There are extant a number of lamps which it has been suggested represent this same scene. They, however, so closely resemble other lamps which depict the incident of the three Hebrews declining to worship the idol that there is some question whether they are not a simplification of the latter scene. Stuhlfauth believes they furnish examples of wingless angels,<sup>3</sup> and date from the second half of the fifth century.

According to the Grimaldi drawings of the fourth century mosaics of Old

<sup>1</sup> In the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore Abraham arrives on horseback and is armed; Melchisedek is in short garment and mantle, and holds a basket containing the offering. The ivory pyx in the Hermitage, Petrograd (Coll. Basilevsky) has a similar Melchisedek in short tunic, but Abraham is also in short tunic, and a servant carries the ram, Abraham's offering, on his shoulders (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, Figs. 440-442). In the mosaics of S. Marco at Venice, Abraham is in short, belted garment, and holds a spear; behind him an attendant holds a horse, and Melchisedek is in a long robe and priest's cap, holding the chalice and paten in his hands. The Octateuchs do away with the offering scene and show the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek, both in long garments, and both bearded. None of these examples is comparable to the rendering in the Prudentius manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Wilpert, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1897), pp. 114-115.



136. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. *Abraham and the Angels* (Wilpert)



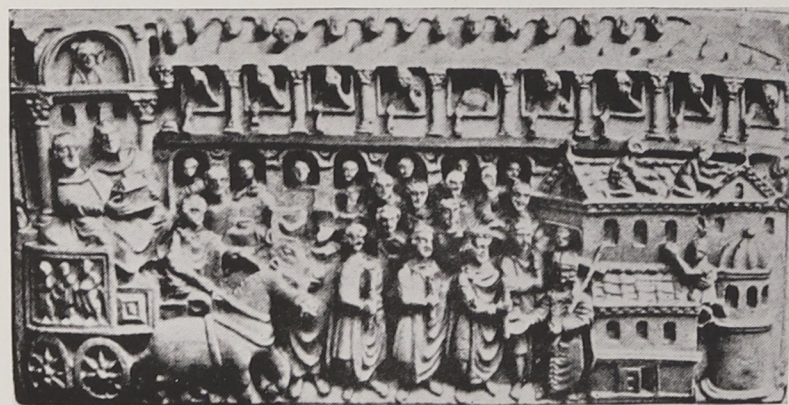
137. Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31 (detail). *Vienna Genesis* (Wickhoff)



139. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Embroidery. *Annunciation and Visitation* (Dalton)



138. Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). *Abraham and the Angels* (Wilpert)



140. Trier, Cathedral Treasury, Ivory. *Translation of Relics* (Dalton)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

St. Peter's, the angels were wingless, with Abraham, bearded, kneeling before them (Fig. 138).

Stuhlfauth cites the writings of John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Augustine and others, to show that gradually a change took place in the conception of the character of the Three who appeared to Abraham.<sup>1</sup> They were described by the Hebrew text as having the appearance of men, and were consequently represented as with no distinguishing attributes. The significance of the Three gradually linked itself with the Trinity, and a mandorla or nimbus was given to the angels. A third step was the singling out of one angel (as the Logos) to whom Abraham addressed his speech, this one distinguished by a cross-nimbus, or by a mandorla as in the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore. Finally, to indicate the heavenly character of the messengers, they were winged.

According to Stuhlfauth the earliest example of winged angels in this scene is provided by the *Cotton Genesis*, dating in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> Here the angels also carry staffs. From the end of this century the angels were winged, unless as occasionally happened, they were copied from an older archetype.<sup>3</sup>

Ly is the only manuscript of Group II which represents the angels without wings. We have seen that Ly is, in some respects, the closest to the ninth century archetype in the style of Reims of all the Group II manuscripts. It is possible, therefore, that R, which descends directly from the original archetype, represented the angels as wingless. The fact that the smaller groups within Group II depict the wings in different positions strengthens this supposition.

The costume of the angels in Le1 and P1 is somewhat unusual, and is probably to be explained from the fact that in the original archetype the angels were considered simply in their likeness to men (Figs. 10, 104). Angels generally were clad in long garments, unless, like the archangel Michael in the *Joshua Rotulus*,<sup>4</sup> they were armed. An angel similar to the representation in P1 is found in the Stuttgart Psalter.

The tent in which Sarah is seated resembles the wattled huts to be seen in pastoral scenes on the sarcophagi and other monuments. The *Codex Romanus* contains a hut of this type<sup>5</sup> (cf. Figs. 10, 85). The figures seated in the entrances to the tents in the Jacob episodes of the *Vienna Genesis* should be compared (cf. Figs. 10, 137). The position of Sarah, resting her head on her hand, the arm supported by the other hand, is comparable to these figures of

<sup>1</sup> Stuhlfauth, p. 117, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> In the Vatican Octateuch (gr. 747) the angels are represented without wings. The other Octateuchs show them with wings. The fact that in one example they are wingless indicates the antiquity of the archetype. Since the angels are winged in the *Cotton Genesis*, the tradition behind the Octateuchs must antedate the Cotton manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, Milan, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> See also the Utrecht Psalter, fol. 84.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

the Genesis, and also to that of the seated Virgin on an embroidery of the sixth or seventh century, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>1</sup> (cf. Figs. 10, 139).

The foregoing comparisons of the manuscripts, scene for scene, Group I to Group II, and the comparison of the iconography with examples of earlier periods, chiefly the fifth and sixth centuries, bring out, above all, two facts: one, that the scenes belonging to the *Psychomachia* proper are close enough to one another to have descended from one archetype; two, that the scenes relating to the *Praefatio* are in some cases so different in Groups I and II that they could not have been derived from one model, nor do they reflect by their iconography and style an archetype consistently of the same period.

Group II in the *Praefatio* finds its closest parallels in monuments of the fifth century and earlier, as in the *Abraham and Isaac* scene, and the profiled altar at which Prudentius prays. Group I, on the other hand, contains one scene, that of *Abraham and Isaac*, the iconography of which seems to have been a later importation to the West, and employs a later type of altar than Group I. Further, in the scene of *Fides crowning the martyrs*, Group II uses the older type of martyrs' attribute, the wreath, while Group I shows a stylized wreath resembling a diadem. Group I substitutes a sixth century type of chariot for the earlier style found in Group II. Group I also employs types, as those of Abraham and Melchisedek, which are of Asiatic origin, and which have so striking a similarity to Asiatic illumination such as that of the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula* and the *Codex Rossanensis*, that they must have been introduced into the Prudentius miniatures after these types had been carried to the artistic centers of the West. Group II, on the other hand, presents none of these Asiatic features, and in style distantly suggests the Hellenistic illumination of Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries, to be seen in the *Vatican Virgil*, and the *Quedlinburg Itala*.<sup>2</sup> When the style of the Reims school is disregarded in Le2, the drawings particularly recall the *Ambrosian Iliad*, a fifth century Greek manuscript in the Alexandrian style (cf. Figs. 45, 50, 142). There is a close connection in the style of representation with the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (cf. Figs. 49, 50, 63, 136, 141). Here there is great movement in the figures, in contrast to the slower, heavier, and more dignified action of the Asiatic figures (cf. Figs. 13, 14, 141, 142). These characteristics have been transmitted to the Prudentius illuminations.

It seems evident that the archetype of Group I was produced under the influence of a style imported into the West later than the period of the original illustration of the Prudentius. The second archetype must, however, have been derived from the first, since the same scheme of decoration was followed,

<sup>1</sup> O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibl., Theol. lat. fol. 485; Victor Schultze, *Die Quedlinburger Itala-Miniaturen*, Munich, 1898.



141. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. *Moses sends spies into Canaan; Revolt of the Jews* (Wilpert)



142. Milan, Ambrosian Library, F. 205. *Ambrosian Iliad*, fol. 31v (Ceriani)



## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

the same number of illustrations introduced, and, in a general way, the same number of figures and grouping was employed. Also the fact that the wingless angels in the Abraham scene were retained in the archetype of Group I, indicates that it was probably made as early as the sixth century, when the concept of the angels as men was still possible to illuminators.

The archetype of Group II was conceivably made in Italy. The extant manuscripts of this group reflect the Latinized Hellenistic tradition. Group I, on the other hand, reflects so much of the sixth century Asiatic style, that one is forced to conclude its archetype was executed in a center where Asiatic influence was strongly felt. Such centers, during the sixth and seventh centuries were located in southern Gaul, North Italy, and closely connected regions.<sup>1</sup> That interest in the works of Prudentius was maintained in this region in the latter part of the fifth and early sixth century, is evident from the works of Gennadius, presbyter of Marseilles, who included a biography and list of the works of Prudentius in his *De Viris Illustribus*. At Marseilles, and other centers of southern Gaul, a strong Asiatic influence was exhibited in the works of art produced,<sup>2</sup> and it is believed that not only were objects of art imported from the East to these centers, which served as models for the native workmen, but that Asiatic workmen themselves were active in the region. The representation of Abraham in Group I, and especially in the admirable copy P1, is so convincingly Asiatic, that its prototype could well have been executed by an Eastern artist working in the West, or by a Western artist closely trained under the tutelage of Asiatic craftsmen. Being given the task of copying the illustrations of the *Psychomachia* from a fifth century model in the Latinized Hellenistic style, he adhered closely to the iconography of his model in such scenes as were new to him in the *Psychomachia* proper, changing only the style of figures, the movement within the scenes, and the types, to that of his own art, and introducing such minor items as the diadem for the wreath, and the later style of chariot. In the first scene of the *Praefatio*, of *Abraham and Isaac*, however, he substituted the iconography and style familiar to him for that of his model, and placed Prudentius at prayer before a then more common type of altar. A similar transformation of the Latin tradition of the Terence illustrations by a Greek miniaturist of the fifth century, has recently been advanced as the explanation of the peculiar style, close even in the Carolingian copy to that of Asiatic manuscripts such as the *Vienna Genesis* and the *Codex Rossanensis*, of the miniatures of the *Vatican Terence*.<sup>3</sup>

The Asiatic style stamped itself more or less indelibly in the Prudentius

<sup>1</sup> E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 187-206; Marion Lawrence, in *Art Bulletin*, X, (1927); Louis Bréhier, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XII (1903), 1-39.

<sup>2</sup> E. Baldwin Smith, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Morey, *I Miniatori del Terenzio illustrato della Biblioteca Vaticana, Rendiconti della Ponteficia Accademia di Archeologia*, IV (1926), 27 ff.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

tradition of Group I, and was retained in fairly pure form in those examples produced close to the center of its origin. The Italian model of the fifth century, with its Latinized Hellenistic style, was subjected to many changes in the more vigorous North to which it was carried, particularly in the school of Reims. The importance of this division of the Prudentius tradition into a Northern and a Southern version is increased by the fact that a similar fate was the lot of the illustrations of the Comedies of Terence. From the same archetype is derived the *Ambrosian Terence*, with miniatures in a style resembling the Prudentius drawings in Le1 of Group I, and the *Parisinus*, whose illustrations are in a manner close to those of the Utrecht Psalter. The far reaching consequences of the dichotomy of early mediaeval style thus illustrated and demonstrated, have been sketched in C. R. Morey's *Sources of Mediaeval Style*.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Prudentius, about 410, forms a *terminus a quo* for the first illustrated copy of the Prudentius manuscript. The wingless angels of the *Abraham* scene establish a *terminus ad quem* of the end of the sixth century. Between these dates the two archetypes *A* and *B* must have been executed.

### TITLE INSCRIPTIONS AND GLOSSES

Stettiner published the title inscriptions which accompany the illustrations of the *Psychomachia* from all the manuscripts except P3.<sup>2</sup> These fall into the following fairly distinct groups indicating a common origin or development: C, Lo2, P1 and M; Le2, B1 and V; Ly, B2, Be, B3 and K.<sup>3</sup>

In Le1 the illustrations and text are separated, that is, the illustrations appear together and the text is continuous. In the margins of the text, at the places where the pictures generally occur, is a set of titles which is related to the series used in the manuscripts of Group II of the Le2 class. A second hand has made additions to these titles, some of which follow a model like that used by P2. The titles which stand with the illustrations are, however, different from those in any other manuscript. They are generally short, and taken directly from the text, so that the errors which occur in other manuscripts with scenes (34), (65) and (67), which Stettiner cites as evidence for the reworking of the archetype,<sup>4</sup> are avoided here, and only the error with scene (39) remains, in which *Humilitas* instead of *Spes ascendit in caelum*.

We have seen that the illustrations in Le1 are closer to the archetype *B* than those of any other manuscript. The titles in Le1, which accurately and briefly describe the scenes, probably came from the same archetype *B*, and represent the earliest and most correct form in which they are extant; they are of quite the same character as the inscriptions accompanying the minia-

<sup>1</sup> *Art Bulletin*, (VII), 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Part III.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

tures of the Itala of Quedlinburg, dating in the fifth century. Stettiner does not seem to connect these with the archetype, and must have believed that they were written by the illuminator of Le1. His discussion of the inscriptions is concerned only with the longer and inaccurate titles contained in the other manuscripts.

Stettiner arrived at the conclusion that both the titles and the illuminations descended from a seventh century reworked model of the Prudentius. He found it necessary to suppose a seventh century archetype for the four reasons discussed below:

(1) In scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom*, five kings have been represented, in most of the manuscripts, instead of the biblical four. The illustration is accompanied, in most cases, by a title inscription stating that five kings captured Lot. In some of the manuscripts there is also a marginal gloss comparing the five kings to the five natures of man. This gloss was taken from the Commentary on Genesis written by Isidore of Seville, who died in 637.<sup>1</sup> Stettiner assumed that the five kings of the illustrations were dependent on the gloss, and, therefore, contained in a model executed after 637.

But a consideration of the illustrations whose titles do not specifically say there were five kings, throws light on the probable appearance of the first illustration in *A* and in *B*. The manuscript Ly, which we have seen was derived from the model *R*, and is, therefore, close to *A*, represents only four kings, although a portion of the gloss concerning the five has been added in the margin (Fig. 38). At the bottom of the same folio on which this scene appears, a man on horseback has been represented driving a flock of animals and a group of captives. In the manuscript P2, where again only four kings are shown, a figure on foot in the lower part of the picture drives a flock and two captives (Fig. 49). The title in this manuscript is, *Loth captus de Sodomis*. Le1, which we have seen is closest to the archetype *B*, has the title, *Loth captus ab hostibus*. The scene is represented here by two figures on horses at the left, the group of Lot and the captives in the center; next, three figures on horses, one with his head turned toward the captives; and, finally, in the lower corner at the right, the flock of animals (Fig. 41). It is very probable that one of the three forward figures on horseback was a servant or attendant, who drove the flock and marshalled the captives (cf. Figs. 38, 41). The scene in *B* must have been crowded, and perhaps a little indistinct, so that the copies of *B* were confusing. The gloss based on Isidore probably entered the Prudentius tradition in *T*, and produced the subsequent inclusion of the attendant with the kings.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately P1 has lost the portion of the man-

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones in vet. testam.*, cap. xi; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 83, col. 239.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for Isidore's error has probably never been satisfactorily explained. It should be noted that the biblical account of the battle of the kings (Genesis xiv) is of four kings with five.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

uscript containing this scene. In the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which descended through *T*, the title inscription has been changed, under the influence of the gloss, to read: *Ubi quinque reges predati sunt Loth*. It should be noticed, however, that in each of these manuscripts one of the five figures has been allotted the work of tending the captives.

Unillustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* containing the glosses are abundant. In the ninth century a commentary on the poems was written, which Goldast ascribes to the monk Iso of St. Gall.<sup>1</sup> This commentary also compares the five kings with the five natures of man, and was probably based on Isidore's version. Iso's gloss is found in the manuscript Be. Closely related with the glosses of Be, are those found in B3, K and B2. Only B2 contains the scene of Lot's capture. This version of the glosses attributed to Iso may have entered the model *X*. One cannot, however, speak of separate redactions of the glosses, since there is close connection between those in both groups of manuscripts. They were probably the result of an accumulative process.

(2) In scene (24), *Ira kills herself*, a sword is used for the suicide instead of the *missile* mentioned in the text. Stettiner believes that this error was due to the seventh century reworking of the model. But the error does not occur in any of the manuscripts of Group II; *Ira* here employs a dart (cf. Figs. 93, 112, 113). It would be strange to find the mistake corrected throughout this group, if, as Stettiner believes, both groups came from the same incorrect archetype. Group II, we have seen from the new stemma, was derived from *A*, the first illustrated copy. Hence there was no error. Group I was derived from *B*, where the sword was substituted for the dart. The sword is seen in the manuscripts Le1, C and Lo3 of Group I. In Lo1 and Lo2 the error was corrected.

(3) There are some inconsistencies in the drawings of the episodes relating to *Ira*. She is clothed sometimes in long and sometimes in short garment, with a helmet and without. This inconsistency was the result of the seventh century revision, according to Stettiner. But the inconsistency is confined to Group I, with the exception of one portrayal of *Ira* in Be and B2. In these manuscripts the representation of *Ira* is so different from those in the other manuscripts that it is highly probable it was due to the hand which executed *X*. The change in costume in Group I can be explained on the same grounds as the foregoing problem of the introduction of the sword.

(4) The titles also present errors, as in scene (41), *Luxuria hears the battle trumpets*, where the text describes *Luxuria's* chariot going to battle *lapsanti per vina et balsama gressu . . . ad bellum . . . ibat*, while the title uses the word *currit*. Again in scene (34) the text describes the joy of *Humilitas* at the fall of *Superbia comi moderatur gaudia vultu*, but the title says, *Humilitas deridet*

<sup>1</sup> Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 121, col. 779 f.

## ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

*Superbia*. In scene (39) the title mentions Spes as flying to heaven, while the text names Humilitas. The manuscript Le1, which, it was stated above, contains the briefest and most accurate titles, and therefore probably the oldest, has only the last mentioned error concerning Spes. It is a simple mistake that any scribe who was entering the titles, after a cursory glance at the text, might have made, and could as easily date back to the first illustrated copy as to a later reworking.

The other errors mentioned appear in both groups of manuscripts, so that the titles containing these errors must have descended from a common model. That unillustrated copies of the *Psychomachia*, containing titles and glosses, existed along with the illustrated versions, was shown in the discussion of the archetypes of P2 and Le2. Such a manuscript must have been used where the model *T* was made, and a manuscript with the same or similar titles must have come to the scriptorium where *R* was prepared. The manuscript was not necessarily without illustrations, but, if illustrated, the drawings were disregarded at one place or the other. Other errors and many variations in the titles accrued along the way to the extant manuscripts.





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