

TRINITAS CREATOR: WORD AND IMAGE

This essay is an abridgment and clarification of two older articles of 1956 and 1964; written in German and published without supporting illustrations, they are no longer easily accessible, and bibliographically they are overlaid.¹ In them – in the course of a controversial exchange into which I was drawn by an enquiry of Otto Pächt (see below) – I urged and argued a completely new interpretation of the opening pages of the so-called *Altdeutsche Genesis*. By ‘opening pages’ I mean about five-hundred lines of text and an associated first series of pictures treating the Genesis story from the Creation to the Banishment from Eden. Two manuscripts are extant: W (Vienna) and M (Millstatt). They are in fact anthologies, both Austrian, of the period 1180-1210. The first work in each is the *Altdeutsche Genesis*, followed by a *Physiologus*, then an *Exodus*;² M has five further pieces. We are concerned here only with the *Genesis*, a verse paraphrase of the Biblical book written in Early Middle High German, the original composition of which is dated about 1080.

About manuscripts W and M the following further details have to be noted from the outset. For literary studies the archaic text of W is naturally preferred to the late adaptation found in M; but M is also edited, and is duly considered in the continuous narrative of German literary history.³ As for the illustrations, the opening series of miniatures is probably complete in M (and must have been present in the postulated common source *WM). In W the series is represented – after six prefatory devotional images (see below) – by a *first picture* (not completed, see Plates, W7) and *spaces* reserved in the text for the remainder of the series, indeed for all the remaining Genesis pictures (seventy-six according to M).⁴ My interpretation takes account of the German text, the pictures executed and the blank spaces of W: I take the latter to be evidence of a medieval artist’s dilemma. His failure to continue throws light on *something*, either twelfth-century notions of iconographical propriety, or the possibility that an artist was engaged for work ‘not really his line’.

A more personal consideration in turning for the third time to this subject is the need I feel finally to persuade by a better presentation of my arguments: with the hitherto missing pictures, without polemics. For whereas my article of 1964 completely convinced a number of eminent scholars on both sides of the disciplinary divide (and of the

Atlantic), there is no record in print of such agreement, rather the opposite.⁵ I am therefore particularly grateful to Hugo Buchthal for so generously allowing me to print his comments of 1964.⁶ Indeed, I regard his and similar testimonies as my authority for making only passing reference to other readings of the same pictorial (and textual) evidence. At this point I must say a word about the title I have chosen for this paper. My primary aim is still to interpret a specific series of Genesis pictures. I deal as fully with the announced subject as the circumstances allow. If my interpretation is correct, a hitherto unfamiliar iconography of *trinitas creator* has to be accepted. *Trinitas creator* is after all a Genesis theme which can only be treated in that context.⁷

To this last remark I append some general observations to serve as an introduction to our problematic *Altdeutsche Genesis*. First, about the repertory of medieval Christian art in relation to the Genesis story. The story required of the artist a cycle of 'historical' pictures reflecting Scripture as understood in its first 'literal' (historical) sense — rather than a selection of 'devotional' pictures for pious contemplation. Sacred story had to be so presented that it could be read into (and from) the images in succession, whether or not there was to be a supporting text or scheme of rubrics. Art history knows a number of early Genesis cycles (represented for example by the Vienna Genesis⁸ and the Cotton Genesis); they were evolved by ecclesiastical artists in the older patriarchates of the Eastern Mediterranean. The particular problem raised by our manuscripts (WM) is that they are evidence of a picture-cycle of ultimately such (Eastern) origin,⁹ brought *tant bien que mal* into register with a Western literary tradition (starting with Avitus, *obiit* 519) of Biblical paraphrase, the latter necessarily reflecting Western exegesis concerning *inter alia* the 'persons' involved in the Genesis story as it unfolds.

Until relatively recently, art historians sought to exploit the *pictures only* of our manuscript M, and to interpret them in the light of other known Genesis cycles in whatever medium, — e.g. whether they appear in illustrated manuscripts or in mosaics. To the extent that the German text of the *Altdeutsche Genesis* has (latterly) been considered, it has been imperfectly understood. Early Middle High German is not easy reading, even for specialists in Middle High German. At any rate it has not been allowed to influence the interpretation of the enigmatic picture-series, Creation to Banishment. This reluctance to consider the evidence of the text which the pictures were deemed (by someone!) to illustrate, is of course understandable.

Vernacular texts have in themselves no authority and can never have been the sole 'source' of an iconographical convention of any importance. Yet it explains the failure to recognize the teaching of the Western Church as this is reflected in the text, particularly its teaching concerning the Creation as the work, not of God the Father alone (or of the Logos), but of the Holy Trinity: *trinitas creator*. To be fair, the learned editors of the text have recognised it and annotated it with reference to other Early Middle High German texts. If they thought they should say something about the pictures too, they have set down what the art historians told them to: merely described the pictures; they have offered only some very tentative identifications of individual pictures, not of the series. The series as series is in fact the record of a bold essay in iconography, representing *trinitas creator* 'historically' through five scenes, deliberating, then acting. The very strangeness (to us) of the solution has led to some guesswork delaying final recognition. Other strange, even wayward solutions have been recognised and have been duly registered in the more compendious handbooks of Christian iconography.¹⁰ Briefly, in twelfth-century art we must in future be prepared to encounter *two* figures representing the Trinity.¹¹ On this more will be said in a moment.

Matters are further complicated in our Genesis series by the opening 'scene' (M1, W7). The basic drawing-pattern used here is one customarily used, particularly at the head of a work, to depict the dedication of the work itself to whoever commissioned or inspired it. The pattern is, however, so heavily modified that the appropriate reading cannot possibly be, even in W7, 'Moses dedicates his completed work to God (or the Logos)'. Doubts raised by a proposal of H. Menhardt (1954)¹² – that one should recognise instead 'God and an archangel' (confering on the replacement of the Fallen Angels) – led Otto Pächt to consult me on the possibility of such a theme (did I know it from literature?). After a preliminary essay for Pächt (followed by my article of 1956 and a doctoral dissertation by Hella Voss of 1962 countering most of my suggestions in her complete survey of the pictures of M), I had by 1964 committed myself to the following account, to which I still adhere. Though the subject is known (indeed, is present in *Altdeutsche Genesis*, folio 2 recto), and a consideration of artistic tradition alone might permit such an identification of the two figures, the German rubric for the picture (folio 3 recto) reads: 'here ye shall note how God determined to create man'.¹³ There follows, moreover, in the main text a verse paraphrase of 'faciamus hominem' and a lengthy description of man's body from head to foot, omitting nothing. Proper identification is not possible until we come to the

PLATE I



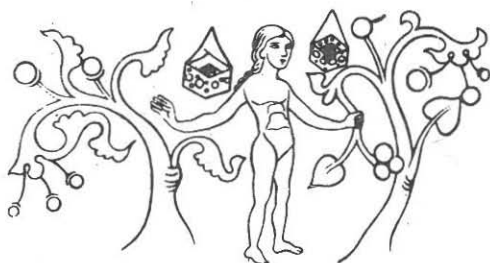
M 1



M 2



M 3

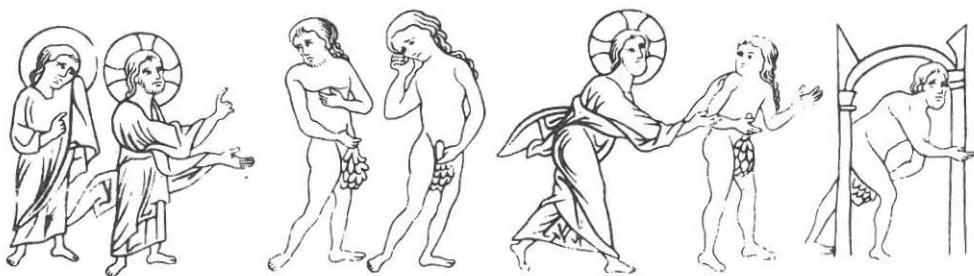


M 4



M 6

PLATE II



M 9

M 10



M 11



W 6



W 7

verses after picture M2, stating 'this was a work pleasing to both, the Father and the Son; the Holy Spirit was ... with Him'. The German for the last part is 'was al mit ime'. One may debate in what sense 'al' (adv. 'completely') is to be understood, see below, but not dispute the singular 'with him', though the editor Diemer thought the meaning might be 'with each'. Then follows the Trinity doctrine in the form: 'note in addition, the one has three names: He as the Wisdom of the Father acted with the guidance of the Holy Spirit'. This is surely the explanation of the *two* figures who create and then animate Adam (M2, M3), and in all probability of the two figures in M1, W7. Proof of this must, however, await the *rejection* of the proposed alternative, below, but let us assume the interpretation is correct. The text intended for the scroll is in any case 'faciamus hominem', — as in the long scroll held by *three* like, but differentiated figures representing *trinitas creator* in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Alsatian, twelfth century) of Herrade of Landsberg.¹⁴ I suggest that that may be a preferable formula in a *devotional* picture; but where, as in the *Genesis*, a narrative sequence has to be sustained, the theologically correct role 'the Son as the Wisdom of the Father' provides a welcome reduction of figures to *two*. With this amount of guidance readers may now wish to examine in a provisional way pictures M1 to M11. (Lacking in the Plates are M5, 7 and 8, with the following conventionally treated subjects: Adam names the animals, Eve is tempted, Adam accepts the apple). What 'persons' are represented? And if it is thought that the 'extra person' is the Holy Spirit, how shall that presence be justified in each case?

Before discussing the pictures in turn (and the series as a narrative sequence) I shall deal with the oddity which will have been noticed and which first seemed to me to justify interruption of a too exclusively art-historical discussion, — to draw attention to the German text, see M4. What are those strange 'hanging' objects? (They hang, if from anything, from the rules for the two preceding lines of text). Pächt (and Günter Bandmann) immediately declared themselves convinced by my explanation. They are a lower and a higher scale-pan (*cum* fruit-basket). A generously aimed photographic lens will pick up with the picture the lines: 'in the middle of the garden Mighty God planted two sturdy trees; he bade them bear an unequal yield' (*Wucher*, 'increase'). Menhardt's suggestion (followed by Voss in 1962) that these are purely decorative and space-filling 'hanging bowls' (*Hängekromen*), for which the model must be sought elsewhere, must surely some day be abandoned.

Let us now, finally, take the pictures in turn, M1 and W7 still at some length, despite what was said above, partly because the artist of W abandoned his task here, leaving even this first Genesis scene incomplete.

M1, W7. Left a youthful figure, lightly bearded, with cross-pattern on nimbus, enthroned. Right, a second figure (winged, with halo, in M). An unscripted scroll is held by both. [It is intended to receive the words of the enthroned figure (see gesture of speaking): 'faciamus hominem'.]

As an artist's exemplar, that is (before the identification of the figures by feature, attributes etc.) the formula for the dedication of a work, the conferment of an instrument (or insignia) of authority – to be read from left or right according to the case. The youthful, enthroned figure is, it was suggested, intended as 'the Son, Wisdom of the Father'. The figure to the right is, I believe, the Holy Spirit in the first of five appearances (M1, 2, 3, 6, 9; of these M3 is clearly the most important; the rest are graded according to the occasion). The Holy Spirit is of course 'normally' (and in general recollection) represented by a dove, particularly in the so-called 'Throne of Grace',¹⁵ which, however, is a later convention. Here we have a winged figure. The hovering 'angel' in M2 is more readily acceptable as the Holy Spirit (text, context). Given that a picture-cycle is a cycle, the 'angel' in M1 may be claimed also as the Holy Spirit.

This interpretation of M1 has, I am sure, not yet convinced completely. We must therefore look just once more at the suggestion 'God and an archangel'. Even if not demanded by the German rubric and text, the words 'faciamus hominem' would still have to be assumed as the content of the scroll: the next picture represents the creation of man. But we should then have an angel included by God in the pronouncement '... in our image', and a combined intention to fill the empty choir. The theologians had of course long ago had to answer the question 'in whose likeness?' Take Isidor of Seville for instance, of whose *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* there is a splendid Old High German translation:

Quod si respondeant, ad angelorum. Num angelus aequalem cum Deo habet imaginem, dum multum distet imago creaturae ab eo qui creavit? Aut numquid angelus cum Deo potuit facere hominem? Quod ita existimare magnae dementiae est. [The likeness is 'with God']

That was Isidor's conclusion on the question of 'similitude'. On 'faciamus hominem' he had already said:

Per pluralitatem personarum patens significatio *Trinitas* est.¹⁶

Now we have assembled most of the evidence for explaining the failure of the miniaturist of manuscript W to complete W7. (The missing wings are in fact said to be present in silver-point outline). The exercise of a little imagination will be needed to make the points in a plausible order. He did *not*, for instance, say 'God and an archangel, that is a *magna dementia*', and flounce out of the scriptorium — at least not immediately. He seems rather to have assumed that at the head of the text, or rather as first picture, for we are at his fol. 5 verso, the drawing required was this rather strange 'dedication'. It must, however, have become clear (from the pictures and rubrics ahead in the immediate source?) that he was on unfamiliar ground. If the scenes to come were supposed to represent the Trinity they were 'not in the book' (*sc.* his pattern-book). He had already drawn *his* Trinity, see W6, the sixth of his six prefatory pictures 'for this book':¹⁷ *three* like, but differentiated figures, the Logos on the right, the unity of the Trinity marked by the single and 'special' nimbus for God the Father. Clearly hieratic images were this artist's *métier*, not historical cycles. He may in our estimation be the better artist, but he was less versatile than the illustrator of M — and their common predecessor. He was released, I suggest, — and not replaced.

M2. Together with M3 this represents the creation, then the animation of Adam. First, the creation. According to the text (see above): 'the Holy Spirit was with Him' (*sc.* the Father and the Son, or the 'Son as Wisdom of the Father'). Moreover the Spirit was present 'al', for which a gloss might be 'vi compare'.¹⁸ Note that the Vulgate here has 'formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem', singular verb for a narrative statement. The verse paraphrase on the other hand incorporates the Church's teaching concerning *trinitas creator*, while the matching drawing attends to representation of this teaching and 'continuity'. (The text is expansive on God as 'workman', taking clay, fashioning man).

M3. At the animation of Adam the Son (Wisdom) blesses Adam and 'blows into him his spirit' (Vulg. 'spiritaculum vitae'). In this, its principal appearance the Holy Spirit is ornately vested in high-priestly apparel and wields a trefoil sceptre. That the latter in this context alludes to the unity of the Trinity is a possible inference, or one may think of the 'alma sceptra' of the Holy Spirit held on behalf of the Trinity — in a vesper hymn of Alcuin.¹⁹

M4. Adam between the two trees in Eden, discussed above: from this scene the Trinity is absent; it cannot witness Adam's choice.

M5. Adam names the animals (not in Plates). This is a vivid picture (one of several in the *Genesis* to suggest that the artist of M knew that a *Physiologus* lay ahead). Here God the Father, with full beard and nimbus as in M10, leads Adam to the animals and invites him to name them. There is no allusion here to *trinitas creator*. One recalls that there is no picture in our manuscript to represent the *creation* of the animals (birds, fishes, reptiles).²⁰

M.6. The raising of Eve from Adam's side. In the medieval view this was a less important occasion for the Holy Spirit, and wings and sceptre have disappeared. According to the German text it was magnanimous of the Spirit to appear at all (not a quotation, an inference), when 'the maid' was thus raised from the body of 'the man' (a reflection of the usual etymology 'virago a vir'). The retention of the Holy Spirit was, however, essential, for God had said 'faciamus ei adjutorium', with the same use of the plural as in 'faciamus hominem'.²¹

M7, M8. The Temptation and the Fall. The Trinity is again rightly absent.

M9. What is to be said of the weeping figure (left) supporting the familiar youthful principal figure (the Son, Wisdom)?

I am relieved to be able to offer an improved interpretation of this image. I no longer wish to see any 'possible allusion' to Misericordia, one of the four 'Daughters of God', for that is an exegete's allegory based on Psalm 84, 11 and applied to the lot of man at his Fall: the suggestion was unnecessary and methodically unsound. I hope that the following explanation will also be more acceptable to Buchthal.

It now seems to me that poet and artist here part company for a while. The poet keeps to the *historical* line represented by the German rubric: 'how, after none, God reproached Adam and his helpmeet Eve for their transgression of his commandment'. He appends a short homily in which he of course bemoans this outcome, but says nothing of the Trinity: he has already been explicit on the subject. The artist on the other hand is concerned with pictorial continuity, and must at the same time prepare for the 'editing out' of his second figure. In a way it was a technical necessity for him to draw a reduced form, but, at the same time again, his choice of the *doctrinal* line is

correct, for God's words at this point are 'Ecce Adam quasi *unus ex nobis*'. He is, moreover, not alone in asserting a continued presence of the Trinity or in representing the occasion as 'grievous'. Though I could have wished for a similarly complete statement of slightly earlier date, I now find the following passage both helpful and illuminating. It is from the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (*obiit* c. 1179) — our most reliable source always for the *sensus historialis* (twelfth century) of the Biblical word:

'Ecce Adam factus est quasi *unus ex nobis*': ironia est, quasi voluit esse ut Deus, sed in evidenti est modo, quod non est. Nec est vox insultantis, sed vox a *superbia corrigentis*, et est vox *Trinitatis*. Vel est vox Dei ad angelos et est vox *plangentis*, quod patet, quia factus est a me ut esset quasi *unus ex nobis*, si stetisset.²²

If we disregard the alternative 'vox Dei ad angelos' (which is 'wrong' according to 'similitude' teaching, but right in that man was meant to replace the fallen angels), we have here confirmation, if not the actual source, of what we see represented in M9: the addressing of words correcting pride, words of sorrow at the Fall of Man — by the Trinity. One may then recall *Ephes.* iv, 30ff., 'Nolite contristare spiritum sanctum'. The artist identifies the Holy Spirit by halo alone; the last vestiges of priestly apparel have gone.

M10. The banishment from Eden by God the Father — alone. The Holy Spirit's role is, for the time being suspended, i.e. until the appearance of the three angels to Abraham (folio 27 recto) where the 'angel' to the right in the group of three at table is recognisably the Holy Spirit, carried forward from M9, and the group is unmistakably the Trinity, not so much prefigured as postfigured.

M11. To guard the Tree and the gates of Eden the artist draws not the difficult 'engel cherubin' of which the German text speaks, but presumably an angel (with halo), versatile no doubt, as Scripture says, and wielding a 'fiery sword'. Whether one needs (with Voss) to invoke specifically St Michael, or see rather a final use of a drawing-pattern which has become available for other employment, may seem in retrospect to be a merely residual problem. A properly-drawn cherub would have been a startling image in this context.

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If and when this interpretation is generally accepted by art historians, it may be appropriate for a fresh scrutiny to be made of Western Genesis cycles, and among the tasks to be tackled will be

the identification of the prefatory pictures in manuscript W, the five which precede his Trinity (W6). Hella Voss confessed herself unable to identify these. This led to her strange caption 'Christ between two saints' for W6 (her illustr. 23). As one of the pictures (folio 2 recto) has already been tentatively claimed as a 'Fall of Lucifer', the question of the pictorial content of the hypothetical common source *WM is raised afresh: had it too a sequence of prefatory pictures, prefatory because the text of *Alteutsche Genesis* moves too fast in its opening sections. These are, however, matters for separate treatment. For the rest, will art historians now wish to adduce other instances of the representation of *trinitas creator* by two figures, a youthful deity and a supporting winged figure?

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NOTES

¹ 'Zu den Bildern der altdeutschen Genesis: Die Ikonographie der *trinitas creator*' (I and II), *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 75 (1956) pp.23-34 and 83 (1964). pp.99-114. In revising these articles I have omitted my comparison of art-historical and 'philological' approaches to the question of 'meaning' – of images and words. Art historians stress the origins and the derivation of images, whereas textual criticism and philology recognise (after etymological preliminaries) 'usual' and 'occasional' (i.e. contextual) meanings, and are prepared to encounter 'neologisms' or even the *hapax legomenon* ('sole occurrence'). I have in the meantime written at length on such lines in *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* [= *L & A*], London, 1970, Part II, Ch.I, 'Word, Image, Tradition,' etc.

² The treatment of 'Physiologus' immediately after 'Genesis' is known from elsewhere to the art historians.

³ The editions are (a) *Die altdeutsche Genesis nach der Wiener Handschrift* (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 31), ed. V. Dollmayr, Halle, 1932; (b) *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstäter Handschrift*, ed. Jos. Diemer, 1862; reprint Sändig (Niederwalluf bei Wiesbaden), 1971.

⁴ Manuscript M has 32 drawings for the *Physiologus*.

⁵ There is, of course, no record of the correspondence of the 'litigants', or of certain retractions made verbally. I record a personal loss in the tragically early death of Dr Hella (Frühmorgen-) Voss of Munich.

⁶ At Buchthal's wish, *in extenso*, letter of 25 February, 1964 from the Warburg Institute: 'I have postponed writing this letter until I could find the time to read your article with due care. This I have now done, and, for what it is worth, I am entirely convinced – though I admit it took some time until I came round to your point of view. This is really the only possible interpretation; and, as you say, we shall have to change our minds in some other instances as well if we accept it. Every art historian should be sincerely grateful to you – for solving this special problem as well as for raising these important matters of principle – which German art history, in particular, will probably take a long time to digest.'

The late Otto Kurz wrote in May of the same year of 'an object-lesson in the methodical interpretation of illustrations'. Günter Bandmann and Dr Heidi Heimann endorsed specifically my reading, of M 1 (W 7) and M 4 – and of W 6 (as a Trinity, with Päch, against Voss). I am naturally also grateful to a number of students of medieval German for their expressions of approval.

⁷ On the theme *trinitas creator* I received my first and some subsequent, more personal guidance from Dr. Heidi Heimann of the Warburg Institute, cf. Adelheid Heimann, 'Trinitas creator mundi'. *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 i, 1938-9, pp. 42-52, generously illustrated.

- ⁸ This is, of course, not to be confused with the *Wiener Genesis* of German literary studies, see note 2 (a). For convenience see *The Vienna Genesis with an introduction and notes*, by Emmy Wellesz (Faber Library of Illuminated Manuscripts, ed. W. Oakeshott), London, 1960. This also 'introduces' the other cycles.
- ⁹ Pächt wrote (17 December, 1954): 'The only questionable point to my mind is whether the immediate model was a Middle-Byzantine Octateuch or a Western copy of an Eastern Genesis-cycle.'
- ¹⁰ See Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, (6 vols., Paris, 1955-9), Vol. II, pp. 14ff., 21ff., etc. and Heimann *op.cit.*, illus. 6 a and b (a winged and Janus-headed deity as *trinitas creator*, mid-fourteenth century).
- ¹¹ There are, I think other examples awaiting identification by the art historians. I leave that to them and concentrate on texts. In *L & A*, p. 312ff., I drew attention to a Latin poem of some 900 hexameters, well known to art historians. It describes a picture-cycle in the Cathedral of Mainz; it was written by Ekkehard of St Gall for Bishop Aribio (before 1031); *Uersus ad picturas Domus domini Mogontine*. I interpreted *inter alia* the four lines devoted to the creation of Adam by the Trinity. I repeat those lines in note 18 where I seek support in interpreting the word 'al' in the *Altdeutsche Genesis*. Here I would find that they refer to a picture in which the Trinity was conceivably represented by two figures only. The picture-cycle was in all probability not executed, see *L & A*, *loc cit.*
- ¹² The first of my 'passing references' to other interpretations of the Genesis cycle of manuscript M. The same applies to Voss 1962: for full titles, see the articles specified in note 1.
- ¹³ For all quotations in their original Early Middle High German form, see either the editions (note 3) or my articles (note 1).
- ¹⁴ Reproduced in Heimann, *loc. cit.*, illus. 4 and *L & A* Plate 16b. The rubrics are: (title) *Sancta Trinitas*; (above, left) *post angli casum fit de homine consilium*; (right) *trinus et unus dominus, trinus in personis, unus in substantia. Hoc una facies trium personarum demonstrat*; (scroll) *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram et praesit cunctis animantibus terre*.
- ¹⁵ On the 'Throne of Grace' (God the Father holds before him the crucified Son; a dove as Holy Spirit above the head of the Son), see *L & A*, pp. 85 with note 1, 86, and Plate 17 a.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* [= MPL] 84, *De fide catholica*, cols. 449-538, the quotations cols. 455 and 453.
- ¹⁷ For the text of the *Altdeutsche Genesis* we customarily assume a common source * WM, see p. 77. From the pictures in M and the corresponding spaces in the W-text of *Genesis* and *Physiologus* it is clear that *WM was the source of the two pictorial cycles of M. Was it also the source of the prefatory pictures in W? — see my final remarks on 'fresh scrutiny'. (The artist of W may have appealed to the pattern-book as final instance.)

- ¹⁸ — as in the verses ‘ad picturas’ for Bishop Aribio of Mainz, see note 11:
 Uiuu homo primus anima de complice limus
 Quem *pater et natus* creat et *ui compare flatus*.
 Personis trinus, deitate perenniter unus,
 Arbitri simile sibi plasmat et ratione.

In the second line grammar follows doctrine, singular verb ‘creat’ for ‘pater et natus’ and ‘flatus’, the latter being involved ‘vi compare’ (‘compar’ with the power of each? — or that of ‘puer et natus’?).

At this point, and with reference to ‘Son as Wisdom of the Father’, the following snippet from Rupert of Deutz’s voluminous *De Trinitate et operibus ejus* (*Commentariorum in Genesim Liber I, Caput III*) may be quoted: ‘[In principio creauit Deus, etc]... Omnia in sapientia fecisti (= Ps. 103,24) quae uidelicet sapientia non est alia quam Verbum Dei... itaque in principio, id est in Filio, in Verbo suo, in sapientia sua creauit Deus caelum et terram...’. [On man’s ‘likeness’] ‘... faciamus hominem, qui trinae operationis nostrae in semetipso habeat evidentiam’. Cf. *MPL* 167, cols. 202 and 249. (Rupert died c.1129).

- ¹⁹ [Quoted from G.M. Dreves-Cl. Blume, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung*, Vol. I (1909) 68 = *Analecta Hymnica* 50, p. 155]:

Gloria, laudum pia plenitudo
 Sit patri, proli, tibi, spiritusque
 Sancte, qui trino vehis alma sceptra
 Nomine solus.

The sceptre (‘alma sceptra’, poetic pl.), betokening the threefold (or tribune) ‘benign’ rule of the Trinity, is clearly assigned to the Holy Spirit.

- ²⁰ Otherwise the text! It proceeds methodically and at a smart pace, recounting first the creation of the angels, the defection of Lucifer (*lichtuaz*), his casting down into Hell, and then God’s deliberation and statement of his ‘other intention’ (namely to create man in his own image); then the works of creation, day by day, in turn — 87 long lines, all *before* the rubric to picture M 1. [That is to say there is little in the pictures of the *Altdeutsche Genesis* to compare, for example, with the historiated Genesis *initials* in illustrated Bibles (where the Trinity generally *presides over* the works of creation carried out by God).]

- ²¹ ... ‘in his (man’s) likeness’, German text and *Gen.* ii,20.

- ²² Cf. *MPL* 198, 1074-5 (D — A).