

[Page numbers of the printed text appear at the right in bold.]

**King David in Germany:
Royal Traditions at Prüm****Janet T. Marquardt-Cherry**

Unlike Psalters, Tropers were not commonly furnished with images of King David. This was because the Tropers' idiosyncratic texts drew from widely varied sources and could claim no such illustrious author.¹ One manuscript, however, Paris B.N. fonds latin MS.9448, from the monastery of Prüm in western Germany, was illustrated with a striking double-image of King David during the Ottonian period, ca. 990-1001 (p. 48).² As part of the miniature originally accompanying the third mass of Christmas, folio 4 represents King David as *rex* in the upper register and as author of the psalms, i.e., within his liturgical venue as *sacerdos*, in the lower register.³ Comparable to the Werden Psalter frontispiece, which has a similar two-tier composition, the Prüm scene is justified in a Troper by specific references to King David in the *Introit* tropes.

The identification of this scene has been disputed. On the first side of folio 4, the painting fills the lower three-quarters of the page. It is divided into two registers. The larger section at the top shows a king seated on a throne attended by one soldier, his shield-bearer. The king holds a small orb in his right hand, and with his left hand he balances a sword in its scabbard on his shoulder like a scepter. He appears under a small flat-roofed baldachin supported by one visible column in front of a draped curtain which is decorated with stars. This is set against a royal architectural backdrop of two towers, a domed building with an entrance cupola, and a city wall which supports his throne. The king is seated on a bolster upon the throne; at the same time he is centered over the middle section of the wall and is flanked by two tiny domed towers. At the king's feet rests a harp.

In the lower register, a king sits writing on a dyptich surrounded by the walls and towers of a city. Behind him, to the left, stand a large gabled open archway and a domed building with a domed cupola and wide open doors. Again, the two tiny towers of the wall on either side of the king have small domes. Both kings wear Carolingian garb.

In 1906, in the first article on the paintings in Paris MS. 9448, Stephen Beissel refuted suggestions which proposed that these figures were kings who had given Prüm gifts or David and Solomon as forebearers of the Messiah.⁴ He saw them instead as representations of the characters in the Pericope for the first Christmas mass. The first two lines read: *In illo tempore: Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis. Haec descriptio prima facta est a praeside Syriae Cyrino.* [At that time a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled. This census was first made

by Cyrinus, Governor of Syria.] Based on this text, Beissel identified the upper figure as Augustus and the lower as Cyrinus, Governor of Syria, taking the census which caused Mary and Joseph to journey to Bethlehem.

Twenty-one years later, in 1927, Philip Lauer, in his book on illustrated manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, identified the figures on this folio in a short description of all the miniatures of Paris MS.9448.⁵ He returned to the earlier idea of Old Testament forerunners by proposing that King David is represented twice here, wearing the Carolingian *fleur-de-lis* crown and sitting on the wall of the city of Jerusalem. His only support for this identification is the line from the Communion verse of the second Christmas mass, which must have appeared to him as a sort of caption for the picture: *Exulta filia Sion, lauda filia Jerusalem, ecce rex tuus venit sanctus et Salvador mundi.* [Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, sing praises, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold your holy king and Saviour of the world comes.] How this text explains King David's presence is unclear. Consequently, all subsequent identifications of this scene during the past eighty-five years have agreed with Beissel rather than Lauer.

Part of the problem with the identification of these scenes lies with the correspondence of the appropriate text page

to face it. By 1983 it was already recognized that the first fascicle of the manuscript had been rebound incorrectly in the seventeenth century. The correct order, (1,5,6,3,4,7,8,2,9), was recorded in Margaretha Rossholm Lagerjoef's paper on the manuscript published for the 1981 symposium on tropes held in Stockholm.⁶ However, she did not notice that in the Prüm Troper, with only one understandable exception, the illustrations always precede the texts of the feast they illustrate. Not realizing that the illustrated texts for the scene on folio 4r must therefore come from the third Christmas mass, Lagerloef continued to base her conclusion on Beissel's now demonstrably erroneous theory.

Thanks to this new information we can make a much more direct correspondence of the paintings with the *Introit* trope lines which appeared right on the page which originally faced the scenes. The third troping for the Introit (*Deus pater filium suum*) refers to David as a Prophet foretelling Christ's coming. It also speaks directly of Christ descending from David's house and sitting on his throne, in the lines: *Qui sedit super thronum David et in aeternum imperabit. Ecce veniet deus et homo de domo David sedere in throno.* [Who sits on the throne of David and rules for eternity. Behold god and man from the house of David comes to sit on the throne.] The key iconographic element here has been obscured by the worn condition of the paint on the folio but can still be made out if one looks carefully. David's harp does lie at the base of the throne in the upper register, identifying clearly just which king this is meant to represent. Unlike the Werden Psalter, where the context was clear, more detail was necessary in a Troper.⁷

The other problem with Beissel's interpretation is that Cyrinus, as governor Of Syria, would not wear a royal crown. The lower figure must be a king. In fact, Lauer would have convinced more readers of his David identification if he had looked for supporting texts from the third Christmas

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mass, if he had pointed out the harp as the unmistakable iconographic attribute of King David, and if he had referred to the pictorial sources for this composition (which can only be found after making the David identification).

Thus, unlike the decidedly New Testament orientation of Christmas cycles in Bibles and Gospel Books, after which most Troper scenes were modeled, this manuscript incorporates a christological Old Testament scene which supplemented the theological meanings of the feast for the Prüm community. Yet both the topography and the *regalia* can be identified as standard generic Carolingian forms. That David is seated in the city of Bethlehem is understood from the trope content as well as in relationship to the verso illustration which completes the Christmas imagery. This point will be discussed further on. The orb, scepter or sword, throne cushion, attending soldier, and baldachin follow contemporary Ottonian reuse of Carolingian imagery--as can be seen in a ninth-century ivory plaque now in Florence or a representation, also of King David, in the Utrecht Psalter.⁸

Both figures wear Carolingian *fleur-de-lis* crowns, though not of the same model.⁹ The upper crown shows the artist's use of a model like the dedication page in the Vivian Bible, where Charles the Bald wears a crown with the arch topped by *fleurs-de-lis* going over the head.¹⁰ King David himself wears another version of this model on folio 215 verso of the same manuscript. Here, in a typical representation for the School of Tours, the back of the crown is visible in such an awkward way that someone copying it could think this crown also had an arch.¹¹ In the *Psalter of Charles the Bald*, we can find a Carolingian example of the simpler crown depicted in the lower register of the Prüm painting. David also wears this form in the *Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura*.¹²

The scene of David composing his psalms can be seen in Carolingian art as well--for instance, in the late ninth-century *Foulchard Psalter* from St. Gall.¹³ It could also have been taken from the even more common representations of David's scribes, Asaph and Ethan, who transcribe his compositions for him ¹⁴

Although one must turn the page in the manuscript to see the next illustrations, changing, as it were, from the Old Testament to the New, entering the world of redemption from the world of prophecy, the two folios were designed as a set and can be understood best if viewed together. In fact, this is the only time in the Troper that related images are not arranged to open verso/recto flat in the book, so the sense of a passage of time and setting is probably intentional with the "turning over of the new leaf."

The reverse side of folio 4 contains a three-tiered scene (p. 49): the Journey to Bethlehem, the Nativity and two prophets. In the top frame, Mary sits sidesaddle on a donkey set slightly above the ground line. The reins are held by Joseph, who carries a shield and staff over which his mantle is draped. Mary and Joseph leave behind a city in the

form of a basilical structure.

In the *Prüm Gospel Book* from Tours, a very early version of the Journey to Bethlehem is visible in a tiny scene between lines of Matthew's text

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on folio 23.¹⁵ As Mary is walking here, this illustration was not the model for the Prüm artist, but since so few examples of this event existed in the tenth century, the presence of this *Gospel Book* might have had something to do with the decision to include the scene in the first place.

The artist may have looked at the similar iconography being used for the Flight into Egypt, the only difference being the inclusion of the Christchild in Mary's arms. Looking at German examples of the Flight into Egypt from the eleventh century, one from the *Gospel Book of Henry III* (fol. 19v) and a from the doors of Santa Maria im Kapitol, Cologne, and comparing them to common scenes of the Journey to Bethlehem from Regensburg manuscript, we can see that a similar source was being used at Prüm, Cologne, Echternach, and Regensburg for both scenes.¹⁶ The emphasis in the first register on Mary and Joseph leaving one city culminates in the elaborate architecture of another, Bethlehem, where they have arrived for the birth of Christ. It is packed with towers, some with cupolas, and the same basilica structure with doors opening outside the walls on the left. The Christchild lies on a raised altar set at an angle to the frontal orientation of the architecture. The ox and ass lean out of the buildings to look at the baby. Mary lies in the foreground in front of the child on a bed with coverings which hang over the towers of the city walls. Joseph is placed between the basilica and Mary. Four stars, painted in the Touronian manner, dot the sky.¹⁷

The architecture is most appropriate in a comprehensive view of folio 4, since Bethlehem, the "City of David," refers to Christ's lineage with that same king who figures so prominently on the other side of the folio. According to Gertrud Schiller's reading of the Nativity scene on the ivory cover of the *Lorsch Gospels*, the round tower with a cupola may even refer specifically to King David's castle in Bethlehem.¹⁸ It is more likely that the octagonal building to which she refers is the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which actually was on the east end of the basilica as it appears in the ivory.¹⁹ In any case, the city is Bethlehem and the position of all three figures with the walls, as well as the two animals, is similar to the manner in which King David is depicted.

The Nativity scene in this manuscript, in general, is typical of Carolingian and Ottonian types which have an elaborate architectural setting, and familiar Byzantine elements: the reclining Virgin, Joseph resting his head on his hand, the close proximity of the ox and ass emerging from windows in the architecture over Christ, and, most importantly, the arched openings in the altar which copied the actual site in Bethlehem where the pilgrims could look through to the cave of the Nativity below.²⁰ As in the Journey, however, only the essential characters are shown, and the lack of shepherds in this or a neighboring scene, unusual for Christmas illustrations of the Ottonian period, serves to pinpoint the Holy Family's singular position within this city. At the same time, the fact that this manuscript did not contain the Christmas Pericope stressing the angel's announcement (Luke 2, 1-20) was clearly noted by the designer. A Sacramentary made at Fulda about 15-25 years earlier (Göttingen fol. 231) with a Nativity scene does show the Annunciation to the Shepherds, although the

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adjoining Nativity representation is comparable to the Prüm scene in its sparing use of the same iconographic elements: domed and gabled architecture, Joseph and Mary's positions, the Christchild's crib and the animals' placement (fol. 11v).²¹ Yet comparison of the two illustrations serves to highlight both the emphasis in the Priim Nativity on the city and how different texts called for different visual elements. The lowest register contains two nimbed men with scrolls, writing implements and a scroll cupboard. The right figure looks up at the middle register while the left figure looks to his companion. Despite the confusion in previous literature about these figures' identities, they are clearly represented in the pictorial tradition of Old Testament prophets with scrolls.²² Two Old Testament prophets-Isaiah (9:6,7 and 11:1,2) and Micah (5:2)-foretold the birth of a Messiah from the house of David in Bethlehem. Although it was also two Evangelists-Matthew and Luke-who related the story of the nativity, the context of the Priim Christmas cycle is deliberately that of prefiguration from the Old Testament to the new period of Christian rule. In fact, when the Evangelist John is pictured shortly farther on in the manuscript he is shown with a codex, not a scroll (fol. 14v). Again, the illustration fits the content of the book since the first line of the two tropes for the Introit of

the third Christmas mass, which immediately follow this illustration on the next page, neatly links the lines from Isaiah which form the standard Introit text with the New Testament story that the Evangelists tell:

Deus pater filium suum hodie missit in mundum, de quo gratulanter dicamus cum propheta... Ecce adest de quo propheta cecinerunt dicentes....

[God the father, who today sent his son into the world, of whom we speak rejoicing with the prophets... Behold he comes of whom the prophets have sung saying...

The artist has designed folio 4 to be read from front to back and top to bottom just like the text pages. First, we see King David as the ideal religious ruler, forebearer of Christ and prefiguration of Christian kings, in his city of Bethlehem on 4 recto. Next, on 4 verso, many years later, Mary and Joseph leave Nazareth to go there themselves. Christ is then born in that same city, the Messiah who comes and takes the place of his ancestor, the king, yet is laid upon the altar in a prefiguration of his sacrificial role. Finally, we see that this event, witnessed for us by the Evangelists, was foretold by their precursors, the prophets whose words are copied on the accompanying page. Thus the Old Testament prophets are precursors of the New Testament evangelists just as the Jewish King David prefigured the Christian Carolingian kings. The Carolingian tradition of theocentric rule based on David as the model Old Testament king has been well established by Schramm.²³ Kantorowicz' study of the dual roles of medieval kings led to the modern

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scholarly distinction between that Carolingian formula and its Ottonian christocentric New Testament development.²⁴ Likewise, the fusion of biblical and pagan political terminology and visual formulae under Charlemagne and his descendants has been well documented.²⁵ In this case, the tenth-century Troper's emphasis on David not only generally parallels a few lines of text for the feast day, but establishes a particularly Carolingian context for kingship. That kingship is nominally referring to the inheritance of Christ, who became king in the direct line of David. However, the use of Carolingian pictorial formulae for David's kingship certainly introduced more recent associations to medieval rulers as well who claimed the same dual roles of *rex and sacerdos*.

One might imagine that in the scriptorium at Prüm, which we can securely credit with having produced only one other extant manuscript (Manchester, Rylands MS. lat. 7), the designers were not on the cutting edge of Ottonian iconography. Therefore, their close adherence to Carolingian forms would have been part of a natural dependence upon traditional models.²⁶ It is clear from Henry II's 1003 inventory of the treasury at Prüm that they owned at least one, if not more, Carolingian manuscript(s) from Tours.²⁷ However, they were geographically quite close to Trier, which did have an early thriving center of Ottonian manuscript illumination.²⁸ It is exactly these circumstances surrounding Prüm's acquisition of Carolingian treasures which leads me to believe that the Carolingian elements of the King David scene were done in an atmosphere which recognized that such references were by then deliberately traditional.

For these monks *circa* the year 1000, Prüm's importance was based on its royal Carolingian connections of the past.²⁹ Founded in 721 by a relative of Charles Martel, the Countess Bertrada of Mürtenbach, the abbey came into the possessions of the father of the Carolingian dynasty when Bertrada's granddaughter married Pepin the Short. He refounded the abbey in 752 and began a series of endowments which were formally compared to Solomon's building of the Old Testament Temple. The important privileges and immunities which Prüm gained under Pepin were maintained by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Abbot Marquardt of Prüm was Lothar I's legate to Rome in 844 and the foundation was strengthened with the relics he gathered on that trip as well as the many gifts which Lothar made. He is probably the one who gave the Touronian Gospel Book now in Berlin (MS. lat. theol., fol.733) which was listed in Henry II's inventory. In 855 Lothar retired from his imperial seat to take the monk's vows at Prüm shortly before his death.

During the period of dynastic struggle in the tenth century, the abbots of Prüm repeatedly sided with the Frankish kings. Once Lotharingia was joined to the Ottonian Empire, the crown demanded increasingly heavy services from the abbots; this culminated in Henry II's harshly imposed administrative reorganization in 1004 along the lines of the Gorze reform.³⁰ Yet the abbot and monks never seem to have totally capitulated, since already under Henry IV they again tried to assert the abbey's independence by championing the losing Gregorian cause during the investiture struggle of the 1070's.

The position adopted by the monks through the years around 1000 seems to be one of consistently endeavoring to maintain the heritage of royal privilege obtained under the Caroling monarchs. They feared that the Ottonian monastic reforms would end in their losing their assets and privileges. This fear was heightened by the jealousy of other nearby monasteries in Trier, Fulda, and in Echternach, which were benefitting from imperial financial support and political privileges. By harking back to the well-known Carolingian image of ideal kingship in their representation of David, the Prüm community placed the manuscript into the very specific context of their close relationship with the strongest dynasty of the recent past as well as the newly popular culture of the artistic renaissance of the late tenth century.³¹

That the manuscript was copied and illuminated for use at Prüm itself seems clear from the colophon which states that it was commissioned by a noble monk of that community and that it is organized as a record of the abbey's own form of annual liturgical performance.³² Since it was only finished shortly before the comprehensive inventory of 1003, it seems likely that the community was clearly aware that the monks were being watched, that their holdings would soon be reviewed, and that they were "planting" a sort of visual record of strength in their documentation of the abbey's liturgical practices. This page reflects their continuing emphasis on their superior Carolingian heritage while other portions of the Troper seem to attempt to compete at the Ottonian level by introducing contemporary imperial symbols of value such as SS. Mauritius and Boniface.³³ Although the work reflects the painting atelier's inexperience, this single manuscript which we know to have been produced at Prüm prior to 1025 was no tentative copy of earlier standard liturgical books. It documents clear choices of interpretative texts in the addition of tropes to a full Gradual as well as newly composed sequences. Add to this the individually designed images which reinforce the interpretative aspect with valuable artwork that would be guaranteed notice in eminent inventories by imperial church authorities.

Just as the entire pictorial program projects energy and independence, even extending to the way in which Christ is rendered, so too the artist's decision to portray King David in this unusual context was an energetic and innovative response to a contemporary political crisis.³⁴

NOTES

1. A Troper is a manuscript containing accretions to the sung parts of the standard liturgy, usually the Mass. See: P. Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory at S. Martial de Limoges* (Princeton, 1970) and A. E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton, 1977).
2. On Paris MS. 9448 see: S. Beissel, "Miniaturen aus Prüm," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, XIX (1906): cols. 11-22,43-54; M. R. Lagerloef, "A Book of Songs Placed Upon the Altar of the Saviour giving Praise to the Virgin Mary and Homage to The Emperor" in: G. Iversen, ed., *Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and Corpus Troporum* (Stockholm, 1983); J. Marquardt, *Illustrations of Troper Texts: The Painted Miniatures in the Prüm Troper-Gradual*, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin MS. 9448* (Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986). The colophon on folio 48v established the manuscript's production at the monastery of Prüm between the years 990 and 1001. It reads:
"Codicem istum cantus modulamine plenum, Domini Hilderici venerabilis abbatis tempore eiusque licentia Wickingi fidelis monachi impensis atque precatum scribere coeptum Domini viro Stephano successoris prefati abbatis tempore atque benedictione diligentissime. Sancti Salvatoris

Domini nostri Jesu Christi altari impositum. Huic sancto prumiensi coenobio perhenni memoria novimus traditum."

The other three illustrated Tropers are: London, B.L., Cotton MS. Caligula A.xiv (England, c. 1050) [See E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066* (London, 1976), no. 97 with bibliography p. 115]; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 5, (Reichenau, 1001-1002) [See P. Klein, "Zu einigen Reichenauer Handschriften Heinrichs II. für Bamberg," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 120 (1984), 417-422, with bibliography in note 4]; and Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS. 1169 (Autun, 1050) [See E. Palazzo, "Le tropaire d'Autun," *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, LIV/5 (1985-87) with bibliography in note 21.

3. On the Werden Psalter see R. Kahsnitz, *Der Werden Psalter in Berlin: MS. Theol. lat. fol. 358: eine Untersuchung zu Problemen mittelalterlicher Psalterillustration* (Düsseldorf, 1979). In fact, the lower figure in the Werden Psalter image of King David may not necessarily represent the king himself, rather one of his musicians performing the psalms as commonly appear in many other David illustrations. The significance of this identification is unimportant to the point regarding the Prüm artist's knowledge of this type of composition. However, by placing the crown

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on the lower figure, he shows that his conception includes King David in both registers.

4. S. Beissel, "Miniaturen aus Prüm" nr. 1, cols. 11-22.

5. P. Lauer, *Les enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 17, 116ff.

6. Lagerloef, "A Book of Songs," p. 132.

7. One of the Romanesque frescoes still in the main apse of the church at Münstereifel at Prüm shows a standing, full-length figure with a harp which has been identified as King David. See Ruth Schmitz-Emke, "Zum Program der Apsismalerei in der ehemaligen Stiftskirche St. Chrysanthus und Daria in Münstereifel," *Beiträge zur Rheinischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege* [Festschrift Rudolf Wesenberg] (Düsseldorf, 1970). However, since the figure is one of four musicians (the figure on the far right clearly plays eight bells above his head) I would suggest that, rather than King David, this figure is comparable to the choir capital depicting the "third tone" in Cluny III. See Kathi Meyer, "The Eight Gregorian Modes on the Cluny Capitals," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV (1952).

8. On the Florence ivory see A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpture* (Berlin, 1914), vol. 1, no. 113; also H. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977), fig. 164. The Utrecht Psalter image is also reproduced in Kessler, *Bibles*, fig. 165. On the Utrecht Psalter see: E. T. Dewald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1933); D. T. Tselos, *The Sources of the Utrecht Psalter* (Minneapolis, 1960); S. Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht* (Paris, 1978); N. Duval, "La représentation du palais dans l'art du bas-empire du haut moyen age d'après le psautier d'Utrecht," *Cahiers Archeologiques*, xv (1965).

9. Although the upper register shows damage, the underlines of the crown are still visible.

10. The dedication page is fol. 423r. It is reproduced in John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art* (New York, 1964), plate 49. On the Vivian Bible see W. Köhler, *Die Karolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 33ff., 238ff. P. Lauer, "Iconographie Carolingienne, Vivian et Charlemagne," *Mélanges en hommages à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye* (Paris, 1940) and Kessler, *Bibles*, pp. 128-135, 149-151.

11. Folio 215 is reproduced in Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, plate 47. On the school of Tours, see Köhler, *Karolingische*, vol. I and Kessler, *Bibles*.

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12. The Charles the Bald image is reproduced in A. Boitiet, *La miniature Carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), plate CXIV (A). On the Psalter of Charles the Bald see V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers* (Macon, 1940-41), pp. 11, 67ff; P.E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich, 1962), 131. King Solomon's image is reproduced in F. Mutherich and J. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), plate 44. On the San Paolo Bible see J. E. Gaehde, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, V (1971), 359-400; VIII (1974), 351-384, IX (1975), 359-389.

13. Reproduced in Kessler, *Bibles*, fig.170. On the *Foulchard Psalter* see F. Landsberger, *Der St. Galler Foulchard Psalter* (St. Gall, 1912).

14. See, for instance, an Ottonian psalter now in Munich reproduced in L. Kobell, *Kunstvolle Miniaturen und Initialen aus Handschriften des 4. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1892), plate 10; or a Carolingian ivory now in the Louvre reproduced in Kessler, *Bibles*, fig. 163.

15. On the Prüm Evangeliary see H. Leclerc, "Prüm (Evangeliare de)," in F. Cabrol, ed., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1907-53); L. Déslisle, "Les évangiles de l'abbaye de Prüm," *Journal des Savants* (1902), 461-475; H. Degering, "Das Prümer Evangeliar in Berlin, ms. lat. theol. fol. 733," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XLIV (1921), 628; K. Strecker, "Ist der Parisinus 266 der von Lothar dem Kloster Prüm geschenkte Codex? *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* XLIV (1922), 135-137; P. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale*, no. 29; W. Köhler, *Karolingische*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 402-403; and reproduced in vol. 1, pt. 3, plate 96a; B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1985), p. 267.

16. On the Codex Aureus Eptemacensis see A. Boeckler, *Evangeliarbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1933), plate 171. On S. Maria im Kapitol see R. Hamann, *Die Holztüre der Pfarrkirche zu S. Maria im Kapitol* (Marburg, 1926); P. Bloch, *Die Türflügel von Maria im K* (Mönchen-Gladbach, 1959). Also reproduced in G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (Gutersloh, 1966 and Greenwich, Connecticut, 1971), vol. 1, fig. 312. On the Regensburg manuscripts see G. Swarzenske, *Regensburger Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1901), XXIX (77) and XXIII (57).

17. The Lothar Gospels held at that time in Prüm's own library have this type of star in the Nativity scene (fol. 23, see note 14).

18. Schiller, *Iconography*, vol. 1, p. 67.

19. My thanks to Ioli Kalavrezou for pointing out this fact.

20. See Schiller, *Iconography*, vol. 1, pp. 58-88 for a complete discussion of Nativity images.

21. On the Fulda Sacramentary see Gregor Richter and Albert Schoenfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense* [Volume 9 of *Quellen und Abhandlung zur Geschichte der Abtei in der Diözese Fulda*] (Fulda, 1912).

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22. See S. Beissel, *Geschichte des Evangelienbuches in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1906), and "Miniaturen aus Prüm," nr. 1, col. 15, where he refers to these figures as authors "who may be prophets." in P. Lauer, *Les enluminures*, they are called Evangelists, and in M. Rosshold Lagerhoef, "Book of Songs," p. 148, they are again prophets. On the Early Christian manuscript tradition of this type of representation, see A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* (London, 1968), p. 141.
23. See, for example, P. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1928), vol. pp. 1-70; *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste* (Stuttgart, 1968), vol 1, Part B, "Kaiser der Karl der Kahle, der Stifter des Thrones in St. Peter, in *La cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticani Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia*, series II, vol. X, pp. 292-93. See also H. Steger, *David Rex et Propheta* (Nürnberg, 1961).
24. E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 42-96.
25. See, for example, G. Henderson, *Early Medieval* (New York, 1972), pp. 107-109.
26. R. Schilling, "Das Ruopertus-Evangelistar aus Prüm, Ms.7 der John Rylands Library in Manchester, *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedkunst des Mittelalters* [Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener] (1965), pp. 143-54.
27. For a record of the 1003 inventory, see A. Digot, "Inventaire du trésor de l'abbaye de Prüm," *Bulletin monumentale*, XV (1849), pp. 289-300. On the influence of manuscripts from Tours in and near Prüm, as well as a comprehensive discussion of the images of David from that workshop, see Kesler, *Bibles*, pp. 6-8.
28. The nearest script relative, according to G. Swarzenski (*Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 116, n.*), is the Vita S. Remalci from the Stavelot-Malmedy atelier in Liège, now Bamberg, Cod. E.III.1. Liège was very close to Prüm, though perhaps the road to Trier was more passable. However, it is quite possible that either a scribe from that atelier visited for this work or that Prüm's own monks received calligraphic training there.
29. Primary Sources: "Annales necrologie Prumienses," in *Monumenta Germanica historica. Scriptores* (Hannover, 1881), vol. 13, pp. 219-59; "Annales Prumienses," *ibid.*, 1887, vol. 15, pp. 1289-93; "Notae Prumienses," *ibid.*, 1934, vol. 30, pp. 766-67; Martène and Durand, *Voyage litterature de deux benedictins* (Paris, 1718-1724). Secondary sources: A. Digot, "Inventaire du tré de l'abbaye de Prüm," pp. 289-300; C. Willems, *Prüm und seine Heiligthümer* (Triest, 1896). H. Forst, "Geschichte der Abtei Prüm von der Grundung im Jahre 721 bis zur Aufhebung im Jahre 1802," *Bonner Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, XXII (Bonn, 1912), pp. 98-110; W. Levison, "Zur ältesten Urkunde des Kloster Prüm," *ibid.*, pp. 383-385.
30. On the Ottonian dynasty and monastic reform see: Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Chuny* (Rome, 1950/51), vols. 1-2.
31. Hanns Swarzenski, "The Role of Copies in the Formation of Styles of the 11th century," *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art* (Princeton, 1963), p. 12.
32. The colophon is transcribed in note 2. The form of the manuscript actually makes it more than just a Troper, since all the sung parts of the