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In a Space Between: Warmund of Ivrea and the Problem of (Italian) Ottonian Art*

By Evan A. Gatti, Elon University

The art of the Ottonian era often falls in between the pages of the art historical survey. The problem has little to do with the works themselves—there are few works of art more engaging than the bi-folio portrait of Otto III enthroned between “Church” and “State” receiving tribute from the provinces (Garrison fig. 3).¹ Instead the problem with Ottonian art may be a problem of the Ottonian era and the socio-historical diversity of the 10th and 11th centuries. For example, while Dorothy Verkerk and Henry Luitikhuisen’s revised edition of *Snyder’s Medieval Art* includes a work of Ottonian art on its cover, the historical period is discussed alongside Anglo-Saxon Art, Anglo-Norman Art, and the Scandinavians in a chapter called “Diffusion and Diversity.”² Even the appellation for the period—*Otto-nian*—is problematic, suggesting rigid boundaries for its canonical works even though the art historical term applies to work beyond that commissioned by, for, or in recognition of the Saxon dynasty of “Otto’s,” or created during the years or within the areas ruled by the Otto’s.³

* I would like to offer a sincere thank you to Adam Cohen and Lynn Huber for their willingness to read and re-read earlier versions of this paper. Adam Cohen’s careful eye and insightful comments on all of the essays included herein as well as his willingness to serve as a mentor to a first-time editor have been invaluable. Any shortcomings that remain, of course, are mine alone.

¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453

² Henry Luitikhuisen and Dorothy Verkerk, *Snyder’s Medieval Art* (Upper Saddle River, 2006), 193-216, esp. 201-213. See Adam Cohen discussion of the cover image (from the *Uta Codex*) in this volume.

³ See, for example, essays that discuss visual theology of Bernward of Hildesheim, and the patronage of the Salian emperor Henry II in this volume of *Peregrinations*.



Figure 1: Royal Consecration, folio 2r, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

The problem with Ottonian art may be that the “Ottonian” era exists among evolving and seemingly more and more complex political, regional and institutional alliances. This space in between, however, need not obfuscate Ottonian art. In fact, this place in between may better explicate what is significant about the Ottonian period to studies of the Middle Ages more generally. As Marcus Bull and John Arnold both explain, “why we should study the Middle Ages,” it is both the complexity and alterity of the medieval past that makes its study necessary to the present.⁴ Similarly, the Ottonian era, and its negotiations of Roman and Carolingian pasts, as well as the competing desires of local nobles, aspiring emperors, and embattled bishops, offers a model for looking back, one that privileges the potential of laying in between in the “middle” ages. Wasn’t Otto sitting between Church and State in the frontispiece to the *Gospels of Otto III* (Garrison, fig. 3)? Aren’t Kantorowicz’s *King’s Two Bodies*, which he illustrates via the frontispiece to the *Liuthar Gospels*, neither secular nor sacred, but a combination of the two, something in between (Garrison, fig. 1)?⁵

To get to the middle, however, we turn our attention to the boundaries of Ottonian art, to the territory that defined the aspirations of the Ottonian empire and the modern historiography that characterized it. For our purposes the liturgical Sacramentary commissioned by Bishop Warmund of Ivrea (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. 86) will illustrate issues of defining importance in Ottonian art. That the Sacramentary may reflect the ideals of the Ottonian era from an episcopal rather than an imperial, or *Otto*-nian, perspective, and in the style of the peripheral territories of Northern Italy, calls attention to the significance of this manuscript as something “in between.” The manuscript’s liturgical texts and painted program, thus, can be read as

⁴ Marcus Graham Bull, *Thinking Medieval: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (New York, 2005); John Arnold, *What Is Medieval History?* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2008).

⁵ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

negotiations of the alliances and enmities that characterized (and perhaps defeated) the *Renovatio imperii Romanorum*.

In the pages below we will look *through* the history and historiography of the Sacramentary and the North Italian town of Ivrea *at* the painted miniatures that illuminate its vellum folios. All bear witness to significant conflicts between future kings of Italy and aspiring emperors of Rome. Furthermore, studies of the Sacramentary highlight trends in medieval studies, especially, the evolution and critique of a *Reichskirchensystem*, the theory of an organized and cooperative Imperial (and Germanic) church system. Ultimately we will look at the manuscript's painted miniatures, and especially those that picture its patron Warmund of Ivrea in liturgical postures as exemplar of the "liminal space" of the Middle Ages. A term first articulated by Victor Turner in his study of medieval pilgrimage, the "liminal space" of the liturgy has been seen, by critics and followers of Turner alike, to be a rich and productive space specifically because the liturgical act is not one thing or another, but something that lies (very powerfully) in between.⁶

Sacramentarium Warmundiani

Still preserved in the Cathedral Library of the north Italian city of Ivrea, the *Sacramentarium Warmundiani* measures 22 x 31 cm and is composed of 222 vellum folios decorated with 62 full-folio and partial-folio miniatures and well over 300 smaller initials of varying elaboration.⁷ The *Sacramentary* was commissioned (or compiled)⁸ over the tenure of

⁶ Victor Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978) and for a critique of Turner: Yoram Bilu, "The Inner Limits of Communitas: A Covert Dimension of Pilgrimage Experience," *Ethos*, 16 (1988): 302-325.

⁷ Especially Pierre-Alain Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images. Politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil*, (Berne, 2002); *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea: fine secolo X : Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare*,

Bishop Warmund of Ivrea between 966 and 1002. Although it is only one of a number of manuscripts commissioned by Warmund, the *Sacramentary* is by far the most heavily decorated and was more than likely the most luxurious product of the scriptorium.⁹

The enigmatic miniatures included in the *Sacramentary* have been described as an aggregate of traditional and innovative miniatures that combine Byzantine, Imperial and Italic influences. Traditional scenes, such as the Nativity and Passion of Christ and the Lives and martyrdom of the saints, adhere to Byzantine and Western influences found in other liturgical books produced north of the Alps, especially in liturgical books produced in scriptoria with imperial connections. Among more innovative illustrative choices distributed among these examples, include the anointing and consecration of a king, fol. 2 (**fig. 1**), the ordination of a bishop, fol. 8 (**fig. 2**), three portraits of the bishop Warmund, fols. 13, 52v, 57v (**figs. 3-5**), and a miniature depicting the investiture of an Ottonian emperor by the Virgin Mary, fol. 160v (**fig. 6**). These unusual and distinctive images raised the *Sacramentary* from relative art historical obscurity to scholarly significance as they drew the attention of the art historians Gerhard Ladner, Pietro Toesca, Robert Deshman, Pierre Alain Mariaux, and the historian Henry Mayr-Harting.

MS 31 LXXXVI (Turin, 1990); Robert Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary: A Study in Political Theology," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 34 (1971): 1-20; Luigi Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici warmondiani*, *Codici Ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothecis Delecti Phototypice Expressi Iussu PII XI Pont. Max. Consilio Et Studio Procuratorum Bybliothecae Vaticanae VI* (Vatican City, 1934).

⁸ There is some debate as to whether the manuscript can be said to have a pictorial "program." One of the most significant contributions of Pierre Alain Mariaux's careful codicological investigation of the original sacramentary is his suggestion that the manuscript was created over a period of time by a series of different artists. Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images*, 241-248.

⁹ The following manuscripts have been attributed to Bishop Warmund of Ivrea: *Benedictionarium*, Cod. XVIII (8); *Orationarium pro Missa Episcopi Warmundi*, Cod. IV (9); *Benedictiones Pontificum per totius anni circulum*, Cod. XX (10); *Evangelarium*, Cod. XXVI (12); *Libri Psalmorum ex hebraico caractere et sermone in latinum eloquium a Beato Geronimo presbytero editus*, Cod. LXXXV, (30); *Sacramentarium Episcopi Warmundi*, Cod. LXXXVI (31). The first set of roman numerals reference the Bollati Inventory of the Biblioteca Capitolare di Ivrea (1871), the second parenthetical set of numbers are from the Professione-Mazzatini Inventory (1894). See Alfonso Professione, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Ivrea* (Alba, 1967).



Figure 2: Ordination of a Bishop (Pope?), folio 8r, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

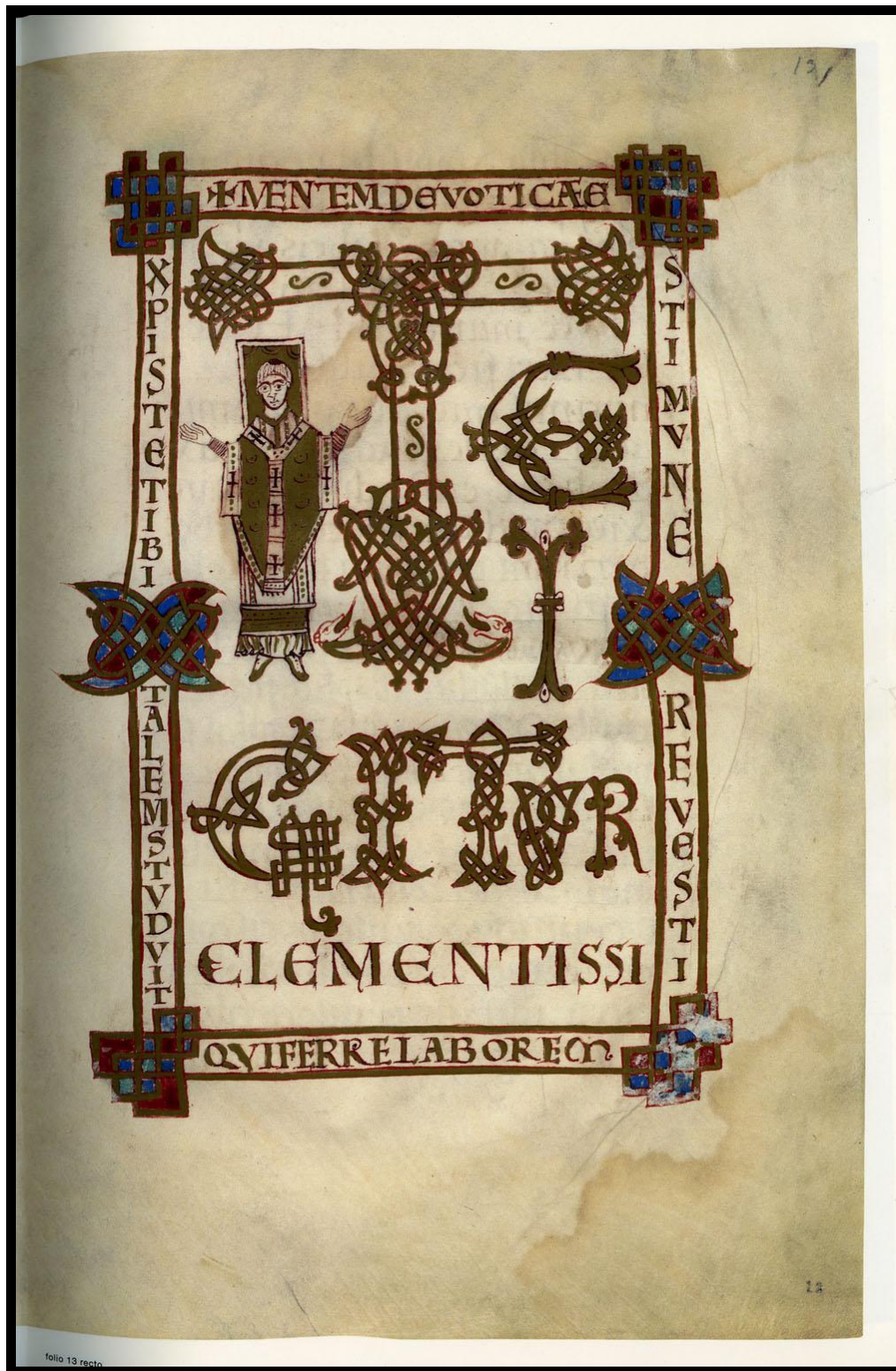


Figure 3: *Te Igitur*, folio 13r, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.



Figure 4: Blessing of the Chrism, folio 52 v, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

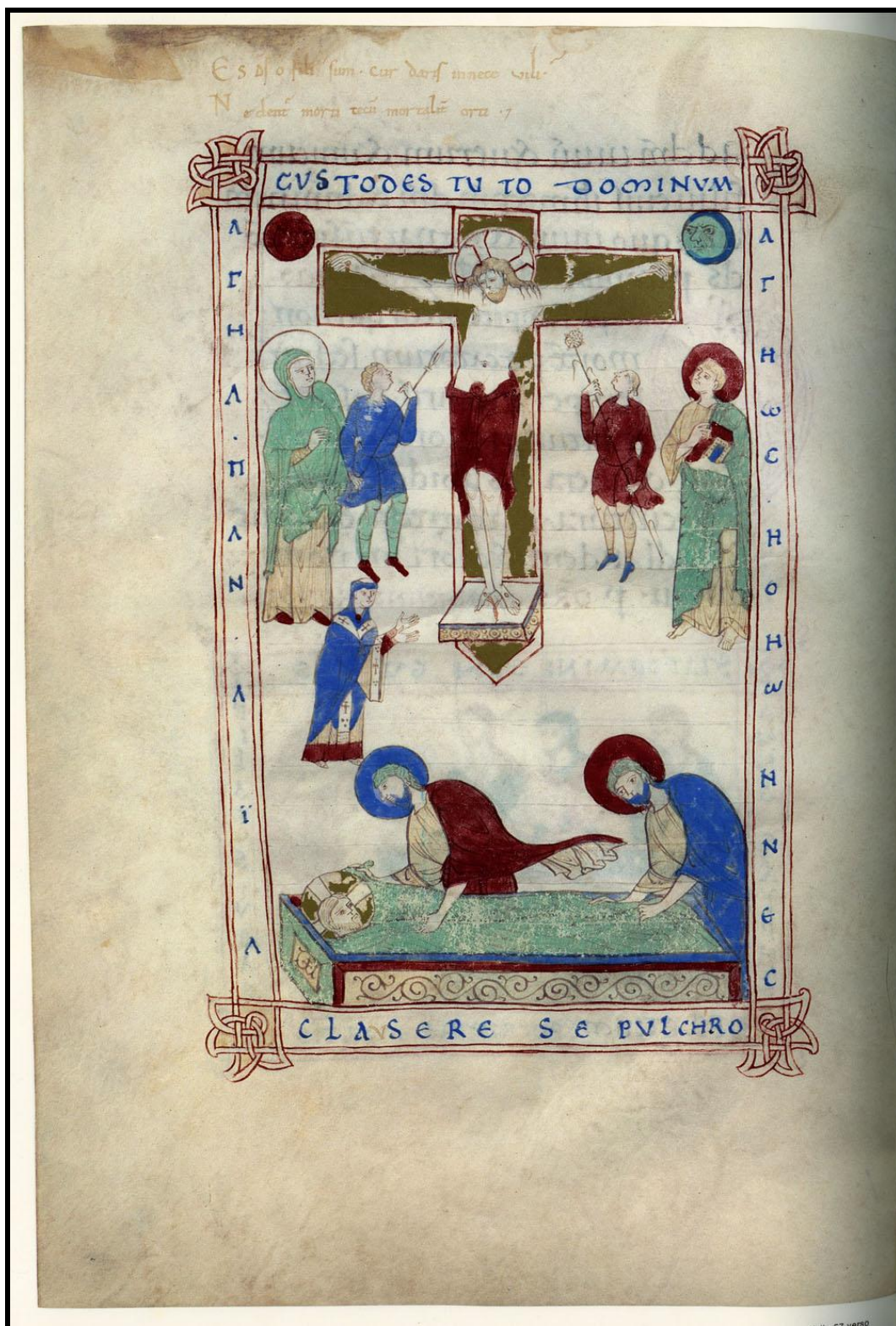


Figure 5: Crucifixion, folio 57v, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

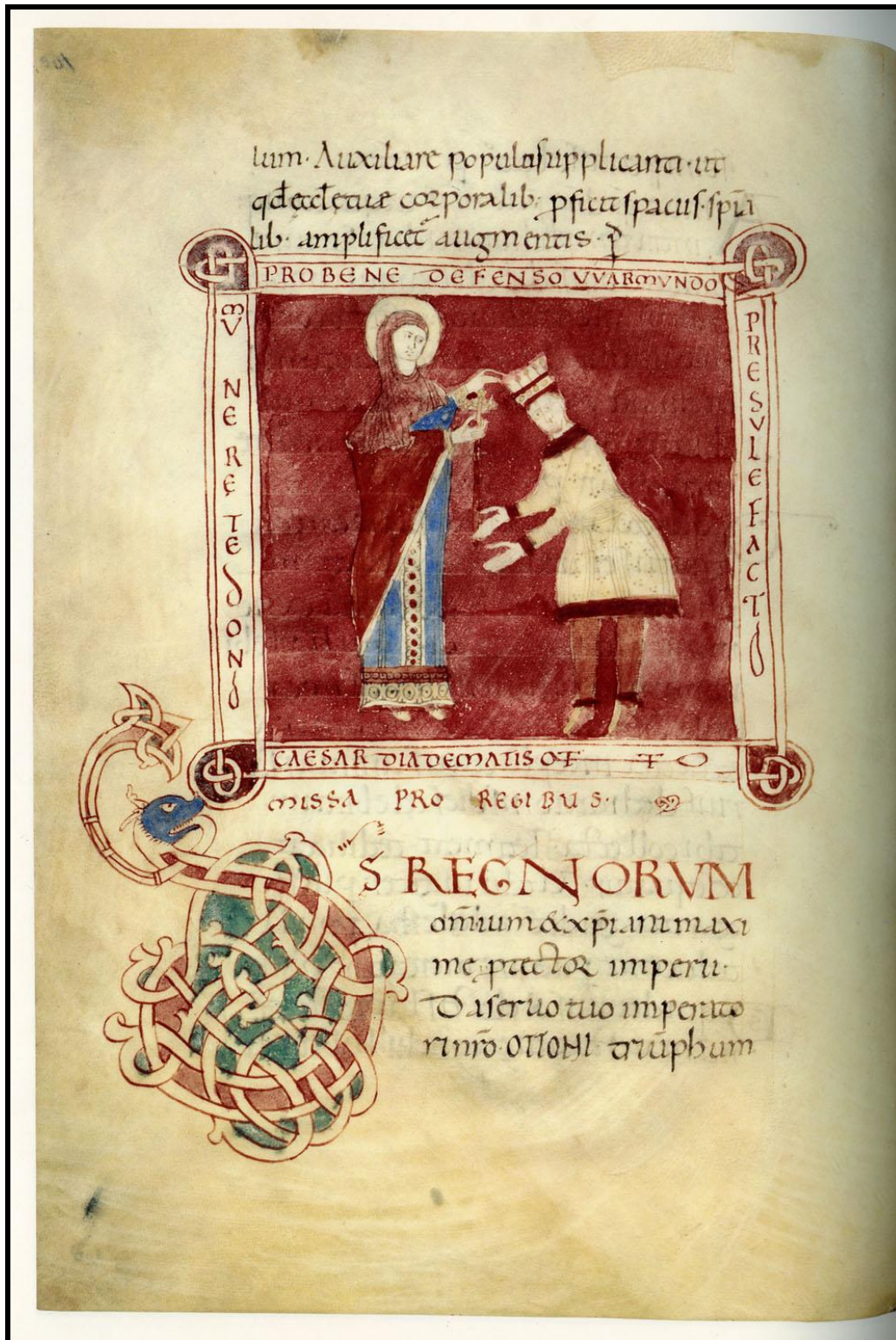


Figure 6: Virgin Crowning Otto III (I?), folio 160v, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

Scholarship on these miniatures, however, has focused on whether or not they should be seen as evidence of Italian and episcopal individualism or should be read as imperial propaganda. The “awkward” or “un-imperial” style of the miniatures call attention to the central paradox of the manuscript; a seeming disconnect between the imagery’s local, *Italic* style and its broader (seemingly) imperially-focused iconography. As Robert Deshman notes, “Certainly the miniature’s modest, provincial style contrasts sharply with the splendid, courtly appearance of the ruler portraits from the “Reichenau” school.” Specifically when talking about the seemingly “provincial” ruler portraits of the Sacramentary, Deshman doubts their *Ottonian*-ness. In fact, his analysis of this manuscript centers on the question of whether this manuscript, and its ruler portrait(s), is “a worthy relative of its German cousins.”¹⁰ In other words, Deshman ask if the manuscript is not “courtly” nor “Reichenau” in its style, is it a monument of Ottonian art at all?

While the manuscript’s style may be questionable, Deshman continues, “as far as its iconography is concerned, the Italian manuscript may have been underrated.”¹¹ These miniatures, which place secular and sacred in seemingly dependent pairs, offer fodder for scholars interested in the broader historical landscape of the Ottonian era and especially in ideas of liturgical kingship, political theology, and episcopal autonomy. Because the miniatures picture the relationship between the imperial and episcopal office, the *Sacramentary of Warmund* became a touchstone for scholarship concerning the existence and legitimacy of an Ottonian Church System, or *Reichskirchensystem*.

¹⁰ Deshman, “Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary,” 1.

¹¹ Deshman, “Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary,” 1.

Reichskirchensystem Reconsidered

Saxon and Salian monarchs of the Ottonian era cultivated a cooperative relationship between the secular responsibilities of emperors and kings and the spiritual authorities of bishops and popes. The very notion of a *Holy* and *Roman* Emperor depended upon it. This *Reichskirchensystem*, as it has come to be known, suggested an “institutionalized relationship” developed under Otto I, then borrowed and elaborated upon by his successors.¹² While the Ottonian church was linked to the emperor, there is considerable debate as to how “institutionalized” or one-sided this relationship actually was.¹³ This is especially true of northern Italy, where recent scholarship regarding Ottonian “policy” has focused on how the nomination to or independence of Italian bishoprics must be considered on an individual basis.¹⁴ In the end, the partnership between the imperial and episcopal offices may be best understood as a negotiation, or a reciprocal relationship characterized by particular historical circumstances and nuanced by evolving notions of liturgical authority.¹⁵

¹² For a brief summary of the state of the research regarding the *Reichskirchensystem*, see Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), 56-58, n. 160-1. Tellenbach noted that the idea of an “imperial church system” has been understood in different ways, ranging from the total rejection of the idea by J. Haller, *Das papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, vol II, 2nd ed., (Darmstadt, 1962); to a reworking of the term as one with only specific judicial significance by Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol. II, (Stuttgart, 1959). Of particular interest is the accessible analysis of Timothy Reuter, “The ‘Imperial Church System’ of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982): 347, and a rebuttal by Josef Fleckenstein, “Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchen,” *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, Karl Schmid, ed. (Sigmaringen, 1985), 83-98.

¹³ Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany 500-1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto, 1997), 142-144. Mayr-Harting argues, “Historians have on the whole ceased to take the formerly popular view that Otto I used the Church (which itself contained no bureaucracy) to counteract the power and rebelliousness of secular aristocracy. Such an antithesis is a grave over-simplification.” Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* (London, 1991), I: 13.

¹⁴ For a more specific discussion of the Italian perspective, see Giuseppe Sergi, “The Kingdom of Italy,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History: c. 900-c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), 369-371.

¹⁵ Perhaps the most workable position regarding the malleable relationship between church and empire can be found in Gerd Tellenbach’s *The Church in Western Europe*. Tellenbach stresses the mutability of the relationship between the king, bishop, and pope, citing specific case studies as examples, arguing that individual prelatships dictated the specific relationship between a bishop and his counterparts. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, 58.

As the notion of the *Reichskirchensystem* has developed and critiqued so too has the significance of the *Warmund Sacramentary*. This can be credited to a number of issues. First, as a product of the major episcopal scriptorium in Ivrea the manuscript reflects the central place that the city and its episcopate occupied in the shifting political and religious landscape of northern Italy. Second, as mentioned above, the manuscript includes early and exceptional examples of imperial (or royal) and episcopal iconographies that have drawn the attention of specialist scholars in each area, but not always with regard to the larger pictorial, historical or liturgical context, or even how the two polities may have depended on one another.

One need only look at historical summaries of this period, such as the *New Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, to note the significance of Ivrea in the capricious relationship between emperors, kings, noblemen, popes and bishops around the year 1000.¹⁶ Located in the Piedmont region of modern-day Italy, Ivrea linked the imperial territories north of the Alps through the Canavese to the Holy See by way of the *Via Francigena*. As an important city on the road to Rome, Ivrea also became a significant site of discord, giving rise to two kings of Italy, Berengar II (950-952) and Arduin of Ivrea (1002-1004). These men, foes of Otto I, Otto III, and Henry II respectively, brought the city, church and region into conflict.

Northern Italy was central to the political ambitions of Otto I, especially as success there paved the way for an Ottonian reconstitution of the Roman Empire, a political and spiritual ambition continued under Otto's successors both Saxon and Salian. While the exact reasons for Otto's first journey to Italy are debated, the timing of the trip signals the first of many interactions between the emperor and Ivrea. Upon the death of the *rex Italiae*, Lothar of Arles, and despite the hereditary claim to the title and lands by Lothar's widow Adelaide, Berengar II, a

¹⁶ Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," 354, 364-368.

Margrave of Ivrea, was crowned King of Italy on December 15, 950 in Pavia. Adelaide's refusal to marry his son, Adalbert, which would have added legitimacy to Berengar's claim to the throne, Berengar imprisoned her. The following year, Otto I traveled to Pavia to meet the Queen, who had since escaped her imprisonment and fled to the fortress of Canossa. In 951 Otto married the Queen, claiming for himself the crown of Italy, as well as a considerable dowry left by Lothar.¹⁷

Berengar, however, did not fade into history and a second threat by the Italian Margrave, this time against Pope John XII, brought Otto to the papal territories of Rome. Again, the historical details of Otto's decision to interfere in Rome are complex, as are the long-term consequences for both the Papacy and the Empire, but when Berengar II, as the self-proclaimed King of Italy, threatened Pope John's sovereignty over Rome, John called on Otto for protection. In recognition of Otto's support on February 2, 962 the pope crowned Otto Emperor at St. Peter's Cathedral and eleven days later, at a papal synod, Otto and John signed the *Diploma Ottonianum*, securing both privileges and property for the Pope and the Roman Empire.¹⁸ Thus, the actions of Berengar of Ivrea twice brought Otto's attentions to Italy; both events resulted in the significant development of Otto's political potency in the area and a contentious link was forged between the Ottonian Empire and the local nobility in Ivrea.

¹⁷ *Liber Gestorum Recentium*, ed. Claudia Zey, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. 67, trans. W. North (Hannover, 1994), Book I, Ch. 5-7. Among other modern sources, see François Bougard, "Public Power and Authority," in *Italy in the Early Middle Ages 476-1000*, ed. Cristina La Rocca (Oxford, 2002), 34-58, esp. 39-40.

¹⁸ Thietmar, Book II, Ch. 13 as translated in David Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), 101. See also Hill, 33 and Liudprand of Cremona, Document 7, as translated in "A Chronicle of Otto's reign (*Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis*)," *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. F. A. Wright (New York, 1930), 215-32. For a facsimile of the *Privilegium Ottonianum*, see "Documents Belonging to History: The Charter by the Emperor Otto I," <http://asv.vatican.va/en/doc/962.htm>, accessed June 9, 2009.

Sometime between 966-67, only a few years after Otto I's second trip to Italy, Warmund was elected Bishop of Ivrea.¹⁹ While the exact dates of his episcopacy and the circumstances of his election are unknown, it has been argued that Warmund was likely "appointed in the customary way by the emperor to ensure Ivrea's allegiance to the Roman Empire of the German Nation, and hence curb the thirst for independence of its margrave."²⁰ The "thirsty" Margrave, in this case, was Arduin of Ivrea, and it was Warmund's conflict with Arduin that brought Ivrea to the attention of yet another Roman Emperor, Otto I's grandson, Otto III.

Arduin of Ivrea gathered support against the episcopate of Warmund, as well as other local bishoprics, from local nobles concerned with the rescission or episcopal grants, as well as the dwindling territories of the local marches.²¹ Arduin's military campaign included an attack on the nearby Bishopric of Vercelli, a siege that ended in the burning of the Cathedral of Vercelli and the death of Bishop Peter and all of his canons. Though Arduin is said to have made partial reparations to Pope Sylvester II in 999 for the killing of Peter, Arduin blamed the "excesses which led to the death of the bishop on his followers."²² Following several public attempts to warn Arduin of Ivrea that his behavior did not please the church, Warmund excommunicated the margrave; the text of which is preserved in one of the liturgical books commissioned by Warmund.²³ During this period of tension, Otto III sided with Warmund by publicly

¹⁹ Mariaux suggests that the exact date of Warmund's elevation may be known: March 7, 966. For a discussion of the possible dates for the election of Warmund, see Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images*, esp. 10, 55 and 90.

²⁰ Luigi Bettazi, "The Codex of Warmundus" in *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea*, XXIII. Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," 365, also argues that Warmund remained a staunch defender of the Church against the claims of local nobles. It is worth noting that the greatest number of "imported" bishops date from the reigns of Otto III and Henry II. Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," 370.

²¹ Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," 365.

²² Sergi, "The Kingdom of Italy," 365.

²³ Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, Cod. XX (10) *Benedictiones Pontificum per totius annu circulum* contains a sermon of Warmund "contra Ardoinum et Amedeum fraters rebelles ecclesie et contra milites tenentes terram Sancte Marie

condemning his rebellious adversary at the Easter Synod in Rome, where Warmund is also believed to have been present.

Despite the protests of Bishop and Pope, upon the death of Otto III, Arduin was finally crowned King of Italy in Pavia on May 15, 1002. His reign was short-lived when, only two years later, Arduin found himself in combat with yet another aspiring emperor, Henry II. Though Henry would be recognized as King of Italy, and then Emperor, the politics or ritual and recognition continued. The German King was not received in Pavia, where the Italian kings before him including Arduin, had been crowned, so as recalled by Arnulf of Milan in the *Liber Gestorum Recentium*, Henry II “burned the entire city in a single conflagration. All of Italy was horrified by this and likewise extremely fearful.”²⁴

After fighting for, gaining and losing the Italian crown Arduin, abdicated his long-sought throne and entered the Benedictine Abbey of Fruttuaria. As remembered by Arnulf of Milan:

In the end, worn down by labor and sickness and deprived of his kingdom, he was content with the monastery named Fruttuaria alone. There, after the regalia had been placed upon the altar and he had donned the habit of a pauper, he fell asleep in his own time (14 December 1015).²⁵

Even in death Arduin’s memory was intertwined with Warmund. For many years Warmund was remembered to have blessed the foundation of the Abbey on February 23, 1003. It has been suggested that Arduin’s monastic retirement was an admission that his excommunication by Warmund troubled the nobleman and thus Arduin’s abdication and entry into a monastic house

Yporegie.” For a translation of several letters relating to the conflict between Warmund and Arduin, see Luigo Bettazi, “The Codex of Warmundus,” XXVII, especially the sermon threatening Arduin with excommunication (XXIV), the excommunication of Arduin, as pronounced at the Cathedral in Ivrea (XXV) followed by the excommunication formula (XXV), a letter from Warmund to Pope Gregory (XXVI), a letter from Pope Gregory V to Arduin (XXVI) and finally the public condemnation of Arduin by Sylvester II, Gregory’s successor, and Otto III at a Synod in Rome (XXVI).

²⁴ *Liber Gestorum Recentium*, Book I, XVI.

²⁵ *Liber Gestorum Recentium*, Book I, XVI.

reconciled the former foes.²⁶ No matter the relationship between Arduin and Warmund at the end of his life, the fate of the March had been sealed. At Arduin's death the March of Ivrea was redistributed by the succeeding Ottonian emperors and with it the threat of its secular elite dissipated. The episcopate of Ivrea, however, continued to be a significant ally of another aspiring Emperor, Conrad II. After facing competition to his candidacy from Burgundian and Italian noble families, Conrad celebrated Christmas 1026 in Ivrea where he received fealty from his former foes before travelling to Rome to be crowned Roman Emperor.²⁷

Ultimately Arduin, Margrave of Ivrea, is remembered as a King of Italy, an adversary to two emperors, an excommunicated nobleman, and finally, a Benedictine monastic. How one perceives and contextualizes this complex series of historical events, and their ideological outcomes, also shapes the historiography of the *Warmund Sacramentary*. In the following pages we will look at the work of three scholars, Luigi Magnani, Robert Deshman, and Pierre-Alain Mariaux. For each, the *Sacramentary* isolated an essential aspect of eleventh-century art and politics, especially the complex relationship between episcopate and empire.

Magnani, Morandi & Medieval 'Modernism'

The earliest complete publication of the *Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea* was spurred by the restoration of twenty-three manuscripts from the scriptorium at Ivrea by the Vatican

²⁶ While Warmund is remembered in the blessing of Fruttuaria, modern scholarship suggests it is more likely that this blessing was performed by Warmund's successor, Ottobian. Ottobian may have been an ally of Arduin long before his reconciliation with the Church; during Arduin's final campaign against the imperial bishops of northern Italy, Ivrea was spared, "because its new bishop, Ottobian, had been on Arduin's side." Bettazi, "The Codex of Warmundus," XXVII.

²⁷ Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms*, trans. Denise Adele Kaiser (University Park, 2006), 102. Conrad received a delegation from Rudolf of Burgundy while in Ivrea. From here Rudolf traveled with Conrad by way of Pavia, where Conrad was crowned King of Italy, and then, finally, to Rome, where on April 26, 1027 Conrad was crowned Emperor.

Library in 1913-1914.²⁸ *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici Warmundiani* served as the first comprehensive review of the miniatures from the *Sacramentary*. Begun in 1922 by Monsignor Marco Vattasso, the study was completed upon Vattasso's death by Luigi Magnani, a former student of the well-known scholar of Italian medieval art, Pietro Toesca.²⁹

Magnani's study begins with a brief exposition on the make-up of the *Sacramentary* and the *vita* of Bishop Warmund. The bulk of his text is composed of descriptions of the miniatures and transcriptions of the inscriptions included in and surrounding the miniatures. In the final few pages Magnani discusses the style of the miniatures and the "spontaneous effect" or "freedoms" of the miniatures' artists. In describing the overarching style of the miniatures, for example, Magnani remarks that the dependence one may see in the iconographic program does not translate to the miniatures:

This dependence, however, cannot be equally recognized in their style, since in composing his figures the miniaturist was guided by an artless freedom into drawing them with a nice attention to detail, firm outlines, and lively attitudes, thus creating a simple, spontaneous effect, even when certain patterns were imposed on him by tradition.³⁰

²⁸ Luigi Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici warmundiani*, *Codici Ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothece Delecti Phototypice Expressi Iussu PII XI Pont. Max. Consilio Et Studio Procuratorum Bybliothecae Vaticanae VI*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City, 1934) and also reprinted in the facsimile edition *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea: fine secolo X : Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 31 LXXXVI*, (Turin, 1990) 121-142. Magnani's text was also translated in to English in "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium: and other Warmundian Codices," 151-174 and French in "Les Miniatures du Sacramentaire d'Ivrée et d'autres codes warmundiens," 181-205. There is an earlier publication that includes most of the miniatures from the manuscript; Gerhard Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*. N.S. 5, 1931, 131 ff. While Ladner's publication may not be dedicated entirely to the manuscript, it is here that many of the theories about the manuscript's iconography are established, in particular the number of hands present in the illumination as well as a hypothesis about the division of labor. For a summary of the relationship between Ladner and Magnani's text, see John Shapley's review, "Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea dale origini al XV secolo," *Art Bulletin*, 17 (1935): 408-409.

²⁹ See, for example, the posthumously published, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del Quattrocento* (Turin, 1966).

³⁰ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 166. This and all subsequent quotations and page numbers are from excerpted portions of Magnani's original text as included in the trilingual facsimile of the *Sacramentary*. *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea* rather than the original 1934 publication by Magnani. The Italian text reads: "Questa dipendenza tuttavia non si può riconoscere ugualmente nello stile, ch   un'ingenua libert   guida il miniatore nel comporre le sue figure, disegnate sottilmente, con fermezza di contorni, con vivacit   di

Magnani's focus on the liveliness of the figures continues throughout his iconographic analysis to his concluding remarks concerning the manuscript's style. Magnani sees in the imagery something more like an emerging *Renaissance*, rather than a *renovatio*. What Magnani calls "*fuggevoli aspetti naturalistici*" or "fleeting natural aspects" are not possible influences of Ottonian art (and here read beyond-the-Alps Ottonian art) but instead are seen as "from the ancient tradition still alive and an active force in Italy."³¹ Magnani concludes that there is nothing so simple as a "national" or regional style in ninth- through eleventh-century painting, but he does give agency to the medieval artist in general, and in particular to the artist (or artists) of the Ivrea Sacramentary.³²

Magnani dates the manuscript to the reign of Otto III -- more specifically sometime before Otto's death in 1002-- because he believes the Otto being crowned by the Virgin "*pro bene defenso Warmundo*" on folio 160v must be Otto III (**fig. 6**). The partial-folio miniature depicts the vesting of a royal figure with the symbols of his office, the crown and the scepter, by the Virgin Mary. The two figures are painted before a saturated red background, which echoes the border of the Virgin's Byzantine-inspired regalia. Magnani recalls that Otto III had been "of great assistance to Warmund in the struggle he had to wage against Arduin, Marquis of Ivrea."³³

atteggiamenti, apparendo semplice e spontaneo anche là ove la tradizione gl'impose schemi." Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea*, 135.

³¹ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 168.

³² According to Mariaux's hypothesis as to the re-dating of the manuscript, there are at least five hands present in the miniatures that make up the present-day sacramentary; masters A, B, C, D, and E. The over-arching style of these individual hands is quite similar, especially A and B with D, and C to E. Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images*, 242-246.

³³ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 151. In his review of Magnani's publication J. Shapley argues that the inclusion of the phrase *Warmundo preasule facto* actually dates the manuscript to the reign of Otto I (962-973), as it is likely that Warmund was installed by Otto. J. Shapley, "Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea dale origini al XV secolo, *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 408-409.

Furthermore, Magnani interprets the *Otoni* mentioned in the liturgical text following the miniature as an active, living person, *imperatoris nostro Otoni*.³⁴

It is not surprising that Magnani would see a response by the artist to the specific circumstance of history here. His focus on the miniaturists' artistic interpretations as "lively," "animated," or "ingenious" extends to an articulation of the miniatures as observations of real life events. In particular, he refutes the notion that these images are reflections of mere models and instead sees in their execution "creative spirit" or "free play."³⁵ In his discussion of many of the liturgical miniatures Magnani assumes a kind of first-hand experience or perspective. Magnani even speaks of "the presence of a moving spirit, perhaps Warmundus himself" in the depiction of the miniatures.³⁶ He calls attention to the three portraits of Warmund in the manuscript, "deep in *prayer*" at the opening of the canon, fol. 13 (**fig. 3**), *blessing* the Chrim, fol. 52v (**fig. 4**), and "in *adoration*" before the Crucifixion, fol. 57v (**fig. 5**).³⁷ Magnani's descriptions merge the liturgical image with the liturgical act, just as the original rites must have inspired artistic invention.³⁸

Magnani's focus on the vibrant stylistic qualities of the miniatures as evidence of the tendencies of artists in northern Italy towards individualism is not unusual for the early twentieth century and we should not critique it as such here. But reflecting on Magnani's better-known

³⁴ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 151. See also L.G. Provana, *Studi critici sovra la storia d'Italia a' tempi del re Arduino* (Turin, 1884), 338, 244 and Hartman, IV, I, 129.

³⁵ For example, "Yet even within these conventional patterns and these canons, the artist could equally or, even better, let his *creative spirit* have *free play* because he was unhampered by the intellectual hindrance of having to seek out and choose his representations and could sometimes instill particular touches into his work." Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 168. Emphasis mine.

³⁶ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 153.

³⁷ Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 153, also 155, 157, and 162.

³⁸ In this way Magnani's argument could be seen as a kind of precursor to Pierre-Alain Mariaux, "The Bishop as Artist? The Eucharist and Image Theory around the Millennium," in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. Sean J. Gilsdorf (Münster: 2004), 155-167.

work in early modern music and literature, as well as his renowned art collection,³⁹ it is tempting to see in his description of the *Sacramentary*'s dynamic energy and its rejection of tradition something of the emerging modernist aesthetic of the painters he collected. There may be more of the legacy of Giorgio Morandi in Magnani's description of the *Sacramentary* than there is of the original medieval artisans.⁴⁰

Magnani's work on the manuscript, however, has been influential – and this is precisely the reason that we begin with it here. As perhaps the first in a series of proclamations for the function of the manuscript as an *Italian* work of art, Magnani, while acknowledging the imperial relevance of the manuscript's iconography, sees the codex as a distinctly local (and specifically *Italian*) artifact. This point is made clearer through the inclusion of Magnani's text, rather than a more current or newly commissioned study of the manuscript's imagery, in the 1990 facsimile edition of the *Sacramentary* published by the Diocese of Ivrea and the publishers Priuli and Verlucca of Turin.⁴¹

A fitting extension of Magnani's celebration of an emerging Italian artistic independence, the facsimile provides evidence of the significance of the episcopate and the city of Ivrea as well as the heroics of its Bishop-Saint Warmund. The Cathedral of Ivrea is the keeper of the cult of St. Warmund, who was only canonized in the nineteenth century.⁴² Even beyond the sanctity of

³⁹ Now the public museum and foundation "Magnani Rocca" housed in the family's ancestral castle near Parma.

⁴⁰ Magnani had a substantial collection of works by the Italian modernist Giorgio Morandi. "Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions," *The Burlington Magazine*, Italian Painting and Drawing 1400-1600 96/615 (1954): 193-194, esp. 194.

⁴¹ *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea: fine secolo X : Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 31 LXXXVI* (Turin, 1990).

⁴² According to Luigi Bettazi, "Warmundus was beatified on 17 September 1857 in response to submissions put forward by Mons. Moreno, Bishop of Ivrea, and probably the author of an anonymous biography of Warmundus published on that occasion." Bettazi, "The Codex of Warmundus," XXX. His feast day is celebrated on November 13 with all the other bishop-saints of Ivrea.

the cathedral proper, the cult of St. Warmund is preserved in the very fabric of Ivrea; two major streets in the historical centers of the town, via Arduino and via Varmondo reference their clash, but also their connection. In Ivrea and the Piedmont, Warmund is often remembered, although the evidence is vague, as having come from a noble Italian family, the Arborio family of Vercelli.⁴³ No matter the circumstances of his birth or appointment, he is recognized for his protection of the town in a dangerous time.

Arduin, however, is equally celebrated in Ivrea and the Canavese. Over a long weekend in July, a local festival recreates the battle at Sparone, deftly avoiding Arduin's conflict with Warmund, and instead remembering his routing and expulsion of Henry II. The *Rievocazione storica di Re Arduino*, begun by the *Gruppo Storica la Motta* in 1986, claims to celebrate "daily life" in the year 1000, as well as the Italian King and resident of the Castle Sparone, Arduin. Advertisements for the event specifically notes Arduin's heroic defeat of a foreign enemy, in this case the German Emperor Henry II, and includes the royal coronation miniature from the *Sacramentary of Warmund*, fol. 2 (**fig. 1**).⁴⁴

Not the famous vesting of Otto, which may recall Arduin's excommunication and the need for the "good defense" of a foreign emperor, the coronation miniature elides regional kingships and allows the medieval miniature to be re-contextualized for the modern reenactment. While the image on the website is removed from its original (and liturgical) context its ambiguous re-use as a maker of Arduin's role as King of Italy suggests possible meanings for the inclusion and illustration of the rite in *Warmund's Sacramentary*. The miniature is included in

⁴³ The full street name in Ivrea is Via Varmondo Arborio. Bettazi, "The Codex of Warmundus," XXIII; Magnani, "The Miniatures of the Ivrea Sacramentarium," 153.

⁴⁴ "Arduino un uomo a cavallo di due millenni," *Gruppo Storico La Motta*, <http://www.lamotta.it/Arduino.html>, accessed June 4, 2009.

the opening folios of the manuscript illustrating the so-called “earliest and purest” edition of the early German Coronation *ordo*. A derivative of this *ordo* may have been used for the coronation of Otto III at Aachen and the coronation of Ardiun (or even Henry) at Pavia.⁴⁵ In its details, however, and quite literally in the detailed view of the miniature the website provides, the image also reminds us that the sacral authority of the king is conferred by the bishop.⁴⁶

Deshman in the “details”

These specific iconographic details, as well as their liturgical and artistic precedents, lead to a second significant period in the manuscript’s historiography. As medieval scholars came to know better the miniatures and the remarkable historical situation in Ivrea, attention shifted from the overall style and iconographic origins of the manuscript to iconographic details of a few select miniatures. Images of kingship, in particular, were mined as iconographic exempla of the imperial church system at work. Smaller in scope than Magnani’s study, but perhaps more influential, is an article by Robert Deshman devoted to the imperial overtones of the manuscript. “Otto III and the *Warmund Sacramentary*: A Study in Political Theology,” published in 1971 in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, further cemented a relationship between the *Sacramentary* and Ottonian imperial aspirations that would characterize discussions of the manuscript for the next three decades.⁴⁷ Focusing on the image of anointing and coronation on folio two recto, Deshman

⁴⁵ The early version included in the *Ivrea Sacramentary* is considered the basic source for the *Mainz Ordo*, which was used for the royal consecration of Otto III. Deshman, “Otto III and the *Warmund Sacramentary*,” 1, n. 6. For a discussion of the *ordo*, see C. Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, ed. F. Baethgen (Berlin, 1951), 63 f, 65 ff, 83 ff; and P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, III (Stuttgart, 1969), 87 ff.

⁴⁶ Two vials for the holy unction included at the far right of the miniature will be discussed in greater detail below.

⁴⁷ Deshman’s article has been essential to understanding of the imperial significance of this provincial production. For example, in his discussion of the miniatures depicting the liturgy for the sick and the dead, Patrick Geary’s

introduced the manuscript to mainstream Ottonian studies as a political statement about the regal and sacerdotal authority of the Emperor Otto III. The manuscript seemed, to Deshman, to offer “visual proof” of an Imperial Church System at work.

Deshman focused on a small, but significant iconographic detail included in the opening folios of the *Sacramentary*. The miniature depicts the coronation and anointing of a king and prefaces the *Ordo Regem benedicendum*, fol. 2 (**fig.1**). The king stands to the right of a round altar and extends his open palms towards the presiding bishop behind the altar.⁴⁸ Two additional bishops, identified by their vestments and pallia, stand behind the king and lay their hands on his shoulders. A deacon stands at the left, behind the bishop crowning the king, and a small group of clerics stand behind the bishops at the right. One of the members of the last group holds the double vial of oil. The vials are painted alternately white and blue.

The double ampullae depicted in the coronation miniature, as well as the repetition of this iconographic motif in a number of the subsequent baptismal miniatures, reflected Carolingian innovation in the baptismal liturgies as well as the “double anointing” of the Ottonian emperor as both king and priest. Interestingly the miniatures cannot be seen to “illustrate” the textual *ordo* included in the manuscript, which requires that the king be anointed with only one type of oil.⁴⁹ Instead, Deshman argues that the manuscript and its illustrations recognize an imperial “liturgical theology” and that it must have been made in an effort to legitimize the role of Otto III in the politics of northern Italy.

refers to the *Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea* as having “imperial origins.” Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), 54.

⁴⁸ My thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, who remarked to me that a round altar is unusual in medieval iconography and that this element of the miniature could instead be a podium of some sort for the crown. While there is no mention of such a podium in the text of the *ordo*, the altar is specifically mentioned, although not at the moment depicted in the miniature. This is an iconographic anomaly worthy of further investigation.

⁴⁹ Deshman, “Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary,” 1.

As further evidence for this reading, Deshman focuses on the half-folio miniature on folio 160v (**fig. 6**), which depicts the vesting of a royal figure with the symbols of his office, the crown and the scepter, by the Virgin Mary and its accompanying inscription: *pro bene defenso Warmundo presule facto munere to dono Caesar diadematis otto*, must acknowledge Emperor Otto III's support of Bishop Warmund during his battle with Arduin and the public condemnation of Arduin for his rebellious activities against the Church and Empire.⁵⁰ Contesting John Shapley, who had favorably reviewed Magnani's book, but disagreed with Magnani's identification of the Otto in the miniature as Otto III, Deshman argued that during a contest with the local margrave Ardiun the bishop was deposed and forced to leave Ivrea. Following Arduin's defeat, then, Otto III would have had to re-install Warmund. While there is little historical documentation to support these claims, according to Deshman the *bene defenso* from the miniature's inscription must refer to this second installation of Warmund by Otto III, especially because there "is no evidence of any sort of defense of Warmund by Otto I."⁵¹ Ultimately, Deshman ranks this miniature "among the finest achievements of Ottonian manuscript illumination."⁵²

Ironically, this miniature, which embodies the "animated" style that Magnani so admired, is of the manuscript's program among the most difficult to read. The two figures are painted before a saturated red background, which echoes the border of the Virgin's Byzantine-inspired regalia, red stole, and mantle, as well as the red-toned fur trim of the knee-length tunic of the royal figure. Furthermore, the partial-folio miniature, as compared to the many full-folio miniatures included in the codex, including the five other illustrated here, appears almost

⁵⁰ *O Emperor Otto, I give thee the crown because thou hast well defended Bishop Warmundus*, as translated by Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary," 1.

⁵² Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary," 1.

peripheral, inserted between the *Mass for the Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church* and before the rubric for the *Mass for Kings*.

In seeing this manuscript, and in particular this portrait of Otto, as worthy of its Ottonian moniker, Deshman overlooks Warmund suggesting that perhaps the manuscript's elaborate and imperial pictorial cycle was the invention of another more significant (and better connected) bishop, Leo of Vercelli.⁵³ While situating the manuscript solidly within mainstream Ottonian (imperial) art, Deshman's interpretation of the manuscript strains its connection to the episcopate of Ivrea. Perhaps because this article is an offshoot of Deshman's larger interest in the *Benedictional of Aethelwold* he does not deal with all of the miniatures included in the *Sacramentary of Warmund*, nor does he rationalize this manuscript's commission with the many others produced within Warmund's cathedral scriptorium.⁵⁴ In fact, Deshman never mentions the portrait of the manuscript's patron on folio 52v, even though this portrait depicts Bishop Warmund blessing the Chrism, or Holy Oil, which was to be carried in the double ampullae included in the coronation miniature from the beginning of the manuscript (**fig. 4**). As will be discussed further below, when seen *through* the miniature of Warmund's blessing, the dual ampullae of chrism in the background of the coronation miniature may say less about sacral kingship and more about the sacerdotal privilege and responsibilities of a bishop.

⁵³ Deshman states that Warmund might have received the instructions necessary for such a complicated, politically motivated program from visits to court, although he was only a "minor provincial supporter of the emperor." Though he finds Warmund's relationship with Leo of Vercelli a more convincing source of information: "an almost contemporary source explicitly describes Warmund as a follower of Leo." Deshman, "Otto III and the *Warmund Sacramentary*," 16.

⁵⁴ Deshman writes that the sacramentary from Ivrea may have been created from a model with some Anglo-Saxon influence. See "The Iconography of the Full-Page Miniatures of the *Benedictional of Aethelwold*" (Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 1971) 43-46; Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton, 1995), 194.

Mariaux and Iconographies of the Episcopacy

Deshman's work, as a reflection of the tight scholarly focus on a "*Reichskirchesystem*," denied the agency of its individual members, particularly its bishops, which in turn slanted art-historical readings of patronage in favor of imperial connotations. The north Italian manuscript was now recognized as a marker of Ottonian imperial ideologies even though the episcopal prayer book had little to do with traditional imperial production and was most likely never even seen, or meant to be seen, by an emperor. Further, reconsiderations of the feasibility of a "*Reichskirchesystem*," especially in the territories of northern Italy, and an evolving interest in the complexity of the episcopal office as well as episcopal authority and identity has spurred a revised history of the *Sacramentary of Warmund*.⁵⁵ Pierre Alain Mariaux's *Warmond d'Ivree et ses images: Politique et creation iconographique autour de l'an mil* argues that Bishop Warmund was a sophisticated patron of the arts who was almost certainly responsible for producing not only one, but two episcopal sacramentaries and at least three other illuminated liturgical books.⁵⁶

By focusing on historical and ecclesiastical contexts Mariaux reclaims the *Sacramentary* for Warmund and even assigns a new date for the manuscript's production, c. 980-996 rather than c. 1000-1002. In re-dating the manuscript and its production, Mariaux identifies the Otto on folio 160v as Otto I rather than Otto III (**fig. 6**). Mariaux rejects Deshman's argument stating that Deshman too simply (or too quickly) omitted the term "*facto*" from his translation of the

⁵⁵ Two recent anthologies on the medieval episcopacy celebrate the complex and significant role of bishops across the Middle Ages. *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Burlington, VT, 2007) and *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. Sean Gilsdorf (Münster: 2004).

⁵⁶ Mariaux's book is derived from his doctoral dissertation, "Entre le scepter et la crosse: portrait d'un évêque du Xe siècle," (Ph.D. diss. Université de Lausanne, 1997).

inscription surrounding the miniature of Otto and the Virgin Mary.⁵⁷ Given that Warmund would have still been considered the legal bishop of Ivrea, despite his expulsion by the rebellious Ardiun, he would not have needed to be re-instated. Furthermore, Mariaux cites three significant historical events where the Virgin Mary might have recognized Otto I's "good defense of Warmund." The first is the battle between Otto I and Adalbert (968-969), the second the battle at Cap Colonne (982), and the third, a conflict between Warmund and Arduin that predates the Margrave's excommunication (989-990).⁵⁸

Mariaux situates his study of the manuscript within the episcopal milieu of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and reads the *Sacramentary* as a celebration of the various authorities and privileges enjoyed by the local bishop, placing Warmund alongside such other Italian reformers as Rather of Verona. Furthermore, Mariaux suggests that the *Sacramentary*, as it exists today, may actually represent a compilation of *libelli* rather than a single commission.⁵⁹ In other words, the *Sacramentary* does not isolate a single moment in the episcopal career of Warmund, but the culmination of many years, and in turn, it may articulate many facets of the episcopal office.

In the end Mariaux outlines a dynamic, tripartite rationale for episcopal power and authority. First, as seen in folio 160v, Warmund's authority is, in part, derived from or at least dependent upon the "good defense" of an Emperor (**fig. 1**). Second, as can be seen in folio 52v (**fig. 6**), Warmund's authority is derived from the bishop's relationship to Christ. Third, as is recognized in the manuscript's dedicatory inscription, *Bishop Warmundus offers Thee this book*,

⁵⁷ The full inscription reads: *pro bene defenso Warmunduso presule facto munere to dono Caesar diadematis otto*. Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, pp. 93-94, argues that the image recognizes the appointment of Warmund to the position of bishop, rather than cooperation of the bishop and the emperor against the Margrave Arduin., thus dating the manuscript to c. 972 (or 980).

⁵⁸ Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 86-93.

⁵⁹ Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 241-248.

O Virgin, the dedication of the Cathedral Church to Santa Maria and, again, the coronation on folio 160v (**fig. 4**), Mariaux argues that a significant aspect of Warmund's power derived from his devotion to the Virgin Mary.⁶⁰ Mariaux refutes Deshman's argument that the manuscript refers to the politico-theological concept of Ottonian kingship and argues that the *Sacramentary*, as well as other works patronized by Warmund, have much more to say about the nuances of the episcopacy than the theologies of empire.⁶¹

Warmund: Re-centered or “in the Middle”

From the Italian to Ottonian, from imperial to episcopal, the historiography of the *Sacramentary of Warmund* of Ivrea highlights the construction (and reconstruction) of center/periphery geographically, historically and institutionally. As is true for the devolution of the *Reichskirchensystem*, Ottonian and episcopal studies are now more frequently defined by unique examples that isolate a specific set of historical circumstances from which we hope to draw, albeit cautiously, some larger significance for medieval studies. And so this essay, too, returns to the experience of the *Sacramentary of Warmund* in an attempt to negotiate the best aspects of the work of Magnani, Deshman, and Mariaux. In bringing together the artistic, the

⁶⁰ Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 131-192. The dedicatory inscription can be found on Fol. 11 verso: *Hunc tibi dat libri praesul Warmundus habendum Virgo Maria vicem vitam sibi redde prehennem*.

⁶¹ Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 76-84 argues that the manuscript was the work of Warmund himself in direct opposition to the earlier conclusions drawn by Deshman, who saw in the miniatures the influence of someone connected more closely to the emperor, like Leo of Vercelli. The biggest problem that Mariaux' work poses for Deshman's theory is that the manuscript was not likely created at one time. Deshman suggests that an image of royal anointing and series of images of baptism build on one another to establish an imperially focused political theology that acknowledges the dual roles of the emperor as king and priest through the depiction of double vials of chrism. As Mariaux argues, some of the miniatures included in this “development” are of different hands and different styles and so were created at different times, perhaps even under different emperors. Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 241-248, esp. 243.

imperial and the episcopal, we see Warmund, too, as a “negotiator,” or at least we might argue he is depicted as one in his *Sacramentary*.

A good starting place for our re-vision would be the concluding question in Adam Cohen’s favorable review of Mariaux’s book:

Is it possible to reconcile Mariaux’s view of Warmund as a bishop concerned primarily with the ideological inflation of his own office with Deshman’s view of Warmund as an articulator of imperial propaganda?⁶²

In this question also lies an inquiry as to the state of the research in Ottonian art. What does one do with a Church that is more complexly and independently ordered than that envisioned by proponents of the *Reichskichensystem*? Is it possible to have an “Ottonian Italy” even if some works of art cannot be defined by imperial ideals or associated with specific Ottonian emperors? Could it be, in this example, where we must negotiate Otto alongside Arduin, the imperial alongside Italian, and that we begin to see Ottonian as best defined by its negotiation or *mediation* of other ideas (or ideals) of the empire and the episcopacy; of the socio-political and the liturgical?

In an attempt to answer Cohen’s question, it may be possible to see Warmund as a bishop who recognizes imperial propaganda, if for no other reason than that it is so closely aligned with the episcopal ideal. I agree with Mariaux that the *Sacramentary of Warmund* should be seen as a distinctly episcopal commission with an iconography centered upon episcopal networks of power. By focusing attention on the miniatures of Warmund that highlight the *performance* of the liturgy one also sees the manuscript as the beginning of a “self-conscious” liturgical iconography of episcopal authority and as an authority dependent upon a negotiation of imperial

⁶²Adam Cohen, “Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Warmund d’Ivrée et ses images. Politique et création iconographique autour de l’an mil* (Bern, 2002),” in *Speculum* 79 (2004): 795–798, esp. 797.

(and social) ideals.⁶³ My own assessment of the manuscript and its place in Ottonian scholarship depends greatly on the work of Deshman and Mariaux – as well as on Eric Palazzo’s description of liturgical iconographies—and considers the manuscript as an exemplum of “liturgically focused” Ottonian iconography.⁶⁴

What is Ottonian about this manuscript, then, is not limited to what is imperial about it. For Deshman, the imperial negated the episcopal; for Mariaux, the episcopal deemed the imperial almost entirely unnecessary. By focusing specifically on the images of Warmund we may see the “Ottonian character” of the manuscript in those aspects that lie “in between.” As a distinctly liturgical and episcopal document, the manuscript, like the liturgy, negotiates the sacred and the secular, the imperial and the episcopal, and even the Italian and Ottonian.

Ignored by Deshman, and treated only briefly by other scholars of the *Sacramentary*, folio 52v includes a full-folio depiction of the bishop blessing the chrism, or the Holy Oil (**fig. 4**).⁶⁵ The Chrism, used in liturgical rites from Baptism to the Extreme Unction, marks the passage of life for the medieval Christian. Furthermore, as the oil used in coronation and consecration, the Chrism asserts the sacred privilege of the bishop (or pope) in defining secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies.

The miniature of Warmund depicts the bishop standing to the left of the altar accompanied by a deacon on the right. Warmund is dressed in the episcopal dalmatic, chasuble

⁶³ Evan A. Gatti, “Developing an Iconography of the Episcopacy: Liturgical Portraiture and Episcopal Politics in Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Manuscripts,” (Ph.D. diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005).

⁶⁴ Gatti, 103-125. Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998) and *L'Évêque et son image: L'illustration du Pontifical au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 1999).

⁶⁵ To my knowledge, only two other manuscripts depict the liturgical rite of the blessing of the chrism. The *Drogo Sacramentary*, includes the rite twice, on one of the ivory panels on its the cover and in of the small illuminated initials on folio forty-six verso. Second, a Benedictional from Bari (Bari, Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Benedizionale, c. 11th century) shows a bishop blessing a vial of holy oil, followed by an image of the bishop blessing the baptismal waters.

and pallium and is marked as a blessed, living figure by his square halo. The two figures are framed by a decorative arch topped by a knot of interlace, from which hangs a votive crown. The deacon, who stands to the right of the altar, holds a large green ampulla containing the chrism, which is being blessed by Warmund who gestures towards the vessel with his right hand. Above the figures of the clerics and beneath the decorated arch is the inscription: *Chrisma beat christus quo surgit nobile nomen*. The prayer from which the inscription is derived can be found towards the end of the chrismal rite: ... *a cuius sancto nomine chrisma accepit*.⁶⁶ This inscription recognizes the most significant aspect of chrismal anointing for Christianity, as noted by Gerard Austin. “Rich in Old Testament typology, it [chrismal anointing] reaches its crescendo in Christ, the Anointed One: ‘It is from him that chrism takes its name.’”⁶⁷

The liturgical gesture is linked to Old Testament acts of anointing that symbolized divine selection and suggested that the anointed sets him or herself in the service of the Lord.⁶⁸ By 215, the use of holy oil in baptismal ceremonies, as defined by Hippolytus’ *Apostolic Tradition*, linked the blessing of the chrism, and thereby the right to recognize one’s “divine selection,” to the office of the bishop.⁶⁹ The ceremony, originally concelebrated with up to as many as twelve other priests, further asserts the liturgical blessing as a symbol of the clerical hierarchy.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ The full text reads: (fol. 53v)... Te igitur depraecamus, domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, per eundem Iesum Christum filium tuum dominum nostrum, ut huius creaturae pinguedinem sanctificare tua benedictione (fol. 54 r) digneris, et sancti spiritus ei ammiscere virtute[m] cooperante potentia Christi tui, a cuius sancto nomine chrisma accepit. An English translation of the rite (as derived from the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, which is very similar to that found in the *Warmund Sacramentary*), can be found in Gerard Austin, *Anointing with the Spirit: the Rite of Confirmation: The Use of Oil and Chrism* (New York, 1985), 107-109.

⁶⁷ Austin, *Anointing with the Spirit*, 109.

⁶⁸ Antonio Donghi, *Actions and Words: Symbolic Language and the Liturgy*, trans. William McDonough and Dominic Serra; English text eds. Mark Twomey and Elizabeth L. Montgomery (Collegeville, Minn, 1997), 61. As noted by the inscription above the Chrism miniature, the gesture also has connotations that derive from the New Testament. “Luke regards Jesus’ own anointing with the Spirit” (Acts 10:38). The Christian is called to enter into, and to share in, that anointing. The author of 1 John says: “You have been anointed by the Holy One” (1 Jn 2:20) Austin, *Anointing with the Spirit*, 99.

Following the writing of Rather of Verona, Mariaux argues that in the act of blessing the chrism, the bishop *is* Christ.⁷¹ The blessing of the chrism refers to the mystery of the incarnation during which Christ *appears* to the faithful in the guise of the celebrant, or as in the case of Warmund, in the *person* of the bishop.⁷² The miniature, which depicts the bishop Warmund in a full-folio miniature complete with the square halo of the living, reiterates Warmund's physical (and episcopal) body just as the rite, the blessing of the Chrism, affirms Warmund's local, social, and political significance.

The chrismal blessing had multiple functions in medieval society. The oil blessed during the ritual represented in the Warmund manuscript can be linked to the celebration of baptism, the anointing of kings, the ordination of clerics, and the anointing of the sick and the dead, all rites not simply included in the *Sacramentary*, as they would be in many sacramentaries, but illustrated with accompanying miniatures. The socio-political function of the chrism marked a growing separation between lay and clerical privileges. As Michael Enright argues in his book dedicated to the origins of the Frankish anointing ritual,

By the early ninth century, ...the accommodating attitude of the higher clergy toward popular oil practices began to change. Holy Oil began to be assessed from an entirely novel perspective for it was now gradually, if also intermittently, assuming a critical role in the politico-religious and social changes of the time. Indeed, it seems to have been the trigger for some of these changes. As better trained and more sophisticated ecclesiastics came to understand the circumstances they also realized that control of the oil was exceedingly important since it was the perfect lever for enhancing status and increasing their power.⁷³

⁶⁹ Austin, *Anointing with the Spirit*, 100, n. 8. See also Bernard Botte, ed., *La Tradition Apostolique de Sainte Hippolyte* (Münster, 1963), 47ff.

⁷⁰ Austin, *Anointing with the Spirit*, 103.

⁷¹ "...l'évêque *est* le Christ." Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images*, 176. See also Rather of Verona, *Praeloquia*, III, 15, in Peter L.D. Reid, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991) 104.

⁷² Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images*, 176.

⁷³ Michael Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (New York, 1985) 151, n. 179.

As the clerical community began to recognize the significance of the anointing ritual, the privilege was further removed from lay usage, reserving it as a clerical authority and marking the growing separation, yet dependence, of spiritual and secular authorities.

They began by establishing a unique rite of episcopal unction, continued by removing the oil from common lay usage, and ended by converting it into a weapon against kings who had finally been taught to need it.⁷⁴

When understood within its historical and political context Warmund's blessing of the Chrism becomes a more meaningful act, one with heightened social and political as well as spiritual significance. In other words, the blessing of the chrism represents the actions that literally prefigure the liturgical activity pictured in the rest of the manuscript: the coronation and consecration of the King; the ordination of the Bishop; the baptism of Constantine; the miniature for the sacrament of Baptism; and finally, the anointing of the sick and the liturgies for the dead included at the end of the *Sacramentary*.⁷⁵

The portrait of Warmund, as it places the Blessing of the Chrism above the bishop's other liturgical responsibilities, recognizes the bishop's position as a fulcrum upon which local, spiritual and imperial activities are dependent. Calling attention to this particular episcopal privilege does not exclude Warmund's imperial allies, but nor does it exalt them above the rest of the congregation. The discrepancy noted by Deshman between text and image in the manuscript—that the liturgical rites mention only one anointing while the miniatures depict two ampullae—might signal a complex understanding of political theology, but I would add, the full folio of the Blessing of the Chrism calls at least equal attention to the *act* of anointing as it does

⁷⁴ Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons*, 151.

⁷⁵ In addition to the miniature in discussed in detail above the baptism of Constantine is pictured on folio 23v ; the miniature for the sacrament of Baptism on folio 61v; the anointing of the sick and the liturgies for the dead are included on folios 191, 193, 195v, 198v, 199v, 200v, 201v, 203v, 205r and 206v.

to the status of the anointed. Though Deshman may have pushed his reading a bit too far, avoiding the actions of a politically astute and artistically active bishop in favor of a closer link to the empire, his focus on the relationship between the bishop and the emperor was not misplaced. I do not accept Deshman's conclusion that this *Sacramentary* was commissioned by someone other than Warmund, but would suggest that the miniatures, and their liturgical foundations, do emphasize a reciprocal relationship between bishop and king. Rather than articulate the *Reichskirchensystem*, however, the miniatures equivocate the hierarchy of Church to State; affirming episcopal authority as it lies in between; as medium for sacrality, a way to salvation and a marker of sanctity.

Another image of Warmund, included on folio 57v, reinforces Warmund's significance as a *medium*, but in this case, as he negotiates humanity and divinity, or Communion and *communitas* (**fig. 5**). A miniature illustrating the Crucifixion of Christ includes Warmund to the left of the cross, reaching towards the feet of Christ with both arms. He is dressed in Mass vestments, but does not appear with a halo, square or otherwise. The bishop is the smallest figure in the scene and is included below the Virgin Mary and the Roman soldier Longinus, who prepares to pierce the side of Christ with his lance. On the right side of the cross, Stephaton raises his vinegar-soaked sponge while St. John the Blessed looks up towards the face of the dead Christ. Both Mary and John are depicted with haloes. At the base of the miniature, two apostles, also haloed, place the dead Christ in a decorated sarcophagus. An inscription surrounding the miniature makes no mention of the bishop included in the composition: *Custodes tuto Dominum clasere sepulchro/ ΑΓΗΑ ΠΑΝΑΪΑ ΑΓΗΩC ΗΘΗΑΝΝΕC*. The following folio, however, includes the phrase or sequence, *Crux benedicta peto*, or "I petition the

blessed cross,” and follows with a series of prayers, or chants⁷⁶ to be recited by the bishop venerating or exalting the cross.⁷⁷

While there is a quiet, reflective aspect to the visual petition of Warmund, as there would be at the altar, picturing the act of devotion before the prayers underlines the significance of the act by the bishop. As Mariaux noted, because the sequence is not exclusive to the episcopal celebrant, the inclusion of Warmund at the foot of the cross reaffirms his authority at this significant point in the liturgy.⁷⁸ Warmund’s humble posture, paired with the visual evocation of his role in preparation for the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy, reinforce a reading of the miniature as an exclamation of the authority of the episcopacy as it is derived from good service to the larger ecclesiastical community. The private, self-reflective function of the miniature undergirds the simultaneous, public declaration of Warmund’s petitions.

Furthermore, the miniature conflates time, biblical and historical, by including the figure of Warmund before Mary and Longinus and as the fulcrum between the scene of Sacrifice above and the Entombment below. The composition foregrounds Warmund’s role in bringing forth the

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<i>Crux benedicta peto</i>	<i>Mihi me (sic) succurre sacrato</i>
<i>Meque feras domino</i>	<i>Crux benedicta peto.</i>
<i>Crux via syderea</i>	<i>Crux et diadematis aula</i>
<i>Dona salutifera</i>	<i>Crux via sidereal.</i>
<i>Gaudia fer populo</i>	<i>Semper lauderis ab ipso</i>
<i>Auxiliante deo</i>	<i>Gaudia der populo.</i>
<i>Gaudeat et solito</i>	<i>Spiritus de culmine celso</i>
<i>Fidens in Christo</i>	<i>Gaudeat et solito.</i>
<i>Omnibus adde diem</i>	<i>Velevant ut spernere noctem</i>
<i>Dantibus et pacem</i>	<i>Omnibus adde diem.</i>
<i>Sis mihi crux rogito</i>	<i>Sis et bonitas origo</i>
<i>Montis in exitio</i>	<i>Sis mihi crux rogito.</i>
<i>Gloria sit domino</i>	<i>Qui nos cruce serva in aevo</i>
<i>Pendenti ligno</i>	<i>Gloria sit domino</i>

⁷⁷ In the list of liturgies, Magnani cites “at f.58, Sequentia: Crux benedicta peto,” Magnani, “The Miniatures,” *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea*, 33, 151; Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 168.

⁷⁸ “Son apparition précède la sequence Crux benedicta peto, une oration privée pour laquelle il n’est guère besoin d’insister sur la fonction du celebrant. Nous touchons là un point important de la mise en scène de la fonction épiscopale.” Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses Images*, 168

sacrifice, the Body of Christ, during the rite of Communion, as well as the anthropological ideal of *communitas*. A significant part of Victor's Turner's discussion of ritual and liminality, *communitas* is defined as "A relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arise spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances."⁷⁹ In other words, during periods of *communitas*, such as the rite of Communion, the bishop and the congregation exist in a liminal state. As the miniature concludes with the entombment of Christ, where he will remain before the resurrection, so too does the congregation and its Bishop wait, before they will be reunited as the Body of the Church in the Body of Christ.

As with the dedicatory inscriptions found throughout the manuscript, the portraits of Warmund on fifty-two verso and fifty-seven verso focus the bishop's interaction with the prayers and ceremonies included in the text. Both the large-format portrait miniature of the Blessing of the Chrism and the smaller image of the bishop at the Cross, remind Warmund of his role as a mediator, through the blessing of Chrism, for the body Christ and in the pastoral care of his congregation.

With Warmund's role as mediator in mind, we return finally to the pairing of king and cleric at the opening of the Sacramentary. This "pair" of miniatures on folio 2r and 8r respectively are both full-folio images, although neither has the decorative frame employed in the rest of the manuscript (**figs. 1, 2**).⁸⁰ The first, discussed briefly above, depicts the coronation

⁷⁹ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 250. Cynthia Hahn's use of the term *communitas* designates the smaller communities within the universal church. Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001), 132.

⁸⁰ Folio eight includes a full folio miniature with a frame on its verso. Because the ink on the verso is visible though the folio onto the recto, one can see that the scenes showing the ordination of a bishop would easily fit inside the same sized frame; indeed the group of figures witnessing the ordination seem almost crowded by such a boundary. Although the evidence is not so pronounced, the same can be said with regard to folio two, which begins the *ordo regnum benedicendum* on its verso. The miniature on the recto fits easily with the ruling for the text from the verso.

and anointing of a king by a bishop and prefaces the *Ordo Regem benedicendum*. Following on folio 8r, a second miniature is included before the rites for the ordination of a bishop. The ordinand bows before a square altar at the right of the miniature while the bishop-celebrant stands behind the altar and makes a gesture of anointing. A deacon stands behind the candidate holding an open sacramentary, while a group of clerics stands to the far right of the miniature; all hold their arms before them in gestures of prayer and witness.⁸¹

While the miniatures and their accompanying rites recognize distinct offices, an emphasis on sacerdotal privilege seems clear in both. As part of an episcopal sacramentary the real *action* of each miniature, as with its rite, is with the bishop-celebrant. Furthermore, while the ampullae and the oil included in the first miniature are central to the sacral authority of blessing, as Deshman argued, they are also a significant part of sacerdotal privilege. The rite may assert a power beyond the episcopacy but the *enactment* of that rite reinforces the social and spiritual privilege of the bishop.⁸² As argued by Ernst Kantorowicz, Carolingian and Ottonian theories of ‘liturgical kingship’ highlight the significance of such liturgical ceremonies as anointing and consecration in establishing the legitimacy of the Roman Emperor as both *rex et sacerdos*.⁸³ The

Although I am not aware of any pricking or ruling to suggest it to be so, perhaps a frame was planned for both miniatures, but never executed.

⁸¹ Roger Reynolds argued that this miniature, like that of the royal coronation and anointing, does not follow the text of the ritual it is said to illustrate. For example, the candidate for ordination is depicted with an open book across his back. In other manuscripts the gospel book is either held above the head of the episcopal candidate, or has been closed and then placed between the candidate’s shoulders, as is described in the text of the Ivrea codex. Instead of seeing this discrepancy as an oversight or mistake on the part of the artist, Reynolds argues that the miniature refers to the papal ordination liturgy, as it is recorded in the tenth-century Gallicanized *Ordo Romanus XXXV* (*Ordo Romanus*, Besançon MS, London, BL Add. 1522). The text of the *ordo* states that an open gospel book be placed over the candidate and, while still open, placed between the shoulders of the new pope—as is pictured in the Warmund miniature. Roger E. Reynolds, “Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art,” *Gesta* 22/1(1983): 27-38, especially 31.

⁸² If this miniature of the “episcopal” ordination actually depicts the ordination of a pope, as argued by Roger Reynolds, it should be noted that the ordination is still recited and enacted by a bishop. See n. 78.

⁸³ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 61-77.

dual natures of the king, or the emperor, are based *in* a sacerdotal blessing, which is limited to the sacerdotal responsibilities of the bishop. In other words, the pairing of king and cleric at the opening of this manuscript may recognize the significance of the bishop in mediating, as the accompanying episcopal liturgies prescribe, the sacred authority of the king and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁸⁴

Likewise, Sean Gilsdorf suggests in “Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy,” the duties of the bishop are prescribed by the history of the office as “in the Middle.” Gilsdorf suggests that modern historiography, following the rhetoric of Gregory the Great, Hrabanus Maurus and Thietmar of Merseburg, has missed the mark in its analysis of the medieval bishop, seeking to define their intentions as political or pious, when in fact, the bishop’s role as intercessor, even in politics, may have been essential to his function as *sacerdos*. Throughout the Early Middle Ages the bishop was required to exist somewhere in between politics and piety, ideals which must always be mediated, or held in balance. Furthermore, the ideal episcopate lies somewhere in between the antiquity of the office, on the one hand, and the responsibilities of the historical person on the other. For the authority of a bishop might lie in the deeds and acts of those who came before him, the apostles, Christ, the saints, but the performance of that authority lies in a literal touch, the utterance of excommunication, the negotiation of land, the consecration of king; all performed by the living celebrant.

⁸⁴ For an expanded discussion of the early medieval bishop as “intermediary” see Sean Gilsdorf, “Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy” in *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, 51-74.

Conclusion

The historiography of the *Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea* offers the story of a manuscript raised from “obscurity” because of its ties to an Emperor, but which may have much more to say about the complexity of the episcopal office than the imperial one. Current scholarly opinion argues that while the *Sacramentary of Warmund* may picture and even celebrate the rule of the Emperor, it does so in relation to the office of the bishop. While the current state of the manuscript makes it difficult to suggest how the miniatures might have worked together as a program, they serve, nonetheless, as a reflection of the variety of liturgical rituals that would negotiate Warmund’s legitimacy as a local leader.⁸⁵ Whether Warmund used this iconography to celebrate his authority beyond the walls of the Cathedral, or to bolster his own sense of self as bishop, is difficult to assess. No matter what their original intention, these images have marked the *Sacramentary*, and its original owner, with a special significance.⁸⁶

The case of the *Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea* presents us with a person, a place, and most important, a manuscript that resists traditional categories. As the scholarship on the *Reichskirchensystem* has evolved from seeing it as a “normative institution” to a complexly

⁸⁵ Mariaux argues that the present sacramentary is a collection of smaller illustrated *libelli* and specifically that the royal consecration and its companion image of episcopal ordination may have been an independent *libellus* created before or after the illuminated sacramentary. Mariaux, *Warmund d'Ivrée et ses images*, 241-248. In his review of Mariaux, Cohen argues that while “A study of the facsimile would seem to support Mariaux’ codicological and stylistic hypothesis, but this merely attests to an alteration in the design ‘at some point;’ it does not provide sufficient evidence to preclude a period of manufacture spanning the critical years of 999-1002, the reign of Otto III.” Cohen, 797. I have not tried to assign the manuscript to either Otto I or Otto III, but instead have presented the problems surrounding the tenure of both with regard to the territories of northern Italy and Ivrea. While the date of the manuscript is an important question, neither option precludes Warmund as the owner and user of the manuscript.

⁸⁶ Warmund was beatified on September 17, 1857 and his feast day is now celebrated on November 13, with all the saints of the Church of Ivrea. See Bettazi, “The Codex of Warmundus,” XXX. The Cathedral at Ivrea, which is responsible for the cult of St. Warmund, holds the *Sacramentary* in careful reserve allowing some scholars access only to a facsimile, while all the other manuscripts commissioned by the bishop are readily available for study. When I visited the Biblioteca Capitolare in October 2002 I was allowed access to all of the manuscripts commissioned by Warmund except the *Sacramentary of Warmund*. In place of the *Sacramentary* I was allowed access to a particularly accurate version of the facsimile edition, including replication of the trimming of the folios and wormholes, published by the Vatican in 1990. Other versions of the 1990 facsimile edition of the *Sacramentary* that I have consulted, including the one consulted for this essay, are not as accurate in terms of the physical condition of the manuscript, but they provide access to the full text of the *Sacramentary* and its miniatures.

orchestrated “status quo,” so too can we see Ottonian studies as less about a distinctive category for art created under a single imperial mandate than about the complex, varied and dynamic landscape of “co-related territories.” It is the very fact that our subject blurs these boundaries and categories of imperial and episcopal that makes this manuscript “Ottonian.” It’s not that *Ottonian* necessitates a postmodern blurring of meaning, but that these particular ways of pushing at our modern categories might help us see what’s distinctive about the Ottonian art in the first place, even if that distinction is something far less than orderly, or expected categories its name suggests.

I have attempted to present a working definition of *Ottonian* that might make this period seem more essential to scholars of the larger *Middle Ages*. Or, perhaps, give meaning to its place in-between, but hopefully not in the gutter, of the Art History survey. More than a revival of the Carolingian period, a reflection of the Byzantine, or a precursor to the Romanesque (or Proto-Romanesque), Ottonian art occupies a space in between. It is a period in which the success of the Saxons and Salians depends on the negotiation of a turbulent and capricious socio-political and religious landscape – one in which the place “in between” turns out to be a better focus, or a better reflection of the “Middle” Ages, because of its borders and not in spite of them.