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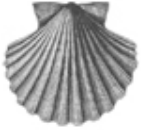


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Welcome to this special issue of *Peregrinations*, featuring articles on Ottonian art and architecture, guest edited by Evan Gatti of Elon University. In this issue, distinguished scholar Adam Cohen reviews how the field of Ottonian art has developed over the past century and how, in the last decade, it has been transformed from an "area long-ignored by art historians [to one that] is being rediscovered and addressed with vigor and sophistication by both established and emerging scholars." The new spate of research and interpretation focuses on the social and political meanings carried by illuminated manuscripts, textiles, metalwork, and architecture, taking the scholarly discussion into new realms, discovering the multi-layered symbolism displayed before an intelligent and powerful audience. Evan Gatti examines the *Warmund Sacramentary*, discussing its images in relation to its patron, its geography, and its historiography, concluding that it served as an expression of local episcopal power. Similarly, such power as negotiated between royalty and clergy is reflected in Stephen Wagner's article on the *Codex Aureus of Echternach* and related works. Decoration includes luxurious imitation of Byzantine textiles used to wrap relics, which were meant to recall a more sanctified past where monastic reform was the rule. Eliza Garrison's essay investigates how the style and usage of two important Gospel Books and a major processional cross created a network of political and religious associations that promoted the rulers' claim to legitimacy by tying them to both the Roman and Carolingian pasts, especially around the celebrations of the Pentecost. Jennifer Kingsley focuses on how one would have interacted with these new, powerful images, using the *Gospel Book of Bishop Bernward* as an example. Its imagery lent itself to a new style of worship that emphasized the role of understanding the sacred through touch.



Our other featured article is a *Photo Essay* on the Pilgrimage Site of Walsingham by Matthew Champion. The stunning images and text bring the site to life. We are also in the process of renovating our *Photobank*. This will take some time, but we hope it will make this feature even more user friendly. This *Photobank* resource continues to grow with copyright-free images that are all downloadable for use in research and teaching.

This issue also contains *Short Notices and Announcements*, including new websites devoted to the Plan of the Monastery at St. Gall, the various versions of the *Roman de la Rose*, and more. In *Discoveries* the latest medieval archaeological finds are presented.



More links have been added to the *Links* page, and this issue features the fun site of Historic Tale Construction Cit [sic] or Caption your own Bayeux Tapestry. <http://www.adgame-wonderland.de/type/bayeux.php>, as well as other sites you might find useful. *New Journals* (under *Publishing Opportunities*) welcomes *The Journal of Late Antiquity* and *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* to the scholarly community. We also, as usual, list calls for papers, conferences, research announcements and more.

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for copyright-free images to add to our *Photobank*, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we welcome short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us: [Sarah Blick](#) or [Rita Tekippe](#).

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

et al.

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Vigintennial Views on Ottonian Art History

By Adam S. Cohen, *University of Toronto*

When I began my Ph.D. thesis on the Uta Codex in 1989, I was aware of only three dissertations written in the English language on the subject of Ottonian manuscript illumination and only one on Ottonian architecture, metalwork, sculpture, or wall painting.¹ In some ways this was surprising, for the study of Ottonian art was central to the study of medieval art from the beginning of the discipline (Ottonian art traditionally has been defined as the art and architecture produced between approximately 950 and 1050 in Central Europe under Emperors Otto I, II, III, Henry II, and their Salian followers Conrad II and Henry III.) The focus on book illumination emerged at the end of the nineteenth century with several books by Stephan Beissel (on the Aachen Gospels of Otto and the Gospels of Bernward of Hildesheim), Wilhelm Vöge's 1891 work on a school of illumination later localized to Reichenau, and the 1901 monograph by Heinrich Sauerland and Arthur Haseloff on the Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier, all foundational scholarship that drove Ottonian art history for a century and continues to repay

¹ The earliest is Charles T. Little, "The Magdeburg Ivory Group: a Tenth-Century New Testament Narrative Cycle," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977). The three on manuscripts are Satoko I. Parker, "Codex F.II.1. of the Biblioteca Queriniana of Brescia and its Place Within the Reichenau School," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978); Jacqueline A. Frank, "Astor 1—An Early Saxon Manuscript in the New York Public Library," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1986); Janet T. Marquardt, "Illustrations of Troper Texts: The Painted Miniatures in the Prüm Troper-Gradual, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin MS. 9448," (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1986). None of these manuscript dissertations resulted in a book or articles and so their impact on the field was limited. I realize, of course, that at the time there may well have been other works of which I was not aware (and may still not know).

study today.² It is clear that the attention paid to Ottonian art (and history in general) in the German academy was part of broader nationalistic concerns at the time, and so it is little wonder that in the English-speaking world interest in German history waned first after World War I, when North Americans stopped flocking to German universities, and even more after World War II, during which the study of the Ottonian period (considered the First Reich) was implicated in Nazi ideology, resulting in a tendency even among German scholars to shy away from the subject.³ Still, the centrality of Ottonian art and history to medieval studies never wholly dissipated. Ottonian art has always been admired for its sumptuousness and expressiveness, making it somewhat remarkable that so few young scholars in North America during the twentieth century devoted themselves to its study.⁴ When I embarked on my dissertation, then, I knew I was heading somewhat into *terra incognita*, but I was cheered by the sense that things were changing: Jeffrey Hamburger was making the study of German art exciting and respectable for everyone, and there was even someone else, Karen Loaiza (now Blough), who was writing a thesis on an Ottonian manuscript at the same time.⁵

Having said all that, I could not envision the tremendous eruption of scholarly work in English on Ottonian art witnessed especially in the past ten years (concurrent with intensified

² See the fine historiographic study by Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (Cambridge 1996).

³ William Diebold is currently at work on a historiographic investigation of twentieth- and twenty-first century attitudes toward medieval art in Germany (tentatively titled *Exhibiting Medieval Art in Modern Germany*).

⁴ Some of the same historical circumstances I have outlined here also account for the general predilection toward French and, to a lesser degree, Italian art among medievalists, which resulted in the continued study of these subjects and their predominance in art history. For a theoretical analysis of some of these issues, see the fundamental study by Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁵ “Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Codex Barberini latinus 711: a Late Tenth-Century Illustrated Gospel Lectionary from Reichenau,” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1995). This is an important study of a manuscript that deserves more attention than it has received.

research by German scholars). A watershed, of course, was Henry Mayr-Harting's two-volume work, *Ottonian Book Illumination* (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), and more and more scholars who have not have traditionally worked in this field, like Anthony Cutler, Herbert Kessler, and William Diebold, have turned their attention to the subject.⁶ What is most exciting, however, is the substantial number of young English-speaking scholars who have chosen to pursue dissertations in the area of Ottonian art and to stake their claims in the field. In addition to those written by the four authors whose essays appear in this journal, I know of four others, for a total of eight completed in the past nine years (and there are, no doubt, others currently under way of which I am unaware).⁷ In the last decade, then, twice as many dissertations on Ottonian art have been written in English than in the previous century.⁸ I am not enough of a statistician to be able to say whether these numbers indicate either a significant or long-term trend, but it is certainly encouraging that an area long-ignored by art historians is being rediscovered and addressed with vigor and sophistication by both established and emerging scholars. The essays in this volume of *Peregrinations* certainly indicate that the study of Ottonian art is becoming increasingly

⁶ I list here only representative essays: Anthony Cutler and William North, "Ivories, Inscriptions, and Episcopal Self-Consciousness in the Ottonian Empire: Berthold of Toul and the Berlin Hodegetria," *Gesta* 42 (2003): 1-17; William Diebold, "'Except I shall see . . . I will not believe' (John 20:25): Typology, Theology, and Historiography in an Ottonian Diptych," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), 257-73; Herbert Kessler, "Corporeal Texts, Spiritual Paintings, and the Mind's Eye," in *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout 2005), 9-61.

⁷ Annika Fisher, "Representations of Presence and Absence: The Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ in the Ottonian Empire," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001); Irina Kolbutova, "Transformations of Philosophical Metaphors in Text and Image: from Plotinus to John Damascene and Christian Iconography," (Ph.D. diss., Central European University, 2004) -- substantially about the Uta Codex; Kristen M. Collins, "Visualizing Mary: Innovation and Exegesis in Ottonian Manuscript Illumination," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2007). Mention should also be made of Erin Gabrielle Barrett, "Art and the Construction of Early Medieval Queenship: the Iconography of the Joint Royal/Imperial Portrait and the Visual Representation of the Ruler's Consort," (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1997), with several chapters treating Ottonian and Salian material.

⁸ While it is no doubt true that there may be more students overall in doctoral programs now than 30, 50, or 70 years ago, statistics indicate that more than half of all students currently pursue topics in modern and contemporary art, and Ottonian art is still only a small subsection of all of medieval art and architecture.

mainstream, and the results of these scholars' work will be of interest to anyone concerned with medieval art in general and with such specific issues as the intertwining of theological and political ideology (what I like to call "theopolitics"), status, spirituality, philosophy, and vision.

Evan Gatti, the editor of this volume, directly interrogates the meaning of the term "Ottonian" by looking at the *Warmund Sacramentary*, a manuscript made at Ivrea in northern Italy. She seeks to situate Ottonian art in the broader context of "medieval" and the "Middle Ages" by thinking about the ways the manuscript, its iconography, and its patron occupy an intermediate position in terms of geography, patronage and historiography. Gatti reviews the changing historiographic treatment of the manuscript—as a signifier of autonomous Italian artistic and political identity, as dependent on a central, Ottonian (i.e., German) imperial ideology, and as an expression of local episcopal patronage, power, and theology. She affirms the most recent view that the Sacramentary must be understood first and foremost as an expression of Warmund's episcopal status and function and concludes that the most satisfying explanation of the imperial iconography is as a demonstration of the bishop's role as the bridge "in between" the sacred and secular realms.

Status and the shared values of king, bishops, and abbots is a theme that emerges from Stephen Wagner's essay, which looks at a series of Ottonian and Salian manuscripts containing pages painted to simulate textiles and which examines the courtly and ecclesiastical context for understanding these works. A book like the *Codex Aureus of Echternach* was among the most sumptuous creations of the eleventh century; the inclusion of images that imitated textiles was a critical feature that made it so luxurious, for such painted pages evoked the splendor and majesty of real silk fabrics. Wagner reviews the use of actual textiles in the eleventh century, many imported from venerable Byzantium, and underscores how cloaking oneself in magnificent robes

was a fundamental aspect of establishing and broadcasting one's status, whether in life or in death. Indeed, textiles were most commonly used to wrap the sacred relics of saints, and the transfer of textile motifs to books was a way to correlate sanctity across different media. Wagner ends by looking specifically at the relationship between such luxurious Echternach manuscripts as the *Codex Aureus* and earlier eighth-century books made in the first flowering of Echternach manuscript production, arguing that, by modeling their textile pages after the earlier examples, the eleventh-century artists and patrons were consciously connecting themselves in an act of monastic reform to a purer past.

The use of objects to forge a "material dialogue" is the central idea in Eliza Garrison's investigation of a group of objects associated with Otto III in Aachen and the activities of that emperor in the Palace Chapel built by and containing the body of Charlemagne. By examining the form, function, and social life of two Gospel Books and a processional cross, she illuminates the web of associations created by the objects in this visual and ideological dialogue with the recent (Ottonian) and more distant (Carolingian and Roman) past. Garrison firmly establishes the historical context surrounding the creation and presentation of each object to chart a developing awareness of Otto III's own royal and sacerdotal status in relation to his Ottonian predecessors, to Charlemagne, and above all to Christ. Thus, she relates the image of Otto III in the Liuthar Gospels on the one hand to seals, to establish political continuity, and on the other to the standard image of Christ in Majesty, to demonstrate the Christomimetic elevation of the king. Based on her dating of the manuscripts, Garrison connects the Otto Gospels to the celebration of Pentecost in Aachen in 1000, when the emperor opened the tomb of Charlemagne. Once more we can see the foundation of Ottonian theopolitics: through this action Otto was imitating Augustus Caesar, promoting and connecting himself to the cult of Charlemagne, and insinuating

himself into the process of seeing and witnessing the divine that were intrinsic themes of the Pentecost holiday. These themes are also evident in the *Lothar Cross*; with the crucified Christ and the Romanized Otto on flip sides of the cross, the idea of twin political and spiritual victory were telescoped on a single object.

The imitation of Christ and the desire to unite with him are among the themes in Jennifer Kingsley's compelling essay, which demonstrates the remarkable complexity of Ottonian art. She focuses on one specific manuscript, the famous Gospel Book known especially for its image of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim presenting the book on the altar of his newly dedicated monastery church of St. Michael. Kingsley looks carefully at specific iconographic details to elaborate a sophisticated understanding of the role of touch and tactility in the spiritual apprehension of Christ. She embeds the pictures in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Calcidius to argue for a kind of "non-touching touch" that allows the believer to discern Christ's dual corporeal and incorporeal nature. By demonstrating how figures from sacred history represented in the illuminations, like John the Baptist, served as exempla for Bernward himself, Kingsley reveals how the bishop, vividly depicted holding the Gospels, in turn becomes a model for how to grasp Christ and also how his gift makes the sacred realm tangible.

For those who already have considered such works as the Bernward and Otto Gospels, the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, and the *Warmund Sacramentary*, the four essays presented in this volume will bring exciting new insights. For those unfamiliar with Ottonian art, this volume should provide an excellent entry into a body of material that comprises some of the Middle Ages' most beautiful and compelling objects. In either case, the essays should persuasively demonstrate that Ottonian artists, patrons, and thinkers were among the most sophisticated of the Middle Ages in using art to embody and communicate complex ideas about their relationship to

the past, present, and future. It is particularly encouraging to see that what had become a relative backwater in medieval art history now seems to be an area in which some of the most stimulating work is being done. Based on the articles here, and the intellectual riches promised by the authors in their footnotes as forthcoming, the future of Ottonian art history over the next twenty years should be exciting indeed. We can expect not only that more North American scholars will turn to this material as the subject of study in its own right, but also that the results of this work will become increasingly important to other medievalists. The appearance of a page from the Uta Codex on the cover of the revised edition of Snyder's *Medieval Art* by Henry Luttikhuisen and Dorothy Verkerk is a great sign that Ottonian art is moving into the "mainstream," but there is still much to be done to make this material intellectually germane to a broader scholarly audience. I commend the authors in this volume for their current work and look forward very much to seeing the continued fruits of their labors.



PEREGRINATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



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 Bybliothece 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.

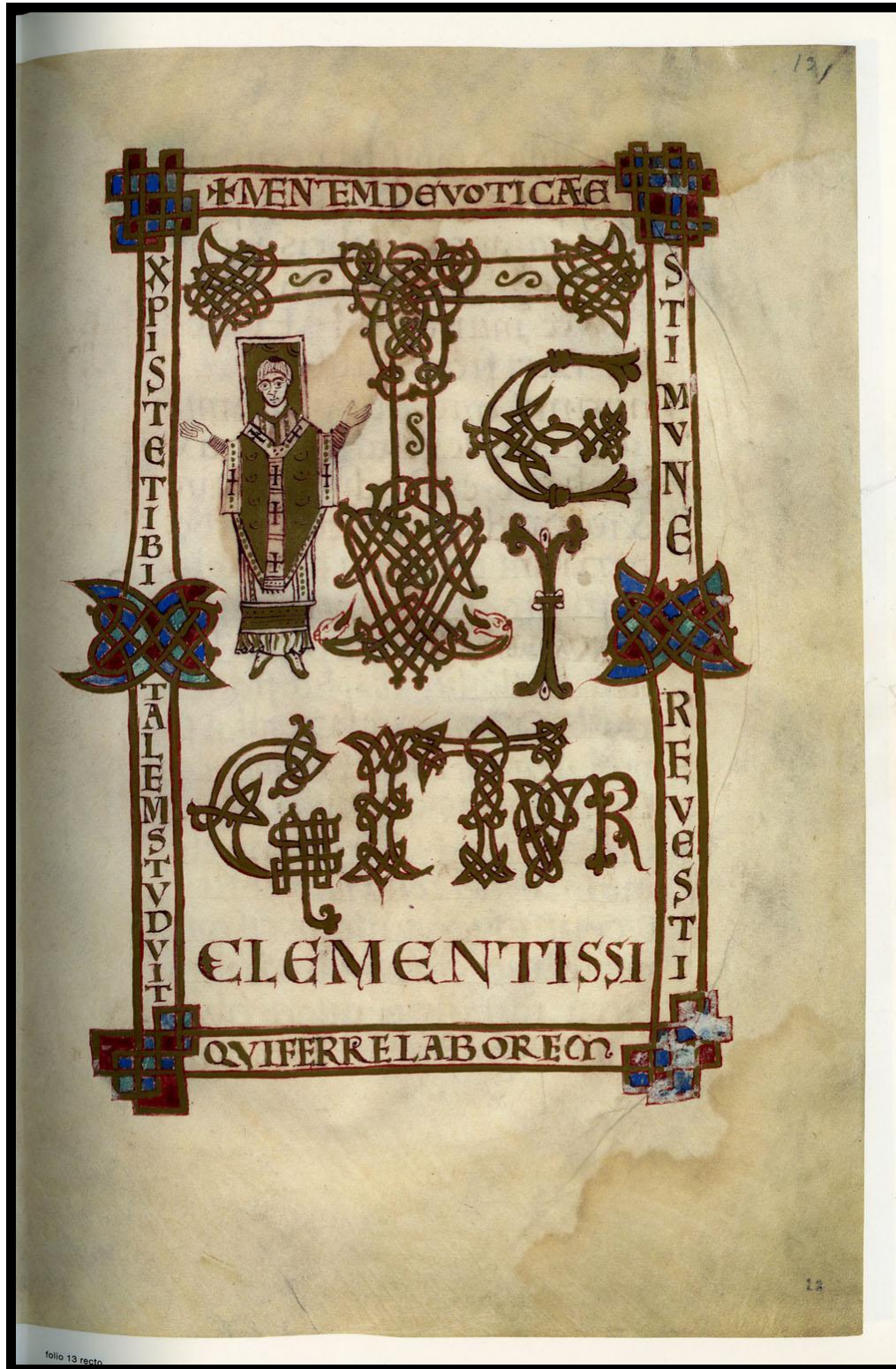


Figure 3: *Te Igitur*, folio 13r, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.



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

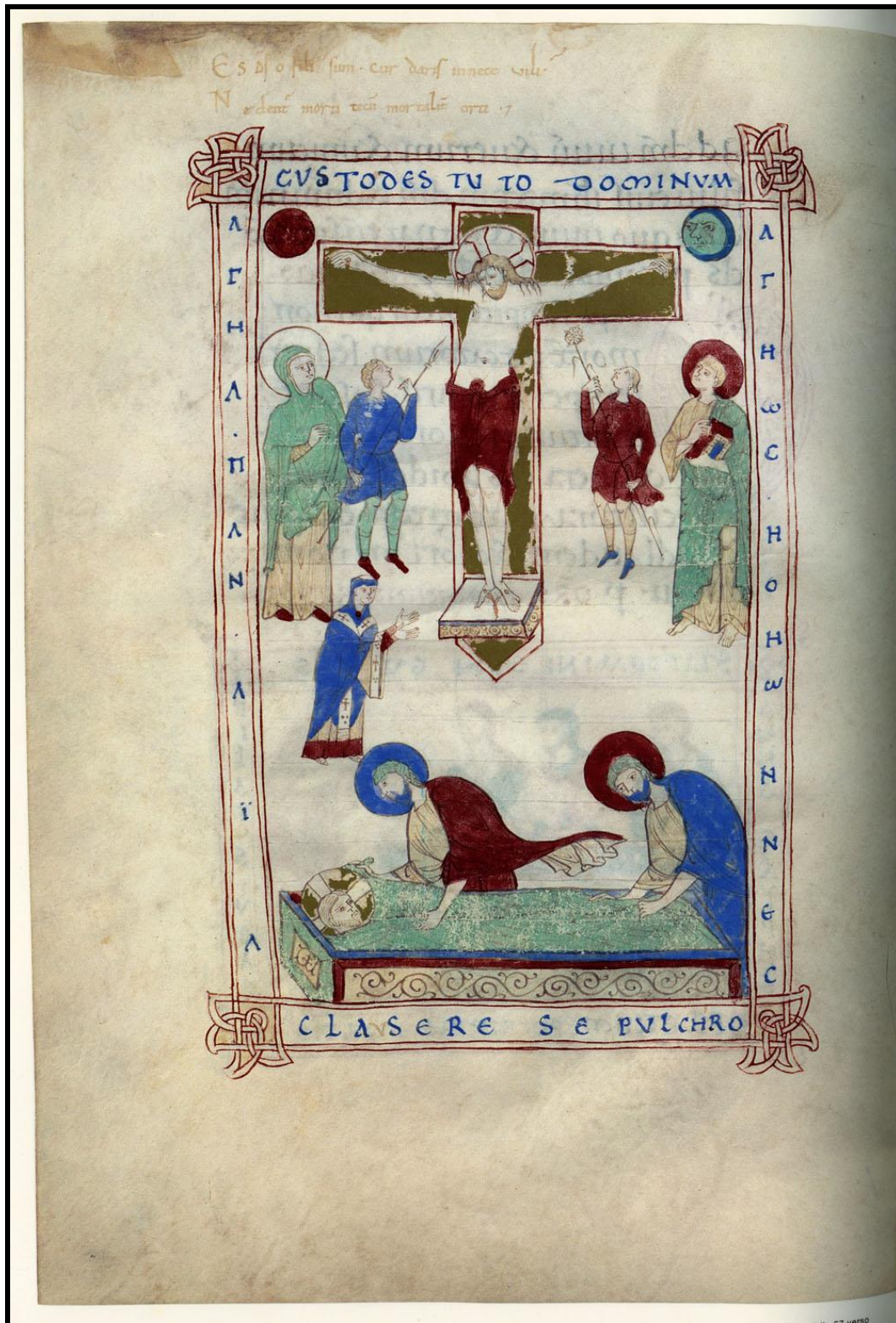


Figure 5: Crucifixion, folio 57v, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

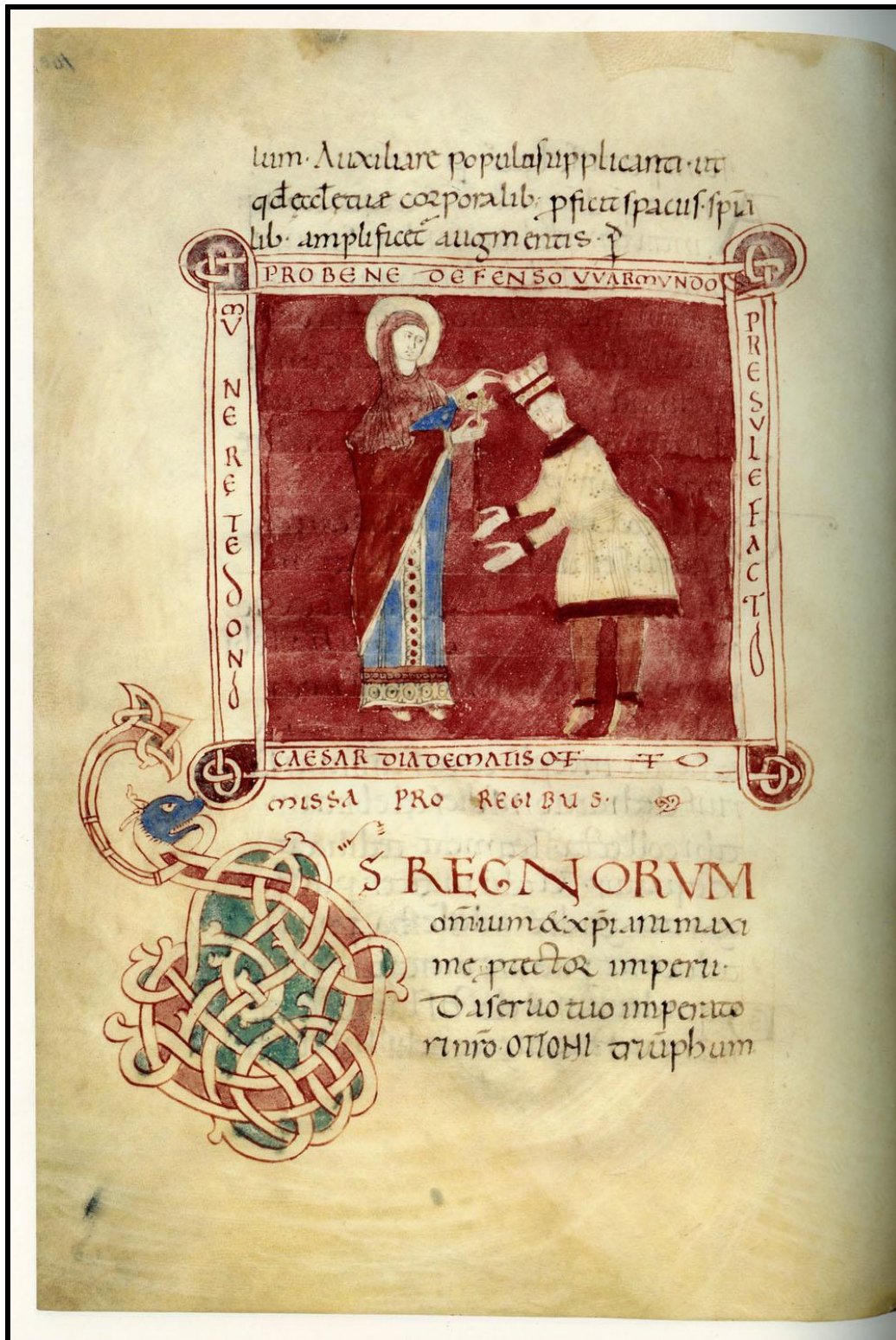


Figure 6: Virgin Crowning Otto III (I?), folio 160v, *Sacramentary of Warmund d'Ivrea*, Cod. LXXXVI, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, c. 966-1002.

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 Bybliothecis 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 Codicies," 151-174 and French in "Les Miniatures du Sacramentaire d'Ivrée et d'autres codes warmondiens," 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 *Ottoni* mentioned in the liturgical text following the miniature as an active, living person, *imperatorii nostro Ottoni*.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 Storico 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>Vealeant 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.



Establishing a Connection to Illuminated Manuscripts made at Echternach in the Eighth and Eleventh Centuries and Issues of Patronage, Monastic Reform and Splendor

By Stephen Wagner, Savannah College of Art and Design

Introduction

The monastery of Echternach made great contributions to the art of luxury manuscript production at two distinctive points in its long history.¹ The first works appeared shortly after St. Willibrord established the foundation at the end of the seventh century, while the second wave of illustrated books, some of which were written in gold, occurred in the eleventh century.² Scholarship on these manuscripts from both periods has contributed greatly to our understanding of this important art form in the Early Middle Ages, but it has treated the early examples separately from the later ones. In this article, I will establish that a relationship exists between both groups. Books from both eras contain painted pages without figural representations or decorated text, a rare occurrence in the history of European manuscript production. For these books, especially those dating to the eleventh century, the fully ornamented pages communicated

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Evan Gatti for her generous guidance in helping me prepare this article. This paper was developed from a double session, "Ottonian Art and History," at the Forty-second International Congress on Medieval Studies held at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo May 10-13, 2007. For their valuable assistance, I would like to thank Adam Cohen, Lawrence Nees, Eliza Garrison, Rebecca Turner, and Janet Wagner. Much of the information conveyed in this article comes from my dissertation, "Silken Parchments: Design, Context, Patronage and Function of Textile-inspired Pages in Ottonian and Salian Manuscripts" (Ph.D. Diss. University of Delaware, 2004).

² Information on the early manuscripts can be found in Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, v. 1 (London: H. Miller, 1978). Three complete Gospels books and a fragmentary example and one Lectionary made during the eleventh century have survived. They are London: BL Harley MS 2821 (The *Harley Gospels*), Paris: BNF Nouv acq. Lat. 2196 (fragment – the *Luxeuil Gospels*), El Escorial: Cod. Vitrinas 17 (The *Codex Aureus of Speyer*), Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 15146 (The *Codex Aureus of Echternach*), Uppsala: Universitetsbibliothek, C 93 (The *Goslar Gospels*) and Bremen: University Library, Ms. B. 121 (The *Evangelistary of Henry III*). The full discussion is below.

important ideas concerning the past and present in an age of monastic and ecclesiastical reform in which monasteries witnessed increased imperial involvement.

The motivation behind these extraordinary works is a combination of four factors. First, artists of the eleventh century were able to examine codices made during the eighth century, at least one of which included an ornament page analogous to the great insular productions in such books as the *Book of Durrow*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and the *Book of Kells*. Second, the monasteries of Trier and Echternach produced important manuscripts as a result of imperially supported reforms that originated at the monastery of Gorze and later at St. Maximin in Trier. Third, imperial and episcopal support of the reforms required changes in liturgical practices that increased the demand for luxury books as the pageantry of the rituals in churches became more elaborate. In the reformers' efforts to return to the asceticism developed by Benedict of Nursia and to align the monastery with imperial ideology, an argument can be made that artists considered the ornament pages of the venerable eighth-century manuscripts to be signifiers of reform that they would incorporate into their eleventh-century works. The fourth factor involved the spectacle of liturgy. In the Ottonian and Salian periods, priests and bishops employed silken vestments, altar cloths, and other luxurious trappings at unprecedented levels. Furthermore, all of the manuscripts from Echternach under consideration in this article were produced during the reign of Henry III, a zealous reformer and avid patron of art.

Echternach in the eighth century and the Augsburg Gospels

In order to establish the connection between manuscripts made at Echternach in the eighth century and in the eleventh century it is necessary to discuss the monastery's early years. Willibrord is known to have taken at least one if not more manuscripts with him when he

departed England on his mission for the continent at the end of the seventh century. The most famous example is an illustrated manuscript often referred to as the *Willibrord Gospels*.³ At least one manuscript made in the eighth century at Echternach that contains a full ornament page, the *Augsburg Gospels*, similar to the so-called carpet pages of the *Book of Durrow*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, and the *Book of Kells*. According to Jonathan Alexander, it was still in the monastery's library in the eleventh century.⁴

The *Augsburg Gospels* dates to the beginning of the eighth century as firmly established by Dáibhí Ó'Cróinín and Nancy Netzer.⁵ While these discussions and others have shed light on the production and localization of the manuscript, the inclusion of a single carpet page has not been explained.⁶ Folio 167v is a framed cross-ornament page (**fig. 1**). The frame consists of interlace designs on a black background placed between two simple orange bands. The artist arranged clusters of interlace in a rhythmic pattern with alternating colors of dark green, pale orange and pale yellow. The cross is laid out inside the rectangular frame. The artist used a straight edge to articulate the cross with a base and the arms with wide ends, decorating it with delicate vertical lines on an alternating white and black ground. Additional ornamentation of

³ Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 9389. See Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *A Survey of MSS Illuminated in the British Isles*, Vol 1: *Insular MSS 6th – 9th century* (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), and Carl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (New York: Braziller, 1978).

⁴ This manuscript was originally in the library at Schloss Harburg, Cod. I.2.4.2. It is now in the university library at Augsburg and uses the same shelf mark. See Alexander, no. 54. Alexander suggests that this cross-ornament page was copied from a lost ornament page in the Echternach Gospels (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 9389).

⁵ Dáibhí Ó'Cróinín, *Evangelium Epertnacense Evangelistarium* (Microform Facsimile) (Munich, 1988); "Is the Augsburg Gospel Codex a Northumbrian Manuscript?" in *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, eds. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, England: the Boydell Press, 1989), 189-202; Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the making of a scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994).

⁶ Carl Nordenfalk, "An Illustrated Diatesseron," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 50 (June, 1968), 119-140. Nordenfalk does not specifically discuss the *Augsburg Gospels* in this article, but the layout of the cross-ornament page and its relationship to the Diatesseron can be established.



Figure 1. *Augsburg Gospels*, Cross-ornament page, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.2.4.2, 167v. Photo courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg

cross hatches fills the cross. Flanking the cross are four framed multi-sided fields filled with fretwork painted in colors consistent with the rest of the composition. The layout of the page is analogous to the Evangelist symbol pages in the *Echternach Gospels* and the first cross-ornament page of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Robert Stevick's conclusion that the framed cross in the *Augsburg Gospels* as well as those in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Book of Kells*, and the *Lichfield Gospels* symbolizes the presence of Christianity reaching the ends of the earth. The geometric emphasis of the composition points to rationality inherent in following the principles surrounding the cross.⁷

Silk as a signifier of authority and its impact of manuscript decoration

In the Early Middle Ages silk was such a valuable fabric that everything it touched enhanced the significance of any object or person it draped. Silk was present in Western Europe in limited quantities before that in the Anglo-Saxon realm as well as the Carolingian period. In fact, the body of St. Cuthbert was re-clothed in fresh vestments in 698 when the so-called *Nature Goddess Silk* was placed in the tomb.⁸ During the Ottonian and Salian periods, its significance soared. Spurred by the magnitude of silk in the Byzantine Empire, the quantity of silk increased dramatically in Western Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Byzantine imperial court engaged in silken diplomacy, a term introduced by Anna Muthesius. Every envoy who visited Byzantium received diplomatic gifts to take back to their

⁷ Robert Stevick, "The Harmonic Plan of the Harburg Gospels' Cross-Page," *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 12, no. 33 (1991), 39. This article analyzes the cross-page on the bases of technique with a strong emphasis on geometry and proportions.

⁸ *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956); cited in Clare Higgins, "Some New Thoughts on the Nature Goddess Silk," in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, as in note 5 above, 339-342. In the same collection of essay, see Hero Granger-Taylor, "The Weft-patterned Silks and the Braid: The Remains of an Anglo-Saxon Dalmatic of c. 800?" 303-328, and Anna Muthesius, "Silk and Saints: The Rider and Peacock Silks from the Relics of St. Cuthbert," 343-366.

homelands.⁹ Gifts of silk were highly prized, and rulers who received the precious fabric distributed it to other nobles and to the ecclesiastical elite. The presentation of silk signified two salient facts: the Byzantines' acknowledgment that the recipients of silk were worthy, and, from the recipient rulers' perspectives, recognition of their imperial status.

The majority of silk in the early medieval west was fashioned into ecclesiastical and ceremonial vestments. In this period theologians began to consider the role of vestments and they gradually became important components of the liturgy.¹⁰ As the early medieval bishops adopted the priestly and royal nature of Christ, they wore symbolic garments and regalia to broadcast their role. In the Ottonian and Salian periods, bishops were the key players in supporting the ruler, who rewarded their loyalty with gifts of land and luxury objects. On the secular side, royal robes, crowns, and other regalia followed the same patterns. Vestments at this time therefore represented a melding of powers of the priest, bishop, and king.¹¹ This power derived authority from such Old Testament figures as David and Samuel, who demonstrated that early power was divinely sanctioned.¹² The Carolingians and Ottonians supported these claims by enrobing both ecclesiastics and royalty with costly and luxurious trappings. The use of luxury vestments continued with each Ottonian ruler, and reached the height of lavishness with the ceremonial

⁹ Anna Muthesius, "Silken Diplomacy," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, eds. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Variorum Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1992), 237-248.

¹⁰ *Les Ordines romanu du haut mōyen age*, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 1971). See also Cyrille Vogel, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana, 1963). The first and eighth *ordines* contain explicit instructions on specific vestments a cleric should wear at a particular ceremony.

¹¹ Michael Moore, "The King's New Clothes: Royal and Episcopal Regalia in the Frankish Empire," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (London: Palgrave, 2001), 97.

¹² *Ibid*, 110.

vestments worn by Henry II and Kunigunde (**fig. 2**).¹³ The Salians likely continued this tradition in the eleventh century, but with the exception of the burial garb of the German Pope Clement II, very little has survived (**fig 3**).

The beauty of silk and ceremonial aspects of its use captivated the minds of patrons and artists who were interested in luxury and splendor. Whether to embellish the divine word or enhance the drama of the liturgy, the Ottonians and Salians found creative and innovative methods to express their veneration of this resplendent fabric. One such way was to imitate it in the most precious medieval means of communication, the illuminated manuscript. By enriching the backgrounds of figural miniatures and decorated initials with ornament inspired by silk patterns, as was the convention in Corvey and Hildesheim in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the artist augmented the significance of the image. Later in the eleventh century, as part of God's work, the artists of Echternach utilized silk design to divide Gospel text, which recalled the decoration of manuscripts of the eighth century when monasteries also did the work of God as prescribed by St. Benedict. Their artistry also symbolically protected the divine word, much the way that silk was used to protect relics in the Early Middle Ages.

¹³ Jacques Paul, "Le manteau couvert d'étoiles de l'empereur Henri II," in *Soleil: la lune et les étoiles au Moyen Age* (Aix-en-Provence, CUERMA Université de Provence, 1983), 264-268. See also Warren Woodfin, "Presents Given and Presence Subverted: The Cunegunda Chormantel in Bamberg and the Ideology of Byzantine Textiles," *Gesta* 47/1 (2008), 33-50.

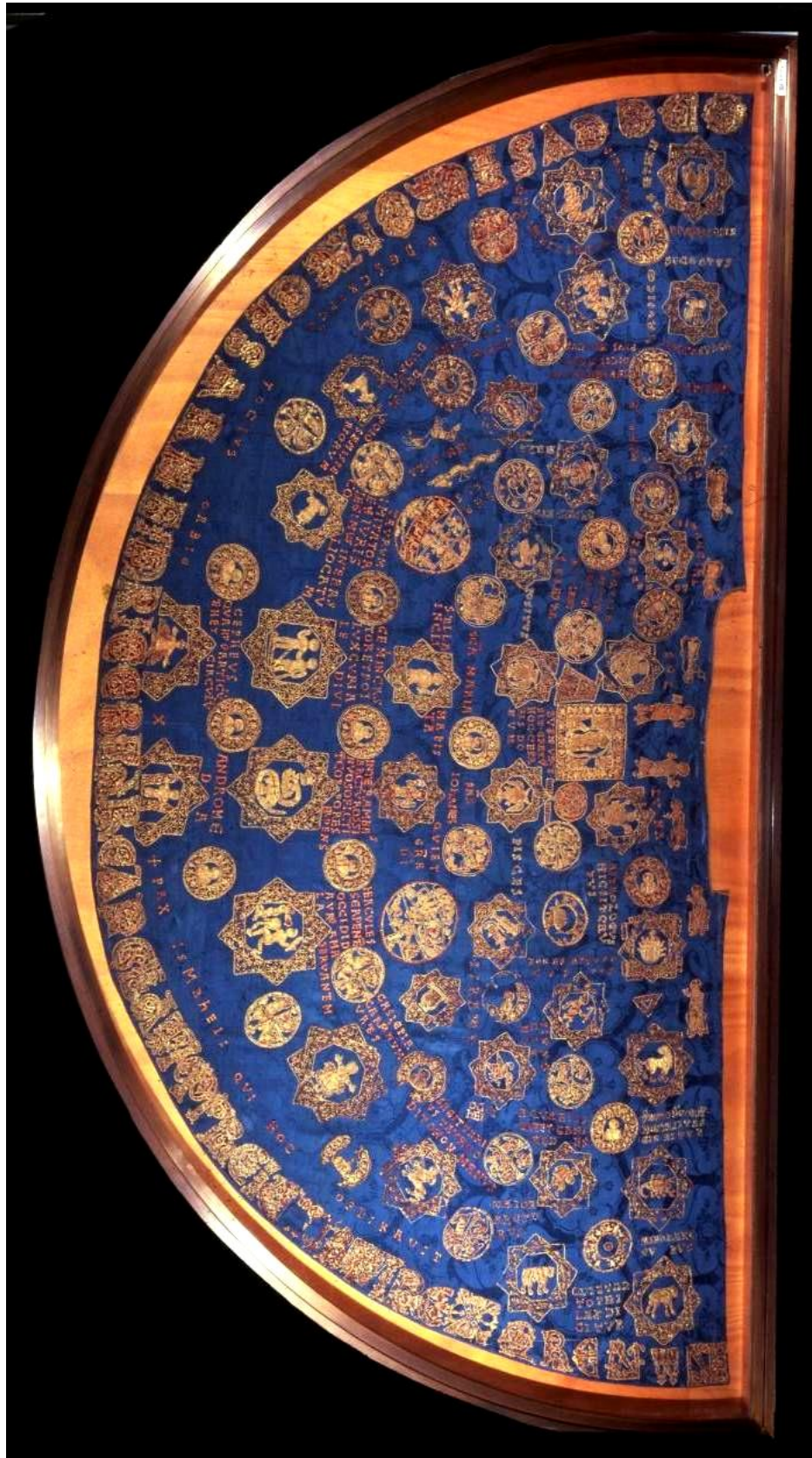


Figure 2. So-called *Star Mantle of Henry II*, pearls and gold thread embroidery on silk, ca. 1018-1024. Photo courtesy of the Diocesan Museum of Bamberg



Figure 3. Boots and Chasuble from the grave of Pope Clement II, silk, ca. 1047
Photo courtesy of The Diocesan Museum of Bamberg

The fully ornamented textile-inspired pages made at Echternach in the eleventh century represent a climactic conclusion to a trend in manuscript decoration that began nearly hundred years earlier. First, artists at the monastery of Corvey began the custom in several liturgical books in the mid-tenth century. The most splendid examples were the results of imperial patronage, which extended to siblings who were abbots and abbesses of the royally endowed monasteries in the region. The textile-inspired decoration in Corvey manuscripts consists of patterned backgrounds painted behind text pages located at the beginnings of Gospels or behind special readings.¹⁴

The production of luxury manuscripts at Corvey did not last long. The monks there resisted the Gorze reform movement fiercely, and consequently, alienated themselves from Henry II, a strong supporter of reforms. In 1015 he dealt harshly with the rebellious monks by replacing their abbot with one of his choosing, Druthmar of Lorsch. He also imprisoned several monks, which would explain the decline in book production.¹⁵

A second important production center of textile-inspired manuscripts was Hildesheim and the city's illustrious Bishop, Bernward, one of the greatest patrons of art in the Middle Ages, is associated with three of them.¹⁶ Two of the books, the so-called *Precious Gospels of Bernward* and the *Guntbald Lectionary*, were made for liturgical use.¹⁷ Bernward had a dual role during the Ottonian period. Not only was he a bishop, but he was well-connected with the imperial realm.

¹⁴ Wilhelm Stüver, "Die Geschichte der Abtei Corvey," in *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800-1600: Ausstellung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Corvey and Münster, 1966), 10.

¹⁵ See discussion below.

¹⁶ Thangmarus, *Vita Bernwardi: das Leben des Bischofs Bernward von Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1993).

¹⁷ Both manuscripts date to c. 1015 and are located in Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury, Ms. 18 and Ms. 19. One page of the Guntbald manuscript bears a striking resemblance to the so-called marriage document of Otto II and Theophanu discussed in the next footnote.

He was likely savvy enough to realize the connection among textiles, diplomacy, and liturgy.

Bernward was a close ally of Empress Theophanu, having traveled with her, and perhaps because of his loyalty, he became tutor of Otto III.¹⁸ He traveled with Otto III to Rome where he saw ancient Roman and early Christian art that would influence his famous bronze doors and column.¹⁹ Unlike manuscripts made at Corvey and Echternach, books from Hildesheim were not imperial commissions, but they did share stylistic affinities. Like the Corvey works, the Hildesheim works were liturgical books that employ patterned designs derived from textiles in the backgrounds, but they go further. Bishop Bernward took every opportunity to express himself, his devotion to Church and the importance of his See in these works. In addition to placing the pattern behind text, the Hildesheim artists also adorned the backgrounds of figural miniatures with a variety of repeating patterns, which enhanced the complexity of the image's theological message.²⁰

The most complex of the manuscripts associated with Bernward is known as the "*Precious*" *Gospels*.²¹ The book contains twenty-one fully painted pages, all of which are decorated with distinctive patterned backgrounds. With the exception of the dedication opening,

¹⁸ A magnificent example of textile-inspired painting can be seen in the so-called marriage document of Otto II and Theophanu dated to April 14, 972. Most likely painted by the unknown artist known as the Gregory Master, the document, detailing the gifts given to Theophanu in honor of her marriage to the German emperor, is the only work of this group that actually imitates contemporary textiles. It is not a liturgical, but rather a political and ceremonial work. It is now in Wolfenbüttel at Niedersächsischen Landesarchiv under the designation 6 Urk. 11. For more information, see my dissertation, mentioned in note 1.

¹⁹ Francis J. Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 3 vols. (South Bend, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1993).

²⁰ For a comprehensive study of Bishop Bernward see the exhibition catalog, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, eds. Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, 2 vols. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993).

²¹ See *Das Kostbare Evangelium des Heiligen Bernward*, ed. Michael Brandt (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1993). See also Christina Nielsen, "Hoc Opus Eximium: Artistic Patronage in the Ottonian Empire" (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of Chicago, 2002), and Jennifer Kingsley's excellent essay in the present volume.

the artist divided all of the pages containing figures into two registers and painted the backgrounds of each register with different patterns.

The openings of folios 16v and 17r contains the dedication image in which Bernward presents the manuscript to the Virgin Mary and Christ child, who are flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel (Kingsley, fig. 1).²² The manuscript was presented to the monastery church of St. Michael in honor of the dedication of an altar to Mary in the crypt of the church. Bernward is vested in his finest and most opulent garb, and colorful textiles cover every surface of the church, representing a symbolic climactic moment in Bernward's life. Five inscriptions occupy the frames of the composition and arches representing the architectural space into which the Virgin and Child are placed. The inscription occupying the entire frame of 16v discloses Bernward's awareness of the importance of liturgical vestments as symbols of his office.

This Gospel book is offered to you, holy Maria, from your humble servant Bernward who is unworthy of the name bishop and its episcopal vestments.²³

This opening is replete with the richness of textiles. On the right, the crowned Virgin, child, and angels sit in front of purple drapes casting Mary in the role of Queen of Heaven. Mary and the Christ child are resplendent in golden mantles draped over silver tunics. Bernward, on the other hand, is a little subtler. He stands in a golden architectural setting, but the background is not painted to represent curtains. It is a flat, green and black ornamented surface that resembles the design on the chasuble he is wearing. Furthermore, purple and green textiles cover the altar in front of him. The liturgical implements resting on the altar serve as an analogy for Christ sitting on the Virgin's lap. Through his prominent depiction in the manuscripts and clad in the finest

²² For an illustration, see Jennifer Kingsley's article in the present volume.

²³ *Hoc Evangelicv(m) devote m(en)te Libellvm virginitatis amor P(rae)stat Tibi S(an)c(t)a Maria praesvl Bernvvard(vs) vix solo nomine dignvs ornatvs tanti vestiv pontificali.* See Rainer Kahsnitz, "Inhalt und Aufbau der Handschrift" in *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, as in note 19, 27.

vestments, Bernward elevated himself into the realm of the holy, and he created an everlasting memorial to himself.

Eleventh-Century Echternach manuscripts

Returning to Echternach, we find that silk had become a visual source for artists. Following its establishment in the early eighth century, Echternach quickly came to be regarded as one of the most important outposts of insular culture on the continent. We do not hear much from Echternach during the ninth century in the sources, but the Carolingians continued to endow it. Echternach was important to the Ottonians in the tenth century, but their successors, the Salians, became much more interested in its scriptorium in the eleventh century. The library of Echternach must have grown significantly in the centuries between its founding and the Salian era because it had a strong reputation as a center of learning. The diverse forms of liturgy that had developed all over Europe co-mingled at Echternach where Insular, Gallican, and Roman liturgical traditions mixed with elements from the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries.²⁴

The monastery's proximity to the imperially endowed city of Trier secured its influence during the Ottonian period. The Gorze Reform that began in Lotharingia in 973 reached Echternach shortly thereafter, and enabled its inhabitants to enjoy the benefits of good relations with Ottonian emperors.²⁵ Otto I and Henry II granted *diplomata* to Gorze, and the latter was especially supportive of reforms. Henry II played a more decisive role in the elevation of abbots and bishops than his predecessors, which was a practice that Conrad II and Henry III continued

²⁴ Yithak Hen, "The Early Liturgy of Echternach," in *Die Abtei Echternach 698-1998*, eds. Michele Camilio Ferrari, Jean Schroeder and Henri Trauffer (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 1999), 47-51.

²⁵ K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien den monastischen Lebensnormen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlangst., 1971). See also Michel Parisse and Otto G. Oexle, eds. *L'abbaye de Gorze au Xe siècle* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993) and Anne Wagner, *Gorze au XI siècle* (Paris: Artem-Brepols, 1996).

in the Salian era.²⁶ A second reform movement originating at the monastery of St. Maximin in Trier brought prominence to Abbot Humbert (1028-1051), a staunch reformer with a close relationship to Empress Gisela, wife of Conrad II. Humbert rebuilt the abbey church that had burned in 1016. Under his leadership, the scriptorium overtook Reichenau as the center of manuscript production.²⁷

A common characteristic of monastic reform movements of the Middle Ages was a return to living by the Rule of St. Benedict. The sources are not as specific as one would like in describing exactly what took place during a reform. In spite of this obstacle, it is safe to say that the reformers in the eleventh century considered monks of the past to be superior to those in their own era because they presumably adhered to the Rule more closely. It stands to reason that a decorated manuscript from the eighth century would be associated with the ideals of time past.

Manuscript painting under Humbert witnessed a return of the fully painted ornament page. The artists did not simply copy cross-ornament pages, but rather expanded on a practice of painting textile-inspired ornament established in the tenth century at the monasteries of Corvey and Hildesheim. While artists at these monasteries utilized textile-inspired designs as backgrounds in their miniatures, artists at Echternach devoted full pages to textile-inspired ornament.

The books created at Echternach were large and elaborately illustrated. Five Gospel books and one Lectionary containing textile-inspired painting have survived. They are Bremen: Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B. 121 (*Evangelistary of Henry III*), El Escorial: Cod. Vitrinas 17

²⁶ Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. Barbara M. Bowlus (Philadelphia: Univ. of PA Press, 1999), 97.

²⁷ Rainer Kahsnitz, "Echternacher und Trier zur Entstehungszeit des Goldenen Evangelienbuchs," in *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach: Eine Prunkhandschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Rainer Kahsnitz, Ursula Mende and Elisabeth Rücker (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1982), 29-37.

(*Codex Aureus of Speyer*), London: Harley Ms. 2821, Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 15146 (*Codex Aureus of Echternach*), Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. Acq. Lat. 2196 (fragment known as the *Luxeuil Gospels*), and Uppsala, Sweden: Universitetsbibliothek, C. 93 (The *Goslar Gospels*). Taken as a group, the Gospel books have several common characteristics. All of them measure at least twenty-five centimeters in height, and the arrangement of text, ornament and illuminations is similar. Modern rebinding has altered the placement of the ornament pages.²⁸

Unfortunately, we have no exact dates for the production of four of the six manuscripts. Furthermore, no clear development of expertise of execution is evident. For example, the most simplistically decorated manuscript was not necessarily the first one. A frustrating aspect is that only two of the Gospel books are completely intact with all pages remaining in their order. Some include portraits of rulers and donors, and others do not. What is certain is that they were all most likely produced during the reign of Henry III. His model of rulership was Henry II, an avid reformer and generous patron of the arts.²⁹

Two of the Echternach manuscripts provide evidence of the strong link between the imperial realm and the scriptorium. The *Codex Aureus of Speyer* is the largest of all the Echternach commissions measuring 50 cm x 35 cm. The Salians adopted Speyer as their family's burial site, and built a cathedral there. The size of these manuscripts strongly suggests that they were liturgical books meant to be placed on an altar and displayed during the church service. Beginning in the Carolingian period, a miniature of Christ in Majesty often occupied the first page of a Gospel codex, but in this case, the format is different. The anonymous artists painted

²⁸ The ornament pages in the *Harley Gospels* are highly problematic as they have been clustered together in the book. One page was inserted upside down. Furthermore, in its fragmentary state, the original location of the ornament pages in the *Luxeuil Gospels* is lost.

²⁹ Weinfurter, 85.

crimson two flyleaves. Folio 1r is adorned with a golden repetitious pattern of symmetrically arranged lions that flank coin-like medallions. The end flyleaf, also crimson, features alternating rows of lions and acanthus-like ornament.³⁰ Pages like these most closely resemble textile patterns where two lions face each other filling repeating medallions across a fabric.

Folios 2v and 3r of the *Codex Aureus of Speyer* depict the late Conrad II and his wife Gisela kneeling at the foot of Christ in Majesty and the Virgin Mary crowning Henry III and his second wife, Agnes of Poitou (**fig. 4**). At the same time Henry presents the book to Mary. In these grand images, Henry makes his presence known as the patron of this sumptuous work and, at the same time asserts his authority as the second emperor of the new dynasty. These images evoke the power and piety of the emperor. They also reflect ceremony, an important aspect of itinerant rule, a practice that the Salians continued from the Ottonians. Wherever the rulers traveled, they presented gifts with great pomp and circumstance, including books to churches and monasteries.³¹ To add to the formality of the presentation, a dedicatory poem written for Henry III follows his portrait (**fig. 5**).

This is the book of life/because it contains life in itself/the celestial dew/ of Christ pours out from his mouth/to all peoples/ to us and our parents/ so that we might avoid evil/ the good things having been established in mind. Amen/ May he who makes these words obtain the celestial kingdom.

Emperor Henry (III) / who is not equaled in virtue / than whom no one wiser has been king/ To the king of all he offers this crown of books / because he wrote in gold what wisdom said / All these things / will pass away before my words will perish.³²

³⁰ It should be noted that not all of the painted pages appear to be complete, especially toward the back of the manuscript.

³¹ John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany c. 936-1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 196-200.

³² Hic Liber est vitae/qvia vitam continentse/caelesti rore/Chr(ist)I diffvsus ab ore/mones ad gentes/adnos n(ost)ros qve parentes/vt mala vitemvs/bona condita mentis amen. /Qvi facit haec verba/capiet caelestia regna. Heinricvs Caesar/qvi non virtvbvs est par/qvi res sit fvinctvs/ qvo non sapientior ullvs. /Regi cvnctorvm fert/hoc diadema librorvm. Avro qvod scriptsit/q(ua)m sapientia dixit/omnia transibvnt/nv(m) qva (m) mea verba (p(er)ibvnt.



Figure 4. Emperor Conrad II and Empress Gisela kneel at the foot of Christ and Henry II crowned by the Virgin Mary, *Codex Aureus of Speyer*, Real Bibliotheca del Escorial, cod. Vitrinus 17, fol. 2v-3r. Photo courtesy of Patrimonio Nacional of Spain

The text is written in gold against a light green patterned background made up of lozenges articulated with small squares, meanders and other geometric designs, all of which were drawn free-hand with a light-colored ink. The all-over design of the dedication page and the flyleaves evokes two weaving techniques: the medallion style that is created with contrasting colors and the incised or engraved style, which is monochromatic and common in liturgical vestments.³³

³³ Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving: A.D. 400 – 1200* (Vienna: Verlag Fassbaender, 1997); see also Regula Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe des hohen Mittelalters: Untersuchungen zu Webtechnik und Musterung* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001).

The opening therefore establishes a relationship between the ceremonial vestments, liturgy and the manuscript. The verse speaks to the importance of ancestry, the sanctity of the text and emphasizes Henry's significance as a patron.



Figure 5. Dedicatory Poem, *Codex Aureus of Speyer*, Real Bibliotheca del Escorial, cod. Vitrinis 17, fol. 3v-4r. Photo courtesy of Patromonio Nacional of Spain

The second is perhaps the best known of all of the Salian works because a lavish facsimile was published in 1982 with an accompanying commentary.³⁴ In terms of careful layout, completeness and lavishness, this codex is the best of the Echternach manuscripts. Measuring 45 cm x 31 cm, a metalwork cover dated to 985 adorned with enamel, gemstones and an ivory panel sets it apart as one of the most sumptuous books of the Early Middle Ages. Eight textile-inspired ornament pages in four groups of two serve as dividers between Gospels. Each of the four openings is unique in style, suggesting a range of inspiration. The remarkable feature of these four openings is that they also divide gatherings within the codex. For example, one side of the opening is the last verso of a gathering, and the other is the first recto of the next. Combined with twenty-three full-page miniatures, the canon tables, twelve pages of decorated text, and four elaborately painted *incipit* pages, and text written in gold, it is no wonder that historians point to this manuscript as the archetype of Salian art.

³⁴ Rainer Kahsnitz and Elisabeth Rücker, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach: Codex Aureus Epternacensis, Hs 156142 aus dem germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1982).



Figure 6. Textile-inspired ornament between the second and third quires in the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum, Hs. 15146, fols. 17v-18r

Photo courtesy of the Germanic National Museum of Nuremberg



Figure 7. Textile-inspired ornament between the sixth and seventh quires in the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum, Hs. 15146, fols. 51v-52r
Photo courtesy of the Germanic National Museum of Nuremberg

The textile-inspired pages combine several motifs commonly seen in woven silk, and the variety reveals the artists' creativity. The first set of pages, which separates the prefatory text from the Gospel of Matthew and divides the third and fourth quires, captures the medallion style in a bold shade of orange against an off-white ground, while the second set between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark includes bands of small motifs such as birds, plants and vessels in a pastiche of textile weaving (**figs. 6, 7**). The artist painted the third set of pages between the Gospels of Mark and Luke a deep crimson color in the form of a grid. He filled the squares with golden lions, a heraldic motif popular in woven silk (**fig. 8**). The final set of textile-inspired pages between the Gospels of Luke and John divides the fourteenth and fifteenth quires. Even

though the composition is practically monochromatic, the subtlety of the shades of maroon suggests inspiration by a luxurious textile. No space is uncovered, and two darker maroon bands across the top of the opening are filled with starburst patterns and circles (**fig. 9**).



Figure 8. Textile-inspired ornament between the ninth and tenth quires in the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum, Hs. 15146, fols. 75v-76r
Photo courtesy of the Germanic National Museum of Nuremberg

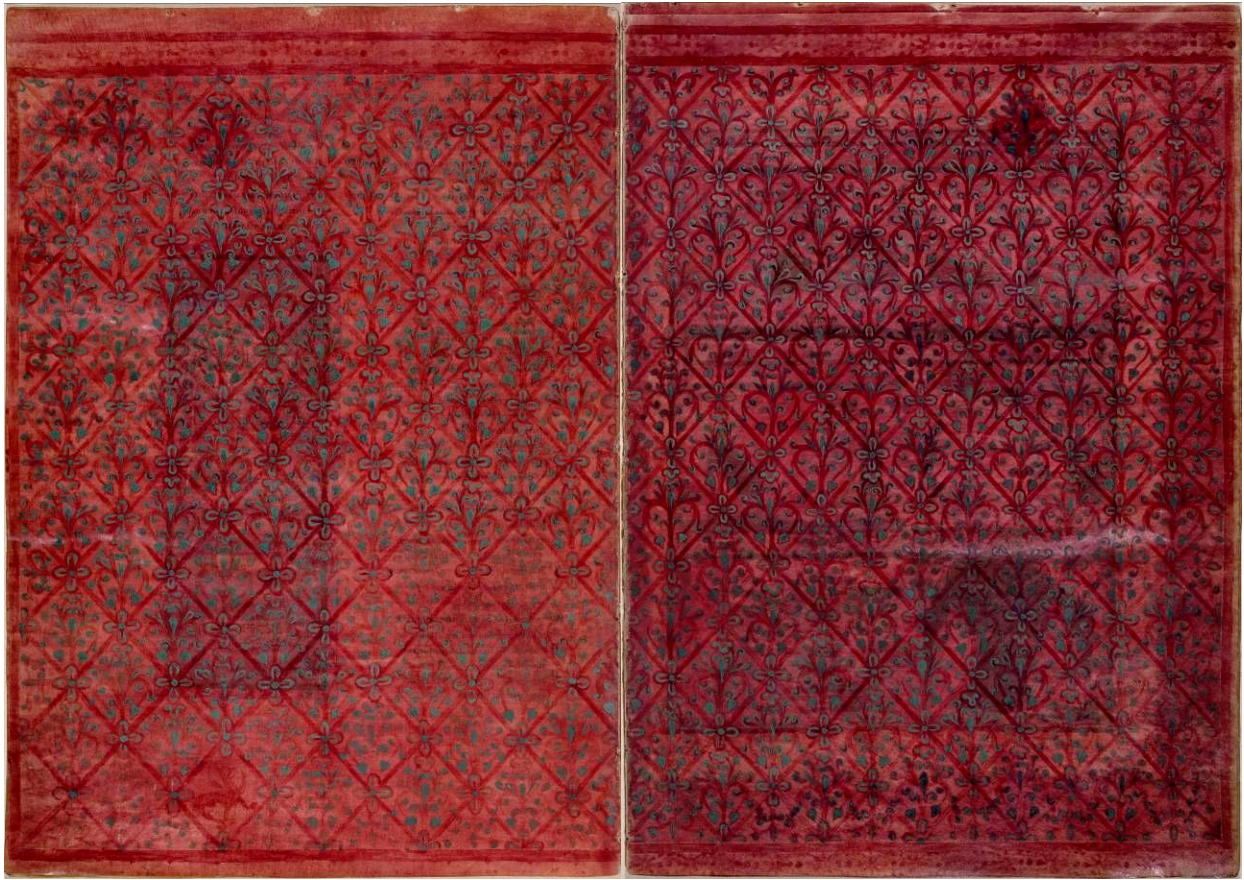


Figure 9. Textile-inspired ornament between the fourteenth and fifteenth quires in the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum, Hs. 15146, fols. 109v-110r
Photo courtesy of the Germanic National Museum of Nuremberg

Two additional manuscripts, smaller in size than the two explained above, are part of the tradition of splendid works produced at Echternach. The *Luxeuil Gospel* is a fragment of what must have been a truly sumptuous manuscript. Fifty folios survive decorated with four full-page miniatures, eleven canon tables, five textile-inspired ornament pages, four ornamented initial pages and three decorated *incipit* pages. The book measures 29 cm x 22 cm, but at some point the pages were cut irregularly, leaving slightly different sizes in each opening. Because the manuscript is so incomplete, an accurate codicological analysis is impossible. The parchment is

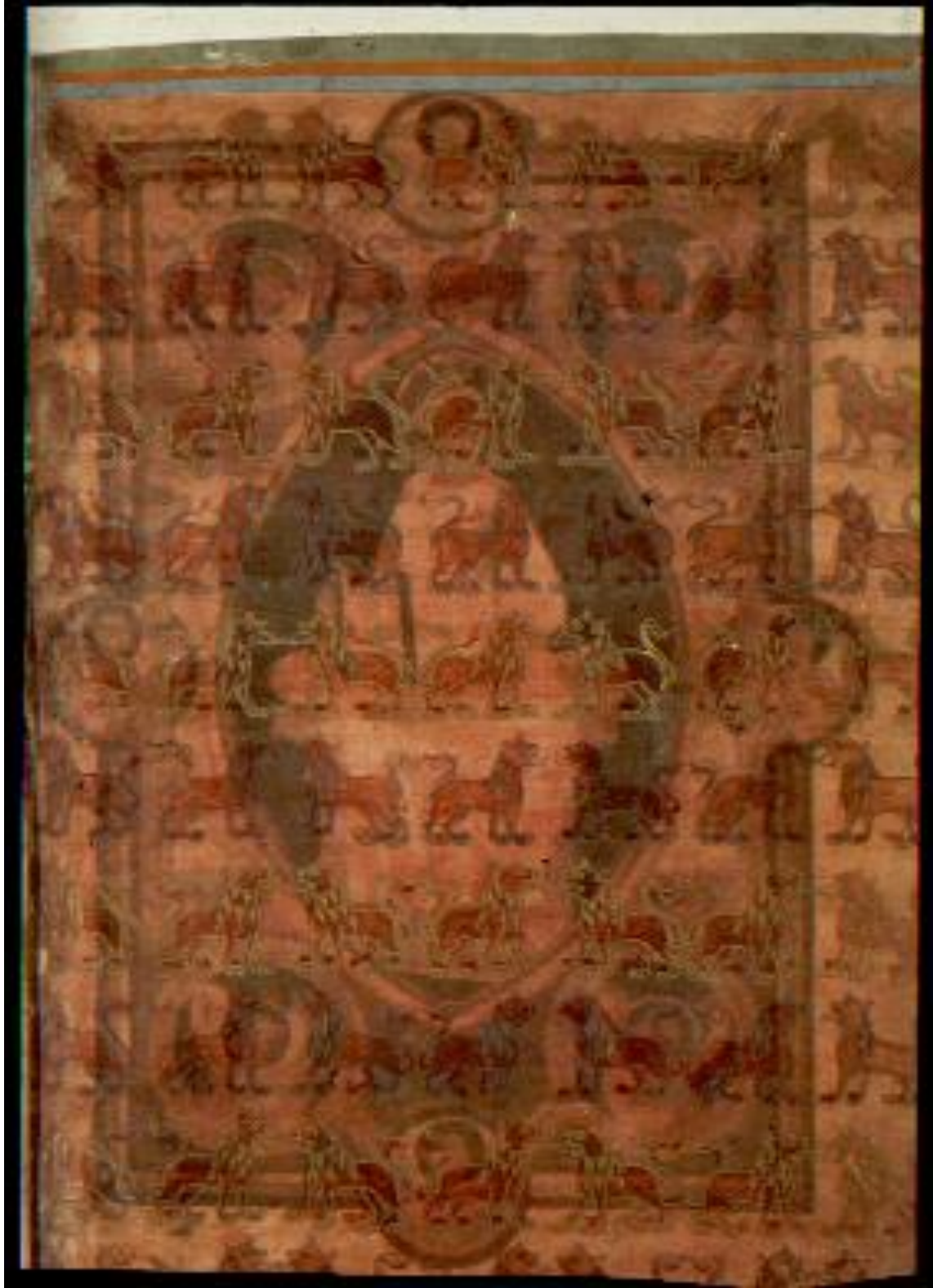


Figure 10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2196, flyleaf (folio 1r)
Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

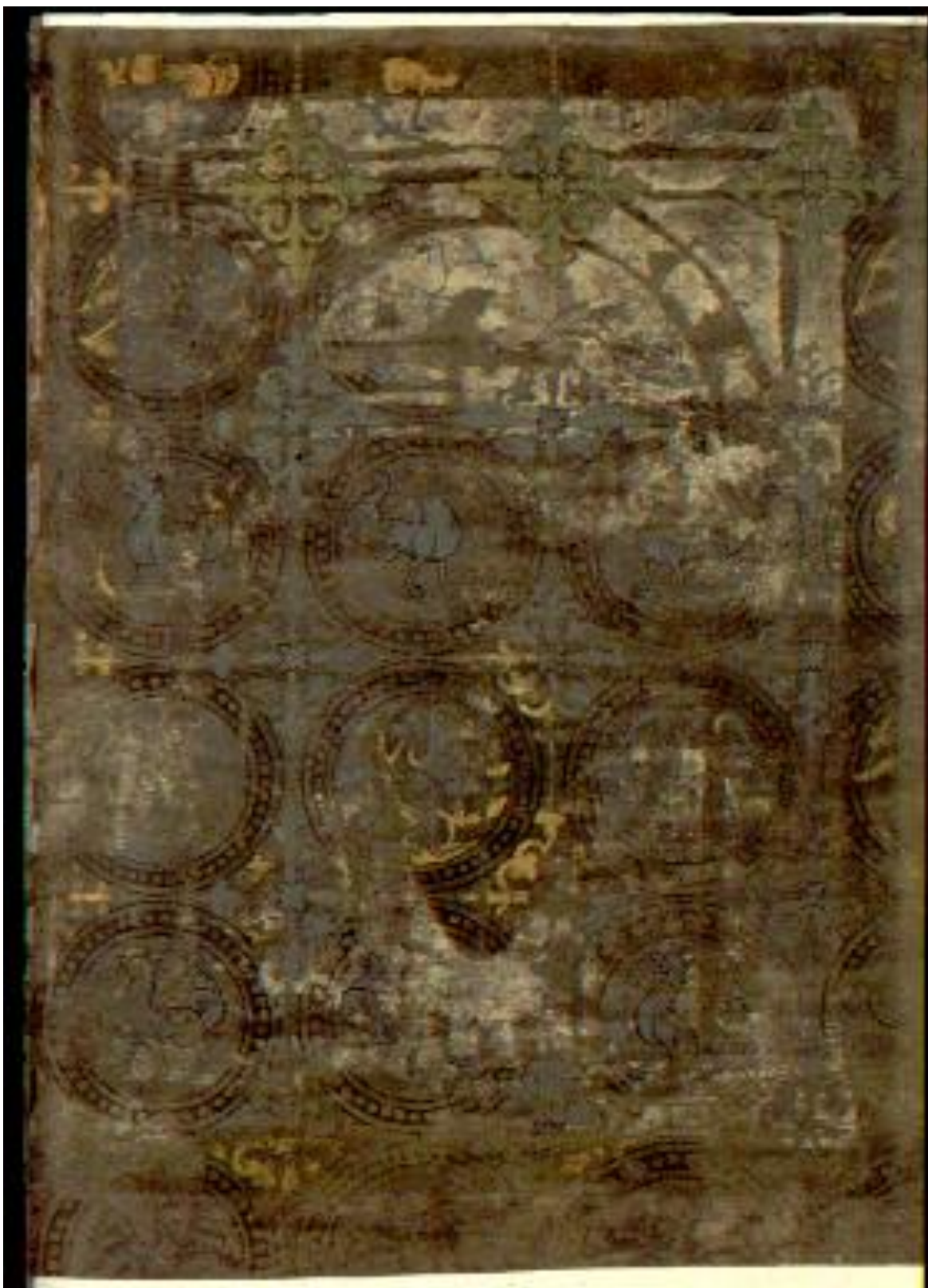


Figure 11. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2196, fol. 19r
Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

not as thick as in other manuscripts and it is easy to see what is written or painted on the other side of almost every leaf.

According to Claudia Rabel and François Avril, the manuscript can be dated to the abbacy of Gerard of Luxeuil between 1040 and 1051.³⁵ Two inscriptions identify the patron of the book. The first, written on folio 2 is included in the donor portrait. It reads, “Gerard II of Luxeuil, lover of light, offers his book to St. Peter, patron of the abbey of Luxeuil, enthroned in the church.”³⁶ The second inscription about Gerard is found on folio 20 and reads, “by whose help, the pious author of this book, may abbot Gerard live in spirit and may he rise from the dead.”³⁷ The inscription indicates that Gerard was dead by the time the manuscript was complete.

The manuscript opens with a fully painted flyleaf whose design consists of a repetition pattern of animals clearly imitating textile weavings (**fig. 10**). At the top of the page the artists painted narrow bands of olive green, orange, and light blue. The background of the rest of the page is pale crimson. On the ground are ten rows of heraldic-looking lions facing each other symmetrically in profile. The maroon animals are outlined in gold and silver in alternate rows. Unlike the *Codex Aureus of Echternach* they do not occupy a grid.

Folio 19r, a textile-inspired single leaf most likely divided Gospels. The artist painted light blue ground, much of which has been rubbed away. On the ground are six ink-drawn rows of pearl-style medallions approximately seven centimeters in diameter, filled with alternating rows of fanciful animals and bird with spread wings (**fig. 11**). The animals have two front legs while the rear portion of their bodies diminishes into curly tails resembling stylized hippocamps

³⁵ Claudia Rabel and François Avril, *Manuscrits enluminé d'origine germanique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1995), 1-56.

³⁶ Ibid, 24, *Luxovii pastor Gerardus, lucis amator, dando Petro librum lumen michi posco supernum*.

³⁷ Ibid, 26, *Auxilio cuius pius auctor codicis huius abba Gerart vivat anime et de more resurgat*.

or senmurvs. The birds are more naturalistic, but the artist left out details such as the eyes and feathers.

The final textile-inspired page follows the Incipit page at the beginning of the Gospel of John (**fig. 12**). This one is completely maroon. The artist divided the page into a grid of thirty squares and decorated them alternately with vine scroll and medallions. This decorative layout appears in three other Echternach works, the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, the *Codex Aureus of Speyer*, and the *Evangelistary of Henry III*.

The *Harley Gospels* completes our analysis of textile-inspired manuscript painting of the eleventh century. Its pages measure 25.5 cm x 18 cm, and the codex contains nine full-page painted miniatures, nine painted pages inspired by textiles, six pages containing decorated initials and four ornamented text pages. The textile-derived decoration takes the form of fully painted flyleaves at the front and back of the codex, fully painted pages between the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and intricately drawn borders around miniatures (**fig. 13**). In what must have been a labor-intensive exercise, the artist drew linear and geometric patterns in ink over the purple borders on six pages. The drawings are light, but can easily be distinguished as additional ornament. They evoke the engraved style seen in episcopal chasubles and other vestments and enrich the page, covering the entire surface with ornament.³⁸

Three distinctive patterned pages adorn the manuscript, each in two different places.³⁹

The artist or artists responsible for this work exhibited creativity as the ornament pages are

³⁸ This ornament is present in the Goslar Gospels. Carl Nordenfalk mentions that the ornament is textile-inspired and compares closely to that in the Harley Gospels. See Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis: An Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971), 98.

³⁹ Folios 67r, 99r, 99v, 198r, 198v and 199r (incomplete) are full-page ornament pages. Folios 198r, 198v and 199r match folios 67r, 99r and 99v, respectively. The codicological problems with this manuscript are significant. The book was rebound in 1857 and the pages appear to have been cut and inserted as single leaves incorrectly into the manuscript. Folio 198r is actually upside-down.



Figure 12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2196, fol. 50v
Photo courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France

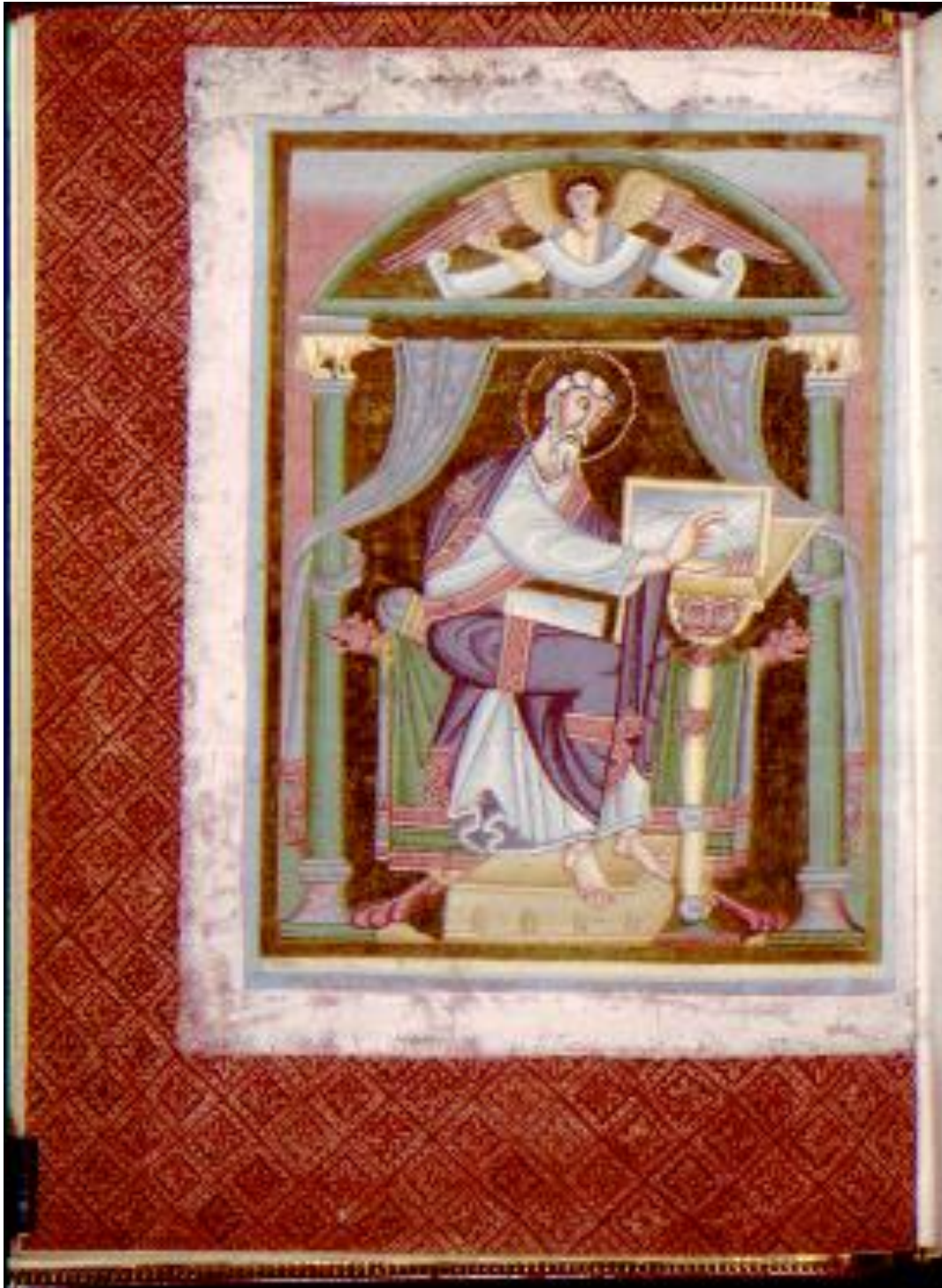


Figure 13. London, British Library, Ms Harley 2821, folio 21v
Photo courtesy of the British Library Board.

completely different from one another. The first folio, 67r, which divides the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, is painted with a wide purple border and filled with a field of colorful repeating lozenges and medallions in two shades of green and pale crimson. The artist added additional line drawing, done freehand in the lozenges and florettes in the small pink and purple medallions (**fig. 14**). The overall design resembles ancient floor mosaic patterns with their repeating shapes, motifs and border decoration.⁴⁰

Folio 99r which divides the end of the Gospel of Mark and the beginning of the Gospel of Luke is especially beautiful (**fig. 15**). Deep purple dominates the page and over that the artist painted five pink medallions. Another striking feature of this page is its schematic layout, which is similar to pages in the *Uta Codex* (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm, 13601) where specific areas of the miniature are defined by different geometric shapes, such as circles, rectangles, and diamonds.⁴¹ A majestic lion occupies the large pearl medallion in the center from which diagonal lines containing pearls extend to the corners of the page and partial pearl-style medallions. Four identical birds fill the adjacent medallions and connect to each other through a double banded inner frame filled with delicate line drawing. The artist drew the animals carefully in purple and included shading to give them volume, perhaps using a single-hair brush. The layout also recalls a number of miniatures depicting Christ in Majesty from the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.

Finally, folio 99v is another brightly colored page painted with a three-sided green border enclosing continuous pattern of medallions drawn as concentric circles adjoining each other with small purple medallions (**fig. 16**). The artist included delicate line drawing of florette and linear

⁴⁰ James Trilling, *The Medallion Style: A Study of the Origins of Byzantine Taste* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 29-42.

⁴¹ Adam Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA: Penn. State University, Press, 2000).

designs in all of the medallions. The spaces between the circles and medallions are dark purple, embellished with additional delicate line drawing.

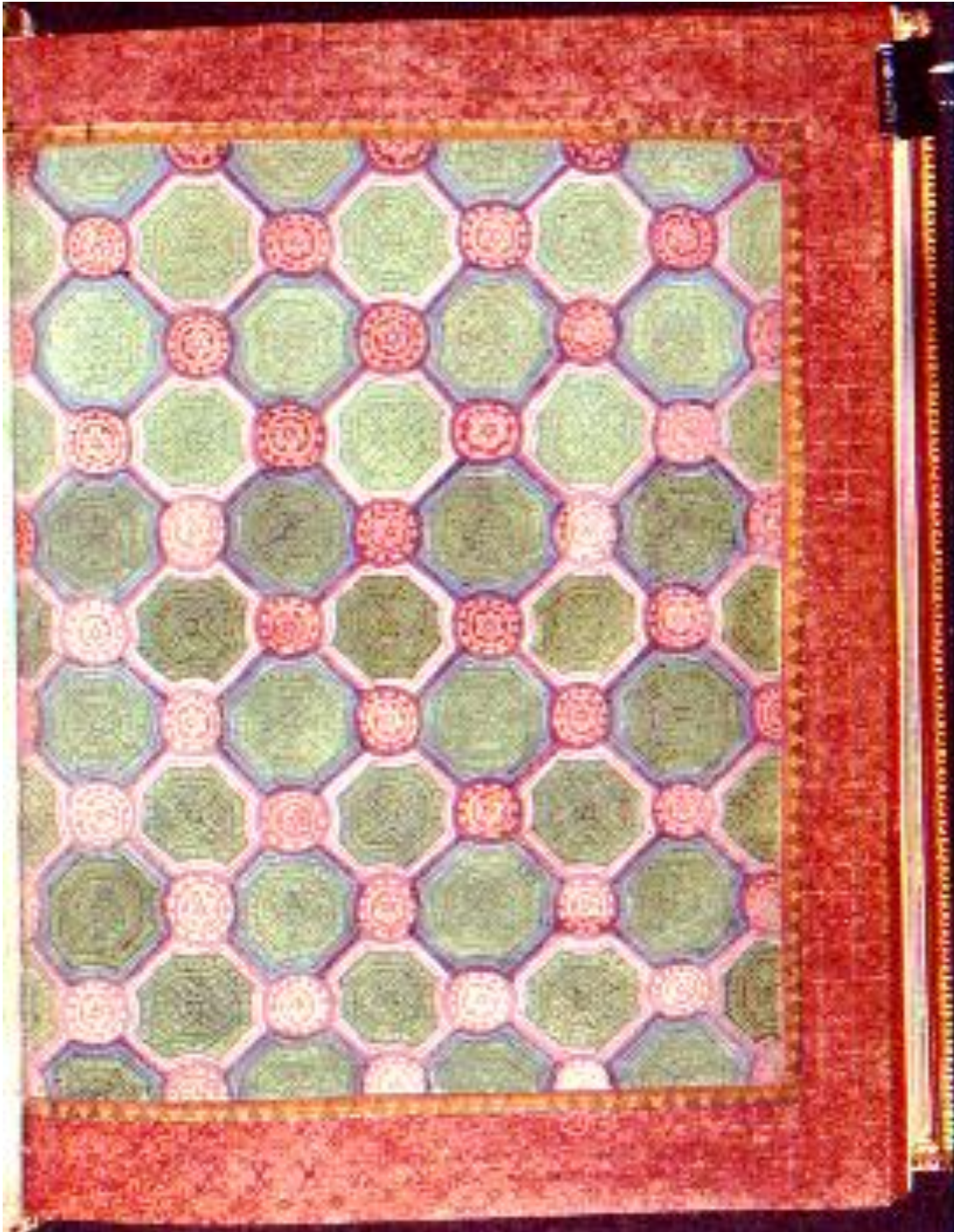


Figure 14. London, British Library, Ms Harley 2821, folio 67r
Photo courtesy of the British Library Board.



Figure 15. London, British Library, Ms Harley 2821, folio 99r
Photo courtesy of The British Library Board



Figure 16. London, British Library, Ms Harley 2821, folio 99v
Photo courtesy of the British Library Board

Conclusion

The Echternach manuscripts were liturgical masterpieces. Like the early insular books with their extraordinary carpet pages, the artistry and lavishness of the altar works demanded that they be seen and admired by the close circle of ecclesiastical and secular figures around the ruler. The works from both eras were codicologically complex because the carpet page and the textile-inspired pages marked specific divisions in the books. Since the *Augsburg Gospels* has only one carpet page in the middle of the book we cannot argue for an extensively elaborate organization as might have been the case with the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Still, the inclusion of even one carpet page is significant. Its placement in the book functions in a manner analogous to silk-covered relics and cloaked individuals. It reveals that something special lies beyond it.

The eleventh-century group symbolized Henry III's wealth and power as well as his interest in liturgy and monastic reforms. The textile-inspired pages derived from the eighth-century painted pages attests to the abbot's, the bishop's, and ultimately the emperor's desire to retain long-standing traditions of monasticism and enhance the spectacle of liturgy. By including these uniquely craft pages, eleventh-century users of these books looked back with respect to the past, yet remained fully entrenched in the eleventh-century political and ecclesiastical context.

The production of the textile-inspired manuscripts ended abruptly with the death of Henry III in 1056. The reign of Henry III was the last time that a German emperor had almost complete control of the papacy in Rome. The production of these lavish works stopped in the years leading up to the Investiture Controversy, one of the power struggles between German rulers and the papacy that further shaped the Gregorian Reform movement of the eleventh century. Manuscript production took new directions leaving the textile-inspired works to history.



PEREGRINATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



Otto III at Aachen*

By Eliza Garrison, Middlebury College

In late January 1002, after the Emperor Otto III's untimely death at the age of 21 at his palace of Paterno north of Rome, his body and the imperial funeral cortège began the long journey to the Palace Chapel of Aachen in time for an Easter Sunday burial.¹ Just after crossing the Alps, and against the historical backdrop of a highly contentious battle over the succession to the crown, the imperial corpse stood in for the body of Christ during Holy Week festivities at crucial sites along the way.² Once the cortège reached the Palace Chapel, Otto III's body was laid to rest before the altar to Mary in the church's lower level, in close proximity to Charlemagne, whose own grave likely stood at the building's western entrance. This final act brought to a close a lifetime of events that were centered at Aachen, and which the history of the palace chapel and its structure had imbued with meaning. For Otto III and those who donated liturgical artworks to the Aachen treasury in his honor, that meaning derived in particular from the site's structural fusion of political and spiritual power and its spoliating imperative. This latter term characterizes the high degree of coordination that the early medieval objects in the

* I wish to thank Karen Blough, Adam Cohen, and Evan Gatti for their thoughtful feedback on earlier drafts of this essay. David Warner also graciously corresponded with me on aspects of Otto III's *renovatio*. Otto Karl Werckmeister kindly presented me with a copy of his own unpublished paper on Otto III's patronage at Aachen. This article derives from my forthcoming book, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture*. Unless otherwise indicated, translations from German and Latin are my own.

¹ See Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), 182-188 for a more detailed description of the events surrounding Otto III's death. Later page references to this book will refer to this edition.

² Lothar Bornscheuer, *Miseriae Regum: Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in den herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), 208-211.

Aachen treasury display; like the palace chapel itself, Ottonian works in the treasury all consist to varying degrees of reused precious objects as a way of making clear or establishing the donor's connection to a series of select historical and biblical legacies.

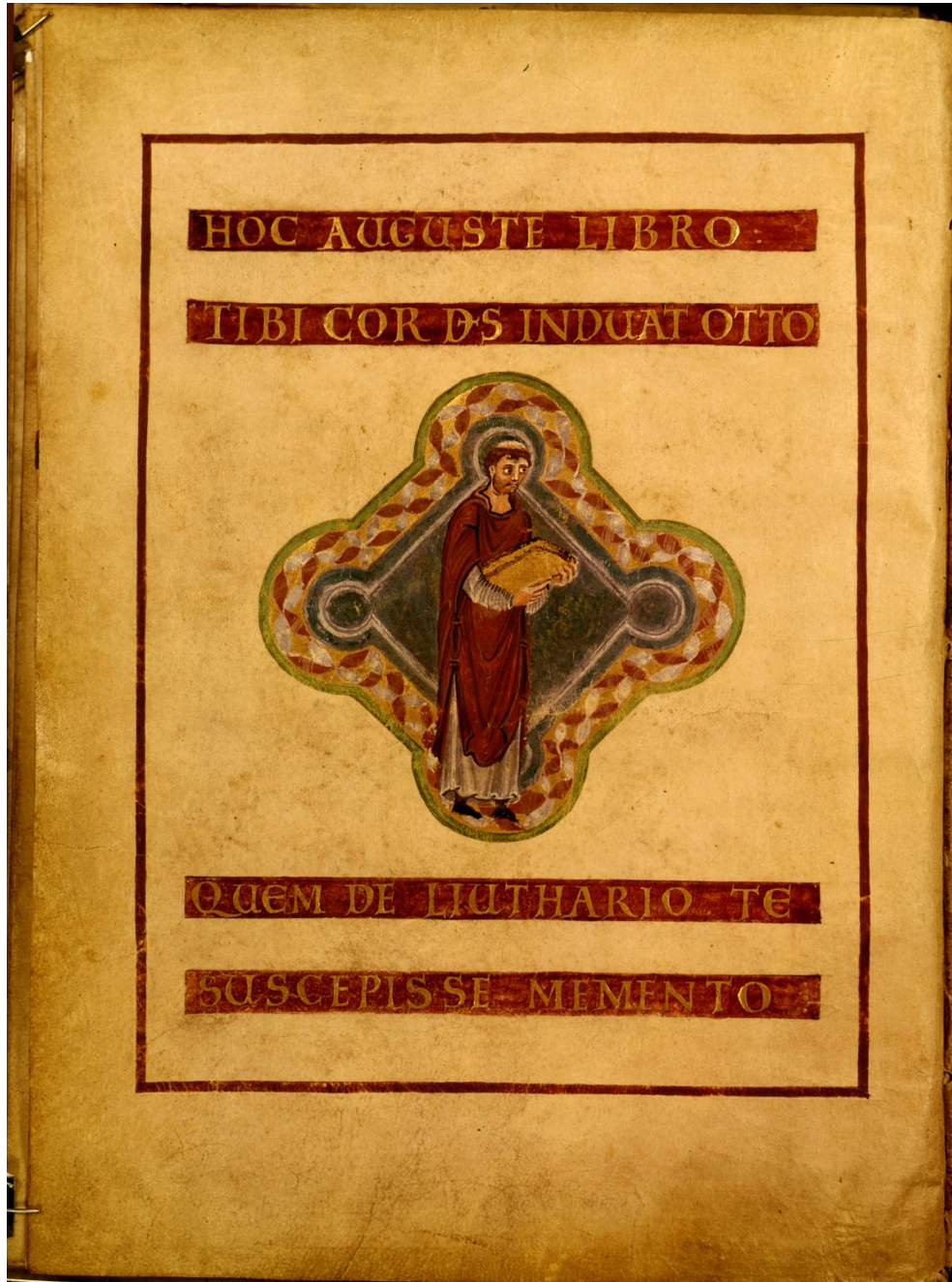


Figure 1. Monk Liuthar and Dedication Inscription, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 15v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.

The artworks at the center of this essay – the *Liuthar Gospels*, the *Gospels of Otto III* and the *Lothar Cross* (**fig. 1-6**) – arrived in the treasury in celebration of Otto III's coronation on Christmas day 983 or on the occasion of his invention of Charlemagne's tomb at Pentecost 1000.³ The visual programs of the individual objects and the circumstances surrounding their donation to the treasury were part of a larger material dialogue that Otto III – both as king and emperor – carried out at this site. Much of the symbolic meaning of this dialogue, which ultimately culminated in his burial on the day of Christ's Resurrection, was shaped both by the reuse of antique and Carolingian objects and by the mimicry of historical events from Antiquity and from the recent past.

This mimicry, I argue, stood in a mutually conditional relationship to the use of consistent types to represent the ruler. Otto III's residencies at Aachen and his donations to the Palace Chapel treasury, therefore, took much of their meaning from their replicative function, indeed from their real and imagined connection to historical events and personages. Moreover, considered as a body of material, Otto III's donations to the treasury were intended to function as material proof of his internalization of the ideals of his predecessors' reigns. The propagation of this in visual and material terms depended in large part upon the works' representational significance, both on their own and in the aggregate. All of the objects at the center of this essay

³ Though not a comprehensive bibliography, the following studies are foundational points of reference for all of these works: Wilhelm Messerer, *Zum Kaiserbild des Aachener Ottonenkodex* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959); Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich: Prestel, 1968); Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1972); Stephen G. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press); Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989); Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Phyllis Jestice (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Ilene Forsyth, "Art with History: The Role of *Spolia* in the Cumulative Work of Art," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Doula Mouriki et al (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 153-162; David Warner, "Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III," *Journal of Medieval History* 25/1 (1999): 1-18; *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.: Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. Florentine Mutherich and Karl Dachs (Munich: Prestel, 2001); David Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); David Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung: Visionsdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2008).

thereby respond in polyvalent ways to the presence of an *imago*, or a pre-established series of representational and ideological norms, which the young ruler embodied in word, image and deed.⁴



Figure 2. Otto III enthroned, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 16r, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.

⁴ The bibliography on the *imago* is extensive. I cite therefore studies that have informed the argument presented here: Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31/ 1 (January, 1980): 1-17; Thomas E.A. Dale, "The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg," *Speculum* 77/3 (July 2002): 707-743; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La culture de l'*imago*," *Annales* 51/1 (1996): 3-36; Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review* 105/5 (December, 2000): 1489-1533; Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Replica: Images of Identity and the Identity of Images in Prescholastic France," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 46-64.



Figure 3. Cover, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 34.7 cm x 24.5 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453.



Figure 4. Otto III Enthroned, Approached by Personifications of His Subject Territories, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folios 23v and 24r.



Figure 5. Lothar Cross, jeweled side (“Front”), c. 1000, gold, gilt silver and gems over a wood core, 49.8 cm x 38.8 cm x 2.3 cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 6. Lothar Cross, engraved side (“Back”), c. 1000, gold, gilt silver and gems over a wood core, 49.8 cm x 38.8 cm x 2.3 cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.

The Coronation of 983 and the Liuthar Gospels

Otto III's coronation took place at Aachen on Christmas day, 983, nearly three weeks after his father Otto II's death in Rome.⁵ The new king was but three years old and would not take over the reigns of government until 994. Originally scheduled as an elevation to co-rulership, the plans for the coronation ceremony were laid soon after Otto III's election as co-ruler in Verona earlier that year. According to reports of the event, news of Otto II's death reached his son and his caretakers either while the ceremony was underway or just after its completion; whatever the case may be, it is clear that this news immediately changed the meaning of the coronation rite. The date of Christ's own birth was particularly auspicious, for it corresponded not only exactly to Otto II's coronation as co-emperor in Rome in 967, but also to Charlemagne's own imperial coronation in the holy city in 800. The Aachen palace was perhaps the most hallowed royal residence in the Ottonian empire, and Otto III's coronation at the palace chapel likewise aligned him and his rule with his grandfather Otto I, the first Saxon king to renew the coronation tradition there. As embodied in the figures of Archbishops Willigis of Mainz and Johannes of Ravenna, who led the ritual, the ceremony was a display of the unity of the empire. Such a display was, of course, of particular import as 983 drew to a close, for Otto II's own residence in Italy was occasioned by protracted military activity against Islamic forces on the peninsula.⁶

Certainly a number of precious objects for liturgical use were presented in Otto III's honor on this day, yet the *Liuthar Gospels* is the only work to survive (**figs. 1-2**). Made at Reichenau around 983 (and now missing its original cover), the work contains one of the most

⁵ For details on this event, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 29-30; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 3:26, in Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, 147-148.

⁶ Althoff, *Otto III*, 29-30.

famous dedication scenes in the history of Ottonian art.⁷ As Stephen Beissel and Klaus Gereon Beuckers have suggested, the manuscript was destined for ceremonial use and was probably made as part of an initial round of official donations to the palace chapel treasury.⁸ Mutherich's short essay on the dating of the *Liuthar Gospels* implicitly connects its creation to the coronation of 983, which was originally planned as an elevation to co-rulership; even if the book was not made in time for presentation to the Palace Chapel treasury on the date of Otto III's royal coronation, the dedication series was certainly intended to commemorate the event.⁹

⁷ Questions relating to its proper dating have dominated the literature on this manuscript for quite some time, and my own analysis of this work will take as its point of departure Florentine Mutherich's suggested range of 983-990 as the correct one for the work's date of production. It should be said that this dating is still a matter of debate and some scholars associate this image with the time of Otto III's imperial coronation in 996, which took place in Rome. I agree with Mutherich's analysis, however: the term "august" in the inscription on folio 15v points to a subject whose eventual rule as emperor is anticipated. Some stylistic analyses point to dates of production in the 980s, likely on the heels of the *Egbert Codex*, whose creator, the so-called "Gregory Master" from Trier, clearly was in contact with the illuminators of this and other manuscripts painted at Reichenau. It is also significant that the ruler is not referred to as emperor, which would not be entirely fitting for a manuscript created in honor of (or on the heels of) and imperial coronation. See Florentine Mutherich, "Zur Datierung des Aachener ottonischen Evangeliars," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 32 (1966): 66-69. On the *Egbert Codex*, see the essays and reproductions in Gunther Franz, ed., *Der Egbert Codex: Ein Höhepunkt der Buchmalerei vor 1000 Jahren. Handschrift 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2005).

For more recent studies and for references to the rest of the literature, see: Ulrich Kuder, "Die Ottonen in der ottonischen Buchmalerei," in *Herrschaftspräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 137-234. Harmut Hoffmann, whose *Buchkunst und Königtum* provides paleographic analyses of a number of Ottonian manuscripts, has offered slightly problematic dates for this manuscript. Indeed, falling back on art-historical analyses that date the work to the year 1000, he offers dates from between 990-1000. This later dating is connected to the dating of the ruler image. See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 38, 72, 307. Ernst Kantorowicz's foundational if problematic analysis of the dedication image should also not go without mention: idem., *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 61-78.

⁸ Stephen Beissel, *Die Bilder der Handschrift des Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen* (Aachen: Rudolph Barth, 1886), 2; Klaus Gereon Beuckers, "Das ottonische Stifterbild," in *Die Ottonen: Kunst, Architektur, Geschichte*, ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers et al (Petersberg: Imhof, 2006), 97.

⁹ Mutherich, "Die Datierung des Aachener ottonischen Evangeliars," 66. Mutherich's argument here relies on Werner Ohnsorge, "Das Mitkaisertum in der abendländischen Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters," in *Abendland und Byzanz: gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt: Gentner, 1958), 268-272. Ohnsorge argues that members of the imperial family were referred to as "augustus" or "augusta" at court. This title, Ohnsorge notes, was frequently used in reference to the co-regent. For his discussion of this see "Das Mitkaisertum," 261-268. Such a title would have been entirely appropriate within the pages of a manuscript that was originally created for an elevation to co-rulership. Though tempting, speculation about the book's original patron is ultimately unknowable.

The singular iconography of the dedication series, which stands as the visual gateway to the gospel text and is the only two-folio scene in the entire manuscript, has inspired many analyses by historians and art historians alike.¹⁰ Like the dedication image in the Gospels of Otto III (**fig. 4**), Otto III's later manuscript donation to the Aachen treasury, the scene appears as a moment frozen both in time and outside of it; its composition immediately makes clear that it is to represent some eternal "truth" about the structure of Otto III's reign.

The tonsured figure of the monk Liuthar appears on the left (fol. 15v): the namesake of an entire school of manuscript painting at Reichenau and Trier, he may have been the book's scribe, illuminator, or both. He grips the very manuscript in which his own image is included in his hands as he approaches the king's figure on the facing page. In a bird's eye-view that approximates the king's own perspective from the throne loge at the Palace Chapel, Liuthar's image is set against a large rectangular quatrefoil that recalls an *opus sectile* marble floor.¹¹

The golden inscription – a memento of the act of presentation – is divided into two sets of two lines of text. In keeping with the physical separation of Liuthar and the king within the structure of the Palace Chapel, Otto's name appears in the upper reaches of the inscription, while Liuthar's is placed at the bottom. It reads:

May God clothe your heart
with this book,
O august Otto,
Remember Liuthar
from whom you received it.¹²

¹⁰ Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry: Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der 'Akt von Gnesen' und das frühe polnische Königtum* (Stuttgart, Steiner, 2001); Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 61-78.

¹¹ It is tempting to see this pattern as a reproduction of the floor of the Palace Chapel's interior octagon, yet there is no study known to me that could confirm this. The pattern of the early twentieth century marble floor of the central octagon, however, recalls the background that the monk Liuthar stands against.

¹² Hoc auguste libro/Tibi cor d[eu]s induat Otto/Quem de Liuthario te/Suscepisse memento



Figure 7. Interior View of Aachen Palace Chapel with view toward altars to Christ (second story) and Mary (ground floor) in East, photo Torsten Reimann.

On folio 16 recto, Otto III sits enthroned, his body enclosed within a golden mandorla. Here the perspective shifts to a cross-section of the palace chapel's glittering interior in a cutaway view that recalls, if schematically, Liuthar's own position (**fig. 7**). The images on each folio, therefore, reproduce in a chiastic fashion the reciprocal views of both Liuthar and the king. The ruler portrait likewise provides a generalized impression of the coronation event, with the young ruler's elevation on Charlemagne's throne, in an architectural space where heaven and earth were believed to converge.

Static yet simultaneously in motion, Otto III's figure was modeled on Carolingian images of Christ in Majesty, and likely bears a resemblance to the Carolingian mosaic of the enthroned Christ of the Second Coming that once stood at the center of the Chapel's shimmering cupola.¹³ Otto III's pose is strikingly christomimetic: with the royal orb clutched in his right hand, his arms are extended outward as if mimicking Christ on the Cross. A crouching grisaille figure of *Terra* supports the weight of his throne and emphasizes Otto III's position between Heaven and Earth, and the king appears consequently both heavy and weightless. In the midst of an image that is often called an apotheosis, Otto III's figure nonetheless remains motionless: he is an object moved by an external force.

The reason for the king's elevation to the upper reaches of the image is his coronation by God's own hand. Framed by a blue clipeus and set against a golden cross, the Hand of God creates a formal model for the image of the king below. God's hand penetrates the king's golden mandorla from outside of the miniature's deep red frame and places a crown on Otto III's head. In the segment of the coronation rite that follows the ruler's enthronement and precedes his

¹³ The current mosaic of the Second Coming dates from 1882 and is a reconstruction of that scene in the chapel's dome. This replaced an earlier mosaic from 1165, when the image was rearranged to suit the installation of Frederick Barbarossa's octagonal chandelier. This mid-twelfth century cupola mosaic replaced and reproduced a Carolingian mosaic image with the same iconography.

receipt of the crown, the officiating archbishop reminds the participants that the ruler's power derives "from the authority of the omnipotent God and our established tradition."¹⁴ Winged symbols of the Four Evangelists hover on either side of Otto III's figure; together they hold aloft a blank, uncut piece of parchment that indeed covers his heart. On either side of the king's throne two noble figures - both men are crowned and clothed much like Otto III - stand at attention and gesture toward the event in the center. Still a matter of scholarly debate, their identity remains uncertain, yet it is possible that they are a shorthand version of Otto III's lineage; they could be generalized representations of dukes or perhaps images of his father and grandfather, who make way for his ascension to the throne. In either case, these noble figures visually embody the segments of the coronation ritual that stress the importance of lineage and tradition.¹⁵ Below the coronation scene, two pairs of representatives from the ecclesiastical and military realms stand at attention, and their placement here reproduces an idealized political hierarchy. Overall, this image visually summons much of the symbolic language of the coronation ritual, which, like the structure of the Palace Chapel, was intended to reify a collusion of heaven and earth.¹⁶

The facing inscription makes clear that Otto is to use the knowledge contained in the gospel text to clothe, or shape, his heart, the receptacle for God's love, the seat of the soul and, in platonic thought, the seat of the mind.¹⁷ By creating connections between the dedication series,

¹⁴ "per auctoritatem Dei omnipotentis et praesentem traditionem nostram." See Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968-1971), 82.

¹⁵ Johannes Fried has proposed that these two figures represent Boleslaw Chrobry and Stephan of Hungary, and that this manuscript image should be considered in relation to Otto III's meeting with Chrobry in Gnesen/Gniezno during Lent of 1000. Fried is perhaps not wrong in identifying these figures as royalty, but the inscription is not suitable for an imperial recipient. See Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry*, passim.

¹⁶ Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, 59-87.

¹⁷ Wilhelm Messerer was the first to propose a reading of this image that relates the "induere" in the image to the impression of the message of the gospels on the king's heart. My interpretation of the image takes Messerer's argument as a point of departure. See Wilhelm Messerer, *Zum Kaiserbild des Ottonencodex* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959).

the building and the ceremony the book commemorates, the *Liuthar Gospels* was a critical object among many that incorporated the king's memory and image into the material history of the site.

The Ruler Image and the *imago*

Otto III's figure is derived from typological ruler images prevalent on Ottonian seals and coins and also from representations of Christ in Majesty found in Carolingian bibles present in the library at Reichenau.¹⁸ Typological portraits such as this image were important visual tools in the projection of political permanence and solidity. Using prior considerations of the history of the individual as crucial points of departure, Caroline Walker Bynum has looked closely at the emergence of new ways of thinking about the self in relation to a larger group from about 1050 onward, noting in particular that "twelfth century people tended to write about themselves and others as types."¹⁹ Studies that have built upon the interpretive framework Bynum offered in her analysis have also attended to medieval theories of selfhood, paying special attention to the belief that the adherence to an established model, an *imago*, could properly shape one's own spirit.²⁰ The faithful observance of a representational canon, therefore, had the capacity to mold or shape one's character and public image; the *imago* thus had a material aspect, and it could

¹⁸ Compare this image of Otto III to that of Christ in Majesty from the *Vivian Bible* (also called the *First Bible of Charles the Bald*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 1). On the library at Reichenau, see Albert Boeckler, "Bildvorlagen der Reichenau," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1949): 17-20; Anton von Euw, "Die Darmstädter Gero-Codex und die künstlerisch verwandten Reichenauer Prachthandschriften," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 1, eds. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1991), 197-204.

¹⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31/1 (January, 1980): 9. Bynum's study built upon the following analyses, among others: R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 219-257; Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); John Benton, "Individualism and Conformity in Medieval Western Europe," in *Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam*, eds. Amin Banani and Speros Vryonis (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), 145-158.

²⁰ Thomas E.A. Dale, "The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture," 707-743; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La culture de l'*imago*," 3-36.

likewise define the way in which an individual was remembered. In short, the steady sameness of typological images in the early medieval period reinforced their representational functions.

Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak's own considerations of early medieval seals and semiotics have addressed the ways in which the act of creating typological imagery, in what she calls the "prescholastic" era of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, lent meaning to the images themselves.²¹ Her investigations of early medieval seal imagery have established that the relationship between a model and its copy (or a seal and its imprint) was conceived of in religious terms and likened to the relationship between Christ and God. Further, the process of making typological imagery included the creation of a physical relationship between the owner of the seal and his impression.²² When considering portraits that derived from types on official seals like that of Otto III, it stands to reason that their meanings must be closely related, if not the same. Indeed, the ruler image of Otto III in the *Liuthar Gospels*, when compared to contemporary seals, appears to have been modeled in part from a seal matrix: where seal imprints show the ruler with the royal orb in his left hand and the scepter in his right, the *Liuthar Gospels* image appears as a partial reverse of the seal, as if it were itself an imprint (**figs. 2, 9**). Taking Bedos-Rezak's arguments into consideration, the use of a type derived from both official seals and images of Christ in Majesty could guarantee the ruler's presence even in his physical absence and potentially could reify the elision of ruler and Christ that was laid out in the very structure of the Palace Chapel, with the altar to Christ in the upper level directly facing the throne loge (**fig. 8**).

²¹ Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Replica: Images of Identity and the Identity of Images in Prescholastic France," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 47.

²² Bedos-Rezak, "Replica: Images of Identity," 48, 54.

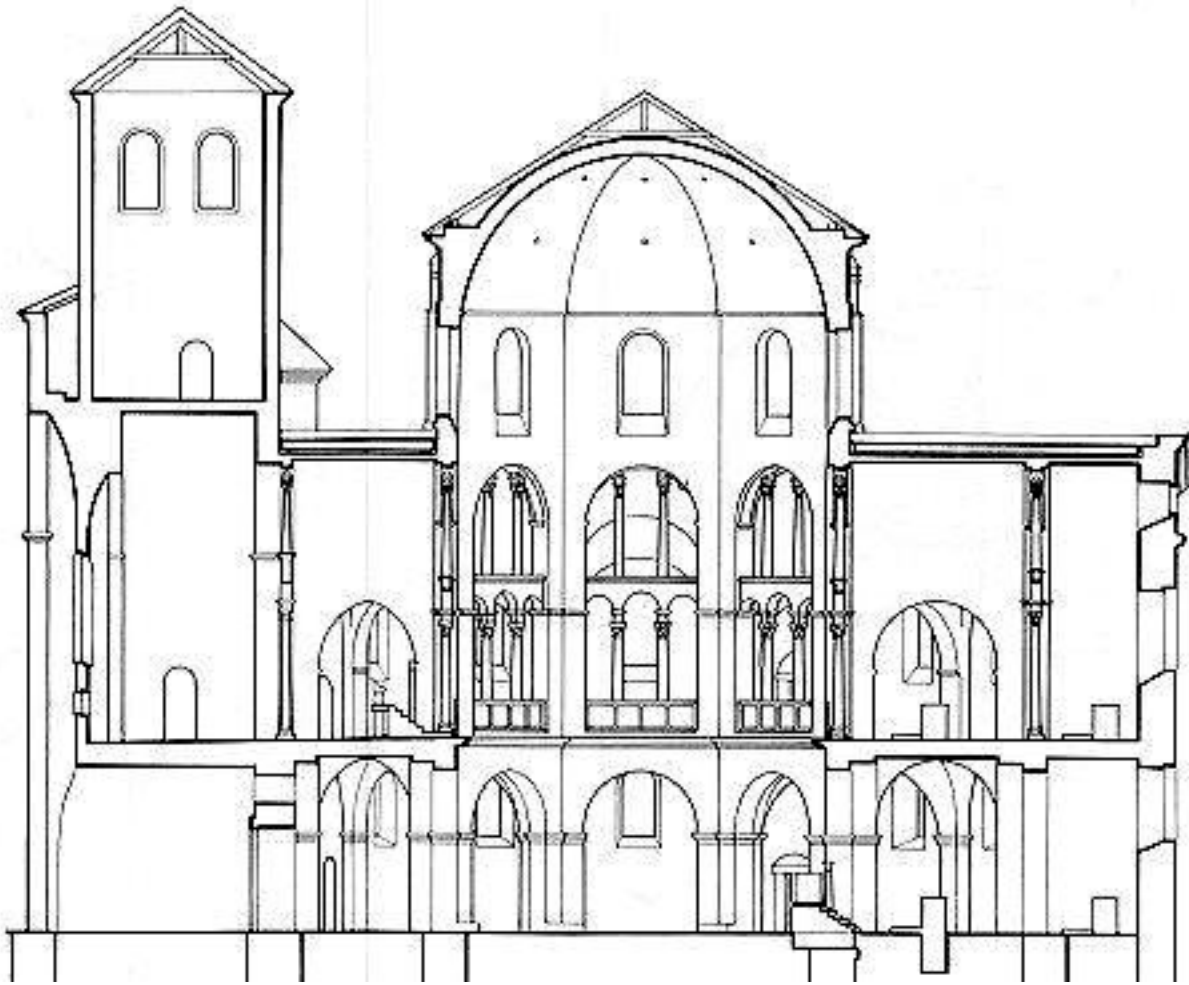


Figure 8. Transverse Section of Palace Chapel with view of throne loge in west (on left) and altars to Mary and Christ in east (on right), Aachen, image in the public domain.



Figure 9. Seal of Otto III, used between 985 and 996, image in the public domain.

The dedication miniature on folio 16 recto renders the coronation ceremony as a physical and spiritual elevation of the king, who, like his father and grandfather before him, is presented with the texts of the gospels as a guide to proper government. Since this book was not destined for Otto III's personal use and edification, it was not a traditional “mirror of princes”; it was rather a holy object whose use by the canons of the palace chapel made ever more concrete the

connections between the earthly and spiritual hierarchies visualized within the book's pages. Thus, the spiritual and political benefits Otto III derived from this book were as passive as his image in the upper level of the dedication miniature. Here, the king remains static in the midst of the four evangelist symbols who, together, hold a blank length of uncut parchment over his heart. Here, the "clothing" of the king's heart with the book is an act of which Otto III is the focus, but he is not its motivating force.

By virtue of its similarity to other images, the ruler portrait in the Liuthar Gospels referenced Otto III's likeness to his predecessors as well as his likeness to Christ.²³ In turn, the rest of the manuscript's iconographic program formally harnessed essential aspects of the chapel's structure: like the ruler image, each of the miniatures is placed within a tall, rounded frame that recalls a cutaway view of the Palace Chapel. This series of correlations connects the realm of the ruler with that of biblical experience; it likewise makes clear that the Palace Chapel is a site where this connection is reified.²⁴ Here, the projection of the king's Christ-likeness assured that the Gospels would clothe his heart, just as the work could testify to the king's formation after his father's image. In the same way that a seal imprint could carry with it an authorization of the ruler's presence, the "seal type" visible in the ruler image in the *Liuthar Gospels*, placed at the gateway to the Word itself, also had the power to form the young ruler.

²³ I thank Evan Gatti for encouraging me to consider the priestly nature of Otto III's *christomimesis* here. A fuller consideration of this connection will be a part of the book-length study on Ottonian ruler imagery from which this essay derives.

²⁴ Otto Karl Werckmeister has discussed this at some length in an unpublished paper entitled "The Donations of Otto III to the Imperial Chapel at Aachen." Werckmeister writes of this correlation: "Comparisons such as this [i.e. between buildings and images] are validated by the observation, established long ago by authors such as Krautheimer and Bandmann, that analogies between medieval buildings which establish model-copy relationships and other filiations, usually rest on no more than one or two points of structural similarity, rather than on detailed imitations of the visual appearance of the architecture. A comparison between the architectonic compositions of a building and a manuscript will furthermore have to take into account the fundamental aesthetic difference between the simultaneity of architecture and the sequential unfolding of structure in a codex." I thank Karl Werckmeister for providing me with a copy of this paper.

The “clothing” of the ruler in the dedication image stands in a direct relationship to the curious evangelist portraits that introduce each of the gospels (**figs. 10-13**). All of the evangelist portraits – whose figures derive from Byzantine prototypes – show their subjects as larger-than-life. Each sits in his study, which, like the dedication image and all of the other images in the



Figure 10. Evangelist Matthew, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 21v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 11. Evangelist Mark, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 80v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 12. Evangelist Luke, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 122v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 13. Evangelist John, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 190v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.

Liuthar Gospels, appears as a cutaway view of the Palace Chapel interior. Both the king and the evangelists receive their knowledge of the Word in analogous processes of “clothing.” In these portraits, the transmission of the Word to each of the evangelists includes their physical connection to blank scrolls of parchment that frame their haloes and which their respective symbols display frontally to the viewer.²⁵

The coordination of the entire illumination cycle with the structure of the Palace Chapel is especially clear in two miniatures in the gospel of Luke that contain additional visual references to the tripartite division of the arches in the upper level of the chapel (**figs. 14-15**). Christ’s figure is at the center of both: the Presentation in the Temple (129v) and Christ in the House of Mary and Martha (151v). In the Presentation image, the viewer is presented with a cross-section of the temple in Jerusalem that is set inside the larger arcade of the miniature’s frame. The temple’s structure approximates a transverse section of the Palace Chapel, with its octagonal double-shell plan and its high rounded cupola.

The Presentation, f. 129v, directly follows that of the Nativity, f. 128r, (**fig. 16**); the scene for the Christmas feast is organized in two tiers, with the swaddled Christ child at the center and Joseph and Mary to either side. Like their royal analogues in the dedication miniature, Joseph and Mary raise their hands in wonder as two groups of angels announce the birth to two groups of shepherds assembled below. In the scene of Christ in the House of Mary and Martha (f. 151v), Christ’s figure – with his outstretched arms and his elevation above Mary, whose body supports

²⁵ Just as the vesting of the king and that of the evangelists with the Word are presented here as related processes, there is a similar consistency between the formal arrangement of the coronation image and a number of the biblical scenes in the rest of the book. Ultimately this correlation strengthens further the intended connections between Christ and king. In his unpublished paper on Otto III’s donations to Aachen, Karl Werckmeister has proposed that the consistent visual evocation of the physical structure of the building and the composition of the miniatures in the *Liuthar Gospels* is an attempt to recreate the simultaneity of the experience of an architectural space that itself embodies and contains the Word. This experience, as Werckmeister notes, is rendered sequentially in the gospel scenes. Thus, the assembly of images is to be taken in as a totality; their meanings could be transferred, through the book’s use at the palace chapel, to the king both during his lifetime and after his death.

Christ's feet – closely recalls the combined image of Otto III and *Terra*. As we will see, the sole extant work associated with Otto III's 983 coronation stands at the beginning of material and artistic trajectories to which his later donations responded. That is, Otto III's later gifts to the treasury made clear that the expectations laid out in the visual program of the *Liuthar Gospels* were fulfilled.



Figure 14. Presentation in the Temple, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 129v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 15. Christ in the House of Mary and Martha, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 151v, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 16. Nativity, Liuthar Gospels, manuscript, c. 990, 29.8 cm x 21.5cm. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Folio 128r, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.



Figure 17. Ivory *situla*, c. 1000, 17.7 cm tall. Cathedral Treasury, Aachen, Photo by Ann Münchnow, photo ©: Domkapitel Aachen.

Pentecost 1000 and the Response to the Liuthar Gospels in the Gospels of Otto III

Otto III's next extant group of donations, which comprised in part the *Gospels of Otto III*, the *Lothar Cross*, and an ivory holy water vessel, arrived in the Palace Chapel treasury on the occasion of Otto III's celebration of Pentecost at Aachen in 1000 (**figs. 3-6, 17**). Otto III arrived in Aachen from Quedlinburg, where he had celebrated Easter and visited with his sister Adelheid, the abbess of St. Servatius. The emperor had spent the last days of the Lenten season in Poland, where he had been a guest at the court of the Polish duke Boleslaw Chrobry. Both rulers established at this time a formal *amicitia*, which included the elevation of the Polish town of Gniezno to an archbishopric. Gniezno's elevation was occasioned by Bishop Adalbert of Prague's (d. 997) canonization and this meeting was more generally a public celebration of a reinvigoration of the Christian mission in the east, in the service of which Adalbert had lost his life. The meeting did in fact establish a short-lived measure of peace between the empire and Poland, while it likewise celebrated the connections both Chrobry and Otto III in particular had to Adalbert himself.²⁶ If we can consider this pact's importance as a renewal of Christ's own mission to the Apostles, the renewed commitment to the Christian mission east of the Elbe must have inflected the overall message of Otto III's later celebration of the Pentecost feast at Aachen.²⁷ Otto III's support of the conversion effort in Poland depended upon his diplomatic

²⁶ Chrobry had purchased Adalbert's remains from the pagan Prussians (the group responsible for Adalbert's death) and interred the missionary's body in Gniezno, the center of Chrobry's own territory; Adalbert's remains, as the story goes, immediately began to work miracles that occasioned his canonization only three years later. Otto III, for his part, had been on friendly terms with Adalbert; during an interruption from his Episcopal duties, Adalbert took on monk's robes at St. Bonifazio and Alessio in Rome. Otto III is known to have visited him at both places with relative frequency. See Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry*, 13-20.

²⁷ Matthew Gabriele has come to some conclusions about Otto III's visit to Aachen in 1000 that are at points similar to mine. Gabriele's arguments are based on his scrutiny of Otto III's diplomas in the period leading up to this visit. By contrast, mine are based primarily on a consideration of the art-historical evidence, and were reached prior to reading Gabriele's essay. See Matthew Gabriele, "Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence," in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2002), 111-132.

relationship with Boleslaw Chrobry, particularly since the emperor had chosen to reside primarily on the Italian peninsula.²⁸

By the time of his arrival at Aachen in 1000, the twenty-year old Otto III had been emperor for roughly four years and likely had been ruling his territory independently for six. He had also been residing in Rome since February 998 in his palace on the Palatine hill, which itself stood on the rubble of the palace of the Emperor Augustus.²⁹ Otto III's return to Rome was occasioned by revolt of Roman patricians and the anti-pope Johannes Philagothos. From this point onward, Otto III's imperial seal included the device *renovatio imperii romanorum*, whose meanings numerous historians, beginning with Percy Ernst Schramm, have attempted to define.³⁰ Otto III's teacher and political advisor, Pope Sylvester II, the former Gerbert of Aurillac (also known as Gerbert of Reims), likely worked closely with the emperor in propagating the idea of the *renovatio*. One of the most learned men of his time, Gerbert of Aurillac had entered the imperial circle as Otto III's tutor in 997. It was Gerbert who expanded the emperor's familiarity with a range of foundational works of classical philosophy and history.³¹

Regardless of the success or failure of the *renovatio*, both the Pope and the emperor, as the first millennium came to a close, were interested in elevating Rome as the center of political

²⁸ Henry II's relationship to Chrobry was outwardly antagonistic by comparison.

²⁹ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2nd ed (Darmstadt: Gentner, 1957), 102, 108-109, and 108, notes 2 and 3. Carlrichard Brühl has provided secure evidence for the palace's location on the Palatine as opposed to the Aventine. See Brühl, "Die Kaiserpfalz bei St. Peter und die Pfalz Ottos III. auf dem Palatin (Neufassung 1983)," in *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatie. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim; Munich: Weidmann, 1989), 20-31. David Warner provides a succinct and clear analysis of the historical significance of this palace in "Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III," 14-15, and notes 72-79. On the uprising of Johannes Crescentius and Otto III's capture of Rome in 998, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 100-114.

³⁰ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser Rom und Renovatio*, 117-118; Althoff, *Otto III*, 114-125; Knut Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxicus et Italicus. Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993); David Warner, "Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III," 1-18.

³¹ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 97-99.

and spiritual power that it had been under the emperor Constantine and the first Pope Silvester. That is, all evidence seems to point to an intended “return” to the originary constellation of empire and Church, and, though cut short by Otto III’s unexpected death in 1002, both the pope and the emperor were engaged in the promotion of this renewal as a visual and rhetorical program. The specters of both an Antique ideal and Charlemagne’s own reputation as the political successor to a Roman imperial legacy informed the appearance of Otto III’s second set of donations to the Palace Chapel treasury. In particular, the emperor’s ritual discovery of Charlemagne’s tomb at Pentecost, which he performed in direct imitation of Augustus’ own invention of Alexander the Great’s grave, is an indication of the lengths to which Otto III would go in order to display his internalization of antique history and his concomitant embodiment of imperial ideals.³²

The pastiche of historical influence and the direct engagement with biblical and historical narratives at Pentecost 1000 directly influenced the form and content of Otto III’s gifts to the Aachen treasury. On the *Lothar Cross*, the emperor’s total absorption of the past went hand in hand with the incorporation of precious *spolia* from the Augustan and Carolingian eras (**figs. 5-6**). In a like manner, the ruler’s assimilation of a Christian imperial ideal on the model of Constantine is a defining theme of the cycle of imagery in the Gospels of Otto III (**fig. 4**). As in the first round of donations, the perpetuation of a standardized ruler type and the incorporation of older objects into new works belonged to the same category of cultural practice as the ritualized, performative mimicry of historical and biblical events. Indeed, both the mimicry of historical events and the use of a Constantinian type in the Gospels of Otto III are informed by the very historical and spiritual concerns that gave meaning to the *spolia* on the Lothar Cross. In this

³² Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Book 2, Chapter 18, trans. Alexander Thomson (Williamstown: Corner House, 1978), 87-88.

instance, mimetic practices ultimately relied on the combination of multi-layered material and performative signs that could function all at once, all the time, in combinations that gained meaning from the collusion of sacred and secular, of the beginning of Christian time and its end. Such meanings are indeed germane to the sacredness of Pentecost itself. Moreover, and as is consistent with many of the other early medieval objects in the Palace Chapel treasury, these works solidified the emperor's own place in the center of that constellation as the figure to whom all blessings first flow.

The scholarship devoted to Otto III's invention and probable plunder of Charlemagne's grave in 1000 generally acknowledges that this was likely part of a grander plan to elevate Charlemagne to sainthood, which eventually happened in 1165 under the direction of Frederick Barbarossa and the anti-pope Paschal III.³³ Contemporary chroniclers relate the story of the first invention of Charlemagne's grave in slightly divergent ways, yet these authors and their subject – Otto III – relied plainly on Suetonius' *Life of Augustus* as a template. In its own time, then, Otto III's celebration of Pentecost at Aachen was steeped in symbolic significance. Suetonius' brief account of this event in chapter 18 of his biography bears repeating. He writes:

At this time [Augustus] had a desire to see the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great, which, for that purpose, were taken out of the cell in which they rested; and after viewing them for some time, he paid honors to the memory of that prince, by offering a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body.³⁴

Suetonius' text thus functioned as the defining *imago* that had the potential to shape the meaning of the event far into the future. This short narrative provided the chroniclers of Otto III's

³³ The scholarship on Otto III's trip to Aachen in 1000 is broad. For an overview and references to the earlier literature, see Knut Görich, "Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen. Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehrung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, eds. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), 381-430; Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, 148-152. In 1165, as part of the celebration of Charlemagne's canonization, Barbarossa himself copied Otto III's imitation in his own invention of Charlemagne's tomb.

³⁴ Suetonius, *Live of the Twelve Caesars*, Book 2, Chapter 18, trans. Thomson, 87.

invention with a basic template for their stories' arcs: each medieval author relates Otto III's discovery of Charlemagne's tomb and the emperor's subsequent honoring of the corpse in a ritualized way. Although all of the three early eleventh-century sources to relate Otto III's discovery of Charlemagne's tomb - Thietmar of Merseburg, Adémar of Chabannes and Otto of Lomello – embellish their model differently, the chroniclers are consistent in relating basic elements of the invention and that it happened.³⁵

Some of these elements bear repeating, for they can help account for the conceptual links between the performative mimicry of historical events and the works Otto III presented at the Pentecost feast in 1000. Thietmar of Merseburg situates his account of the invention in direct relation to his desire “to renew the ancient custom of the Romans,” and related that the emperor, though first unsure of the location of Charlemagne's tomb, eventually found it.³⁶ Upon reaching Charlemagne's body, Thietmar recalls, Otto III removed a golden cross from the corpse's neck along with the remnants of Charlemagne's clothing, and then proceeded to seal up the tomb. Count Otto of Lomello, who claimed to have been an eyewitness to the invention, relayed more information than his Saxon contemporary. Count Otto reported that the emperor and his entourage, having uncovered the tomb, knelt before Charlemagne's corpse. Charlemagne was seated “like a living person” and his body had not decayed, save for the tip of his nose, which Otto III replaced handily with a gold prosthesis, but not until he had removed one of

³⁵ All three of these accounts were penned between roughly 1015 and 1030. Thietmar's *Chronicon* was the first to relate the event. Though apparently an eyewitness to the invention, Otto of Lomello wrote his account of the event in the *Chronicon Novaliciense* around 1026. Adémar of Chabannes penned his report around the year 1030. See Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 4: 47 in Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, 185; *Chronicon Novaliciense*, 3:32 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 7; Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris: Picard, 1897), 153-54. Adémar's account can also be found in Wolfgang Lautemann, *Geschichte in Quellen*, vol. 2 (Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1970), 213.

³⁶ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 4: 47 in Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, 185.

Charlemagne's teeth.³⁷ In return for the relics Otto III procured from Charlemagne's body, he also presented Charlemagne with a new set of white robes (appropriate for Pentecost), clipped his fingernails and, finally, tidied up the rest of the tomb.

Where Thietmar's and Otto of Lomello's accounts seem to follow closely the structure and content of Suetonius' model, Adémar of Chabannes enlivened his version of the event by incorporating biblical models.³⁸ Adémar's approach drew inspiration from the physical and historical context of Otto III's invention; indeed, the fusion of the sacred and the secular in the Palace Chapel and in the *renovatio imperii* as a concept motivate the tone of his narrative. As Stephen Nichols has proposed, Adémar of Chabannes rhetorically aligned Otto III's search for Charlemagne's grave with that of the invention of the Christ's Tomb on Easter Sunday. Such a connection, according to Nichols, would have been especially clear at Aachen, a site modeled in part on the structure of the Holy Sepulchre itself.³⁹ Adémar's report further re-imagines the significance of the Pentecost feast as a moment when the Trinity is revealed to man or, in the event of the donations of 1000, to Otto III, who functions in the story as the conduit of this connection.⁴⁰ The fusion of Christ and Emperor in accounts of Otto III's invention of Charlemagne's tomb was therefore entirely in keeping with the overall program of the Palace chapel's upper level, with the structural configuration of the altar to Christ the Redeemer facing

³⁷ *Chronicon Novalinciense*, book III, chapter 32 in Lautemann, *Geschichte in Quellen*, vol. 2, 213.

³⁸ Stephen Nichols, *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 66-82.

³⁹ Stephen Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 66-82. On the significance of architectural copies in the Middle Ages, see Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942): 1-33.

⁴⁰ Stephen Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 76-82.

the Carolingian throne loge, both of which were structurally united by the mosaic of the Second Coming in the cupola.

The ruler portrait in the Gospels of Otto III responds to and expands the spiritual and political ideals embedded into the very structure of the Palace Chapel and pictured in the dedication series in the *Liuthar Gospels* (**fig. 4**). Like the ruler portrait in the *Liuthar Gospels*, the dedication image of Otto III is situated as a monumental frontispiece to the text of the four gospels, and it is spread out over two folios. The cycle of illuminations that follows this image is remarkably similar to that in the *Liuthar Gospels*; both cycles point to spiritual constancy and the significance of Christ as the supreme imperial model.⁴¹

Whereas the earlier royal portrait reveals to the viewer a ruler whose heart is to be clothed with the texts of the gospels, the ruler image in the *Gospels of Otto III* is that of an impassive emperor whose alert gaze addresses the viewer as a suppliant. As on his seals, Otto III grips the royal orb in his left hand and the imperial scepter in his right. Much like his other portrait in the *Liuthar Gospels*, Otto III appears here as a static object and is therefore rightly styled as such: underneath his rich green cloak we see his deep purple tunic whose seams are encrusted with gems and lined with gold thread. The stones placed on the hem of his tunic are consistent with those that stud his crown; the emperor's adornment indeed nearly exactly corresponds to the arrangement and selection of the stones on both the manuscript's cover and on the *Lothar Cross* (**figs. 3, 5-6**). In the book's use in processions and at the altar to Mary on the ground level of the Palace Chapel, the gospels would have functioned as a material extension of

⁴¹ Stephan Beissel's monograph remains the only publication dealing solely with the *Liuthar Gospels*' cycle of illumination. See Stephan Beissel, S.J., *Die Bilder der Handschrift des Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen* (Aachen: Rudolph Barth, 1886). The entire cycle of illumination in the Gospels of Otto III is more easily consulted. See *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.: Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, eds. Florentine Mutherich and Karl Dachs (Munich: Prestel, 2001).

the emperor's presence and as a reproduction of Christ's own return. What the viewer sees and holds is thus a true extension of the emperor himself.⁴²

Otto III's static figure imparts a certain calm to those who surround him and pay him homage. Four female personifications of the subject territories approach him on his right and bear him gifts while representatives from the ecclesiastical and military realms flank him on either side of his imposing throne. Where the elder leader of the military to the emperor's left raises his right hand in approbation, the gray-haired ecclesiastic on Otto III's favored side clutches a codex in one hand and props up the imperial throne with the other. The organization of the subject territories on the facing folio is likewise a roster of his political priorities at this point in his reign: *Roma* approaches him first and she presents the emperor with a golden bowl lined with pearls and filled with gems. Compared to those of the other territories, *Roma*'s offering is the most precious, for she shields it from her touch with a swathe of cloth as she displays it to the emperor, whose stony gaze does not meet hers. Though the ruler type chosen for this image retains certain elements of the type used in the *Liuthar Gospels*, the emperor's figure in the *Gospels of Otto III* has much in common with Late Antique ruler imagery.⁴³ The setting of this dedication scene is likewise Roman in inspiration, and indeed was representative enough that it was reproduced on an octagonal ivory holy water vessel that Otto III probably also presented to Aachen in 1000: the emperor and his entourage (which may include a portrait of Silvester II) hold court in front of individual palaces and city gates whose designs are Roman in inspiration (**fig. 17**). As Roman as they appear, however, these buildings could be anywhere, and this is in

⁴² The *Gospels of Otto III* only remained in the Palace Chapel treasury for several years after its original donation. Henry II, Otto III's successor, removed it and other Carolingian and Ottonian objects and presented them to the Bamberg cathedral treasury on May 6, 1012. This series of events is a focus of the book project from which this essay derives.

⁴³ For example, compare the face and comportment of Otto III to the fragments of the monumental seated statue of Constantine now at the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

keeping with Otto III's and Pope Sylvester II's claims to the renewal of a Roman Empire on the models of both Constantine and Charlemagne.

Compared to the dedication series in the *Liuthar Gospels*, the composition of the later scene is simplified; the later image lent the proposed new direction of Otto III's empire a visual form (**figs. 1, 2, 4**). In the *Liuthar Gospels*, the concept of being "clothed" with the Word indicates that aspects of the king's life had yet to be carried out and fulfilled. The visual program of the *Gospels of Otto III* presents a resolution to the spiritual and political expectations laid out for the king in the earlier manuscript. In both cases, of course, the political hierarchy is itself holy, and the ruler's importance is Christ-like. Yet in the *Liuthar Gospels*, the king's role is interpreted thaumaturgically, and the images that follow are to shape him. By contrast, the emperor in the *Gospels of Otto III* is a figure already imbued with the spirit, and the cycle of imagery that follows highlights his complete assimilation of a range of Old and New Testament models.⁴⁴

The composition of this dedication image takes as much from imperial triumphal imagery as it does from gospel scenes of the Epiphany, and this is consistent with the artful combination of political and spiritual hierarchies visible in other works made for Ottonian patrons.⁴⁵ Both types of imagery disclose political or spiritual "truths" to the viewer and they both are meant to inculcate a given range of proper responses, and this partially explains the markedly similar

⁴⁴ Since Otto III's trip to Aachen was certainly planned far in advance (both the feast and the millennial year being of critical significance), it would seem that the emperor's advisors and artists working at Reichenau were interested in creating artworks that reinforced the spiritual meanings of the Pentecost feast. Although the accounts of the emperor's invention of Charlemagne's tomb make the event appear spontaneous, it is likely that this was also planned. It is impossible to know whether the artists who created the cycle of illumination in the *Gospels of Otto III* were aware of this plan, but the argument presented about the meanings of the book's program does not stand or fall on the discovery of Charlemagne's remains.

⁴⁵ For an impression of the way in which Ottonian imperial artworks combine spiritual and political ideals, see Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II.* (Munich: Prestel, 1962), *passim*.



Figure 18. The Adoration of the Magi, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 29r.

compositions of the dedication series and the scene of the Epiphany on folio 29r (**figs. 4, 18**). Like the subject territories who approach the emperor with their gifts, the three kings bow to Mary and Child and extend their offerings to them. Pictured here as an embodiment of the Incarnation, the Virgin and Child are seated as one in a schematically rendered church interior and their figures are elevated above the kings as if on an altar. In the clear visual correlation between the donor image and that of the Epiphany, the creators of the *Gospels of Otto III* aimed to equate political subservience with spiritual faith. Similarly, this image recalls the significance of Otto III's own presentation of the book to the altar of Mary. David Ganz has further characterized the closing of the book as "a material realization" of the presentation.⁴⁶ While the donor image may make clear that the emperor is the recipient of numerous blessings, his own gifts are directed back to the Church.⁴⁷

The ruler portrait in the *Gospels of Otto III* likewise proclaims the emperor's assimilation of Christian precepts. Seated at the gateway to the gospels, the portrait of Otto III is an embodiment of the ideals projected in the *Liuthar Gospels*, and the viewer is presented with visual proof of the presence of the divine in the secular. As in the *Liuthar Gospels*, the evidence for the ruler's internalization of the Word is elaborated in the evangelist portraits, yet in the earlier work this is depicted as an as-yet-unfinished process. In the later work, this process is

⁴⁶ David Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung: Visionsdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2008), 163-165. Though he does not explain this in any more detail, Ganz's implication is that the closure of the book activates the process of giving that we see in the dedication image.

⁴⁷ A similar process of giving and receiving is also evident in the tenth-century Byzantine ivory of the Virgin's death that graces the front cover of the Gospels (**fig. 3**). Indeed, this image, like the Epiphany scene, was likely chosen because of its relationship to salient elements of the Palace Chapel's structure, with its placement of the altar to Christ above the altar to Mary. Mary's body stretches across the lower portion of the work, her figure surrounded by the mourning apostles. Christ stands at the center and, looking down at his mother, takes her spirit into his hands and offers it up to two angels who hover at the top of the composition. His figure formally unites the upper and lower realms of the image, and Mary's swaddled spirit is awaited as a precious gift.

complete. With their penetrating gazes and their rigid frontality, the evangelists in the *Gospels of Otto III* are cut from the same cloth as the ruler himself.⁴⁸

The scholarship on the “visionary evangelists” of the *Gospels of Otto III* has presented a number of plausible lines of interpretation for these figures (**figs. 19-22**); perhaps the most widely accepted view sees in this series of portraits references to the four stages in the Life of Christ and, naturally, to the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments.⁴⁹ Most studies have noted the placement of major and minor Old Testament prophets and kings inside clouds that hover either above the evangelists’ heads or around their figures more generally. Unlike more traditional depictions that show the authors of the gospels as monks in their studies, these evangelists are frontally enthroned on apocalyptic rainbows and framed in mandorlas of varying shapes. The clouds that surround them appear to move; they are filled with rays of light that illuminate the small bust-length figures of Old Testament prophets and Kings who display their scrolls to the viewer. Each of these Old Testament figures dons a royal robe and a crown, and each king appears as the spiritual predecessor of the emperor Otto III.⁵⁰ In the evangelist portraits, these prophets and kings are “seers,” for they saw the Lord when others did

⁴⁸ If in the *Liuthar Gospels* the evangelists were derived from Byzantine models, the Evangelists of the *Gospels of Otto III* derive much of their appearance from classical “atalantes.”

⁴⁹ See Konrad Hoffmann, “Die Evangelistenbilder des Münchener Otto-Evangeliars (CLM 4453),” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 20 (1966): 17-46. Florentine Mutherich’s essay on these portraits presents a clear summary of the major points raised in the extensive scholarship. See Florentine Mutherich, “Die Evangelistenbilder,” in *Das Evangeliar Ottos III*, 39-45. See also Hubert Schrader, “Zu den Evangelistenbildern des Münchener Otto-Evangeliars,” in *Beträge zur schwäbischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Werner Fleischhauer* (Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1964), 9-34; Bernhard Bischoff, “Das biblische Thema der Reichenauer ‘Visionären Evangelisten,’” in *Liturgie: Gestalt und Vollzug: Festschrift J. Pascher*, ed. W. Dürig (Regensburg, 1963), 25-32; Charles de Tolnay, “The Visionary Evangelists of the Reichenau School,” *Burlington Magazine*, 69 (1936): 257-263.

⁵⁰ Konrad Hoffmann noted the similarity between the ruler image and the Old Testament figures in the *Gospels of Otto III*, though he did not offer an interpretation of these figures in relation to dedication portrait. See Hoffmann, “Die Evangelistenbilder,” 17.

not.⁵¹ As Hubert Schrade has pointed out, the physical disproportion of the prophets and kings to the full monumental figures of the evangelists underscores the unfulfilled aspects of their prophecies.⁵²

Like the image of the emperor on folio 24r, the evangelists' gazes are directed squarely at the viewer, and the Old Testament figures all look expectantly to the authors of the New Law. All of the figures in the evangelist portraits actively see, and these representations of sight equate vision with internalized knowledge.⁵³ These exemplars of an idealized process of spiritual viewing indeed directly face monumental initial pages; this juxtaposition makes clear that the Word itself can be assimilated in an almost physical way. Inscriptions that run along the bottom of each evangelist portrait tell the viewer alternately what to see and how to see it or remind her that one's knowledge of God can be sensorily apprehended. Indeed, Luke's figure, which grips in both hands a roiling cloud mass, makes especially clear that knowledge of God is something that can be touched; the two lambs that drink from the rivers beneath his throne indeed imply that his gospel can be imbibed and physically taken in (**fig. 21**).⁵⁴ Matthew, for his part, mimics the gesture of an *orant*, while the inscription beneath his portrait exhorts the viewer to "See how Matthew is shown (*notari*) by a faithful image of himself" (fig. 19). Mark's portrait shows the evangelist clothed with his gospel, and the inscription compares the strength of his lion with the

⁵¹ Paraphrased from Jerome, *Epistolae*, 53. See also Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 164, note 59. Margot Fassler has offered an interpretation of the Royal Portal of Chartres Cathedral that is based in part on this passage from Jerome. See Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century Tympana at Chartres," *Art Bulletin* 75/3 (September, 1993): 499 – 520.

⁵² Hubert Schrade, "Zu den Evangelistenbildern," 10.

⁵³ For an analysis of this type of vision in the Carolingian era, see Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, 149-189.

⁵⁴ Hubert Schrade, "Zu den Evangelistenbildern," 22-24. Schrade cites the representation of the Pentecost in the Wolfenbüttel Lectionary (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, MS 2870). Schrade does not make note of the folio on which this image appears. The inscription that accompanies Luke's portrait in the *Aachen Gospels* reads: "Fonte partum ductas bos agnis elicit undas" "The bull calls forth the streams from the font of the fathers to which the lambs are led."

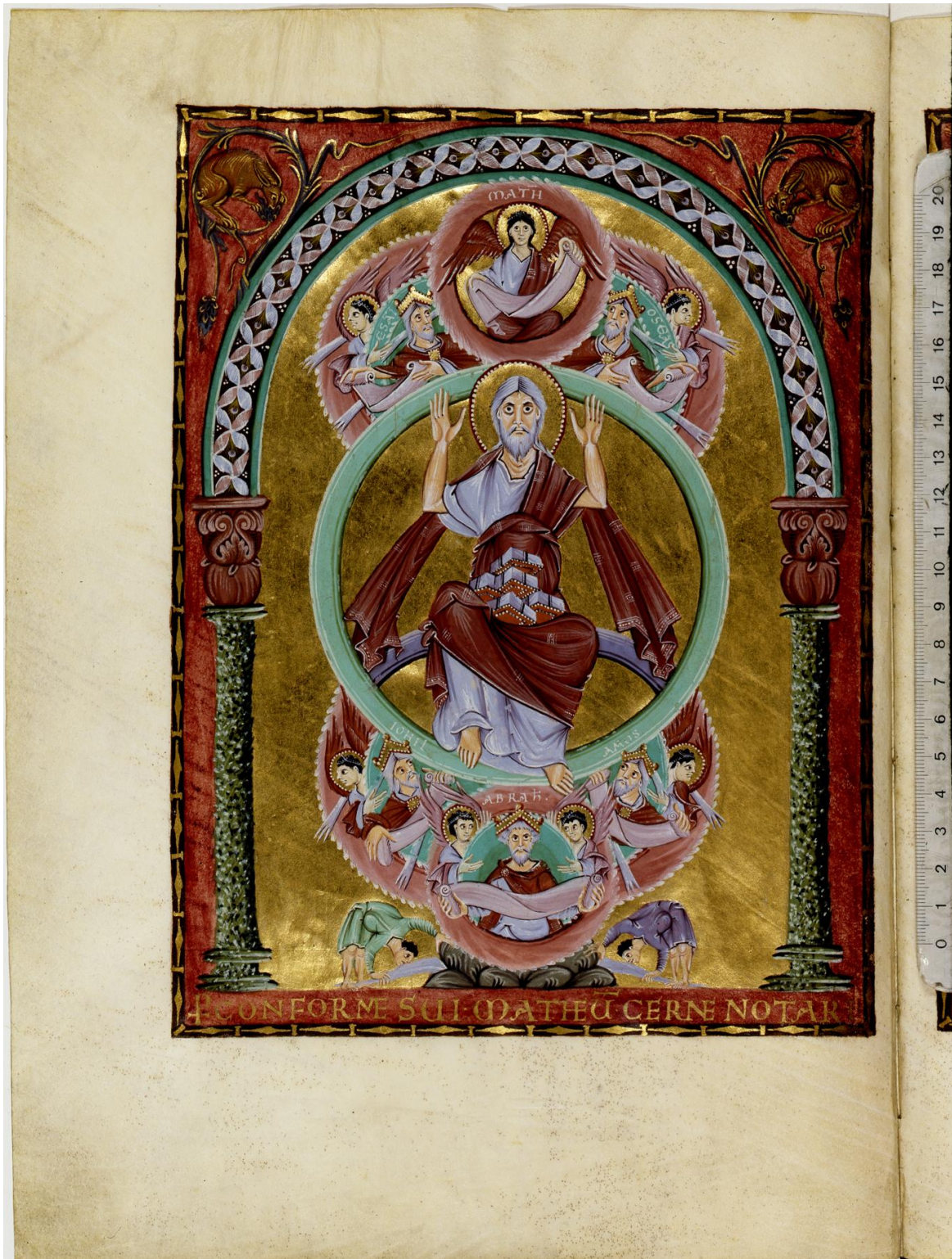


Figure 19. Evangelist Matthew, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 25v.



Figure 20. Evangelist Mark, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 94v.



Figure 21. Evangelist Luke, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 139v.

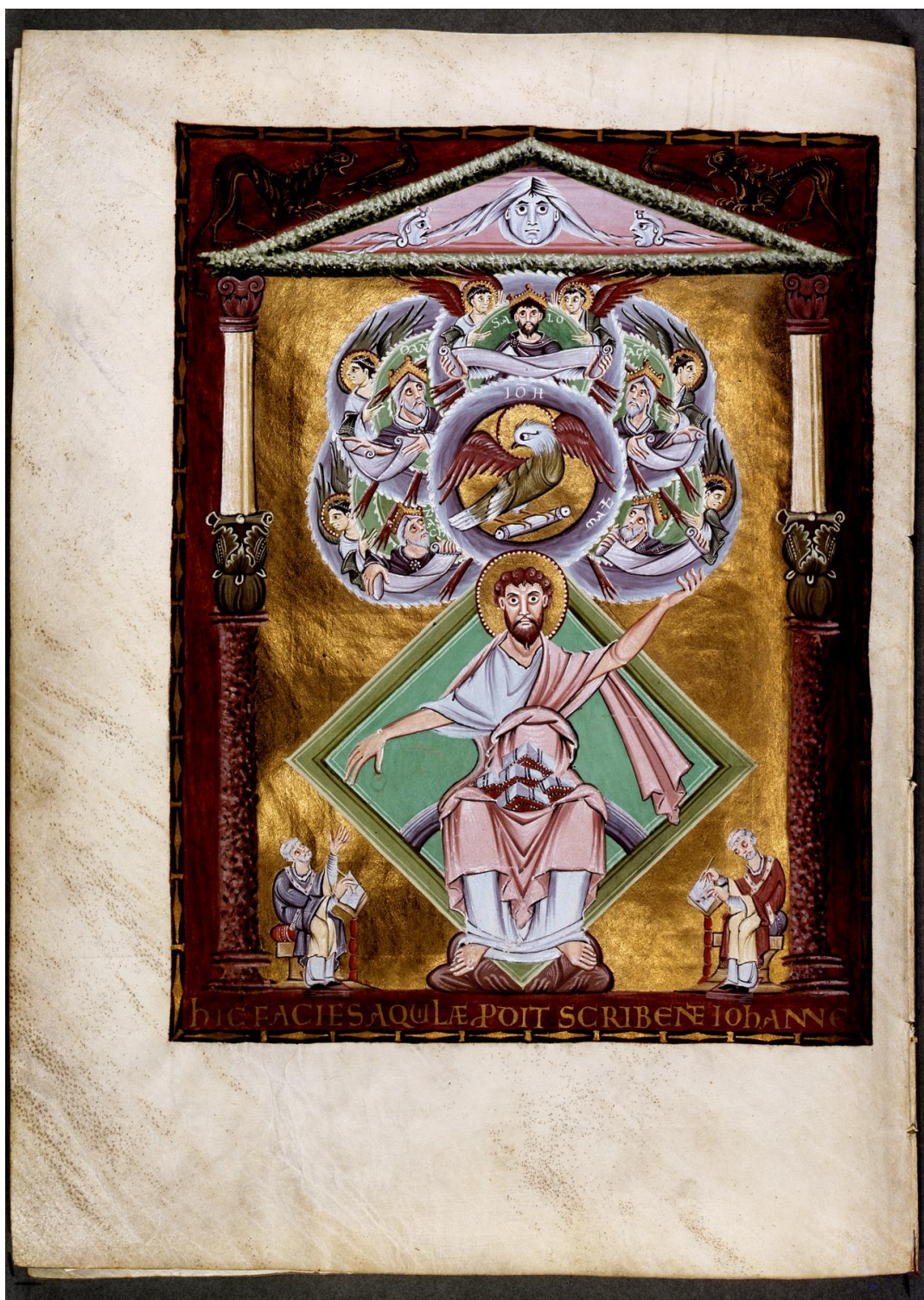


Figure 22. Evangelist John, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 206v.

strength of Christ's deeds: "This man, who is pictured as a lion, announces the strong deeds [of Christ]" (**fig. 20**).⁵⁵ John grips his prophetic cloud with his left hand and gestures with his right toward a diminutive, but receptive scribe in bishop's robes (**fig. 22**). In each case, the viewer is reminded differently of the absolute truth of the gospels and the evangelists' fixed expressions indicate their full internalization of Old Testament prophecy and their completion of it.

In combination with the other elements in these portraits, the distinctive cloud iconography is set in a direct relationship to processes of divine revelation. Hubert Schrade noted that the only clear iconographic precedents for the light-emitting clouds of the evangelist images are found in other Reichenau depictions of the Pentecost.⁵⁶ In these contexts, they represent the transmission of the Spirit to the Apostles. The clouds in the evangelist images operate in precisely the same manner, and the close relationship between the "visionary evangelists" and the ruler image is a reminder of the political and spiritual revelations Otto III experienced during his celebration of Pentecost at Aachen in 1000.

The various reports of Otto III's invention of Charlemagne's tomb are thematically linked by the significance of Otto III's search for and ultimate discovery of Charlemagne's body, and, not least, his acts of exchange with his model: the trimming of his nails, the removal of the tip of his nose, the cleaning of the tomb, the clothing of the body in Pentecost robes. Indeed, the significance of Otto III's physical encounter with Charlemagne is connected to the importance of Pentecost as a time when the faithful ideally can witness the divine; it is likewise a moment when the presence of the spirit inspires others, in a mimetic process, to undergo a similar process of revelation and, in turn, to pass on the knowledge of God. In the portraits of Otto III and the

⁵⁵ The inscription reads: "Iste leo factus fortes denuntiat actus."

⁵⁶ Schrade, "Zu den Evangelistenbildern," 23-24.

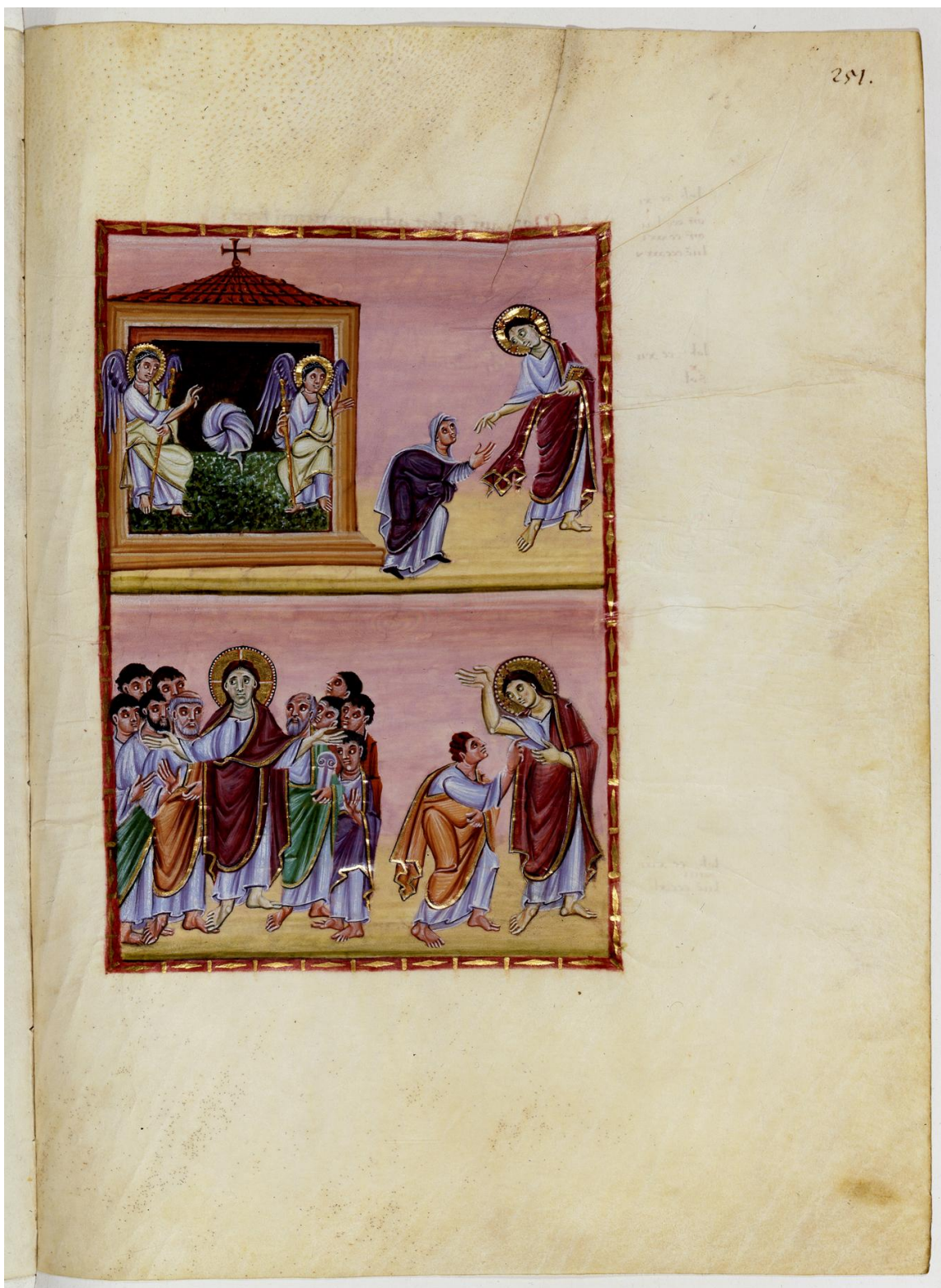


Figure 23. Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Gospels of Otto III, c. 1000, manuscript, 33.4 cm x 24.2 cm. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm. 4453, Folio 251r.

evangelists, we see figures that are filled with the spirit and witness it; their penetrating gazes challenge the viewer to do the same.

The final illumination in the Gospels comprises four scenes taken from the twentieth chapter of John (**fig. 23**). Arranged in two horizontal registers, each of these vignettes reinforces the connection between vision and faith, and the human need to see in order to know. Here, the two registers offer the viewer a number of oppositions related to seeing and believing. The upper register is devoted to Christ's Resurrection, his appearance to Mary Magdalene and his Ascension. On the left, the two angels placed at Christ's empty tomb gesture toward the scene of the *Noli me tangere* on the right. Mary Magdalene kneels, extending her right hand to an ascending Christ. The empty space between their hands seems to indicate the strength of an encounter that goes beyond corporeal processes of vision and touch. This central narrative of the Easter feast, much like the reports of Otto III's invention of Charlemagne's tomb, describes a search for a sacred body that reveals itself through faith.

As Mary Magdalene searches and sees in the Easter miniatures, the two vignettes devoted to the Pentecost celebration present modes of witnessing the divine that are decidedly more physical. On the left, Christ, who has ascended to Heaven and returned to his disciples, displays his wounds. The apostles stand back and look at him; they are transfixed and, as they look, they raise their hands in benediction. In the final scene, a clear formal complement to the *Noli me tangere* directly above it, Thomas pokes his finger into Christ's side to verify his return. He is the embodiment of the person who needs to see things with his eyes in order to believe, even as this segment of John's gospel praises those who "have not seen and yet believe." Where Mary Magdalene looks to Christ and he directly returns her gaze, he remains firmly out of her reach; the reality of his presence is revealed to her through an ideal faith. Thomas, on the other hand,

squints and, though Christ looks to him, the disciple needs physically to touch in order to see. By virtue of the hierarchy between the two images, the artist made plain the preferable mode of viewing.⁵⁷

The Pentecost, as these final images in the *Gospels of Otto III* make clear, is both a celebration of the presence of the spirit in man and his encounter with the divine. It likewise brings with it the promise of Christ's return, as Christ himself foretold in Matthew (24:29-30), when, shortly before the final judgment, the cross, as the "sign of the son of man," will appear in the heavens with "much power and majesty." If much of the visual cycle of the Gospels can be said to remind the viewer of the ways in which the presence of the Spirit can be apprehended, the *Lothar Cross* is partially a material visualization of his Second Coming (**figs. 5-6**). Here, the incorporation of royal and imperial spolia into the work is a projection of the emperor's place in this string of events; the spolia indeed place him in line with the ultimate Christian imperial model, Constantine, whose own vision of the "sign of the son of man" on the night before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge sealed his fate.

The clearest visual and material connections the cross establishes, of course, are those between the emperor and Christ and the emperor and Augustus.⁵⁸ Josef Déer, in his foundational analysis of this object, proposed that the designers of the cross, who likely worked at an imperial goldsmith workshop in Cologne, adapted and reversed a Byzantine custom whereby liturgical crosses were outfitted with images of the crucified Christ on one side and donor portraits on the

⁵⁷ For a rich and provocative discussion of the pairing of these two modes of viewing in the early medieval period, see Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *Art Bulletin* 79/3 (1997): 533-537.

⁵⁸ Like other members of the Saxon nobility, Otto III had enjoyed a rich and varied education both as a child and as an adult. Given his education under the most learned men of his time – Bernward of Hildesheim and, later, Gerbert of Aurillac – it is clear that he was familiar with Antique texts. See Althoff, *Otto III*.



Figure 24. Mathilde Cross, “donor side,” Essen Cathedral Treasury, Reproduced with the permission of Essen Cathedral Treasury.

other.⁵⁹ Another product of the Cologne workshop that created both the cross and the cover of the *Gospels of Otto III*, the liturgical cross of Abbess Mathilde of Essen (c. 980), likewise combines portraits of the abbess and her brother Duke Otto of Swabia and Bavaria with a relief image of the crucified Christ (**fig. 24**).⁶⁰ If on the *Mathilde Cross* these realms are visually united, on the *Lothar Cross* they remain separate; figures of the ruler and Christ each receive their own side. Although exact details of its use in processions are unclear, Ernst Günther Grimme has suggested that the “Christ” side was directed outward and the “Emperor” side would be directed at the Bishop himself.⁶¹ By contrast, more recent scholarship indicates that the manner in which the cross was displayed in processions could vary in accordance with the demands of a specific feast or other liturgical event.⁶² Its iconography suggests that it was destined for use in connection with the altar to Christ the Redeemer in the upper storey of the Palace Chapel; Ernst Günther Grimme has proposed that it was used in coronation rituals.⁶³

In lieu of a traditional donor portrait as on the *Mathilde Cross*, Otto III is represented by a large, slightly oval sardonyx cameo of the Emperor Augustus at the center of the cross’s

⁵⁹ Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 2nd ed., 80; Josef Déer, “Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz,” *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, 13 (1955): 48-110.

⁶⁰ Like Otto III, both Abbess Mathilde and her brother Duke Otto of Swabia were grandchildren of Otto I and thus also members of the imperial house. The convent of Essen, like that Quedlinburg for example, was also a site devoted in large part to the ritual commemoration of the imperial family. This cross and others in the Essen treasury were therefore also important instruments in the preservation and promotion of the imperial cult, and it is not surprising that the hierarchies they present the viewer with are so strikingly similar. I thank Karen Blough for reminding me of this point.

⁶¹ Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz*, 25.

⁶² Beatrice Kitzinger (Harvard University) will present this argument in her forthcoming dissertation. I thank her for sharing it with me.

⁶³ Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz*, 25.

“jeweled” side (**fig. 5**).⁶⁴ The reuse of this object as an official portrait of Otto III stands at the center of the work as verification of his assimilation of an Augustan ideal. Roughly three inches tall by slightly less than three inches wide, the cameo is the work’s most prominent element, and the smaller stones, intaglios and gold filigree that surround it provide it with movement.

Augustus is shown from the left; he is crowned with a laurel wreath whose ribbons appear to flutter in the wind. With his right hand he lightly grips an eagle scepter that closely resembles that which Otto III displays to the viewer in the *Gospels of Otto III*. The conceptual, if not visual, correlation between these two images was close enough for Josef Déer to surmise in 1955 that the cameo was a model for the manuscript image.⁶⁵ A smaller quartz crystal seal matrix of the Carolingian ruler Lothar II (r. 855-869) is nestled among the gems in the lower arm of the cross; both rulers cast their respective gazes in the same direction, as if Lothar is clearly following the cues of his Roman model, and as if Otto III, as Augustus, likewise relies on the physical support of his Carolingian predecessor.⁶⁶ The combination of stones on this side is also entirely in keeping with the collusion of political and spiritual power at Aachen: where the quartz of Lothar’s seal matrix recalled Christ’s purity, sardonyx stones were believed to be particularly well suited to imperial subjects.

The “Crucifixion” side contains a dramatic, indeed naturalistic image of the crucified Christ, who hangs limply from the cross as personifications of the sun and the moon weep for him (**fig. 6**). In his unpublished analysis of Otto III’s presence at Aachen, Karl Werckmeister has

⁶⁴ See Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 2nd ed., 80; Josef Déer, “Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz,” 48-110; Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz*, 25. For a different interpretation of the meaning of the cameo see Theo Jülich, “Gemmenkreuze: Die Farbigkeit ihres Edelsteinbesatzes bis zum 12. Jahrhundert,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 54/55 (1986/87): 99-258.

⁶⁵ Josef Déer, “Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz,” 55.

⁶⁶ See Genevra Kornbluth, “The Seal of Lothar II: Model and Copy,” *Francia* 17 (1990): 55-68.

suggested that these two figures likely strike model poses of liturgical mourning, and thereby set up visual cues for the viewer to follow.⁶⁷ In this way the cross was completely tailored to the Palace Chapel's spoliating imperative, for, like the building, the figures of Sol and Luna not only mimic, they also demand further mimicry in order for the object's messages to be conveyed properly.

If the "jeweled" side of the cross is decidedly sculptural, therefore, with the color and texture of the precious materials enlivening the image of the apotheosized emperor, the niello engraving of the Crucifixion more closely resembles a two-dimensional sketch.⁶⁸ As Karl Werckmeister has pointed out, this opposition is entirely in keeping with other visual antitheses between life and death in Carolingian works in the Aachen treasury; thus, the jeweled side speaks to the material world and the world of the emperor, where the minimal beauty of the reverse evokes the most holy death in Christian history. Such antithetical concepts are indeed crucial to the meanings of the Pentecost feast, itself a celebration of the possibility of a resurrection after one's physical death. Above Christ's head appears the Hand of God, bearing a laurel wreath that encircles the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; this bears a deliberate resemblance to the eagle on Augustus' scepter and to the eagle scepter that Otto III grips in the *Munich Gospels* (figs. 4,5,6). Indeed, the emphasis on coronation and apotheosis is a further visual reference to the coronation scene in the *Liuthar Gospels* (figs. 1-2).

In combination, the varied iconography of victory equates the importance of political and spiritual conquests, and both sides of the cross depict two successive moments in the act of a

⁶⁷ Werckmeister, "The Donations of Emperor Otto III to the Imperial Chapel at Aachen." See also idem, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death," in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los codices al Apocalipsis de Beato de Liébana* vol. 2 (Madrid, 1976), 165-200.

⁶⁸ Formally, the image of the crucified Christ is derived from the dramatic *Gero Cross*, with which the makers of this object would have been very familiar.

triumphal coronation, where Christ's coronation at the moment of his death is succeeded by the appearance of the crowned Augustus.⁶⁹ On the *Lothar Cross*, therefore, it is an imperial figure that completes the story that the Crucifixion set in motion; the two sides of the cross therefore respond to the unification of the emperor and Christ on the upper floor of the Palace Chapel, in which the altar to Christ and the throne loge face each other along the building's east-west axis.

The act of the *Lothar Cross*'s donation as a material testimony to the opening of Charlemagne's tomb enfolded Otto III more completely into a legendary structure that had the potential, over time, to bring him ever closer to the political and spiritual exemplars whose own histories provided this Pentecost celebration with meaning. Moreover, the use of *spolia* from the Roman and Carolingian eras was crucial to this enterprise, for they gave form to a conception of the historical past that was discursive and narrational, where contemporary events responded to and were determined by older ones, and these, in turn, were activated through performative, material, and textual dialogues. Further, *spolia* and the mimetic copying of historical events visualized a conception of history as something that the ruler himself could construct.

As Cynthia Hahn has pointed out, medieval treasures constituted narratives whose endings corresponded to the end of the world itself; the objects they contained could indeed "objectify history."⁷⁰ At Aachen, this narrative began with the complex itself, built as it was using spoliated materials from Rome and Ravenna and whose structure fused sacred and secular models, like those of the Holy Sepulchre, the Forum of Trajan, and San Vitale. The site's spoliating imperative was itself tied to the reification of antique ideals, and this understanding of antiquity ultimately served political goals. In the resulting material and performative dialogue

⁶⁹ Whether this connection was activated in a performative way in the work's liturgical use is unclear.

⁷⁰ Cynthia Hahn, "The Meaning of Early Medieval Treasures," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, eds. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie, 2005), 2-3.

that the site engendered, therefore, it was critical to display and otherwise testify to one's complete assimilation and embodiment of these ideals. In his recreation of the act of Augustus' invention of Alexander's tomb at the time of his donation of the *Gospels of Otto III* and the *Lothar Cross*, the emperor marked his physical engagement with and complete awareness of these programs. The objects themselves thus embedded Otto III's memory more completely into the site's mythical structure. At his burial on Easter Sunday of 1002, this process was complete.



To Touch the Image: Embodying Christ in the Bernward Gospels

By Jennifer P. Kingsley, Columbia University

In the early eleventh century a lavishly illustrated gospel book was made under the direction of Bishop Bernward for the Benedictine monks of St. Michael's Abbey in Hildesheim (Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18). Bernward presented the codex to the monastery¹ in conjunction with dedicating its church's crypt altar to Christ, the Virgin, Michael, and the "whole celestial army" on September 29, 1015. A painted bifolium at the front of the manuscript portrays that moment, fols. 16v-17r (**fig. 1**),² and inscriptions in the picture's frames place special emphasis on Mary and Christ.³

¹ A dedicatory inscription on fol. 231v reads: "I, Bernward, had this codex written and, ordering that my wealth be added above, as you see I present (it) to St. Michael beloved of the Lord. Let there be a curse of God on anyone who takes it from him." (*Hunc ego Bernwardus codicem conscribere feci / Atq(ue) meas ut cernis opes super addere iubens / Dilecto domini dederam sancto Michaheli / Sit anathema dei quisquis sibi dempserit illum*). Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are my own.

² The patron saints represented in the painting match the dedication of the crypt as reconstructed by W. Berges and H. J. Rieckenberg from remnants still in situ, in *Die älteren Hildesheimer Inschriften bis zum Tode Bischof Hezilos (†1079)* (Göttingen, 1983), 54-62, 172ff. *anno dominice incarnationis Mxv ordinationis beRWARDI VENERabilis presulis hild(eshemensis) anno xxIII INDICT(IONE) XIII iii k(alendas) oct(obris) in honore d(omi)ni beate genitRICIS ET archangeli michaelis et totius militie cELEstis hec cripta a bernwardo ep(iscop)o dedicata est*. Capitalized letters are those that remain extant.

³ In the picture's frame (fol. 16v):

"This small book of the gospels, with a devoted mind
the admirer of Virginity hands over to you, Holy Mary
Bishop Bernward, only scarcely worthy of this name,
and of the adornment of such great episcopal vestment."

*Hoc evangelicu(m) devota m(en)te libellum: Virginitatis amor pr(ae)stat tibi s(an)c(t)a Maria: praesul
Bernward(us) vix solo nomine dignus: ornatus tanti vestitu pontificali.*

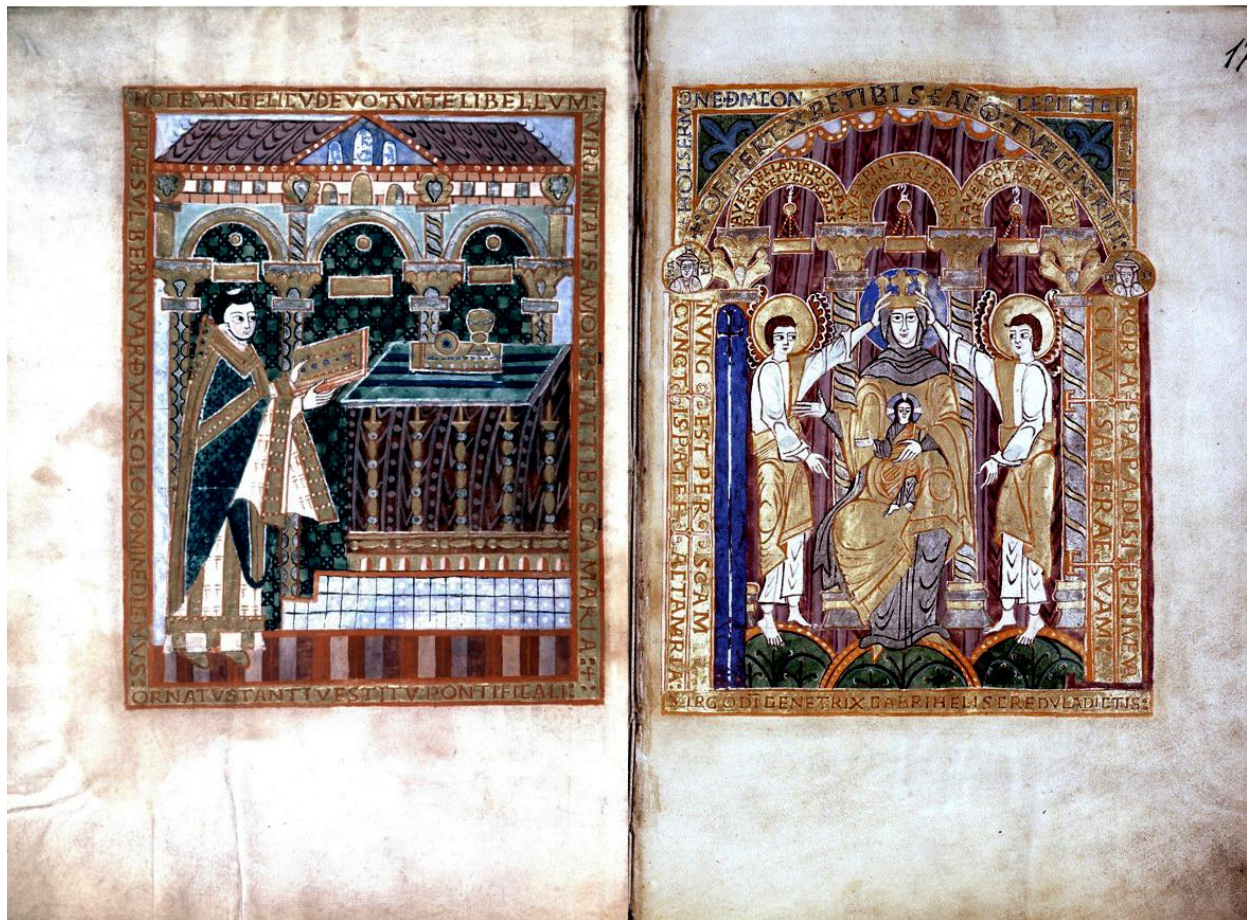


Figure 1. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fols. 16v-17r, Dedication Opening (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

Bernward's gospel book is approximately 280 x 200 mm with a total of 232 folios and over thirty paintings and decorated initials. The text is a standard local variant of the gospels,⁴ and concludes with a list of pericopes that offer brief indications for readings on Sundays and the main feasts of the liturgical year.⁵ Although the gospel book's text is redacted in narrative order,

⁴ The text is identical to that used at the major regional producer of manuscripts in tenth-century Corvey. Gerd Bauer, "Corvey oder Hildesheim?: Zur Ottonischen Buchmalerei in Norddeutschland," 2 vols., (Ph.D. diss, Universität Hamburg, 1977), 1: 49-50.

⁵ The liturgical indications correspond to a type originating in Rome, and labeled Σ by Theodor Klauser, although the feasts for the last two months of the liturgical year stem from the so-called Δ group, which Klauser showed included Gallican material. Klauser, *Das römische capitulare evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchung zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, vol. 1: Typen (Münster, 1935), 93-172; cf. Bauer, "Corvey oder Hildesheim?" 1: 56-92. A

the inclusion of these pericopes indicates the manuscript probably served its monastic community in rituals, as the source of set readings that would have been read in liturgical sequence.⁶

The manuscript's decoration, consisting of figural scenes and illuminated text pages grouped into four separate sections that each illustrate one gospel, does not seem, however, predominantly related to the book's possible liturgical use. Nor would the paintings likely have been examined or displayed during a ritual. In fact, evidence suggests that many of the more splendid Ottonian service books were treated like reliquaries in ecclesiastical rituals and were usually carried closed rather than open.⁷ At the same time, the paintings do not simply correspond to the gospel text;⁸ indeed certain thematic foci repeat across all four groups of pictures that suggest something about the interests of the patron and designer of the codex.⁹

different labeling scheme is adopted by Antoine Chavasse. See the summary of his findings in: Chavasse, "Evangélaire, epistolier, antiphonaire et sacramentaire: Les livres romains de la messe au VIIe et VIIIe siècle," *Ecclesia orans* 6 (1989): 177-255. For the correspondence between Klauser and Chavasse see: Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. ed., trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen, with John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington D.C., 1986), esp. 342-348. The full text of the capitularies for Hildesheim's manuscripts is in Stephen Beissel, *Das heiligen Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim: Mit Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in kunsthistorischer und liturgischer Hinsicht verglichen* (Hildesheim, 1895), 51-64.

⁶ On books in the medieval liturgy see: Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982); Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN, 1998); John Lowden, "Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations," in *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane, Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers 6 (Princeton, 2003), 17-53.

⁷ Anton von Euw, "Früh- und hochmittelalterliches Evangelienbücher im Gebrauch," in *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 70, ed. Christel Meier, Dagmar Hüpper, and Hagen Keller (Munich, 1996), 21-30.

⁸ Rainer Kahsnitz, "Inhalt und Aufbau," in *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des Heiligen Bernward*, eds. Michael Brandt, Rainer Kahsnitz and Hans Jakob Schuffels, (Munich, 1993), esp. 18-22.

⁹ Jennifer P. Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels: Structuring *Memoria* in Eleventh-Century Germany," (Ph. D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2007), esp. 1-15.



Figure 2. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 175v, Ascension (above) and Portrait of the Evangelist John (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

Among the ideas treated in the Bernward Gospels' paintings is the sensory perception of the divine, a theme that Robert Deshman was the first to identify as a critical component of the manuscript's pictorial program. In a 1997 *Art Bulletin* article, Deshman focused on an unusual representation of Christ's Ascension that concludes the manuscript's pictorial cycle, fol. 175v (**fig. 2**).¹⁰ This imagery, first christened the "disappearing Christ" by Meyer Schapiro in the 1940s, seems to have been invented in Anglo-Saxon England around the millennium.¹¹ It shows the ascending Christ at the very moment he vanishes into heaven, his upper body obscured by clouds. Noting parallel exegetic innovations in contemporary Anglo-Saxon sermons, Deshman argued that the disappearing Christ was developed as a prompt for spiritual seeing, the second category in Augustine's well-known tripartite system of vision.¹²

¹⁰ Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 518-546.

¹¹ Meyer Schapiro, "The Image of the Disappearing Christ: The Ascension in English Art Around the Year 1000," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, ser. 6, 23 (1943): 133-152, repr. in Schapiro, *Selected Papers; III. Late Antique, Early Christian, and Mediaeval Art* (New York, 1979), 267-87.

¹² In brief, Augustine explained that bodily eyes employ corporeal sight to perceive the earth, the eyes of the heart employ spiritual vision to perceive something beyond the created world and the eyes of the mind employ intellectual vision to see God directly. These ideas are developed most fully in *De trinitate* and the *Confessions*. Margaret Miles, "Vision: The Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's 'De trinitate' and 'Confessions'," *Journal of Religion* 63 (1983): 125-42; Deshman, "Disappearing Christ," esp. 537-8.



Figure 3. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 75v, Noli me tangere (above) and Peter Charging Mark to Write the Gospels (below) (photo: Dom

und Diözesanmuseum).

Based on this understanding of the disappearing Christ imagery, Dushman also offered an interpretation for the puzzling representation of the *Noli me tangere* that illustrates the Book of Mark, fol. 75v (**fig. 3**). In the Gospel's account, found in John, Mary Magdalene visits Christ's tomb, finding it empty. At first filled with sorrow, she suddenly recognizes a man standing by the tomb as the resurrected Christ. Rejoicing that he lives, the Magdalene reaches for Christ, but he denies her touch, ordering "do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my father!" (John 20:17).¹³ In patristic and medieval commentary, the central point of this gospel episode is Christ's command not to touch, often dramatically represented in the West. Conventionally, Mary stretches her arms towards Christ in longing, while Christ, twisting back with the force of his command, stops her with a gesture.¹⁴ In the *Bernward Gospels*, in flagrant violation of Christ's command and in contrast to every medieval convention for the scene, Mary comes into contact with Christ's feet.¹⁵

¹³ Biblical citations are quoted from Michael D. Coogan with Marc Z. Brettler, Carol A. Newsom and Pheme Perkins, eds., *New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2001).

¹⁴ Gertrud Schiller, *Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi*, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst 3 (Gütersloh, 1986), 276-288.

¹⁵ Rainer Kahsnitz argues this unusual detail may stem from a conflation of the *Noli me tangere* with representations of an account in Matthew where two Marys visit Christ's tomb and, kneeling, touch his feet. This illustration is more popular in Early Christian and Byzantine art and is generally known as the "chairete." Kahsnitz "Inhalt und Aufbau," in *Das Kostbare Evangelium des Heiligen Bernward*, eds. Michael Brandt, Rainer Kahsnitz and Hans Jakob Schuffels (Munich, 1993), 38-9. However, the chairete scene invariably includes two women usually placed at Christ's left, not one woman on his right. Moreover, even though the miniature may have been influenced by early Christian or Middle Byzantine illustrations of Matthew's story, its depiction of touch is a meaningful alteration of a known type. In comparison, the same scene on Bernward's famous bronze doors, although similar in its composition, shows Mary at some distance from Christ, who twists back with the force of his command "do not touch!" There is no contact between the two figures. *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993) 2: VII-33, 508; Harvey Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art-Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor, 2002), 162-175.

Deshman argued that the same Augustinian exegetical tradition underlying the disappearing Christ also explained this unusual *Noli me tangere*. Augustine's commentary on the Ascension deals with the nature of Christ as both man and God, and the problem for mankind of understanding and perceiving that dual nature.¹⁶ Another Augustinian homily that highlights the problem of faith and perception treats two post-resurrection episodes of touch, the Doubting Thomas and the *Noli me tangere*. Augustine explains that Mary was forbidden to touch Christ because she recognized Christ simply as the man she had known, failing in that moment inwardly to perceive his divinity.¹⁷ Analyzing the *Noli me tangere* in light of Augustinian exegesis, Deshman argued that the depiction of Mary's touch in the *Bernward Gospels* served, like Christ's physical disappearance from the viewer's eyes in the manuscript's Ascension painting, as a lesson of the connection between faith and spiritual sight. Thus Mary's dramatic act in the *Bernward Gospels* was not to be treated as a tactile experience, but rather as a modeling of visionary perception. For Deshman, when the painting shows the Magdalene touching Christ through the mandorla, a sign for Christ's godhood, it suggests that she spiritually sees his divinity.¹⁸ Thus, in Deshman's argument, *Bernward's* manuscript presents the acts of both the Magdalene and John the Evangelist as prompts to the book's monastic audience for spiritual seeing.

¹⁶ These ideas were picked up by such later commentators as Leo the Great, Maximus of Turin, Cesarius of Arles, and, were especially important for the Anglo-Saxons, such as Bede. Deshman, "Disappearing Christ," 534, 114n-119n.

¹⁷ Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium* 121, chaps. 3-5, ed. August Mayer, *S. Aurelii Augustini In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1990), 665-68. This Augustinian interpretation remained popular in the tenth and eleventh centuries, appearing, for example, in the "Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae" generally attributed to Odo of Cluny, although Dominique Iogna-Prat suggests the work belongs to the intellectual environment of Vezelay in the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century, in "La Madeleine du Sermo in veneratione sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae attribué à Odon de Cluny," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age* 104 (1992): 37-70.

¹⁸ Deshman, "Disappearing Christ," esp. 537-38.

Setting aside the problem of the Benedictine community's use of the book's imagery in a tome that was probably kept in St. Michael's treasury and thus only available to be studied, or even seen, by a select few, there is another fundamental problem in Deshman's claim that these paintings of the Bernward Gospels served to teach the monks spiritual seeing. Although a powerful argument for understanding the new Ascension imagery based on its Anglo-Saxon context, by interpreting the touch represented in the Bernward Gospels' *Noli me tangere* as a sign for visionary perception, Deshman's conclusions subsume touch to sight.¹⁹ Such a

¹⁹ Art historians have generally privileged the role of visual perception over the other senses in the making of images. This trend has shifted somewhat in the last decade. A particularly fruitful area of research has been on synaesthesia in the Byzantine liturgical experience of icons. Robert Nelson, "The Discourse of Icons: Then and Now," *Art History* 12 (1989): 144-157; Liz James, "Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium," *Art History* 27 (2004): 522- 537; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 631-55. Studying the art of the Latin West, Elizabeth Sears has noted the pictorialization of hearing in the Utrecht Psalter. Sears, "The Iconography of Auditory Perception in the Early Middle Ages: On Psalm Illustration and Psalm Exegesis," in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1991): 19-38. Other scholars have searched for tactile and gustatory experiences of and in works of art: Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, "Seeing and Singing, Touching and Tasting the Holy Lance: The Power and Politics of Embodied Religious Experiences in Nuremberg, 1424-1524," in *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their Representation in the Arts, 1000-2000*, eds. Nils Petersen, Claus Cluver, and Nicolas Bell (New York, 2004), 401 - 487; Glenn W. Most, *Doubting Thomas* (Cambridge, 2005). The need to continue to expand the discussion to include all the medieval senses prompted the International Center for Medieval Art in 2008 to sponsor a session at the International Congress in Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo entitled "Framing the Medieval Senses in Art." Some of the ideas in this paper were originally presented at that conference, as well as in the previous year's session "Ottonian Art and History." I am grateful to the organizers of these sessions, as well as participants and attendees for their comments.

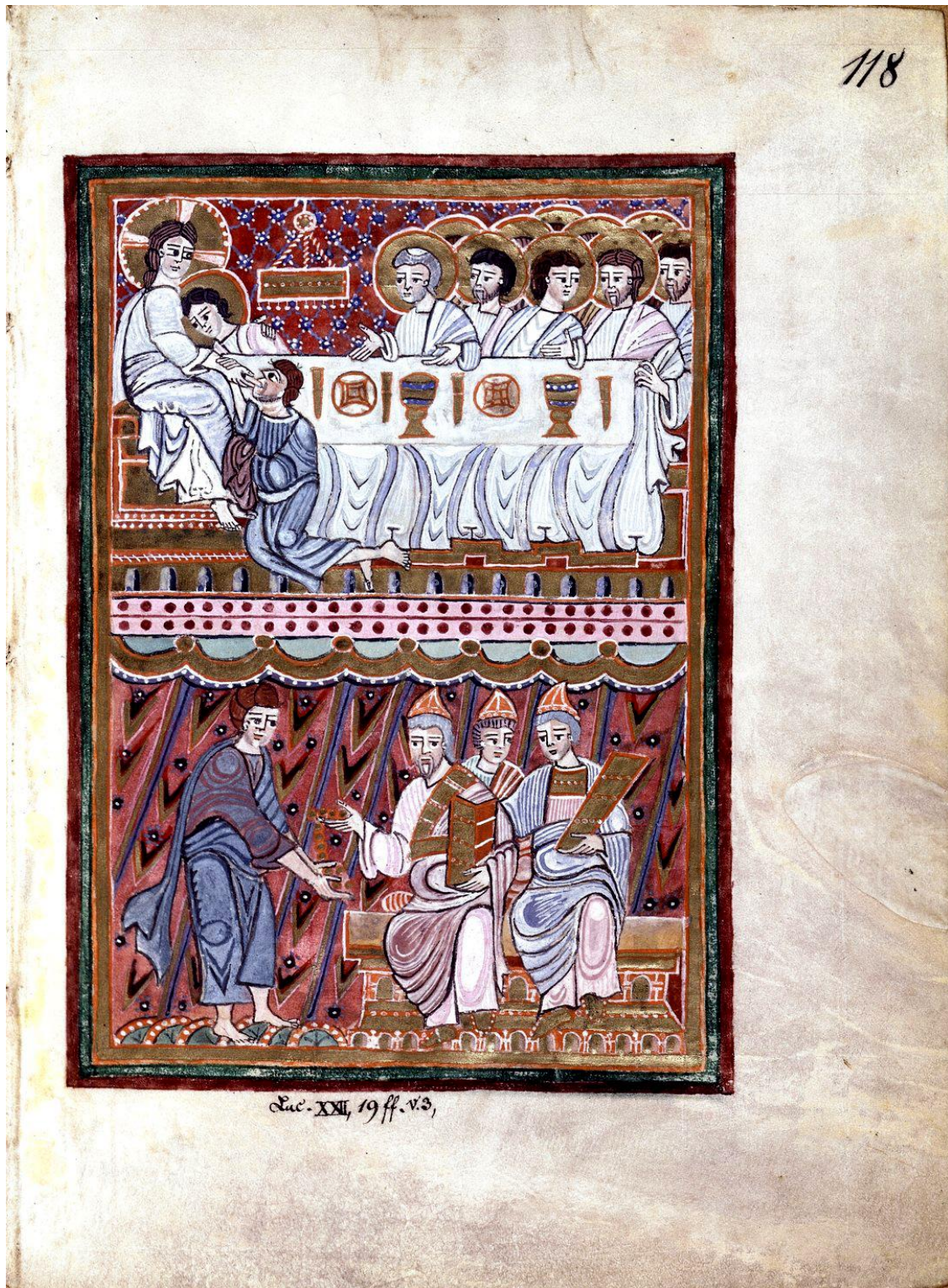


Figure 4. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 118r, Last Supper (above) and Judas with the High Priests (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).



Figure 5. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 174v, Baptism of Christ (above) and Raising of Lazarus (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

translation of the depicted tactile experience into a visual one does not take into account the evidence of the Bernward Gospels' pictorial program, which places a special emphasis on touch, particularly in the illustration and framing of three Gospel episodes: the *Noli me tangere*, fol. 75v (**fig. 3**), the Last Supper, fol. 118r (**fig. 4**) and the Baptism, fol. 174v (**fig. 5**). In this paper I argue, in contrast to Dushman, that the *Noli me tangere* is not about visionary experience, but rather about tactile perception and the tangibility of the sacred. The painting is part of a series that develops a pictorial exegesis on the nature of touch and its role in apprehending the divine.²⁰

In the *Noli me tangere*, Mary bodily enters Christ's mandorla, a sign of his godhood, her entire upper body overlapping the golden oval. Contact occurs, but the Magdalene's touch is the most minimal possible that can still be considered a touch. The edge of her thumb barely grazes Christ's left heel. Christ too touches Mary, his foot crossing over her arm, as he begins to rise off the ground. This posing of Christ's foot over Mary's arm may be read one of two ways, either as an overlap that creates a minimized contact, or as an aggressive denial of Mary's touch. Both possible interpretations of these gestures imply a touch that both activates and resists connection at one and the same time. Mary and Christ's gestures perform a non-touching or denied-touching contact. This strange representation portrays a sensory experience that is intrinsically in dynamic tension. Mary and Christ's touch works in motion, crossing the threshold between earth and heaven. While Mary enters the space of Christ's godhood, the mandorla, Christ's ascending feet graze Mary's earthly, human flesh.

²⁰ While Dushman's argument that the Bernward Gospels' miniatures explore spiritual sight is borne out by a series of visionary pictures that appear throughout the manuscript, these are structured in an alternate pictorial mode to those I explore here as images of tactile perception. Whereas the narrative scenes such as the *Noli me tangere*, Baptism and Last Supper feature figures primarily in profile who move in a shallow foreground space, a series of full-page miniatures present Christ statically and frontally. The latter include witnessing figures who "see" Christ. Kingsley, esp. 139-237.

Such a dynamic non-touching touch has, to my knowledge, no parallel in either medieval pictures or exegesis. However, a philosophical text, Calcidius' well-known fourth or fifth-century latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus*²¹ includes an extended discussion of what it describes as *sine sensu tangentis tangentur*, that is, touching without the sense of touch, in essence, a non-touching form of touch.²² In his commentary, Calcidius explains the physical process of such a touch:

Yet there is some superficial contact but no real touch, and this with the bodies in it rather than with itself. When these are perceived, the feeling arises that matter itself is perceived because it seems to be formed by the 'species' it takes in, whereas, in reality, it is formless. And thus the perception of the forms present in matter is clear but that of matter itself, which underlies these forms, is obscure, and a co-perception rather than a perception. Therefore, since not matter itself is perceived but what is of matter, and since it only seems to be perceived together with the material things, there arises such an uncertain sense. And consequently, it is well said that "matter is touched without being perceived by the man who touches it," *for it is not really touched*.... matter is tangible, because one gets the impression that it is touched, when that which is touched first of all comes within reach of the senses. However, contact with matter is accidental, it is untouchable itself, because it is perceived by neither the sense of touch nor the other senses.²³

This description of "touching without the sense of touch," a touch that involves "some superficial contact but no real contact," an "accidental" contact with something true that is yet untouchable itself, is clearly a verbal equivalent to the form of touching represented in the painting.

Bishop Bernward certainly knew Calcidius' *Timaeus*. By the late tenth and early eleventh

²¹ Identifying Calcidius as a historical person has proven difficult. An eleventh-century copy of the *Timaeus* includes a dedication to Bishop Osius of Cordoba, an advisor to Constantine. This has led some scholars to assume that Calcidius wrote in fourth-century Spain. However, Calcidius' name does not appear in Isidore of Seville's list of Spanish writers, a strange omission for the writer of a text as popular as the *Timaeus*. Stephen Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN, 1986), 421-433.

²² For more on this phrase see Daniel Heller-Roazen, "The Matter of Language: Guilhem de Peitieu and the Platonic Tradition," *Modern Language Notes* 113 (1998): 851-80, esp. 851-60.

²³ *Timaeus, A Calcidio Translatio Commentarioque Instructus*, ed. J.H. Waszink, *Plato Latinus* 4, ed. Raymond Klibansky (London and Leiden, 1962), paragraph 345, 336-8; eng. trans. J.C.M. van Winden, *Calcidius on Matter, His Doctrine And Its Sources: A Chapter in the History of Platonism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 221-2, italics mine.

centuries there was a dramatic increase in the production of Calcidius' text throughout Northern Europe, including in the Ottonian territories.²⁴ Also critical at that time were shifts in the location and form of the glosses that increasingly became interlinear explanations and definitions.²⁵ This, along with the insertion of explanatory diagrams that in turn influenced religious painting, suggests that by the eleventh century Calcidius' *Timaeus* formed part of school curricula.²⁶ Both Abbo of Fleury, the great teacher, and Gerbert of Aurillac, future Pope and closely connected to the Ottonian imperial court, studied and taught Calcidius' translation and commentary.²⁷ Although no extant copies can be associated with Bishop Bernward directly, his 1019 charter for St. Michael's monastery derives its discussion of the relationship between matter and soul from the *Timaeus*, using specific and uncommon vocabulary from Calcidius' translation,²⁸ and a second painting in the Bernward Gospels, fol. 174r (**fig. 6**) owes its cosmological content in part to the *Timaeus*.

²⁴ Of the seventeen extant copies containing both Calcidius' translation and his commentary, at least eight were produced in Germany. *A Calcidio Translatus*, cvi-cxxxi, clxxxvii-clxxxviii.

²⁵ Margaret Gibson, "The Study of the *Timaeus* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Pensamiento* 25 (1969): 183-94; Anna Somfai, "The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato's *Timaeus* and Calcidius' Commentary," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 1-21; Paul E. Dutton, "Medieval Approaches to Calcidius," in *Plato's Timaeus as cultural icon*, ed. Gretchen J. Reydam-Schils (Notre Dame, IN, 2003), 183-205.

²⁶ Anton von Euw, "Die Majestas-Domini-Bilder der ottonischen Kölner Malerschule im Licht des platonischen Weltbildes Codex 192 der Kölner Dombibliothek," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des Ersten Jahrtausends*, eds. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1991), 379-98.

²⁷ Gillian Evans and Alison M. Peden, "Natural Science and the Liberal Arts in Abbo of Fleury's Commentary," *Viator* 16 (1985): 109-27. See also the articles in: *Gerberto: Scienza, storia et mito; atti del Gerberti Symposium (Bobbio 25-27 luglio 1983)* (Bobbio, 1985). This is important in tracing the possible source of Bernward of Hildesheim's knowledge of Calcidius because of the bishop's close connections to the imperial court. Hans Jakob Schuffels, "Bernward Bischof von Hildesheim. Eine biographische Skizze," in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter*, 1: 29-46, with selected references.

²⁸ Fidel Rädli, "Calcidius und Paulus begründen ein Vermächtnis: Zu Bernwards Dotationsurkunde für St. Michael in Hildesheim," in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998*, ed. Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough and Ross G. Arthur (Turnhout, 2002), 328-49.



Figure 6. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 174r, Frontispiece to John (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

The picture is a rare illustration of the symbolic content of John's opening verses.²⁹ In the upper zone of the picture sits the crowned Deity, portrayed as Christ by the cross behind his head. He holds the lamb of God, which extends its leg to touch a book with seven seals. Below, Christ appears as the child on an altar-shaped crib.³⁰ Of the many layers of meaning in this highly complex miniature, several pertain to the platonic cosmology found in the *Timaeus*. Below the Christ-child appear the personifications of two out of the four elements from which the artificer of the *Timaeus* (the creator figure) formed the cosmos: water as *Oceanus* and earth as *Terra*. In the upper section, the Deity sits above a globular universe, an almond-shaped mandorla behind him. His feet rest on a green semi-circle that represents the created earth. Immediately around the earth is a golden sphere bordered with a dotted green band that serves as the outer edge of the cosmos, the place where the stars of the zodiac are affixed.³¹ In line with Calcidius' commentary, earth is thus placed at the center of the celestial bodies. The miniature combines this representation of the earth's place in the cosmos with another diagram that illustrates the eleventh-century *Timaeus*, the division of the universe into temperature bands.³²

²⁹ There are two close contemporary parallels to this picture's content, both similarly influenced by astronomical and Platonic ideas about the heavenly spheres. The first is the *Uta Codex*'s frontispiece to the Gospel of John (Munich Clm. 13601, fol. 89v) and the second is a painted bifolium in the *Bamberg Gospels* produced in Cologne (Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 94, fol. 154v-155r). For a detailed analysis of the similarities between the three see Adam Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA, 2000), 120-8, figs. 32, 34, 35. On the Cologne miniatures more specifically see Von Euw, "Maiestas-Domini-Bilder."

³⁰ Kingsley, 166.

³¹ Bruce Eastwood, "Plato and Circumsolar Planetary Motion in the Middle Ages," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 60 (1993): 7-26; Eastwood, "Calcidius' Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* in Latin Astronomy of the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Between Demonstration and Imagination: Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North*, eds. Lodi Nauta and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden, 1999), 171-209; Eastwood, "Invention and Reform in Latin Planetary Astronomy," in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, eds. Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough and Ross G. Arthur, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2002), 1: esp. 282-90.

³² In the Bernward Gospels', miniature six bands surround the Deity; the three lowest are bordered in gold and include both clouds and rays of light, representing the earthly bands. The top three are green, separated by blue

This astronomically influenced painting is directly relevant to Calcidius' notion of a non-touching touch because Calcidius' phrase *sine sensu tangentis tangentur* appears precisely in the section that treats the nature of primordial matter, the so-called matter of the third kind.³³ In the second part of the *Timaeus*, Calcidius confronts Plato's assertion that such matter (*hyle* in the Greek) is neither corporeal nor incorporeal (*neque corpus necque incorporeum*), material nor immaterial.³⁴ Translating Plato's term for matter as *silva*, Calcidius attempts to explain the paradox of such matter by focusing on the relationship between its incorporeal nature and its ability to take form.³⁵ Matter is, Calcidius explains, basing himself on Aristotle's notion of potentiality "potentially both corporeal and incorporeal" (*sed tam corpus quam incorporeum possibilitate*).³⁶

Calcidius continues, following Plato, by explaining that the potentiality of such matter is what makes it perceptible.³⁷ It is at this moment, when he translates and explains Plato's linking of the potentiality and perceptibility of matter that Calcidius introduces a change of language that produces the notion of a touching performed without the sense of touch. Whereas in the Greek, Plato describes in generic terms that such matter (*hyle*) was apprehensible (*hapton*) with the aid of non-perception (*met'anaisthasias*) – in Calcidius' Latin version matter potentially material

dotted lines and containing two star-shaped bursts of color. These resemble the diagram in *A Calcidio Translatus*, paragraph 67, 114, which is the basis of an image of Christ Enthroned produced in Cologne around the year 1000. On the Cologne miniature see: Von Euw, "Maiestas-Domini-Bilder." On the impact of cosmological diagrams on pictures of Christ Enthroned see Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg, 2003).

³³ *A Calcidio Translatus*, 32-52. The following discussion is indebted to Heller-Roazen, "A Matter of Language."

³⁴ *A Calcidio Translatus*, paragraph 309, 314.

³⁵ *A Calcidio Translatus*, 50 d-e.

³⁶ *A Calcidio Translatus*, paragraph 309, 314.

³⁷ *A Calcidio Translatus*, paragraph 288, 292; paragraph 309, 314.

and immaterial is touched (*tangitur*) without the sense of touch (*sensus tangentis*).³⁸ Calcidius thus forges a direct link between tactile experience and the perception of matter that is potentially material and immaterial.

How does Calcidius' non-touching touch of *silva* relate to the tactile perception of Christ? For medieval Christians reading Calcidius, the potentiality of such matter to be both corporeal and incorporeal naturally suggested the theological understanding of Christ as both human and divine, perceptible man and imperceptible God. The medieval tradition conventionally interpreted the *Timaeus*, and Calcidius' accompanying commentary, as an equivalent of the Genesis creation story, which was in turn understood typologically in relation to John the Evangelist's account of Christ's Incarnation. The Genesis passage opens with the phrase *in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram* (in the beginning God created earth and heaven). Similarly, John's Gospel begins *in principio erat verbum* (in the beginning was the Word) – a phrase that generated the popular medieval metaphor for Christ Incarnate as the Word-made-flesh. The textual and conceptual echo between the two *in principio*,³⁹ and their relationship to Calcidius's description of the cosmos was lost neither on medieval commentators nor on the designer of the John frontispiece in the *Bernward Gospels*.

As already stated, this painting draws on a variety of sources to illustrate the symbolic content of John's opening verse. The multivalent picture portrays the fulfillment of God's scheme of salvation begun by his act of Creation in Genesis, the first *in principio*, continued by

³⁸ A *Calcidio Translatum*, 50, line 18.

³⁹ A widely circulating commentary on the opening of John's Gospel makes a similar point. Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1920), 173. Pictures also frequently established links between the two *in principio*. Illustrators of Genesis, for example, borrowed the layout of the IN initials used primarily in frontispieces for the Gospel of John. Harry Bober, "In Principio: Creation Before Time," in *De artibus opuscula xl: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, 2 vols., ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 1:13-28; Richard Putney, "Creatio et Redemptio: The Genesis Monogram of the St. Hubert Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1985). Frontispieces to John, in turn, invoked details from Genesis. Kühnel, *End of Time*, esp. 185-98, 239-47.

Christ's Incarnation, the second *in principio*, and fulfilled in Revelation. A central theme of both *in principio* that plays a critical role in the picture is light, which not only emerges in rays within the five bands of the upper zone, but also pours from a celestial body in the painting's middle frame. A specific reference to Genesis is the portrayal of Terra's children as Adam and Eve who, sitting on her lap, reach for the serpent who proffers the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Drawn from the conventional understanding of John's *in principio* as a description of Christ, the Word, made flesh, is the portrayal of Christ as the incarnate child in the middle of the painting. References to Revelation also abound, particularly in the miniature's upper zone where Christ is both the Enthroned One and the lamb that opens the book of Judgment, labeled *vita*. In this painting, the platonic content creates a link between the matter of Creation (*silva* in Calcidius' terms) and Christ's incarnate body. Reading the *Noli me tangere*'s imagery against the content of John's frontispiece suggests that platonic ideas about the tangibility of such matter underlies Mary's non-touching touch of Christ's resurrected body.

Historical evidence suggests that this question of the tangibility of Christ was at stake in contemporary discussions about the Resurrection. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, the Ottonian dioceses of upper Lotharingia, as well as Frankish regions around Orleans, were the sites of a lay movement accused of the so-called Manichean heresy. According to Adémar of Chabannes and Gerard of Arras-Cambrai, this group rejected the materiality of the sacred: relics, the body-ness of the resurrected Christ, and the stuff of church ritual: altar, incense, bells, and pictures.⁴⁰ In arguing against these heretics, both men used Gregory the Great's commentary on

⁴⁰ Michael Frassetto, "Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century," *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 385-400.

the book of Job as the basis of their assertion that Christ resurrected *in carne*,⁴¹ in the flesh, and to justify church practices involving bodies and matter. In book 14 of the *Moralia in Job*, an exegetical treatise that circulated widely in the eleventh century, Gregory had established an influential interpretation of Job's prophecy, which stated that Job would resurrect in his own body and not another body.⁴² Gregory concluded from this that Christ, and following him, humans at the end of time, would resurrect in their actual bodies. Proof of this type of resurrection *in carne* was the Doubting Thomas' touch of Christ's wounds, because it showed the palpability (*palpabile*) of Christ's body, proving it to be of flesh.⁴³

By using Job's prophecy, therefore, Adémar and Gerard were reiterating long-standing medieval theories that God's embodiment in Christ justified, even required, the materialization of the sacred in the church, but broadened the discussion to include the nature of the resurrected body. A similar concept underlies the representation of the *Noli me tangere*. In light of Calcidius' commentary, and a historical background that associated the palpability of Christ's body with the proof of the Resurrection *in carne* (in the flesh), it becomes probable that Mary's touch in the *Bernward Gospels*' painting acts not as a sign for sight, but rather as a dynamic, tactile perception of the divine Christ's fully embodied resurrection.

⁴¹ The idea of resurrection *in carne* was opposed to Pauline ideas circulating since late antiquity that either dematerialized the resurrected body or believed it to be materially transformed. Caroline Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1995), esp. 1-114.

⁴² Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Pt. 3, Bk. 14, chaps. 54-8, ed. Marc Adriaen, *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Job*, CCSL 143A (Turnhout, 1979), 739-47.

⁴³ *Moralia in Job*, Pt. 3, Bk. 14, esp. chap. 56, CCSL 143A: 743-4.



Figure 7. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 76r, Portrait of the Evangelist Mark (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

Emphasizing that Mary's gesture represents a tactile perception is its pictorial echo in the scene below. In this picture touch is again portrayed as the sense employed for perceiving Christ *in carne*, in this case made manifest in the form of another sacred body, the gospels, the Word-made-flesh, fol. 75v (**fig. 3**). In this scene the Evangelist Mark receives a book from St. Peter. The book's spine points to where Christ's foot crosses over Mary's arm, and the respective contact of Mary to Christ, and Mark to the book helps forge a link between the two objects of their perception – the pictured body of Christ above and the pictured book as body below. The book as word-made-flesh becomes the *Bernward Gospels* themselves in the portrait of Mark that appears on the opposite folio, fol. 76r (**fig. 7**). There Mark writes his gospel in a codex portrayed as the *Bernward Gospels*. The ornament of the represented book, purple and light blue stripes on an orange ground, repeats the pattern decorating the Gospels on that page, in the background behind Mark.⁴⁴

Two additional pictures in the *Bernward Gospels* present alternative models of tactile perception. In the Last Supper, Judas is placed apart from the other Apostles, fol. 118r (**fig. 4**). He kneels in front of the table and his lower body overlaps an architectural frame, above which appear the other figures of the painting. Judas' right hand is laid on Christ's wrist, and his mouth opens to receive the bread that Christ proffers. The oblong shape and pinkish color of the bread conflate it with Christ's fingers, making explicit the connection between Christ's flesh and the apostolic meal, and presenting Judas' experience of Christ's body as both a grasping of Christ's incarnate body – the hand – and the embrace of his sacramental body – the Eucharist.

In the scene below, Judas appears inside an enclosed space, cupping his hands to catch a line of gold coins. The pairing of these two episodes highlights contrasts important to the

⁴⁴ Every opening in the *Bernward Gospels* uses pattern and ornament as a mechanism to convey relationships between the miniatures. Kingsley, "The *Bernward Gospels*."

pictures' meaning. The three men who pay for Judas' betrayal are aligned with the crowd of believing disciples above. Judas appears in the same spot in both pictures. Above he kneels and touches Christ. Below, he stands facing the opposite direction, turning away from Christ's body. Generically described as a betrayer, Judas served also as a model of limited perception following an idea put forth by Augustine.⁴⁵ Augustine contrasted Judas' experience at the Last Supper with that of Peter. Although both partook of the salvific body of Christ, because of his lack of faith Judas partook unto death, while Peter partook unto life. For Judas consumed the bread but his perception remained limited to external things.⁴⁶ In the Bernward Gospels' paintings, although Judas opens his mouth to receive the sop and touches Christ, he remains physically separate from the experience. Frame, ornament and the repetition of Judas below as someone who turns his back to Christ suggest that Judas remains bound to the earthly realm. He tastes the sop only as bread, and touches merely the outside edges of Christ's skin, his human body. Theologically and pictorially, Judas' touch is corporeal, limited and static.

In the final scene of touch, the Baptism of Christ, John unusually grasps Christ's shoulder between both hands, fol. 174v (**fig. 5**).⁴⁷ A lock of Christ's hair falls over the Baptist's fingers underscoring that their touch involves a close physical contact that, like the Magdalene's,

⁴⁵ Ingrid Westerhoff, "Der Moralisierte Judas : Mittelalterliche Legende, Typologie, Allegorie Im Bild," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 61 (1995): 85-156; Irit Kleiman, "The Life and Times of Judas Iscariot: Form and Function," *Medievalia et humanistica* n.s. 33 (2007):15-40. In the roughly contemporary Quinity of Winchester (c. 1023-65) Judas serves as an example of those who refuse the reality of Christ and the Trinity. Judith A. Kidd, "The Quinity of Winchester Reconsidered," *Studies in Iconography* 7/8 (1981): 21-33.

⁴⁶ Augustine, *Sermo* 71, chap. 11, *PL* 38, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1845), 453. Additional critical passages on Judas in Augustine are *Tractatus in Joannis Evangelium* 50, chap. 10, and 112, chap. 2, CCSL 36: 437 and 634.

⁴⁷ For a general overview see Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh, 1966), 137-52, esp. 148, pl. 344-82. I have found only two similar examples of this gesture, both in later manuscripts. In a codex produced at Salzburg in the second quarter of the eleventh-century John the Baptist touches Christ's shoulder with his left hand (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 781, fol. 40v). Georg Swarenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei des romanischen Stils* (Leipzig, 1913), 33, plate XV (46). In a pericopes book produced in Echternach around 1040, John grasps Christ's shoulder with both hands (Brussels: Library, Bibliothèque Royale, 9428, fol. 18v). See the facsimile: Anton von Euw, Bernard Bousmanne, and Martina Pippal, eds. *Das Echternacher Evangelistar* (Luzern, 2007), 18v.

overlaps their two bodies. Conventionally understood as a theophany, the Baptism represents the moment when John realizes and proclaims Christ's divinity. A detail underscores, however, that at the moment he perceives Christ's godhood, John also handles Christ's *human* body.⁴⁸ The angels who flank Christ open a large curtain between them, quite different in its prominence and gold border from the small indistinct towels that angels sometimes hold in medieval renderings of the Baptism.⁴⁹ Christ's flesh has been painted in the same shade and pattern as this cloth, seeming, in this way, partly to dissolve into the broader expanse of the textile. Such a conflation of Christ's body to the curtain evokes a conventional metaphor that first appeared in Paul's letter to the Hebrews and crystallized in Western thought during the eleventh century, wherein the curtain serves as a marker for Christ's human flesh.⁵⁰

Like the Magdalene's touch, the Baptist's tactile perception is presented as a dynamic

⁴⁸ Although I have found no textual exegesis specific to John's touch in the Baptism in the West, Byzantine commentary justified John's touch by discussing Christ's human nature. Two hymnographers of the sixth century, Romanos and Sophronius of Jerusalem, emphasized how John's testimony was based on a physical, sensory experience. John feared to touch Christ and be consumed by his divinity, but Christ reassured John by recalling his human incarnation. Romanos concluded by declaring Christ's words: "For you will achieve honor from this such as did not fall to the lot of the angels; for I shall make you greater than all the prophets. No one of them saw me clearly, but rather in figures, shadows and dreams. But today you see, you touch the unapproachable light..." Romanos, *Hymnes*, ed. and trans. José Grosdidier de Matons, vol. 2, *Sources chrétiennes* 110 (Paris, 1965), 248-50; eng. trans. based on Marjorie Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*, 2 vols. (Columbia, MO, 1970), 1: 53-4 and quoted in Kathleen Corrigan, "The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): 4. For Sophronius' hymns see: Sophronius of Jerusalem, *On the Holy Baptism*, ed. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologias* 5 (1888; rpr. Brussels, 1963), 158. The issue of Byzantine influence in Ottonian Germany of the late tenth and early eleventh-century is still hotly debated and has tended to center around the problem of the possible influence of Otto II's greek wife Theophanu. For a good introduction to both sides of the debate see the collection of essays: *Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, ed. Adelbert Davids (Cambridge, 1995); Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner eds., *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung Des Ostens Und Westens Um Die Wende Des Ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift Des Kölnerschnütgen-Museums Zum 1000. Todesjahr Der Kaiserin* (Cologne, 1991) and *Kunst Im Zeitalter Der Kaiserin Theophanu* (Cologne, 1993). The extent to which Ottonian theologians read Greek, or were familiar with either Byzantine exegesis or liturgy remains unresolved. However, there is evidence of translated Greek sermons, such as the Akathistos hymn, influencing art in the West already in the eighth century. Suzanne Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans' At Charlemagne's Court," *Viator* 11 (1980): 71-94.

⁴⁹ Schiller, *Ikonographie*, 137-52, esp. plates 344-82.

⁵⁰ Johann K. Eberlein, *Apparitio regis, revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1982), esp. 85n-86n, with further bibliography.

one that moves between earthly and heavenly. On the one hand, when John touches Christ's body he establishes its fleshly limits, grasping Christ's humanity. On the other hand, because the moment of baptism is also a theophany, at the moment of touching Christ's flesh, John also perceives Christ's divinity. This reverses Mary's experience in the *Noli me tangere* to the extent that instead of penetrating a symbol of his godhood to touch his humanity, John the Baptist handles Christ's incarnate human flesh and perceives his divinity. Yet in both cases, their dynamic touch contrasts with Judas' static experience. Such a form of tactile experience requires a movement between material and immaterial, earthly and divine.

John's dynamic touch is that of a priest. Five additional paintings laid out on three folios, fols. 75r, 111r, and 111v (**figs. 8-10**) illustrate episodes from John the Baptist's *Life*. Each painting portrays him primarily as a model for the priesthood.⁵¹ In one scene, illustrating the Gospel of Mark, the Baptist preaches to the people while wearing a stole over his left shoulder, in the manner of a deacon who assists the celebrant during mass, fol. 75r (**fig. 8**).⁵² In a later scene from the Gospel of Luke, John's parents appear, his father Zacharias presented as head priest of the Jewish temple. The first folio shows Zacharias before the inner altar of the Jewish sanctuary where he learns of his wife's miraculous conception, fol. 111r (**fig. 9**) while the following folio presents two scenes: the Visitation and the Naming of John the Baptist, fol. 111v; (**fig. 10**).

⁵¹ Kingsley, 198-237.

⁵² Joseph Braun, "Die Stola," in *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient: Nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendng und Symbolik* (Darmstadt, 1964), 562-608.



Figure 8. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 75r, John the Baptist Preaching (above) and Christ Calling the Apostles (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).



Figure 9. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 111r, Annunciation to Zacharias (above) and Zacharias leaves the temple (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

In the Annunciation to Zacharias, the painting below shows a crowd outside the sanctuary, beyond the pink curtain that separates the inner sanctum from the rest of the building. Zacharias has emerged from there, and the front-most man reaches out to him in a gesture of speech. The zone above shows Zacharias on the other side of the curtain, in the space of the altar. Together the two parts of the scene underscore Zacharias' priestly activities by showing only he can go behind the curtain to the holy space of the altar. The picture also more generally places a strong emphasis on liturgical implements. Zacharias holds a censer, featured prominently as it crosses the boundary between Zacharias and the angel. The censer's motion, swinging into the center of the scene, draws Zacharias' hand over and outside the column. Squiggly lines on a blue band that contrast with the predominantly pink tones of the page animate the area between the chains of the censer. The implement thus stands out starkly from the page both as the only object to enter the sacred space of the altar, and as that which draws Zacharias into that zone. On the far right the vertical axis presents a group of liturgical objects: a hanging lamp, a bowl and below, in a separate section of space marked by the gable that frames it, a candelabra; the ritual implements help further to underscore the Baptist's priestly lineage.

The following folio also employs liturgical references in order to locate John in relation to the priesthood. Two inscriptions, the *Magnificat* above (on Mary's scroll) and the *Benedictus* below (on Zacharias' tablet) refer to liturgical canticles recited daily in the performance of the Divine Office. These hymns together relate the fulfillment of God's eschatological plan by means of Christ's Incarnation, whose way was proclaimed and prepared by John the Baptist.

By presenting John the Baptist primarily as a priest, the *Bernward Gospels* offer John as a model for the priest celebrant, in this case the manuscript's patron, who appears in the

dedication painting at the beginning of the manuscript, fols. 16v-17r (**fig. 1**).⁵³ The portrayal of the Baptist in liturgical garb, fol. 75r (**fig. 8**) echoes the dedication painting's emphasis on Bernward's ritual vestments. Bernward wears the alb, cope, stole and dalmatic. His garments are highlighted by an inscription in the lower frame that reads "such great episcopal vestments."⁵⁴ Like John's father Zacharias, fol. 111r (**fig. 9**), Bernward stands before an altar set for the celebration of a liturgy – in Bernward's painting with the chalice, paten, and portable altar. Bernward's book helps move him into the space of the altar. Similarly Zacharias' censer crosses into the innermost sanctuary of the Jewish temple. Finally, in the Baptism, fol. 174v (**fig. 5**), John's touch, a two-handed grasp of Christ's shoulder, mimics Bernward's hold on the Gospels, fols. 16v-17r (**fig. 1**) that, we have already seen, was commonly understood as the Christ Logos, or Word-made-flesh.

⁵³ Ottonian biographies occasionally employ John the Baptist as a model for their subjects in order to emphasize how these figures' sanctity derives from taking on an active pastoral role. Cf: Phyllis G. Jestice, "A New Fashion in Imitating Christ: Changing Spiritual Perspectives Around the Year 1000," in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York, 2002), 165-85.

⁵⁴ In the left folio's bottom frame: *Bernwardus ornatus tanti vestitu pontificali*

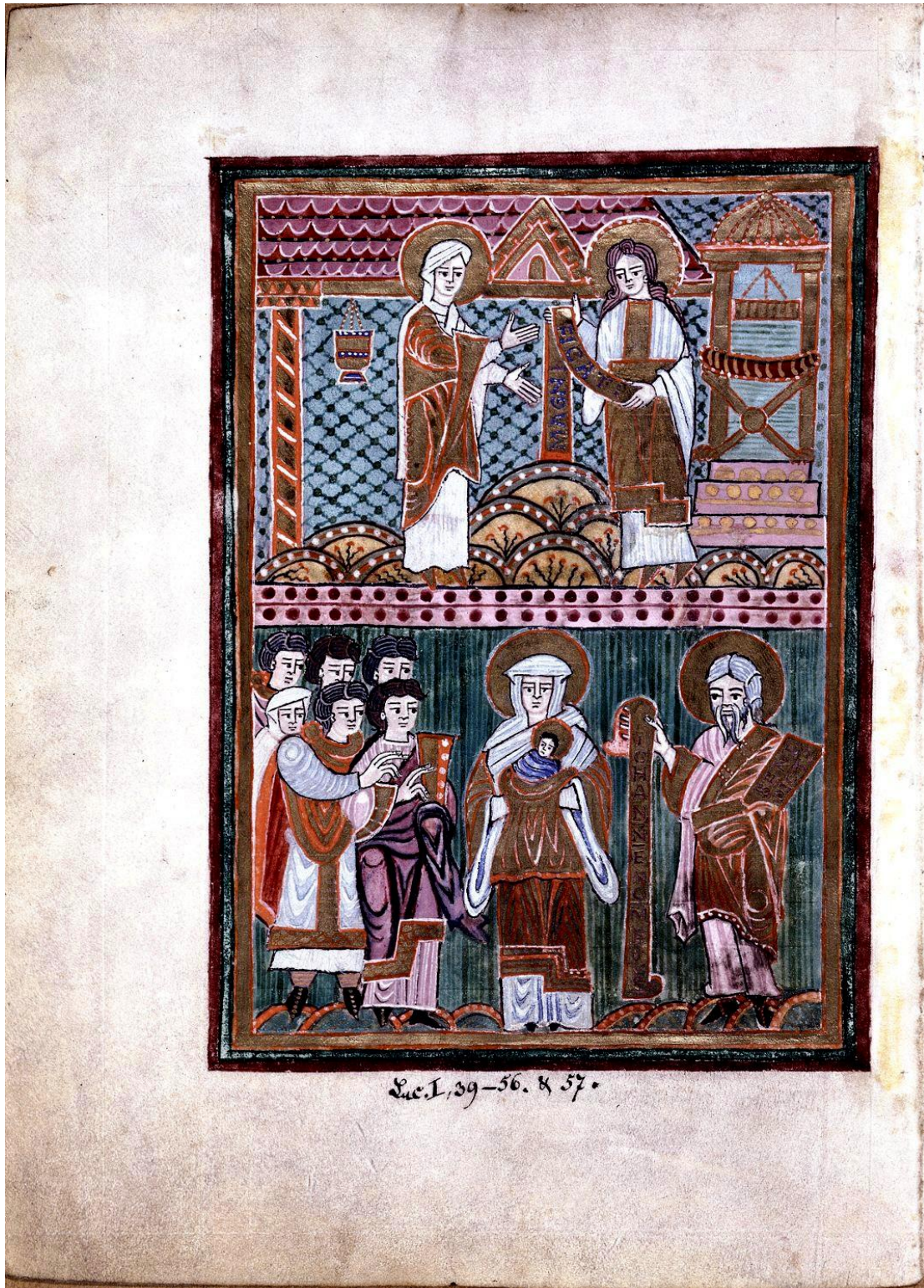


Figure 10. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 18 (Bernward Gospels), fol. 111v, Visitation (above) and Naming of John the Baptist (below) (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

As a model for the bishop, the Baptist's ritual touch of Christ keys Bernward's tactile experience of the gospel book, an object that is, on the one hand, the body of Christ (the word-made-flesh), and on the other hand, the *Bernward Gospels* donated by the bishop to St. Michael's monastery. Bernward stands inside the church, offering the codex to the altar. That altar is the only pictorial element to project beyond the frame of the building. By crossing over the church's external wall, the altar stands ambiguously both inside and outside the architecture. It occupies a space between the two painted folios that respectively represent Bernward's earthly church and the saints' heavenly space. By means of his gift, Bernward points, via the altar, to the saints depicted on the opposite folio. Between them and Bernward stands a door, one of a pair labeled "door of paradise" in the miniature's frame. Whereas the inscription of the door on the right states that it is "closed" (*clausa*), the one facing the page's inner margin, and Bernward's altar, is marked "opened" (*patefacta*). Prominent hinges on the right door underscore that it is indeed depicted as closed, while an arched blue doorway on the left emphasizes that the path between Bernward's altar and the saints is open. By such framing devices, the painting directs a dynamic movement from left to right and back again. It begins with Bernward's gesture, goes through the open door that reveals Mary and then hits a closed door that pushes back in the opposite direction.

Similar to the dynamic nature of the Magdalene and the Baptist's perception, Bernward's sensory experience is portrayed in motion. The bishop's gift helps project him to the very edges of heaven, but also sends him back again, cyclically grounding him in the perception of the material world. The pictorial representation of the gift's capacity to mediate Bernward's communication with God derives from liturgical habits. Until the middle of the eleventh century, the congregation participated in an offertory procession that took place at the beginning of the

Mass. Before the blessing of the Eucharist, the celebrant would ask God to accept and sanctify the congregation's offerings (*secreta*).⁵⁵ Immediately thereafter, the priest would pray that the consecrated bread be raised to the heavenly church and blessed by God. The liturgy thus connected the gifts at the altar with Christ's incarnation in the host. The effectiveness of the gift, according to contemporary descriptions, depended on its being transformed and raised to the heavenly altar. By this process the object converted from an earthly good to something accepted by God, giving proof of the donor's merit.⁵⁶

The eleventh-century liturgy constructed the gift as a site of, in Calcidius' terms, potentiality, where the materialized matter rises to the level of the immaterial and the immaterial begins to materialize. In the dedication painting, Bernward touches the book, a liturgical object that offers a zone for Christ potentially material and immaterial to take form. By means of adopting varying modes of touch the bishop may, or may not, perceive the divine in the earthly church. Similar to the Magdalene's non-touching touch of Christ's resurrected body, and the Baptist, whose touch perceives beyond the fleshly limits of Christ's incarnate body, Bernward's tactile experience is performed dynamically; his touch moves in space and time. This 'touch in movement' that shifts between material and immaterial perception is contrary to Judas' static, and thus limited touch.

The *Bernward Gospels* present a pictorial exegesis on the sensory perception of the divine not only through vision, as Deshman correctly identified in his analysis of the Ascension miniature, but also through touch. Ultimately, both senses are modeled for the manuscript's patron and work together in the dedication portrait. Bernward not only touches the book, but also

⁵⁵ Paul Tirot, "Histoire des prières d'offertoire dans la liturgie romaine du VIIe au XVIe siècle," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 98 (1984): 148-97.

⁵⁶ Elian Magnani S. Christen, "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift pro anima in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhrd Jussen (Göttingen, 2003), 269-84.

looks past it through the open door to the heavenly church. For Bernward it is his gift, a luxurious art object, that materializes the sacred, mediating Bernward's tactile and visionary perception.

As the *Bernward Gospels'* exegesis on touch underscores, early medieval art, foregrounding as it does its own materiality, was understood as more than merely visible, it was also particularly tangible.⁵⁷ That very quality attracts touch. Two Ottonian texts tantalizingly hint at the importance of touching in devotional practice. A tenth-century monk from Reichenau describes that the brothers' regularly touched a painting of the Virgin and Child during prayer.⁵⁸ An eleventh-century miracle described in the *Life* of Dominic of Sora requires the kissing and embracing of a saint's image.⁵⁹ Extant objects too show evidence of having been touched. The ivory cover of Bernward's Franco-Saxon Gospels, Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 13 (**fig. 11**) show signs of wear that suggest that in this carving of the Crucifixion, the representations of Mary and Christ, patron saints of St. Michael's, were more frequently touched than that of John the Evangelist. The Virgin's face is particularly worn, Christ's slightly

⁵⁷ Jérôme Baschet, "Introduction: L'image-objet," in *L'image: Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt, Cahiers du Léopold d'Or 5 (Paris, 1996), 7-57; David Ganz and Thomas Lenters eds., *Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren: Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne* (Berlin, 2004); Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art, Rethinking the Middle Ages 1* (Peterborough, Ont.; Orchard Park, NY, 2004), 19-44 and "Image and Object: Christ's Dual Nature and the Crisis of Early Medieval Art," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), 291-320.

⁵⁸ Walter Berschin and Johannes Straub, *Die Taten des Abtes Witigowo von der Reichenau (985-997): Eine zeitgenössische Biographie von Purchart von der Reichenau*, Reichenauer Texte und Bilder 3 (Sigmaringen, 1992), verse 344-354. On the custom see Jean-Michel Sansterre, "Vénération et utilisation des images apotropaïque de l'image à Reichenau vers la fin du Xe siècle: un témoignage des gesta de l'abbé Wittigowo," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 73 (1995): 281-85.

⁵⁹ François Dolbeau, "Le dossier de saint Dominique de Sora, d'Albéric du Mont-Cassin à Jacques de Voragine," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Âge* 102 (1990), 7-78; the miracle recounted in the eleventh-century text by Alberic is on pp. 68-69. On the miracle see Sansterre, "Un saint recent et son icône dans le Latin méridionale au XIe siècle: À propos d'un miracle de Dominique de Sora," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 447-52.

less so, while John appears to be in good condition and the carved lines of all three figures' garments remain quite crisp.



Figure 11. Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 13, Front Cover (photo: Dom und Diözesanmuseum).

The Bernward Gospels' pictorial exegesis places both touch and sight at the heart of the process of using art to locate the self in relation to God. Through seeing and touching, the Ottonian patron is carried to the very edges of heaven and back again. That process relies on the sensual apprehension of matter, a dependence always problematic for medieval Christians. Whereas Augustine's commentary, and its clever pictorialization in the disappearing Christ offered a solution to the problem of seeing, the issue of corporeal touch required the codex's designer, probably Bernward himself,⁶⁰ to adopt another approach heavily influenced by the scientific, philosophical, and theological ideas circulating in Ottonian Germany. Developing a

⁶⁰ On the problem of identifying "designers" in medieval art, particularly with reference to the relationship between patrons and artists see: Piotr Skubiszewski, "L'intellectuel et l'artiste face à l'oeuvre à l'époque qui peint," in *Le travail au Moyen Âge* (Louvain, 1990), 263-321. Bernward is a particular case because his biography suggests his close involvement and supervision of artistic projects in Hildesheim. Thangmarus, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*, ed. Gerhard Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), 754-82. Yet, the dating of Bernward's biography remains problematic and thus also identifying whether the biography's presentation of Bernward as an artist-patron and close supervisor serves as a narrative device or has some historical basis. See most recently Knut Görich, and Hans Henning Kortüm, "Otto III, Thangmar und die Vita Bernwardi," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 98 (1990): 1-57; Marcus Stumpf, "Zum Quellenwert von Thangmars Vita Bernwardi," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 53/2 (1997): 461-96; Stephanie Haarländer, "Lexikon der Bischofsviten," in *Vitae episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie; untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000), 494-95; and Martina Giese, *Die Textfassungen der Lebensbeschreibung Bischof Bernwards von Hildesheim*, MGH Studien und Texte 40 (Hannover, 2006). Francis Tschan long ago suggested that the head of the Hildesheim scriptorium, by implication involved in designing Bernward's codices, was a scribe named Guntbald, originally from Regensburg, whose name appears in two manuscripts produced for Bernward, a gospel book (Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 33) and a sacramentary (Hildesheim, Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Domschatz 19). Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, 3 vols. (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1942-52), 2: 54ff. Georg Swarzenski thought Guntbald may also have painted some miniatures, in *Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Malerei des frühen Mittelalters*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart, 1901, repr. 1969), 85. This assertion is repeated by Ulrich Kuder, in *Bernward und das Zeitalter* 1: 191-201. Yet the only illumination that can be definitively attributed to Guntbald is a poorly executed gilded inscription far below the level of the Bernward Gospels' illumination. Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 147-148 and 150-151, figs. 53-54. Finally, there is no evidence Guntbald was involved in the production of Bernward's most lavish manuscript, the *Bernward Gospels*. Rather, the complex theological and philosophical concepts embedded in the gospel book's pictorial program, the use of ornamental motifs circulating in the Ottonian court, and the pictorial program's focus on fashioning episcopal memory, all suggest the patron's close involvement in the design of this manuscript. On the courtly ornament and style in Bernward's manuscripts see Stephen Wagner, "Silken Parchments: Design, Context, Patronage and Function of Textile-Inspired Pages in Ottonian and Salian Manuscripts," (Ph.D. diss. University of Delaware, 2004), esp. 143-162; Eliza Garrison, "The Art Policy of Emperor Henry II (1002-1024)," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2005). On the commemorative aspects of the Bernward Gospels' program see Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels," and "Picturing the Treasury in Ottonian Art," in process.

pictorial exegesis on touch, the *Bernward Gospels* affirms the authenticity of God's material *images*: Christ incarnate, Christ resurrected, Christ the consecrated host, and Christ the word.⁶¹

⁶¹ *Imago* is a multivalent term referring equally to material pictures, visions, narrative images, the topos that Christ was in the image of his father and more. Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Imago: De l'image à l'imaginaire," in *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiévale*, eds. Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, 1996), 29-57.



A Walsingham Pilgrimage

By Matthew Champion

As you came from the holy land
Of Walsingham,
Met you not with my true love
By the way as you came ?
Originally untitled ballad

Little Walsingham in North Norfolk is, quite literally, on the road to nowhere. It lies a few miles inland from the windswept Norfolk coast amidst low, undulating hills dotted with woodland. The area is a quiet agricultural landscape, where fields of waving barley vie for space with sheep pasture and the occasional herd of semi docile cattle. Today the whole area is a sought after holiday location for those wishing to escape the hustle and bustle of the modern world and where tailbacks are as likely to be caused by caravans as tractors. Many of the single-track side roads, that creep and twist between tall blossomed hedgerows, feel today as though they have barely changed in the last thousand years. Strange then to think that it was these very highways and byways, these tracks and pathways, that led to the second most popular shrine in medieval England. Six or seven centuries ago these roads were crammed with people, horses and wagons, with Lords, peasants and a long line of kings, all intent on the same purpose - to seek out the blessings of Our Lady Of Walsingham.

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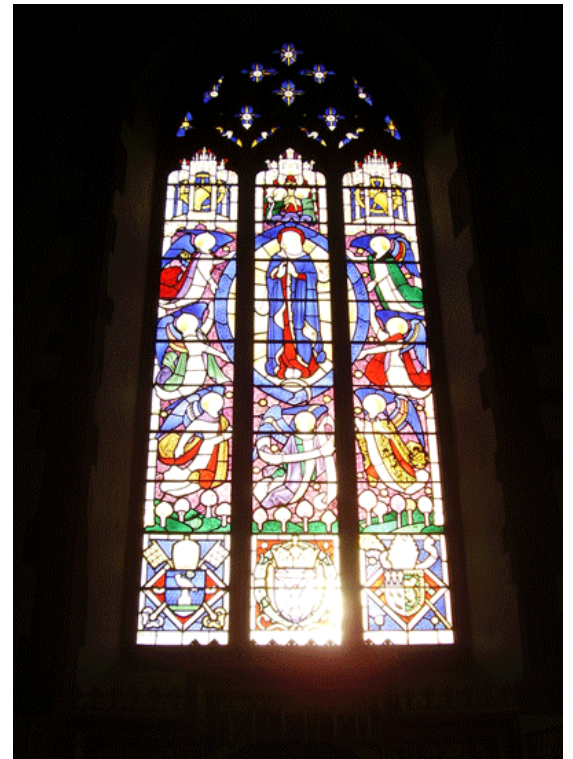
During its heyday in the 14th and 15th centuries Little Walsingham was visited by thousands of pilgrims each year. Although many of these followed set routes to the shrine, from Lynn, Norwich or Bury St Edmunds, the village became a hub of minor routes and tracks along which the pilgrim trade flowed. Today many of these routes are major roads but, just occasionally, it is possible to stumble across one of the old green pilgrim tracks. This 'greenway' from the village of Great Snoring to Walsingham has been in constant use for at least the last one thousand years.

For many medieval pilgrims the last stop before they reached Walsingham itself was the Slipper Chapel in neighbouring Houghton St Giles. Built in 1325 the chapel marked the point at which dedicated pilgrims would remove their shoes to travel the last mile barefoot. The original chapel was dissolved in 1538 and fell into disrepair.



The ruinous chapel was restored in the late 19th century by the Roman Catholic community and in 1934 became the Catholic National Shrine to Our Lady. Today it has been expanded and extended and plays host to thousands of modern pilgrims each year.

The ruinous state of the building meant that many of the original medieval features had been lost, sold or destroyed. The windows were glazed with modern glass that, it was thought, echoed the medieval originals.



In the 1970s and 80s visitors to the Roman Catholic shrine had far exceeded the limits of the medieval chapel and a new chapel, the Chapel of Reconciliation, was finally consecrated in 1982. The design of the building echoes many of the traditionally built barns and farm buildings that dot the surrounding countryside. The interior is, for a Catholic shrine, surprisingly plain and austere, with whitewashed walls and exposed natural roof timbers.

Despite its modern feel the new Catholic shrine contains many links to Walsingham's medieval past. This symbol, a monogram of the letters MARIA, is found on many local churches and surviving medieval pilgrim badges. Today it is used as the corporate logo of the Catholic shrine.



The last mile between the Slipper Chapel and the village of



Walsingham was known as the Holy Mile and runs alongside the water-meadows of the meandering river Stiffkey. The meadows have changed little in the last five or six centuries and would be instantly recognisable to any returning medieval pilgrim.

The first building encountered on entering the village would have been the Franciscan Friary. Founded by Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, in 1347 the Friary boasted an enormous guest house and infirmary to house the visiting pilgrims. The establishment of the Friary faced considerable opposition from the Augustine Priory, who believed it would divert pilgrims and funds from their own property. Its eventual wealth would appear to suggest that their fears were not entirely without foundation. Today the Friary is a private ruin, with only the domestic ranges surviving, and it is sadly not open to visitors.



The village of Little Walsingham is unique within England in that it was built almost entirely to cater to the pilgrim trade. The town was 'planned' and laid out on a grid system that still survives to this day. Thanks largely to the dissolution the settlement did not have the finances to undertake the mass re-buildings now found elsewhere in nearby settlements. As a result Walsingham has one of the finest collections of pre-dissolution vernacular architecture found anywhere in England. This building, on the corner of the High Street, dates to the early decades of the 16th century and may well have been one of the many pilgrim hostels that Walsingham was famous for.

The Common Place. One of the two open spaces within the centre and the focus for much medieval building work. In the background can be seen a whole range of medieval and 16th century buildings built as shops and hostels for the visiting pilgrims. In the foreground is the 'pump house' which was one of the principal sources of water for the village. Today the building is largely 16th century although the pinnacle has been renewed in relatively modern times following its collapse under the weight of bunting that festooned it to celebrate the relief of the siege of Mafeking in 1900.



The Priory Gatehouse. Built in the 1440s, the gatehouse was the first view that many pilgrims would have had of the Priory as they entered the village and walked the last few hundred yards along the high street. To the left of the gatehouse stands the 15th century porter's lodge, built in a very unusual (for Norfolk) arched brace



et al.
design. Many of the buildings in the background are built against the precinct wall and, behind more modern facades, are original medieval shops built to cater to the pilgrims. During recent renovations many interesting discoveries were made including medieval wall paintings and original carved decoration.

As the pilgrims passed through the gatehouse they would have entered a bustling and busy precinct surrounded by tall buildings on all sides. Above and to their left would have been the great west tower whilst to their right, across a wide courtyard, stood the priory stables. The flow of pilgrims was carefully regulated by the Priory authorities and pilgrims were required to follow a set route through the church and multiple chapels.



To the modern pilgrim entering through the gatehouse the first view of the ruins is perhaps the most dramatic. The upstanding east end is all that now remains above ground of the great priory church.

A closer view of the eastern gable end of the priory church. The original church had a central crossing tower, as well as a western tower, and was almost 250ft long. The gable end that survives today was built in the 1380s and contains some superb flint

flushwork decoration which, when first built, would have given the building a distinct black and white patterned effect. In addition, the mirror like surface of the flint would have reflected the light, making the building visible for many miles around.



Although the priory church has now all but gone the site does contain extensive ruins that belong to the domestic range of buildings. Here the ruined western end of the refectory sits surrounded by trees and almost overgrown with vegetation. The refectory is built in the early Decorated style and is dated to about 1300.

The arched windows and arcading of the refectory are distinctly different from many of the other building phases still represented at Walsingham. The high pointed arch of the east window is echoed here along the south wall. As Norfolk has no natural supplies of quarry stone all the visible dressed stone had to be imported into the county from as far a field as France.





A detail of one of the arched windows in the southern wall of the refectory. At the height of its power, in the late 14th and early 15th century, the Priory was home to more than thirty Canons, all of whom would have taken their meals in this building.

These stunted fragments are all that remain of the piers that supported the massive western tower of the Priory church. Most of the site was cleared at the dissolution, the stone being sold off locally, and only the Prior's lodgings (later converted to a country house) remained intact. These pillars, along with the other remains of the church, now act as decorative features in the garden of the manor house.



The raised lawn area marks the position of the original Holy House chapel. Both archaeological and documentary evidence point to the original chapel having been built in the first half of the 12th century. Despite this, the Guardians of the modern shrine still insist on a foundation date of 1061, as noted in the 15th century Pynson ballad. Excavations in the early 1960s revealed a small Romanesque chapel within which stood the wooden structure of the Holy House. The miracle working statue of the Virgin that was contained in the house was documented as having been taken to London in 1538 and ceremonially burnt. However, local traditions still persist that hint at its concealment and survival.

Few other fragments of the Priory survived the dissolution unscathed. These doorways now stand alone and lead the way to the crypt – originally the warming room for the Canons.



In the foreground can be seen the two Holy Wells of Walsingham. These ancient wells have been venerated for over two thousand years and have produced evidence of ritual deposition that predates the Roman occupation. It is perhaps the presence of these wells that prompted the erection of the original Holy House only a few dozen yards away. Between the two wells used to sit a stone that worshipers were required to kneel upon. They then dipped a hand in each well and silently asked for their boon.

The lovely Romanesque archway was moved from another part of the site, reputedly the infirmary, in the early 19th century and re-erected as a gateway into the well garden. The position of the original Holy House stands a little beyond the small tree visible through the arch.



Perhaps one of the real treasures of Walsingham. One of the only surviving medieval pack-horse bridges in England. The bridge over the river Stiffkey was originally outside the Priory precinct and stood next to the ford on the Norwich road. However, in the 19th century the precinct wall was moved to bring the bridge within the grounds where it now acts as a garden feature.



The trackway over the pack-horse bring now leads to a pleasant walk in the wooded grounds. Today the bridge carries the few tourists that venture this far into the woods and follow in the footsteps of countless thousands of medieval pilgrims.



The Knight's Gate. This tiny gate in the precinct wall is traditionally the scene of one of Walsingham's many medieval miracles. Legend states that a Knight was riding to Walsingham when he way waylaid by a band of murderous cut-throats who preyed on passing pilgrims. Putting spur to his horse the Knight was pursued by the outlaws as he approached the small wicket gate of the Priory. To his dismay the Knight saw that the gate was locked and barred against him. In despair, and with the outlaws fast approaching, the Knight closed his eyes and prayed to Our Lady to intercede. When he opened his eyes again he discovered that he had miraculously passed through the locked gate and into the safety of the Priory precinct. So popular was this tale that the Knight's Gate had many different designs of pilgrim badge produced in its honour. The gate, as can be seen from the photograph, was rebuilt, along with much of the precinct wall, in the 19th century remodelling. However, as the sign makes clear, the new gate is still unsuitable for wide loads.

In the early 20th century the vicar of Walsingham, Father Hope Patten, re-established the tradition of pilgrimage to Walsingham. Soon thousands of Anglican pilgrims visited the site each year and its popularity continues to grow. Between 1931 and 1937, opposite the Knights Gate, was built the new Anglican Shrine that contains a modern interpretation of the original Holy House, Holy Well and

statue of Our Lady. Although Father Hope Patten believed the site to be that of the original Holy House, a myth that continues to this day, the area it covers is now known to have once been an Almonry for the medieval Priory. In addition local legend states that, when excavated, the Holy Well contained within the building was discovered to be a typical medieval domestic well that contained many items of a distinctly non-religious nature.



The modern fountain at the Anglican shrine sits just outside the door to the modern building. In a fascinating echo of medieval practices of ritual deposition the well is always full of coins deposited by hopeful pilgrims ‘for luck’. The building itself was the work of renowned architects Romilie Craze and Sir William Milner.

The modern Anglican shrine is home to a host of medieval traditions that are seldom found within the modern Anglican church. The building contains fifteen side chapels, said to represent the mysteries of the rosary, many of which contain medieval ‘style’ wall paintings.



A detail of the wall paintings within one of the side chapels within the Anglican shrine. For many of the Anglican visitors the shrine, with its incense, paintings and statues, is the first glimpse they have ever had of how a medieval English church would have looked, smelt and felt. For some the experience is overpowering.

et al.



Today the inside of the Anglican shrine is like the interior of a mini cathedral. In recent decades the original relatively bare interior has become home to tomb chests and reclining effigies of the church dignitaries who wished to spend eternity in Walsingham.



Unlike the original timber Holy House the new building is of brick and stone. Unusually, particularly in light of the Anglican churches view of ‘relics’, the walls of the new Holy House have pieces of stone embedded in them from other religious houses, both extant and ruinous, from around the world. Each inscribed with their names, it is possible to locate stones from Lourdes, Thetford Priory, Chartres cathedral and Canterbury.

The inside of the Holy House as seen through the ‘squint’ in the rear wall. The priest celebrates mass before the crowned and robed statue of the Virgin. (Warning; the use of flash photography in the

Published by Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange, 2010

Holy House during the elevation of the Host can lead to accidental spillages).



The ‘new’ Holy Well within the Anglican shrine. The well was ‘rediscovered’ during the excavations undertaken in the 1930s prior to the building of the new shrine. Father Hope Patten maintained that this was the original Holy Well of Walsingham – a belief shared by the many hundreds of thousands of modern pilgrims who carry its waters away with them. However, more recent scholarship suggests that the well belonged to either the ‘white hart’ or ‘maidenhead’ hostelryes, or the Priory’s Almonry, that once stood upon the site. Prior to excavation the well had been filled in with all sorts of medieval and post-medieval rubbish and refuse including, according to local legend, a dead dog and half a dozen elderly shoes.

The parish church of St Mary. Despite the presence of both the Priory and Friary the parish of Little Walsingham was served by the parish church of St Mary. The building is one of Walsingham’s overlooked gems and would have also seen its fair share of pilgrims passing through during the middle ages. The magnificent tower dates to the 14th century and the nave to the mid 15th century.



The south porch of St Mary's. In its simplicity and cleanliness of lines the porch is one of the finest two storey porches of its time to survive intact. When built the elaborate image niche would have contained a figure and, like the traceried canopy, would probably have been brightly painted.

On the 14th July 1961 St Mary's was almost entirely gutted by fire, wiping clean the vast majority of the medieval interior. Reconstructed in the early 1960s the church now has a very modern feel whilst retaining many medieval traditions. Despite the bare whitewashed walls that were once covered with bright images the parish has seen fit to reinsert a rood into the chancel arch and install a number of elaborate and colourful statues. It was here that Father Hope Patten first installed a Marian shrine with replica statue before being ordered to remove it by the Anglican authorities. Hope Patten was not to be defeated though and the actions of the authorities were the impetus for the building of the modern shrine.





The building today contains many features of an Anglo-Catholic nature. It was customary for churches to be anointed in twelve places by the Bishop during the consecration process. Traditionally, each place of anointment would be marked with a cross – echoes of which can be seen today in the crosses that adorn the walls of St Mary's.

Perhaps the most wonderful medieval survival in the church is the magnificent font. Depicting the seven sacraments and covered in a wealth of elaborate tracery the font was one of the few items in the church to survive the devastating fire. Seven Sacrament fonts are relatively rare, with less than forty surviving in England, and the majority are now to be found in Norfolk. The main eight panels depict all seven medieval sacraments (Baptism, Ordination, Matrimony, Confirmation, Last Rites, Confession and Mass) and are joined by an eighth scene – that of the Crucifixion.



Detail of the Seven Sacrament font. The panel shows the ritual of Confirmation and, hidden in the background, it still retains fragments of its original medieval paintwork. The font at Little Walsingham has been described as 'the perfect Norfolk font'.

The base of the font at Walsingham is perhaps more interesting than the scenes of the sacraments depicted above. The architectural canopies and framing of the individual figures of the saints is highlighted with the inclusion of smaller figure niches that echo those found on the exterior of the church itself.



The end of medieval Walsingham's pilgrim trade came quickly. The Friary and Priory were both dissolved in 1538, by which time the Priory was home to only four canons. Both sites were sold to Thomas Sydney who began a systematic programme of destruction for both buildings. The roofing lead and furnishings were recycled and sold off in bulk. The dressed stones, so valuable in an area with no natural stone, were sold off locally for building materials. Even today it is not unusual to come across large quantities of carved and worked 'Walsingham stone' built into the farm buildings and houses of the surrounding area.

The Wrack of Walsingham.

Where weare gates noe gates are nowe,
The waies unknowne,
Where the presse of freares did passe
While her fame far was blowen.

Oules do srike where the sweetest himnes
Lately wear songe,
Toades and serpents hold their dennes
Where the palmers did throng.

Weep, weep O Walsingham,
Whose dayes are nightes,

Blessings turned to blasphemies,
Holy deedes to dispites.

Sinne is where our Ladye sate,
Heaven turned is to helle;
Sathan sitte where our Lord did swaye,
Walsingam, oh, farewell!



The pilgrims who now flock to the multiple shrines of Little Walsingham do so today in cars and coaches. From Easter until Christmas the village plays host to many hundreds of thousands of visitors. Many of them visit the modern shrine on an annual basis and carry home with them small plastic bottles of water from the new ‘Holy Well’. Few visit the site of the original Holy Wells, or walk the turf covered route through the ruined Priory to stare at the place where the Holy House once stood. The old pilgrim tracks, the green roads that led to England’s little Nazareth, are walked now only by local ramblers, birdwatchers and courting couples - and the ghosts of a thousand medieval pilgrims

[Back to Welcome Page](#)



SHORT NOTICES & ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Monastic Wales project

The religious houses of medieval Wales have long been overshadowed by their more numerous, generally more prosperous, and normally better-documented neighbours east of Offa's Dyke. Yet their history is inseparable from the religious, cultural, economic, political, literary, and urban history of Wales during the period between the arrival of the Normans in the late eleventh century and the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth.

In an attempt to identify more firmly Wales's place on the monastic map of Europe, this new large-scale project seeks to establish a comprehensive monastic history of medieval Wales, the findings of which will be made available to scholars and students, as well as the wider public, both electronically and in print. Initially this will comprise monasteries and houses of canons which were active in Wales for some or all of the period from the late eleventh century until the Suppression of the religious houses in the sixteenth century. It is hoped that with additional funding the database can be extended to include the friaries.

The first phase of the project was the creation of a database and website which can be used as both a research and a teaching tool. This will be regularly updated and expanded; the interactive element in the design enables external participation. The website was officially launched in October 2009. It will eventually comprise a full bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature, links to relevant web-published material and research tools, and reports on related work in progress.

The project seeks also to encourage new research into aspects of Welsh monastic history and to provide a platform for unpublished material and new work. Essays and articles will be available to users on the website. A comprehensive history of monastic Wales, with contributions from leading scholars in the field, will be published in book form.

<http://www.monasticwales.org/>



Priory Church of St Mary, Chepstow. Photo: Paul Watkins

History in 3-D: Digitally Archived Works of Art

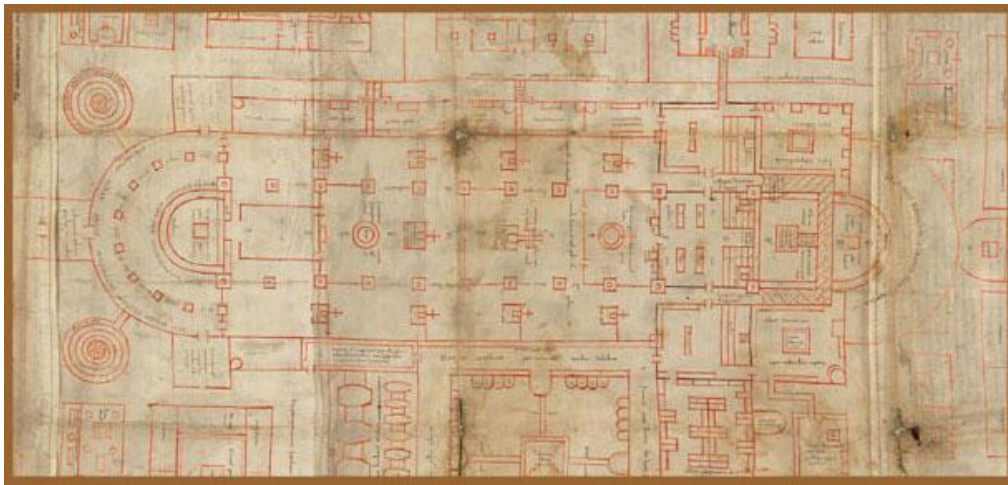
Scientists are developing the European joint project called 3D-COFORM. The project aims to digitize the heritage in museums and to provide a virtual archive for works of art from all over the world. Vases, ancient spears, and even complete temples will be reproduced three-dimensionally. Soon viewers will be able to revolve around a sculpture or virtually sight-see a church. The digital archive will be intelligent, searching for and linking objects stored in its database. For instance, a search for Greek vases from the sixth century BC with at least two handles will retrieve corresponding objects from collections all over the world. Researchers are developing calculation specifications to derive the actual object from the measured data. The software must be able to identify specific structures, such as the arms on a statue or columns on a building, as well as to recognize recurring patterns on vases. A virtual presentation also needs to include a true visual image -- a picture of a temple would not be realistic if the shadows cast by its columns were not properly depicted. The research group in Darmstadt is therefore combining various techniques to simulate light effects, as well.

Re-written from *ScienceDaily*

<http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/11/091104101537.htm>

St. Gall Monastery Plan

A new website is now available for researchers of the Plan of St. Gall -- the earliest preserved and most extraordinary visualization of a building complex that was produced in the Middle Ages. Ever since the Plan was created at the monastery of Reichenau sometime in the period 819-26 A.D., it has been preserved in the [Monastic Library of St. Gall \(Switzerland\)](#). This web site, created with the financial assistance of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation by scholars at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the University of Virginia, presents the plan, its origins, components, and notations, as well as four centuries of scholarship on the plan with regard for its context in ninth-century material culture.



This site will provide access to the results of a long-term project of creating an extensive database to aid research into both the Plan itself and Carolingian monastic culture. Besides a variety of digital representations of the plan, the site includes a graphic representation of how the plan was physically made, detailed information on each of its component elements, and transcriptions and translations of its inscriptions. In addition, the site contains a series of extensive databases, including one presenting physical objects found across Europe that add to our understanding of Carolingian monasticism, one devoted to the terminology of Carolingian material culture, descriptions of all known religious edifices of the era, and an extensive bibliography on both the Plan itself and Carolingian monastic culture generally. A key word search feature allows one to find linkages across the plan components and all of the other, related databases. Finally, the web site provides an interactive space where visitors and users can contribute and interact with other scholars of the Plan and its context of medieval architecture and monastic culture. It is their hope that this complex resource will assist the continuing study of the St. Gall Monastic Plan and allow the international community of scholars to advance our understanding of this extraordinary object.

<http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index.html>

***Roman de la Rose* Digital Library**

The *Roman de la Rose* Digital Library, a joint project of the [Sheridan Libraries](#) of Johns Hopkins University and the [Bibliothèque nationale de France](#) is creating an online library of all manuscripts (roughly 130) containing the *Roman de la Rose* poem. This Digital Library features new content and enhanced functionality, and builds upon the previously developed prototype [Roman de la Rose: Digital Surrogates of Medieval Manuscripts](#). Plans are to continue the relationship with the founding partners of the Digital Surrogates project, including the [Walters Art Museum](#), the [Bodleian Library](#), the [Morgan Library & Museum](#), and the [J. Paul Getty Museum](#), while looking forward to collaboration with a number of new institutions and private collectors who have contributed digital images of their manuscripts. Through the efforts of the project team and advisory committee, the Digital Library has been developed as a resource for scholars in a variety of disciplines, as well as for a wider public.

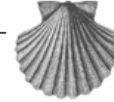
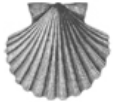


<http://romandelarose.org/#home>

Reconstruction of a Gothic Cathedral using an Immersive Virtual Environment Chamber

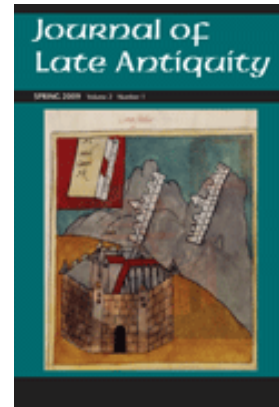
A Duke University student in Professor Caroline Bruzelius' "Gothic Cathedrals" course produced (with the help of digital artist Anya Belkina and Duke research scientist Rachael Brady) renderings and analysis of various cathedral models projected in the ten-foot-cube Duke Immersive Virtual Environment chamber. To see this innovative project click on the following link:

<http://visualstudies.duke.edu/wp-content/uploads/cathedralpresentation.pdf>



New Journals

The ***Journal of Late Antiquity*** (JLA) is the first international English-language journal dedicated to the study of Late Antiquity writ large. The journal provides a venue for multi-disciplinary coverage of all the methodological, geographical, and chronological facets of Late Antiquity. All of Late Antiquity will be represented--from the late and post-classical world up to the Carolingian period, and including the late Roman, western European, Byzantine, Sassanid, and Islamic worlds, ca. AD 250-800. JLA is essential, not only as a space for scholarship dealing with practical and theoretical issues, but, in particular, to bridge the gap between literary and material culture scholarship. One of the primary goals of the journal is to highlight the status of Late Antiquity as a discrete historical period in its own right.



Scholars of Late Antiquity are invited to submit previously unpublished material for consideration for publication in JLA. Contributions should have a clearly stated thesis and argument firmly based in the use of primary sources material. We particularly encourage submissions relating to the relationship between material culture and traditional literary sources. If there is a single theme that we would expect all of the contributions to manifest, it would be that, in some manner, they illuminate Late Antiquity as a discrete period with its own unique identifying characteristics. Submissions may be forwarded in e-format (Word or WordPerfect) to:

Ralph W. Mathisen, Managing Editor,

ralphwm@illinois.edu

and

ruricius@msn.com

http://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_late_antiquity/

KUNSTGESCHICHTE. Open Peer Reviewed Journal

is an international journal which covers art history in all centuries (including the Middle Ages) and is published in accordance with the principles of public peer review. The internet gives scholars the possibility for immediate interaction by allowing them to contribute comments, critiques, and additions online to the papers published in *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal*. All comments will be furnished with a proper URL so as to be citable on their own.

PUBLIC PEER REVIEW

Until recently, publication in nearly all scholarly journals proceeded as follows: the paper was offered to a periodical, reviewed by one or more experts, and, in case of acceptance, finally printed and available to be read. The internet permits a new procedure. The readers can now be involved in reviewing; therefore, many different views on the subject may lead to a more objective judgment than in the past.

Papers submitted to *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* are first put up as ›Discussion Papers‹ for public peer assessment over a period of six months. After this stage, the authors have the option of revising their work according to the public comments. Only then will the definitive papers be published as ›Journal Articles‹. By proceeding thus, we capitalize on the specific possibilities of the internet: It allows scholars to interact immediately, and to contribute comments, criticism, and additional information online to the papers published in *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal*. We would like to underline that all comments will be furnished with a proper URL so as to be citable independently.

NEW RESEARCH

The main purpose of *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* is the timely publication of new results of art history research. The journal also offers internet publication of lectures given at recent symposia, so that they can be discussed possibly before they appear in print.

›RECONSIDERED‹

In addition to the publication of new and innovative research, the Journal will offer a forum for the discussion of older literature. We therefore invite you to propose texts for electronic reprint, for example such texts that in their first printing did not meet with the reception they deserved or ones that today would offer new perspectives.

SUBMISSIONS

Contributors to *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* should normally hold a Master's degree in the field although exceptions can be made. Graduate university students may apply for publication if recommended by their supervisors, a professor or a lecturer. For more information about how to submit texts see ›Submit Papers‹ and ›Submit Comments‹.

<http://www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/>

Journal of the
International Association of Research
Institutes in the History of Art

The logo for RIHA JOURNAL is a rectangular box with a light beige background and thin vertical lines. The text "RIHA JOURNAL" is written in a bold, blue, sans-serif font, centered within the box.

RIHA JOURNAL

RIHA, the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art, is pleased to announce the launch of RIHA Journal, the new international online-journal for the history of art: www.riha-journal.org.

A joint project of 27 institutes in 18 countries, the journal provides an excellent medium for fostering international discourse among scholars, RIHA Journal features research articles in either English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish, and invites submissions on the whole range of art historical topics and approaches. Manuscripts undergo a double blind peer review process and are published within few months from submission.

A not-for-profit e-journal committed to the principles of Open Access, RIHA Journal makes all articles available free of charge. RIHA Journal welcomes submissions at any time. Please contact the RIHA institute in your country and/or field of expertise, or the managing editor.

For further information, see
www.riha-journal.org



Featured Website

Historic Tale Construction Cit

The fun site of Historic Tale Construction Cit [sic] or Caption your own Bayeux Tapestry is just the thing to brighten up a dull day/century. It allows you to choose various figures, animals, buildings, and other objects along with text (with your choice of color) to create your own historic tale.

<http://www.adgame-wonderland.de/type/bayeux.php>





DISCOVERIES

Mystery stone found near church linked to Knights Templar

A mysterious carved stone has been uncovered alongside a 12th-century church associated with the Knights Templar. What appears to be the carved top of a sarcophagus was unearthed when builders were reinforcing a wall alongside the old ruined church in Temple, Midlothian. Its date is under debate. Some date it to the 12th century (or earlier) because its inscriptions include symbols similar to those found in Viking monuments found in medieval graves and in West Highland Celtic carvings. Others, such as David Connolly, of Connolly Heritage Consultancy, believe it dates from the 13th or 14th century. He states "It is a significant site because it was the Templar Preceptory for Scotland. I think from the condition, it may once have been set inside the church – which was once much bigger... [Whoever is buried there] could be a Templar [or] he could be a Hospitaller, he could just be a knight who wanted to be buried there – but the heraldry is like nothing anyone has seen before." Historian John Ritchie noted, "It is a crude carving, quite primitive, but I have never seen anything like it in my life. It has a whole series of symbols on it and the symbols are very interesting. The symbols at the bottom look like Viking sun compasses, while the dials at the top look a little bit like a Celtic cross but with notches carved on them." However historian and author Michael Turnbull said he doubted the find was significant: "There were certainly Templars there but this might be a fake."



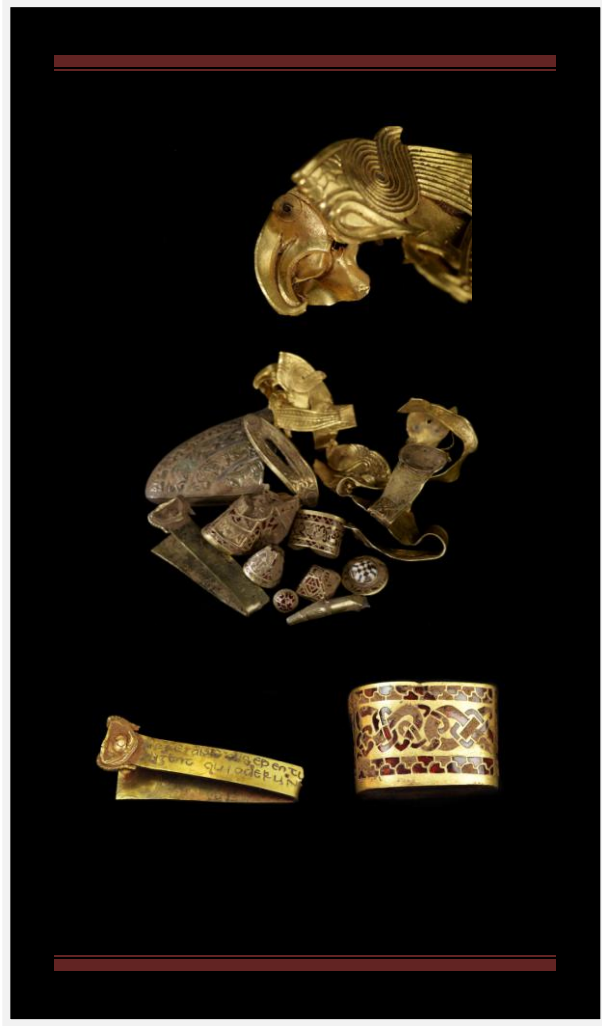
Re-written from

<http://news.scotsman.com/latestnews/Mystery-stone-found-near-church.5767821.jp>

by Claire Smith; Photo: Kate Chandler

The Staffordshire Hoard

In July of 2009, a hoard of Anglo-Saxon artifacts was discovered in what had been the Kingdom of Mercia in Staffordshire, by Terry Herbert an amateur metal detector, in a field on the farm of Fred Johnson. More than 1500 artifacts were found, mostly of gold or silver, many adorned with Migration Period motifs such as animal interlace, or inlaid with stones or other materials. The objects, likely 7th-century work, are largely military in character – weapons, helmets, and other such equipment – although some few are religious in nature, such as crosses and metal strips with biblical inscriptions. Historian David Starkey has labelled the contents of the find as "gangland bling," for the medieval warlords. "This is by far the most important archaeological discovery in Britain since WWII, and beyond that this is a find – of the most extraordinary beauty, brilliance and technical sophistication – which has really caught the imagination of the public."



A Heritage Memorial Fund grant will facilitate its remaining in the custody of the Midlands Museums at Birmingham and Stoke-on-Trent. A great plethora of reporting has been done on this remarkable discovery in the British press and among the helpful sites to explore the details are these (each with links to additional information)

<http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2010/mar/23/staffordshire-hoard-anglo-saxon-grant>

Knot Motif Found in Hoard Jewels

Archaeologists have discovered a Staffordshire Knot symbol among the treasures of the Staffordshire Hoard, making the county sign 500 years older than previously thought. The symbol was believed to originate from the 11th century, but the gold artifact dates back to at least the sixth century. Council leader Councillor Philip Atkins said: “The Staffordshire knot found on one of the items was 500 years older than the oldest known use of the county symbol.” The knot may have originated as a heraldic device for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia. The find of more than 1,500 gold and silver objects by metal detectorist Terry Herbert from Burntwood is the largest hoard of Anglo-Saxon gold ever found.



Re-written from <http://www.expressandstar.com/latest/2009/10/16/knot-found-in-hoard-jewels/>

Diving into the Secrets of Hagia Sophia

A new documentary on the underground tunnels and reservoirs that permeate the earth around Hagia Sophia, *Ayasofya'nın Derinliklerinde* (In the Depths of Hagia Sophia), is being recorded by filmmaker Göksel Gülensoy, who states, "I believe what is beneath Hagia Sophia is much more exciting than what is above the surface." On the floor of the main hall under the gigantic dome, the reservoir door close to the entrance was opened first for the first time in 64 years, and for the first time in history, a diver was going underneath Hagia Sophia. The reservoir under the first door was 12 meters deep. Near the bottom, the diver saw two thick pieces of wood, resembling shovel handles and a bucket, but they turned into dust when he touched them. The second shutter, closer to the center of the dome revealed two passages extending to the center of the building and to the exit door – passages that might extend the famous Byzantine building to Topkapı Palace and the Yerebatan Cisterns. The hall into which they first stepped was long, like a corridor, and strengthened with pillars. There they found glass from the giant chandeliers that used to light up Hagia Sophia as well as what looked like pieces of stained glass in seven colors.



The spelunkers also tried to find the secret passages said to extend from Tekfur Palace, next to the old city walls, to the islands of the Marmara Sea. Two stone tunnels of approximately 70 centimeters in height extended in the direction of Sultanahmet Square and Topkapı Palace – presumably the tunnels that the mighty 5th-century Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II had used to go to Tekfur Palace and to the hippodrome without being seen by the public. The divers entered the tunnels in opposite directions. Each of these tunnels was strengthened with brick arches and split into two after 50 meters. One branch of each tunnel led to a spot under the dome, but those passages were closed. Another branch led to the palace yard. This locale, it seemed, likely included the gravesites of St. Antinegos, the first person to be buried in Hagia Sophia, in the 13th century, and of Patriarch Athanasius, who was interred 200 years later. Permission for

exploration had been granted on the condition that everything found was to be left in its original place and that no changes to the structure of the building were to be made. That is why the sealed passages were left untouched.

Re-written from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=diving-into-the-secrets-of-hagia-sophia-2009-08-04>

By Serhan Yedig

Bulgarian Archaeologists Find Relics of Medieval Saint at Perperikon

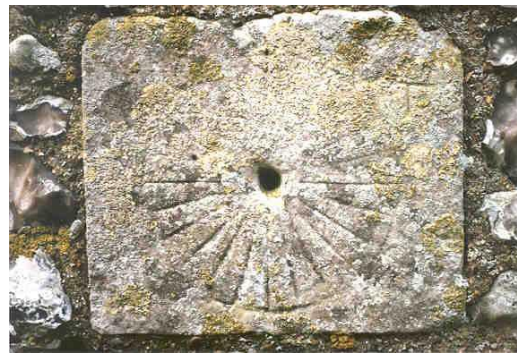
The team of Bulgarian archaeologist, Professor Nikolay Ovcharov, has discovered relics of a medieval saint at the fortress of Perperikon in the Rhodope Mountains. The remains of human bones were found inside one of two bronze crosses as the archaeologists were excavating two churches. One of the crosses is larger and has an image of the crucified Christ on its front, with an image of Virgin Mary praying on its reverse: dating to the 10th-11th century. The second, smaller cross, adorned with geometric motifs, is dated to 5th-7th century. Unfortunately there were no inscriptions that would lead to the identification of the remains. Perperikon, though, was one of the most important centers of Christianity in the entire region. Ovcharov's hypothesis is that the church at Perperikon was the first church built by Bishop Niketa in that region and that it was a bishopric from the 4th to the 14th century. The archaeologists have discovered a number of bronze, gold, and silver crosses, as well as a number of seals.



Re-written from http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=107410; Photo: B GNES

Ancient Dial Solves Time Riddle

A new discovery at an island abbey in the Firth of Forth has revealed that the Augustinian canons who once lived there measured time using a mass dial. Conservationists working at Inchcolm Island found the remnants of a special sundial which they believe may have been carved into a wall, among a collection of about 50 pieces of carved medieval stone which have been kept at the abbey but never studied. The dial at Inchcolm, which has been broken in two, was discovered by Historic Scotland collections registrar Hugh Morrison and medieval stones expert Mary Markus. Historians believe that the Augustinian canons lived according to a strict routine, which made it essential for everyone in the community to do the right thing at the right time, but how did they do it? Mr Morrison said: "...I turned over another stone and was really pleased to discover that it fitted together with the other half of the mass dial. Better still, it still has the corroded stub of the iron gnomon which would have once cast its shadow along the dial's radial markings ... Changing seasons and weather meant that mass dials could not always be used but when the sun shone they provided a relative means of coordinating community activities." While such timekeepers, like that at the right, from Waltham, Kent, were known in abbeys in England, they are less-well-documented at Scotland sites.



Re-written from

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/edinburgh_and_east/8214948.stm

See also: <http://www.sundialsoc.org.uk/massdials.htm>