Ornament as Argument: Textile Pages and Textile Metaphors in Medieval German Manuscripts (800—1100)

by

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Abstract

This dissertation explores notions of ornamentation and issues of materiality in early and high medieval manuscript illumination. Focusing on ornament that evokes the weave patterns of Byzantine and Islamic silk in tenth and eleventh century manuscripts from Echternach, Einsiedeln, Reichenau, and elsewhere, this study argues that—in specific contexts—ornament has meaning and serves functions that go beyond mere decoration. The dissertation contextualizes so-called textile pages in the codicological and iconographic structure of the manuscripts in which they appear and examines them in light of exegetical texts that discuss the function and metaphoric meaning of matter in religious art. After the first chapter clarifies the formal relationship between medieval textiles and textile ornament, the subsequent chapters bring the ornamental images together with various textile metaphors. From such a reading of textile iconography emerge three major strands of meaning: the notion of scripture as a veil of revelation, the Incarnation as a symbolic garment, and textile-ornamented manuscripts as the corporeal book-bodies of scripture. In addition to an investigation of the allegorical meaning of textile ornament, a discussion of the function of physical matter in private meditation and the

liturgy opens new perspectives on the utility and necessity of physical props for contemplative and liturgical purposes in medieval worship.

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Introduction: Textile Ornament as Argument

This dissertation is about textiles, ornament, and textile metaphors. All three of these aspects come together in the so-called textile pages that are the focus of this study: full-page miniatures that resemble the weave patterns of mechanically produced silk fabrics. Repetitive geometric ornament framed within a miniature, or displayed as a full-folio illumination in which the ornament covers a page fully from edge to edge, appears in illuminated manuscripts especially between the late ninth and the twelfth century. Although textile ornament continues to appear in the backgrounds of miniatures throughout the later medieval period, the use of these patterns as autonomous images and full-folio illuminations is characteristic of the period before 1200.[1] The geographic focal point of textile ornament is roughly the territory under Emperor Otto I's control, especially modern-day Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and France. It appears that the autonomous use of textile ornament as full-folio textile pages was not practiced by Italian and English workshops and is similarly absent in this form from art production in Spain.[2] Important

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[1] Bernd Rau, *Die ornamentalen Hintergründe in der französischen gotischen Buchmalerei* (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1975). The only later medieval manuscript that I am aware of in which repetitive and extensible ornament appears in a similarly independent form as full-folio ornamental image is British Library MS Egerton 1821 from around 1480—90. On this manuscript see Nancy Thebaut, "Bleeding Pages, Bleeding Bodies: A Gendered Reading of British Library MS Egerton 1821," in *Medieval Feminist Forum* 45 (2009): 175—200. Silke Tammen, "Blut ist ein ganz besoderer 'Grund': Bilder, Texte und die Farbe Rot in einem kartäusischen Andachtsbüchlein (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1821)," in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, ed. Karin Krause and Barbara Schellewald (Cologne: Weimar, and Vienna, Böhlau, 2011), 229–251; eadem, "Rot sehen—Blut berühren: blutige Seiten und Passionsmemoria in einem spätmittelalterlcihen Andachtsbüchlein (Brit. Libr., Ms. Egerton 1821)," in *Die Farben imaginierter Welten: zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Monika Schausten (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 303—322.

[2] Compare also Thomas Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei: Bildquellen, Ornamentik, stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2009), 297. Textile ornament occurs frequently in Italian wall painting, however. See especially Jacqueline Leclerq-Marx, "Le décor aux griffons du Logis des Clergeons (Cathédrale de Puy) et l'imitation de 'tissus orientaux' dans l'art monumental d'époque romane en France: Tour d'horizon," *Revue d'Auvergne* 594 (2010): 115–46. Eadem, "L'imitation des tissus 'orientaux,'" in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Parma, 21–25 settembre 2004)*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electra, 2006), 456–69. Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). See also John Osborne, "Textiles and Their Painted Imitations in Early Medieval Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 309–51. While the many extant wall paintings make it apparent that Italy was a region where textile designs were

centers for textile-ornament in the tenth century were especially the scriptoria of St. Gallen, Einsiedeln, Reichenau, Trier, and Corvey. The earliest known manuscript with textile pages is the so-called Lindau Gospels, which was made in St. Gallen ca. 880—899.[3] Most extant manuscripts with textile ornamentation from the eleventh century were made in Hildesheim, Seeon, Regensburg, Mainz, Echternach, Liège, and St. Omer.[4] The twelfth century saw a renewed interest in the use of textile ornamentation in workshops at Braunschweig, Helmarshausen, and Salzburg. These twelfth-century manuscripts are excluded from this study, however, because they tend to repeat and harken back to ornamental notions that were invented at least two centuries earlier, rather than contributing new conceptual or formal aspects to textile ornamentation.[5]

Despite the fact that some textile-ornamented manuscripts count among the best-known works of medieval book illumination, textile ornament has never been studied in depth and there exists no survey of the topic as a whole.[6] The material has only been treated partially, which

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frequently appropriated for other media, it seems curious that not a single Italian illuminated manuscript with textile ornament survived.

[3] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M 1. Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts, 2 vols*. (St. Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), cat. no. 99, 1:408–11. The manuscript contains two textile pages, fols. 5v and 12r, which I discuss in chapter two.

[4] Some of the eleventh-century manuscripts cannot be attributed to a specific scriptorium, such as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9475 (fol. 15r). On this manuscript see chapters one and two. Also Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), cat. no. 226, 248–50. Béatrice Hernad, "Evangeliar aus Niederalteich," in *Pracht auf Pergament*, exhibition catalogue Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, ed. Claudia Fabian and Christiane Lange (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), cat. no. 48, 222–25.

[5] For a discussion of textile ornament in one of these manuscripts see Anna Bücheler, "Veil and Shroud: Eastern References and Allegoric Functions in the Textile Imagery of a Twelfth-Century Gospel Book from Braunschweig," in *The Medieval History Journal* 15 (2012): 269–97. The question of continuation or revival of Ottonian ornamental concepts that appears to permeate these illuminated manuscripts is an aspect I will return to in a future study.

[6] In addition to the often-discussed Lindau Gospels, which is also famous because of its precious gold covers, the Codex Aureus Epternacensis now in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 156 142, is also a well-known manuscript. On the Codex Aureus see chapter four.

appears to have engendered the impression that textile ornament is a rare phenomenon and was practiced by select ateliers. For example, textile ornament has been called a hallmark of manuscript illumination in lower Saxony and was considered a form of ornamentation that flowered especially in the eleventh century.[7] Other scholarly work shows a strong preference for manuscripts from the Ottonian and Salian period, or for a specific center of manuscript production, while neglecting the numerous lesser-known books that were made elsewhere.[8] In view of such criticism it seems appropriate to note that, although I broaden the scope substantially, the list of manuscripts that I discuss in this study is not complete either. There are three major reasons why I work with a wide, but not all-encompassing selection of books. First, textile ornament in medieval manuscripts is exceedingly difficult to locate because library catalogues of illuminated manuscripts rarely describe the ornament that appears on illuminated pages. The entries usually mention an ornamented page or a decorative text page without specifying the type of ornament that it includes.[9] Several of the manuscripts I discuss in this

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[7] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Die Ornamentik," in *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: Autorisiertes vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Guelf. 105 noviss. 2° der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Dietrich Kötzsche (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1988), vol II, Kommentarband, 244–87, esp. 255. Andrea Worm, *Das Pariser Perikopenbuch und die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei an Rhein und Weser: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17325* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2008), esp. 23–36.

[8] Albert Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschft, 1933), 67, noted that the textile pages made at Echternach in the eleventh century were preceded by similar illuminations made in the tenth, but that these earlier images share no relationship with the Echternach material. "Imitationen von orientalischen Stoffen finden wir auch in anderen noch dem 10. Jahrhundert entstammenden deutschen Buchmalereien […], indessen stehen die Echternacher Stoffseiten in keiner direkten Verbindung mit ihnen." A select focus on specific groups of manuscripts is also evident in 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). See also idem, "Establishing a Connection to Illuminated Manuscripts Made at Echternach in the Eighth and Eleventh Centuries and Issues of Patronage, Monastic Reform and Splendor," *Peregrinations* 3 (2010): 49–82, and Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*.

[9] This problem is especially apparent in older catalogues. An entry that usefully distinguishes between different ornamented pages is Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, Teil 1, *Handschriften des 6. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Textband (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1993), 52. Jakobi-Mirwald identifies the textile page on fol. 3r of the Gospels of Judith of Flanders, Cod. Aa 21, as "gerahmte (Teppich-) Zierseite," in opposition to other "purpurgrundige Textseiten," monochrome purple text pages. Also Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften*, 249, clearly identifies the textile pages in Clm 9475 by calling them "Teppichseiten." I discuss these manuscripts in chapter three.

dissertation have been published in remote places and the texts are at times lacking even black and white illustrations. Some of the textile pages I present have never before been published. While library catalogues, online and in print, seemed an appropriate way to search systematically for poorly published textile ornament, I do not claim to have exhausted the possibilities. Therefore, it is likely that more material will surface in the future, once textile ornament has been placed in a broader art historical frame. Second, I did not include all textile pages known to me in this study because, contrary to earlier opinion, the number of textile pages from the ninth to the twelfth century is vast and not all images can be discussed in detail without repeating previously articulated arguments. The ornamental programs of those manuscripts that I only mention in passing usually reflect the textile metaphors and theological arguments that will already have been discussed and add no additional insight. Finally, my aim is not to produce a comprehensive descriptive catalogue of all extant textile pages known to date. Instead, I opted for a selection of material that favors a succinct argument.

In chapter one I take a careful look at the form and style of textile-like images in order to clarify what textile ornament is and why it deserves this name. I discuss in detail the problems that arose from earlier assumptions that these pages were copied from Byzantine or Islamic silk, or made in imitation of such fabrics. I present comparisons with various possible models to demonstrate that the ornamented manuscript pages indeed resemble some extant silken textiles. However, I also demonstrate that other media such as ivory, metalwork, stone, and earlier book illuminations just as likely played a role in the formation of textile ornament. My focus in chapter one is primarily on the argument that textile ornament does not represent specific silken cloths, but that textile pages display a common type of textile iconography, one that has been largely ignored, and was, therefore, never recognized. My extensive formal and comparative analysis of textile iconography shows that iconographic clues such as extensible designs, symmetry, geometry, and color codes were meant to recall in the viewer's memory previous visual and physical experiences with real textiles. The purpose of this evocation was not to copy such experiences, however, but to guide the viewer's mind to the meaning of various textile metaphors. This is why the form and shape of individual motifs painted in these repeat-like patterns—most of which are highly abstracted—are practically irrelevant and it is unlikely that

they convey symbolic significance in and of themselves.[10] It is the textile-like pattern more generally that evokes the textile metaphor, and thus lends meaning to the image. What this meaning implies, how it came to bear on the parchment page, and how a textile-ornamented folio operated in a liturgical manuscript are questions I pursue further in this dissertation. Although it is important to clarify what textile ornament is, the chief question that guides my approach is what textile images do.[11]

Textile ornament has never been studied in depth from such a performative point of view. The previous literature relied primarily on formal and stylistic approaches to the material.[12] Occasionally, scholars advanced propositions concerning the function of textile ornament, but the bias in favor of formal analysis appears to have contributed to a general tenor that textile ornament is primarily decorative. Albert Boeckler recognized that textile pages make a contribution to structuring the manuscript, but in his view ornamentation "aims, of course, primarily at decorating and embellishing."[13] Boeckler suggested further that textile ornament is nothing more than a decorative prelude to the figurative images and text pages that follow.[14] This thought reappears in Joachim Plotzek's study on the Pericopes of Henry the III in Bremen, where

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[10] I address the question whether individual ornamental motifs have specific meaning critically in chapter one, and in Bücheler, "Veil and Shroud," esp. 273.

[11] For previous approaches to medieval illuminations asking the same question see Adam S. Cohen, "Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany," *Gesta* 48 (2009): 135—52. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998), 118. Also useful is Chris Gosden, "What Do Objects Want?" *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12 (2005): 193—211.

[12] Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*. Heinrich Volbert Sauerland and Arthur Haseloff, *Der Psalter des Trierischen Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale* (Trier: Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen, 1901). Peter Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach im Germanischen Nationalmuseum zu Nürnberg* (Munich: Prestel, 1956). Joachim Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III. in Bremen und seine Stellung innerhalb der Echternacher Buchmalerei* (Cologne: Walter Kleikamp, 1970).

[13] Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*, 15. "[Die Ausstattung] hat in erster Linie natürlich die Absicht, zu schmücken und zu illustrieren. Sie verfolgt aber auch den Zweck, die Einteilung des Textes klar herauszuheben, mit optischen Mitteln das Ganze zu einem sinnvollen und übersichtlichen Organismus zu gliedern."

[14] Ibid. "Zwei einander gegenüberliegende Purpurseiten, Imitationen eines goldgewebten orientalischen Seidenstoffes, eröffnen – prunkende Vorbereitung nachfolgender Pracht – in höchst opulenter Weise das Werk."

the textile pages are said to be decorative (Zierde) and subordinate to other illuminations in the book, in addition to the author's claim that textile pages bear no relation with the texts that they accompany.[15] More recently, Labusiak hinted at the relationship between text and textile pages but still denied ornament any additional function except to serve as decoration.[16]

Defining textile ornament as mere pleasure-bringing visual enhancement recalls Oleg Grabar's argument of the *terpnopoietic* properties of ornamentation more generally.[17] James Trilling similarly has considered ornament a visual additive to a work of art that is separable from the object's functional shape.[18] In his view, "ornament is decoration in which the visual pleasure of form significantly outweighs the communicative value of content."[19] Trilling further distinguished ornament from adornment, decoration, and design.[20] This dissertation makes no such distinction because I contend that it adds little to a clear interpretation of the allegoric function and symbolic meaning of textile pages. I use textile ornament, textile ornamentation, textile design and textile pattern as interchangeable terms.

Although the pleasure-bringing properties of ornament were often highlighted, it has also been noted that ornament serves other functions besides decoration. Ernst Gombrich saw the

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[15] Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III*, 66. "Zierseiten [dienen] als Rahmen […] woraus man den (minderen) Grad an Bedeutung, die sie innerhalb des Buches besitzen, abzulesen versucht ist, wenngleich sie andererseits in der materiellen und ideellen Kostbarkeit ihrer purpurfarbenen und goldenen Ausführung im ornamentalen Bereich hinführende und steigernde (im Bremensis ansteigende und ausklingende Zierde), eine schmückende Begleitung ohne unmittelbare inhaltliche Beziehung zum Text sind. […]."

[16] "Die Ornamentik der untersuchten Handschriften läßt jenseits ihrer textbezogenen Platzierung keine Konnotationen zu. Sie bleibt reine Zierde." Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 265.

[17] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 37.

[18] "First, ornament is separable from the functional shape of an object." James Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003), 21.

[19] Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, 23.

[20] Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, xiii, "Ornament is not *adornment*." He further suggests, 21, "If you want to know whether a particular feature of an object is ornament, try to imagine it away. If the object remains structurally intact, and recognizable, and can still perform its function, the feature is decoration, and may well be ornament. If not, it is *design*." Finally, 23, "All ornament is decoration, but not all decoration is ornament. Decoration is the most general term for the art we add to art."

primary purpose of ornament in framing, filling, and connecting figurative images.[21] This notion

implies that ornament is inferior to the actual work of art it accompanies. Grabar, on the

contrary, argued that ornament is also capable of being the major feature of an artwork. He

claimed that ornament is a quality that "can transform the very purpose of its carrier."[22] Trilling

echoed this relation between the ornament and its carrier in stating that the "business of

ornament is to transform shapes and surfaces, by whatever means, into something other than

what they really are."[23] The ability to transform is an important quality of textile ornament that

becomes apparent especially in the material that I discuss in chapters two and four. Covering a

parchment page in textile patterns significantly changes the manuscript page's perceived

materiality, as well as its symbolic value.

In recent years, scholarship on textiles and ornament has shown an increased interest in

such questions of function and meaning. One such approach that is noteworthy although no

longer very recent is Bernd Rau's little-known dissertation that argues, among other points, that

textile-patterned backgrounds in medieval book illuminations "make sense" because they serve a

compositional purpose and draw attention to specific image contents.[24] Highly useful is Christine

Sciacca's recent investigation of textile veils in manuscripts, which she read as material devices

that were designed to increase the viewer's contemplative experience.[25] I will return to Sciacca's

argument in chapter two and show that textile pages in medieval manuscripts serve a very similar

purpose. Katharina Christina Schüppel's recent article addresses textile ornament displayed not

in manuscripts but on the apron plates of Italian crucifixes of the thirteenth and fourteenth

century. The author usefully contextualizes textile ornament in the Good Friday liturgy and the

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[21] Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Oxford: Phaidon, 2006).

[22] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 41.

[23] Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, 38.

[24] Bernd Rau, *Die ornamentalen Hintergründe*, 15, ornament is a "sinnvoller Hintergrund und nicht […] rein dekorative Flächenfüllung." He further notes, 5, that the function of ornament is a compositional one.

[25] See Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain: On the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161–89.

practice of presenting the crucifix on textiles on this special feast of the veneration of the cross.[26] Nancy Thebaut and Silke Tammen's allegorical interpretations of the ornamented pages in a fifteenth-century devotional manuscript with blood-colored pages relates to the Echternach textile pages that I discuss in chapter four.[27] Tammen's reading of these pages as a physical manifestation of Christ's incarnate body closely parallels the way painters in Echternach applied textile ornament as a material metaphor.[28] Kristin Böse's approach to questions of textiles and materiality in medieval reliquaries is also useful, as is Thomas Dale's metaphoric interpretation of veils in Italian wall painting.[29]

Despite such recent approaches, the literature on textile ornament in German manuscripts remains largely concerned with questions of form and style. This is not only true of the older literature cited above, but also of more recent work like Stephen Wagner's dissertation on "silken parchments."[30] Wagner's work deserves merit for touching on such important questions as the textile-like design of the pages and raising the issue of function, but his largely descriptive analysis calls for a more in-depth approach to the conceptual and allegorical principles by which textile ornament was guided. Noteworthy for its thoroughness is Thomas Labusiak's examination of the so-called Ruodprecht manuscripts from Reichenau, many of which have textile ornamentation.[31] The catalogue and descriptions provided by Labusiak are an excellent place for textual, visual, and codicological information on these manuscripts. While Labusiak's book is highly useful for these reasons, it nevertheless shows an emphasis on formal analysis that is

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[26] Katharina Christina Schüppel, "Tafelkreuze mit textilimitierendem Fond: Zur malerischen Dekoration der Aprontafel in Giunta Pisano bis Giotto," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 36—84.

[27] British Library MS Egerton 1821. Thebaut, "Bleeding Pages." Tammen, "Rot sehen—Blut berühren," 303—322.

[28] Tammen, "Blut ist ein ganz besoderer 'Grund.'"

[29] Kristin Böse, "Spürbar und Unvergänglich: Zur Visualität, Ikonologie und Medialität von Textilien und textilen Reliquiaren im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (2006): 7—27. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics*.

[30] Wagner, "Silken Parchments."

[31] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*.

similar to Wagner's dissertation. Questions of form, style, and attribution are central further in the work of Rainer Kahsnitz, who occasionally contributed to research on textile-ornamented manuscripts.[32] Similarly focused on formals problems is Anja Grebe's recent essay on the Codex Aureus Epternacensis. Although she addresses the issue of function and connects textile pages to veils and garments, the article is dominated by questions of form and style.[33] Prior to Grebe, symbolic readings of textile ornament as veils, shells, or garments have been ventured occasionally in the scholarship on textile pages.[34] The field is thus ready for a systematic and in-depth investigation into the allegoric meaning of textile ornament in medieval manuscripts from German scriptoria between 800 and 1100.

In light of previous arguments about the function and meaning of ornament and recent developments in the field, Labusiak and Kahsnitz's repeated assertions that textile ornament in Ottonian manuscripts serves no other function but to please the eye needs to be reconsidered.[35] This dissertation argues that textile ornament is directed at an audience; it has meaning and serves a function. As Grabar observed, ornament plays a central role in establishing a relationship between the object and the viewer. The ornament's quality of negotiating between the object and its audience is what Grabar called the intermediary role of ornament.[36]

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[32] His formal and stylistic approach to ornament is especially evident in Rainer Kahsnitz, "Die Ornamentik," in *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: autorisiertes vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Guelf. 105 noviss. 2° der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Dietrich Kötzsche (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1988), vol II. Kommentarband, 244–87.

[33] Anja Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol: Die sogenannten 'Teppichseiten' des Codex aureus von Echternach im Kontext von Buchmalerei und Textilkunst," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 55–74.

[34] Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*, 50—51, 63, 67, connoted the textile pages in the Codex Aureus with veils and garments. Plotzek, "Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III.," 66, read textile pages as an "inner protective shell." Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 147, interpreted textile-ornamented folios as "curtain pages."

[35] "Die Seiten sind rein dekorativ." Rainer Kahsnitz and Thomas Labusiak, "Reichenauer Sakramentar," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), 2:240—42, esp. 240.

[36] "Ornament is itself or exhibits most forcefully an intermediate order between viewers and users of art, perhaps even creators of art, and works of art." Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 45. See also 230.

Ornamented surfaces are "intermediary zones of perception and understanding,"[37] and hence, to Grabar, ornament is a form of "veil through which an artwork is perceived and ultimately reached."[38]

Textile ornament is, as I will show especially in chapters two and three, a means to not only reach the viewers but also to transform them spiritually. Chapters two and three demonstrate further that the function of textile ornament is closely tied to the texts that it accompanies, and vice versa, that the meaning of the texts also resonates in the function that the textile pages take. In the liturgical manuscript that I discuss in chapter three, textile ornament establishes in particular a relationship between the celebrant and the spiritual content conveyed through the prayers and incantations that were said during mass. The textile patterns helped the celebrant who used the book on the altar to raise his heart and to keep his spirit focused on the sacrament of the Eucharist. The liturgical books discussed in chapter three can be placed in the context of the mass because the Eucharistic celebration was the context for which these books were made. Such a clear image of the manuscript's practical function is the appropriate context for an attempt to define further the audience that used these books. A clerical audience that used the manuscripts in a liturgical setting is applicable also to the various Gospel lectionaries and the Gospel books discussed in chapter four. Textile-ornamented pages in these manuscripts interact with the viewer not only visually but also provoke a tactile and sensual experience with the book. As chapter four will demonstrate, such a sensual function of textile ornament in the Gospel books made at Echternach in the eleventh century aimed at transforming the book itself into a material metaphor for the dual-natured body of Christ. Other manuscripts are less clear concerning the settings in which they were used. Some books lack clear indications that would help to define precisely who their users were. Although some of the Gospel books that I present in chapter two may have been used on the lectern and altar, they also might have served a different purpose. The manuscripts demonstrate that textile pages can also function as metaphoric and physical veils through which the readers more easily access the spiritual meaning of scripture. Such a contemplative use of textile ornament suggests that these books were likely used for silent reading and private meditation. Therefore, while some of the manuscripts were

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[37] Ibid., 45.

[38] Ibid., 46.

obviously used by ordained clerics, we know far less about the audience of other books. We can say little more about the readers of the Gospel books presented in chapter two other than they were literate and perhaps had a background in theology and exegesis. The contemplative function of textile pages further suggests that they aimed at an audience that practiced a form of scriptural meditation.

The overarching argument that connects my readings of textile ornament in chapters two to four is the claim that one important function of textile ornament is to bridge the gap between the spheres of matter and spirit. Textile ornament is exceptionally suited to operate along these lines. By the definition that I propose in chapter one, textile ornament hovers between a formulaic visual abbreviation, a pictorial code, and the evocation of a concrete material substance: purple-colored patterned textiles. This significant visual connection between textile iconography and textile material is the ground on which textile allegory operates. Chapters two to four present different readings of such textile allegories. Chapter two is about textile ornament as a veil of revelation and reads textile metaphors in the context of scripture and exegesis. The third chapter relates textile ornament to the mass, to the Eucharist, and to textiles as a symbol of the Incarnation. In the final chapter I take the argument of textile ornament as a visual commentary on the Incarnation further by bring textile allegory together with the object that presents the textile ornamented pages, that is the book. As I argue, textile ornament transforms the manuscript into a physical container, a sort of book body, that functions in the liturgy as a material symbol for the dual body of Christ.

My proposition that textile iconography, in these various contexts, transforms textile pages and some textile-ornamented manuscripts into visual and material metaphors was informed by several methodological considerations. First, my arguments on textile ornament hinge on the physical context of the book in which these images appear. Approaching the illuminated manuscript as a complex entity consisting of material *and* visual components, and studying these in unison, is what John Lowden called "applied codicology."[39] Wherever

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[39] "Applied codicology" means studying a book in its totality. "The importance of the codicological method lies in the emphasis that it places on the totality of the book. And its threat, if it has any, should only be to those who feel that any single topic, be in text, illustration, parchment, layout, ruling, or whatever, can be properly understood without reference to other elements that make up a book." John, Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 10. Also Idem, "The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early

possible, I take to heart Lowden's stipulation that the intention of a scholarly approach to an illuminated manuscript should be "to demonstrate that the accumulation of codicological detail is not an end in itself but provides the building blocks out of which art-historical arguments can and must be constructed if their conclusions are to be convincing."[40] I provide or direct the reader to information on the codicology of the manuscripts and always list all images that the manuscript contains. Contextualizing ornament in the manuscript is important also because, as Trilling noted, there is no one meaning for ornament, but the interpretation depends on the context, the culture, and the function of the object.[41] This is why I extend my definition of context beyond the codicological structure to include a larger manuscript context. I discuss my definition of manuscript context in detail in chapter one. In short, I consider the placement of textile pages within the arrangement of the quires, but also base my arguments on the textile pages' relation with the texts and other images in the same book. The textile pages that I consider in this study most frequently appear at the beginning of each Gospel. They further illuminate the Canon and accompany the liturgical texts for the Christmas and Easter feasts. Occasionally, textile pages take the place of frontispieces. The suggested meaning of these pages can be supported if books are not only considered individually but also placed in a larger comparative framework. Therefore, I also relate textile pages to similar images that appear in the same places in other manuscripts. Finally, I keep the practical setting in which each individual book functioned in mind. Because the books' functions are especially clear in biblical and liturgical manuscripts, I focus on these manuscript genres.[42] While chapters two and three illustrate that the manuscript context in tandem with the book's function help define the allegoric meaning and practical

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Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian Book,* ed. William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 13–47, esp. 16.

[40] John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 8.

[41] James Trilling, *The Language of Ornament* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 90.

[42] Excluded are Psalters, saint's lives, manuscripts containing exegetical texts, and miscellanies. I plan to treat some of these books in the future, especially the so-called Egbert Psalter in Cividale, the Folchart Psalter in St. Gallen, a *vita* of Saint Audomarus in St. Omer, and a life of Wenzel in Wolfenbüttel.

purpose of textile ornament, chapter four will show in particular that applied codicology can yield fruitful results and generates new arguments. Another major aspect of my methodology is to focus on the exegetical literature that brings textile metaphors and theological concepts about scripture, books, and the liturgy together. I discuss the exegetical literature intertwined with my arguments at the appropriate places. Finally, my analysis of books and textile metaphors rests on the theory that the learned viewers who used these allegoric textile images were accustomed to real textiles and acquainted with at least some textile metaphors. Since there is little discussion about the use, function, and meaning of real cloth in the following chapters, some general remarks on textiles in the medieval world will be helpful.

Textiles made of linen, wool, silk, and other fibers were omnipresent in medieval secular and religious life and served, in the medieval period as today, innumerable functions. Although it is usually not possible to identify textile pages as an imitation of a particular type of fabric, the deep color and the rich patterns applied in the painted designs evoke exceptional and expensive textiles. I discuss this hypothesis in detail in chapter one. The most precious of all fabrics available to the patrons and artists who produced these textile pages was patterned silk, which was not available from local workshops but imported from Byzantium, Islamic territories, and the far East.[43] Secular uses for silk include textile-clad horse saddles,[44] and such unusual

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[43] The following selection of the vast literature indicates some places for further research into medieval textiles. For extant medieval textiles, their make, functions and uses see Karel Otavsky and Muḥammad 'Abbās Muḥammad Salīm, *Mittelalterliche Textilien I*: *Ägypten, Persien und Mesopotamien, Spanien und Nordafrika*. (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1995). Karel Otavsky and Anne Wardwell, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II: zwischen Europa und China* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011). Regula Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe des hohen Mittelalters: Untersuchungen zu Webtechnik und Musterung* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001). Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar Press, 2004). Eadem, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 – AD 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997). Leonie von Wilckens, *Die Textilen Künste von der Spätantike bis um 1500* (Munich: Beck, 1991). Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1921). On silk production in the Middle Ages see Robert Sabatino Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945): 1—42. Anna Muthesius, "The Byzantine Silk Industry: Lopez and Beyond," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993): 1—67. Eadem, "A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34 (1984): 235—54. David Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84—85 (1991—1992): 452—500. Donald and Monique King, "Silk Weaves of Lucca in 1376," in *Opera Textilia Variorum Temporum: To Honour Agnes Geijer on Her Nintieth Birthday 26ᵗʰ October 1988*, ed. Inger Estham and Margareta Nockert (Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum, 1988), 67—76. On silk import and trade in the Middle Ages see David Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Variorum, 2009). Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt, *Von China nach Byzanz: frühmittelalterliche Seiden aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Sankt Petersburg* (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1996). On eastern silk in

practices as relying on the thinness and transparency of white silk for tracing and transferring the designs of stained glass windows, in addition to more obvious functions such as clothing and household items for the elite.[45] Evidence for practical uses of silk in the Middle Ages comes from archaeological findings, written sources, and manuscript illuminations. The splendid mantle that dresses the Virgin Mary in a miniature in the Petershausen Sacramentary provides an idea of how precious imported silk tailored into robes was represented by tenth-century book illuminators [fig. 1].[46] Because textile pages in the manuscripts discussed in this study are usually purple, the function and meaning of purple textiles is especially worth a closer look. I discuss different symbolic notions associated with the color purple in the context of textiles in chapters two, three, and four. The following remarks aim at clarifying in addition some of the political and social functions that purple textiles played in the medieval world.

The most precious of all purple fabrics was silk dyed with expensive pigments that were extracted from the murex snail.[47] In Byzantium, murex-dyed silks were the exclusive privilege of the imperial house and strictly regulated.[48] Among the murex silks, which can be dyed in

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the West see Regula Schorta, *Central Asian Textiles and their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages*, Riggisberger Berichte 9 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2009). Annemarie Stauffer, *Die Mittelalterlichen Textilien von St. Servatius in Maastricht* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1991). Anna Muthesius, "The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottonian Empire," in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Evangelos Konstantinou (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 301—17.

[44] Otavsky and Wardwell, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II*, cat. no. 16, 63—67.

[45] Madeline Caviness, "Tucks and Darts: Adjusting Patterns to Fit Figures for Stained Glass Windows around 1200," in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 104—119. For secular clothing see Henry Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 215—224.

[46] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 40v.

[47] Lopez, "Silk Industry." Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*.

[48] George C. Maniatis, "Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 263—332. The punishment for violation of the strict regulations concerning murex-dyed silk was the death penalty, which illustrates the social and political importance murex dyed silk held in Byzantine society. See also Lopez, "Silk Industry," esp. 8—13.

different colors ranging from yellow, peach, green, and red, to blue, the pure purple ones were especially valued.[49] Gifts of purple murex silk were a sign of esteem, patronage, and imperial favor, and murex-dyed silk was further a form of monetary currency.[50] The political and economic significance of these textiles indicates why purple silk in general, both colored with murex and other less expensive and freely available dyes, was highly valued by the Byzantine aristocracy and members of lesser social circles likewise.[51] Silk of eastern manufacture, and purple murex cloth in particular, was highly prized by the western elite.[52] The contraband silk found in the luggage of Liudprand, the bishop of Cremona, on his return journey from Constantinople is one well-attested incident of the means and tricks western emissaries resorted to in order to get their hands on restricted murex silk, when other channels of import such as gift

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[49] Anna Muthesius, "Courtly and Aristocratic Silk Patronage," in eadem, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar Press, 2004), 85—108, esp. 95—96.

[50] Anna Muthesius, "Silken Diplomacy," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge March 1990*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), 237–48. Prisoners of war were further attired with purple silk robes in order to enhance the splendor of the triumph; Muthesius, "Courtly and Aristocratic Silk Patronage," 94.

[51] Silk was not only worn by the emperor but also by high dignitaries. The imperial silks were distinguished by the murex dye and also received special gold embroideries that often included pearls. Muthesius, "Courtly and Aristocratic Silk Patronage." For a description of Byzantine courtly costume, its functions and uses see Elisabeth Piltz, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 39—51. Muthesius, "Courtly and Aristocratic Silk Patronage," 90, further observed that some military tunics were made of purple silk and imperial murex textiles were also given to the Byzantine military aristocracy. James Trilling adds that many people in Byzantium wore fake purple garments knowing that they were not murex-dyed, and that their neighbor's clothes were also imitations. "Yet for centuries the *idea* of purple as a symbol of luxury was so compelling that on some level the difference between semblance and reality did not matter." Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, 80.

[52] Leslie Brubaker, "The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 175—195. Muthesius, "The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottonian Empire." Janet Snyder, "*Cloth from the Promised Land: Appropriated Islamic* Tiraz *in Twelfth-Century French Sculpture*," in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 147—164, esp. 149, notes that not only murex silk but silk in general ranked highly among western patrons. "Just as the ancient Romans decorated the Pantheon with marble imported from the ends of the empire to emphasize the reach of their power, the exotic fabric employed in northern courtly clothing was imported from the Mediterranean basin and the Levant in order to deliver strong messages about European's power and influence abroad."

exchange failed.[53] Murex-dyed cloth and other precious fabrics from the hands of the aristocracy often came to the church eventually through gifts and donations, both in Byzantium and the Latin West.[54] Among other reasons, such gifts were stimulated by concerns that clothing was important not only for the living but also for dead.[55] The best-attested case of silk use in a religious context in the Middle Ages is the custom of wrapping the relics of the saints in precious cloth.[56] Silk that ended up in reliquaries was often cut from reused secular textiles, as remnants

[53] "Liudprand's Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser Nikephoros Phokas in Konstantinopel," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 525–89, esp. 573–77. Henry Mayr-Harting, "Liudprand of Cremona's Account of his Legation to Constantinople (968) and Ottonian Imperial Strategy," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001): 539–56. Jon N. Sutherland, "The Mission to Constantinople in 968 and Liudprand of Cremona," *Traditio* 31 (1975): 54–81.

[54] *The Vita Meinwerci episcopus Patherbrunensis*, ed. Franz Tenkhoff, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi 59 (Hannover: Hahn, 1921), ch. 138, 71, mentions such a transfer of secular wall hanging to the church by Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn. The curtain hung in the bishop's mother's *cubiculum* and the son took it for his new church at Abdinghof. Manfred Balzer, "Zeugnisse für das Selbstverständis Bischof Meinwercks von Paderborn," in *Tradition als historische Kraft*, ed. Norbert Kamp and Loachim Wollasch (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1982), 267—96, esp. 288—92. The Elephant Silk in the Aachen cathedral treasure bears an inscription indicating that the piece came from the palace store room (*eidikon*) where the court kept the imperial silks that were designated as imperial or diplomatic gifts, and some such gifts went to foreigners. Muthesius, "Courtly and Aristocratic Silk Patronage," 90, also 88, 98. Eadem, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 142. On other purple textiles in western European church treasures see Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen und Italien* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), esp. nos. 2716, 2784, 2841, 2844–45.

[55] On the importance of clothing the dead see Dyan Elliot, "Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: Rites of Ordination and Degradation," in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 55—69.

[56] To name but few examples of innumerable cases, the fragment of a silk from either Byzantium or Syria, dated eighth to eleventh century, and showing a repeat of fighting Amazons survived in Bad Säckingen, Katholisches Münsterpfarramt St. Fridolin, where it clad remains of Saint Fridolin. *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), cat. no. 165, 281—2. Adolf Reinle, "Der Schatz des Münsters zu Säckingen," in *Frühe Kultur in Säckingen*, ed. Walter Berschin (Sigmaringen, 1991), 105—51, esp. 109. Pieces were cut from such precious silk fragments in post-medieval times and sold on the market. Samples of the silk from St. Fridolin are sold to collections in Zürich and Freiburg. *Suevia Sacra: Frühe Kunst in Schwaben. Ausstellungskatalog Rathaus Augsburg* (Augsburg: Mühlberger, 1973), cat. nos. 201 and 202, 193—195. Also Franz Kirchweger, "'Nunc de Vestibus Altariis:' Kirchentextilien in Schriftquellen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1997): 75–109, esp. 107, note 257. In Bad Gandersheim survived a ninth-century silk fragment from a Byzantine (?) atelier, at the Evangelisch-Lutherische Stiftskirchengemeinde St. Anastasius und St. Innocentius, Inv. no. 134. *Krone und Schleier,* cat. no. 160, 278—79. On a textile donation by an imperial patron to Gandersheim and the subsequent use of the silk in the relic cult see

of seams, stitching, and cutting lines demonstrate.[57] In addition to wrapping relics, silk and other purple textiles served manifold functions in the medieval church. Silk lined the inside of reliquaries,[58] and decorated them on the outside.[59] Precious textiles veiled saintly remains during processions and translations,[60] covered the tombs of the saints,[61] and shrouded the dead.[62] Churches were further equipped with tapestries, wall hangings, and other textiles.[63] In some cases we know that these fabrics were purple. For example, curtains made of crimson silk

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Christian Popp, *Der Schatz der Kanonissen: Heilige und Reliquien im Frauenstift Gandersheim* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010). I thank Christian Popp for making the manuscript available to me prior to publication.

[57] Regula Schorta, "The Textiles Found in the Shrine of the Patron Saints of Hildesheim Cathedral," *CIETA Bulletin* 77 (2000): 45–56. Some of the textile wrappings mentioned in Popp, *Schatz der Kanonissen*, also show signs of a previous use, as does the silken book cover of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. Bibl. 95 that I discuss at the end of chapter three.

[58] Schorta, "The Textiles Found in the Shrine of the Patron Saints of Hildesheim Cathedral." The cross reliquary of Pope Paschal I. contains a silken pillow. Holger A. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das "wahre" Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 97.

[59] Böse, "Spürbar und unvergänglich."

[60] The *Translatio Sancto Modoaldi: Die Überführung der Reliquien des Heiligen Modoald von Trier nach Helmarshausen*, trans. Hans Joachim Spernal (Bad Karlshafen: Verlag des Antiquariats Bernhard Schäfer, 1999), 46, reports that saintly remains were "covered with precious cloth" before they were moved.

[61] Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis," 93, note 142, and 97 note 180. John McCulloh, "The Cult of Relics in the Letters and 'Dialogues' of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 163—84, esp. note 123.

[62] An Islamic head shroud with inscriptions covered the face of pope Clement II (d. 1047) in Bamberg, and bishop Gunther's body was wrapped in a splendid Byzantine silk cloth. Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II. im Dom zu Bamberg* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1960). Eadem, "Beobachtungen zum Bamberger Gunthertuch," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst: 3. Folge* 17 (1966): 9–16. Gunter Prinzig, "Das Bamberger Gunthertuch in neuer Sicht," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993): 218–31.

[63] The *Translatio Sancto Modoaldi*, trans. Spernal, 60, mentions "Wandteppiche," but it is unclear which material these were made of. Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis," 96, and n. 166, mentions "pallia ad murum pendentia." Balzer, "Zeugnisse für das Selbstverständis Bischof Meinwercks," 289, mentions another such example. When Meinwerk takes the wall-hanging from his mother's place, he replaces it with his mantle (*pallium*), which he hangs on the wall.

separated the aisle from the nave in some medieval churches, and closed off the sanctuary.[64] In addition to white linen, some of the coverings that clad the altar were red or purple.[65] The Gospel book was further placed on a silk cushion, of unspecified color, that was laid on top of the altar,[66] and textiles bedecked the chalice.[67] Priests dressed in liturgical vestments that were often made

[64] Durandus of Mende mentions curtains in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* 3.35—37, and gives a symbolic or typological explanation. Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 43—44. Also Kirstin Faupel-Drevs, "Bildraum als Kultraum? Symbolische und liturgische Raumgestaltung im 'Rationale divinorum officiorum' des Durandus von Mende," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan. A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1998), 665—84, esp. 678—283. On curtains hanging before the altar on Sundays see further Rupert von Deutz, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, transl. Helmut und Ilse Deutz (Freiburg: Herder, 1999), 2:539. We are especially well informed about the use of curtains in the churches of Rome, of which the *Liber pontificalis* mentions numerous ones. *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Liber Pontificalis), trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992). Anton de Waal, "Figürliche Darstellungen auf Teppichen und Vorhängen in römischen Kirchen bis zur Mitte des IX Jahrhunderts nach dem Liber Pontificalis," *Römische Quartalschrift* 2 (1888): 313—21. Stephan Beissel, "Gestickte und gewebte Vorhänge der römischen Kirchen in der zweiten Hälfte des VIII. und in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 12 (1894): col. 358–74, esp. 369–70. Osborne, "Textiles and Their Painted Imitations," esp. 312—21. Christel Meier and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2011), 679, mention curtains in various colors.

[65] Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis." Jörg Richter, "Linteamina: Leinen als Bedeutungsträger," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 303—445. On the general use of liturgical textiles on or near the altar see Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich: Guenther Koch, 1924)*, 2:9—30. Meier and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen*, 663 also mention other colors besides purple for altar coverings.

[66] Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, book 1.37, ed. Haacke, 1:237, notes that the deacon walks in front of the subdeacon, who carries a small cushion, which he places under the Gospels. Rupert gives a typological explanation for this custom. It represents the succession of the New covenant after the Old. The *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. *Samuel Löwenfeld*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi 28 (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), 44, an early ninth century source, further records the donation of three silk cushions that were used for supporting the Gospel book on the altar (*pulvillos sericos sub euangelium ponendos tres*). Peter Brown, "Images as a Substitute for Writing," in *East and West: Modes of Communication*: *Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida*, ed. Evangelos Chyros and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 15—46, esp. 29, mentions that other books were laid on pillows as well.

[67] Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis." Barbara Schellewald, "Aër—Epitaphioi in Byzanz: Tuch—Körper—Christus," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 323—450. Sharon Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999), 76.

of silk,[68] and were supposed to be red especially on the days when the cross was venerated.[69] On Good Friday the cross was displayed on or wrapped in textiles.[70] During Lent and the Easter season in general, textiles were particularly prominent in the church. Silken veils covered the images in the church at the time of Lent,[71] some of the Easter *vela* were purple colored,[72] and during baptism, which usually occurred on the Saturday of Holy Week, the Gospels were further clad in red cloth.[73] Finally, textiles functioned prominently in liturgical manuscripts. Textiles were pasted into book covers on the inside, and protected the backs and spines on the outside.[74]

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[68] Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, book 1.18—23, ed. Haacke, 1:188—99. Timothy M. Thibodeau, William Durand: *On the Clergy and their Vestments. A New Translation of Books 2—3 of the "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum"* (Scranton, Pa.: University of Scranton Press, 2010), book 3, 131—221. The vestments mentioned in Durandus are made of various fabrics. For garments in silk and a symbolic reading of this material as chastity esp. 176. For an extant silken vestment see, for example, the so-called chasuble of St. Vitalis from Salzburg, Otavsky and Wardwell, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II*, cat. no. 46, 142—48.

[69] Meier and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter*, 672.

[70] Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis," 87. Richter, "Linteamina," 308, 310. Schüppel, "Tafelkreuze mit textilimitierendem Fond," 45—6.

[71] Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis," 98. In the Byzantine church, veils were integrated into the veneration of images on more occasions during the year. Veils over icons see Evangelatou notes 20, 21 Valerie Nunn, "The Encheirion as an Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10 (1986): 73—102. Bissera V. Pentcheva. "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the 'Usual Miracle' at the Blachernai," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (2000): 34–55.

[72] Meier and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter*, 663. Durandus of Mende, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* 3.35—37, trans. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand*, 43—44. Kirchweger, "Nunc de Vestibus Altariis," 98, mentions "Fastentücher." Richter, "Linteamina," 308—10, cites sources for the use of *pallae*, *cortinae* or a *sudarium*, which where likely white, during the Easter morning liturgy. Also Katharina Krause, "Material, Farbe, Bildprogramm der Fastentücher: Verhüllung in Kirchenräumen des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters," in *Das "Goldene Wunder" in der Dortmunder Petrikirche: Bildgebrauch und Bildproduktion im Mittelaler*, ed. Barbara Welzel, Thomas Lentes, and Heike Schlie (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003), 161—81.

[73] Meier and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen*, 651.

[74] Leonie von Wilckens, "Zur Verwendung von Seidengeweben des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Bucheinbänden," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 53 (1990): 425—442. For a manuscript with silken back cover see Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hs. 71 Aug. fol., in Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, cat. no. M 67. Also the so-called Bernward Gospels, Regula Schorta, "Seidengewebe und Schließe," in Michael Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 61—63. Silken "fly-leafs" were further pasted onto the inner front and back cover of the Lindau Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. M 1, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-

Some books were entirely clad in silk.[75] Moreover, silken veils overlaid illuminated pages, and holes in parchment pages were repaired with textile techniques.[76]

As this very brief overview demonstrates, the uses and functions of textiles in the Middle Ages were many, and more examples could be given. The textiles employed in liturgical contexts serve not only practical functions but moreover have symbolic meaning. Some recent publications have taken increased notice of such allegoric functions of textiles.[77] The following chapters aim to bring together two different artistic media that have recently seen a renewed

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bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&Search_Arg=osin+%22ms+M+1%22&Search_Code=CMD&CNT=50&HIST=1 [accessed, 27.01.2014]. These textiles likely date from the ninth century. Herman A. Elsberg, "Two Mediaeval Woven Silk Fabrics in the Binding of the 9th Century Ms. 'The Four Gospels' in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City," *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 17 (1933): 2—11, esp. 7—11. Adèle Coulin Weibel, *Two Thousand Years of Textiles: The Figured Textiles of Europe and the Near East* (New York, 1952), no. 62, 95. Also Schorta, "Seidengewebe und Schließe," note 46. The so-called Elfenbein-Evangeliar from Jena, Universitäts und Landesbibliothek, Hs El. f. 3 dated to around 1000, preserved a piece of tenth-century byzantine silk. The silk was originally pasted on the leather binding of the exterior back cover, which now displays a miniature that was glazed over with polished horn. Irmgard Kratzsch and von Sabine Wefers, *Schätze der Buchmalerei: Aus der Handschriftensammlung der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena* (Jena: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 2001), cat. no. 2, 14—24.

[75] I discuss the textile cover of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Bibl. 95 in chapter three. See Regula Schorta, "Der Seideneinband des Bamberger Evangelistars (Msc. Bibl. 95)," in *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln: Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen and Bernhard Schemmel (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000), 175—76. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk* Weaving, cat. no. M 41, 177, mentions another Gospel book now in Rome, Vatican Library, that also preserved a full textile cover made of an eighth or ninth century eastern Mediterranean silk.

[76] Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain." Eadem, "Stitches, Sutures, and Seams: 'Embroidered' Parchment Repairs in Medieval Manuscripts," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 6 (2010): 57—92.

[77] In addition to the literature that I cite in chapters two to four, the following titles are especially useful for their methodological and thematic scope, and an excellent place for further research into textiles and their metaphoric uses in the Middle Ages. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (eds.), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). David Ganz and Marius Rimmele (eds.), *Kleider machen Bilder: Vormoderne Strategien vestimentärer Bildsprache* (Emsdetten and Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2012), [Textile Studies 4]. Warren T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Mateusz Kapustka und Warren T. Woodfin (eds.), *Clothing the Sacred* [Textile Studies 8] (Emsdetten and Berlin: Edition Imorde, forthcoming). Kristin Böse, "Spürbar und Unvergänglich." E. Jane Burns, *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). See also the various volumes of *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*.

scholarly interest: textiles and ornament. In arguing that ornament has precise meaning in specific contexts, I aim to contribute to a clearer understanding of an "iconology of the textile."[78] The four chapters aim to demonstrate that textile images in medieval manuscripts are not decorative but have meaning. They make succinct theological arguments about the visibility and invisibility of the Divine. My contextualized reading of textile iconography and textile metaphors suggests that textile ornament has wider implications for our understanding of materiality, material metaphors and the function of physical matter in medieval religious art.

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[78] The iconology of the textile is currently being investigated on a broad scope by the research group, "Textile: An Iconology of the Textile in Art and Architecture" located at the University of Zürich under the direction of Prof. Tristan Weddigen, and collaborates 2013—16 with Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Humbold Universität Berlin under Prof. Gerhard Wolf. http://www.khist.uzh.ch/chairs/neuzeit/res/textile.html [accessed 27.01.2014].

Chapter 1 : Textiles, Textile Ornament and Textile Iconography

Medieval silk produced on mechanical looms by weavers in Byzantium, the Islamic world, and Spain typically displays a type of continuous ornament, called a repeat. The composition of such a repeat can be more or less complex and may consist of a single or multiple design elements. The repeat motif is usually mirrored along the horizontal extension of the loom (if the repeat design is smaller than the total width of the loom), and perpetuates itself in the vertical direction as the length of cloth grows with the weft that weaves the fabric. Because textile ornament is reminiscent of the weave patterns of such draw-loom woven silk, scholars have referred to it as textile, or textile-like ornament.[79] Textile ornament is akin to medieval woven repeats in the way the pattern is usually repetitive, extensible, symmetrical, and frequently constructed of simple geometric shapes. Textile-like ornament in early medieval manuscripts most often appears as a framed full-folio miniature. A typical example of such a non-figurative ornamented image can be found in a Gospel book from Corvey dated around the year 1000 (Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., fol. 18v [fig. 2].[80] This folio is one of several ornamented pages in the book, most of which are textile-like.[81] The image on fol. 18v displays a symmetric, geometric, and extensible pattern composed of medallions in two shades of purple that forms the background of a golden inscription comprising the beginning verse of the Gospel of Matthew. The ornament resembles a sort of stylized "mock-repeat," a repetitive pattern that extends from one end of the frame to the other. Row by row the painted design repeats itself, just as would be the case if such a pattern were woven on a loom.

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[79] The most recent overview of the material is Stephen Wagner's dissertation, "Silken Parchments: Design, Context, Patronage, and Function of Textile-Inspired Pages in Ottonian and Salian Manuscripts" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2004). See also idem, "Establishing a Connection to Illuminated Manuscripts Made at Echternach in the Eighth and Eleventh Centuries and Issues of Patronage, Monastic Reform and Splendor," *Peregrinations* 3/1 (2010): 49–82.

[80] On this manuscript see Monika Müller, "Evangeliar aus Helmstedt," in *Schätze im Himmel Bücher auf Erden: Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Hildesheim*, ed. Monika Müller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 276–78. Also Gerd Bauer, "Corvey oder Hildesheim: Zur ottonischen Buchmalerei in Norddeutschland" (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1977), 2: 145–60.

[81] Textile-ornamented pages appear on fols. 17v–18v (Matthew); 59r–60r, 61v (Mark); 86v–87r, 88v (Luke); 128v–129v (John).

Scholars have connected the compositional features of these framed textile pages and other, less frequently occurring ornamented pages, in which an entire double-page of a manuscript is completely covered in a textile-like pattern, directly with the repeats of precious eastern silk.[82] It has often been assumed that western painters copied the repeats of Byzantine and other eastern fabrics wholesale.[83] It is true that manuscript textile ornament in general evokes the look of woven repeat patterns and that many textile pages display details that resemble typical visual attributes of a piece of patterned silk. As Anton von Euw noted, painted textile pages in which the frame intersects the repeat-like pattern appear especially textile-like, because fragmenting the "repeat" along the borders of the image makes the painted pattern appear "as if a piece of cloth had been cut with scissors."[84] This effect can be observed in Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., fol. 18v, where the frame slightly overlaps the medallion-patterned image,

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[82] Rainer Kahsnitz observed: "Daneben hat das Scriptorium [von Echternach] offenbar in Nachahmung byzantinischer oder orientalischer Seidenstoffe ungerahmte Zierseiten zur Trennung der verschiedenen Evangelien in die Handschrift eingefügt, über deren Musterung im unendlichen Rapport jedoch weder Schriftzeichen noch Bilder gelegt wurden." Rainer Kahsnitz, "Die Ornamentik," in *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: Autorisiertes vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Guelf. 105 noviss. 2° der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Dietrich Kötzsche (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1988), Kommentarband, 2: 244–87, esp. 263. Compare further Anton von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, ed. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1991), 2:175–191, esp. 190.

[83] Albert Boeckler, "Bildvorlagen der Reichenau," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1949): 7–29, esp. 20 and n. 58, suggeste that textile ornament imitates Byzantine silk textiles. Similar, Hanns Swarzenski, "Die deutschen Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters in amerikanischem Besitz," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 63 (1929–30): 193–200, esp. 194. Karl Hermann Usener noted that the plant and animal motifs in Gospel books from Corvey are of "eastern origin, [and were] likely transmitted through textiles." He cites a tenth century Byzantine silk from a Corvey manuscript now in Trier (Dombibliothek Ms. 401, olim 152 F), which is contemporary with the book, as proof that local artists had access to oriental silk. Karl Hermann Usener, "Buchmalerei bis 1200," in *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800–1600* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1966), 2: 465. More recently, the idea that textile ornament copies oriental textiles was most clearly expressed by Anja Grebe, who describes textile ornament as an "optical illusion." Anja Grebe, *Codex Aureus: Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2008), 50–53, esp. 53. See further Thomas Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei: Bildquellen, Ornamentik, stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2009), 294–302; with references to older literature. Also Rainer Kahsnitz, "Frühottonische Buchmalerei," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), 1:228. Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London: Miller, 1999), 159–66.

[84] Von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 175.

cutting off parts of the painted "repeat." The textile-like image thus resembles a patterned cloth that was cut from a larger piece and sized to fit into the miniature's frame. This observation led von Euw to the conclusion that "in case of the textiles, one observes that Byzantine art directly transmitted these motifs to the West," and that from the textile arts they migrated into other media such as illuminated parchment.[85]

Thinking of textile ornament as a wholesale copy of the repeats of eastern silk, let alone of trompe l'oeil paintings, is not without problems, however.[86] As the material presented in this chapter will show, the relationship between patterned oriental silk and western textile-images cannot be reduced to a straightforward relationship between oriental textile model and painted parchment copy. The relationship between the repeats of oriental silk and textile images in western medieval manuscripts is more complicated. Although this has been noted occasionally, the notion that textile ornament directly reflects silk models still dominates the literature.[87] The methodological scope of the earlier literature appears to have contributed to this view. Most previous studies focused on a small number of select examples and preferred miniatures that were particularly textile-like, or which could be compared easily to existing medieval silk. The most frequently discussed objects are the marriage charter of Theophanu and Otto II and the textile pages of the Echternach Gospel books, among which the *Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis*

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[85] Von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 190. Compare also Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 299.

[86] According to Grebe, textile ornament in the Codex Aureus Epternacensis imitates an oriental textile so perfectly "the viewer only recognizes at a second glance that the image is painted and not a real piece of fabric. The painter most likely used real textiles as a source of inspiration for this trompe-l'oeil-effect." Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 50–53.

[87] For an early critique of the direct model-copy relationship see Carl Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis: An Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971), 97–102. Arthur Haseloff, in Heinrich Volbert Sauerland and Arthur Haseloff, *Der Psalter des Trierischen Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale* (Trier: Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen, 1901), 112, suggested that textile ornament in the Echternach manuscripts has been "borrowed from the textile arts" (Weberei) although the textile pages are "not direct copies of specific textiles." He differentiated the ornamented pages in the Egbert Psalter that show animal motifs, from other pages with "textile character" (Stoffcharakter) in the manuscript, and noted that the animal pages are decidedly less textile-like. Although the more recent studies by Wagner and Labusiak mention occasional discrepancies between textile image and silk model in their discussions of textile ornament, both authors uphold the impression that oriental silk played a major role in the formation of textile-ornamented backgrounds in Ottonian illuminated manuscripts. Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 294–302. Wagner, "Silken Parchments," 4, notes that only few textile pages "might be termed 'copies.'"

and the *Codex Aureus Epternacensis* have received the most attention [figs. 3—5].[88] The focus on these particularly sophisticated textile-like paintings has contributed to the impression that most textile pages in medieval manuscripts display an extraordinary artistic quality and can be related easily to the repeat patterns of extant silk. However, the marriage charter and the Echternach Gospel books are by no means typical or representative examples of textile ornament produced in the early Middle Ages prior to 1100. Previous studies seem generally unaware of the stylistic diversity in textile ornament and the varying pictorial quality that some manuscripts display. Only a small part of the extant textile ornament, in fact, shows enough detail in the patterns to make a direct comparison with existing textile repeats possible at all. But this material is poorly published and therefore little known.[89] It cannot be overstated that most examples of textile imagery from the early Middle Ages are highly stylized and less detailed in comparison to the paintings of the marriage charter and the Echternach textile designs. While the charter and the Echternach illuminations are rich in pictorial detail, and hence easily comparable to extant silk, the individual ornamental motifs of most other pages are constructed of basic ornamental forms that often lack detail. In some cases, not only the design but also the painterly execution is rather basic. Popular in particular are textile-ornamented surfaces that show medallions, lozenges, and cross-shaped designs. A textile page from a late tenth-century manuscript perhaps from Corvey and now in the Bodleian Library, for instance, shows such a simple pattern constructed of lozenge-shaped acanthus leaves. The design is a far stretch from the sophisticated

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[88] Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 6 Urk 11. Anthony Cutler and William North, "Word over Image: On the Making, Uses, and Destiny of the Marriage Charter of Otto II and Theophanu," in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange Between The Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton NJ: Index of Christian Art, 2007), 167–187. See further Hans K. Schulze, *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu: Die griechische Kaiserin und das römisch-deutsche Reich 972–991* (Hannover: Hahn, 2007), with more literature. Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis;* Grebe, *Codex Aureus*; Rainer Kahsnitz and Elisabeth Rücker, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach: Codex aureus Epternacensis HS 156142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, Faksimile-Edition (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982).

[89] Andrea Worm, *Das Pariser Perikopenbuch und die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei an Rhein und Weser: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17325* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2008), recently published one of these lesser known manuscripts. On the textile patterns in the images of the evangelists see esp. 23–36.

animal combat motif depicted on the marriage charter [fig. 6].[90] The checkerboard pattern in the image of Luke from a mid-eleventh century Gospel book from Mainz is an even more simplistic rendering of a textile motif [fig. 7].[91] It is the aim of this dissertation to draw attention to the lesser-studied material. Including the schematic and stylized textile pages in an examination of textile ornament in early medieval manuscripts contributes significantly to a clarification why textile ornament appears textile-like. These formulaic textile pages show that textile ornament evokes the look of repeat designs because it follows certain iconographic principles.

In order to assess the iconographic code that underlies the textile-like appearance of painted ornament, it is necessary to take a careful look at what real medieval silk looks like, and to compare these repeat patterns with the painted textile images in the manuscripts. Such an analysis will show that even the more naturalistic textile images that have been claimed as copies of eastern textiles at times differ significantly from the repeats of extant medieval silk. Curiously, despite such claims, not one particularly textile-like page from a medieval illuminated manuscript has ever been matched successfully with a truly identical woven repeat of a medieval silk.[92] Therefore, the more recent literature has viewed the model-copy relationship between textile ornament in manuscripts and real silk more critically. A new study on the marriage charter by Anthony Cutler and William North, and Anja Grebe's recent essay on the *Codex Aureus Epternacensis*, for instance, have re-phrased the model-copy problem by noting that medieval illuminators did not necessarily copy the patterns of silk but frequently appropriated textile designs and altered them.[93] Considering textile ornament from the later medieval period,

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[90] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 27, fol. 73v. The textile page contains the *initium* to the Gospel of Mark, which is written in golden capitalis on top of the textile-like ground. The manuscript was dated to the second half of the tenth century. Otto Pächt and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 1: cat. no. 24, 1:2. Hanns Swarzenski, "Die deutschen Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters in amerikanischem Besitz," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 63 (1929–30): 193–200, esp. 194.

[91] Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Inv. Kautzsch Nr. 1 (=Nr. 974), fol. 113r. On this manuscript see Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (Hildesheim: Dom und Diözesanmuseum, 1993), cat. no. IV–5, 2: 155–56.

[92] See for example von Euw "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 190. Also Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 299–302.

[93] Cutler and North, "Word over Image." Anja Grebe, Anja Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol: Die sogenannten 'Teppichseiten' des Codex aureus von Echternach im Kontext von Buchmalerei und

Margaret Goehring has further shown that artists also invented imaginary textile-like patterns.[94] Such recent developments in the field call for a re-evaluation of the model-copy relationship and a definition of textile ornament based on a representative number and stylistic scope of manuscripts.

The notion that medieval textile ornament directly copies oriental silk provokes several issues. First, reading textile ornament as the direct copy of eastern silk implies that medieval book illuminators, directly or indirectly, had first-hand knowledge of Byzantine and Islamic silk and used these textiles as models for their painted designs. While the sophisticated textile-like design of the marriage charter makes it likely, in fact, that the artist had intimate knowledge of early medieval Byzantine medallion silks, the bulk of the remaining material does not allow such conclusions.[95] First, it is usually difficult, if not impossible, to prove a direct influence of textiles on paintings because in most cases no comparative material survives. Second, although it is without question that painted textile ornament resembles the look of patterned textiles such as Byzantine and Islamic silks, the ornament never imitates specific silks and also does not mimic the technical or material properties of these fabrics. Similar problems concerning the model-copy-relationship are apparent in textile ornament that was executed in other media, especially in Italian wall paintings.[96] Third, eastern silk is not the only medium that displays extensible

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Textilkunst," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 55–74.

[94] Margaret L. Goehring, "The Representation and Meaning of Luxurious Textiles in Franco-Flemish Manuscript Illumination," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 121–155, esp. 124.

[95] Cutler and North's recent assessment of the charter's textile design as an Ottonian appropriation of a Byzantine medallion silk implies that the artist was well aware of Byzantine textile repeats. There is no doubt that the medallion pattern was designed to evoke such textiles, but the point is that the textile pattern was altered according to the Ottonian patrons' expectations. Such an appropriation presupposes that the artist had good knowledge of real textile repeats and knew how to change the motif in order to invest it with a specific Ottonian Iconology. Cutler and North, "Word over Image."

[96] See especially Jacqueline Leclerq-Marx, "Le décor aux griffons du Logis des Clergeons (Cathédrale de Puy) et l'imitation de 'tissus orientaux' dans l'art monumental d'époque romane en France: Tour d'horizon," *Revue d'Auvergne* 594 (2010): 115–46. Eadem, "L'imitation des tissus 'orientaux,'" in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Parma, 21–25 settembre 2004)*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electra, 2006), 456–69. The

symmetrical ornament similar to the textile patterns in medieval manuscripts. There might be other models that inspired these textile-like paintings. Reviving some observations on the formal quality of textile ornament that were mentioned in the older literature, this chapter aims to compare textile ornament to a broad variety of possible models. These include carved stones, ivory, and also textiles that are not made of silk. I further look at textiles that are patterned although they were not woven but, for example, embroidered. Finally, I take into consideration comparisons from earlier book illumination, which, as I argue, played a decisive role in the formation of textile ornament in the period under discussion.

Previous notions of textile ornament and silken models appear to have been informed by modern notions of mimesis. While I continue in the first part of this chapter the previous hunt for the perfect silk model that matches a specific textile page, my aim is eventually to re-direct attention to the ways in which a medieval audience perceived textile ornament. Looking at painted textile designs through the filter of medieval ideas of copying and likeness contributes to a clearer understanding of textile iconography and also explains why so many textile pages are formulaic. I aim to show that textile ornament is an iconographic code—a common form of textile iconography—that was frequently used by medieval artists to represent patterned textiles in book illumination. The formal relationship that textile ornament shares with Byzantine and Islamic silk is not informed by copying individual textiles wholesale but by imitating the formal and compositional principles that characterize a woven repeat, such as extensibility, geometry, and symmetry.

Textile ornament and textile iconography: proposition for a new terminology

The previous scholarly focus on the model-copy relationship lacked a clear definition of why textile ornament appears textile-like. This desideratum resulted in a range of terminological inventions, some of which are more useful than others. Haseloff was among the first to use

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model-copy problem concerning textile ornament in wall painting corresponds to the issue in book illumination. While the wall paintings are clearly textile-like, it is difficult to find directly comparable silk examples. Just as in book illumination, the artists seem to be inspired by silk repeats, but interpret and appropriate the patterns according to their own ideas and intentions.

"textile imitation," a term that frequently appears in the literature to this day.[97] More nuanced are Nordenfalk's "simulated textile pages," "silk-simulating double page," or "full-page textile ornaments."[98] Stephen Wagner recently coined the term "silken parchments" and revived Karl Hermann Usener's "textile-inspired."[99] Christine Sciacca referred to textile pages recently also as "simulated textiles."[100] Von Euw further labeled textile ornament as "pages painted in imitation of decorative textiles."[101] Most useful in my view are such neutral terms as Henry Mayr-Harting's "textile-like patterned grounds," as well as "textile ornament," and "textile-like" as a general attribute.[102] Also productive is Robert Calkins' contribution of the "curtain page."[103] The term implies a definition of textile ornament based on function and allegorical meaning instead of formal criteria. While this approach merits notice, the terminology also has limitations because the metaphoric function implied by the "curtain" is not universally applicable to all contexts in which textile ornament appears. Since I examine textile ornament from a range of

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[97] "Stoffimitationen." Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts*, 110.

[98] Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 98.

[99] Wagner, "Silken Parchments," 2, 4. Karl Hermann Usener, *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum,* 2: 465, described the patterned purple folios in Corvey manuscripts from the tenth century as "textile-like purple grounds" (die reich gemusterten, oft stoffartigen Purpurgründe). Wagner, "Establishing a Connection to Illuminated Manuscripts," 69, noted in passing that textile ornament somewhat looks like the repeat of eastern silk, although a direct model-copy relationship between the two media is not necessarily apparent, but he did not develop the problem further. His approach lacks a clear assessment and definition of textile ornament.

[100] Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain: On the Uses of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161–89, esp. 165.

[101] Von Euw mentioned "gemalte imitierte Stoffzierseiten mit blauer Ornamentik auf graublauem Grund, gelb versiert und gehöht" in the Lindau Gospels. Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts, 2 vols*. (St. Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), cat. no. 99, 1: 408–11, esp. 409. Franz Ronig, "Evangeliarfragment aus Luxeuil," in idem, *Schatzkunst Trier* (Trier: Spee, 1984), cat. no. 36, 2: 107, used a similar term, "decorative textile pages" (textile Zierseiten).

[102] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination,* 159–66, esp. 164, 165. Curiously, despite his thoughtful use of terminology, Mayr-Harting insisted that textile-like ornament is an "obvious imitation of oriental silk." He went so far as to link certain textile-ornamented paged directly to specific imperial gifts of silk, a view, which I oppose for reasons outlined below.

[103] Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 147.

functional angles and in diverse contexts, I prefer the neutral terms "textile-like" and "textile

ornament," or Haseloff's "textile page." My use of this terminology aims to communicate that

the formal relationship between the repeats of real silk and painted textile ornament is not a

direct one but that textile ornament evokes the look of patterned silk based on specific formal

criteria that I will discuss below. I understand the denomination "textile" in textile ornament as a

reference to an iconographic formula and to textile material in the most general sense, not as

pertaining to a *specific* textile model or a distinct textile technique. I disagree with perceptions of

textile ornament as "trompe l'oeil" painting, or "simulation" and "imitation," because they fail

to do justice to what textile ornament is.[104] I further disapprove of the term "carpet page" or its

German equivalent *Teppichseite*, because textile ornament in medieval manuscripts bears no

closer visual or conceptual resemblance to carpets than it does to Byzantine and Islamic silk.[105]

A comparison of textile ornament with textile repeats

       Claiming that textile ornament is not an imitation of Byzantine and Islamic silk provokes

a closer look at the formal characteristics that make textile ornament textile-like. The so-called

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[104] Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol," 64, 68, 70, 73, and *Codex Aureus*, 53, uses this term extensively. John Osborne further refers to curtains painted in trompe'l oeil manner in his essay "Textiles and Their Painted Imitations in Early Medieval Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 309–51, esp. 312.

[105] This term can be found throughout the literature up to the most recent publications. Claudia Fabian and Christine Lange, *Pracht auf Pergament*, exhibition catalogue Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), 222. In addition to the little helpful term "trompe-l'oeil" effect or painting, Grebe relies frequently on the term *Teppichseite* in eadem, *Codex Aureus*, 50–4, 69, 79, 95. In effect contradicting her trompe-l'oeil characterization of textile ornament, she notes in "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol," 55 and esp. 73, that the carpet pages ("Teppichseite") of the Codex Aureus do not explicitly imitate carpets, but they are "maßstabsgetreue Trompe-l'oeils von Stoffen, die real existiert haben könnten." I will show in the following that textile ornament neither copies textiles wholesale, nor do the patterns painted on these pages reflect the proportions of existing repeats. Kahnsitz, "Frühottonische Buchmalerei," 234, also uses the term "Teppichseite." Another problematic aspect of the term "carpet page" is that this expression was applied in a universal manner to ornament from cultural contexts as diverse as insular interlace, non-figurative Hebrew illumination, and Ottonian manuscript pages. Christopher de Hamel described full-page ornamented pages in Hebrew Bibles as "carpet pages" and sees a resemblance to oriental tapestries. Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2001), 44–5. Michelle Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003), uses the term throughout her book for the ornamented pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which, in my view, are no more carpet-like than Ottonian textile pages are textile-like.

precious Gospels of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, a manuscript made in Hildesheim around 1015, is an excellent starting point for a systematic analysis of textile ornament. [106] The manuscript contains a large number of miniatures that display an unusually rich repertoire of ornamental forms, many of which are textile-like. In addition, the miniatures employ stylistically and iconographically diverse types of textile ornament, which invite a contextualized reading of textile ornament against the iconographic and codicological structure of the manuscript. Before treating the manuscript context, a close formal examination of the initial page before the Gospel of John demonstrates the extent to which some painted textile patterns resemble real repeats, while also making clear why the assumption that medieval painters directly copied the repeats of silk fabrics is problematic.

The textile page on fol. 179r of the Bernward Gospels has never been analyzed in terms of textile ornamentation [fig. 8]. The miniature displays an extensible symmetrical lozenge pattern painted in gold on purple ground and outlined in minium. Small golden circles mark points where the lozenges intersect. Encased in the diamond-shaped grid pattern are small circular flowers with a short stem. The pattern closely resembles the repeat of a silk fragment that is preserved at the church of St. Servatius in Maastricht [fig. 9].[107] This tiny fragment of a Byzantine silk samite dates from the ninth to eleventh century. Its repeat depicts on dark-blue ground a grid of lozenges that was woven in red and is interrupted by small dots where the lozenges meet. The diamond-shaped compartments enclose triple-colored flower buds. Their stems and pinnacles are white, while the calyx is red, green, and yellow. This lozenge-and-flower pattern from the Maastricht silk fragment is almost identical to the one on the Hildesheim page. Closely related to both objects is the background pattern of the Gunthertuch, a magnificent eleventh-century Byzantine silk shroud, in which Bishop Gunther of Bamberg was buried in1065

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[106] Hildesheim, Domschatz. Ms. 61. Michael Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward* (Munich: Prestel, 1993). On ornament in the Bernward Gospels in general, especially concerning its function, see Jennifer P. Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels: Structuring *Memoria* in Eleventh-Century Germany," (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2007).

[107] Inv. 6—3. Annemarie Stauffer, *Die Mittelalterlichen Textilien von St. Servatius in Maastricht* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1991), cat. no. 45, 110–11. The piece measures 5.8 cm in hight and 6 cm in width.

[fig. 10].[108] The background behind an image of a ruler on horseback is filled with flowers that appear inside green medallions on violet ground. The color of the flowers alternates in each row between pink and blue. In comparison with the Bernward Gospels textile page and the Maastricht silk, the shape of the background pattern in the Gunthertuch is not lozenge-shaped but circular. Lozenges appear, however, in the spaces between the flower medallions. These are yellow or pink and each has a circle in its center. An important difference between the lozenges in the Gunthertuch and the Bernward page and Maastricht silk is that the lozenges in the shroud are not connected. They rather add additional variety to the flower-and-medallion pattern, which is the primary motif. While the Guntertuch thus displays a medallion repeat, the Maastricht silk shows a lozenge repeat, which resembles the background pattern in the Bernward manuscript page. In addition to differences in form, the three objects vary in color. The painted flowers in the miniature are white, while the blossoms in the silk pieces show additional colors. Despite these discrepancies, the overall visual effect of all three ornamental designs is very similar. Each displays a flower bud with short stem, which is embedded in a system of geometric forms that fills a considerable expanse of space with extensible ornamentation. This comparison allows the conclusion that, although the ornaments in the two silk pieces and the page from the Bernward Gospels are not wholly identical, they resemble each other closely.

Given the close resemblance between the Bernward Gospels page and the Maastricht silk, it is tempting to assume a direct model-copy relationship between the two objects. However, such conclusions must be met with caution. It should be pointed out that the success of such formal comparisons between manuscript illumination and silk depends to a large part on the chance survival of matching textiles. The Maastricht silk and the Gunthertuch provide suitable comparanda, but it is also possible that the artist of the Bernward Gospels copied the lozenge pattern from a silk that is now lost. Other problems arise from such comparisons. It is possible that the manuscript illuminator did not copy a silk model wholesale but adopted the repeat of a textile that suited his purpose. Finally, the painter perhaps created a repeat-like pattern from memory that happens to resemble the repeat of an extant silk. Therefore, even if matching

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[108] Gunter Prinzig, "Das Bamberger Gunthertuch in neuer Sicht," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993): 218–31. Sigrid Müller-Christensen, "Beobachtungen zum Bamberger Gunthertuch," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, 17 (1966): 9–16. The cloth was dated to 1060 and used in Bamberg as burial shroud for Gunther, who died on the return journey from Constantinople in 1065. Eadem, *Das Gunthertuch im Bamberger Domschatz* (Bamberg, 1988), 4, 10.

models survive, formal analogies do not prove that the medieval artists who designed textile pages had access to silk and copied their repeats. On the contrary, it is difficult to establish a direct connection between a medieval silk and a book illumination atelier, even if silk survives in the churches that sponsored the paintings.

An unusually large piece of silk was recently discovered in the shrine of the patron saints of Hildesheim Cathedral, where it was used to wrap relics at the end of the tenth century.[109] The precious silk shows eagles contained in pearl-string medallions [fig. 11]. Fol. 4v of the so-called Bernward Bible, another manuscript made at Hildesheim in the early eleventh century, shows an eagle between rosettes in a square-shaped frame positioned in the upper section of the page [fig. 12].[110] The large bird spreads its wings and perks its head sideways. The eagle in the miniature is reminiscent of the eagles on the Byzantine silk found inside the shrine, but there are also obvious differences. The bird in the manuscript is painted in two shades of purple, while the textile probably used to be red, yellow, white, and green, before its colors faded.[111] In addition, the plumage and the wings in the bird painted in the miniature display considerably more detail compared to the highly stylized shape of the eagles on the silk. These two objects, of course, may have no relation at all despite the fact that they share a provenance. The comparison raises the question more generally whether painters copied full repeats or individual repeat motifs from textiles even if they had such textile models at their disposal.

A specific detail in the usage of the textile pattern in the miniature from the Bernward Gospels suggests that the artist was perhaps inspired by a real piece of silk [fig. 8]. The ornamented manuscript page shows a flower-bud motif that not only resembles the patterns in the Maastricht fragment and the Gunthertuch formally, but also serves similar functions. In all three objects, the small-scale flower patterns were used as a background in a larger composition. The Gunthertuch especially makes clear that the flower-bud pattern functions as background for

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[109] Regula Schorta, "The Textiles Found in the Shrine of the Patron Saints of Hildesheim Cathedral," *CIETA Bulletin* 77 (2000): 45–56. Together with the textile a wax seal was found that shows a textile imprint on its back and can be dated precisely to the 990–92, providing a date for the enclosure of the textile in the shrine. The cloth measures roughly one meter in both hight and width.

[110] Hildesheim Domschatz Inv. Nr. DS 61. On this manuscript see Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. VIII–29, 2:568—70.

[111] Schorta, "The Textiles Found in the Shrine of the Patron Saints of Hildesheim Cathedral," 48.

the image of the emperor on horseback. The tiny silk piece from Maastricht is a fragment of a textile that was originally much larger and likely served a similar function as background pattern in a more complex repeat [fig. 9]. If Annemarie Stauffer is correct, the fragment preserves a fraction of a pattern that once filled the spaces between larger geometric repeat motifs.[112] An eleventh-century silk from Byzantium or the eastern Mediterranean now at the Abegg Stiftung shows such large medallions that are superimposed on a small-scale background pattern [fig. 13].[113]

The lozenge-and-flower background in the Bernward Gospel miniature functions in similar terms. The individual flower motif in a lozenge frame that characterizes the pattern is much smaller in scale compared to the large initials that the image displays on the ornamented ground. In the manuscript page, the major motif of the miniature is the initial "I" and the remaining letters, while the lozenge-and-flower pattern serves as background decoration. The same hierarchical relation between a superior motif and a secondary background pattern was the case in the textile fragment in Maastricht (presumably), and is clearly apparent in the Abegg-Stiftung silk. The manner in which the letters in the manuscript page are superimposed on a small-scale patterned ground is comparable, therefore, to the repeat of a woven silk in which the principal medallions are accompanied by a small-scale fill motif. The similarities between the ornamental composition of the Bernward Gospels miniature and the Abegg-Stiftung silk might have repercussions on the way we perceive the relationship between manuscript images and possible textile models. If the Hildesheim book illuminator used the flower-bud pattern as background-ornamentation for a text-image deliberately, the question arises whether he got this idea from a Byzantine medallion silk. The composition of the miniature suggests that the Hildesheim painter understood how fill-patterns work in woven silk and perhaps borrowed this typical design motif for his own composition. If this were the case, we would have to assume that the artist had access to Byzantine silk and used it as model for some features of his work.

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[112] Stauffer, *Die Mittelalterlichen Textilien von St. Servatius,* 110–11.

[113] Abegg Stiftung, Inv. Nr. 98. Karel Otavsky and Muḥammad ʿAbbās Muḥammad Salīm, *Mittelalterliche Textilien I*: *Ägypten, Persien und Mesopotamien, Spanien und Nordafrika* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1995), cat. no 81, 137–38.

However, no textile from Hildeshiem that shows features similar to the Abegg-Stiftung silk survives. Furthermore, conclusions drawn from one textile page in one single manuscript need not apply to other miniatures in the same manuscript, nor to textile pages in different books.[114] As we will see, in numerous cases it is far more difficult to draw a clear connection between an extant silk and painted textile patterns. On the contrary, some manuscript pages clearly show that textiles were but one of several visual sources that generated the design of textile pages.

An artist who channeled several sources of inspiration into the creation of magnificent textile patterns was the maker of the *Codex Aureus Epternacensis* in Nuremberg. This manuscript is equipped with four double-page textile openings that each show a different motif. The textile pages appear at the beginning of each Gospel on fols. 17v—18r, 51v—52r, 75v—76r, and 109v—110r. The medallion pattern on fols. 17v—18r has been compared frequently to surviving Byzantine medallion silks [fig. 14].[115] The manuscript page depicts large animals that inhabit medallions and these are arranged in a three successive rows. None of the surviving Byzantine textile repeats that have been mentioned in relation to this manuscript page, however, resemble the design on the Echternach folio exactly. The same can be claimed for the striped textile image on fols. 51v—52r [fig. 15]. The double-page is painted with a repeat-like pattern of horizontal stripes that is composed in different colors and shows a range of motifs. Some of the bands are filled with quadrupeds and birds, while others show floral ornaments. Striped multicolored textiles that could have inspired the design of this page were produced in the Middle Ages by Spanish textile workshops. However, most of the extant examples date from the twelfth century.[116] Perhaps contemporary with the mid-eleventh century Echternach page is a striped Spanish silk from the *caja de los marfiles*, the shrine of St. John the Baptist and Pelagius

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[114] I was unable to find a matching textile for the designs on fol. 77r and 19v of the Bernward Gospels.

[115] According to Grebe, this page, like the other three textile pages, is an imitation of a "Byzantine-Sassanian silk." Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 50.

[116] I thank Regula Schorta for this information. For examples of striped textiles from twelfth-century Spain, see Abegg-Stiftung, Inv. Nr. 2640 a–d, Otavsky and Salīm, *Mittelalterliche Textilien I,* cat. no. 94, 132–34. Also ibid., Inv. Nr. 654, cat. no. 101, 182–83, and Inv. Nr. 9, cat. no. 70, 114–15.

from Léon [fig. 16].[117] The silk fragment displays stripes of various colors, each of which is decorated with a different pattern; one contains an Arabic inscription.[118] Otto von Falke further compared the striped textile page from the *Codex Aureus* to four fragments of a Persian silk with birds that survive as veils in a ninth-century Gospel book from Tours.[119] The colors red, green, and yellow also appear on the Echternach textile page, but there is no inscription. The width of the stripes further varies in the textile, whereas the horizontal bands in the manuscript page are all roughly the same size. In addition, neither the quadrupeds nor floral motifs woven into the silk fragment are identical with those in the textile page. While the color, the composition and the motifs painted in the Echternach textile design resemble a real repeat, it is clear that the details are not the same.

The Echternach Codex Aureus lion page: a pastiche

       The lion pattern painted on fols. 75v—76r of the *Codex Aureus Epternacensis* further suggests that textile ornament not only shares formal characteristics with Byzantine and Islamic woven silk but also with other types of fabric [fig. 17]. The lion "repeat" of the *Codex Aureus* closely resembles a printed and gilded pattern on a tenth to eleventh-century silk and cotton (mulham) textile that was probably made in Iran and is now divided between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Museum in New York [fig. 18].[120] Although this particular

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[117] An inscription suggests that the silk was made before 1059. Regula Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe des hohen Mittelalters: Untersuchungen zu Webtechnik und Musterung* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001), 93–6.

[118] Only two words can be deciphered: "God" and "kingdom." Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe*, 94.

[119] Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1921), 17. The manuscript is now in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 16 Aug 2˚. The textile veils have been sewn onto the incipit pages at the beginning of the four Gospels at an unspecific time after the completion of the manuscript. That the veils are not contemporary with the manuscript is evident because the silver ink of the recto rubbed off against the empty verso folio, which could not have happened had the veil been in place immediately. On this manuscript see *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), cat. no. 130, 260, and chapter three.

[120] New York, Metropolitan Museum, Accession no. 31.106.64, possibly from the Ghaznavid Period (977—1186), silk and cotton, plain weave, printed and gilded. Maurice S. Dimand, "A Recent Gift of Egypto-Arabic Textiles," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27 (1932): 92–6. Daniel Walker, "Islamic" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 53 (1995—96): 15–6, 28–34, esp. 29. Another fragment of the same textile is in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio. The Cleveland Museum

textile cannot be connected with the Echternach scriptorium, we know that other printed cloths survived in western church treasures, so that printed textiles in addition to woven silk must be considered as a possible source of inspiration for manuscript painters. [121]

A comparison between the rectangular "repeat" motif printed and painted on the mulham cloth and the lion design painted on the double-folio 75v—76r of the *Codex Aureus* reveals striking similarities. Both patterns show versions of a geometric design that consists of golden lions encased in squares. Although both extensible patterns are very similar, there are also obvious differences. The Echternach page displays not only lions, but also medallions in the corners of each square. The medallions show profile portrait busts, such as are known from Roman coins. Each of the lions is painted on purple ground. Their faces point in different directions. The lions on the mulham cloth, however, all look to the left. Moreover, only every second lion in the textile is painted on purple ground while the others appear on the white fabric ground. Finally, the composition of the basic square-grid differs. In the Echternach page, the lions inhabit a square shape that is constructed of thin golden lines, which evokes the illusion of perspectival space. In this way, the inner frame connects to a "meta" grid-system that also contains the coin-medallions and unites the surfaces of two facing folios in one continuous geometric composition. In the textile, however, only the lions depicted on purple ground are actually framed. These squares are defined by a border made of thin golden lines, which displays an additional pearl-string motif. The lions printed on uncolored ground occupy the spaces in-between these purple squares. In comparison to the geometric construction of the Echternach

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dates the piece to Iran or Iraq, Seljuk Period, eleventh or twelfth century. http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1950.558 (accessed 30.01.2014).

[121] Leonie von Wilckens lists a tenth-century Egyptian textile printed in gold and black and embroidered with colorful silk thread from a tomb in Quedlinburg, St. Servatius. Leonie von Wilckens, *Die Textilen Künste von der Spätantike bis um 1500* (Munich: Beck, 1991), 161–62. On printed textiles in general see eadem, 159–172. Franz Kirchweger reads the entry "cortinae linteae depictae" in the *Chronicon Zwiefaltense* as evidence for painted textiles. Franz Kirchweger, "'Nunc de vestibus altariis:' Kirchentextilien in Schriftquellen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1997): 75–109, 103. Printed medieval silk from China was also found at the Moščevaja Balka excavations. Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt Borkopp, *Von China nach Byzanz: Frühmittelalterliche Seiden aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Sankt Petersburg* (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1996), cat. no. 112, 96.

pages where the pattern appears rigid, symmetric, and the individual motifs interconnected, the individual ornaments on the mulham fabric appear to float loosely on the ground fabric. [122]

The formal similarities between these two objects deserve yet more attention because the ornament in both examples serves similar functions. In the Echternach textile page as well as in the printed and painted mulham fabric, the ornament lends the objects the appearance of patterned silk. In both objects, therefore, ornament causes a visual transformation and creates a material surrogate for precious purple silk. [123] While the painted surfaces imitate the look of purple silk, the objects themselves are made of cheaper and more readily accessible materials. The silk and cotton piece in Cleveland and New York further demonstrates that creating such silk imitations was not only the business of book illuminators but also a phenomenon of the textile arts. Turning mulham into "fake" silk raises similar questions concerning the use and availability of textiles models.[124] I have been unable to find a silk that directly reflects the pattern on the Cleveland and New York mulham fabric. The so-called Pegasus-Silk, a Syrian textile from the early ninth century gives a rough idea of a repeat pattern that might have inspired the ornament on the mulham fabric [fig. 19].[125] The conclusions I drew above about the formal differences between real silk repeats and patterns painted in illuminated manuscripts apply likewise to the printed and painted mulham fabric. The imitation pattern was simplified and

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[122] The repeats of woven medieval silk are always extensible but not necessarily connected to each other. Silk fabrics in which the repeat motifs are regular and geometric but similarly float on the surface without being connected to each other by a meta-structure were found in the Moščevaja Balka excavations. Ierusalimskaja and Borkopp, *Von China nach Byzanz,* cat. no. 9, 29–32.

[123] Dimand also noted that "such elaborately stamped fabrics were probably substitutes for the more costly cloths interwoven or tapestry-woven with gold threads." Dimand, "A Recent Gift," 96.

[124] Maria Vittoria Fontana also compared the mulham textile from New York to the same page from the *Codex Aureus* but failed to note that the pattern in the textile is not woven. She remained unaware of the larger implications printed and/or painted cloth cause for the problem of textile imitation. Maria Vittoria Fontana, "A Note on Some Illustrated Pages from [sic] Codex Aureus Epternacensis (1030 A.D. ca) in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum," in *La Persia e Bisanzio: Convegno internazionale, Roma, 14—18 ottobre 2002* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2004), 935–51.

[125] Vatican, Monumenti, Musei et Gallerie Pontificie (T 117). Silk samite, Syria, early ninth century. It has been suggested that this silk was used for a pillow that supported the enamel cross of Pope Paschal I (817–24). Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste*, 41–43, pl. 38. Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), cat. no. IX.37, 2:656–57. Similar but not identical is further a silk from Berlin that shows various animals in pearl-string medallions. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, fig. 171, 24.

altered when it was adapted for a different medium so that it is difficult to be specific about the model used. Of course, the silk that might have inspired the artist of the mulham cloth could be lost. But the unlikely use of textile models for extensible ornament and likewise for textile patterns painted in different media raises the question how useful the hunt for possible models really is.[126]

The scholarly literature has occasionally reflected critically on the notion that medieval artists copied specific repeats wholesale and drawn attention to issues of appropriation and invention instead.[127] Grabar observed that not all painted textile designs are based on real repeats but at times reflect imaginary patterns.[128] Nordenfalk further acknowledged textile ornament as an artistic achievement. He appraised the hand-drawn textile patterns of the Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis as "personal creations" that deserve no less attention than initials or figurative images.[129] More recently, Stephen Wager re-evaluated ornament as the work of painters who were artistically "inspired" by real repeats but used motifs borrowed from the textile arts to create their individual textile-like patterns.[130] The lion page from the Codex Aureus illustrates that book illuminators created their own imaginary patterns. The coins represented on the textile page are not a motif that is typical of medieval textile repeats. Instead, Roman coins are a common detail in Carolingian book illumination and also appear in several miniatures that were

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[126] Cutler and North, "Word over Image," 177, deemed the hunting for textile models a "wild goose chase."

[127] The most important of these contributions is Cutler and North, "Word over Image," 177.

[128] André Grabar, "Le Rayonnement de l'Art Sassanide dans le Monde Chrétien," in idem, *L'art du Moyen Âge en Occident: Influences Byzantines et Orientales* (London: Variorum, 1980), previously published in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome: Acaedmia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), ch. XII, 679–707.

[129] In particular the fact that the ornaments are drawn free-hand prompted Nordenfalk to comment on the painters' skill. "This method gives ornaments and animals the value of personal creations, to the same degree as the initials or the pictorial miniatures. In fact, a double-page like the one starting the illuminations of Gos [sic] stands out as one of the most ambitious undertakings of the Echternach school." Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 102.

[130] Wagner, "Silken Parchments," 2, 4.

made by the Echternach workshop.[131] This peculiar addition suggests that the artist invented the ornament.[132] The design is more likely a pastiche of motifs taken from diverse sources. Although the book illuminator was likely inspired by Byzantine and Islamic silk textiles the coins suggest that the medieval artists who produced textile pages were flexible in their use of models. This observation leads to the question of what media, in addition to silk, might have inspired the designs of textile pages in medieval manuscripts.

Sources for textile ornament in other media

       The printed and painted mulham cloth in New York is one example of a textile that displays an extensible repeat-like pattern that was not woven. In addition, a fair number of early medieval textiles with embroidered ornamentation survive.[133] The base fabric of these embroideries is silk as well as linen, and the application is often made of silk and other materials.[134] Textiles embroidered with extensible ornament make clear that the list of textile objects that could have transmitted extensible textile-like ornament to early medieval book illumination ateliers has to be extended beyond the woven silk models that have been the focus of most previous comparisons. Textiles are by no means the only medium that displays extensible geometric patterns.[135] A transenna panel from northern Italy dated to the tenth or

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[131] See the manuscripts discussed by Henry Maguire in "Magic and Money in the Early Middle Ages," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1037–54. For another Ottonian manuscript with coins see the late tenth-century Saint-Chapelle Gospels from Reichenau, as in Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2:194, plate XVII.

[132] Grebe and I came to similar conclusions on the motif of the coins as a sign of artistic creativity rather than copying; I am grateful to her for sharing an early version of her essay "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol," which discussed this motif at greater length than the published version.

[133] To name but one example for many early medieval embroidered silks with extensible patterns, the casual of Saints Harlindis and Relindis, silk and linen, probably England, early ninth century, now in Maaseik, St. Catherine Cathedral, inv. no. 101, shows medallions filled with various animals and plants that were embroidered in silk and gold thread made of gold leaf and horse hair. The textile was originally also decorated with pearls, which are now lost. *Krone und Schleier*, cat. no. 118, 246—49.

[134] For a white linen cloth embroidered with an extensible geometric pattern from the tomb of Saint Ludmilla in Prague see Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz, *Europas Mitte um 1000* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), cat. no. 10.03.01 b.

[135] Some scholars also considered a range of media in their analyses of textile ornament. See especially Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 97–102; von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 184–86; and Hiltrud

eleventh century, for instance, is covered in extensible interlace ornament [fig. 20].[136] The

medallions and quatrefoil frames enclose rosettes, stars, acanthus leaves, swastikas and other

motifs that frequently appear in textiles and ornamented textile pages [fig. 2, 21, 22].[137] Outside

of Italy and Byzantium, where extensible ornament carved in stone appears to have been

especially frequent, examples also survived north of the Alps, for instance in ambos and choir

screens from Romainmôtier, Disentis, and Schänis in Switzerland [fig. 23].[138] Numerous insular

stone monuments further show extensible designs. The pattern in the lower section of the shaft of

the North cross at Ahenny from the eighth century, for instance, resembles the ornamented

background in the image of Gregory the Great from a sacramentary made at Corvey in the tenth

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Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spuren der Theophanu in der ottonischen Schatzkunst?" in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, ed. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1991), 2: 193–218, esp. 196. George Henderson further proposed that insular "carpet pages" were inspired by late antique geometric floor mosaics, which were still extant in Britain at the time when books like the Lindisfarne Gospels were made. Although perhaps no longer in pristine condition, he suggested that these mosaic inspired insular book illuminators to create geometric pages of their own design. George Henderson, *Early Medieval* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 97–100.

[136] For the transenna barrier see Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium:* art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 292, 452. For another stone slab from the ninth century with similar extensible ornament, see Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. V–12, 2: 268. Also Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), cat. no. IX.13, 2: 627–28.

[137] Reliquary pouch with embroidered swastikas, Islamic, eleventh century. Stauffer, *Die Mittelalterlichen Textilien*, cat. no. 61. Von Falke lists a late-antique silk with swastikas in *Seidenweberei*, fig. 9. Swastikas appear further on fol. 59v of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst. On this manuscript see note 2 and chapter two. Another textile page with swastika motif can be found in the so-called Petershausen Sacramentary, a manuscript from Reichenau, c. 980, fol. 106r. See Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 271–81, and chapter three.

[138] Fig. 23 shows two stone slabs from a fragmented choir screen or transenna barrier in Schänis, Stiftskirche St. Sebastian, ca. 820. Guido Faccani, "'Geflecht mit Gewürm:' Karolingische Bauplastik und ihr Dekor," in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz*, ed. by Markus Riek, Jürg Goll and Georges Descœudres (Sulgen: Benteli, 2013), 128–45. Katrin Roth-Rubi, "Die Flechtwerkskulptur Churrätiens – Müstair, Chur, Schänis," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2010): 9–28. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, 319 and fig. 144, connected the ambo from Romainmôtier directly to insular cross-carpet pages.

century [fig. 24 and 25].[139] Extensible geometric ornament further decorates numerous book covers from the early medieval period, such as the late seventh-century tooled leather binding of the Cuthbert Gospels, or a late ninth-century ivory cover from St. Gall [figs. 26, 27].[140] The lozenge floral pattern that covers a stucco column from the northern section of the choir screen in Hildesheim cathedral further compares to the previously mentioned textile page from Corvey [fig. 6, 28].[141] Finally, extensible geometric ornament is a staple in late antique and early medieval floor mosaics, such as the geometric stone floor from Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire [fig. 29].[142] A floor mosaic with flower bud motif from Antioch further resembles closely the repeats of the Maastricht silk fragment and the Gunthertuch, as well as the textile page on fol. 179r of the Bernward Gospels [fig. 30, 9, 10, 8].[143] These examples demonstrate the ubiquity of extensible ornament in medieval art and suggest possible non-textile sources that book illuminators might have explored in search of ornamental motifs. The common appearance of similar ornamental motifs in diverse media and their frequent use make clear that ornament constructed of basic geometric shapes—crosses, lozenges, swastikas, medallions or other

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[139] Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, fig. 16. The image of Gregory appears in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I 57 on fol. 2r opposite a depiction of the crucifixion with monochrome purple ground. On this manuscript see Ulrich Kuder, "Sakramentarfragment in Reichenauer Evangelistar," in Brand and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. VI–68, 2: 407–10, and chapter three below.

[140] Michelle Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, 28, and fig. 17. For more ornamented book covers see John Lowden, "The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 13–47, and Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965). On the St. Gallen ivory cover see Johannes Duft and Rudolf Schnyder, *Die Elfenbein-Einbände der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1984), 33–53. Compare also von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 184–86, on these extensible patterns and their impact on textile ornament.

[141] Michael Brandt (ed.), *Der vergrabene Engel: Die Chorschranken der Hildesheimer Michaeliskirche. Funde und Befunde* (Hildesheim: Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, 1995).

[142] Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. V–36, 2:300. Compare also the mosaic floors from the palace at Aachen, in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit,* cat. no. II.67–68, 1: 107–10. Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 100, also mentioned floor mosaic in relation to textile ornament.

[143] Grabar, "Le rayonnement de l'art sassanide dans le monde chrétien," 641.

common forms—was a highly flexible phenomenon. Extensible ornament is part of a visual vocabulary that appears simultaneously in various cultural regions throughout the antique and medieval worlds and is neither bound to a specific period nor restricted to one artistic medium. Since extensible ornament is such a ubiquitous phenomenon, claims that textiles were the carriers that initially transmitted extensible ornament into other media rather overestimates textiles as a medium for artistic influence.[144] It is undeniable that silk played a significant role in the formation of textile ornament in medieval book illumination, but from a formal point of view extensible ornament is a much more complex phenomenon.

Book illumination as source for textile ornament

Another medium that needs to be considered in an analysis of extensible ornament and its sources is drawings and paintings on parchment. A comparison with illuminations and drawings seems especially worthwhile because these media are of the same "family" as the Ottonian manuscripts in which textile ornament appears. Two types of manuscript models are of particular

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[144] Grabar, "Le rayonnement de l'art sassanide dans le monde chrétien," 684 and 707, suggested that textiles, in addition to metalwork, were a major agent in the transfer of ornamental forms from east to west. Von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde," 190, 184–86, further intimated that textiles transmitted Byzantine ornamental forms to the West and that from the textile arts these migrated into other media such as illuminated manuscripts. He made this claim despite the fact that his analysis of the marriage charter clearly suggests that the textile pattern also resembles ornament carved in ivory and other media. Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian interchange from the tenth to the twelfth century," *Art History* 24 (2001): 17–50, esp. 34, claimed more recently that it "is hardly possible to overestimate" the role textiles played in the dissemination of ornament in the medieval court culture context. Fontana, "A Note on Some Illustrated Pages," 947, further states that the pages of the *Codex Aureus* are "of clear and close derivation from textiles." The frame of a tenth-century Italian ivory book cover showing a cruciform pattern exemplifies how difficult it is to be specific about the transfer of a generic geometric ornamental motif from one medium to another. Compare the book cover illustrated in Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. V–11, 2: 266, with a medieval silk textile that displays a repeat composed of cruciform motifs from Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus, inv. no. 891 III 9 (Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon: Musée historique des tussus. Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines, Ve–XIe siècles*, Paris: Edition de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1986, cat. no. 36). The textile from Lyon was dated broadly to the medieval period. It may come from Egypt or Byzantium. Also compare these objects to a late tenth-century miniature from Prüm, where the cross-shaped design frames a full-page miniature of the women at the tomb on fol. 33r (Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, 48, and Susanne Wittekind, "Bild–Text–Gesang: Überlegungen zum Prümer Tropar-Sequentiar, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448," in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter,* ed. Barbara Schellewald and Karin Krause, Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011, 99–124). The generic nature of the cruciform ornament and its near-identical appearance in all three media poses great difficulties for deciding whether the book illuminator copied the cruciform pattern from silk, or from an ivory book cover, or vice versa. On such issues of transfer see further Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 294–95.

interest. First, pattern books in which artists recorded ornamental forms, presumably for later use in other works, circulated in the illuminator's workshops and were easily available for copying. Second, illuminated manuscripts with textile pages were shared among distant workshops or handed down from previous generations of artists and were copied for new work.

The pen and ink drawings on two leaves from a late-tenth century pattern book now in Paris show various ornaments from antique and Carolingian sources that a medieval artist, who worked at a later time, considered worth recording [fig. 31].[145] The pattern book, of which only fragments survive, suggests that this collection was made to conserve and perhaps study certain ornamental forms by drawing them out and documenting them for later occasions.[146] The repeating pattern in the lower right corner of what is now fol. 64v is of particular interest because it resembles a wicker-basket motif that a late-tenth or early-eleventh century artist, who likely worked in Trier, applied in two textile pages for a Gospel book now in Koblenz.[147] The textile ornament on fol. 85r is composed of interlocking u-shapes, lozenges and other angular forms that resemble the wicker-basket motif from the pattern book [fig. 32]. The textile pattern on fol. 56r is also similar, except for the shape of a large X that cuts through the image [fig. 33]. It is possible that the patterns in the Koblenz textile pages were inspired by textile models, perhaps woven ribbons such as the two bands from the tomb of Saint Balthild in Chelles from the seventh century [fig. 34].[148] I am not aware, however, of a silk model that can be traced back to eleventh-century St. Maximin in Trier, where the Koblenz Gospel book was likely painted.[149] As

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[145] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318, fol. 64v. Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. V–6, and fig. V–6a, 2: 258. See also Wieczorek and Hinz, *Europas Mitte um 1000,* cat. no. 02.02.02 and 02.02.03, 2: 23.

[146] It is unclear how long these drawings remained in use, if they were used at all at a later point. Eliane Vergnolle, "Musterbuchfragmente aus Saint-Benôit-sur-Loire," in Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 2: 260.

[147] Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 81, fol. 56r and 85r. Another textile page appears on fol. 128r. On this manuscript see Christina Meckelnborg, *Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 1—190 ergänzt durch die im Görres-Gymnasium Koblenz aufbewahrten Handschriften A, B, und C* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 72–78. I discuss the textile pages of this manuscript in chapter two below.

[148] *Krone und Schleier,* cat. no. 117a–b, 246.

[149] The book was written by two scribes in the late tenth or early eleventh century either in St. Maximin in Trier, at Echternach, or an unknown workshop in the mid-Rhine region. The illuminations appear to have

in the examples given above, it is further possible that braided or woven objects like mats and bags made of non-textile material inspired the ornamental repertoire of the artist who painted the Koblenz Gospels. A pattern book like the one in Paris is another possible source, especially if we consider that drawings were a medium that circulated in book illumination workshops. In fact, copying drawings and miniatures for new work was a frequent practice in medieval scriptoria.[150] Ottonian book illuminators at Reichenau, where textile ornament was so popular in the later tenth century, certainly copied work of their predecessors, including the ornamental designs of textile pages.[151] The scriptorium at Reichenau further copied books from St. Gallen, where the earliest extant textile pages, two folios in the so-called Lindau Gospels, were made.[152] Moreover, books with textile ornament were sent from Reichenau elsewhere, for instance to the Bavarian monastery of Seeon, where artists produced illuminated manuscripts in the eleventh century

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been made by the second scribe. An entry concerning the dedication of an altar by archbishop Poppo (1016–1047) allowed Hoffmann to show that the book was used in the monastery St. Maria ad Martyrem near Trier in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Hoffmann took this early record as an indication that the book might have been made close by, likely in St. Maximin. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum,* 1: 500–1.

[150] See for instance the extensive influence the Utrecht Psalter exercised on medieval book illumination. Koert van der Horst, William Noel and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld, *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David* (Utrecht: HES, 1996). Thomas A. Heslop, "The Implication of the Utrecht Psalter in English Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton NJ: Index of Christian Art, 2008), 267–90. See also Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

[151] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, illustrates extensively how the painter Ruodprecht continued to use the same textile ornamentation that his predecessor Anno also favored. See also Florentine Mütherich, "Ausstattung und Schmuck der Handschrift," in *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.: Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München,* ed. Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs (Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 2001), 27–31, esp. 28–30. Anton von Euw, "Der Einfluss des Ostens auf die abendländische Buchkunst," in *Kunst im Zeitalter der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Locher, 1993), 177–99, esp. 184–86.

[152] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M1. Von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst*, cat. no. 99, 2:408–11. Anton von Euw, "Das Sakramentar von St. Paul," in *Die Abtei Reichenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. By. Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), 363—87.

likely based on Reichenau models.[153] Gude Suckale-Redlefsen focused on the Reichenau models that Seeon artists used for figurative images, but similar conclusions can be drawn concerning the textile pages. Sometime between 1007—1014, Henry II commissioned a Gospel lectionary from the Seeon scriptorium, which he donated to Bamberg cathedral.[154] This manuscript contains three textile pages, one of which displays a repeating geometric pattern of crosses that are intertwined with a grid-like latticework [fig. 35]. The points where the crosses intersect are marked with rosettes. The same type of textile ornament appears in several Reichenau and some Trier manuscripts, such as the image of Liutwinus in the Egbert Psalter, fol. 151v—152r [fig. 36], the portrait of John in the Egbert Codex fol. 6r [fig. 37], the *Vere Dignum* miniatures of the Petershausen Sacramentary fol. 43r [fig. 38], and the Florence Sacramentary, fol. 3r [fig. 39].[155] The ornament in all of these miniatures is almost identical, although in some, such as in the Egbert Psalter, the rosettes are enlarged and gilded. The artistic relations between Trier and Reichenau are well known. The collaboration between both places was in fact so close that the attribution of manuscripts caused a severe scholarly dispute.[156] The artists working at Reichenau and Trier further had access to late antique models.[157] Perhaps it is not coincidental, therefore,

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[153] Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, "Die Buchmalerei in Seeon zur Zeit Kaiser Heinrichs II," in *Kloster Seeon: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei*, ed. Hans von Malottki (Weissenhorn: Konrad, 1993), 177–204.

[154] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, fol. 15r. On this manuscript see Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 8.–11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), cat. no. 68, 1.1:108–11. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995), 114, dated the manuscript to 1007–1014. Also idem, *Buchkunst und Königtum,* 39, 403, 406, 412, 415. Josef Kirmeier, Alois Schütz and Evamaria Brockhoff, *Schreibkunst: Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei aus dem Kloster Seeon* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1994), cat. no. 19, and my chapter three.

[155] On the Egbert Psalter, Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ms. 136, see Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe,* 231–34 and cat. no. 1, 320–28. For the Egbert Codex, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24, ibid., cat. no. 5, 342—51. For the Petershausen Sacramentary, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, ibid., 271–81. For the Sacramentary in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, ibid. 249–58, and cat. no. 6, 352–55.

[156] C. R. Dodwell and D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered: A Re-assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1965).

[157] See for instance Florentine Mütherich, "Der neutestamentliche Zyklus," in *Das Evangeliar Ottos III*, 46–75. Albert Boeckler further traced ornamental forms used at Reichenau back to various Byzantine manuscripts, which he thought were influential for book illumination at Reichenau. Boeckler,

that late antique and early Byzantine manuscripts such British Museum Add. 5111 display similar textile ornament [fig. 40].[158] It is possible that such late-antique manuscripts inspired textile ornament production first in St. Gallen in the later ninth century and in the tenth in Reichenau. Almost certain is that textile-ornamented manuscripts from Reichenau were shared with Seeon. The textile pages in the Egbert Psalter, Egbert Codex, Petershausen Sacramentary, and Florence Sacramentary demonstrate that Reichenau and Trier painters closely collaborated in their use of textile ornament. One detail that all of the textile pages in these books have in common further demonstrates that illuminations were a form of model that played a major role in transmitting ornamental designs from one workshop to another. None of the textile-ornamented pages in these manuscripts is particularly close to existing repeats. Instead, they resemble textile patterns in late antique manuscripts and the ornamental work of contemporary painters. Margaret Goehring has shown that manuscripts were still a major source of influence for textile-like patterns in book illuminations of the fifteenth century.[159] This is surprising because at the time silken textiles from abroad and from domestic production were traded on a broad scale and easily available.[160] Goehring has demonstrated, however, that even the book illuminators who worked

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"Bildvorlagen der Reichenau," 20, and n. 58. Gunther Franz and Franz Ronig, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier: Entstehung und Geschichte der Handschrift* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1984).

[158] Add. 5111 is a gospel book from Constantinople and was dated to the seventh-century London. Textile ornament appears in the arch of the page that illustrates the prologue on fol. 10v. Carl Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte* (Göteborg: O. Isacsons, 1983), 127—46. The Syriac Rabbula Gospels dating from 586, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus I, no. 56, displays cruciform textile ornament that is even closer to the textile patterns in the Trier, Reichenau, and Seeon manuscripts. Nordenfalk, *Spätantike Kanontafeln*, plates 130—142. On this manuscript see David Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 199–208. In the Syriac manuscript textile ornament appears in the arcades of the canon tables. The colors of the patterns vary between red, blue and green, while in the Ottonian manuscripts these are consistently painted in two different shades of purple.

[159] Goehring, "The Representation and Meaning of Luxurious Textiles in Franco-Flemish Manuscript Illumination."

[160] See, for example, Donald and Monique King, "Silk Weaves of Lucca in 1376," in *Opera Textilia Variorum Temporum: To Honour Agnes Geijer on Her Nintieth Birthday 26th October 1988*, ed. Inger Estham and Margareta Nockert (Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum, 1988), 67—76.

for the court and certainly had access to precious silk did not copy woven repeats but the earlier work of different manuscript illuminators.[161] Painters in general appear to have traded patterns in this manner. Michael Peter recently suggested that early modern painters did not copy real textiles but the depictions of precious silk from famous earlier panel paintings.[162] If early modern artists relied on the work of their colleagues rather than imitating new silken models, medieval painters are even less likely to have copied silk wholesale. Such considerations invite a closer look at why textile ornament in medieval manuscripts nonetheless appears textile-like.

Most of the textile ornament painted in early medieval illuminated manuscripts is highly stylized. The individual ornamental motifs are repeated in a continuous manner, and hence evoke the look of an extensible repeat, but the size of the individual designs is significantly enlarged compared to the proportions of real repeats in early medieval silk. If motifs from medieval textile pages were woven according to the ratio in which they appear on the pages, these textiles would have gigantic dimensions. It appears that what mattered to the medieval artists was not to *imitate* silk wholesale, but to create an ornamented surface that *appeared* textile-like. They achieved this by imitating the compositional *logic* of a woven repeat. The manuscript pages show continuous extensible patterns that are constructed by repeating identical motifs again and again, just as woven textiles typically do. Some manuscript pages suggest that it mattered little what these individual ornamental motifs looked like, as long as the overall composition of the ornamented page was recognizably textile-like. This implies, in turn, that the models that inspired the artist were not necessarily textiles. On the contrary, the tenth-century Egbert Psalter demonstrates that the genre of the model from which the individual motifs were copied was practically

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[161] Goehring, "The Representation and Meaning of Luxurious Textiles in Franco-Flemish Manuscript Illumination," 124, noted that, "[…] manuscript painters, particularly those associated with the courts, were repeatedly exposed to these materials so that they need not have copied actual textiles, but would have been fully able to create their own variations."

[162] Michael Peter, "Textilien auf den Bildern des Meisters von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden," unpublished lecture given on 16 April 2009 on the occasion of the exhibition "The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden," Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 20 March–21 June 2009.

irrelevant.[163] Motifs that book illuminators turned into textile patterns could be borrowed from any source, non-textile media included.

The background in a representation of Bishop Maternus from the Egbert Psalter shows a motif of two interlocking arrows that was repeated multiple times so that the extensible pattern covers the surface of the entire miniature in ornament [fig. 41]. Double-ended arrows are a popular motif that Franco-Saxon and Carolingian book illuminators frequently used in the frames of their miniatures. Such double-ended arrows appear on the bottom left and top right corners of the inner frame on fol. 18v of the Lorsch Gospels, and in the top right corner of the frame on fol. 4r of the Godescalc Gospel lectionary [fig. 42 and 43].[164] The Carolingian painters used these arrows as one ornamental detail among others in a narrow strip of the frame. Ruodprecht, the illuminator of the Ottonian Egbert Psalter, however, multiplied the arrow motif twenty-eight times and in this way constructed an extensible pattern that resembles the repetitive logic of a woven repeat.[165] This textile-like pattern fills the large flat surface behind the figure. Some silk textiles display the double-ended arrow in a similar form. An eleventh- or twelfth-century silk from Persia or Mesopotamia and now in the Abegg-Stiftung shows the arrow in combination with crosses. [fig. 44].[166] Although this might indicate that the artist of the Egbert Psalter copied this motif from a silk, I argue that it is more likely that he borrowed the motif instead from the frames of Carolingian miniatures and transformed the double-ended arrow into a textile-like ornamental surface.

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[163] Cividale, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Ms. 136, fol. 52v–53r. On the Egbert Psalter see Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 323–26, 231–34, and cat. no. 1, 320–28. On Egbert of Trier and his patronage of the arts see Head, "Art and Artifice."

[164] The Lorsch Gospels are now divided between Budapest and Rome. Hermann Schefers (ed.), *Das Lorscher Evangeliar: Biblioteca Documentară Batthyáneum, Alba Iulia, Ms R II I, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 50* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000). For the Godescalc Gospel lectionary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS nouv. acq. lat. 1203) see Fabrizio Crivello, Charlotte Denoël, and Peter Orth (eds.), *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: eine Prachthandschrift für Karl den Grossen* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2011), and Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: Ein Buch für die Reformpolitik Karls des Grossen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1998).

[165] The painter represented himself on fol 16v and inscribed the image with his name "Ruodpreht."

[166] Abegg-Stiftung, Inv. no. 655. Otavsky and Salīm, *Die mittelalterlichen Textilien I*, cat. no. 79, 132–34.

That Ruodprecht modified individual ornamental motifs in a creative way for his own purposes is suggested by another image in the same book. Fol. 173v shows an image of Bishop Magnericus, who appears before an ornamented purple background that is composed of interlace knots [fig. 45]. Knots are not a common motif in eastern silk, and the pointed, angular form of the interlace knot from the Magnericus page especially has no parallel in Byzantine or Islamic textiles.[167] However, numerous comparable interlace motifs appear in Carolingian book illumination. The manuscripts from the court school of Charlemagne offer countless examples, as do almost all Franco-Saxon books in addition to the insular manuscripts that predate Carolingian book production.[168] Interlace knots further decorate objects made of metalwork, wood, ivory, as well as tooled leather book-covers.[169] A book illuminator working in tenth-century Trier or Reichenau could have encountered the type of interlace that the Magnericus page displays almost anywhere. Labusiak compared the interlace motif from the Magnericus miniature to an ivory book cover from the early tenth century.[170] I cannot exclude that an ivory book cover or a textile model inspired the design of this miniature, but earlier book illumination seems the most likely source. Books were the most easily available models in a manuscript atelier, and the long-standing tradition of copying styles and designs from older manuscripts presumably made Ruodprecht look there first. This is suggested not least by the textile pattern in the image of Bishop Liutwinus from the Egbert Psalter that belongs to a larger group of miniatures, which all show that the same textile design was shared by various masters [fig. 36].

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[167] The Victoria and Albert Museum owns a Byzantine silk fragment of the eleventh or twelfth century, in which a simple round knot intersects with a lozenge-shaped pattern. Cyril Bunt, *Byzantine Fabrics* (Leigh-on-Sea: Lewis, 1967), fig. 47. Falke, *Seidenweberei*, does not reproduce a single textile that would in any way be comparable to the pattern on the Magnericus page.

[168] For comparanda see, for instance, the manuscripts published in Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël (eds.), *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles the Chauve* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007), and Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: the Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[169] To name but a few examples, see two metalwork pectoral crosses from late tenth or early-eleventh century Scandinavia and a filigree fibula display interlace knots, reproduced in Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. VI–27, 2: 353, and cat. no. VI–26, 2: 352.

[170] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 296, figs. 401, 402.

As the examples discussed so far have shown, the formal pedigree of textile ornament is complex and involves a range of possible sources, including the artists' creative imagination.

Definition of textile-like

If textile ornament is not the result of copying oriental silk and obviously differs from existing repeats, why should these pages be called textile-like? A closer look at the compositional and formal characteristics of textile ornament helps to define the formal parameters that constitute textile-likeness and explain why these patterns represent a form of textile iconography. Three key principles are at work in textile ornament. The first is extensibility. This term describes the symmetric repetition of an individual ornamental motif that spreads in horizontal and vertical direction likewise. The second principle is a combination of geometry and symmetry. The third principle is purple color. With the exception of color, which varies in early medieval silk, draw-loom woven repeats demonstrate these compositional principles. Because textile ornament imitates these textile features, a parchment folio painted with extensible ornament composed of symmetrically arranged motifs reminds the viewer of such patterned textiles. The formal analogy between patterned silk and textile ornament is the reason why an image like the portrait of Magnericus in the Egbert Codex appears textile-like in spite of the fact that the interlace knot was borrowed from an ivory book cover or an earlier manuscript. Important is not the motif itself but that the extensible pattern evokes the compositional features of a repeat in a convincing manner. It seems futile, therefore, to scan textile ornament for information about the origin and make of silk fabrics generally, or to analyze painted textile images in order to illuminate specific material and technical characteristics of real textiles.[171] Medieval textile ornament does not display enough detail to provide such information. On the contrary, the stylized textile patterns indicate that textile ornament is a generic form of textile iconography, or, in other words, an iconographic formula that aims at representing textiles in the most general sense.

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[171] Fontana, "A Note on Some Illustrated Pages," 937, 941, suggested along such lines that the textile pages of the *Codex Aureus* are derived from a Byzantine silk, which in turn imitates an earlier Sassanian silk model. In my view, it is impossible to draw such conclusions from a painting. See further the comparison of a Byzantine Pegasus silk with an altar cloth painted in the Uta Codex in Kirchweger, "Nunc de vestibus altariis," 105. On the Uta Codex in general, see Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

In addition to extensibility and symmetry, color plays a crucial role in this form of textile iconography. Most textile pages are purple. Usually, the textile pattern is painted in two contrasting shades of purple. However, extant medieval silk displays a range of different colors, motivating us to ask what meaning the purple color in textile ornament transmitted to the viewer. One explanation for the frequent use of purple in textile pages is that purple itself functions as a visual code for textile material. Few materials other than textiles are purple. Except for porphyry and certain precious stones, the only purple materials in medieval art are purple stained parchment, and perhaps leather, and textiles. Unless stones were integrated in larger geometric pavements, porphyry and precious gems do not display extensible geometric ornament. Textiles, however, were associated with both features. Many of the textiles mentioned in medieval written sources are described as purple, although at least some must have been made of different colors. It appears that the color purple was used as topos. It is well known that the color purple had specific meaning in Byzantine society as well as in the Ottonian circles that produced textile ornament.[172] In particular, the significance of Byzantine murex-dyed silk can hardly be over-estimated.[173] The frequent occurrence of purple textiles in church inventories and other sources appears to reflect the social and political, and perhaps also symbolic, meaning associated with purple textiles.[174] In addition to the political and social privilege that the use and possession of

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[172] Andreas Petzold, "Of the Significance of Colors: The Iconography of Color in Romanesque and Early Gothic Book Illumination," in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton NJ: Index of Christian Art, 1999), 126–34. Christel Meier and Rudolf Suntrup, "Zum Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter: Einführung zu Gegenstand und Methoden sowie Probeartikel aus dem Farbenbereich 'Rot,'" *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987): 390–478.

[173] Anna Muthesius, "Silken Diplomacy," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge March 1990*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), 237–48. The travel report by Liudprand of Cremona further reveals how prestigious and valuable purple silk appeared in the eyes of western patrons. "Liudprand's Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser Nikephoros Phokas in Konstantinopel," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 525–89, esp. 573–77. Henry Mayr-Harting, "Liudprand of Cremona's Account of his Legation to Constantinople (968) and Ottonian Imperial Strategy," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001): 539–56. Jon N. Sutherland, "The Mission to Constantinople in 968 and Liudprand of Cremona," *Traditio* 31 (1975): 54–81.

[174] Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse: Erster Teil. Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Prestel, 1967). Among the entries indexed under "Purpureus" and "Rubeus," see for instance the inventory from the Benedictine nunnery in Milz, dated to 799 or 800,

purple silk implied, purple textiles were also invested with allegoric meaning, as the following chapters will show. Significant biblical textiles such as the temple veil were purple.[175] The color purple further relates to vital theological concepts like the "purple" blood of Christ that was spilled on the cross for the redemption of sin. This concept was well known to early medieval book illuminators, as the dedicatory poem of the Godescalc Gospel lectionary demonstrates.[176] That almost all textile pages in medieval manuscripts are purple is, therefore, probably not accidental. For a formal reading of textile-like ornament, purple is further crucial because it generates textile associations in the viewer's mind. In combination with an extensible symmetric pattern, the color purple is an important index for textile-likeness. In addition to composition, the color of the ornament therefore contributes to the legibility of these ornamented pages as textile iconography. In sum, the formal, iconological, and material connotations that textile ornament

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no. 56, 63–4 (*casulae purpureae duae; Altarium vestimenta purpurea; Manicae purpureae x*); the record of a donation to Bishop Burchard of Passau in 903, no. 117a, 120 (*pluviale purpureum [...], casulam purpuream siricam de sirico precioso*); and the inventory from Strassbourg Munster, dated 1181, no. 87, 92–3 (*Casule preciose [...], septem purpuree, una rubea*). Kirchweger, "Nunc de vestibus altariis," lists several examples. The eleventh-century *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium* from Trond knows of "pallio purpurei coloris" (104–5, n. 238), and two eleventh-century inventories from Abdinghof abbey in Paderborn list "offertoriola coccinea duo" (81, n. 46), and a "coopertorium analogii coccineum," (90, n. 122). "Coccinea velamina altarium" are further mentioned in a source from Wörth (90, n. 119), "pallia altarium coccinea XIIII, e quibus quattuor deaureate" in St. Emmeram, Regensburg (94, n. 147). The *Chronicon Zwiefaltense* honors Hadewic for having woven "pallam altaris rubeam" (103, n. 226). On *coccineus*, *purpureus*, and other denominations of the color purple in literary sources see Helmut Gipper, "*Purpur*," Glotta 42 (1964): 39–69, esp. 60–63. More entries on purple textiles (*purpureus* and *rubeus*) in Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen und Italien* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), esp. nos. 2716, 2784, 2841, 2844–45. See further, "Liudprand's Gesandtschaft," 573–77, and Stephan Beissel, "Gestickte und gewebte Vorhänge der römischen Kirchen in der zweiten Hälfte des VIII. und in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 12 (1894): col. 358–74, esp. 369–70.

[175] Herbert Kessler, "Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity," *Kairos* 32/33 (1990/1991): 53–77.

[176] Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar*. On purple-stained vellum as an allegory of the incarnation see Herbert Kessler, "'Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile verum': Imagining God in Pictures of Christ," in *Seeing the Invisible in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 293–328. Beat Brenk, "Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr.," in *Testo e imagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane, 41 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1994), 631–82, and chapters three and four below.

combines explain not only why most of the painted textile pages are purple, but also why they appear textile-like even if the individual motifs were borrowed from non-textile models.

Stylized and non-symmetrical patterns

Book illuminators produced a considerable number of textile pages between the late ninth and eleventh centuries. It is worth considering especially those examples that have previously received little attention to clarify how textile iconography works. The ornament in many of these textile pages is highly formulaic. One such pattern appears in the background of an image of Matthew in an early eleventh-century Gospel book now in Mainz [fig. 46].[177] The miniature displays a basic pattern of squares that are filled with quatrefoil flowers. As is the case in many other textile backgrounds, the design was painted in two different shades of purple; one is opaque and the other nearly translucent. The quatrefoil design is a common motif. Although the artistic quality of this miniature is not excellent, the pattern is clearly recognizable as textile iconography because it displays the three textile principles: extensibility, symmetry, and purple color. However, defining textile ornament as textile-like is not always so easy because not all textile pages adhere to all three principles. A textile page in a different eleventh-century Gospel book perhaps from lower Saxony demonstrates some limitations [fig. 47].[178] The image on fol. 15r shows extensible ornament composed of rosettes, but only the upper three rows are regular and symmetrical. The rosettes in the lower half of the image are awkwardly pressed into the frame and each of the medallions varies in size. Such irregularities are atypical of woven repeats where the regular design is mechanically produced. Medieval book illuminators, of course, did not work with the same precision as a mechanical draw-loom. Even the medallions painted on the marriage charter, despite their excellent planning and sophisticated execution, are not all wholly identical [fig. 2 and 57]. In some cases, artists also appear to have worked deliberate

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[177] Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Inv. Kautzsch Nr. 1 (=Nr. 974), fol. 16v. Brandt and Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, cat. no. IV–5, 2:155–156.

[178] Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9475, fol. 15r. Elisabeth Klemm, *Die Ottonischen und Frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), cat. no. 226, 1:248–50. Béatrice Hernad, "Evangeliar aus Niederalteich," in Fabian and Lange, *Pracht auf Pergament*, cat. no. 48, 222–25.

"mistakes" into the pattern, perhaps as a gesture of humility.[179] In the lower Saxon manuscript from Munich it is more likely, however, that the artist miscalculated the dimensions of the frame in relation to the rosettes and, when noticing that there was not enough space for three regular rows, solved the problem by changing the subsequent medallions into an offset pattern and reducing the medallions' sizes. Therefore, the rosette pattern is strictly speaking not symmetrical. Nonetheless, the pattern is legible as textile iconography because the ornament is purple and extensible, at least to a large extent. As long as textile ornament is purple and extends significantly in both directions it is usually not problematic to identify ornament as textile iconography. The case is different if the ornament is purple, geometric and symmetric but not extensible. Problematic are also patterns in which the motif extends only in one direction, as in the frames of the Carolingian manuscripts mentioned above [fig. 42, 43]. Although most of these geometric patterns are hypothetically extensible, they are not necessarily textile-like. This is because the ornament lacks a clear context that defines how either its iconography or meaning relates to textiles. Symmetric purple ornament that lacks extensibility makes clear that the classification of textile ornament raises questions beyond style, form, and iconography. Identifying ornament as textile iconography is also a matter of context.

The importance of context

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[179] This has been suggested by Michelle Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, 305, and Nancy Netzer, "The Origin of the Beast Canon Table Reconsidered," in *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 Sept. 1992*, ed. by Felicity O'Mahony (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994), 322–32. For an example of a deliberately altered pattern see fol. 84v of an early-twelfth century manuscript from Helmarshausen now in Trier (Domschatz, Ms. 138/64). The image of Luke depicts the evangelist seated in front of a wall hanging. The textile shows regular rosettes that are fitted into rectangular compartments. It is composed of red flowers that are outlined against a black background. At the center of each rosette appears a circle. However, in one flower positioned just above the book that the evangelist holds in his left hand, the circle in the center was filled in with black paint. In addition, a thin black line was drawn in each of the petals, making this flower stand out among all others. Since the rest of the pattern is perfectly regular, it seems that the artist deliberately added these details, perhaps to express his humble inferiority compared to God's creation, which was considered perfect. On the manuscript see Elisabeth Klemm, "Die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei von Helmarshausen bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," 465–81, and cat. no. 501, 2: 412–13 (Elisabeth Klemm) in Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik*, 2 vols. (Munich: Hirmer, 2006).

James Trilling noted once that "there is no one meaning for ornament. It all depends on the context, the culture, the function of the object."[180] Trilling came to this conclusion in a study of ornament that included material from a wide chronological scope and diverse cultural regions. Although all textile pages treated in this chapter come roughly from the same cultural context, Trilling's general observation applies to textile ornament in early medieval manuscripts just the same. The context in which textile ornament appears is crucial. Context, however, is a paradigm that demands an explanation of its own. In the following, I discuss in detail different definitions of context in relation to textile ornament based on specific case studies.

Context is an important aspect in textile ornament because it helps to decide whether ornament is textile-like or not, regardless of the style or artistic quality of a textile page. Vital for context is the ornament's iconographic *function* within a given image. If ornament, for instance, appears on a tablecloth, garment, or some other textile object that can be identified by means of traditional iconography, it is clear that the textile-like ornament indicates that the object was made of patterned cloth. Such indications usually imply that the textile object was made of a precious material, likely silk. In these cases it is easy to read textile ornament as textile iconography, because the ornament appears in a specific *iconographic context*. Medieval miniatures usually also tie into certain *iconographic conventions* that help to contextualize the ornament. In images of the evangelists, for instance, curtains, hangings, and pillows appear frequently and, as I show in the following chapter, these objects have explicit iconological meaning. Finally, the manuscript itself is a key factor for the assessment of textile ornament. The codicological structure and iconographic content of a manuscript can help to identify the function of ornament because it allows us to read textile ornament in one image in relation to other images within the same book. If a textile-patterned background in one image represents a textile curtain, it is likely that textile ornament in another image that appears in a similar iconographic and codicological context in the same book has similar meaning. Studying book illumination in relation to the codicological structure of the book in which it appears is an approach that John Lowden called "applied codicology."[181] In addition to applied codicology—

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[180] James Trilling, *The Language of Ornament* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 90.

[181] John Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 10. Also Idem, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 8, and "The Word Made Visible," 16.

or the codicological context of the manuscript as I also refer to this principle— helpful concepts are the iconographic context and iconographic conventions. The combination of all three methods into one *manuscript context* helps not only to identify ornament as textile iconography but also reveals its function and meaning.

Iconographic Context

The eleventh-century Bernward Gospels from Hildesheim provide an excellent opportunity to investigate each of these criteria for manuscript context: iconography, iconographic conventions, and codicology.[182] Like few manuscripts, the Bernward Gospels displays a rich ornamental variety. The book includes excellent examples for various types of textile ornament that can be read in different ways depending on the manuscript context.

The evangelist portrait of Matthew on fol. 19r shows in the background a curtain that is designed of v-shaped elements painted in two shades of blue and purple, which are arranged in diagonal lines [fig. 48]. Stylized golden flowers with white petals are sprinkled across the surface of the purple-colored field. On the one hand, the flowers evoke the idea of a woven repeat. On the other, their application is unsystematic and contradicts the rigid symmetry one would expect in a woven pattern. Moreover, the composition of the fabric is stylized to such an extent that it would be impossible to decipher the pattern as textile-like, or read the ornamented background as a curtain, if the pattern did not display additional iconographic details that provide the necessary context. First, the scalloped upper border that lines the purple fabric indicates that the cloth was attached to a support in six places, although hooks or similar fastening devices were not represented. The image, therefore, shows a purple fabric that falls to the ground in v-shaped diagonal folds, such as curtains often do.[183] In addition, white fringes line the bottom border of the ornament in the left and right corners of the image. In addition to the folds and the scalloped

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[182] Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 61. Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*. Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels."

[183] Elisabeth Klemm also observed that the ornamented backgrounds in other Saxon evangelist portraits are only recognizable as textiles because of the way they are shown to be hanging against a wall. Elisabeth Klemm, "Beobachtungen zur Buchmalerei von Helmarshausen am Beispiel des Evangelistenbildes," in *Helmarshausen und das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen. Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposion in Braunschweig und Helmarshausen vom 9. Oktober–11. Oktober 1985*, ed. Martin Gosebruch und Frank Steigerwald (Göttingen: Goltze, 1992), 133–64, esp. 136.

upper seam, which is further decorated with a blue and white ornamental border, the fringes are typical features of textiles. In sum, these iconographic details allow the viewer to identify the rather abstract ornament as a textile curtain. We can conclude from the curtain in the image of Matthew that stylized and formulaic representations of textiles pose no problems, so long as they are embedded in a meaningful iconographic context. What is never possible in such images, however, is to identify the quality of the cloth. While the evocation of a repeat and the purple color suggest that the curtain in the image of Matthew was supposed to represent a precious cloth, it remains an open question whether the artist had an embroidered linen in mind, a Byzantine silk, or any other patterned textile.

Similar issues are raised by the depiction of garments, tablecloths, curtains, and other textiles in narrative miniatures. In most of these depictions, the textile pattern is highly formulaic and all but vaguely resembles the repeat of a real silk. Examples from the Bernward Gospels are Bernward's liturgical garments and the mantles of the three magi in the miniatures on fols. 16v and 18r [figs. 49 and 50].[184] An earlier example for a highly stylized textile dress is the garment of the Virgin in the Gellone Sacramentary [fig. 51].[185] In all three cases the ornament can be recognized as textile-like because it is contextualized in the image's iconographic context. In both miniatures, the formulaic depictions bear only a few clues concerning the quality of the cloths depicted. In early medieval book illumination, embroidered linen, ornamented wool, and woven silk all look the same. In addition, almost all textiles represented in these images magnify the proportions of the repeat in relation to the size of the object. This is especially clear in the image from the Gellone Sacramentary. A repeat as gigantic as the one represented in Mary's garment is not common in real textiles from the early Middle Ages. It appears that the book illuminator enlarged the repeat motif in order to draw attention to the precious character of the cloth.

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[184] Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, 5, 6.

[185] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12084, fol. 1v. Laffitte and Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens*, cat. no. 7, 79–83, esp. 79. Compare also the tunic of Charles the Bald in the Codex Aureus of Saint Emmeram, fol. 16v; the temple curtain in fol. 331 of the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in Florentine Mütherich and Joachim Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York: Braziller, 1976), pls. 36, 45, and the dress of St. Margaret in a late twelfth-century manuscript from Cologne, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in *Ornamenta Ecclesia: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik,* ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), cat. no. E 89, 2:313. The same arrow pattern appears in the image of Maternus in the Egbert Psalter. See fig. 41.

Iconographic Tradition

Not all textile ornament is contextualized in an iconographic context as easily identifiable as with the garment of the Virgin in the Gellone Sacramentary or the curtain in the image of Mark in the Berward Gospels. The evangelist portrait of John, fol. 175v of the Bernward Gospels shows a different pattern in the background [fig. 52]. John is seated in the lower register, beneath an image of the Ascension.[186] The medallion ornament behind his back is characterized by extensibility, symmetry and purple color. These features suggest that the ornament represents a curtain or wall hanging. However, the image lacks additional iconographic details that clearly support this identification. Nonetheless, it is possible to read the ornament as a textile because the image can be placed into a larger context. Additional images in the same manuscript, such as the portrait of Matthew, as well as iconographic conventions concerning evangelist portraits more broadly, help to identify the medallion ornament as a curtain or wall hanging.

A look at evangelist portraits clarifies how the context provided by iconographic conventions helps to identify ornament as textile iconography. Curtains and textiles more generally are a common iconographic theme in evangelist portraits throughout the Middle Ages.[187] Usually, the evangelist is shown between two parted curtains, as in the Pericopes of Henry II [fig. 53].[188] One reason for the popularity of textile motifs in evangelist iconography is that these curtains have specific symbolic meaning, which I discuss in chapter two. Pictorial conventions such as the curtain in evangelist images provide useful guidelines for identifying textile ornament in images that lack a clear iconographic context. Because evangelist portraits usually include textile themes, it is likely that the extensible purple medallion pattern in the image of John in the Bernward Gospels also represents a sort of curtain or wall hanging. If certain motifs are characteristic of a specific iconographic genre, the context generated by

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[186] On the motif of the "disappearing Christ" in this image see Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images" *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 518–46.

[187] Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis – revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982).

[188] Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452, fol. 3v. Fabian and Lange, *Pracht auf Pergament*, cat. no. 36, 176—80, with further bibliography.

iconographic conventions further facilitates the identification of textile patterns that are extensible, but not purple. Non-purple textile pages in early medieval manuscripts are rare, but there are some examples, such as the evangelist portrait of Luke in a mid-eleventh century Gospel book from Hildesheim or Paderborn now in Berlin [fig. 54].[189] The image is an evangelist portrait and because textile curtains are a typical attribute in this iconographic genre, the extensible pattern behind the figure of Luke must allude to one such curtain even though the flat geometric design shows neither hooks nor a scalloped border and lacks purple color.

Manuscript Context

      In some cases, however, the textile character of the ornament remains ambiguous, because it is unclear how the ornament relates to an iconographic context and because there is no apparent link to iconographic conventions either. These images can be tested against the context that is supplied by the manuscript itself and can be read in relation to ornament used in similar ways in other miniatures in the same book. The Bernward Gospels illustrates this point as well. We have already seen that a curtain is depicted in the portrait of Matthew [fig. 48]. The evangelist Luke on fol. 118v is seated in a similar interior space and the background of the image is equally covered with a purple cloth [fig. 55]. In both miniatures, the formulaic ornamental design can be identified as a stylized depiction of a curtain because the artist indicated the hanging mechanisms, painted borders and drapery folds. The case was different in the image of John [fig. 52]. Also the portrait of Mark on fol. 76r lacks clear indications that the pattern painted behind the evangelist's back represents a curtain [fig. 56]. Mark is shown in the lower register of the miniature in front of a background design that is composed of horizontal stripes in blue, purple, and minium with additional black contour lines. Of all the evangelist portraits in the Bernward Gospels, Mark's poses the most problems in terms of identifying the background of the image as textile-like. Although the striped pattern displays the principles of extensibility, symmetry and purple color, its design is so generic that textile iconography is not immediately apparent. Some striped medieval textiles are extant, but as a pictorial code for textile

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[189] Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 1, fol. 77v. The evangelist is seated in front of a turquoise pattern composed of vertical rows of lozenges and circles that are peppered with minium colored flowers and dots. On this manuscript see Elisabeth Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa*, cat. no. 448, 2:340–41 (Elisabeth Klemm). Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die Paderborner Schreibschule im 11. Jahrhundert" in ibid.,1:449–64.

iconography the striped pattern is not as clear as, for example, a medallion design.[190] However, comparing the image of Mark with the other evangelist portraits in the Bernward Gospels, all of which show textile curtains in the background, suggests that the striped pattern in Mark has the same iconographic meaning. In addition to the iconographic context provided by the manuscript itself, iconographic conventions of evangelist imagery more generally also imply such a reading. One problem remains, however. The portrait of Mark is not the only image in the Bernward Gospels that shows a striped background. Other miniatures display the same motif, but it is unclear what the motif means in each of these cases.[191] While it is not certain, therefore, that the striped design in the image of Mark represents a curtain, the manuscript context still supports such a reading. Since all other evangelist images in the Bernward Gospels are equipped with patterned backgrounds that represent textile curtains, it is unlikely that the striped ornament in the portrait of Mark represents something different.

The difficulties with classifying the striped textile design in the miniature of Mark raise larger questions concerning the perception of ornament now and during the medieval period. A medieval viewer may not have had the same difficulties identifying the iconography of the striped ornament as textile-like as I do. How the medieval audience perceived and read textile ornament has not previously been an issue in the scholarship. On the contrary, formal analysis of textile ornament and the comparisons between painted ornament and existing silk fragments have been guided by modern definitions of mimesis and implied notions of copying that are not consonant with medieval ideas of likeness. Because textile ornament is essentially a pictorial code characterized by the three principles of extensibility, symmetry, and purple color, I argue that a medieval audience easily recognized any formulaic textile page as textile-like, not just the "naturalistic" ones. If we want to understand what textile ornament does and how it functions it is less important what textile ornament looks like in the eyes of modern viewers. The question is, rather, why an illuminated manuscript page would appear textile-like to the *medieval* audience.

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[190] For a striped textile see the twelfth or thirteenth-century Egyptian or Spanish silk that survived in an eleventh-century manuscript from Salzburg. Karl-Georg Pfändtner, "Salzburger Perikopenbuch (Evangelistar), in Fabian and Lange, *Pracht auf Pergament*, 106–110, esp. 110.

[191] On the meaning and function of ornament in the Bernward Gospels in general see Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels."

Medieval concepts of likeness

In order to reconstruct how medieval viewers approached textile ornament, it is useful to remember that medieval painterly conventions and especially the medieval idea of copying differ considerably from modern notions of likeness. In his *Stilfragen*, first published in 1893, Alois Riegl demonstrated that the genesis of new oramental forms—in his case the acanthus leaf—is not initiated by "copying nature more or less mindlessly."[192] Instead, Riegl showed that ornament follows its own artistic principles. The creative and innovative combination of forms is one crucial factor in the development of ornament.[193] Another is stylization,[194] and finally he showed that artists in the premodern era copied the ornamental repertoire of earlier masters rather than copying from nature.[195] While Riegl's observations were based on ancient, Byzantine, and Islamic art, his conclusions also apply to ornament made in the tenth and eleventh-century West. Western Medieval artists likewise did not define the relationship between prototype and copy according to the same naturalistic standards of representation that influenced the modern idea of mimesis. The medieval concept of copying rather relies on a system of codified signs.[196] Richard Krautheimer demonstrated in a seminal essay that instead of copying the tomb rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre wholesale—as would be expected of a modern copy— the mark of a good medieval replica were few codified formal elements like columns and a central ground plan.[197] While few of the replicas of the Holy Sepulchre would look like good

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[192] "Das ornamentale Kunstschaffen in der Antike ging ganz andere, wesentlich künstlerischere Wege, als ein mehr oder minder geistloses Abschreiben der Natur." Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Munich: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1985), 230—33, cit. 232.

[193] See for instance Riegl's discussion of Mycenaean art, 112—150, esp. 118—19, 133.

[194] Riegl, Stilfragen, 44, 208—33, 267. Riegl notes, however, 261, that stylized ornament often preserves remnants of the motif that inspired its form. See also James Trilling, "Late Antique and Sub-Antique, or the 'Decline of Form' Reconsidered," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 469–76. John Onians, "Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity," *Art History* 3 (1980): 1–23.

[195] Riegl, Stilfragen, 45.

[196] See the essays by Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance European Illuminated Manuscripts," 61–72, and Gary Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," 47–59 in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, ed. Kathleen Preciado (Washington, 1989).

[197] Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. On replicas of the Holy Sepulchre and the more recent reception of Krautheimer's essay see Robert Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in

copies to us, they were certainly considered successful replicas in the Middle Ages. Moreover, recent scholarship has drawn attention to different modes of perception that distinguish our modern ways of seeing from pre-modern concepts of visuality.[198] Trilling, for instance, argued that the medieval audience was not only used to, but also expected to mentally fill in those mimetic details that the artist deliberately omitted from their images.[199] Especially in the early Middle Ages, schematic and formulaic representations were the norm.[200] This is not to say that medieval artists were incapable of making decent copies. On the contrary, Ottonian imitations of Carolingian manuscripts show that medieval artists were capable of imitating a prototype with considerable accuracy so that some of these copies appear "truthful" even in the eyes of modern viewers.[201] However, creating a mimetically "correct" image according to Greco-Roman standards of mimesis was not usually a concern to medieval artists. What mattered was that the copy enabled the viewer to recognize the prototype. For a model-copy relationship defined in this way it is not important that the replica looked exactly like its prototype, but that certain key

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Bologna," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 311–21, and idem, "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Special Issue of *Jewish Art*, 23/24 (1997–1998): 393–404. Catherine Carver McCurrach, "'Renovatio' Reconsidered: Richard Krautheimer and the Iconography of Architecture," *Gesta* 50 (2011): 41–69.

[198] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). John Onians, *Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). Whitney Davis, "Neurovisuality," *Nonsite.org,* no. 2 (2011). Robert S. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[199] James Trilling, "Medieval Art without Style? Plato's Loophole and a Modern Detour," *Gesta* 34 (1995): 57–62, esp. 60. Onians, "Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity."

[200] Madeline H. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," *Gesta* 22 (1983), 99–120.

[201] The image of Christ from the Carolingian Lorsch Gospels were copied by three different tenth-century artists for the Gero Codex, the Guntbald Gospels, and the Petershausen Sacramentary. In all three cases the copy clearly identifies its prototype. I discuss some of these books again in chapter three. Matthias Exner, *Das Guntbald-Evangeliar: Ein ottonischer Bilderzyklus und sein Zeugniswert für die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Lorscher Evangeliars* (Regensburg: Schnell&Steiner, 2008). On copying in the Ottonian period see further Kahsnitz, "Frühottonische Buchmalerei."

signs identified an object or an image as what it was supposed to represent. In addition to Riegl's reading of the evolution of ornamental forms as a creative process of artistic imagination, in which the imitation of nature plays only a minor role, such a medieval notion of likeness explains why most painted textile ornament in medieval manuscripts is schematic. To the eyes of a medieval viewer schematic textile patterns evoked the designs of real silk repeats. The three key principles, extensibility, symmetry, and purple color, were enough to identify ornament as textile iconography. As the following example will show, only in rare cases was mimesis a factor in the creation of a textile pattern.

A distinct form of appropriation and iconological interpretation of ornament: the marriage charter

My analysis of textile ornament so far has excluded one important piece of evidence, the marriage charter that Otto II had drawn up for his Byzantine bride, Theophanu [figs. 2 and 57].[202] This object deserves special attention because it shows not only how textile ornament was conceived in the Ottonian period, but also how its iconography was shaped by function. The marriage charter was made of several pieces of parchment that were glued together and painted. This official court document is one of the most sophisticated examples of textile ornament from the Ottonian period in terms of the design, painterly execution, and conceptual intention. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the marriage charter because this object combines issues concerning the model-copy relationship with the iconology of individual textile-like motifs, a problem that I have not yet discussed.

The marriage charter was painted on the occasion of the imperial wedding in 972 in a workshop that remains to be identified.[203] It is beyond question that the purple medallion pattern

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[202] Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 6 Urk. 11. Schulze, *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu.*

[203] On a discussion of the charter's date see Cutler and North, "Word over Image," 180–81. It is unclear where the marriage charter was made. Florentine Mütherich and Hermann Fillitz argued for Rome as a possible place of origin. Hermann Fillitz, "Die Europäischen Wurzeln der Ottonischen Kunst in Sachsen," in *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Ausstellung "Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa,"* ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), 321–43, esp. 329–30, with reference to the previous literature. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum,* 1:10–11, 73, 103–16, proposed that the charter was illuminated north of the Alps, perhaps by the Master of the Registrum Gregorii.

resembles the look of roughly contemporary Byzantine medallion silks. As Anton von Euw and others have shown, however, the medallions that are inhabited with animals entangled in combat are not unique to Byzantine silk but also appear in different media, such as ivory.[204] Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen's proposition that the medallion design is not the copy of a silk repeat at all but a genuine Ottonian invention is especially important.[205] Westermann-Angerhausen acknowledged that the specific animal motif displayed on the charter was "not imported from afar" but created by an Ottonian artist.[206] She considered the Ottonian style variable and the illuminators flexible enough to forge their own version of a "foreign idiom."[207] Thinking of the marriage charter as the product of an Ottonian atelier usefully steered research on the marriage charter away from the model-copy question that dominated much of the previous scholarship. Anthony Cutler and William North in particular expanded Westermann-Angerhausen's initial idea and offered a convincing iconological reading of the charter's medallion design. They noted that the drawings of intertwined animals in the medallions "bore some resemblance to the representation of beasts found on Eastern silks, [but] the drawings in the *Heiratsurkunde* diverged from such models in that the animals (lions and griffins) seemed to be holding their victims affectionately rather than attacking them, and their victims likewise seemed to offer themselves to their captors" [fig. 57].[208] Contrary to earlier scholarship that focused on Ottonian anti-Byzantine polemics, Cutler and North read the embracing animals on the marriage charter as "alterations in the traditional motifs of animal combat [which] were designed to evoke the new,

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[204] See for instance Anton von Euw, "Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde."

[205] Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spuren der Theophanu," 196, 200. Also Dieter Matthes, *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung Beiheft 16 (Wolfenbüttel, 1972), 49.

[206] Westermann-Angerhausen concluded that "not a member of the 'invasion of Greek artists of Theophanu's entourage' was at work here [on the charter], but an Ottonian painter who was perhaps trained in Trier and had knowledge of Carolingian models." Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spuren der Theophanu," 200.

[207] "Hier geschieht keine passive Überfremdung durch von aussen kommende Vorbilder, sondern die eigene Stilsprache erweist sich als so elastisch und ausbaufähig, dass sie mit ihren eigenen Mitteln ein fremdes Idiom gleichsam simulieren kann." Ibid., 200.

[208] Westermann-Angerhausen, "Spuren der Theophanu,"173. Compare further Dieter Matthes, *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu 972 April 14* (Stuttgart: Müller & Schindler, 1980), 10–11.

amicable relationship between the two empires that was ushered in by the union of Theophanu and Otto II."[209]

As important as the ramifications that such an iconological reading has for our understanding of Ottonian-Byzantine relations, Cutler and North's recent re-evaluation affirms that textile ornament made by Ottonian artists is not an imitation of Byzantine luxury silk. On the contrary, Cutler and North's analysis shows that the "driving artistic impulses" that generated the marriage charter's design "though perhaps distantly inspired by Eastern objects, were thoroughly Ottonian rather than essentially Byzantine."[210] Cutler and North's reading of the iconology of the medallion design implies that the makers of the charter never intended to copy the repeat of a Byzantine silk. On the contrary, while clearly alluding to Byzantine aesthetics and a Byzantine luxury product, the marriage charter is perhaps the best illustration that Ottonian artists, though inspired by artistic products made in foreign lands, were not interested in copying these sources wholesale.

It is also noteworthy that Cutler and North kept the object's function in mind when re-assessing the textile design of the marriage charter.[211] By linking the meaning of the ornament with political intentions, the authors demonstrated that textile ornament is not merely a matter of decoration (although the authors use this term), but serves more complex functions.[212] The marriage charter demonstrates that ornament generates specific meaning and conveys conceptual messages.[213] In accordance with Westermann-Angerhausen, Cutler and North state that "the origin of the charter's unique decorative scheme lay not, as had long been assumed, in the slavish imitation of exotic motifs and materials from the East but rather in the imaginative and creative

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[209] Cutler and North, "Word over Image," 173.

[210] Ibid., 175.

[211] On the charter's function as visual propaganda see Cutler and North, "Word over Image," 180–85.

[212] "Décor," 176. "Decorative program," 175.

[213] In terms of the function of ornament, the marriage charter is an unusual example, not least because its textile ornament was so clearly created with a specific intention in mind. I am not aware of any another case where the iconography of the design of the textile motif itself bears comparable political meaning. It is only because the document was produced within unusually clear historic parameters that such a reading of the animal combat motif is possible at all.

use, alteration, and combination by Ottonian artists of patterns and imagery drawn from a broad range of objects inherited from and produced by craftsmen and artists of the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires, […] and the Muslim East."[214] The medallion design of the marriage charter evokes the look of Byzantine luxury silk but appropriates the textile pattern in an intelligent way to satisfy a political agenda.[215]

Naturalism, painterly execution and iconological meaning

As Florentine Mütherich observed long ago, the medallion pattern of the charter exhibits great iconographic detail and reveals the painter's extraordinary skill.[216] The exquisitely painted medallions outweigh by far such crude formulaic compositions as those made at Mainz, Corvey, or elsewhere, and contrast further with the workmanship of the Echternach illuminators who made the Codex Aureus. The sophisticated execution of the charter was probably not only due to the artist's unusual skill, but also appears to have served a specific function. In order to convey a specific political message to the court, the details of the animal motif *needed* to be legible. In contrast to the stylized textile pages produced elsewhere, textile iconography on the marriage

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[214] Cutler and North, "Word Over Image," 173.

[215] Cutler and North suggest that the marriage charter legitimized and authorized the union between Otto II and Theophanu despite Theophanu's disappointing pedigree, since she was not the promised purple-born princess. The authors argue that the marriage charter was already painted but text-less by the time Theophanu arrived. This somewhat contradicts their reading of the animal motif in the medallions as particularly suggestive of a "loving relationship," a point that needed to be stressed, they argue, when the true identity of the bride was revealed at her arrival and Ottonian voices demanded her rejection. The authors suggest that the text was written in Rome, posterior to the bride's arrival and after it was clear that she was not the desired princess (181). However, this scenario implies that the meaning of the medallion design, according to Cuther and North's argument, was already fixed prior to the circumstances that supposedly inspired its iconology. In this case, the medallion pattern was designed with the purple-born princess Anna in mind and not made specifically for the union with Theophanu that needed special legitimation. According to this interpretation, the visual program of the charter that demonstrates harmony between the Byzantine and Ottonian empires has nothing to do with Theophanu being the wrong bride. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is not relevant whether the design was made with Anna in mind or Theophanu. Important is that the textile ornament is an Ottonian adaptation of Byzantine aesthetics and that the medallion motif was created by an Ottonian artist and imbued with specific meaning. Compare Cutler and North, "Word Over Image," 179–82.

[216] "The style of the purple leaf in Wolfenbüttel is, however, different from that of the manuscripts in our group; all details are finer, more delicate and elaborate." Florentine Mütherich, "Ottonian Art: Changing Aspects," in *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Ida E. Rubin (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 1:27–39, esp. 38.

charter is not a general allusion to precious textile material, but the pattern conveys specific iconological meaning. The animal embrace encoded in the medallions infuses the textile pattern with political propaganda. This implies that textile ornament on the marriage charter would not work if it were formulaic or non-figural. On the contrary, the transmission of a political message depended on the naturalistic design of the animal motif and its excellent artistic execution. The design had to be specific enough that the viewers were able to make out the subtle differences that distinguish the Ottonian beasts from Byzantine animal combat motifs. No other Ottonian artist produced textile ornament that displays comparable iconographic detail. Occasionally, artists depicted lions, griffins and other animals in textile patterns, but none of these compositions appear to generate specific iconological meaning and such interpretations should be treated with caution unless they can be contextualized convincingly.

Conclusion

That individual motifs in textile ornament usually lack iconological significance is not to say that textile ornament in general lacks iconological meaning. As I stated in the introduction, it is the purpose of this dissertation to show that textile ornament has meaning beyond its apparent decorative function. Before turning to specific case studies in chapters two to four that addresses the meaning and function of textile ornament in greater detail, several conclusions can be drawn from the present chapter. While some unusual textile-ornamented objects like the marriage charter and the initial page from the Bernward Gospels [fig. 8] suggest that medieval painters closely studied the repeats of Byzantine and Islamic silk, the bulk of the material demonstrates that textile iconography in medieval manuscripts is no more naturalistic and no less schematic than any other iconographic motif. Depending on the conceptual program, artists appropriated repeats, invented their own "repeat" patterns, and painted formulaic textile-like ornaments that evoke the visual quality of precious cloth in the most stylized terms. That most textile pages employ the color purple can be explained by the social, political, economic, and allegoric significance of purple textiles in medieval secular and religious society. The embracing animals of the marriage charter have shown that some patterns have meaning beyond a general textile evocation, but in most cases textile ornament is an iconographic code. Finally, defining the meaning and function of textile iconography depends on context. The ornament's iconographic context, its correspondence with iconographic conventions and its placement within the codicological structure of a manuscript shed light on the function and allegoric meaning of

individual textile pages. One form of allegoric meaning is the notion that scripture is a veil of revelation, and how textile pages at the beginning of each of the four Gospels relate to this concept will be the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 2 : Textile Ornament as a Veil of Revelation

Introduction: Ornament as threshold symbol

While the previous chapter was concerned with textile iconography, the following considerations investigate the function and meaning of textile ornament in specific manuscript contexts of early medieval liturgical books. This chapter argues that textile ornament serves three major functions in early medieval Gospel books. First, textile ornament, especially at the beginning of manuscripts and in evangelist portraits, visually marks a threshold that reminds the readers to approach scripture in a spiritual sense. I argue that textile ornament in the context of evangelist portraits and Gospel openings address the issue of a literal versus allegorical reading of scripture. Second, textile pages address the anxiety of picturing God. Reading textile pages and textile backgrounds in evangelist portraits as metaphoric veils, I propose that textile-ornament in medieval Gospel books visualizes the problem of making visible the invisible Divine. Finally, textile-ornamented folios evoke the metaphor of a veil of revelation not only through visual ornamentation but also in a physical and material sense. Therefore, I suggest further that textile ornament turns parchment pages in medieval Gospel books into a form of physical curtain that function as a material prop, which facilitates the readers' contemplative approach to scripture.

How the faithful may approach the immaterial and invisible divine was one of the most fundamental theological problems in medieval Christianity. Medieval artists devised a range of pictorial and artistic strategies that addressed the issue of visualizing God's invisibility through art.[217] Among a wide range of pictorial solutions, non-figurative ornamentation is one approach

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[217] The following suggested readings are a small selection from the vast literature. Herbert Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). Eric Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002). Beate Fricke, *Ecce fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (Paderborn: W. Fink, 2007). Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990). Idem, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998). David Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung: Visionsdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2008). Robert Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana and Chicago: 1990). Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*

that is useful to explore in order to explain the function of textile ornament in medieval Gospel books. In chapter one I analyzed textile ornament from an iconographic perspective and noted that textile iconography shares formal features with non-figurative extensible ornamentation that also occurs on book covers, church portals, choirs screens, floor mosaics, and other objects. Textile pages share not only formal characteristics with these objects but also relate conceptually to portals, chancel barriers, and other threshold markers. Architectural elements covered in extensible ornament were frequently placed in spaces where people passed between spaces.[218] The ornamented marble transenna panels from Schänis in Switzerland, for example, were situated before the choir and marked the space where the clergy physically transitioned between the profane and the sacred zones of the church [fig. 58].[219] Ornamented book covers similarly mark a threshold where the reader crosses from an external space into the interior realm of the book, as do textile-ornamented folios [fig. 59 and 60].[220] As I argue in what follows, passing through such a threshold is not only a matter of physical movement but also entails a cognitive

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(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). Eadem, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

[218] Sharon E. J. Gerstel (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West* (Cambridge,MA: Dumbarton Oaks/Harvard University Press, 2007).

[219] Schänis, Stiftskirche St. Sebastian, ca. 820. Guido Faccani, "'Geflecht mit Gewürm:' Karolingische Bauplastik und ihr Dekor," in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz*, ed. Markus Riek, Jürg Goll and Georges Descœudres (Sulgen: Benteli, 2013), 128–45. Katrin Roth-Rubi, "Die Flechtwerkskulptur Churrätiens – Müstair, Chur, Schänis," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2010): 9–28.

[220] One leaf from a pair of book covers from the Sion treasure, likely made at Constantinople in the third quarter of the sixth century, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, BZ 1963.36.9. Ernst Kitzinger, "A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1974), 3–17. Michelle P. Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000*, Exhibition catalogue, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC, October 21, 2006—January 7, 2007 (Washington DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2006), cat. no. 66, 303–4, with more literature. London, British Library, Cotton Ms Nero D.IV (Lindisfarne Gospels), fol. 2v, prefatory cross-carpet page. Michelle Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

and affective transformation. Accessing spiritual space and seeing with the eyes of the mind requires the reader to change modes of perception. In order to investigate the role ornament plays in this transformation, it is useful to take a closer look at the formal and functional parallels between architectural ornament and textile pages.

Ornamented thresholds in medieval art

      The early medieval tradition of distinguishing thresholds by marking them with ornament appears to have roots in antique artistic and folkloristic practice. Evil spirits were thought to live in alleyways, doors, and other passages so that these liminal spaces needed protection.[221] Intricate ornamentation distracted and captured the spirits.[222] Floor mosaics, therefore, were frequently ornamented with non-figurative geometric patterns, often including magical knots that served apotropaic functions. Writing on the fifth-century floor mosaics in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, Ernst Kitzinger noted that the ancient fear of the evil eye survived well into the Christian era.[223] Taking note of the antique custom of trapping evil spirits in magical knots, Kitzinger read a geometric floor panel with an Ichthys formula and a Solomon's knot as an apotropaic device that was mounted in the space where people passed in and out of the grotto [fig. 61].[224] The object demonstrates that not only the architectural passage to the sacred place of Christ's birth needed special protection, but also the people who transitioned through it.

      James Trilling has made a similar apotropaic argument for interlace ornament, which appears in diverse cultural contexts throughout the Middle Ages on mosaic floors, portals of medieval churches, tomb stones, and—as we saw in chapter one—in textile pages. Trilling read

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[221] Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 312–13.

[222] E. Douglas van Buren, "The Guardians of the Gate in the Akkadian Period," *Orientalia*, n.s. 16 (1947): 312–32. Josef Engemann, "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1975): 28–48, esp. 42.

[223] On apotropaic knots in Christian late antiquity also Henry Maguire "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 215—224.

[224] Ernst Kitzinger, "The Threshold of the Holy Shrine: Observations on Floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift für Johannes Quasten* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), ed. Patrick Grünfeld and Josef A. Jungmann, 2:639–647.

interlace ornamentation, especially if it appears in liminal locations on frames or doors, as an efficacious symbol that repels evil spirits. [225] While such apotropaic readings of ornament widen our understanding of the function and meaning of non-figurative ornament, it is worth noting that Trilling and Kitzinger applied these ideas not only to architectural settings but also to medieval manuscripts, which they characterized as objects that demarcate or incorporate thresholds. Trilling read ornamented frontispieces as "doorways" that need protection, which artists provided by painting interlace ornamentation on the pages at the beginning and end of a manuscript, such as in the Lindisfarne Gospels [fig. 60].[226]

Victor Elbern noted that the tree of life is a common ornamental motif that appears on liminal objects, and he read it as a threshold symbol.[227] The tree of life appears not only on medieval book covers but also on doors, tombstones, transenna panels, and ambo frontals. In addition to numerous examples surviving from Byzantium and Italy, stone slabs carved with the tree of life are extant north of the Alps, for example in Switzerland at Schänis, Dissentis, Romainmôutier, and on the seventh or eighth-century ambo fragment from the Abbey of Saint Maurice [fig. 62].[228] Elbern argued that early medieval transenna panels and *cancelli* ornamented with the symbol of the tree of life drew attention not only to the architectural function these building parts served as barriers, but also highlighted their conceptual intention to mediate between the sacred and the profane.[229] The conclusions Elbern drew from the use of this symbol

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[225] James Trilling, "Medieval Interlace Ornament: The Making of a Cross-Cultural Idiom," *Arte Medievale* 9 (1995): 59–86.

[226] Trilling, "Interlace," 74–75. For the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cott. Nero D IV) see also Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*.

[227] Victor H. Elbern, "Zierseiten in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters als Zeichen sakraler Abgrenzung," in *Der Begriff der repraesentatio im Mittelalter: Stellvertretung, Symbol, Zeichen, Bild*, ed. Albert Zimmermann (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1971), 340–356, esp. 342.

[228] Lower part of an ambo frontal, Klosterkirche St. Maurice, Markus Riek, Jürg Goll, and Georges Descœudres (eds.), *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz* (Bern: Benteli, 2013), 143. Faccani, "'Geflecht mit Gewürm." Roth-Rubi, "Die Flechtwerkskulptur Churrätiens."

[229] Elbern, "Zierseiten," 346. For other approaches to the function and meaning of ornament see idem, "Das Engerer Bursenreliquiar und die Zierkunst des frühen Mittelalters," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 10 (1971): 41–102. Also idem, "Bildstruktur–Sinnzeichen–Bildaussage: Zusammenfassende Studie zur unfigürlichen Ikonographie im frühen Mittelalter," *Arte medievale* 1 (1983): 17–37.

on both architectural decoration and medieval manuscripts, and his thoughts on ornament as a threshold marker more generally, are also useful for the material that I discuss in this chapter. Symbolizing eternal life, the foliated cross was a particularly apt motif to be placed at the threshold that leads into the sanctuary. On the cover of a medieval manuscript, the tree of life identifies the book as a liminal object. Kitzinger, for example, interpreted the ornamented silver covers of a medieval manuscript from the Sion treasure and now at Dumbarton Oaks as gateways, in particular because they show the symbol of the tree of life [fig. 59].[230] He further likened the threshold function of this cover to such other liminal objects as doors.[231] Elbern further demonstrated that artists highlighted the thresholds that open inside the books with ornamentation. In addition to book covers, he compared illuminated frontispieces of medieval manuscripts to ornamented transenna panels and argued that ornamentation serves a similar function in both cases. The ornament indicates to the viewers that they are about to transition from their own worldly space into a spiritual sphere.[232] Recent literature has taken up the idea that illuminated manuscripts are spatial objects and that opening a book leads the readers physically and conceptually into a different space.[233] It is worth noting that Elbern defined the

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[230] Kitzinger, "A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure," 13.

[231] Kitzinger did not illustrate any comparanda, but examples for ornamented doors can be found in Elbern, "Zierseiten." See also Marc Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1986). Romuald Bauerreis, *Das Lebenszeichen: Studien zur Frühgeschichte des griechischen Kreuzes und zur Ikonographie des frühen Kirchenportals* (Munich: Birkenverlag, 1961), esp. 19—21 and 51—23. Idem, *Arbor vitae: der "Lebensbaum" und seine Verwendung in Liturgie, Kunst und Brauchtum des Abendlandes* (Munich: Neuer Filser-Verlag, 1938). Kitzinger further mentioned the frontispieces of the Leo Bible (Vatican Library, Ms. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 2r–3v), which also show the tree of life, but he illustrates these primarily for drawing an iconographic parallel between ornamental motifs on the covers and ornamented frontispieces inside a manuscript. He suggested, 17, that this ornamental motif first appeared on the outside of books and was later copied for frontispieces. For a similar interpretation of the book cover as "gateway to the Word of God," see Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), 58.

[232] Elbern, "Zierseiten," 345–46. It is this passageway into a sacred space that, according to Trilling, needed special protection. Trilling, "Interlace," 75, 77.

[233] Bruno Reudenbach, "Heilsräume: Die künstlerische Vergegenwärtigung des Jenseits im Mittelalter," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1998), 628–40. Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch, "Der Codex als Bühne: Zum Szenenwandel beim Blättern in der Handschrift," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009): 76–93, has drawn

threshold function ornament serves in architectural decoration and manuscripts as simultaneously limiting (begrenzend) and revealing (eröffnend).[234] As ornamented manuscript pages that are designed to look like textile curtains show, textile ornament in medieval Gospel books operates in a similar way. The material that I present in the following has never been analyzed comprehensively, but it has been noted occasionally that textile-ornamented pages conceptually evoke a curtain that can be read allegorically as a veil that mediates between the corporeal and the spiritual realms.[235] Discussing ornamented "carpet pages" in medieval Hebrew biblical manuscripts, Christopher de Hamel noted for example that "turning a group of carpet pages is like lifting layers of precious textile before revealing the sacred text."[236] Robert Calkins further noted that textile pages "also recall the pair of curtains pulled aside to reveal the seated Evangelists within their architectural settings in each of their portraits. When these pages are

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attention to the way in which the spaces of various illuminated pages in one book connect with one another. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Openings," in *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe: Papers of a Conference Held at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, 29–31 May, 2008* (Victoria: Macmillan, 2009), 51–129. See also my discussion of David Ganz's and Wolfgang Christian Schneider's contributions below.

[234] Elbern, "Zierseiten," 344.

[235] The most noteworthy contribution is Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain: On the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161–89, esp. 164–166. In the older literature the notion of textile pages as veils occurs, for example, in Peter Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach im Germanischen National-Museum zu Nürnberg: Codex Aureus Epternacensis* (Munich: Prestel, 1956), 50. More recently, see also Anja Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol: Die sogenannten 'Teppichseiten' des Codex aureus von Echternach im Kontext von Buchmalerei und Textilkunst," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 55–74. Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 91–94, read the ornamented pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels as veils. Eberlein's important study on the curtain in medieval art contributes useful ideas for the interpretation of textile pages, but does not cover this material. Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis–revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982).

[236] Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 45.

turned, the Word of God is similarly unveiled."[237] Calkins also observed that "textile or 'curtain' pages serve as introductory shrouds or 'covers' to each of the Gospels."[238]

The previous literature, however, did not analyze any further this veiling function that textile ornament appears to take. A brief survey of various types of textile pages and the different iconographic and manuscript contexts in which they appear helps to clarify where the textile pages are situated in the books and prepares the ground for an interpretation of what these pages do.

Textile ornament in the context of the early medieval Gospel book: five types

In many of the Ottonian manuscripts with textile ornamentation, textile patterns appear either in the background of evangelist images, or take the form of textile pages that face the author portraits. In some manuscripts, textile pages precede the evangelist portrait or they follow on the next page. Others exhibit textile ornament on the initial or incipit pages. Most important in all cases is that textile ornament draws attention to the beginnings of each of the four Gospels. The material can be grouped into five types. A representative example for textile ornament of the first group is fol. 16v of a little-known eleventh-century Gospel book now in Mainz. [239] The evangelist portrait shows Matthew seated in front of a textile hanging or curtain that covers most of the background [fig. 63]. The key feature of this first group of images is the combination of textile motif and evangelist portrait in one miniature. A variant of such textile-ornamented evangelist portraits appear in the so-called Egbert Codex, a Gospel lectionary made for bishop Egbert of Trier 977—93 (fols. 3v—4r, and 5v—6r) [figs. 64—67].[240] In these folios, the ground

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[237] Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 147.

[238] Calkins, 147, further noted that this function also applies to the ornamented pages in insular Gospel books. In addition to the liminal objects I mentioned above, this suggests that ornament may take similar functions in diverse cultural contexts.

[239] Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Inv. Kautzsch Nr. 1 (=Nr. 974). The evangelist portraits appear on fols. 16v, 75v, 113r, 171v (see also fig. 31–33). On this manuscript see Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (Hildesheim: Dom und Diözesanmuseum, 1993), cat. no. IV–5, 2: 155–56.

[240] Codex Egberti, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fols. 3v–4r, and 5v–6r. The evangelists are preceded by a decorated text page with facing dedication miniature on fols. 1v–2r. Gunther Franz and Franz Ronig, *Codex Egberti: Teilfaksimile des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983). Thomas Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei: Bildquellen, Ornamentik,*

of the entire image is covered in textile ornament. Similar, but with a different textile motif, is a late-tenth century lectionary from Corvey now in New York, Ms Astor 1 [fig. 68].[241] Characteristic of a lectionary is the chronological organization of the Gospel accounts according to the cycle of the liturgical year, whereas Gospel books sort the texts by author. The textual structure of a lectionary explains why the evangelists in the Egbert Codex and Astor 1 appear *en bloc* at the beginning of the book and not one before each Gospel, as in the Gospel book from Mainz.

The second group of textile images includes miniatures that show textile patterns on a separate folio, so-called textile pages. These textile images are usually part of the same gathering that also contains the evangelist portrait but occupy an entire page. In a Gospel book now in Darmstadt, for example, one purple-colored textile page was placed at the beginning of the Gospels of Mark on the verso of fol. 21 next to the evangelist portrait [fig. 69 and 70]. A second textile page in the same manuscript appears on fol. 190, which faces John on the verso [fig. 71 and 72].[242] A similar example is a mid-eleventh century Gospel book now in Munich [fig. 73—

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stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2009), 246–49, cat. no. 5, 342–51.

[241] New York, Public Library, Ms. Astor 1, Corvey, ca. 950. The evangelists are depicted on pages 2, 3, 4, 5. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow and Lucy Freeman Sandler (eds.), *The Splendor of the World: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), cat. no. 27 (Jacqueline Ann Frank), 143–47. Rainer Kahsnitz, "Frühottonische Buchmalerei," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), 1: 234–36. Elisabeth Klemm, "Beobachtungen zur Buchmalerei von Helmarshausen am Beispiel des Evangelistenbildes," in Martin Gosebruch und Frank Steigerwald. *Helmarshausen und das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen*. Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposion in Braunschweig und Helmarshausen vom 9. Oktober- 11. Oktober 1985 [Series: Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Niedersächsische Bau- und Kunstgeschichte bei der Braunschweigischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 4] (Göttingen: Goltze, 1992), 133–164, esp. 139. Tilmann Buddensieg, "Zur ottonischen Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters," in *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener*, ed. Frieda Dettweiler, Herbert Köllner and Peter Anselm Riedl (Marburg a. d. Lahn: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität, 1967), 93–114, esp. 93–101

[242] Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. AE 679. Peter Märker, *Gold und Purpur: der Bilderschmuck der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Handschriften aus der Samlung Hüpsch im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt* (Darmstadt: Hessisches Landesmuseum, 2001), 27–37. The book further includes two ornamented pages that face the images of Mark (fol. 83r) and Luke (fol. 126v). Instead of purple textile designs, these pages show a blue pattern reminiscent of the ethereal skies that were often depicted by Carolingian illuminators. Herbert Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, 173, read these

81].[243] In this book, the evangelist portraits were painted on the reverse of four textile-ornamented folios that were inserted into each of the four Gospel openings; Mark (fol. 66v) has an extra textile page on fol. 67r [fig. 77].[244]

In addition to textile ornament, some of the textile pages that were painted on separate folios also present text. These textile-text pages constitute the third group. Usually the first verse of the Gospel account was written on top of a continuously ornamented textile ground, such as in the textile pages of a manuscript now in Koblenz [fig. 82].[245] A variant among the manuscripts of group three are openings that pair a textile-ornamented incipit page with an initial page with monochrome ground. This combination occurs, for example, in a Gospel book from Corvey now

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pages christologically and related them to "the temple curtain/flesh of Christ [that] was understood as the firmament, the visible sky beyond which lies heaven." Kessler mentions only to the frontispiece to Luke, but not the other ornamented pages in this book. I think that the composition of the decorative program makes a point about the two natures of Christ. The two purple pages in Matthew and John were placed nearer the covers of the book towards the outside, and enclose the blue ethereal pages in Mark and Luke. I would argue that this organization illustrates the notion that the body of Christ, which is often described as a purple textile (see chs. 3 and 4), resembles a veil that hides the immaterial, ethereal Godhead within.

[243] Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9475, fols. 15r–15v, 66r–66v, 110r–110v, 174r–174v. Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), cat. no. 226, 1:248–50. Béatrice Hernad, "Evangeliar aus Niederalteich," in Fabian et al., *Pracht auf Pergament*, cat. no. 48, 222–25.

[244] The four textile pages appear on fols. 15r, 66r, 110r, and 174r. It is unclear why the additional page in Mark appears in this specific place. The evangelist was venerated especially at Reichenau, where many of the Ottonian textile pages were made. Perhaps the manuscript from Munich, which was used in the Middle Ages at Bremen, reflects a Reichenau model, in which Mark was distinguished from the other evangelists.

[245] Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 81. Textile-ornamented are the folios 56r, 85r (image), and 128r. On this manuscript see Christina Meckelnborg, *Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe Best. 701 Nr. 1—190 ergänzt durch die im Görres-Gymnasium Koblenz aufbewahrten Handschriften A, B, und C* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 72–78. Franz J. Ronig (ed.), *Egbert: Erzbischof von Trier 977–993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag* (Trier, 1993), cat. no. 22, 30, figs. 103–12. According to Hoffmann, the book was written in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), 1:500–1. Von Euw dated the book to the late-tenth century. Anton von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), cat. no. 40, 146. Meckelnborg, 72, dates late tenth to early eleventh century.

in Oxford [fig. 83].[246] A manuscript from the same workshop now in Wolfenbüttel (Helmst. 426) is one of the most elaborate examples of a textile-ornamented Gospel book. In this manuscript, the first three pages of each individual Gospel, including incipit, initial, and text pages, are ornamented [fig. 84—86].[247]

The fourth group includes variations of the textile-and-text pages of the third group. These miniatures depict text and textile ornament on one page, but distinct from one another. In the eleventh-century Uta Codex, a Gospel lectionary from Regensburg, four ornamented text pages introduce the readings, which are not structured in calendrical order as in most lectionaries, but according to author.[248] The four folios display horizontal bands of textile ornament that alternate with golden inscriptions [fig. 87—90].[249] One miniature in the Bernward Gospels from Hildesheim shows a similar combination of a textile-and-text-pattern [fig. 91].[250] The letters are written on horizontal bands that alternate with textile ornament. The so-called Guntbald Gospels, another Hildesheim manuscript from the eleventh century shows a different variation of the textile-and-text page. [251] Golden ornate letters were superimposed on a

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[246] Bodleian Library, Mss. Laud. lat. 27. Textile pages appear on fols. 17v, 73, 116, 176. The manuscript was dated to the second half of the tenth century. Otto Pächt and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), cat. no. 24, 1:2. Hanns Swarzenski, "Die deutschen Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters in amerikanischem Besitz," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 63 (1929–30): 193–200, esp. 194.

[247] Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 426, fols. 17v–18r, 59v–61v, 86v–88v, 128v–129v. On this manuscript see Müller, "Evangeliar aus Helmstedt," 276–78. Michael Peter, "Evangeliar aus Helmstedt," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), cat. no. IV.14, 2:189–92. Also Gerd Bauer, "Corvey oder Hildesheim: Zur ottonischen Buchmalerei in Norddeutschland" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1977), 2:145–160.

[248] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13601. Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 4.

[249] Fols. 6v, 42v, 60v, 90v. For a description of the codicology and structure see Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 4—5.

[250] Hildesheim, Domschatz. Ms. 61, fol. 20r. Jennifer P. Kingsley, "The Bernward Gospels: Structuring *Memoria* in Eleventh-Century Germany," (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2007). Michael Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward* (Munich: Prestel, 1993).

[251] Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 33, fols. 22v, 88v, 133v, 205v. The manuscript was dated to the year 1011 and fol. 269v names Guntbald as the scribe. Matthias Exner, *Das Guntbald-Evangeliar: Ein Ottonischer Bilderzyklus und sein Zeugniswert für die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Lorscher Evangeliars* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), 11.

continuous textile-patterned ground, but the text is still distinguished by rectangular frames [figs. 92—95]. These textile-ornamented pages appear at each Gospel beginning, inserted between the initial page and another text page, both of which display decorative letters on monochrome purple grounds.

Finally, the fifth type of textile page is an ornamented folio that lacks text but appears not at the beginning of each Gospel or in evangelist portraits but in the context of the canon tables. The only manuscript belonging to this category is the so-called Lindau Gospels, a book made in St. Gallen in the third quarter of the ninth century and now in New York.[252] The book contains two textile pages with blue patterns [figs. 96 and 97].[253] Each of the ornamented pages frame the quire that includes the canon tables on either end so that the ornamented folios coincide with the first and last folio of the quire. In chapter four I return to this quire, when I consider textile ornament as a form of metaphoric vestment for the book.

As this brief overview shows, and as has been noted by others, textile pages in Ottonian manuscripts most frequently appear at the beginnings of the four individual Gospels and most often occur in the immediate iconographic context of an evangelist portrait.[254] There is usually just one textile page in these openings, but some have more. Equipping the canon tables with full-folio textile pages, as in the Lindau Gospels, seems to be an exception. Because so many textile pages appear in the iconographic context of evangelist images, and because this context must be meaningful, medieval evangelist iconography seems a useful place to begin an investigation of the function and meaning of textile ornament.

Curtains in evangelist portraits: iconographic diversity

Evangelist images like the ones in the Gospel book from Mainz, where textile ornament and author portraits coincide, suggest a symbolic connection between the textile motif and the

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[252] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1., dated 883—890. Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (St. Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), cat. no. 99, 1: 408–11. For the codicological organization of the manuscript I rely on William Voelkle's diagram of the quire structure available on Corsair. http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0001.htm [accessed 29.10.2013], 20.

[253] Fols. 5v and 12r, the textile pages, are the first and last pages of the second quire of the book.

[254] For example, Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, 147.

iconographic subject of the evangelist [fig. 63, 98—100]. As Johann Konrad Eberlein has shown in a seminal study on the curtain in medieval art, textiles are a staple in evangelist portrait iconography.[255] Medieval artists, for example the illuminator of the Ada Gospels, adopted for evangelist portraits various textile themes that are common in ancient ruler iconography, such as the draped *cathedra velata* [fig. 101].[256] As Eberlein's study shows, the curtain is the most frequent among these textile motifs.[257] In the majority of evangelist images that Eberlein discussed, these curtains are either parted in the middle so that one shawl frames the evangelist on either side, or the curtains are draped around columns and other architectural details. Such shawls are depicted in the image of Mark in the so-called Soissons Gospels from the early ninth century [fig. 102], and also in the evangelist portrait of Matthew in an eleventh century textile-ornamented Gospel book from Echternach [fig. 103].[258] Eberlein distinguished different curtain motifs, but he only mentioned in passing some wall hangings and closed curtains ("Hinterhänge"), such as those in the Mainz Gospel book.[259] Eberlein also passed over textile

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[255] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 2, 15–21, 29, 108–122, noted that curtains in evangelist portraits reflect an iconographic tradition that is grounded in antique ruler iconography, where textiles in the background underline the exalted status of the person depicted. For medieval ruler images with curtains see ibid., 113–15. Moreover, Eberlein argued that medieval evangelist portraits developed this iconographic convention further and channeled the curtain motif into a Christian interpretation that existed parallel to the iconological meaning curtains carried in traditional ruler images.

[256] Ada Gospels, Trier Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 22. Fols. 15v, 59v, 85v, 127v. The image shows fol. 85v. On this manuscript see Wilhelm Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958), 2:34–41. Michael Embach, *Das Ada-Evangeliar (StB Trier, Hs 22): Die karolingische Bilderhandschrift* (Trier: Paulinus, 2010). Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 132.

[257] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis,* 25–33.

[258] Gospels of Saint Medard of Soissons (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 8850). Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles the Chauve* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007), cat. no. 10, 97–100. On the Echternach manuscript, London, British Library, Harley 2821 see *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt,* ed. Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Munich: Hirmer, 2006), cat. no. 475, 2:378. The evangelist portraits of Matthew, fol. 21v, and Mark, fol. 67v show curtains. Compare also Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 2.

[259] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 132, explains "Hinterhang" as an alternative ("Ersatzform") for the *cortina* motif. He further mentions some closed curtains, 80, and notes, "Das Cortina-Motiv ist hier zu einem durchgehenden Tuch abgewandelt. Verkleinert sind die äusseren Interkolumnien der vier Säulen auf dem Lukasbild eines Evangeliars in Brüssel (Kat. 42973), ebenso im Cod. 140 des Trierer Domschatzes hinter Matthäus (Kat. 47771). Der Vorhang des Brüsseler Evangeliars ist wieder als durchgehendes Tuch gebildet, während in Trier das Cortina-Motiv in üblicher Form vorkommt."

pages aside from a brief note on "Teppichseiten."[260] Textile hangings appear in medieval

evangelist portraits at least since the ninth century, for example in the gold and brown ink

drawing of Luke from a Gospel book that was perhaps made at Reims in the ninth century and is

now in New York [fig. 104].[261] The evangelist bending over his lectern is placed before a

patterned textile that was draped over a rod. Evangelist portraits with flat stylized textile

backgrounds like the patterns in Mainz seem to have been unknown in the Carolingian period.

In Ottonian manuscripts, however, these textile backgrounds appear infrequently and in great

variety. A Gospel book made at Corvey in the later tenth century, of which only a fragment in

Helsinki now exists, depicts the Calling of Matthew against a textile-ornamented background in

the lower half of the image [fig. 105].[262] In addition to the textile codes of purple color and

extensibility, the pattern can be read as textile-like because a comparison with ornament in

similar iconographic contexts suggests such an interpretation. For example, the pattern recalls the

floral design in the images of Mark and John in Mainz [fig. 98 and 100]. Floral textile patterns

further appear in the four evangelist portraits of Astor 1 in New York, which was made in the

same workshop that also produced the Helsinki leaf [fig. 68 and 106].[263] An evangelist portrait

from a manuscript fragment now in Leipzig shows a form of stylized textile ornament in the

background that resembles the image of Mark from the Mainz Gospel book [fig. 107 and 99].[264]

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[260] Eberlein mentions "Teppichseiten" in a footnote, but does not cover this material elsewhere in his book. Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 133, note 1112.

[261] New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 640, fol. 100v. On this manuscript see Melanie Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum New York (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), cat. no. 2, 39–41. Eberlein did not include this manuscript in his book.

[262] Helsinki, Suomen Kansallismuseo, Inv. no. 53131, single leaf. On this fragment see Rainer Kahsnitz, "Berufung des Evangelisten Matthäus," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), cat. no. IV.12, 2: 186–87, with further literature.

[263] New York, Public Library, Ms. Astor 1, pages 2, 3, 4, 5. On the manuscript see n. 25 above.

[264] Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Rep. I 4° 57. On this manuscript fragment see Gerhard Karpp, "Der Evangelist Lukas," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: Zabern, 2001), cat. no. IV.13, 2:187–89. Ulrich Kuder, "Einzelblätter eines Evangeliars in Helsinki und Leipzig," in *Bernward von Hildesheim*, ed. Brandt and Eggebrecht, cat. no. VI–73, 2:415—16. Also Rainer Kahsnitz, "Die Ornamentik," in Kötzsche (ed.), *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des* Löwen, Kommentarband, 2: 244–87, esp. 259. This leaf also preserved an ornamented incipit on the verso. The highly-ornamented letters are contained in circular text fields that are arranged in a geometric manner across the page. The

As in Mainz, and also in the Helsinki miniature, the lower half of the evangelist portrait is covered in extensible textile ornament. Typical of the Ottonian miniatures, in opposition to the Carolingian drawing from the Pierpont Morgan Library, is that the textile-like background fills the space inside the frame continuously and shows few or no signs of hanging devices and drapery folds. Also, while Carolingian evangelist portraits often display textile motifs, they do not usually include textile pages. The only pair of textile pages known to me that predate the Ottonian period are the two textile-ornamented folios in the Lindau Gospels, which appear, however, in a different context [fig. 96 and 97]. For reasons that are yet unknown, evangelist portraits with textile backgrounds and especially the number of textile pages increases substantially in the late tenth century.[265] While I can only speculate on this sudden growth, what I can say is that textile ornament in the context of evangelist portraits has meaning.

An iconological reading of the curtain in evangelist portraits

Eberlein already made the observation that textile motifs in evangelist portraits are not meaningless iconographic details that were added for the sake of decoration, but that the curtain motif has iconological meaning. First, he noted that curtains continued to exist in evangelist portraits although medieval artists began to omit architectural details such as rods and columns that supported such curtains in the late antique models.[266] From this evidence Eberlein concluded that the function of curtains in medieval evangelist imagery had changed from a symbol of distinction, which—among other functions—textiles served in antique ruler iconography, and developed into an independent iconographic theme that now carried a distinct Christian

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writing resembles embroidered letters such as can be found in the so-called "Sternenmantel" of Henry II at Bamberg, Diözesanmuseum. On this textile see Warren Woodfin, "Presents Given and Presence Subverted: The Cunegunda Chormantel in Bamberg and the Ideology of Byzantine Textiles," *Gesta* 47 (2008): 33–50, esp. 38, with references to the older literature.

[265] See the conclusion below for thoughts on the matter.

[266] "Die Tatsache, daß bemerkenswerterweise dem Evangelisten auch beim Verlust der Architektur die Vorhänge erhalten bleiben, beweist ihre enge Verbindung, die—da kein sachlicher, bildlogischer Grund mehr gegeben ist—auf inhaltlicher Relation beruht." Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 127.

meaning.[267] A similar iconographic shift can be observed in the Ottonian evangelist portraits that show woven cloths as abstract ornamental forms in the backgrounds. The meaning of these stylized curtains, however, remained the same as in Carolingian art: textiles depicted in medieval evangelist portraits make an exegetical argument. First, the veil can be read as a metaphor of the incarnation. I relate this metaphoric meaning to textile ornament in the next chapter. Second, the curtain symbolizes the typological relationship between the Old and the New Testaments, and finally, the argument that I pursue especially in this chapter, the curtain is a metaphor for the *sensus mysticus* of biblical scripture that can be revealed through a spiritual reading of the text.[268]

The curtain: a typological reading

The notion of the Gospels as a vehicle for spiritual illumination is grounded in the typological relationship between the New Testament and the old Judaic Law. One characteristic feature of curtains is their ability simultaneously to veil and unveil. Hence, the curtain is a fitting metaphor to illustrate the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments and was explored for this reason in art and exegesis.[269] The frontispiece to the book of Leviticus in the Bible of San Paolo (ca. 870), for example, shows objects from the Jewish cult—the menorah, altar, and ark—crowned by a curtain that is patterned with crosses. This curtain has been read as

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[267] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis,* 31–32, 43, 108–22.

[268] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis,* 33, observed that textile themes serve more than one function in images and convey diverse meanings depending on the iconographic context in which they appear. I discuss some of these interpretations in the present chapter. For an overview of the diverse metaphoric readings of the veil in the context of medieval image theory, see further Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich: Fink, 2001), 11–26.

[269] Friedrich Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 89 (1958/59): 1–23. On typological interpretations of the curtain in Carolingian art see Herbert Kessler, "'Facies Bibliothecae Revelata': Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing," in idem, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 149–89. Idem, "Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity," *Kairos* 32/33 (1990–91): 53–77. Joachim Gaehde, "Carolingian Interpretations of an Early Christian Picture Cycle to the Octateuch in the Bible of San Paolo Fuori Le Mura in Rome," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974): 351–384. For a typological reading of curtains in wall painting see Martina Bagnoli, "'Ut Domus Tali Ornetur Decore:' Metamorphosis of Ornamental Motifs in Anagni and Rome," in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 207–233, esp. 223–25.

a visualization of the Old Testament tabernacle that prefigured the Christian church [fig. 108].[270]

Similarly, the final miniature in the Grandval Bible shows the book on the throne from Rev 5;1—6 on a curtained altar in front of a veil [fig. 109].[271] A veil also appears over the head of a figure that Herbert Kessler read as a conjunction of Moses, Paul, and John, all of whom experienced divine revelations.[272] Kessler suggested that the curtains in this miniature depict the shadow of the Old Testament that was taken away by Christ.[273] Some of the actual textile veils, curtains, and coverings that were used in the church had similar typological meaning.[274]

In evangelist images, curtains illustrate the notion that a shadow lay over the Old Testament and was taken away by the New.[275] Medieval commentaries often refer to the temple veil as an allegory of the *sensus mysticus* that lies hidden beneath the literal sense of scripture.[276] While in the era of the Law the eyes of Moses were covered with a veil so that he could not see the spiritual sense of scripture, this veil was lifted from the New Testament in the Incarnation. In II Corinthians 3:13—16 Paul comments on the veil that cloaks the Jews' understanding of the Law, arguing that spiritual sight is granted to Christians only.

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[270] Rome, monastery of San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 32v. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 155.

[271] London, British Library Add. Ms. 10546, fol. 449r.

[272] Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 184.

[273] Ibid.

[274] See especially Durandus of Mende, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* 3.35—37. Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 43—44. Jörg Richter, "Linteamina: Leinen als Bedeutungsträger," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 303—445. Franz Kirchweger, "Nunc de vestibus altariis:" Kirchentextilien in Schriftquellen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1997): 75–109, 103. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1973).

[275] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 90. Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*, 54, read textile ornament as symbolic of the truth that was hidden from the Jews but revealed through the Gospels.

[276] See for example Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Exodum*, XXVI, PL 164:32B. Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes." Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 32, noted on the curtain metaphor in the context of scripture: "Die Gläubigen warden aufgefordert, nach dem Vorbild Christi den Vorhang–gemeint ist der Tempelvorhang– zu durchschreiten, um an jenen Ort zu gelangen, der mit Himmel, Paradies, Verheißung zu umschreiben ist. Da Christus den Weg durch seinen Opfertod gebahnt hat, ist die Vorhangerklärung zweiseitig: velum= caro Christi und velum = coelum."

And not as Moses put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel might not steadfastly look on the face of that which is made void. But their senses were made dull. For, until this present day, the selfsame veil, in the reading of the old testament, remaineth not taken away (because in Christ it is made void). But even until this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. But when they shall be converted to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.[277]

Moreover, John and Paul were seers blessed with spiritual sight and able to discern the true meaning of scripture.[278] The eighth-century commentary on the Apocalypse by Ambrosius Autpertus explains:

Because Paul understood the law of Moses not carnally and according to the letter, which outside promised only temporal things, but spiritually and according to its meaning, he discerned the Gospels hidden within the law, which promised eternal and not temporal things. … Therefore, the book written inside displays an allegory, outside, however, history. Inside through intellectual spirit, outside truly through the simple sense of letters, fitting for the weak. Inside, because it promises invisible things, outside because it rightly disposes visible things in its teaching. For that reason, the Old and New Testaments are called one book, because the New cannot be separated from the Old, nor, on the other hand, the Old from the New. For the Old Testament is the messenger and veil of the New. The New, truly, is the fulfillment and revelation of the Old.[279]

This excerpt from Autpertus's commentary shows that the notion of the veil of the Law is closely intertwined with the allegorical reading of scripture and the *sensus spiritalis* that needs to be detected within the literal sense of the letter.

The curtain: an exegetical reading

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[277] All biblical citations are from the Douay Rheims edition of the Bible.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ambrosius Autpertus, *In Apocalypsin*, III, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 27, ed. Robert Weber (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 231. Trans. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 182.

Evangelist portraits with curtains or textile ornament in the background bring several of these exegetical strings together.[280] As Eberlein noted, curtains in evangelist portraits comment especially on the dual meaning of scripture, the literal and the spiritual sense of the Word.[281] The *sensus spiritalis* had to be uncovered through meditation and contemplation. Augustine defined this spiritual approach to scripture as a three-step model, first, physical perception (i.e. reading), second, interpretation, and third, intellectual vision, which describes a form of insight into divine matters that is unmediated by any props or aids.[282] The Augustinian concept of spiritual sight helps to explain the frequent occurrence of textile patterns in the context of evangelist portraits. Textile-ornamented pages can be read as allegoric veils that covered the eyes of Moses and his people but made spiritual truth accessible to Christians.[283] Textile-ornamented folios are a curtain metaphor. Like curtains in evangelist portraits, textile pages visualize the allegorical veil that mediates between literal and spiritual sight. In evangelist portraits, the curtain further identifies the evangelists as the messengers of divine truth. They appear as interlocutors, who

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[280] For a similar allegorical reading of painted textile curtains in twelfth-century church decoration, see Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayers, and Polemics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), esp. ch. 7, 66–76.

[281] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 82–92.

[282] Henri de Lubac, *Typologie, Allegorie, geistiger Sinn: Studien zur Geschichte der christlichen Schriftauslegung*, übers. und eingel. von Rudolf Voderholzer (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1999). Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 228–262, esp. 232–3, 239. In the words of Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 174, who has written extensively on the issue of spiritual seeing in medieval art and theology, the basic mode of reading is akin to Augustine's lowest category of sight, corporeal seeing implies a form of "purely physical apprehension, as when one sees words on a page but does not comprehend their meaning or when Pharaoh dreamed of sheaves and cattle but did not understand the significance. Spiritual seeing is interpretation, the infusion of meaning that may be dependent on the physical stimulus but involves some sort of inspired interlocutor, Joseph, for instance, who understood what Pharaoh's images meant because he saw them with spiritual eyes. Spiritual vision was particularly important when reading the Old Testament where the events and words have hidden meanings that could be disclosed when read with the knowledge of the New; the demonstration that a common inspiration underlies both testaments is, indeed, precisely the goal of spiritual reading. Finally, there is true intellectual vision, which is purely of the mind and through which one 'sees' God. It requires no sensual aids, no 'outlines, colors, sounds, odors, or tastes' as Augustine put it; nonetheless it can be approached through spiritual vision, which mediates between corporeal and intellectual understanding."

[283] Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*, 54. Although Metz's approach to the meaning of textile ornament in this manuscript is only suggestive and entirely unsystematic, some of his interpretations are useful.

have access to spiritual truth and are therefore able to guide the viewer towards it.[284] In addition, reading textile pages as metaphors of revelation makes clear that the books in which these textile images are contained also take part in the spiritual exchange between scripture and its reader. How this relationship between text, ornament, the viewer, and the book functions will concern us next.

Reading textile ornament in context: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 78 A 1

The textile-ornamented miniatures of a mid-eleventh century Gospel book now in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 78 A 1) exemplify the function and meaning of textile ornament in unusually clear terms.[285] This book is a good place to investigate how textile ornament mediates between scripture and the reader. The Berlin Gospel book preserves, in its present state, three evangelist portraits, Mark, Luke, and John [figs. 110—111, 114]. The image of Matthew was lost.[286] In order to understand how textile ornament works in this book, it is useful to go through the pages in sequence, like a viewer who would look at this book from beginning to end. The first extant miniature after the canon tables on folios 5r—12v is the image of Mark on fol. 50v, the verso of a blank leaf. The evangelist holds his utensils and is ready to write down the words that his symbol, the lion, brings to him [fig. 110]. Mark appears in front of

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[284] Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 82.

[285] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 1. Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnins der Miniaturen, Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Leipzig: Verlagsbuchhandlung J.J. Weber, 1931), 1–2. Elisabeth Klemm, "Evangeliar," in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa*, cat. no. 448, 2:340–41. Hartmut Hoffmann, "Die Paderborner Schreibschule im 11. Jahrhundert," in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa*, 2:449–64, esp. 455, recently recognized the scribe of the Berlin Gospel book as a Paderborn hand and this attribution has been accepted in the literature. Elisabeth Klemm, "Die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei von Helmarshausen," in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa*, 1:465–481, esp. 467, and eadem, "Evangeliar," 341.

[286] The miniature was presumably cut out of the book. Two connecting tabs between fols. 16v–17r are the remains of a bifolium that presumably contained the evangelist portrait. All other evangelist portraits and two additional miniatures at the beginning of the Gospels of John were painted on singletons, as the tabs that are clearly visible between fols. 52–53, 74–75, and 117–118 show. The parchment of the illuminations is much thicker than the material used for the text pages. In all Gospel openings the transition from image to initial to text is seamless and without irregularities. Passages were neither repeated nor omitted. I think it is possible that the book was written at Paderborn, as Hoffmann suggested, but that the miniatures were painted elsewhere, perhaps at Hildesheim, and custom made to be inserted into the text body.

a brownish-purple textile pattern that fills the entire miniature with textile ornament. The pattern shows medallions that contain various quadrupeds, birds, and trees. On the facing leaf, fol. 51r, the Gospels of Mark begin with a small colored initial that highlights the beginning of verse one. The text continues on fol. 51v and ends on 71r. Folios 71v and 72r are empty leaves. On the next page, fol. 72v begins the *argumentum* of the Gospels of Luke followed by the *capitula*, which ends on 76r. Fol. 76v is another empty leaf. The next page, fol. 77 was painted on either side. It shows a crucifixion on the recto, and the evangelist Luke on the verso [fig. 111]. Like Mark's, the image of Luke is textile-ornamented. The pattern behind the figure displays green circles and lozenges in vertical rows. Minium-colored highlights add detail to the otherwise simple pattern. On the facing page, the Gospels of Luke begin with a small colored initial and continue without noteworthy peculiarities to the end. The opening to the Gospels of John is more complex compared to the previous Gospel beginnings. It starts off with an empty page on fol. 110r. The *argumentum* begins on the following page and ends on fol. 111r. Fols. 111v—113r are also empty. The next page, fol. 113v shows an image of Christ enthroned [fig. 112]. In addition to a figure-eight mandorla carried by five angels, Christ is surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists. Each symbol occupies one corner of the image. In accordance with Rev 5:1—6, Christ holds a closed book in his left hand and supports a lamb encircled in a medallion on his thigh.[287] The Majestas Domini miniature faces a purple-colored textile page on fol. 114r [fig.

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[287] What the three circles beneath the mandorla and to the left and right signify is unclear. A similar image of the apocalyptic Christ appears in the Bernward Gospels, fol. 174r. See Brandt, *Kostbares Evangeliar*, 26. In this image the closed book is clearly marked as the *liber vitae* by an inscription "VITA." As in the Berlin Gospels, Christ holds a medallion with the lamb in his right hand. There are only two angels, one on each side of Christ, however. Two medallions, which are clearly marked as stars in the Bernward Gospels, might be an explanation where the circles in the Berlin Gospels came from. Another possibility is that the painter of the Berlin Gospels misunderstood an image like fol. 7r of the Hitda Codex (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 1640) where the figure of Christ enthroned in a similar eight-shaped mandorla is accompanied by the four *rotae* (Ez 1:15) on the left and right. On the Hitda Codex see Klaus Gereon Beuckers, *Äbtissin Hitda und der Hitda-Codex: (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 1640). Forschungen zu einem Hauptwerk der ottonischen Kölner Buchmalerei* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013). Katrin Boskamp-Priever, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hitda: Eine ottonische Prachthandschrift aus Köln. Miniaturen, Bilder und Zierseiten aus der Handschrift 1640 der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt* (Darmstadt. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), with bibliography. A useful comparison is also Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 733 (Evangeliar Kaiser Lothars), fol. 17v. The image of the Majestas Domini in this manuscript is set in a rectangular frame decorated with four golden rosettes. The rosettes are another possible source that the painter of the Berlin Gospels might have interpreted in a different way. For an image see Boskamp-Priever, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hitda*, fig. 20, 39.

113]. The textile image displays four large rosettes that are framed by medallions and encased by studded cross bars, which divide the image into four compartments. The following two leaves are empty (fols. 114v—115r). Traces of an adhesive visible on the parchment indicate that these two empty folios were glued together at one point, so that the blank pages were not apparent.[288] This detail is worth noting because fol. 115v shows an image of John [fig. 114]. Like the other two evangelists, John is shown in front of a textile-ornamented ground. If leaf 114 and 115 were glued together, this image was the "verso" of the textile page. This notion deserves further consideration, because the pattern in John closely resembles the rosette motif from the previous folio. It depicts a version of the medallion pattern that was shown on the textile page. With the exception of few alterations, the ornament in John appears like a close-up version of the textile page. The vertical cross bar was duplicated and additional minium-colored dots were dabbed on the purple ground in the upper portion of the image. The repetition of the purple rosette pattern in this opening is significant, because it generates an optical illusion. Despite the fact that the patterns are not wholly identical, the textile motif links John on fol. 115v with Christ on folio 114r. If we read the pattern as a curtain, both images show the same curtain but from different sides.

The sequence of images in the Gospels of John raises several questions. First, it is unusual that the Majestas miniature appears in John. In most medieval Gospel books the Majestas miniature appears at the very beginning of the book.[289] In the Berlin manuscript, the

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[288] The empty leafs in the quires at the beginning of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John can be explained by the fact that the miniatures were clearly produced separate from the text pages. This is evident from the fact that all illuminated folios are singletons ending in tabs. Having been glued together, as is evident from the traces of an adhesive still visible on fols. 114v–115r, the empty leafs before the image of John would have disappeared. Elisabeth Klemm further noticed the use of an adhesive on fol. 50r, the page that precedes the image of Mark. Elisabeth Klemm, "Evangeliar," in Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa*, cat. no. 448, 2:340.

[289] See for example the First Bible of Charles the Bald, where the frontispiece to the New Testament, fol. 329r, shows the Maiestas Domini. Paul E. Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1997). Also Herbert L. Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum Figurat Illud Invisibile Verum': Imagining God in Pictures of Christ," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging. Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000,"* Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003, ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 291–325, esp. 293. For a Gospel book with the Maiestas Domini at the front of the book see the Carolingian Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, or the Ottonian Hitda Codex. Georg Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 6 vols. (Munich: Schmidt, 1921—25).

uncommon organization of images appears to have been informed by the artist's intention to characterize John not only as an evangelist but also as a visionary. The program of this opening presents John the author of the Gospels simultaneously as a visionary and a prophet, as he is characterized in Rev. 1:3.[290] According to medieval tradition, John the evangelist and John the author of the Book of Revelations were one and the same figure.[291] If we read the textile pattern in John's image as a curtain of revelation, the image of Christ on fol. 114r shows the vision that John perceives. It is worth noting that the four evangelists in the Berlin Gospel book are not all shown in the same manner. While Mark looks up at his symbol and Luke's eyes focus on a spot somewhere between his book and the lectern, John is shown frontally and directly faces the viewer [fig. 110, 111, and 114]. A distinct feature of John's face are the wide-open eyes that look out at the viewer. Other evangelist portraits from the Ottonian period show the authors of the Gospels with similar wide-open eyes. In the so-called Gospels of Otto III in Munich each of the four evangelists face the viewer [fig. 115].[292] However, their gaze has been read as an internal sort of seeing and not as addressing the viewer. The dynamic convolution of clouds, angels, prophets, and biblical figures that are shown above their heads make clear that the evangelists' gaze in the Gospels of Otto III is not directed at an external focus but rather that the evangelists' eyes are turned inside and symbolize the eyes of the mind.[293] What the viewer sees painted in the

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Wilhelm Köhler and Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen 5, Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1982), 175—98. Katrin Boskamp-Priever, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hitda*. Christoph Winterer, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hitda: eine ottonische Prachthandschrift aus Köln; Miniaturen, Bilder und Zierseiten aus der Handschrift 1640 der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010).

[290] Because of his spiritual sight, Kessler "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 180, likens John to Moses and Paul, who equally perceived God in theophanic visions.

[291] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002).

[292] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 139v (Luke).

[293] Hubert Schrade, *Vor- und frühromanische Malerei: Die karolingische, ottonische und frühsalische Zeit* (Cologne, Dumont Schauberg, 1958), 231. Also Berhard Bischoff, "Das biblische Thema der Reichenauer 'Visionären Evangelisten,' in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), 2: 304–11. Florentine Mütherich and

images above the evangelists' heads is, therefore, a version of the evangelists' own internal vision.

In the Berlin Gospel Book the relationship between internal and external seeing was made clear by means of ornament. The textile curtains behind the evangelists designate them as inspired authors, who have access to divine knowledge, Mark and Luke through dialogue with their symbols, and John also through spiritual contemplation. The veils painted behind their backs symbolize this connection between heaven and earth. The spiritual space that opens behind these veils is especially clear in the image of John. Instead of showing his vision above his head like the painter of the Otto Gospels, the Berlin artist represented John's vision on the other side of the folio—behind a textile curtain.[294] By making the curtain visible from either side, the artist showed that the textile pattern symbolizes a metaphoric veil that separates heavenly from non-visionary space. Textile ornament thus illustrates the notion that corporeal sight is limited. John, however, who was gifted with spiritual sight, lifted the veil from his physical eyes and was able to see Christ through the eyes of the mind.

John as role model for the viewer

John's gift of spiritual sight leads back to John's eyes. The Lindisfarne Gospels, a book from a completely different cultural context but one that shares important details with many of the Ottonian Gospel books discussed in this chapter, shows John with similar open eyes.[295] Of the four evangelists, John is the only one who looks at the viewer [fig. 116]. Michelle Brown read John's gaze as an invitation to "the onlooker to participate in the inspiration of the Gospel

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Karl Dachs (eds.), *Das Evangeliar Ottos III: Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Munich, London and New York: Prestel, 2001), 40–45.

[294] In the Otto Gospels the evangelists further appear against gold ground to indicate that the sphere that the evangelists gaze into is otherworldly. In the Berlin manuscript, the grounds are either purple, fol. 113v, or textile-ornamented. Both forms of ornamentation serve a similar purpose. Gold ground evokes heavenly space. A textile pattern illustrates the means that gives access to this non-corporeal world.

[295] Lindisfarne Gospels, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.iv, fol. 209v.

and thereby to ensure their claim to divine mercy before the Judgement seat."[296] This idea also applies to the Berlin Gospels. John's large eyes that capture the viewer signify not only John's internal vision, but also engage the viewer in a dialogue. Sitting before the curtain, John takes an intermediary position between the heavenly space represented by the Majestas miniature and the viewer. On the one hand, this intercessory relationship is defined by the textile-curtain painted behind John's back, which reminds the viewer that the spiritual nature of Christ is not visible to corporeal eyes. On the other, John's large eyes make clear to the viewer that the curtain is permeable because Christ can be seen through the eyes of the mind.

John, the visionary and prophet (Rev. 1.3), is predestined to take this role as intercessor. His gift of spiritual sight further distinguished him from Matthew, Mark, and Luke.[297] Therefore the beginning of the Gospels of John is a suitable place for an image of Christ's second coming. Moreover, John's spiritual abilities made him a perfect role model that Christians could emulate.[298] Therefore, the evangelist's position before the curtain was also inspired by John's relationship with the viewer. The eye contact that John offers is an invitation to the reader of the Gospels to switch into a meditative mode of seeing. Taking John's wide-open eyes as a cue, the viewer himself may see with the eyes of the mind and look behind the curtain.

John as door and persona Christi

The studded cross bars in the image of John suggest an alternative reading of John's role as threshold figure. The textile pattern also resembles the wings of a double-door.[299] If we read

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[296] Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 369.

[297] Rainer Kahsnitz, "'Matheus ex ore Christi scripsit": Zum Bild der Berufung und Inspiration der Evangelisten," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Doula Mouriki, Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton NJ: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1995), 169–80.

[298] On John as exemplar for spiritual seeing, see Jennifer O'Reilly, "St. John as a Figure of the Contemplative Life: Text and Image in the Art of the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform," in Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds.), *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), 165–85, esp. 170. Also Hamburger, *St. John the Divine*. For an interpretation of John as prophet according to Rev. 1:3, see Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 180–82.

[299] Linda Safran and Warren Woodfin have brought to my attention that the medallion pattern, which appears hard and rigid especially because of the massive central bar, resembles a book cover or door. The circle pattern painted on the cross bar further evokes the look of embossed wood or ring-patterns that

the purple pattern as such a door, John appears to be seated in front of the gates that open onto a vision of Christ enthroned in heaven.[300] In fact, John himself can be interpreted as an allegorical personification of the gates of heaven. John 20:19—24 relate how Christ appeared to the Apostles who had gathered together in a house after the resurrection. Although the doors were locked, Christ appeared to the group. Augustine read the account of Christ's apparition as confirmation that the Godhead has power over physical matter and transcends the limitations of material confinement.[301] An Ivory plaque from the Museo Diocesano in Salerno depicts the Incredulity of Thomas [fig. 117]. This event follows immediately after the account of Christ's appearance to the Apostles. The ivory shows a closed door with two identical wings that are decorated with concentric circles in rectangular compartments. The ornamented door in the ivory resembles the door/curtain-page in the Berlin Gospel book. Eric Thunø read the scene as an exegetical image that visualizes Christ's power to open the doors that lead the faithful to salvation.[302] The ornamented folio in the Berlin Gospel book shows a similar door, but one that is more textile-like. By showing a door that evokes a curtain at the same time, the Berlin artist devised an iconographic formula that is dense in allegoric content. While the curtain/door is a barrier, cloth is a particular flexible material and by alluding to this flexibility the artist

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were often carved on Byzantine ivory caskets. Book covers were discussed in chapter one, while an image of an ivory casket (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. 216–1865) can be found in Christoph Stiegemann (ed.), *Byzanz—Das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), fig. 8, p. 8. In addition, doors with rectangular compartments are known from Aachen and Hildesheim. Tombs were also closed with stone slabs that often show medallion and square designs similar to the rosettes on the Berlin textile page (fol. 113v).

[300] Beat Brenk, "Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr.," in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1994), 631–82, esp. 671–72, read the curtain in a miniature showing the Adoration of the Lamb, fol. 1b, of the Soissons Gospels similarly as the door into heaven that was opened before the eyes of John.

[301] "But where divinity was present, shut doors did not obstruct the mass of the body. For indeed he could enter even though they were not opened at whose birth the virginity of his mother remained inviolate." Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, Corpus Christianorum 121, ed. Radbodus Willems (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 667. Trans. John W. Rettig, *Tractates on the Gospels of John: St. Augustine*, The Fathers of the Church 92, 60. Augustine further interpreted Christ appearing to the Apostles as mediator between the corporeal and the spirit worlds. See further Thunø, *Image and Relic*, 89–92.

[302] Eric Thunø, *Image and Relic*, 110–112.

underlined the permeability of this barrier. The reader was clearly encouraged to access the divine sphere on the other side. The textile curtains in the evangelist images, and especially the curtain in John, showed the reader a way to see through the veil.[303]

The Hitda Codex and the problem of corporeal sight

Although the curtain that separates the viewer from the vision of Christ visually evokes the flexible material of cloth, the textile page is not a mere metaphoric division but a physical barrier.[304] When the viewer looks at the image of John, the picture of Christ on fol. 113v is veiled because the Majestas miniature is not visible through the opaque parchment folio. Of course, the viewer can turn the page and look at the picture of Christ. But, as medieval image theory explained, seeing a painted image is not the same as having spiritual vision.[305] For example, Theodulf of Orléans noted, "God is to be sought not in visible things, not in manufactured things, but in the heart; he is to be beheld not with the eyes of the flesh but only with the eye of the mind."[306] Similarly, Angobard of Lyon stated that, "we look at a picture only

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[303] The cross pattern behind John might further allude to John as a *persona Christi*. John 10:7–10 identifies Christ as a door that leads to heaven. "Amen, amen I say to you, I am the door of the sheep. I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved. […] I am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly." If the textile pattern intended to identify John with a door, his role model function would become even more apparent if he also appeared as a figure for Christ. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 179–80, has shown that other Gospel books likewise portray John as a *persona Christi*. In addition, John can be read as an embodiment of scripture (compare Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 182).

[304] Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 186, noted that "curtains might also act as a protective barrier between the viewer and a particularly powerful or disturbing image. This is especially true in the case of scenes drawn from the Apocalypse, itself based on the concept of revelation." This suggests that the Berlin textile page functions not unlike a real textile curtain.

[305] Rudolf Berliner, *"The Freedom of Medieval Art" und andere Studien zum christlichen Bild*, ed. Robert Suckale, (Munich: Lukas, 2003), 60–75. Herbert Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006), 151—72; Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum.'"

[306] "Unde datur intelligi, quod non in rebus visibilius, non in manufactis, sed in corde Deus est quaerendus; nec carnalibus oculis, sed mentis solummodo oculo aspiciendus (4.2)," *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (Libri Carolini), Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia, 2: *supplementum*, ed. Ann Freeman (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 473. Trans. Herbert Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in idem, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 104–48, esp. 119. On Theodulf's

as a picture, devoid of life, feeling, and reason. It feeds only the eye; but God is worshipped by the spirit."[307] Other sources, both textual and visual, point out the problem of representing the divine in material form.[308] Importantly, the problem of corporeal versus spiritual sight not only had an effect on how pictures were perceived, but also on how images of Christ were presented in various manuscript contexts. A Gospel book made for Abbess Hitda in Cologne between 948—1042 comments on the impossibility of picturing Christ.[309] The artist showed Christ nonetheless, but in a setting that was designed to control the viewers' approach to the physical image [fig. 118]. Placed on the folio that faces the Majestas miniature, an inscription on fol. 6v counsels the viewer not to mistake the image on the recto for a spiritual vision of Christ. Written in gold on monochrome purple ground the text states: "This visible product of the imagination represents the invisible truth / Whose splendor penetrates the world through the two-times-two lights of the new doctrine."[310] The inscription makes clear that the figure depicted shows an artistic representation of the Son of God, but not of his divine nature, which no man-made picture can represent. In the Berlin Gospel book, the viewer's approach to the image of Christ is not guided by verbal instructions. Instead, the problem of God's invisibility was addressed in the textile-ornamented pages.[311] They remind the reader that spiritual things are visible only to the

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critique of images see Karl F. Morrison, "Anthropology and the Use of Religious Images in the *Opus Caroli Regis* (*Libri Carolini*)" in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 32–45.

[307] Angobard of Lyon, *De picturis et imaginibus*, 31, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 52, ed. Lieven van Acker (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 179. Trans. Kessler, "Real Absence," 120.

[308] Kessler, Herbert. *Neither God nor Man: Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2007).

[309] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 1640. Beuckers, *Äbtissin Hitda und der Hitda-Codex*. Boskamp-Priever, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hitda*.

[310] "Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile veru(m), cuius splendor penetrat mundu(m), cum bis binis candelabris, ipsius novi sermonis," cit. and transl. Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum,'" 292.

[311] It is worth noting in this respect that the Hitda Codex Majestas shows Christ against a purple-colored ground sprinkled with golden stars that recalls the form and color of the rosette pattern from the Berlin

inner eyes of the mind, as the *Libri Carolini* also stated. "To contemplate Christ, who is the power and wisdom of God, or to contemplate those virtues that are derived from him in his saints, it is necessary to have not corporeal sight, which we have in common with irrational animals, but spiritual vision, for this the Prophet prayed when he said, 'Take the veil from my eyes that I may see the marvels that spring from thy law.'"[312]

Because the contemplative state that Herbert Kessler has called "spiritual seeing" was not easily achieved, and intellectual vision—the third and highest mode of seeing according to Augustine's three-step of contemplation—was a skill that only few mastered, most Christians depended on images for worship and contemplation.[313] Images guided the gaze and mentored thoughts while contemplating higher things. The Hitda Codex and the Berlin Gospel books demonstrate that images, although they were ambiguous and needed to be controlled, also helped viewers to transcend corporeal sight. Pope Hadrian I deemed images of Christ useful because "by a spiritual force our mind is carried up through the visible face to the invisible majesty of divinity, through the contemplation of the image depicted in human form, which the son of God deigned to assume for our salvation."[314] Painted images thus stimulated the viewers' imagination

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Gospels textile page. Kessler further observed that the mandorla of Christ in the Hitda Codex looks like cloth. Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum,'" 295.

[312] *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (Libri Carolini), ed. Ann Freeman, 2.22, 275–76. Trans. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 150.

[313] Even the critical Bernhard of Clairvaux recognized the need for showing art at least in some churches. "We know that since they [the bishops] are responsible for both the wise and the foolish, they stimulate the devotion of a carnal people with material ornaments because they cannot do so with spiritual ones." Conrad Rudolph, *"The Things of Greater Importance": Bernhard of Clairveaux's* Apologia *and the Medieval Attitude Towards Art* (Philadelphia, 1990), 279–81. Compare also Augustine, "Sed multis finis est humana delectatio, nec volunt tendere ad superiora, ut judicent cur ista visibilia placeant. At ego virum intrinsecus oculatum, et invisibiliter videntem non desinam commonere cur ista placeant, ut judex esse audeat ipsius delectationis humanae." Augustine, *De vera religione*, 32, 59, PL 34:148. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata."

[314] Per visibilem vultum ad invisibilem divinitatis maiestam men's nostra rapiatur spiritali affectu per contemplationem figurate imaginis secundum carnem, quam filius Dei pro nostra salute suscipere dignatus est. *Hadrianum* 25, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, ed. Karl Hampe, Berlin, 1898–99, (repr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1974), 56. David Appleby, "Instruction and Inspiration through Images in the Carolingian Period," in *Word, Image, Number: Communication in the*

and helped to generate in peoples' minds a *mental* picture of immaterial things.[315] In Kessler's words, "pictures are useful, then, not because they actually represent God, but because—'imaginariam operationem'—they engage viewers in a dynamic, mental process analogous to that needed to contemplate the invisible Deity."[316] The illuminated opening to the Gospels of John in the Berlin manuscript is such a visual aid that helps the viewer to enter a contemplative state and see with the eyes of the mind. When looking at the image of Christ facing the textile page, the medieval readers of this Gospel book were asked to change their modes of seeing and lift the veil of literal sight from their inner eyes.

The textile-curtain page as a material device for contemplation

As we have seen in chapter one, textile ornament has the ability to transform an ordinary parchment page into a curtain page. Looking at a parchment page covered in textile ornament triggers in the viewer's mind the memory of patterned textiles. Klaus Krüger advanced the notion that images are another form of veil because they simultaneously show and obscure reality.[317] The Berlin textile page is a veil not only because the iconography makes it cloth-like, but also because the physical properties make the parchment page function like a curtain. By

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Middle Ages, ed. John J. Contreni and S. Casciani (Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002), 85–111, esp. 91.

[315] Augustine explains: "If then, we seek at any time to distinguish interior and spiritual things more aptly, and to intimate them more easily, we must take examples of likeness from external and corporeal things. […] Let us, therefore, rely principally on the testimony of the eyes, for this sense of the body far excels the rest, and comes closer to mental vision, though differs from it in kind." Augustine, *De trinitate*, book 11, ch. 1. transl. by Stephen McKenna in Augustine, *On the Trinity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 61. On mental images see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 5, 10. Also Herbert Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye: Medieval Art and the Dynamics of Contemplation" in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 413–439. Kessler noted, 413, "to avoid confusing what they [the medieval viewers] see with God's invisible divinity, they must transform the sensual impressions derived from looking at artistic representations into mental contemplations."

[316] Kessler "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum,'" 305.

[317] Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier*, 19.

turning the page, this "curtain" can be opened and closed. The costly materials that were used in the making of these curtains play a significant role in this process of mediation. Recent work on materiality and sensual approaches to medieval art has shown that precious materials increase the sacredness of objects used in the cult and cause an affective viewer response.[318] As Eric Palazzo suggested, precious ornamentation activated liturgical manuscripts because costly material heightened sensory experience.[319] Moreover, in Kessler's view, "art attracts the earthly mind because it appeals to the senses […] however, it can also begin a spiritual ascent by inducing the power to contemplate higher, internal images."[320] Two aspects, therefore, seem to have stimulated the use of precious matter in religious art: sensual attraction and contemplative needs. Already in the sixth century Hypathius of Ephesus noted that the splendor of precious materials is especially suited for bridging the gap between the worldly and heavenly spheres.

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[318] The following titles are only some useful contribution from the vast literature on the subject. Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 41 (2010): 25–56. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: an Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011). Beate Fricke, *Ecce fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (Paderborn: W. Fink, 2007). Herbert Kessler, "Image and Object: Christ's Dual Nature and the Crisis of Early Medieval Art," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davies and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 290–326. Kristin Böse, "Spürbar und Unvergänglich: Zur Visualität, Ikonologie und Medialität von Textilien und textilen Reliquiaren im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 33 (2006): 7—27. Eric Thunø, "The Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Image and Materiality," in *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the dynamics between image and altar in the Middle Ages,* ed. Søren Kaspersen and Eric Thunø (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press 2006), 63–78. Idem, "Materializing the Invisible in Early Medieval Art: The Mosaic of Santa Maria in Dominica in Rome," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging. Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000," Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003,* ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 265—89. Bruno Reudenbach, "Gold ist Schlamm: Anmerkungen zur Materialbewertung im Mittelalter," in *Material in Kunst und Alltag,* ed. Monika Wagner und Dietmar Rübel (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 1–12. Idem, "Reliquie als Heiligkeitsbeweis und Echtheitszeugnis: Grundzüge einer problematischen Gattung," in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus 4,* ed. Wolfgang Kemp (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 1–36. Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saint's Shrines," in *Approaches to Early-Medieval Art,* ed. Lawrence Nees (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1998), 121–48.

[319] Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses," 39. See also Adam S. Cohen, "Magnificence in Miniature: The Case of Early Medieval Manuscripts," in Stephen Jaeger (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music* (New York: 2010), 79–101. Felix Heinzer, "Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuchs in der Liturgie," in *Codex und Raum,* ed. Stephan Müller and Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2009), 43–58.

[320] Kessler, "Real Absence," 104–48, esp. 116.

For these reasons we, too, permit material adornment in the sanctuaries, not because
God considers gold and silver, silken vestments and vessels encrusted with gems to
be precious and holy, but because we allow every order of the faithful to be guided in
a suitable manner and to be led up to the Godhead, inasmuch as some men are guided
even by such things towards the intelligible beauty, and from the abundant light of
the sanctuaries to the intelligible and immaterial light... [321]

Because they appealed to the corporeal senses, precious materials like gems and gold, and also
sumptuous textiles, could be used as tools for bridging the gap between sensory perception and
spiritual vision.

Textile curtains were especially suited for this purpose. In addition to precious fabric, the
veiling and unveiling function that characterizes curtains predisposed textile veils for a
metaphoric use in manuscripts. Painted textile pages are akin to the real silken curtains that, as
Christine Sciacca has shown, were frequently sewn onto the parchment pages of medieval
manuscripts.[322] The resemblance between silken veils and textile pages in manuscripts is based
on physical as well as metaphoric characteristics. Sciacca has argued that these curtains, which
were often made of costly silk, had no protective function but veiled painted images in order to
control their power.[323] Further, as Sciacca has shown, textile veils in manuscripts served a
contemplative purpose. The veils increased the image's aura and made it "more didactically

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[321] Hypathius of Ephesus, *Patristica Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117 (1938), 127–29, trans. Cyril
Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 117. A
similar commentary inspired by Pseudo-Dionysian thought on spiritual ascent from the visible to the
invisible pertaining to the material splendour of textile curtains occurs in William Durandus in the
thirteenth century. Durandus acknowledged in his *Rationale divinorum* officiorum, 3.39, that sumptuous
textiles served religious purposes not only because they are decorative, but also because they make the
divine visible. "On fest days the curtains are spread out in churches to decorate them, so that through
visible ornaments, we will be moved to the invisible ones." Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale
Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One*
(New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 44. Also Kristin Faupel-Drevs, "Bildraum als Kultraum?
Symbolische und liturgische Raumgestaltung im 'Rationale divinorum officiorum' des Durandus von
Mende," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed.. Jan A. Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin
and New York: de Gruyter, 1998), 665–84, esp. 678–83.

[322] Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain." For other manuscripts with textile curtains see Regula Schorta, "Les
rideaux du lectionnaire G. 44 de la Pierpont Morgan Library, New York," *CIETA Bulletin* 73 (1995–96):
54–62. Micheline Viseux, "Les tissus de la Bible de Theodulf," *CIETA Bulletin* 71 (1993): 19–25.

[323] Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 186.

effective."[324] A late-Carolingian Gospel book from Tours and now in Wolfenbüttel preserves four silken veils.[325] These curtains do not veil and unveil an image but are placed over initial pages in order to facilitate the reader's spiritual approach to scripture.[326]

The date of the curtains is unclear [fig. 119—122].[327] They might have been made in central Asia and perhaps date from the ninth century like the manuscript itself, but the curtains were clearly inserted into the book some time after the illuminations had been completed.[328] The veils were cut from a piece of eastern imported silk that shows a repeat of birds between horizontal stripes. Four such curtains, one slightly shorter than the others, were sewn onto the initial pages of the Gospel book [fig. 122 and 123]. The manuscript contains no evangelist portraits, only decorated text pages at the beginnings of the Gospels. Instead of a painted textile page, real silk curtains stage the "entrances" into each of the four Gospels in this manuscript. Replacing the metaphoric veils that were usually shown in this place in the Gospel book in evangelist images, these silken curtains are "real" veils of revelation. When the readers touch and raise the silken veils to look at the initial page beneath it [fig. 123], the mystery of unveiling

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[324] Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 188.

[325] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 16 Aug. 2°. The manuscript was dated to the ninth century. Otto von Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1965–1966), 2:201–4. Helmar Haertel, "Evangeliar aus Tours," in *Wolfenbütteler Cimelien: Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen in der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989), 53–56. Patrizia Carmassi, *Divina officia: Liturgie und Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 210. Hedwig Röckelein, "Touroner Evangeliar mit Schatzverzeichnis aus dem Kloster Erstein," in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), cat. no. 130, 260.

[326] Sciacca, 184—85, also mentioned these curtains and noted that textiles "added further importance and value to manuscript images, as did the use of gold or other precious pigments in miniatures themselves." At the beginning of her essay, 165, she further notes that "simulated textile pages become appropriately splendid 'bearers' of the Word of God," and cites Calkin's notion that textile pages unveil the Word of God. The focus of her investigation of textile veils in images, however, is on their function of revealing images rather than scripture.

[327] Röckelein, "Touroner Evangeliar mit Schatzverzeichnis aus dem Kloster Erstein," 260.

[328] An imprint on fol. 47v caused by paint that rubbed off from the facing folio demonstrates that the curtains must have been inserted at a later time, because the veils would have prevented the paint from transferring onto the facing page.

scripture manifests itself in a physical act.[329] As Sciacca has shown, in addition to the use of awe-inspiring precious material, silken veils in manuscripts were so effective because they involved the readers in a physical act of revelation. [330] The curtains suggest, therefore, that touch was a stronger motor for setting an affective response in motion than sight. The process of revelation that the silk veils in this Touronian manuscript trigger ultimately aimed to steer the readers away from earthly sensations and unveil to them the mystical sense of scripture. This is made clear by the fact that the silk veils do not unveil an image but reveal the Gospel text. Textile pages in medieval Gospel books function in a very similar way. They also combine the visual aura of precious material with physical action and spiritual aims. In order to read the Gospel text, and spiritually engage with scripture, textile-ornamented pages must be touched and physically turned.

Scripture as pathway into the realm of the spirit

       The opening to the Gospels of John in the Berlin Gospel demonstrates that textile ornament prepares the readers' approach to scripture. Turning the page with the image of John [fig. 114] leads the reader to a small colored initial on a text page that indicates the place where the first verse of John's Gospels begins.[331] If we recapitulate the opening in total, the image of

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[329] Leonie von Wilckens, "Zur Verwendung von Seidengeweben des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Bucheinbänden,"*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 53 (1990): 425—442, esp. 434, observed that many of the silk pieces preserved in medieval manuscript covers show birds or pairs of birds. Without venturing an explanation she wondered if this motif is coincidental or might have meaning. Cynthia Robinson, "Towers, Birds and Divine Light: The Contested Territory of Nasrid and 'Mudjéhar'Ornament,"*Medieval Encounters* 17 (2010): 27—79, esp. 78, noted that the bird in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam likewise "signifies mystical transformation." The birds on the veils in the Touronian manuscript might be a similar symbol of the spirit rising to heaven in anagogical ascent, or allude to John's eagle.

[330] "Raising the brightly coloured silk curtains that cover each full-page miniature […] reveals the path to salvation to the reader in an increasingly dramatic way. […] Because the reader must physically interact with the book in order to gain access to its images, the fairly passive act of reading is transformed into active participation, and this focuses attention on the image itself in a more concentrated way." Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 188–89.

[331] Cynthia Hahn, "Letter and Spirit: The Power of the Letter—the Enlivenment of the Word in Medieval Art," in *Visible Writings: Cultures, Forms, Readings*, ed. Marija Dalbello and Mary Shaw (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 55–76, esp. 61, intimated that "such letters announce what one can only call the momentous entrance of the reader into the text." On initials see also Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 5, 158. Otto Pächt, *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters: eine Einführung* (Munich: Prestel, 1984), 68, observed "als magisches Zeichen vertritt das Wort das Bild, wird es Bild." In

Christ [fig. 112], the textile page [fig. 113] and the curtain in John stage a threshold that leads from physical-visual to allegorical-spiritual space. According to John Cassian's *Conferences,* the contemplation of scripture should begin with an image of Christ in mind.[332] Seeing a vision of the Saviour's face was also the "ultimate aim of reading."[333] The Berlin opening can be read in both directions, beginning with Christ on fol. 113v [fig.112] or John on fol. 115v [fig. 114]. In either case, the textile page between these two images makes clear that the Divine cannot be accessed by corporeal senses. Instead, the opening directs the reader on a path to the spiritual realm that begins with reading and meditation.[334] The *Libri Carolini*, for example, stated that meditating on the Word of God was the highest form of spiritual ascent, because scripture comes closer to spiritual truth than do images:

> While on the island of Patmos, John saw and heard many mysteries revealed by God, but he was commanded not to make paintings of them but rather to write them in a book … From this, we understand that we are to acquire knowledge of our faith from Scripture and not from pictures.[335]

Reading scripture was paramount in medieval religious culture and was practiced as a form of meditation especially in monastic contexts.[336] *Lectio*, the silent reading, and *ruminatio*, the

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Jonathan J. G. Alexander's view, *The Decorated Letter* (New York: Braziller, 1978), 9, initials convey "the mystery of the Divine Word by their very complexity."

[332] As Mary Carruthers noted, according to John Cassian's *Conferences*, which was well known in monastic contexts, "meditation begins with a mental picture, some seeing Christ glorified, some Christ in his earthly form, in order to stir up the emotions for meditation." Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 168. On Cassian's *Conferences*, see ibid, 61.

[333] Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 66.

[334] On meditative reading see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 60–69, 91, 116.

[335] *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (Libri Carolini), ed. Ann Freeman, 1.19, 310–11. Trans. Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," 150.

[336] According to Hugh of St. Victor, the "art of learning, thus, lies in reading, but its consumation lies in meditation. […] This especially it is, which takes the soul away from the noise of earthly business and makes it have even in this life a kind of foretaste of the sweetness of the eternal quiet." Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalion*, Preface and book 3, ch. 10. Trans. Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalion of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 93. On

contemplation of scriptural passages, at times accompanied by silent movements of the mouth, aimed at opening cognitive and affective avenues in the readers' minds and hearts that were necessary for a spiritual understanding of scripture.[337] Ruminating on scriptural passages was meant to unveil the spiritual sense hidden beneath the biblical words.[338] Scriptural exegesis, essentially a form of spiritual interpretation, and meditation also nurtured an anagogical approach to scripture.[339]

The contemplative approach to scripture was sometimes described in textile terms. For Bruno of Segni (1045—1123), the exegetical explication of scripture was a sort of veil.

> This velum then which preaches thus, admonishes thus, teaches thus, or persuades thus, is the preaching of the gospel. And whence, it is said to hang before the four columns, by which we understand the four evangelists.... Before them, then, hangs this velum, since by them it is embroidered [pingitur], by them variously related, by them preached, by them sustained and carried.[340]

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meditation and Contemplation, see especially Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 23 and O'Reilly, "St. John as a Figure of the Contemplative Life."

[337] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 155–161, on the medieval practice of meditation and contemplation more generally. On the monastic practice of *ruminatio* see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 202–12. Philip J. West, "Rumination in Bede's Account of Caedmon," *Monastic Studies* 12 (1976): 217–26.

[338] O'Reilly, "St. John as a Figure of the Contemplative Life." On reading as spiritual thought progression, see also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 125. Kessler, "Real Absence," 118. Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter," 14–16. Eberlein, 89, explains: "ans Licht kommen die 'fundamenta scriptuarum' (Bruno von Segni [A.B. comm. In Math. IV, cap. XXVIII, 165, 307A]), enthüllt wird die 'veritas Evangelii' (Beda [A.B. de temple Sal. Lib. Cap. XV, PL 91, col. 771A], Hrabanus [A.B. comm. In paralip. Lib. III, PL 109, col. 432C])."

[339] Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000).

[340] Bruno Episcopus Sigiensis, Expositio in Exodum, XXVI, PL 164: 326B. Trans. Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 74.

Meditating on scripture effected a transformation in the readers, which Jennifer O'Reilly likened to the appearance of the High Priest who enters the Holy of Holies vested in purple robes.[341] Michelle Brown read the making rather than reading of a Gospel book as an exercise in scriptural contemplation that has a transformative effect. She noted that "the scribe, who meditates on the Law day and night (in the sustained, focused scribal campaign witnessed in the Lindisfarne Gospels, for example) and who lives and teaches the Gospels, becomes himself a tabernacle or dwelling-place of the Lord."[342] Contemplating the Word was a way for the readers to enter behind the veil and "make of themselves God's sanctuary."[343]

Textile-text veils

Textile pages make the process of unveiling scripture and accessing the divine in reading and meditation visible and tangible. As Ganz, Kessler, and others have shown, art sustains vision.[344] Textile veils and textile pages in medieval manuscripts demonstrate that visual beauty and physical matter play an important role in generating spiritual sight.[345] Few medieval texts make this clearer than Pseudo-Dionysius.

> For it is quite impossible that we humans should, in any immaterial way, rise up to imitate and to contemplate the heavenly hierarchies without the aid of those material means capable of guiding us as our nature requires. Hence, any thinking person realizes that the appearances of beauty are signs of an invisible loveliness. […] Material lights are images of the outpouring of an immaterial gift of light. […] The source of spiritual perfection provided us with perceptible images of these heavenly minds. He did so out of concern for us and because he wanted us to be made godlike. He made the heavenly hierarchies known

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[341] O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow," in *New Offerings—Ancient treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 3–39, esp. 20.

[342] Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 361. On the making of the book as a form of meditative prayer see ibid., 324–25.

[343] Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, 361.

[344] Kessler, "Real Absence," 165–80; Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung*.

[345] See also the literature cited in n. 118.

to us. […] He revealed all this to us in the sacred pictures of the scriptures so that he might

lift us in spirit up through the perceptible to the conceptual, from the sacred shapes and

symbols to the simple peaks of the hierarchies of heaven.[346]

In addition to iconography and materiality, the anagogical process that textile pages trigger is

cued by the combination of curtain metaphor and the allegoric notion of the Word of God as a

veil of revelation.[347] Those textile pages that show text superimposed on textile ground

especially highlight the relationship between immaterial scripture and the material metaphor of

the textile-parchment veil. These pages illustrate how textile ornament mediates between the four

Gospels and the reader, who seeks to unveil the *sensus spiritalis* in contemplation.

An eleventh-century manuscript of unknown provenance now in Koblenz contains three

textile-and-text veils that merge text with textile ornament.[348] The textile pages face the

evangelist portraits, except in the case of Matthew [fig. 82, 124, 127].[349] Each Gospel begins

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[346] Pseudo-Dionysius, *De coelesti hierarchia*. Trans. Colm Luibheid, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (London: SPCK, 1987), 146–47. On the circulation of Pseudo-Dionysius' works in the Middle Ages and the reception of the text in art see Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16, 79. See further Thunø, *Image and Relic*, 149.

[347] On allegory see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Romanischen Philologie*, ed. Gustav Konrad and Fritz Schalk (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1967), 55–92. Christian Kiening and Katharina Mertens Fleury (eds.), *Figura: Dynamiken der Zeiten und Zeichen im Mittelalter* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013).

[348] Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 81. On this manuscript see Meckelnborg, *Die nichtarchivischen Handschriften*, 72–78. According to Meckelnborg, 74, the scribe worked in an atelier in the middle or lower Rhine region. Shortly after the book was made (before 1017) it was used in St. Maria ad Martyres. An entry on fol. 169r documents the dedication of an altar at said church through Poppo von Babenberg, archbishop of Trier. The date 1017 was partially erased but can be verified in other documents. Fol. 3r further includes an inventory that was edited by Bernhard Bischoff in *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, Teil 1, 98 Nr. 93. On the miniatures and the manuscript in general see further Franz J. Ronig (ed.), *Egbert: Erzbischof von Trier 977–993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag* (Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 1993), cat. no. 22, 30, figs. 103–12. According to Hoffmann, the book was written in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst*, 500f. Anton Von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), cat. no. 40, 146, dated the book to the late-tenth century.

[349] Textile-ornamented are folios 56r, 85r, and 128r. There is no textile page before Matthew but only an initial painted on monochrome purple ground. The Gospel book is complete. There is no evidence that it lost a folio or a quire, so that we must conclude that Matthew never had a textile page.

with a colorful initial on a purple textile-patterned ground. The combination of text with textile ornament brings scripture and the metaphor of the veil of revelation very closely together on one page. The ornamented openings draw attention to the Gospel beginnings and to the allegoric space that scripture opens to the reader. As in the Berlin Gospel book, these ornamented thresholds lead to an image of Christ in the opening of John on fol. 127r [fig. 125]. Compared to the Berlin manuscript, the relationship between John and Christ in the Koblenz Gospel book is similarly close. Christ was depicted on the same folio that shows the evangelist on the verso [fig. 126]. However, there is no curtain in John's image that separates him from Christ. On the contrary, the mandorla from the image of Christ is clearly visible through the parchment page on fol. 127v. In sharing the same parchment leaf, Christ and John appear to share a physical space. Only a thin veil of monochrome purple paint and the blue color of the mandorla set them apart. The viewer and reader may participate in this intimate relationship if he makes use of the curtain page on fol. 128r that guides him into the spiritual realm of scripture [fig. 127]. The textile ornament behind the text makes clear that the veil of scripture means to be unveiled in reading and meditation. In contrast to the Berlin Gospel book, John is not distinguished as clearly as seer in the visual program of the Koblenz manuscript. Luke (fol. 84v) also looks at the viewer [fig. 128], while Matthew (fol. 16v) and Mark (fol. 55v) peer down into their books [fig. 129 and 130].[350] These evangelists' role as intercessors is less apparent in this manuscript because there are no textile veils in their images. The purple color in the background of the evangelist miniatures, however, recalls the purple globe on which Christ rests his feet [fig. 125]. The repetition of this color on the globe of the earth seems to suggest to the viewer that the evangelists nonetheless occupy a location in between heaven and earth. The evangelists' golden halos further visualize the divine inspiration that the readers may share if they engage like them in a spiritual exchange with the divine. While the evangelists engage in a dialogue with the Divine via their symbols, the road to spiritual sight for the readers of the manuscript is reading and contemplation.[351]

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[350] The figures show fols. 16v, and 84v.

[351] Eberlein, 89, characterized the evangelists as prophets of thruth. "Der Evangelist ist Verkünder der 'veritas Evangelii'. Seine Aufgabe hat nicht nur zeitlich, sondern auch inhaltlich mit dem Übergang vom alten zum neuen Glauben zu tun. Gekennnzeichnet wird sie aber auch dadurch, daß das Christentum die Erfüllung des Judentums ist, weswegen das Alte Testament nicht dem Vergessen anheim fällt, sondern nur neu – 'revelato obtutu' – gesehen werden muß."

Textile pages in manuscripts without evangelist portraits

A Gospel book made at Corvey in the second half of the tenth century shows a similar form of textile-text-veil in the Gospel openings.[352] Because the manuscript lacks evangelist images that would portray the authors of the Gospels as intermediaries, the textile pages in this book receive even more attention. Fol. 17v, 73v, and 176v are textile-ornamented incipit pages [fig. 83, 131—133]. The text on fol. 116r says "multi conati sunt …," as verse one of the Gospels of Luke continues after the initial "Quoniam quidem" [fig. 132].[353] In addition to the textile-text veils, the initial pages showcase the Gospel beginnings and make clear where the entrance into the realm of scripture begins. Another tenth-century manuscript from Corvey (Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 426) displays even more elaborate triple-page gospel beginnings.[354] In addition to the incipit and facing initial pages of all four Gospels, the text on the following verso pages also was written on textile ground [figs. 84—86, 134—136, 137—139, 140—142]. It suffices to look at one of the openings in detail in order to illustrate how all of them work. On fol. 59v the Gospel of Mark begins with an initial page written on a textile-

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[352] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Laud. lat. 27; textile pages on fols. 17v, 73v, 116r, 176v. On this manuscript see Pächt and Jonathan Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* cat. no. 24. Swarzenski, "Die deutschen Miniaturen," 194. Nigel F. Palmer, *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher: Die mittelalterliche Bibliotheksgeschichte von Kloster Eberbach im Rheingau unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der in Oxford und London aufbewahrten Handschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998), 284, suggests the book was made either at Corvey or Hildesheim in the second half of the tenth century. He further noted an *exlibris*, 261–62, which shows that the manuscript was at Eberbach since at least the twelfth century. I thank Adam S. Cohen for this reference.

[353] The alternating placement of the textile page on the verso and recto is not the only irregularity in the structure of this manuscript. In the openings of Matthew, Mark, and Luke portions of the first Gospel verse are missing, which were added in red ink on the reverse of the initial, or, in case of Luke, on the reverse of the textile-ornamented folio. The text written in red ink on textile page in Luke, as opposed to gold in the remaining openings, continues verse one following the "Quoniam quidem" initial, but the corrector nonetheless added the incipit and verse one on the verso of this page again. The text on fol. 117r begins "ordinare narrationem," so that verse one appears three times in different versions. I thank Adam S. Cohen for information on this manuscript. Similar repetitions and gaps in the text have been observed in other Ottonian manuscripts. Florentine Mütherich, "Ottonian Art: Changing Aspects," *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 1:27–39.

[354] Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 426. On this manuscript see Müller, "Evangeliar aus Helmstedt," 276–78. Puhle, *Otto der Große*, 2: 189–92. Also Bauer, "Corvey oder Hildesheim," 2: 145–160.

patterned ground that shows a complicated pattern made of rectangles, circles and swastikas [fig. 134]. Fol. 60r is the Initial page with the first word of the Gospels of Mark "Initium" written on top of a peacock pattern that was painted in two shades of purple [fig. 135]. The sentence continues on the following page, fol. 61v, "evangelii Iesv Christi Filii Dei" [fig. 136]. This textile-text page shows yet another type of ornament, concentric circles superimposed on latticework. Each of the other three Gospels in this book is introduced by an equally elaborate triple-page opening in which all three folios at the beginning of the Gospels are textile ornamented. The variety of ornamental designs in each opening combined with the gold, and the rich and unusually dark purple color, causes a moment of awe that makes the reader pause. As Anne-Marie Bouché and Mary Carruthers have shown, anomaly generates enigma, which in turn stimulates interpretation.[355] The opulent openings of Helmst. 426 cause a moment of surprise that provokes cognitive activity. The reader is faced with metaphoric figure that wants to be deciphered just as a riddle is solved by turning it over in one's mind. As Carruthers has shown, ornament is such an allegoric "secret" that triggers mental activation.[356] In the Gospel beginnings of Helmst. 426, the iconography evokes the metaphoric figure of the curtain, which makes the reader think about scripture. Furthermore, the visual force of ornamentation adds power to these pages that makes unmistakably clear that the reader is about to cross a threshold.[357]

Transforming pages

I conclude this chapter with more thoughts on the function of ornament and its ability to trigger spiritual transformation. I propose that, by bringing these functions together with the performative nature of manuscript pages, the textile pages in early medieval Gospel books were an especially successful concept because such pages merge visual and material splendor with

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[355] Anne-Marie Bouché, "Vox Imaginis: Anomaly and Enigma in Romanesque Art," in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 306–335. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 165–68.

[356] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 168–70.

[357] On medieval records on experiencing opulent ornamentation see Cohen, "Magnificence in Miniature." Hahn, "Letter and Spirit," 61–62, remarked on the ornamented pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels that these lead "the reader with gorgeous theme and variation into the body of the text. […] This genesis of elaborate initial ornamentation […] is indeed all about entrances and exits."

physical action and also with cognitive stimulants such as material metaphors and allegory. The visually and metaphorically loaded textile openings of Helmst. 426 suggest that all of these aspects catered simultaneously to the corporeal-sensual and cognitive-spiritual needs of its readers. In her discussion of cognitive images, meditation, and ornament, Carruthers noted that interlace ornament in the Lindisfarne Gospels "offers an act of reading all in itself, and is a fitting ornament of abbreviation to initiate and orient the reading of the gospel."[358] Ornamented pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels have places within the codicological organization of the manuscripts similar to Ottonian Gospel books. They appear at the opening of the book and at the Gospel beginnings.[359] Although the designs of the Ottonian textile folios are far less intricate than the insular interlace pages, ornament in both types of books serves a similar function. Textile ornament is a sort of abbreviation, an allegoric code, which condenses complex exegetical ideas into a simple iconographic formula. The function of textile ornament resembles that of diagrams.[360] The readers activate the textile code when they decipher its allegoric meaning and use the page as a tool for meditation. In this way, textile ornament reveals many layers of metaphoric meaning and simultaneously triggers a contemplative response. Therefore, to use Carruther's term, ornamented pages are "initiators."[361] Like etymology, allegory, and other enigmas, textile ornament sets a mental process in motion. As Carruthers noted, "*allegoria* isn't a 'category of thought' but a machine for thinking. […] Allegory operates like a kind of builder's host, a *machina*, so that by its means we may be lifted up to God."[362] Textile pages in

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[358] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 169. For a reading of the ornamented pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels as veils, see also Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 91–94.

[359] Note also that the ornamented pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels take the same places in the codicological organization of the book, at the beginning of the four individual Gospels, like in the Ottonian manuscripts. Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

[360] On the function and efficacy of diagrams, diagrammatic and allegorical images, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Haec Figura Demonstrat: Diagrams in an Early-Thirteenth Century Parisian Copy of Lothar de Segni's *De Missarum Mysteriis*," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009): 7–75. Madeline H. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," *Gesta* 22 (1993): 99–120. On the concept of ornament as abbreviation see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 167.

[361] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 169.

[362] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 167–78. On metaphor and allegory in the Middle Ages see also Auerbach, "Figura." Kiening and Mertens Fleury, *Figura*.

medieval Gospel books are such thinking machines that set in motion a mental process.[363] This process is triggered by textile iconography. It has been suggested that an allegorical image is more efficacious if its iconography is abstract.[364] Many textile pages show highly abstracted patterns, but textile pages are not abstract. On the contrary, the iconography clearly shows a figurative motif, a curtain. In his *De pictura*, Isidore of Seville stated that "a painting expresses the appearance of a thing which, when seen, recalls that thing to the mind," and thus, the storage of memory could bring a painted textile curtain to life.[365] While visually compelling ornamentation and textile metaphors are important motors that activate textile pages, the physical and material make of the book is another impetus.

Recent scholarship has shown an increased interest in books as multi-sensorial and multi-dimensional objects.[366] Opening a book is a form of accessing the non-physical space that opens up inside the pages of a book. The viewer is led through the veil of images into a different world.[367] Some of these images are not only mirrors of another reality but were also designed to be activated by the reader.[368] As Wolfgang Christian Schneider, David Ganz, and others have

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[363] For a similar reading of manuscript pages with diagrams and other images see Adam S. Cohen, "Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany," *Gesta* 48 (2009): 135–152.

[364] Kessler, "Real Absence," 113. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order."

[365] *Etymologiarum sive originum* libri XX, chap. 16. 1–2; PL 82:676. Trans. Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye," 413. See also Pascal Weitmann, *Sukzession und Gegenwart; Zu theoretischen Äusserungen über bildende Künste und Musik von Basileios bis Hrabanus Maurus* (Wiesbaden, 1997). Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 200. For images coming alive see also Fricke, *Ecce Fides*.

[366] For a spatial reading of manuscripts see Reudenbach, "Heilsräume;" Saurma-Jeltsch, "Der Codex als Bühne." For an approach to the tactility of books see Peter Schmidt, "Der Finger in der Handschrift. Vom Öffnen, Blättern und Schliessen von Codices auf spätmittelalterlichen Bildern," in *Codex und Raum,* ed. Stephan Müller and Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 85–125.

[367] See Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier.*

[368] Wolfgang Christian Schneider, "Geschlossene Bücher–offene Bücher: Das Öffnen von Sinnräumen im Schließen der Codices," *Historische Zeitschrift* 271 (2000): 561–92. David Ganz, "Doppelbilder: Die innere Schau als Bildmontage im Frühmittelalter," in *Bilder, Räume, Betrachter: Festschrift für Wolfgang Kemp zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Steffen Bogen, Wolfgang Brassat, and David Ganz (Berlin: Reimer, 2006), 36–53. Idem, *Medien der Offenbarung.* In his essay "Openings," Jeffrey analyses numerous openings of medieval manuscripts and notes narrative, typological, and compositional cross-references that bridge the two folios of one opening and make them correspond to one another. Although he brings the reader into the discussion of openings, 111, he pays no attention to the implications of the images' physical activation that is often apparent in double pages.

shown, medieval artists often planned miniatures with the readers in mind.[369] In the Gospels of Otto III from Reichenau, personifications of the provinces depicted on the verso make offerings to the emperor, who is shown on the facing recto [fig. 143].[370] Turning the pages over, the readers of the books complete the process of donation that the artist shows on two separate pages. When the reader turns the page, the offerings meet their intended destination in the emperor's lap.[371] Sciacca's work on textile veils has shown that the reader's active participation is a crucial aspect of the spiritual functions that medieval manuscripts serve.[372] In other media also, such as small-scale ivory diptychs, contemplative functions often go hand in hand with the performative activation of an object, as Marius Rimmele and others have shown.[373] Like the silken veils in manuscripts, these objects share with textile pages the intention of combining visual and physical stimulants with performative action in order to set in motion a thinking machine that generates spiritual transformation. As Herbert Kessler noted, "trapped in a world of sensual experience, humans need (or at least benefit from) material props" if they aspire to contemplate the Divine.[374] In the Hitda Codex the trappings of matter were addressed as a problem, but the makers of the Berlin Gospel book turned the power of sensorial experience into an advantage. Painting a textile page to make it look like a curtain captured the reader's

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[369] Schneider, "Geschlossene Bücher–offene Bücher." Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung*.

[370] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fols. 23v–24r. Mütherich and Dachs, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.*

[371] Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung*, 165: "Das in der Anordnung auf zwei Seiten Getrennte wird im Gebrauch des Kodex zusammengeführt." Thomas Head, "Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier," *Gesta* 39 (1997): 65—82, esp. 73, propsed a similar reading for a four-page opening in the Psalter of Bishop Egbert of Trier, where the book virtually passes from the scribe to Egbert, and from the Bishop to St. Peter as the reader turns the pages. On the Egbert Psalter see also Franz J. Ronig, "Der Psalter des Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale," in *Egbert, Erzbischof von Trier 977–994: Gedenkschrift der Diözese zum 1000. Todestag*, ed. Franz J. Ronig (Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 1993), 1:163–68.

[372] Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 188–89.

[373] "Das Hantieren mit dem kleinformatigen Triptychon (34 cm hoch) stimuliert, leitet und versinnbildlicht gleichzeitig einen gedanklichen Prozess," Marius Rimmele, "(Ver-)führung durch Scharniere: Zur Instrumentalisierung kleinformatiger Klappbilder in der Passionsmeditation," in *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Carla Dauven-van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberichs and Christian Kiening (Zürich: Chronos, 2009), 111–130.

[374] Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye," 413.

attention, and touching and turning such a folio page initiated a physical process that, in an ideal situation, stimulated spiritual sight. "For all the emphasis upon the obscurity and hiddenness of Scripture, it is the ornamental husk that first catches us, that orients us, that *reminds* us of the meditative task at hand, and sends us on our way."[375] Carruther's observation adequately describes the function of textile pages in medieval Gospel books. Textile ornament attracts the reader's gaze, but uses sensorial vehicles to transcend the trappings of matter and sets the reader off on a spiritual journey.

Conclusion

Pictures could instruct people how to interact with the Divine.[376] Textile ornament in early medieval manuscripts serves this function in a unique manner. It marks a threshold between corporeal and spiritual space and identifies the evangelists as intercessors and role models for those who seek to access the Divine. In a letter to Charlemagne, Pope Hadrian I explained the purpose of images as follows.

> With every effort you seek in your heart him whose image you desire to have before your eyes, so that, every day, what your eyes see brings back to you the person depicted, so that while you gaze at the picture your soul burns for him whose image you carefully contemplate…. We know that you do not want an image of our savior in order to worship it as though it were a god, but in order to recall the Son of God and thus warm in love of him whose image you take care to behold. And certainly we do not prostrate ourselves before that image as if before a deity, but we adore him whom we remember through the image, at his birth or passion or seated on his throne.[377]

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[375] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 168.

[376] Kessler, "Turning a Blind Eye."

[377] Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne is know as "Hadrianum," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 3, ed. Karl Hampe (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898–99), 5–57, esp. 24 (55.24–30). Trans. Celia Chazelle, "Memory, Instruction, Worship: 'Gregory's' Influence on Early Medieval Doctrines of the Artistic Image," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. John C. Cavadini [series: Notre Dame Studies in Theology 2] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 181–215, esp. 184. On this text and its meaning see also Appleby, "Instruction."

The Berlin Gospel book shows that textile ornament was a means to control the use of images to avoid such idol worship. The textile curtains in the Touronian manuscript from Wolfenbüttel in particular have also demonstrated that some manuscripts invited and even provoked engagement with the Divine by means of physical props. How fruitful the fusion between precious matter and abstract allegoric textile codes could be if textile pages were designed as contemplative devices becomes evident from the textile ornamented folios in Helmst. 426. Carruthers's concept of ornament as initiator and thinking machine bears especially on textile folios that operate not only as visual allegory, but that also engage the viewer in physical action. Turning a textile page is a form of activating scripture. This activation, in turn, has an effect on the readers, who allow themselves to be transformed spiritually through meditation and contemplation. From such readings of textile ornament in the specific context of medieval Gospel books, ornament emerges as an allegorical device that facilitates and even triggers a spiritual approach to scripture. The primary function of textile ornament in medieval Gospel book is to mediate between the material and the heavenly sphere. As Kessler noted, "while God can not be seen with human eyes, he can be contemplated by means of material things in a reciprocal process of corporal and mental meditation."[378] Textile pages are an interpretation of the manuscript page as a threshold symbol that turns the polarity between matter and spirit into an advantage for the reader.

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[378] Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum,'" 294. Hincmar of Reims, *De diversa et multiplici animae ratione ad Carolum Calvum regem*, VIII, ed. PL 125, col. 947. Compare also Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22, 29.

Chapter 3 : The *habitus* of the Body and the Veil of the Incarnation

The previous chapter demonstrated that in the context of biblical scripture, textile ornament could function as a veil of revelation. While the Gospel manuscripts discussed in chapter two functioned most likely in the meditative context of private contemplation, the sacramentaries, graduals, evangelistaries, and Gospel books at the focus of this chapter are probably liturgical books that were used during mass.[379] If they functioned in the liturgy, most of these manuscripts would have their place on the lectern and altar.[380] The texts and the iconography of the images that accompany textile ornament in these books suggest that the ornament was meant to comment on the Incarnation and the dual nature of Christ. As I argue first, textile ornament located in the context of the Christmas and Easter liturgies in any type of manuscript visually comments on the significance of Christ's incarnate body as an instrument of salvation that is celebrated and commemorated during mass, especially on the feasts of Christmas and Easter. Second, textile ornament placed at the opening of sacramentaries, especially at the very beginning of the Canon, addressed the celebrant who used the book in the liturgy and served as a contemplative aid for the priest who prepared himself spiritually for the sacrifice that he was about to perform at the altar.

As in the previous chapter, the manuscript context is crucial for the interpretation of textile ornament. Text and images play an equal role in specifying this context. First, textile ornament highlights in particular the biblical readings and prayers that were said during the

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[379] For an explanation of the various liturgical books see Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, "Manuscripts of the Liturgy," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2005), 433—472. Martin Klöckener and Angelus A. Häußling, "Liturgische Bücher," in *Divina Officia: Liturgie und Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, ed. Patricia Carmassi (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2004), 341—72, with extensive bibliography. Virgil Fiala and Wolfgang Irtenkauf, "Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur," in *Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften*, Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie, Sonderheft 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1963), 105—37.

[380] For the difficult and often unclear distinction between liturgical and other manuscripts see 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 (Princeton NJ: Index of Christian Art, 2003), 17—53.

Christmas and Easter liturgies. These texts are often accompanied by narrative images that illustrate the Gospel accounts. Second, textile ornament appears in the pages that show the *Vere dignum* and *Te igitur*: the *prefatio* and the Canon of the mass. Either the prayers, incantations, and liturgical formulae said during these liturgical moments were written directly on textile-ornamented ground or separate textile images highlight these texts. In addition to the iconographic and textual framework, I argue that the liturgical context in which these manuscripts were used also has a bearing on the meaning of the ornament. The liturgy further reflects basic theological dogmata that have a bearing on the meaning of textile ornament. The theological focal point of the liturgies is the body of Christ. At Christmas, Christians celebrate the Incarnation of the Son of God and give thanks to Christ for coming into this world in the form of a human being. Easter is the feast at which Christians recollect the death of Jesus Christ and remember that the Son sacrificed his body on the cross for the redemption of sin. Easter is also the feast of the resurrection and the day Christians celebrate Christ's triumph over death. The feasts of Christmas and Easter, which are each preceded by a prepatory season–Advent and Lent–mark the beginning and liturgical climax of the catholic church year.[381] The calendrical structure of the church year reflects the chronological narrative of the life of Christ, and in highlighting the Christmas and Easter feasts liturgically, the church reminded the faithful that salvation was granted to humankind because God became man and died on the cross. The textual arrangement of the pericopes in Gospel lectionaries reflects the liturgical structure of the church year. Most evangelaries begin with the readings for Advent, the liturgical season that prepares Christians for the feast of the Nativity.[382] After the Christmas pericopes and those for the Sundays of the Christmas season, which lasts until Septuagesima, follow the readings for Easter, beginning with Lent. Easter, the feast of the Resurrection, is the highlight in the liturgical year. The Easter season extends to the feasts of the Ascension and ends with Pentecost.[383] The Marian feasts of the Purification and Annunciation have their places in between these celebrations, while

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[381] Stephan Borgehammar, "A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year," in Heffernan and Matter *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 13—40, with further readings.

[382] For a manuscript that begins with the season of Advent see the Egbert Codex, reproduced in Gunther Franz and Franz Ronig, *Codex Egberti: Teilfaksimile des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983). See also Borgehammar, "A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year," 23.

[383] Borgehammar, "A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year," 31—32.

the Assumption and the Birth of Mary, in addition to various saints' days, round off the liturgical texts gathered in the manuscripts. Within this structure of liturgical readings, purple-colored textile ornament visually draws attention to the Christmas and Easter feasts. The ornamented pages comment on the theological significance that characterizes the liturgy of these feast days: the Incarnation, Resurrection, and the dual nature of Christ.

One example of a textile-ornamented manuscript that highlights the Christmas and Easter feasts in this manner is a Gospel lectionary made at Seeon before 1012.[384] The manuscript contains images of the four evangelist on fols. 5v—7r, in the order Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke [fig. 144—147]. A two-page dedication image on fols. 7v—8r shows Henry II, the patron of the manuscript, who hands the book to the Virgin Mary [fig. 148—149]. There are three further textile pages on fols. 9r, 15r, and 60r [fig. 151, 153, 156].[385] A look at the textual and iconographic structure of the manuscript illuminates the meaning of these textile images. The first textile image appears next to an image of Joseph's dream [fig. 150]. The miniature on fol. 8v shows Joseph lying on a bed while an Angel visits him in his sleep. The miniature illustrates Math. 1:19—25, in which an angel announces the birth of Jesus and assures Joseph that the conception of this child was immaculate, in spite of the fact that Joseph is not the father. The facing textile page on fol. 9r shows inscribed in gold on the textile pattern the titulus "In vigilia

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[384] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95. On this manuscript see Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 8. Bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), no. 68, 108–111. Eadem, "Die Buchmalerei in Seeon zur Zeit Kaiser Heinrichs II," in *Kloster Seeon: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei*, ed. Hans von Malottki (Weissenhorn: Konrad, 1993), 177–204. Hartmut Hoffmann dated the manuscript more generally to 1007—1014. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. Und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995), 114f. Idem, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1986), 39, 403, 406, 412, 415. See also Josef Kirmeier, Alois Schütz and Evamaria Brockhoff, *Schreibkunst: Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei aus dem Kloster Seeon* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1994), no. 19 and 75—79, 104–5. The lectionary is bound in a late tenth-century silk possibly from Constantinople. See Regula Schorta, "Der Seideneinband des Bamberger Evangelistars (Msc. Bibl. 95)," in *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln: Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen and Bernhard Schemmel (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000), 175—76. Leonie von Wilckens, "Zur Verwendung von Seidengeweben des 10. Bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Bucheinbänden," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 53 (1990): 425—442.

[385] Matthew is shown on fol. 5v, followed by John (6r), Mark (6v), and Luke (7r). The dedication image on fol. 7v contains an inscription naming king Henry II (HEINRICV REX PIVS) as patron of the book. Henry donates the codex to Mary, the mother of God (SCA MARIA TEOTOCOS), who is depicted on fol. 8r.

natalis Domini" [fig. 151]. The text is the beginning of Math. 1:18, the pericope for the Christmas Vigil. The combination of textile pattern and Christmas pericope suggests that the meaning of the textile image alludes to theological issues pertaining to the Christmas feast. This notion is supported by the fact that the second textile image appears in the iconographic context of the Adoration of the Magi, which is shown on fol. 14v [fig. 152]. The textile page on fol. 15r, displays the beginning of the pericope for Christmas day, which was also written on textile-ornamented ground [fig. 153]. The cycle of images in this manuscript continues with a Crucifixion on fol. 53v [fig. 154], which is followed a few pages later, on fol. 59v, by an image of the Women at the Tomb [fig. 155]. The miniature of the Resurrection faces the third textile page on fol. 60r [fig. 156]. The iconography of the Crucifixion and the women, who visit the tomb on Easter morning and find out that Christ has risen, suggests that this textile page—contrary to the previous ones—relates to the liturgical context of the Easter feast. The text written in gold on the textile ground verifies this suggestion, because it was taken from Mark 16:1, the pericope that was read on Easter Sunday. The Gospel account relates how Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James, and Salome brought aromatic oils to the tomb to anoint the body of Christ. The scene depicted on fol. 59v, however, displays an iconographic formula that is closer to Matthew (28:1), who relates that two women instead of three visited the tomb. For a reading of textile ornament, the iconographic details of the resurrection image make no difference, but rather it is the narrative context in which textile ornament appears that is important. On the one hand, the Crucifixion and the Women at the Tomb locate textile ornament in the context of Easter, on the other, images illustrating the events before and after the birth of Christ contextualize textile ornament in the Christmas season. In addition to the iconography, the pericopes written on the textile pages make clear that textile ornament bears a relation to the Christmas and Easter feasts. By highlighting these feasts visually, textile pages draw attention to scriptural contexts in which Christ's body and his dual nature play a special role. The first textile page appears in the context of Joseph's dream, in which the Incarnation is announced. The second accompanies the Magi who were the first to recognize Jesus as the Messiah, and the third textile page appears next to the Women at the tomb, who were the earliest witnesses of the resurrection.[386] The placement of textile pages in the Bamberg Gospel lectionary, therefore,

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[386] On images of the Magi, see Gary Vikan, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," in Robert Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana:

highlights essential passages in the Gospels that mark Christ's birth, his recognition by the people, as well as his exit from this world. In all three accounts, God's appearance in human form is the major theological focus. Therefore, the ornamental program of the Bamberg evangelistary raises the question of the extent to which textile ornament bears a symbolic relation to the body of Christ. Such use of textile images in the Bamberg Gospel lectionary invites a closer look at textile ornament in other manuscripts and calls for an investigation of textile metaphors in exegetical texts that focus on the dual nature of Christ. In addition to the biblical accounts of the Incarnation and Resurrection, to which textile ornament draws attention, the body of Christ plays the central role during mass, where the Eucharistic bread and wine signify the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood. Therefore, in addition to Gospel books and Gospel lectionaries, sacramentaries and some graduals will also be considered here.

The textile-body of the Virgin

In order to shed light on the function and meaning of textile ornament in the contexts of the Christmas and Easter liturgies, it is useful to take a closer look at textile metaphors and their significance concerning the human body of Christ. A precondition for Christ's sacrifice on the cross was the Incarnation. God became man in order to free the world from sin by sacrificing his human body on the cross. The two major participants in the Incarnation of the Son of God are the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. By making her immaculate human body available to the Spirit, the Virgin contributed the physical substance to the body that the Son needed in order to become materially visible in the world. Seeking solutions for describing the Incarnation as a physical and, at the same time, immaterial act, medieval exegetes often likened Mary's body to a cloud, in which the Holy Spirit implanted his immaterial seed at the Annunciation.[387] Mary's womb,

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University of Illinois Press, 1990), 97—107. On the Resurrection, see Britta Dümpelmann, "Non est hic, surrexit: Das Grablinnen als Medium inszenierter Abwesenheit in Osterfeier und —bild," in *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Carla Dauven-van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberichs, and Christian Kiening (Zürich: Chronos, 2009), 131–164.

[387] Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 9—19, esp. 11. For Byzantine exegesis on the Annunciation and the cloud as metaphor for immaculate

which proved permeable to the heavenly Father but remained otherwise untouched, gave birth to Christ's human form. In addition to the symbol of the cloud and other similar images, early medieval exegetes employed textile motifs, especially wool and silk, to describe the body of the dual-natured Christ that the Virgin bore into the world.[388] In an influential sermon, which Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446) preached—not surprisingly—sometime during the Christmas season of 430, Proclus likened the Virgin to the "fleece of Gideon drenched with the dew of heaven."[389] The dew that collected on the fleece while the ground remained dry, and vice versa (Judges 6:36—40), was taken as a manifestation of "heavenly blessings upon mankind" and was, therefore, an apt typological figure for the Incarnation.[390] An inscription in a Carolingian Psalter now in Stuttgart casts Mary's body in similar textile terms by comparing the Annunciation to rain falling on the fleece, by which is meant the Virgin's womb.[391] In an interpretation of John 19:23—24, Proclus further read the coat that "was without seam, woven from the top throughout" (John 19:23) as a symbol of the Virgin's immaculate body, which, as Proclus

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conception see Proclus of Constantinople, cited in Nicolas P. Constas, "Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotocos, and the Loom of the Flesh," in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 169–194, esp. 177.

[388] On textile curtains in the context of the Annunciation and some interpretations see Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis–revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), 145—47.

[389] Constas, "Weaving," 177.

[390] Deshman, *Benedictional*, 13. See also Ambrose on the fleece of Gideon as a type of the Incarnation, in *De Spiritu Sancto*, Prologue, 5—9, PL 16, col. 705A—706B.

[391] Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. Fol. 23. Deshman, *Benedictional*, 13, cites the inscription on fol. 83v, which mentions that the "rain in the fleece" is "God in the womb of holy Mary." Andrew Prescott, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold: A masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon art. A facsimile* (London: British Library, 2002). *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. fol. 23. Facsimile* (Stuttgart: Schreiber, 1965—1968). Felix Heinzer, *Wörtliche Bilder: zur Funktion der Literal-Illustration im Stuttgarter Psalter, um 830* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005). For a digital facsimile see http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/digitale-sammlungen/seitenansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf[id]=1517&tx_dlf[page]=1&cHash=a60b54c1ec3937ca39171c430bedbb2b (accessed 2014/02/07).

implied, was itself not made by humans but un-sewn, that is, not made by hands.[392] The element of the un-sewn translates into textile-terms the notion that Christ was made by the immaterial spirit and not with the help of a man.[393] As we have seen in chapter one, textile metaphors are particularly suited to describe both the conflict and the conflation between physicality and immateriality and are an apt image for merging the spiritual with the material and vice versa. In addition to the Stuttgart Psalter, Alcuin's treatise on the Trinity described the Virgin's body in allegoric textile terms:

> She [the Virgin] was the purest wool, most glorious in her virginity, with whom none of all the virgins on earth can be compared, of such quality and greatness that she alone was worthy to receive into herself the divinity of the Son of God. For as wool receives the blood of the purple snail, so that from the same wool may be made the purple that is worthy of the imperial majesty […] so has also the Holy Spirit, coming over the blessed Virgin, overshadowed her […] that the wool might be made purple by the Divinity.[394]

This passage, which might have been inspired by Proclus, touches on several important points.[395] First is the notion that Mary is pure like undyed wool, which turned purple when it received the Son from the Spirit. Second, Alcuin implies that the Virgin made her body available as raw material for the weaving of another one, the body of Christ. Therefore, the white wool mentioned in Alcuin is the Virgin's body, but the purple wool into which God turned her womb can be read as the flesh and blood of Christ, from which the Son's body was made.[396]

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[392] Compare Constas, "Weaving," 181, and n. 37.

[393] The notion that Christ's body was a "perfect tabernacle not made with hands" also appears in Hebr. 9:11. See also Constas, "Weaving," 181.

[394] Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, III.14, PL 101, col. 46. Trans. Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, vol. 1, From the Beginnings to the Eve of the Reformation (London and New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963), 173.

[395] Suzanne Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans' at Charlemagne's Court," *Viator* 11 (1980): 71—109, esp. note 11.

[396] For exegetical interpretations of the color purple as indication for the body of Christ see Christel Meier and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2011), "Ruber, Rubeus," 640—91, esp. 654—51, 658—59.

Mary's womb as loom

Christ's dual-natured body also appears cast in textile terms in exegetical texts that comment on the crucifixion. Such readings of the body of the passion as textile-like were in part inspired by the epistle to the Hebrews (10:20), where Paul interpreted the temple curtain that tore apart when Christ died as a figure for his dual nature.[397] Mary likewise plays a role in the textile connection between the temple curtain and Christ's human body on the cross. Proclus, Alcuin, and others likened the Mother of God not only to wool, the raw material used for some forms of weaving, but also to a textile worker. While exegetes primarily saw Mary as the one who spun and wove the body of Christ from her own woolen body, the apocryphal Gospels also relate that the Virgin was involved in the weaving of the temple curtain. The apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew informs us that Mary, during her maidenhood, "did many wonders in weaving and other skills which the older ones could not do."[398] The apocryphal Protoevangelium of James also alludes to the Virgin's skill in the textile crafts, because Mary was one of the virgins chosen to spin the purple wool for the weaving of the temple curtain.[399] The appraisal of Mary's skill in the textile arts is a topos that highlights her female virtues and implies that the Virgin qualifies for the role as virginal mother of God.[400] These notions come together in another text by Proclus,

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[397] For textile metaphors in Paul see Erik Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides," Benediktinische Monatsschrift 14 (1934): 347—56. Jun Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London and New York: T & A Clark International, 2004). Also Mateusz Kapustka, "Per velamen, id est, carnem suam: Die textile Dimension des Christuskörpers als Bildparadox," in *Christusbild: Icon+Ikone. Wege zur Theorie und Theologie des Bildes*, ed. Peter Hofmann and Andreas Matena (Paderborn and Munich: Schöningh, 2010), 117–136.

[398] Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 213—17, esp. 216.

[399] Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1959), 1: 277—290, esp. 284. Harm R. Smid, *Protoevangelium Jacobi: A Commenatry* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965), 75—80. James K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: a collection of apocryphal literature in an English translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 48—67, esp. 61. See also Constas, "Weaving," 181.

[400] For excellence in textile work as a topos and symbol of female virtue in the West see Hedwig Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen zum hagiographischen Text," in *Textus im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im Schriftsemantischen Feld*, ed. Ludolf Kuchenbuch und Uta Kleine; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2006, 77–110. Maria Evangelatou, "Pursuing Salvation Through a Body of Parchment: Books and Their Significance in the Illustrated Homilies of

a homily delivered on the feast of the Nativity, in which he makes reference to the cloth that dressed the body of Christ and the Virgin as its loom and weaver.

> Strange is this garment, and stranger still the loom on which it was woven, for its fabrication had no share in human artifice. O Virgin who knew not man, and mother who knew not pain! Where did you find the flax for the robe which today has clothed the Lord of creation?[401]

Elsewhere, Proclus makes the image of Mary's body as a loom even clearer. He explains Mary's womb as the

> workshop in which the unity of divine and human nature was fashioned. […] Within her is the awesome loom of the divine economy on which the robe of union was ineffably woven. The loom worker was the Holy Spirit, assisted by the overshadowing power from on high. The wool was the ancient fleece of Adam. The interlocking warp thread was the pure flesh of the Virgin. The weaver's shuttle was moved by the limitless grace of the divine artisan who entered through her sense of hearing. Therefore, do not sunder the robe of the divine economy which was woven from above.[402]

In likening the raw material from which Christ's textile-body was woven to the "fleece of Adam," Proclus further alludes to Mary's role in the history of salvation. God established the New Covenant through the Incarnation, to which Mary contributed by weaving her child's textile body. Also, Mary participates in the weaving of the temple curtain, which, according to Paul's typological reading in Hebr. 10:20, symbolizes the sacrifice that ended the era of the Old Law and the beginning of the New. A similar notion appears in John of Damascus, who refers to the

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Iakobos of Kokkinobaphos," *Mediaeval Studies* 68 (2006), 239—84, esp. 242 and n. 10 with more literature on Byzantine sources.

[401] PG 65.712D—713A, trans. Constas, "Weaving," 182.

[402] *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. Johannes Straub (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1914), 1.1: 103.18—21 and 106.23—4, trans. Constas, "Weaving," 182. The notion that the Christ child was conceived through Mary's ear was also common in medieval Latin sources. A hymn for the day of the Ascension from Winchester indicates that "the Virgin conceived through her ear." Deshman, *Benedictional*, 13.

human body of Christ as "the garment of incorruptibility." [403] In contrast to the sons of Adam, Christ was conceived immaculately, and thus his body could serve as the veil that re-opened the gates of heaven.

In likening the human body to textile material, Proclus and other early medieval Christian writers promulgated an ancient tradition that described the physical substance from which the human body was made as cloth. [404] As we will see again in chapter four, the allegorical image of the body as garment frequently appears in late-antique and early medieval Christian sources. Augustine gives this notion of Christ's human body as a material garment another twist. Commenting on Phil. 2:7, where it says that Christ was "in habit found as a man," Augustine explains that the human body of Christ and bodies in general are a "'habit' (habitus) which is fitted onto us externally, in respect to which say that one is clothed, shod, armored, and other such things." [405] Therefore, Christ "was found with the [bodily] habit (habitus), of a man," and because he was clothed in humanity, he appeared in the form of a man. [406] In Augustinian terms, the bodily *habitus* is something that is "added to us," much like clothing is added to a body for the sake of dressing. [407] But in the case of Christ, the *habitus* of the body is yet more complex because Christ

> took up humanity in such a way that it was transformed for the better, and it was
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> filled out by him in a manner more inexpressibly excellent and intimate than is a
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> garment when put on by a man. Therefore, by this name *habit* (*habitus*), the
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> Apostle has adequately indicated what he meant by saying, 'having been made

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[403] John of Damascus, *In Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae Orationes*, ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskus*, Patristische Texte und Studien 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1969—88), vol. 5. Trans. Andrew Louth, "John of Damascus on the Mother of God as a Link Between Humanity and God," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images,* ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 153—61, esp. 161.

[404] Constas, "Weaving," esp. 183—85. John Scheid and Jesper Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1996). See also chapter 4.

[405] Augustine, *Eigthy-Three Different Questions*, trans. David L. Mosher (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1982), question 73, "On the Scripture: 'And Having Been Found in the [Bodily] *Habit* (Habitus) of a Man,'" 186—89, esp. 186.

[406] Augustine, *Questions*, trans. David L. Mosher, 188. Text in brackets addition Mosher.

[407] Augustine, *Questions*, trans. David L. Mosher, 187.

into the likeness of men,' because he became a man not by way of a transformation, but by way of a habit (*habitus*) when he was clothed with a humanity which he, in some way uniting and adapting to himself, joined to [his] immortality and eternity.[408]

In sum, these late antique and medieval sources point out three textile themes that are particularly relevant for a reading of textile ornament as an allegory of the Incarnation. Proclus and Alcuin focused on Mary's body as a textile medium (pure white wool turned purple) that clothed the immaterial Divine in physical substance. Proclus' notion of Mary's womb as a loom concentrates on the material making of the body and the bodily robe that was produced by the Holy Spirit, who moved the shuttle.[409] The Virgin provided, therefore, not only the substantial physical raw material for the making of Christ's humanity, but Mary's womb was also the "technical" instrument that allowed God to craft the textile-like body of the Son. Finally, John of Damascus and Augustine referred to this textile-like body as a habit, a piece of clothing that Christ put on in order to appear in the shape of man and by which Christ restored Adam's fallen body into a garment of incorruptibility.[410] The textile metaphor describes the dual nature of the bodily habit that Christ put in the Incarnation. His bodily garment was made of earthly material, but the shuttle that wove the cloth was powered by a divine craftsman. According to John of Damascus, Christ's divinity could be perceived in the "rustling within the folds of this divinely fabricated" textile from which the body of Christ was woven.[411] In addition to antique concepts of the human body as textile material, the canonical and apocryphal Gospels appear to have fuelled such textile readings of the Incarnation. As Elizabeth Coatsworth and others have noted, the Protoevangelium of James especially seems to have influenced the iconography of the Virgin

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[408] Augustine, *Questions*, trans. David L. Mosher, 188. The emphasis and addition are Mosher's.

[409] Constas, "Weaving," 180—83.

[410] See also Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides," and Kim, *Clothing Imagery*.

[411] Cit. Constas, "Weaving," 182. The rustling of fabric as an audible sign of the workings of heavenly *virtus* appears also in early-medieval western sources, for example in Reginald of Durham's report on the opening of the coffin of St. Cuthbert. Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in idem, *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: Braziller, 1977), 1–27, esp. 12.

in medieval art in this regard. [412] Textile objects and spinning utensils depicted in images of the Annunciation are another way to express the dual nature of Christ's body in textile terms.

Textile iconography and the Virgin

Since the fifth century, artists depicted Mary with such spinning utensils as wool and distaff in her hands. [413] The iconographic tradition of the Mother of God as a textile worker has been especially well researched in the Byzantine material. [414] But Mary also appears in early Christian works from Italy and the domains north of the Alps with textile attributes, for example in the fifth-century mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome [fig. 157]. [415] Adolph Goldschmidt and Suzanne Lewis also read the attributes of the Virgin in an ivory carved by one of the Carolingian so-called Ada-school artists in the early ninth century as "spinning implements" [fig. 158]. [416] The Stuttgart Psalter, which likened the Virgin's womb to fleece, further shows that Mary had been engrossed in spinning before the archangel Gabriel appeared at her side [fig. 159]. [417]

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[412] Elizabeth Coatsworth, "Cloth-Making and the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 8—25, esp. 10. Constas, "Weaving," 188—90 suggested, however, that Proclus's image of the Virgin's womb as a loom may have been inspired by Proclus's contact with Empress Pulcheria and other noble women of Constantinople, among whom textile work was considered especially honorable work and an occupation that was especially connected to the female sphere.

[413] Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1966), 34—35.

[414] Maria Evangelatou, "The Purple Thread of the Flesh: The Theological Connotations of a Narrative Iconographic Element in Byzantine images of the Annunciation," in *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 261—79.

[415] Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans,'" esp. 74, and 73 for additional examples. See also Coatsworth, "Cloth-Making and the Virgin Mary," 10, with other examples.

[416] New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 17.190.49. Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans,'" 73. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VIII.-XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1914), 1: 13.

[417] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. Fol. 23, fol. 83v.

In addition to wool and distaff, the curtain in images of the Annunciation is an iconographic detail that, as Johann Konrad Eberlein suggested, invites symbolic interpretation as the body of Christ.[418] In a recent reading of the Annunciation in the late sixth- or early seventh-century Armenian Codex Etschmiadzin, Henry Maguire focused on the depiction of the Virgin's belt and tunic, which were also venerated as textile relics in Constantinople [fig. 160].[419] Maguire argued that "in the early Byzantine period the robe and garment of the Virgin, both the relics themselves and their depictions in art, were manifest evidence of the Incarnation."[420] As Maguire noted, in light of exegetical readings of textiles as a symbol of the Incarnation, the textile relics of the Virgin gain an additional layer of significance that runs deeper than the usual efficacy attributed to contact relics.[421] Garments that clothed the Virgin recall the bodily garment that the Virgin wove for her son. It is surprising, then, that Maguire makes no mention of the textile pattern depicted behind the Virgin in the Etschmiadzin Annunciation in the arch above Mary's head. Taking into consideration interpretations of the curtain and spinning utensils in Annunciation images as symbols of the incarnation, as well as exegetical readings of the Virgin's womb as a loom and her body as wool, suggests that the textile pattern depicted directly above Mary's head could also be read as an allegory of Christ's dual body.

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[418] Eberlein, *Apparitio Regis*, 145—47.

[419] Erevan, Matanadaran, Cod. 2734 (Etschmiadzin Gospels), ca. 989, southern Armenia, fol. 228v. Henry Maguire, "Body, Clothing, Metaphor: The Virgin in Early Byzantine Art," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 39–51. On this manuscript see also Heide and Helmut Buschhausen, *Codex Etschmiadzin: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe von Codex 2374 des Matenadaran Mesrop Maštocʾ in Erevan* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2001), esp. 111.

[420] Maguire, "Body, Clothing, Metaphor," 47.

[421] This becomes clear from a homily on the belt of Mary by patriarch Germanos, *De translatione cinguli dei genetricis*, which Maguire, "Body, Clothing, Metaphor," 47, cites "Let us venerate the clothing of her who covered the heavens with her admirable virtue, and covered the earth with the immensity of her grace! Let us venerate the belt of her who girdled our nature with justice, fortitude and truth […] O truly precious and most excellent belt, which wrapped around the loins of her who was pregnant with the Emmanuel […]!" Trans. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Threads of Authority: the Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages," in *Robes and Honor: the Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 59—93, esp. 62, n. 21.

A lectionary from the turn of the eleventh-century from Cluny further illustrates the Virgin's cloth-giving role in the Incarnation.[422] The manuscript applies textile ornament to explain Christ's dual nature. It is difficult to reconstruct the program of the illuminations because several pages are fragmented, and those presumably contained more miniatures. Preserved are images of the Annunciation on fol. 6r [fig. 161], Crucifixion on fol. 42r [fig. 162], Ascension on fol. 64 [fig. 163], and a half-figure image of Mark (fol. 70v). Further extant are a miniature that shows the descent of the Holy Spirit during Pentecost on fol. 79r [fig. 164], a small image of Peter in prison (fol. 113v), and the Assumption of the Virgin on fol. 122v [fig. 165]. For the issue of textile ornament, the images of the Annunciation, Pentecost, and the Ascension are the most revealing. In the Annunciation miniature, the archangel Gabriel enters the frame in which the Virgin is seated [fig. 161]. Parts of his clothing and a slender wing extend beyond the image's frame, thus suggesting the angel's swift and weightless entrance. In addition, the purple color of the Virgin's undergarment, which resembles the color of the angel's wing, appears to emphasize the process of "spirit coming into matter."[423] In the image of Pentecost, the Apostles are seated on a bench that is covered in a light blue textile [fig. 164]. It is difficult to interpret the fabric in this iconographic context. Perhaps it may be read as a symbol of Christ, who was made

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[422] The manuscript is now divided between Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cod. nouv. acqu. lat. 2246 and the Musée National du Moyen Âge—Thermes de Cluny, Inv. Nr. Cl. 23757. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (ed.), *La France Romane: Au Temps des premiers* Capétiens, *987—1152* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2005), 168 (François Avril). Fabrizio Crivello, "Bemerkungen zur Buchmalerei der Frühromanik in Italien und Frankreich: Erneuerung und Rückblick," in Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt (*Munich: Hirmer, 2006), 1: 333—341 esp. 339—41. For a digital facsimile with more information on the manuscript see http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&p=1&lang=DE&q=nal+2246&x=0&y=0 (accessed 2013/12/09).

[423] Herbert L. Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum Figurat Illud Invisibile Verum': Imagining God in Pictures of Christ," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from "Verbal and Pictorial Imaging. Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000," Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003,* ed. by. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 291–325, esp. 302, read the coloring of white parchment ground with purple paint in medieval book illumination as a symbol of the Spirit's manifestation in physical matter. The fact that the Annunciation scene is placed against a monochrome purple ground does not necessarily support a reading of the color purple as symbol of the Incarnation, because the same purple ground appears in all other miniatures in the book and also behind the initials. Furthermore, the pastel-purple color of Mary's undergarment was also used for the clothes of figures in other miniatures in the book. This does not exclude the possibility that in the miniature of the Annunciation the artist aimed at linking the angel's feathery-ethereal wing with the Virgin's womb through color-coding these "fabrics" in like manner.

both of spirit and of earthly matter, and belief in whom united the Apostles and inspired their mission to carry Christ's evangelical message into the world.

Most apparent is the meaning of textile ornament in the image of the Ascension [fig. 163]. Folio 64 is now divided between two Parisian institutions. Half the page remained with the book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, while the miniature is now at the Musée Cluny. Beneath a large mandorla, in which Christ rises to heaven, the Apostles are gathered around Mary, whose name is written on the purple ground above her head. Like the Apostles, Mary looks up to heaven holding her hands in a gesture of prayer. As Robert Deshman has shown, the moment in which Christ's human body left the earth was a crucial turning point in the history of the Christian church. [424] It was significant that the Apostles witnessed how Christ rose up to heaven with his full human body, because at this very moment the Apostles realized that Jesus, with whom they had lived, was not only man but also God. Augustine commented on this biblical event: It was necessary, then, that the form of a servant should be taken away from their eyes, because, through gazing upon it, they thought that alone which they saw to be Christ. "It was necessary, then, that the form of a servant [Christ's human body] should be taken away from their [the Apostles'] eyes, because, through gazing upon it, they thought that alone which they saw to be Christ ... But the 'ascension to the Father' meant, so to appear as He is equal to the Father, that the limit of the sight which sufficeth us might be attained there."[425] The theological ramifications of the Apostles recognizing Christ as God stimulated medieval artists to visually interpret the Ascension in the iconographic form that has become known as the "disappearing Christ."[426] Deshman explained further that the Virgin played a significant role in making this revelation possible; because Mary conceived her divine child immaculately, Christ's body was never touched by carnality but remained pure. The absence of sin from Christ's conception

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[424] Robert Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images" *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 518–46.

[425] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, I. IX, 18, ed. Philip Schaff, *St. Augustin: On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church (T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1988), 3:27.

[426] 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—52 (repr. in Schapiro, *Selected Papers*, vol. 3: Late Antique, Early Christian, and Mediaeval Art (New York: Braziller, 1979), 267—87), first coined this term.

allowed him to rise into heaven with his human body fully intact.[427] This miracle, in turn, opened the Apostles' eyes and made them believe.[428] The artist of the Cluny manuscript made Mary's participation in this mystery visible by painting her figure against purple colored textile ornament. The arch-shaped textile pattern surrounds the Virgin's body like an aureole. In medieval book illuminations, the mandorla was sometimes transferred to the Virgin, or Mary even shares a mandorla with her son. The common mandorla visualizes Mary's partaking in the Incarnation and in the history of salvation.[429] The textile pattern around the Virgin in the Cluny Ascension, however, differs from Christ's mandorla depicted in the upper half of the image. The monochrome blue background of Christ's mandorla is littered with stars that allude to the ethereal heavens, but the "mandorla" around the Virgin is made of patterned purple cloth. The textile ornament explicitly relates the mandorla to a tactile material and thus draws attention to the physical part that Mary played in the Incarnation. The Annunciation in the Benedictional of Aethelwold also shows Mary beneath a textile pattern, which is visible in the baldachin above her head [fig. 166].[430] Deshman did not comment on the textile ornament specifically but observed that a blessing in the Benedictional suggests that this baldachin stands for the "temple of the virginal womb."[431] He further related the baldachin to an altar covering and noted that the liturgy of the "mass for Annunciation day compared the Holy Ghost investing the altar (with the

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[427] Deshman, "Disappearing Christ." The concept of the unburdened body was expressed, for example, by Jerome, "the Lord ascends upon a light cloud, the body of the Virgin Mary, which was not burdened with the weight of any human seed," cited by Deshman, *Benedictional*, 11.

[428] Deshman, "Disappearing Christ."

[429] Deshman, "Disappearing Christ," 523, 525. Compare the Utrecht Psalter, ibid. fig. 10 and the Annunciation in the Missal of Robert of Jumiège, ibid. fig. 3. Deshman cites a titulus from the Ascension in the Codex Aureus Epternacensis, a manuscript that makes specific use of textile ornament, as we will see in the following chapter. "God has received this man to himself, whom he had taken from the Virgin." See also Rainer Kahsnitz and Elisabeth Rücker, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach:* Codex Aureus Epternacensis *HS 156142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Faks.-Ausg.* (Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1982), 93. The Ascension image in the Codex Aureus shows no textile ornament however.

[430] Deshman, *Benedictional*, 17.

[431] Ibid. Deshman further read the baldachin as an altar covering and the Virgin herself as a symbol of the altar.

Eucharist on it) to the Spirit filling the womb of the Virgin."[432] If the textile baldachin above the Virgin in the Benedictional is read in this way, Mary appears as a "symbolic altar."[433] The textile roof of the baldachin further evokes medieval interpretations of the sky and heaven as a tent.[434] In this case, as in the Etschmiadzin Annunciation [fig. 160], the textile curtain would draw attention especially to the symbol of the virginal womb as a loom, on which the Spirit wove Christ's *habitus* in order to reopen the path of salvation that leads from earth to heaven. This is also suggested by the way the forms and ornamental patterns of the mandorlas in the Cluny Ascension differ. Around Christ we see the traditional almond-shaped aureole, which is filled with stars that indicate Christ's divine descent [fig. 163]. The shape around the virgin, however, is made of textile fabric and resembles an arch or a gate. This arch recalls a passage in John 10:7—10:

> Amen, amen I say to you, I am the door of the sheep. I am the door. By me, if any
> man enter in, he shall be saved. […] I am come that they may have life, and may
> have it more abundantly.

Therefore, the door-shaped textile around the virgin symbolizes the body of Christ, as well as the body of the Virgin, both of which are textile-like and both of which are metaphoric gates of heaven. Mary is also associated with the door in other early medieval manuscripts, for example in the recto of the double-page dedication miniature in the Bernward Gospels [fig. 167].[435] An inscription in the arcades above Mary identify the Mother of God as the *porta dei*, God's door,

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[432] Deshman, *Benedictional*, 17.

[433] Ibid.

[434] For various medieval texts that read heaven as a textile see Eberlein, 32—33. Krüger, Bild as Schleier. John Chrysostom brings heaven together with the body of Christ and ties it with the tabernacle in Homily 15.4: "See how he calls the body tabernacle and veil heaven. The heaven is a veil, for as a veil it walls off the Holy of Holies; the flesh is a veil hiding the Godhead, and the tabernacle likewise holding the Godhead. Again, Heaven is a tabernacle, for the Priest is there within." Cit. Herbert Kessler, "Medieval Art as Argument," in *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 53—63, esp. 58—59.

[435] Hildesheim, Domschatz. Ms. 61, fol. 17r. Michael Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward* (Munich: Prestel, 1993). On this image see also Jennifer P. Kingsley, "To Touch the Image: Embodying Christ in the Bernward Gospels," *Peregrinations* 3 (2010): 138—173.

which stood wide ajar for the Holy Spirit, but was closed after Christ's birth forever. [436] This is shown to Mary's left, where the *porta paradisi* is closed.[437] The inscription on this golden door continues on the wing of the portal on the opposite side of the image, which is shown wide open. The text tells the reader that the doors to paradise, which Eve's disobedience shut, were reopened by holy Mary.[438] Thus, to Mary's right, the doors are shown ajar, opened by the cross that appears inside them. Mary is further shown against a purple-colored textile curtain and the garments of the child on her lap are clearly made of the same gold and silver textiles that also clothe the Virgin. This color combination was often understood by medieval authors, and presumably Bernward himself, as symbolic of Christ's dual nature.[439] In addition to the inscriptions that allude to the Incarnation, these textile motifs thus draw attention to Mary's motherhood and the role Christ's textile-like body played in the history of salvation.

Textile ornament in the context of the Christmas liturgy

Purple textile ornament as a symbol of the Incarnation is particularly meaningful if it appears in the context of the Christmas liturgy. Several manuscripts display textile ornament on the pages that contain the liturgical readings for the Christmas season. Cod. Eins. 88 (964), a lectionary that Anton von Euw dated between 980—90, is one of several Einsiedeln manuscripts

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[436] On the inscription of the doors see Michael Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des heiligen Bernward* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 27. "Ave stella maris karismate lvcida p(ro)lis / Ave spiritvi s(an)c(t)o templv(m) reservatv(m)/ Ave porta D(e)i post partv(m) clavsa p(er) evv(m)." Also Kingsley, "Vt Cernis," 178.

[437] "Porta paradisi primeva(m) clavsa per aevam/ Nunc est per s(an)c(t)am cvnctis patefacta Maria(m)." Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, 27.

[438] Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, 28.

[439] Jennifer P. Kinglsey, "Vt Cernis and the Materiality of Bernwardian Art," in Gerhard Lutz and Angela Weyer, *1000 Jahre St. Michael in Hildesheim: Kirche, Kloster, Stifter* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2012), 171—84, esp. 175. See also Herbert Kessler, "Image and Object: Christ's Dual Nature and the Crisis of Early Medieval Art," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davies and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 290–326. Bruno Reudenbach, "Gold ist Schlamm: Anmerkungen zur Materialbewertung im Mittelalter," in *Material in Kunst und Alltag,* ed. Monika Wagner und Dietmar Rübel (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 1–12, esp. 6.

that use textile ornament as visual commentary on the Incarnation.[440] The book contains two textile-ornamented title pages on p. 8 and p. 74, which, to my knowledge, have never been discussed before regarding their function and meaning.[441] The first of these purple textile images announces the readings for Advent: "Incipiunt lectiones de adventu domini" [fig. 168]. The inscription in gold was painted over a purple pattern that shows five medallions containing rosettes; one large one in the middle and four smaller ones in each corner. The purple textile image is framed by interlace in silver, black, gold and minium. On p. 9 the first of the lections begins "Deus autem" with a large initial D. The remaining text was painted in gold between green and purple stripes. On p. 74 a purple-colored textile page introduces the readings for the fourth Sunday before Christmas, the last one in the season of Advent [fig. 169]. The folio is inscribed in golden letters "Incipiunt orationes de adventu domini dominica IIII ante natale domini." The inscription appears on a lozenge pattern that consists of large purple flowers and clover-leaf crosses, which are accompanied by small dotted petals that litter the lighter-colored purple ground. The initial on the facing page was painted against a monochrome purple background. In both textile pages in Cod. Eins. 88 the ornament can be contextualized in the liturgy of the Advent season due to the inscriptions. Within this liturgical framework, the purple patterns can only be read as allusions the body of Christ. The purple color and textile patterns condense the notion that the human body was woven like cloth into an abbreviated allegoric sign and remind the reader that such a textile *habitus* also clad the Son of God.[442] Therefore, these textile pages function as a form of visual commentary on the mystery of the Incarnation, the theological tenet that underlies the Christmas liturgy.

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[440] Anton von Euw, "Die Einsiedler Buchmalerei zur Zeit des Abtes Gregor (946—996)," in Odo Lange (ed.), *Festschrift zum tausendsten Todestag des seligen Abtes Gregor, des dritten Abtes von Einsiedeln, 996—1996* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1996), 183—241, esp. 203—204. Von Euw, 203, noted a stylistic connection with Reichenau manuscripts of the Anno and Ruodprecht groups, but located the manuscript in Einsiedeln because the lections and orations highlight the feast of St. Mauritius, a local Einsiedeln saint.

[441] Christian Gelhaar, "Drei Einsiedler Handschriften aus der Zeit Abt Gregors (964—994), *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1969), 8—20, esp. 16, mentions a "background patterned with crosses" in Cod. Eins. 167 (Msc. 140), p. 1, which he related to the Egbert Psalter in Cividale and the Ruodprecht manuscripts, focusing especially on stylistic similarities.

[442] On ornament as a form of abbreviation see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 167.

Several of the Reichenau manuscripts that belong to the so-called Ruodprecht group also comment on the Christmas liturgy is this manner.[443] An evangelistary now in Rome contains two textile-ornamented double pages that were painted in purple colors.[444] As in Codex Einsiedlensis 88, these folios are the only illuminations in the entire manuscript and specifically mark the readings for the Christmas feast. Fols. 2v—3r introduce the Christmas Vigil with the titulus "In vigilia natalis domini" [fig. 170a, and b]. Fols. 5v—6r are also ornamented with a purple-colored textile pattern [fig. 171]. The verso of this double page shows the incipit "In die natalis Domini sancti Evangelii secundam Johannem," the recto an initial that emphasizes the beginning of John 1:1—14, "In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum" (In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God).[445] The first chapter of John's Gospels is a crucial passage in the New Testament because it addresses the mystery of the Incarnation. The Logos (1:1) was first with God and took on the shape of man in the Incarnation of the Son (1:14), "and the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth." As Deshman has shown, medieval artists often addressed Christ's dual nature visually in the context of John. For example, the Bernward Gospels show John beneath an image of Christ disappearing into heaven on fol. 175v [fig. 52]. Deshman observed that this image differs from other Ascension images because it shows John instead of all the Apostles who witnessed Christ's ascension.[446] The reason for this unusual iconography is that "the Evangelist saw with his mental eyes the vision he recorded in the opening of his Gospel prologue."[447] John's gift of spiritual sight and his function as role model for the viewer have been addressed in chapter two. Deshman brought these together with the Ascension iconography and noted:

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[443] Thomas Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei: Bildquellen, Ornamentik, stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2009).

[444] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. Fondo Antico 1452, Reichenau circa 970, fol. 5v—6r. Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 261—63, 358—61. I was unable to consult this manuscript but Labusiak provides an excellent description of the structure of the manuscript and its illuminations including all the necessary details on which my observations are based.

[445] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 360.

[446] Deshman, "Disappearing Christ," 538.

[447] Ibid.

In the Hildeseim miniature, the agent enabling the beholders of the picture to acquire spiritual vision of Christ's hidden divinity is John. […] The picture of John and the disappearing Christ prepares beholders to emulate the exaltation of John's intellect to the Word in heaven when they read his Gospel prologue a few pages later on in the manuscript.[448]

Deshman did not comment, however, on the textile pattern that draws additional attention to the messages these two images convey to the reader. The textile curtain behind John implies that spiritual sight is the only way for Christians to perceive Christ's divine nature. Such sight can be achieved through reading and the contemplation of scripture. The textile pattern is further a visual commentary on the dual nature of Christ, which is the subject of the image shown above John. The Anglo-Saxon artists who invented the disappearing Christ iconography illustrated this point by showing Christ half in heaven and half on earth. Textile ornament appears to have been unknown in England at the time. In Hildesheim, however, the painter of the Bernward Gospels doubled up the Anglo-Saxon imagery with the iconographic formula for showing Christ's dual nature that was customary in his own local tradition. Artists like Ruodprecht, who made the evangelistary in Rome, had used textile ornament as a symbol for Christ's divinity and humanity in the context of John's Gospel several years before it was applied in Hildesheim. The potency of textile ornament functioning as an exegetic commentary on Christ's humanity becomes especially clear when textile ornament is contextualized in the liturgy of the feast of the Nativity. John 1:1—14 was the pericope for the service on Christmas day. Displayed on a purple textile ground, the theological message concerning Christ's humanity as the instrument of salvation, which is implied in this text, was especially apparent.

Textile ornament in the Easter liturgy

The Gospel lectionary with which I began this chapter, Bamberg Msc. Bibl. 95, already showed that Christmas is not the only liturgical context in which textile ornament makes sense.[449] The textile pages in several manuscripts comment on the Resurrection. In another Reichenau manuscript, a sacramentary created by the painter Anno between 970—980 and

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[448] Ibid.

[449] On the manuscript, see the literature cited in n. 2.

which entered the nearby monastery of Petershausen likely around 983, the texts for the Christmas and Easter liturgies were introduced by textile ornament similar to the ornamented pages in the Bamberg lectionary.[450] In addition to a calendar and various later inclusions, the Petershausen Sacramentary contains the prayers and liturgical formulae needed for mass on fols. 40v—172r. The part of the book that is illuminated contains a sequence of texts beginning with the Christmas Vigil and ending with Advent.[451] According to Hartmut Hoffmann, the book was written by the same scribe who also wrote the Gero Codex, another Reichenau manuscript that includes on fol. 5v a Maiestas miniature framed in a circular roundel that is very similar to the image of Christ in the Petershausen Sacramentary, fol. 41r [fig. 172 and 173].[452] The Gero Codex, however, contains no textile pages, nor an image of the Virgin Mary, which faces Christ in the Petershausen Sacramentary on fol. 40v [fig. 1]. In the Petershausen Sacramentary the figures of Mary and Christ are both surrounded by an ornamented medallion and appear in front of a deep blue background. Crown and cross-staff identify Mary as the queen of Heaven.[453] Highly unusual among images of Mary enthroned is the book that she holds in her lap and which,

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[450] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. Sal. IX b. Wilfried Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia: 30 illuminierte Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975), 10—13. Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 271—74, 278—86. On this manuscript see Hoffmann, *Buchkunst*, 1:320. Kristen Mary Collins, "Visualizing Mary: Innovation and Exegesis in Ottonian Manuscript Illumination" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2007), 119—26. Anton von Euw, "Das Sakramentar von St. Paul," in *Die Abtei Reichenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. By. Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), 363—87. Kahsnitz, "Sakramentar aus Petershausen," in Matthias Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), cat. no. IV.33, 2: 237—39. A digital facsimile of the manuscript can be found at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/sal9b (accessed 2013/12/20). The Petershausen Sacramantary is the only one of the so-called Anno group of manuscripts from Reichenau that includes ornamented backgrounds, such as we find frequently in the later manuscripts of the Ruodprecht group from the same scriptorium. Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 278, 285.

[451] For a full description see Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*.

[452] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, 320. On the model-copy relationship between these Ottonian images and the Carolingian Lorsch Gospels see Matthias Exner, *Das Guntbald-Evangeliar: Ein Ottonischer Bilderzyklus und sein Zeugniswert für die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Lorscher Evangeliars* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008). For a digital facsimile of the Gero Codex, Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 1948, see http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-1948 (accessed 2013/12/20).

[453] Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia*, 10—13, esp. 10. Rainer Kahsnitz, "Sakramentar aus Petershausen," in Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, 237.

as I propose below, can be read as a reference to Mary's role as mother of the Logos.[454] Christ is shown on the facing folio also holding a book. The Petershausen Sacramentary includes an additional eight miniatures that illustrate the canon of the mass (fols. 41v—45r). Fols. 41v—42r are title pages with gold and silver script on monochrome purple ground (In nomine Domini Incipit liber sacramentorum …), as are 43v—44r (et ivstum est …), 45r (Igitur clementissime …) [fig. 174—175]. Especially significant are the five purple-colored textile ornamented folios, of which the first one is fol. 42v [fig. 176]. This folio shows on a purple patterned ground the incantation *Dominus vobiscum* and the response by the people *et cum spiritu tuo* with which the celebrant introduces the *praefatio*, the Eucharistic part of the mass.[455] The actual *praefatio* begins with the mass preface *Vere dignum* on fol. 43r, which was painted on textile-ornamented ground [fig. 177]. The *praefatio* is followed by the canon, beginning with the *Te igitur* on fol. 44v. The miniature shows the T in form of a tree of life that was placed beneath a double arch [fig. 178]. The background of this miniature, stripes alternating in bright green and blue, was probably not intended to appear textile like. The pattern differs significantly from the textile pages. Two double-page compositions with textile ornament further emphasize the texts for the Christmas and Easter offices. The first of these openings is fols. 54v—55r. The verso shows an inscription "In die admissam" written on a textile pattern, and the recto displays a large initial C on monochrome purple ground that introduces the collect for Christmas day, "concede quaesumus *omnipotens deus*" [fig. 179 and 180]. The liturgical texts for the Easter office are more pronounced because both folios are textile ornamented. The image on fol. 105v displays on a rectangular purple textile background the inscription "Die dominico sancta passione" [fig. 181]. On the facing folio 106r, the textile background is framed by an arch and shows a large initial D(eus qui hodierna die), the beginning of the collect for Easter Sunday [fig. 182]. In addition to Christmas, the sequence of illuminations in the Petershausen Sacramantary shows textile ornamentation in the context of the Canon of the mass and especially distinguishes the Easter feast.

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[454] On similar readings of books as a sign of the Incarnation, see Evangelatou, "Pursuing Salvation."

[455] Willem C. van Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum: The Background of a Liturgical Formula," in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson*, ed. Angus J. B. Higgins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 270—305. See also Amalarius of Metz, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* III, PL 101, col. 1107—13.

Visual programs that similarly emphasize the two major church feasts and the Canon with textile ornament can be observed in other manuscripts. But the focus is not always equally on both feast days. The so-called Sacramentary of Bernward of Hildesheim, for example, inserts a textile page between the *Vere dignum* and the *Te igitur* (fols. 2v—3v) [fig. 183—185].[456] Moreover, the collect "Concede" for Christmas on fol. 13r was written on a purple background with a braided textile-pattern [fig. 186], compared to which the striped ground behind the text for the Easter vigil and Easter day on fols. 85r and 87r is much simpler [fig. 186—188]. The initial page for the Christmas vigil is also less elaborate compared to the textile pages, but the office for Pentecost begins again with an ornate initial page [fig. 189—190].[457] The ornamental programs of the Bernward and Petershausen Sacramantaries suggest that, in addition to Christmas, the contexts of Easter and the Canon also invite a reading of textile ornament as metaphor for the body of Christ.

The so-called Poussay Evangelistary now in Paris and a Sacramentary in Florence, which were both made at Reichenau, apply textile ornament to draw the viewer's attention especially to the Easter liturgy. The Poussay Evangelistary is a richly illuminated book with numerous initial pages and miniatures showing scenes from the life of Christ.[458] In addition to a dedication image of an unknown patron handing the book to Christ on fols. 3v—4r [fig. 191—192], and evangelist portraits on fols. 5v—8r [fig. 193—196], the manuscript contains the usual miniatures of the Nativity, Epiphany, Candlemas, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost, all facing an initial page with monochrome purple ground on the recto [fig. 197—205].[459] Some feasts received only an initial page. Among these narrative miniatures, an illumination of the Washing of the Feet stands out on fol. 46v [fig. 201]. It is not quite clear why this scene follows the

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[456] Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19. Helmar Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz zu Hildesheim* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), "Domschatz Nr. 19: Sakramentar Bernwards," 51—55 (Marlis Stähli).

[457] Fols. 9r and 100r. The initial page for the Assumption on fol. 141r shows a gold initial on monochrome red ground. For an image see Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz zu Hildesheim*, 60.

[458] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514. I was unable to consult this manuscript during my visit to the BNF and base my analysis of textile ornament instead on the excellent description in Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 329—335.

[459] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 332—34, fig. 24—38. For an iconographic analysis of all figurative miniatures in the manuscript see idem, 173—230.

Crucifixion on fol. 35v, but in any case, the additional scene from the events before the Resurrection, which is shown on fol. 50v, increases the viewer's sensitivity for the Passion [fig. 203]. Moreover, a textile page placed on fol. 48v between these two scenes draws additional attention to the Passion [fig. 202]. The text inscribed on the textile pattern, "In sabbato sancto paschae / sequentia sancti evangelii secundum matheum," indicates that the following text was read on Saturday of Holy Week. Saturday is the last holiday of Holy Week and commemorates the events of the Resurrection.[460] According to the Roman rite there was no mass during the day. Instead, the paschal vigil began after dark.[461] The blessing of the fire and the distribution of the Easter light to the people in particular symbolized Christ's triumph over death and the light of eternal life.[462] The antiphon *Christus resurgens*, which was sung prior to the evening Vigil during Lauds on Holy Saturday, proclaims that Christ died in order to give life to all.[463] In the specific context of the Easter liturgy, the purple textile page in the Poussay Evangelistary [fig. 202] draws attention to the body of Christ in order to emphasize that his sacrificial death washed away all sin so that Christians may partake in the resurrection.

The ornamental program of a Sacramentary now in Florence was designed with the same idea in mind.[464] The book opens on fols. 1v—2r with two textile-ornamented purple frontispieces that show animals and a floral pattern [fig. 206]. As I argued in chapter two, such threshold pages are not "merely decorative" but have meaning because they evoke the metaphor of the curtain of revelation.[465] The manuscript further contains ten initial pages that are all textile-

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[460] O. B. Hardison, "The Lenten Agon: From Septuagesima to Good Friday," 80—138, and "Christus Viator: From Holy Saturday to Low Sunday," 139—177, in idem, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1965). Christoph Petersen, *Ritual und Theater: Messallegorese, Osterfeier und Osterspiel im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).

[461] Hardison, "Christus Viator," 141.

[462] Ibid., 145—49.

[463] Ibid., 141—42.

[464] Florenz, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Banco Rari 213 (olim cod. Magd. CLXXXVI.13). I was unable to consult this manuscript. My interpretation of textile ornament is again based on Labusiak's excellent description. Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 249—58, 352—55. See also Rainer Kahsnitz and Thomas Labusiak, "Reichenauer Sakramentar," in Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, cat. no. IV. 34, 2: 240—42.

[465] Kahsnitz and Labusiak insist that the pages are purely decorative. "Die Seiten sind rein dekorativ, enthalten keine Texte und sind nicht mit Gold und Silber, sondern nur in unterschiedlichen Purpurtönen

ornamented. These textile pages highlight the *Dominus vobiscum* dialogue at the beginning of the Canon, in addition to the *praefatio* (*Vere dignum*) and Canon (*Te igitur*) [fig. 207—209]. Also textile ornamented are the major feast days, which include—among the usual ones— Christmas, Candlemas, Assumptio Mariae, All Saints, and Saturday of Holy Week [fig. 210— 218].[466] The section for the Easter liturgy is especially worth noting because, in addition to the initial pages on fol. 92r and 94r, Easter is emphasized by a curtain page on fol. 91v [fig. 212— 14]. As opposed to the Poussay Evangelistary, there are no figurative images in this Sacramentary. Instead, the ornamental program shows the entire cycle of the church year as a liturgy "vested" in textile metaphors. The curtain page on fol. 91v stands out in this program because it is the only textile-ornamented folio that lacks an initial. This textile page makes clear that the highlight in the liturgical calendar is the feast of the Resurrection. If we read textile ornament as a symbol of the Incarnation, the ornamental program suggests that the liturgy throughout the church year is informed by the theological significance of the Incarnation. Among the high feast days, Easter is the most important, however, because it celebrates Christ's triumph over death. Moreover, the sacrifice on the cross has special meaning because it resonated in the Eucharistic mass, which the clerics performed throughout the church year by using this book. The church year that is cast in textile-metaphors in the Florence Sacramentary, therefore, also symbolizes the history of the church and its Christian community that relives and commemorates the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ at each and every service throughout the year. As we have seen, especially during Christmas and Easter, textile ornament draws attention to these aspects and comments visually on the theological significance of the Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection.

Textile ornament enhances liturgical action

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gestaltet." Kahsnitz and Labusiak, "Reichenauer Sakramentar," 240. See also Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 354, "Die Handschrift wird durch zwei einander gegenüberliegende, rein ornamentale Zierseiten eingeleitet (fol. 1v/2r)."

[466] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 354.

A Gospel book made for Judith of Flanders in the eleventh century suggests for different reasons that textile ornament had a special place in the Christmas and Easter liturgies. The manuscript was made for the countess of Flanders between 1066—71, illuminated by a workshop in Liège, and later used at the Weingarten Abbey in southern Germany.[467] The textual structure of the manuscript and markings in the margins imply that this book was custom-made for use during the services at Christmas Eve and the Saturday of Holy week. In addition to four evangelist portraits on fols. 3v, 35v, 51v, and 71v, the Gospel book includes at the beginning a donor portrait with facing textile page. Once again, it is important to examine the manuscript as a whole in order to discern the function and meaning of this textile page. The verso of fol. 2 shows Judith presenting her book to Christ [fig. 219]. The figures are arranged in a space that is marked as otherworldly by the golden ground and clouds. The iconography is rather unusual and shows a mix of elements perhaps taken from an Ascension of Christ combined with more traditional donor portraits.[468] The recto of this double-page opening depicts a purple textile pattern with a "repeat" made of lions that are boxed in by square-shaped frames [fig. 220]. Both miniatures are framed by ornamented borders. Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal noted that the textual structure of the four Gospels compiled in this manuscript is highly unusual.[469] The authors noted that none of the four Gospels are complete. Except for the accounts of the Nativity, the Passion and Resurrection, which are unabridged, the scribe omitted central portions of the texts in all four Gospels.[470] The omissions are especially significant in Luke and John, where they make up fifty percent of the text in total, and twenty five percent in Matthew.[471] McGurk and Rosenthal

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[467] Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aa 21. Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, Teil 1, *Handschriften des 6. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Textband (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1993), cat. no. 22, 51—54. Hartmut Broszinski and Regina Haussmann (eds.), *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda,* vol. 1, Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 1:59—61.

[468] The miniature shows considerable traces of wear. Two drops of wax have fallen on the robe of Christ and the paint has been rubbed away especially along the lower edge of the miniature.

[469] Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, "The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-up and Function," *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 251–308.

[470] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 269.

[471] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 270.

further noted that any text missing in one Gospel was not included in another account.[472] This means that the book was practically useless for most days of the year except Christmas and Easter.

The Gospels of Judith now in Fulda is not the only book made for the countess that was fragmented in this way. McGurk and Rosenthal observed that other liturgical books made for Judith show similar gaps in the text.[473] From this peculiar evidence the authors concluded that the manuscripts were never meant for actual reading but served a ceremonial purpose.

> The books may have been made essentially for symbolic or ceremonial use for members of a household or *capella*, and therefore not intended for daily or weekly employment, and knowledge of this purpose may have led a careless scribe to cut and occasionally mangle his sacred text.[474]

That the book was used despite these omissions, and served a purpose especially in the Easter liturgy, is suggested by the fact that the four passion accounts "were marked out conventionally by the original hand(s) in nearly all instances for reading by various voices."[475] The context of such readings is the liturgy. In the Fulda manuscript, a small cross painted in the margins draws attention to a detail from the passion narrative in John 19:39—40.[476]

> And Nicodemus also came (he who at the first came to Jesus by night,) bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight. They took therefore the body of Jesus, and bound it in linen cloths, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

In another one of Judith's Gospel books the cross appears next to Mark 15:42.[477] This verse and the following one read:

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[472] The gaps in the text cannot be explained by missing quires. It appears, that the Gospels were deliberately fragmented. McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 269.

[473] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 251—75.

[474] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 275.

[475] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 279.

[476] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 256, n. 25.

[477] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 256, n. 25.

> And when evening was now come, (because it was the Parasceve, that is, the day before the sabbath), Joseph of Arimathea, a noble counsellor, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.

The passages highlighted by the marking in the margins indicate verses that are clearly about the body of Christ. Here, then, is the connection to the textile page at the beginning of the manuscript. McGurk and Rosenthal suggested that the book was used in Judith's *capella*.[478] Because the textile page faces a donor portrait of Judith who is shown in a spiritual dialogue with Christ, I propose that Judith herself used this manuscript when she attended service on feast days. The passages marked for reading in various voices and the cross painted in the margins next to John 19:39 indicate that this was especially the case at Easter. The cross draws attention to passages that mention the body of Christ and also the shroud in which it was wrapped. As I have argued elsewhere, textile pages in the iconographic context of the Easter events sometimes evoke the shroud in order to present the reader with visual evidence of the Resurrection.[479] In a twelfth-century Gospel book from Braunschweig, such a textile page function as a mnemonic and contemplative tool that brings the passion narrative closer to the hearts of those reading the sacred text. The iconographic context of the donor portrait suggests that in Judith's Gospel book the textile page addressed the countess herself. Following the Easter liturgy with her book, the cross sketched out next to John 19:39 would guide Judith to a passage in the passion account that reminded her that the body of Christ was wrapped in cloth. When Christ rose from the dead, these textiles were left behind in the empty tomb as material tokens that testified to his resurrection.[480]

The context of the Easter liturgy, in which this book clearly functioned, and the codicological structure of the manuscript suggest that the textile page has yet more layers of meaning. The focal point of the biblical accounts of the resurrection is the body of Christ. John

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[478] McGurk and Rosenthal, "Gospelbooks," 280.

[479] Anna Bücheler, "Veil and Shroud: Eastern References and Allegoric Functions in the Textile Imagery of a Twelfth-Century Gospel Book from Braunschweig," *The Medieval History Journal* 15 (2012): 269—297.

[480] Dümpelmann, "Non est hic."

20:1—9 further mentions the linen cloths and the napkin lying in the empty tomb. The shroud, like the body of Christ, is a form of veil that reveals the Divine. When Peter and the other disciple see the textiles, they believe.[481] The textile page is a similar token that that triggers faith in the resurrection. If Judith used the book at Christmas, however, a different textile metaphor comes to the fore: the Incarnation as the veil that reopened the gates of paradise. In either liturgy, the textile page serves a similar purpose: it functions as a signpost that leads the viewer to the threshold between heaven and earth. On the one hand, the illuminated opening unveils a heavenly space where Judith can be with Christ—not literally as in the painted donor portrait facing the textile page, but metaphorically as in a spiritual union.[482] The clouds and the golden background painted in the dedication image indicate to the viewer, Judith, that this image refers to a future encounter, one that will not take place on earth but in Heaven. On the other hand, the book that passes between the two figures indicates that there is also a way to "see" Christ before death. Both Judith and Christ appear to hold the book. Christ's sharing in the passing of the book between them suggests that the codex is the means by which Judith may approach the Divine. The manuscript context indicates how this device works. The textile image appears at the very beginning of the Gospel book, in the place that frontispieces usually occupy. This placement suggests that the curtain page is also a symbolic veil of revelation. It leads Judith to scripture, which she can use as a vehicle for spiritual sight. The textile page in the Gospels of Judith of Flanders, therefore, alludes to more than one textile metaphor. It evokes the shroud, the body of Christ, and scripture as veils of revelation that function as spiritual pathways to the Divine.

That textile ornament is a visual code to indicate contact with Christ that is not characterized by material touch but by a spiritual union is further suggested by two other Flemish manuscripts of the eleventh century now in Bamberg and Munich. One is a sacramentary, the other a breviary, and both manuscripts contain images of the Noli me tangere (John 20:14—16) that are framed against a background of purple textile ornament [fig. 221 and 222]. The Bamberg Sacramentary is dated to 1020, and a similar Noli me tangere miniature appears in Munich Clm

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[481] Ibid.

[482] For the symbolism of dressing the dead see Dyan Elliot, "Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: rites of ordination and degradation," in E. Jane Burns, *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 55—69.

23261, which was made between 1080—1125.[483] The Bamberg manuscript contains, in addition to a pen-and-ink drawing, illuminations for the *praefatio* and canon, and miniatures of the Lamb, as well as scenes from the life of Christ.[484] The Noli me tangere on fol. 62r is the only image with textile ornament [fig. 221]. The encounter between Mary Magdalene and Christ is not taking place in the garden but beneath two arcades that separate Christ from the Magdalene. The scene is placed in front of a purple colored textile pattern. The miniaturist of fol. 69r in the Munich Breviary, who appears to have copied the Bamberg image, gives the figures in the arcades a little more room but otherwise follows the composition and also frames the miniature in two arcades and textile ornament [fig. 222].[485] The text beneath the image, "In die sancto resvrrectionis Domini," which is missing in Bamberg but visible in Munich, indicates that this miniature accompanied the liturgical texts for the feast of the resurrection. Discussing the Noli me tangere in the Bernward Gospels from Hildesheim, Jennifer Kingsley coined the term "non-touching touch" to describe the contact between Christ and Mary Magdalene.[486] While the artist of the Bernward Gospels devised an unconventional iconographic formula—the Magdalene's body enters Christ's mandorla—the Flemish artists of the Bamberg and Munich Noli me tangere miniatures solved the problem by means of textile ornamentation.[487] Framing the images in a textile pattern makes clear to the reader that the body of the risen Christ is no longer physically present on earth but instead, like a veil, escapes the Magdalene's touch. After the resurrection,

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[483] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 3. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 8. Bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), cat. no. 105, 163—68. Friedrich Leitschuh und Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. I, (Bamberg, 1887—1912, repr. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 139—41. Karl Hermann Usener, "Das Breviar Clm. 23261 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek und die Anfänge der Romanischen Buchmalerei in Lüttich," in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst 3. Folge* 1 (1950): 78—92, esp. 82. Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, 94, 143. Franz Ronig, "Einige Beobachtungen zum Lütticher Sakramentar der Bamberger Dombibliothek," in *Hortulus floridus Bambergensis: Studien zur fränkischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Werner Taegert and Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2004), 363—370.

[484] Leitschuh und Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften* 139—41.

[485] Usener, "Das Brevier Clm. 23261."

[486] Kingsley, "To Touch the Image," 150.

[487] Kingsley, "To Touch the Image," 149. See also Deshman, "Disappearing Christ."

Christ was no longer tangible physically. Instead, for Mary Magdalene the encounter with Christ generated a moment of spiritual sight as she recognized Christ's Divinity. Textile ornament is especially suited to illustrate such "non-touching touch," because it alludes to cloth, which is by nature an ambiguous material substance. On the one hand, fabric is close to the body, physically and metaphorically, and textiles in particular are a tactile material.[488] On the other hand, cloth can also be of a veil-like, fleeting nature that invites metaphoric interpretation. Despite its material nature, cloth as a metaphor always hovers on the edge of immateriality.[489]

The Noli me tangere miniatures in the Flemish manuscripts from Bamberg and Munich relate to the textile page and facing image of Judith of Flanders and Christ because in all three miniatures textile ornament functions as an indication for spiritual sight in a moment where the viewers of the images are about to encounter Christ. Contact with the Divine in these contexts is primarily a spiritual relationship, but because the Bamberg Sacramentary and Judith's Gospel book at least were used in the liturgy, the encounter with Christ also has a physical counterpart in the Eucharist on the altar. The textile page in Judith's Gospel book prepared the countess for her own Eucharistic encounter with Christ during the Easter liturgy and at Christmas, if she participated in communion.

The viewer of a sacramentary like the manuscript from Bamberg was not a woman who rather passively followed mass, but a member of the clergy who was actively involved at the altar. Two curious textile pages in the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries suggest that the textile ornament painted in these liturgical books was meant to be viewed in particular by the celebrant who said mass to help the priest prepare internally for the sacrament of the Eucharist. The very first textile image in the illuminated portion of the Petershausen Sacramentary is a

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[488] Jane Schneider, "Cloth and Clothing," in Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2006), 203–20. Nina Zschocke, "Berühre mich! Textilrepräsentation als Aufforderung," in *Metatextile: Identity and History of a Contemporary Art Medium*, Textile Studies 2, ed. Tristan Weddigen (Emsdetten and Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2010), 177—88.

[489] Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien* (Munich: Fink, 2001). The dichotomy between textile material and immateriality has been discussed recently especially in the context of the vera icon and the mandylion. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Colette Dufour Bozzo, and Gerhard Wolf (eds.), *Intorno al Sacro Volto: Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo, secoli XI-XIV* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2007). Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich: Fink, 2001).

nearly full-page textile pattern with inscription framed by a blue rectangular border on fol. 41v [fig. 176]. A similar pattern of diagonal crosses arranged in square-shaped latticework appears in the Florence manuscript at the beginning of the book on fol. 2v [fig. 207]. The textile pattern in the Florence Sacramentary is without inscription, but it shows the same text that also appears in the Petershausen manuscript written beneath the rectangular textile design: "*Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. Dominus vobiscum* […]."[490] The two pages suggest that there exists a meaningful link between the textile motif and this text.

Both folios display the incantation *Dominus vobiscum* (the Lord be with you), to which the congregation responds *et cum spiritu tuo* (and with thy spirit). The text continues in both manuscripts with the words of the priest, *sursum corda* (lift up your hearts), to which the people answer *habemus ad Dominum* (we lift them up to the Lord). The priest ends this dialogue between himself and the congregation with *gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* (let us give thanks to the Lord our God), to which the people respond *dignum et iustum est* (it is right and just). The dialogue *Dominus vobiscum/et cum spiritu to* is repeated several times during the service, for example before the reading of the Gospels, but in combination with *sursum corda* it typically inaugurates the Eucharistic prayer.[491] Josef Jungmann suggested that the greeting formula, which is still part of the Roman Catholic liturgy today, helps to create an aura of "sacred closeness with God, in which the liturgy unfolds."[492] Others have suggested that the dialogue intends to establish a relationship between the congregation and the priest, who is about to perform the Eucharistic sacrifice on behalf of the assembled faithful.[493] According to Willem C. van Unnik, the greeting *the Lord be with you* is "rooted in the biblical revelation," and is

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[490] In Petershausen this miniature is the very first textile image in the book and appears on fol. 41v.

[491] Van Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum." Cornelius Adrianus Bouman, "Variants in the Introduction to the Eucharistic Prayer," *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950), 94—115. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition, ed. Frank L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1561.

[492] Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe* (Vienna and Freiburg: Herder, 1962), 446.

[493] Kurt Frör, "Salutationen, Benediktionen, Amen," in *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, ed. Karl F. Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Stauda, 1955), 2: 578—81, esp. 573.

essentially a "declaration […] that the Spirit of God is really present."[494] Considering the contemplative function that textile veils serve in Gospel books, both the real and the painted curtains, it is very likely that the two peculiar folios in the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentary served a similar purpose. When the priest addressed the congregation that was gathered in the church before the altar and perhaps included co-celebrants standing beside him, he verbally invited these Christians to lift their hearts to the Lord so that the faithful could prepare themselves for partaking in the sacrament of the Eucharist. However, the textile image painted in the book before the *praefatio* was probably visible only to the priest or perhaps to those standing by closest, so that the visual "textile message" conveyed by the miniature was above all communicated to the celebrant himself. Whether the priest knew the canon by heart and used the text in the book merely as an *aide memoire*, or actually read from the book, no user of the Florence and Petershausen Sacramentaries would miss the textile miniatures because the textile pattern is visually compelling and also because it is meaningful. I interpret the allegorical textile veil as an aid that assists in the spiritual dialogue that inaugurates the *praefatio*. The textile pattern can be read as a summons for the priest to raise up his own heart to Heaven so that he will be ready for the union with Christ when he performs the Eucharistic sacrifice on behalf of all and prepares his heart for the reception of the host.

David Ganz understood a double page in the fragment of a sacramentary from Corvey and now in Leipzig in very similar terms as an address to the clergy at the altar.[495] The fragment was made about the same time as the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries from Reichenau.[496] Noteworthy are especially folios 1v and 2r, which show on the verso a crucifixion with Mary and John, and a serpent winding around the green wood at the foot of the cross, which is showing signs of renewed life [fig. 223]. The scene is framed in blue and set against a monochrome purple ground. The inscriptions in the frame refer to the lamb that was sacrificed for the salvation of the world, to the cross as sign of forgiveness of sin, and the inscriptions

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[494] Van Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum," 293, 294.

[495] David Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung: Visionsdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 2008), 173.

[496] Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Rep. I 57. For a description of the manuscript that contains the Sacramentary fragment see Rainer Kahsnitz, "Evangelistar und Sakramentarfragment," in Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, cat. no. IV 15, 2: 192—98.

inside the image to Mary and John as intercessors in prayer.[497] The facing page shows Gregory the Great, who was considered in medieval times to have authored the text of the sacramentary [fig. 224]. Gregory is crouched over a book, and from the inscription written on its pages we discern that Gregory is writing what the "nourishing spirit dictates" to him.[498] The scene of Gregory's inspiration by the Holy Spirit is placed in front of a textile-patterned ground. Ganz did not consider the textile background in particular. A comparison with the ornamented *Dominus vobiscum* pages in Florence and Petershausen suggest, however, that he was quite correct when suggesting that this miniature was meant for the celebrant, "who found in Gregory's vision a manifestation of [the divine spirit] that was to emerge in his own action while celebrating mass."[499]

Codex Einsiedlensis 121 (1151), a liturgical manuscript from Einsiedeln that contains a Gradual and sequences by Notker of St. Gall, the *Liber hymnorum*, was also intended for use by a single clerical person.[500] The book was made under Abbot Gregory between 964—996.[501] Because the book is tiny (180 x 110 mm), von Euw suggested that it must have been intended as a sort of pocket volume for Abbot Gregory himself. He argued that later Graduals are much larger so that a group of singers could see the text, whereas this minute manuscript could have been used by a single person only.[502] The lower half of p. 29 shows a checkerboard pattern, a rectangular field of squares that were painted in alternating shades of purple, which serve as background for silver letters stating "In die admissam" [fig. 225]. The introitus "Puer natus,"

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[497] Kahsnitz, "Evangelistar und Sakramentarfragment," 196, gives the full text in Latin and German.

[498] Ibid., 196.

[499] "Als Betrachter der Doppelseite ist in diesem Fall eher der Zelebrant intendiert, der in der Vision Gregors eine Verbildlichung dessen vorfand, was sein eigenes Handeln während der Feier der Messe gegenwärtig werden lassen sollte." Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung*, 173.

[500] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Einsiedlensis 121 (1151). Von Euw, "Einsiedler Buchmalerei," 204—6.

[501] Reproduced in facsimile by Odo Lang, ed., *Codex 121 Einsiedeln* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1991).

[502] Von Euw, "Einsiedler Buchmalerei," 204.

which follows on the succeeding pages, situates the ornament in the Christmas liturgy.[503] We have seen that textile ornament in the context of the Christmas liturgy points to the body of Christ and its significance for the history of salvation, but textile ornament in this tiny one-person book also appears to have had a devotional function. Ganz noted that visual differentiation between background patterns effects a distinction between exterior and interior vision.[504] Reading the textile pattern behind Gregory in the Leipzig Sacramentary by analogy to the textile veils in the evangelist portraits discussed in chapter two suggests that textile ornament visualizes Gregory's ability to see spiritually into a non-material sphere. In the same way this image of Gregory addressed the celebrant who used the Leipzig Sacramentary, textile ornament in evangelist portraits were an invitation to the readers to emulate the evangelist's spiritual sight, especially John's. Gregory's figure in front of a textile veil, therefore, urges the priest likewise to prepare his heart for the sacrifice on the altar. In the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries, as well as in the Einsiedeln Gradual, the visual messages of the images differ because there are no intermediaries like Gregory or John. In the liturgical scenario that was staged by these books, the priest himself was the intermediary who interacted with God on behalf of the congregation. The textile veils painted at the opening pages of the *praefatio* addressed this situation. Their function was to help the priest prepare his heart for the Eucharistic sacrament and to keep his mind focused on the connection with God while saying mass.

The crucifixion as a textile image

A crucifixion miniature from another sacramentary of the Ruodprecht group, which now belongs to the abbey of St. Paul im Lavanttal in Austria, brings the different allegoric and conceptual notions of textile ornament discussed so far together in one single image.[505] The manuscript contains several full-page initials painted on monochrome green or blue grounds, and one textile-ornamented miniature, a crucifixion that takes the place of a *Te igitur* initial on fol.

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[503] Von Euw, "Einsiedler Buchmalerei," 204.

[504] Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung*, 177.

[505] Benediktinerstift St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.) The manuscript dates from around 980. Anton von Euw, "Das Sakramentar von St. Paul." I was unable to consult this manuscript and follow Labusiak's description of the manuscript, Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 240—43, 335—40.

10v [fig. 226—230]. Figures of a celebrant standing before an altar appear on fol. 12r, 13v, and 15r. The pictures are not exactly marginal but inserted within the text, which flows around them [fig. 231—233]. These miniature figures of a celebrant clearly indicate that the viewer of this book was the priest who read mass. First, the male figure, who appears to be the same man in all three images, is dressed in liturgical garments and his golden halo distinguishes him as a person involved in liturgical action.[506] The priest mirrored this behavior when using the St. Paul Sacramentary on the altar during mass. Second, a scribe added liturgical instructions in the margins of fols. 12v—14v that address the celebrant reading mass from this book.[507] The images of the nimbed priest standing before an altar illustrate some of these liturgical instructions like the blessing of the chalice and the inclination before the altar.[508] The collection of prayers contained in the book opens further with the statement "here begin the prayers by which the bishop should prepare himself for mass."[509] This indicates that the manuscript was meant to be used specifically by a bishop. Some of these preparatory prayers are now fragmented, but their intended function is clear nonetheless. They aim at creating a spiritual state of mind so that the priest is worthy of the sacrament of the Eucharist.

> O God […] who maketh of the unworthy the worthy, of sinners [water damage],
>
> … of the unclean [presumably *the clean*, more water damage], make me a worthy
>
> minister at your holy altar …[510]

The bishop's spiritual preparation was not only mediated by such prayers, however, but this process was also facilitated by images. The miniature of the crucifixion in the St. Paul

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[506] Halos appear frequently in Carolingian manuscripts and distinguish figures that represent clerical offices. See Heinrich Volbert Sauerland and Arthur Haseloff, *Der Psalter des Trierischen Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale* (Trier: Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen, 1901), 51. Carmassi, *Divina Officia*, lists a Touronian Gospel book from the ninth century, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 16 Aug.°2, cat. no 38, 210—11, and the ninth-century Sacramentary of Ragnaldus in Autun, Bibliothèque municipale S 19 (olim 19 bis), fig. 92, 219.

[507] Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 336.

[508] Ibid.

[509] Fol. 1v, 6r and v, see Mayr-Harting, Ottonian Book illumination, vol. II, 89. See further, ibid., 89–90. Also Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renovatio* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929), 1:50–57.

[510] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London: Miller, 1999), 2: 89. The translation, with additions in brackets and italics, is Mayr-Harting's.

Sacramentary is an illustration of the *Te igitur*, the beginning of the Canon. It shows the pale body of Christ's on a silver cross with golden contours and minium outlines that appears against a purple, red, and white textile pattern [fig. 227]. The color combination of gold and silver in the cross as well as the textile pattern displayed behind it are visual symbols that allude to the dual nature of Christ. The textile background especially encodes this miniature with various layers of allegoric meaning. The colors purple, red, and white recall the temple curtain, which, as Bede notes, was woven from yarn of three different colors, and its drawing back symbolizes the opening of heaven through the Incarnation.

> *He also made a veil of violet, purple, scarlet and silk, and embroidered cherubim on it*. This, of course, was done for decorative effect so that the all-silk hanging also might shimmer between the gilded walls, but with the same significance as the little doors. It was hung between the ark and the entrance of the oracle so that, as the little doors were opened at suitable hours, the veil too might be drawn back as often as those who had come to enter the Holy of Holies arrived. Therefore, the constant drawing back of this veil according to the law signifies the opening of the heavenly kingdom which has been granted us through the incarnation of our Lord and saviour.[511]

The textile pattern in the St. Paul crucifixion resembles other metaphoric veils in liturgical manuscripts that reveal spiritual space. In the context of the Eucharist, which the St. Paul miniature emphasizes by showing Christ on the cross, the purple and red colors also evoke the blood and body of Christ. In his exegetical explication of the temple curtain, Bede brings these colors together with the veil and the body of Christ.

> Hence it is appropriately recorded that this veil under which one entered the oracle was made of *violet, purple, scarlet* and *silk* and that cherubim were wrought in it. For *violet* which imitates the color of the sky is aptly compared to the desires of heavenly things [cf. Isidore, Etymol. 19.22.11; 28.1—4]. *Purple*, which is made from the blood of shellfish and has even the appearance of blood is justifiably taken as a figure of the mystery of the Lord's passion in which we

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[511] Bede, *On the Temple*, transl. with notes by Seán Connolly and introd. by Jennifer O'Reilly (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 57—8.

ought to be initiated and which we ought to imitate by carrying our cross. By *scarlet* which is of a glowing red shade is expressed the virtue of love, of which the disciples who had walked with the Lord said in wonder, *Was not our heart burning within us while he spoke on the way and opened to us the scriptures*? [Lk 24:32] *Silk*, which is produced from a seed which springs green from the earth and which, as a result of a lengthy process applied by silk-workers, sheds its natural greenness and is given a bleached appearance, fittingly suggests the chastening of our flesh.[512]

Textile ornament in the St. Paul miniature identifies the body of Christ as the purple, scarlet, and white veil of the Incarnation. Moreover, the miniaturist emphasized the immaculate conception of Christ's human body by showing its skin in pale green and white, which stand out against the saturated textile ground. The body shown on the cross is the one that was immaculately conceived by the Virgin and never touched by original sin, and so it appears the color of bleached silk, Bede's metaphor for chastity. Bede's readings of the color purple as Heaven, scarlet as blood, and red as love reappear in later medieval sources, especially in Hrabanus Maurus' treatise on the cross, *In honorem sanctae crucis*.[513] In the prose commentary to the fourteenth poem, Hrabanus likens the colors purple and red to the temple curtain and the vestments of the Old Testament High Priest.[514] He explains these colors as symbols of the blood of the passion (*purpura,* purple) and red (*cocco*) as love.[515] In his *De rerum naturis*, Hrabanus further states that images are painted in specific colors so that the artist may show the fire of love

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[512] Bede, *On the Temple*, trans. Connolly, 58—9.

[513] Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. Michel Perrin, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 100 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). Herrad Spilling, *Opus Magnentii Hrabani Mauri in honorem sanctae crucis conditum: Hrabans Beziehung zu seinem Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1992), 70–78.

[514] Patrizia Carmassi, "Purpurismum in martyrio: Die Farbe des Blutes in mittelalterlichen Handschriften," in: *Farbe im Mittelalter: Materialität, Medialität, Semantik*, ed. Ingrid Bennewitz and Andrea Schindler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 251–273, esp. 256. Compare also Hrabanus, *De universo*, PL 111, col. 397, 470.

[515] "In purpura passionis sanguinem … in cocco quoque praecipuam et perfectam caritatem" Hrabanus, *In honorem*, ed. Perrin, poem 16, 135. Compare also Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111, col. 392–93.

with the red color of sinopia or minium, and with purple the martyrdom that Christ suffered.[516] Using just these colors, the textile pattern in the St. Paul Sacramentary alludes to the temple curtain that was rent during the Crucifixion, symbolizing the newly opened gates of paradise and which, as we have seen, also symbolizes the body that the Virgin Mary wove in her womb.

In the context of the Eucharist in which the St. Paul Sacramentary functioned, the textile-ornamented Crucifixion evokes yet more textile associations. The painted purple veil relates also to the various liturgical textiles that were used in the church. The visual allusion to the temple curtain in the context of the Crucifixion evokes the textile veils that were apparent in the church during the season of Lent. The twelfth-century exegete Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1151) explained the tradition of hanging liturgical curtains before the sanctuary during the Lenten season and relates the liturgical veils to the temple curtain.[517]

> And because the mystery of Scripture at this time [of Lent] is veiled from us, therefore the velum is extended before our eyes in these days. And the priest and few others enter behind the velum, because such mysteries of Scriptures are opened to few teachers. At Easter, the velum is lifted ... because all things will be laid bare and open at the Resurrection, where the blessed will see the King, resplendent in his glory. ... Indeed, rising from the dead, he has pulled away the curtain, and at the same time he has opened its sense so that they might know the scriptures and he has revealed heaven to the believers.[518]

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[516] "*ut ruborem sinopidis vel minii ostendat in ardore charitatis, et purpurismum in martyrio et passionibus, pro Christi nomine expensis.*" Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111, col. 563D.

[517] The use of textile curtains is documented, for example, in the Liber Pontificalis. Stephan Beissel, "Gestickte und gewebte Vorhänge der römischen Kirchen in der zweiten Hälfte des VIII. und in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 12 (1894): col. 358–74. Among other popes, Leo II provided St. Peter's with "15 great all-silk veils with roundels and with a fringe and a cross both of purple and of interwoven gold; forty-three great veils coated with fourfold-woven silk, which hang in the arches; twenty small veils with roundels, adorned with fourfold-woven silk which hang in the smaller arches; ten small veils of cross-adorned silk which hang in the arches, and ten more, three of them with a gold studded fringe; four matching Alexandrian veils, a crimson veil with wheels on it, with a fringe of wheels and fledglings on it, and in the middle a cross with chevrons and four matching wheels of tyrian." *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), esp. 181.

[518] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, Part III, Book 3, Ch. XLVI: De velo quod suspenditur Quadragesima (PL 172:656-57), trans. Thomas E. A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval*

In the context of the Eucharist, the textile veil painted in the St. Paul Sacramenatry further relates to the altar, on which another form of body, the host, had its place. In the medieval church the altar was dressed in silk coverings, some of which were red and purple. On the one hand, altar coverings were connected allegorically to the purple un-sewn vestment that Christ wore at the Passion and thus relate to his bodily *habitus*. On the other, the white linen cloths on which the host was consecrated were likened to the pure linen textiles in which Christ's body was wrapped in the tomb.[519] The white body of the crucified before a red and purple textile veil evokes the image of an altar dressed in such textiles and further relates the body on the cross to the host, and the altar to the tomb.

In addition to these allegoric references that contextualize the image in a framework of textile metaphors, the Crucifixion miniature in the St. Paul Sacramentary served a contemplative function. A comparison with textile ornament in the *Dominus vobiscum/sursum corda* pages of the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries suggests that the Crucifixion miniature served a similar purpose of helping the celebrant to prepare internally for mass.[520] The image of the celebrant painted on fol. 15r [fig. 233] depicts the bishop at the altar with the host in his hand. Above the altar we see the Lamb of God eclipsed in a golden aureole. The lamb symbolizes Christ's sacrifice on the cross. In the context of the Eucharist, it is also a figure for the host, which also accounts for its round medallion shape. Because it is framed by a golden medallion, the image further appears like a vision, an internal image that the celebrant was asked to

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Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 74.

[519] Jörg Richter, "Linteamina: Leinen als Bedeutungsträger," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 303—445. Franz Kirchweger, "Nunc de vestibus altariis:" Kirchentextilien in Schriftquellen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1997): 75–109. Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich: Widmann, 1924).

[520] The Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries are closely related to the St. Paul Sacramentary in style, textual structure, and content. See the concordance of the Florence, Petershausen, and St. Paul Sacramentaries in von Euw, "Das Sakramentar von St. Paul," 366—70. Also Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, 336 and 339, who further notes iconographic similarities between the St. Paul Sacramentary and the Egbert Psalter in Cividale.

visualize in his mind when consecrating the host. If we read the textile pattern in the Crucifixion miniature as a veil of revelation, the image implies that the bishop who used the St. Paul Sacramentary was also expected to see Christ spiritually in the body of the host. In addition to Christ's human bodily *habitus*, to which the textile pattern alludes, the Eucharistic bread was another material metaphor for Christ's divine presence made visible through the veil of earthly matter.[521] The red color of the ornament, in turn, evokes the Eucharistic wine and the symbolism of Christ's body as a grapevine, from which flowed the blood that washed away the world's sin.[522]

The theme of wine and blood brings me to a last point that can be made about the St. Paul Crucifixion image. The miniature also appears to comment on the significance of baptism, which, according to Bede, has another parallel in the temple curtain and the body of the Passion.

> Hence on the one hand, the heavens were opened at his [Christ's] baptism, to
> show that it was through the baptism which he himself hallowed for us that we
> must enter the door of our heavenly homeland, and on the other hand, at his death
> on the cross this same veil was rent in two from top to bottom that it might be
> clearly taught that the figures of the law thereupon came to an end and the truth of
> the Gospel and the heavenly mysteries and the very entrance to heaven were no
> longer a matter of prophecy or figurative meaning but were on the very point of
> being opened to all who from the beginning of the world to that moment of time
> had passed from the world in the true faith. […] But for us too who were still to

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[521] Josef Rupert Geiselmann, "Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik," *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* 15 (1926): 146—47. According to Paschasius Radbertus's *De Corpore et sanguine domini*, we "receive in the bread that which hung on the cross," trans. Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (Collegeville Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1974), 77. Godefridus J.C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 201. For an Ottonian interpretation of the crucifix as a visual and material manifestation of Christ's body, see also Annika Elisabeth Fisher, "Cross Altar and Crucifix in Ottonian Cologne," in Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø (eds.) *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 43—62. Celia Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy, *Traditio* 47 (1992): 1—36.

[522] A poem by Venantius Fortunatus from the second half of the sixth century evokes the idea that Christ is the grapevine that hung on the cross and from which the cleansing blood flowed like wine. Venantius Fortunatus, *De cruce domini*, II, 1. Trans. Wolfgang Fels, *Venantius Fortunatus: Gelegentliche Gedichte.* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2006), 27.

come, the entrance to that heavenly city and the house of our Father was unlocked already at the same moment.[523]

The pale and chaste body of Christ on the cross, in contrast to the reddish pattern of the textile ornament, recalls the body of the Resurrection, which according to medieval exegesis is neither opaque nor made of blood and flesh but clear and translucent as crystal.[524] Augustine connected this heavenly Resurrection body to the redeeming *habitus* of Christ's flesh and blood, in which Christians partake in baptism. Commenting on Gal. 3:27, Augustine stated, "'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.' But this will be perfected in us in truth only when that which is animal in us by our birth shall have been made spiritual by our resurrection."[525] This is why catechumens wore a white dress when they were baptized, to symbolize that in "putting on" Christ their bodies would be freed from the stain of original sin, and when they died, they would regain the "dress of glory" that also clothed Adam and Eve before the Fall but was transformed into a carnal body when they were cast from Paradise.[526] Therefore, baptism is a symbol for the reversion of the Fall.

> And when ready for the garment of Christ, we have taken off the tunic of skin,
> then we shall be clothed with a garment of linen, which has nothing of death in it,
> but is wholly white so that, rising from baptism, we may gird our loins in truth
> and the entire shame of our past sins may be covered.[527]

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[523] Bede, *On the Temple*, trans. Connolly, 58.

[524] Arnold Angenendt, "Corpus incorruptum: Eine Leitidee der mittelalterlichen Heiligenverehrung," in *Die Gegenwart von Heiligen und Reliquien*, ed. Arnold Angenendt, Sebastian Eck und Hubertus Lutterbach (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010), 109–144.

[525] Augustine, *City of God*, XIII, 23. Trans. Robert W. Dyson, *Augustine: The City of God Against the Pagans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 573.

[526] Erik Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides," *Benediktinische Monatsschrift* 14 (1934): 347—56, esp. 351. On the white garment donned during baptism see ibid, 353—55. Also Jun Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London and New York: T & A Clark International, 2004). Rudolph Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964).

[527] Jerome, *Epistle to Fabiola* 77.19, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae LXXI—CXX, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 55, ed. Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969), trans. Robin Scroggs and Kent I. Groff, "Baptism in Mark," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 92 (1973): 531—48, esp. 537. Stephen Lake, "Fabiola and the Sick: Jerome, epistula 77," in

Ambrose further likened baptism to an imitation of Christ's death on the cross, because the catechumen will be reborn just as Christ was resurrected. To Ambrose, baptism is the sacrament of the cross.[528] Therefore, the proper liturgical moment for baptism was the Easter Vigil, the liturgy that centered on the Resurrection.[529] There is no evidence that the St. Paul Sacramentary was specifically used for baptism, but the baptismal rite was included in the Florence Sacramentary on the pages following the liturgical texts for the Saturday of Holy Week and before the *proprium de tempore* for that feast day, which, we recall, was the only liturgical moment emphasized by a full-page textile miniature [fig. 212].[530]

Conclusion

The manuscripts discussed in this chapter show that textile ornament has many meanings depending on the context in which it appears. Purple-colored textile ornament evokes the *habitus* of the Incarnation and the body that was sacrificed on the cross. Therefore, textile ornament frequently appears in the context of the Christmas and Easter liturgies or that of the Canon of the mass. The *Te igitur* miniature with the Crucifixion in the St. Paul Sacramentary has shown, furthermore, that textile ornament may combine multiple layers of meaning. Textile ornament in this miniature alludes not only to the body of the Incarnation as a veil of revelation, but also to the temple curtain as a symbol of the sacrifice on the cross. Furthermore, the context of the

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Die Christen und der Körper: Aspekte der Körperlichkeit in der Literatur der Spätantike, ed. Barbara Feichtinger and Helmut Seng (Munich: Saur, 2004), 151—72.

[528] Ambrose, *De sacramentis* PL 2, 23. William Ledwich, "Baptism, Sacrament of the Cross: Looking Behind St. Ambrose," in *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies in Honor of Arthur Hubert Couratin*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks (Rome: C.L.V.-Ed. Liturgiche, 1981), 199—211.

[529] For a useful and brief summary see the entry "Taufe," in Carmassi, Divina Officia, 280—85, esp. 281 and 283. Ildefons Herwegen, *Taufe und Firmung nach dem römischen Missale, Rituale und Pontificale* (Bonn: Weber, 1920). Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: from the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Arnold Angenendt, "Der Taufritus im frühen Mittelalter," in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1987), 275—321.

[530] Von Euw, "Das Sakramentar von St. Paul," 366.

Eucharist brings textile ornament together with the host as a material metaphor for Christ, and the symbolic meaning of the coverings and textiles that dressed the altar. The theme of textile ornament as a metaphor for the veil of scripture and for spiritual sight reappeared in the Gospels of Judith of Flanders. The metaphor was given a different twist through a contextualization of the textile image in the Christmas and especially the Easter liturgies, in which this manuscript had its place. In addition, the *Dominus vobiscum/sursum corda* pages from the Petershausen and Florence Saramentaries made clear that these images also served another contemplative function. Like the textile veil in the St. Paul Crucifixion image, textile patterns in the Petershausen and Florence Sacramentaries addressed the celebrant who performed the sacrament of the Eucharist to help him raise his heart in order to perceive the true spiritual essence of Christ in the host.

The peculiar miniature in the Petershausen Sacramentary that shows Mary, or Mary-Ecclesia, dressed in a spectacular garment and holding a book gives cause to think of these textile-ornamented manuscripts in yet another way [fig. 1].[531] We have seen that the Virgin Mary played a major role in the history of salvation, since it was she who wove the body of Christ in her womb. Christ's human body, his textile *habitus*, fulfilled its destiny at the cross when it was sacrificed for the redemption of sin. In the context of the Christmas and Easter liturgies, textile ornament comments on the theological significance that this textile-clothed vessel of the Divine implied. Another form of containment, and another symbol for the Incarnation as a veil for the Divinity, are the four Gospels themselves. For this reason, early medieval artists sometimes depicted Mary holding a book in images of the Annunciation, for example in a Carolingian ivory casket now in Braunschweig and in the Benedictional of Aethelwold, fol. 5v [fig. 165].[532] As Maria Evangelatou has shown, Byzantine artists also

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[531] The iconography of this figure, Mary, Ecclesia, or both, is disputed. Most recently, Kristen Mary Collins proposed a reading of the female figure in imperial garb as Mary-Ecclesia. Collins, "Visualizing Mary," chapter 3, 116—57.

[532] Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (Hildesheim: Dom und Diözesanmuseum, 1993), cat. no. VI–63, 2: 400—402. Regine Marth, *Die Mittelalter-Abteilung des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum im Knappensaal der Burg Dankwarderode* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, 1997), 21—22. Victor H. Elbern, "Vier karolingische Elfenbeinkästen," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 20 (1966): 11—16. Deshman, *Benedictional*, 9—17, esp. 10, and fig. 1. Deshman analyses the iconographic parallels between the Braunschweig ivory casket and the Benedictional closely, 262—66, esp. 264, but does not comment on the book as a symbol of the incarnation. He notes, however, that the iconography of the Virgin with a book goes back to a legend that Mary was reading the prophecy in Isaiah 14:7 when Gabriel visited her.

showed Mary with a book, perhaps in order to allude to her female virtues, but more likely because the book is a metaphor for the Incarnation in which Mary plays a central role.[533] In the next chapter we will see that Gospel books, especially the eleventh-century Echternach manuscripts in which the parchment folios are entirely covered in textile ornament from edge to edge, can be read as such a metaphor. In the words of Herbert Kessler, images "must be understood as instruments that serve the fundamental Christian mystery, namely that, in assuming flesh, God had become visible and could be represented but his dual nature can be perceived only through spiritual eyes."[534] The textile pages presented in this chapter demonstrate that images have the capacity to reveal the invisible, but they also showed that textile images operate as manifestations of Christ's humanity, especially in the context of the Christmas and Easter liturgy. The Bamberg Gospel lectionary with which I began this chapter demonstrates even more clearly that textiles and textile images also have the ability to cast the immaterial in a physical and tangible shape. The Bamberg Evangelistary is "dressed" in a highly unusual cover [fig. 234].[535] The codex was neither bound in leather, as is common in medieval books, nor were the covers reinforced by wooden tablets. Instead, the covers were stiffened by an extra layer of thick parchment, similar to the cardboard cover of a modern paperback, and on the outside the volume was clad in silk. As we have seen, the manuscript contains three textile pages that draw attention to the Christmas and Easter liturgies and to the body of Christ. The meaning of purple and red as symbols of flesh and blood has been explained, as well as the textile metaphor of Christ's bodily *habitus*. In the next chapter we will see that another material that shares a close

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Maria E. Gössmann, *Die Verkündigung an Maria im dogmatischen Verständnis des Mittelalters* (Munich: Hueber, 1975), 94, 119.

[533] Evangelatou, "Pursuing Salvation."

[534] Herbert Kessler, *Neither God nor Man: Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2007), 137.

[535] The Byzantine silk was dated to the tenth-century. Regula Schorta, "Der Seideneinband des Bamberger Evangelistars (Msc. Bibl. 95), in *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln: Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen and Bernhard Schemmel (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 2000), 175–76. The silk cover is contemporary with the book-body. Regula Schorta, "Seidenstoff mit Vögeln," in Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, cat. no. VI. 54, 2:479—80.

affinity with the body is parchment. Because the ornamental and figurative program of the Bamberg Evangelistary is all about the body of Christ, the unusual materials used for the textile-parchment cover of this book raise the question whether the Bamberg Lectionary itself can be read as a material metaphor for the body of Christ. I propose that the parchment and silk materials cloak this manuscript in a corporeal container that resembles the physicality of a human body. If parchment is a metaphor for flesh, the silken cover can be read as the book's *habitus*. Dressing a book in such metaphoric materials evokes the dual nature of Christ. On the one hand this book is material, and therefore visible and tangible, but on the other, its essence remains a spiritual one. While the Bamberg Gospel lectionary uses real textiles to cast the life of Christ in such an allegoric textile *habitus*, a look at some Echternach manuscripts in the eleventh century will show more clearly that textile-ornament adds layers of metaphor and materiality to a book in order to transform parchment pages and whole manuscripts into material symbols of the Incarnation.

Chapter 4 : Scripture Embodied

The previous chapters demonstrated that the function and meaning of textile ornament depends on context. I compared the ornament to textiles, brought textile patterns in relation with iconographic conventions, contextualized ornament in the textual content of the manuscripts, and considered the books' liturgical function in my readings of function and meaning. In this chapter I view textile ornament in the context of the physical manuscript itself, which I understand as a form of book-body that was placed on the lectern and altar. I consider textile ornament especially in the context of the books' codicological structure and investigate how textile ornament changes the manuscript's materiality.[536] The focus is on the unusual full-folio textile pages that were produced by the Echternach scriptorium in the course of the eleventh century. I relate these pages to medieval concepts of materiality and material symbolism in order to demonstrate that textile ornament changes a book not only visually, but also has a bearing on the symbolic meaning of the book-body and its function in the liturgy. Like most Gospel books, the Echternach manuscripts discussed in this chapter contain the four Gospel accounts. However, I argue that these books are more than collections of sacred texts. By reading textile ornament symbolically as corporeal cladding for the book I propose that the textile-ornamented Echternach manuscripts embody the Word of God in a tangible form. The book-body made of parchment and paint effects a form of incarnation. In the context of the sacred drama of the medieval liturgy, this book-body functions as a physical representative of Christ.[537]

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[536] In my use of materiality I follow Tim Ingold's distinction between *material* understood as a physical substance defined by the material properties of things (i.e. made of stone, wood, leather, etc.) and *materiality*, a conceptual idea that is distinct from physical properties insofar as it places matter in a social context. Tim Ingold, "Materials Against Materiality," *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (2007): 1—16, and the responses to this article by Christopher Tilley and Carl Knappett, 16—23. Highly useful is further Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: an Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), esp. 25—36.

[537] On the liturgy as drama see Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 2005). O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1965).

As recent work on materiality and sense perception in the Middle Ages has shown, the visual embellishment of objects played a major role in the experience of the sacred.[538] Among the various precious objects that were staged in the liturgical ritual, the Gospel book played one of the leading roles. Seeing the Gospels pass through the church in procession and being placed on the ambo for the day's reading was a crucial moment in the liturgical experience.[539] The covers of many Gospel books were decorated with gems and precious metals that reflected light and made the book visible from afar.[540] In addition to the visual spectacle that such precious manuscripts presented, gestures like carrying the book in veiled hands and kissing it ostentatiously aimed at making visible the sanctity of the Word.[541] Some medieval sources suggest that perceiving the Word with the eyes was considered more powerful than hearing the words spoken because visual perception was thought to have had a stronger and longer lasting

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[538] Bynum, *Christian Materiality*. Bruno Reudenbach, "Reliquie als Heiligkeitsbeweis und Echtheitszeugnis: Grundzüge einer problematischen Gattung," in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus 4,* ed. Wolfgang Kemp et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 1—36. Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saint's Shrines," in *Approaches to Medieval Art,* ed. Lawrence Nees (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1998), 121—48. Michele Ferrari, "Gold und Asche: Reliquie und Reliquiare als Medien in Thiofrid von Echternachs *Flores epytaphii sanctorum,*" in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 61—74. Beate Fricke, *Ecce fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (Paderborn: W. Fink, 2007). Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude towards* Art (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 72. Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 41 (2010): 25—56.

[539] Felix Heinzer, "Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuchs in der Liturgie," in *Codex und Raum,* ed. Stephan Müller and Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2009), 43—58. Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe* (Vienna and Freiburg: Herder, 1962), 86—89, 98—90.

[540] Susannah Fischer, "Materializing the Word: Ottonian Treasury Bindings and Viewer Reception," (PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2012). Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965).

[541] Heinzer, "Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuchs," 46.

emotional effect.[542] Thus, the material appearance of the book was a key factor in the enactment of the sacred drama of the liturgy.[543]

Books were not only decorated on the outside covers, however. A look inside the illuminated manuscripts from Echternach reveals that textile ornament invested the manuscripts with additional material meaning. This chapter investigates the metaphoric meaning of an unusual form of full-folio textile ornamentation: textile pages that are entirely covered in ornament from edge to edge, such as in a pericope book made for Henry III and now in Bremen [fig. 235 and 236].[544] This book belongs to a group of sumptuously illuminated manuscripts made at Echternach in the eleventh century that contain the most frequently discussed and hence best-known textile-like designs painted on parchment in the Ottonian period.[545] While the unusual stylistic and formal composition of the textile pages has been appreciated in the past as an artistic achievement, the function and meaning of these pages has gone largely

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[542] David F. Appleby, "The Priority of Sight According to Peter the Venerable," *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 123—57. Rachel Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin, 800—1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 293—94, 334—38.

[543] Fischer, "Materializing the Word." David Ganz, "Kleider des nackten Christus: Zur Oberflächensemantik sakraler Bildträger im Mittelalter (Prachteinbände und Schnitzretabel)," in *Kleider machen Bilder: Vormoderne Strategien vestimentärer Bildsprache,* ed. David Ganz and Marius Rimmele (Emsdetten and Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2012), Textile Studies 4, 67—91. Adam S. Cohen, "Magnificence in Miniature: The Case of Early Medieval Manuscripts," in *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music,* ed. Stephen Jaeger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 79—101. John Lowden, "The Word Made Visible: The Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument," in *The Early Christian Book,* ed. William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 13—47 (esp. 45—46).

[544] Bremen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21. Gerhard Knoll (ed.), *Das Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III.: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Ms. b. 21 der Universitätsbibliothek Bremen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981—1993). Joachim Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III. in Bremen und seine Stellung innerhalb der Echternacher Buchmalerei* (Cologne: Walter Kleikamp, 1970).

[545] For a list of all eleventh-century illuminated Echternach manuscripts see Anja Grebe, *Codex Aureus: Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), 143. See also the fundamental work by Carl Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis: An Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971). More recently, see Stephen Wagner, "Silken Parchments: Design, Context, Patronage, and Function of Textile-Inspired Pages in Ottonian and Salian Manuscripts" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2004), and idem, "Establishing a Connection to Illuminated Manuscripts made at Echternach in the Eighth and Eleventh Centuries and Issues of Patronage, Monastic Reform and Splendor," in *Peregrinations* 3 (2010): 49—82.

unexamined.[546] In one of the earliest studies on the Codex Aureus, Peter Metz briefly related the textile-ornamented pages to veils and to garments but did not take the idea further.[547] Joachim Plotzek ventured a reading of the two textile pages at the very beginning and end of the pericope book of Henry III as an inner ornamental shell that takes a framing or protective function and presents the Gospel readings framed in a "precious vessel."[548] More recently, some of these ideas were revived by Anja Grebe but without adding new insight.[549] The idea of textile ornament as a veil of revelation has been discussed in chapter one. The aim of the following considerations is to expand on Metz's idea of textile pages as a garment that dresses the Gospel book. Focusing on the *Codex Aureus Epternacensis* and the *Codex Caesareus* at Uppsala, I argue that the borderless textile-like pages of the Echternach Gospel books transform the manuscripts into a physical text-body that characterizes the Gospel book as a material representative of Christ.[550] David Ganz has made a similar argument for metal book covers, which he reads as a form of metaphoric clothing that infuses the book with christological meaning, especially if the precious covers show images

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[546] See for instance Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 102.

[547] Peter Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach im Germanischen Nationalmuseum zu Nürnberg* (Munich: Prestel, 1956), 50—51, 63, 67.

[548] Textile pages are fols. 1v—2r and 125v—126r. Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III*, 66. "Wenn Zierseiten als Rahmen dienen, als innere schützende Hülle, so bergen sie etwas, das kostbarer ist als sie selbst, woraus man den (minderen) Grad an Bedeutung, die sie innerhalb des Buches besitzen, abzulesen versucht ist, wenngleich sie andererseits in der materiellen und ideellen Kostbarkeit ihrer purpurfarbenen und goldenen Ausführung im ornamentalen Bereich hinführende und steigernde (im Bremensis ansteigende und ausklingende Zierde), eine schmückende Begleitung ohne unmittelbare inhaltliche Beziehung zum Text sind. […] So läßt sich [im Codex Aureus Epternacensis] eine vom Ornament über die figürlich-szenische Illustration, dem Bild des Autoren und zwei weiteren verzierten schriftlichen Hinweisen zum Text eine in der Bedeutung ansteigende Linie verfolgen, die in der Prachtinitiale kulminiert, welche unmittelbar das biblische Wort in sich birgt wie in einem kostbaren Gefäß."

[549] Grebe's recent essay touches on the theme of textile ornament as velum and garment, without going into depth, and defines the function of the textile pages in the *Codex Aureus* primarily in a traditional manner as visual markers that subdivide and structure the text. Anja Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol: Die sogenannten 'Teppichseiten' des Codex aureus von Echternach im Kontext von Buchmalerei und Textilkunst," in *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe: Textilien im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Böse and Silke Tammen (Frankfurt, Berlin and Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 55—74, (esp. 67, 73, 74).

[550] Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 156 142 (manuscript), KG 1138 (manuscript cover). Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Cod. C 93.

of Christ. [551] The aim of this chapter is to bring this notion of the Gospel book as a representative of Christ together with the iconography, layout, and codicological structure of the two Echternach manuscripts. Both liturgical books demonstrate in different ways that textile ornament transforms the Gospel book into a material book-body that functions as a tactile symbol of the Incarnation and as a veil of revelation.

Textile ornament in the Codex Aureus Epternacensis

The *Codex Aureus Epternacensis* preserves the visually most compelling set of textile openings among the Echternach manuscript group, and its codicological structure is a particularly articulate example for demonstrating the meaning of such textile pages. [552] Each of the four Gospels in this book is introduced by a textile-ornamented double-page. The first textile opening on fols. 17v—18r shows a design of large medallions that enclose either birds in lozenge-shaped frames or lozenges filled with a vegetal motif [fig. 237]. Rosettes occupy the spaces between the medallions. The floral leaves in the spaces along the upper and lower borders of fol. 17v were changed for half medallions on fol. 18r. Apart from this difference, the ornament is almost perfectly symmetrical on either page of the double spread. The design on fols. 51v—52r is more intricate in comparison to the large medallion pattern of the first textile-like opening. It displays a striped pattern of horizontal bands in various colors, some of which are populated with quadrupeds and birds, others decorated with floral motifs [fig. 238]. The third textile page on fols. 75v—76r is composed of square-shaped frames on purple ground that are inhabited by lions [fig. 239]. Depictions of antique coins are added to the corners of the squares. [553] The fourth

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[551] Compare also David Ganz, "Das Kleid der Bücher: Vestimentäre Dimensionen frühmittelalterlicher Prachteinbände," in *Clothing the Sacred*, ed. Mateusz Kapustka and Warren Woodfin, Textile Studies, 6 (Emsdetten and Berlin: Edition Imorde, forthcoming). I thank David Ganz for making his essay available to me prior to publication.

[552] Most recently, Grebe "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol." Rainer Kahsnitz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach: Codex Aureus Epternacensis HS 156142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Faks.-Ausg.* (Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 1982).

[553] As I discussed in chapter one, the coins are not particularly textile-like and show that artists creating textile ornament were also inspired by non-textile sources. The lion repeat of this page demonstrates that artists frequently combined various ornamental motifs into a textile-evoking pattern, rather than copying Byzantine or Islamic silk wholesale.

and final textile page appears on fols. 109v—110r [fig. 240]. This opening is covered in a grid of lozenge-shaped frames on purple ground that are filled with a floral motif.

Compared to textile-inspired ornament made outside Echternach, the textile pages of the *Codex Aureus* and other Echternach manuscripts that I will discuss below stand out because they show more detail in the designs than the usual stylized pages. The extent to which the textile-like images were modeled on the repeat patterns of Byzantine, Islamic, and Central-Asian silks—or rather differ from these—has been addressed in chapter one. I concluded that neither the painters who created the illusionistic textile designs of the *Codex Aureus*, nor the numerous Ottonian artists who painted highly stylized textile pages, intended to produce mimetic representations of silk. Instead, textile ornament is a common form of textile iconography that is effective because the combination of extensibility, symmetry, and color evokes in the viewers' minds the look of precious silk.

While the peculiar form, style, and iconography of textile ornament made at Echternach has been addressed frequently, it has been overlooked that the unusual layout of the textile pages can help establish the function and meaning of textile ornament in these manuscripts. The ornamented folios of the Echternach Gospel books differ from textile ornament in manuscripts made elsewhere because the textile patterns cover the pages fully in extensible ornament from one edge of the page to the other. Usually two folios with identical ornamentation face one another in a two-page opening. No other medieval scriptorium produced such borderless full-folio textile designs.[554] On the contrary, textile pages in Ottonian manuscripts show textile ornament as a framed image, which is placed in the middle of a single page and surrounded by

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[554] The only exception known to me is a late medieval devotional book from England, dated to 1480—90, British Library, Egerton MS 1821. The ornamented pages show drops of blood painted in red on red ground. Nancy Thebaut, "Bleeding Pages, Bleeding Bodies: A Gendered Reading of British Library MS Egerton 1821," in *Medieval Feminist Forum* 45 (2009): 175—200, read the ornamented pages in the context of medieval blood frenzy and related the visual and tactile perception of these pages to a pseudo sacramental experience. Silke Tammen further related the ornament to Christ's incarnate body that becomes manifest in the book itself. These two aspects are also the primary function of purple-colored textile ornament in the earlier Echternach Gospel books. Silke Tammen, "Blut ist ein ganz besoderer 'Grund': Bilder, Texte und die Farbe Rot in einem kartäusischen Andachtsbüchlein (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1821)," in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, ed. Karin Krause and Barbara Schellewald (Cologne: Weimar, and Wien, Böhlau, 2011), 229—251. Eadem, "Rot sehen—Blut berühren: blutige Seiten und Passionsmemoria in einem spätmittelalterlcihen Andachtsbüchlein (Brit. Libr., Ms. Egerton 1821)," in *Die Farben imaginierter Welten: zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Monika Schausten (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 303—322.

uncolored parchment. A representative example of such a textile page is fol. 15r from a Saxon Gospel book of unknown provenance, now in Munich [fig. 47].[555] The textile design is surrounded by a substantial amount of uncolored parchment. The image's placement in the middle of the page makes clear that the ornamental composition can be read as a *picture* of a patterned textile. In the textile pages of the *Codex Aureus* and its sister manuscripts, however, the role of the ornament is no longer clearly that of a framed image. There is no "nude" parchment border around the ornament that would designate the painted portion as an image and the parchment folio as its support. Instead, the ornamented surface covers the entire opening from edge to edge. Before turning to the function and meaning of these unusual textile pages it is necessary to take a careful look at the composition of the full-folio designs in order to clarify that the borderless layout was intentional and not a mere accident caused by the subsequent cropping of the pages.

Planning a page with full-folio ornamentation

At one point in the production of any medieval manuscript, all the parchment pages needed to be trimmed by the bookbinder to unify the sizes of the folios and generate a clean book block. For the borderless textile pages of the Echternach manuscripts, the trimming of the pages has unique ramifications that need to be considered in detail. The covers of medieval manuscripts are often made to fit the dimensions of the book block, but in the case of the *Codex Aureus* the still extant cover predates the manuscript itself [fig. 241].[556] Kahsnitz proposed that the cover was made around 985—87, perhaps in Trier, and was reused when the *Codex Aureus*

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[555] Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9475. Elisabeth Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), cat. no. 226, 1:248—50. I discuss the function and meaning of this manuscript page in chapter two.

[556] An example where both instances occur in the same book is the front cover of the Lindau Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M1 from St. Gallen, 880-899. While the upper cover was made for the already existing book, the cover that is now on the back was reused. On the Lindau Gospels see Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts* (St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), cat. no. 99, 1:408—11. Jeanne-Marie Musto, "John Scottus Eriugena and the Upper Cover of the Lindau Gospels," *Gesta* 40 (2001): 1—18.

was bound sometime in the 1030s.[557] One might expect that the Echternach artists measured and cut the parchment folios according to the dimensions of the pre-existing cover from the start, but Kahsnitz noted that the textile pages were trimmed along the edges nonetheless.[558] He thought that this occurred when the book was bound shortly after its completion and that no additional cutting was done thereafter because the pages are still concordant with the cover's size.[559] The effects of the trimming are visible especially in places where the cutting interfered with the painted textile patterns. Some of these interferences are useful to look at in more detail because they tell us how the pages were planned.

All the textile pages in the *Codex Aureus* are framed by a narrow ornamental border that perhaps deliberately evokes the look of selvage bands, such as are typical in Byzantine silk [fig. 242].[560] In the first textile page on fols. 17v-18r, the painted selvage band decorated with lozenges and circles at the top of the verso page was almost completely lost when the page was trimmed [fig. 237]. At the bottom of the same opening, the ornamental border was cut, but most of it is still visible.[561] If there ever was a selvage-border on the left and right, it is no longer possible to say. Since medieval bookbinders did not work with mechanical precision, it was inevitable that those sections of textile ornament that were too close to the edge of the folio

[557] Kahnsitz, *Das goldene* Evangelienbuch, 214, 215—16. On the date of the cover see further Gunther Wolf, "Zur Datierung des Buchdeckels des Codex Aureus Epternacensis (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum K.G. 1138)," *Hémecht* 4 (1990): 147—152.

[558] Kahsnitz, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, 124—25, 217.

[559] "So daß auch hier nicht mit einem nachträglichen Beschnitt des Buchblocks zu rechnen ist." Kahsnitz, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, 125.

[560] The selvage is a narrow strip that runs along the left and right edges of flat-woven fabrics. It keeps the textile from fraying or unraveling. In Byzantine silks these selvages were often decorated with simple ornamental motifs like a pearl-string. Compare for instance Aachen, Munster treasury, silk from the shrine of Charlemagne. The selvage of a tenth or eleventh-century silk with double-pearl string ornamentation that particularly resembles the selvage-like band in fols. 51v—52r of the *Codex Aureus* survives in Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Inv. Nr. 78, 462. The silk is of Byzantine origin and was dated to the tenth or eleventh century. Leonie von Wilckens, *Mittelalterliche Seidenstoffe* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1992), cat. no. 47, 34. For another medieval silk with selvage see Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 — AD 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997), cat. no. M58 and fig. 8a—9a.

[561] Similarly, in fols. 51v—52r, remnants of the selvage band are visible on the right hand edge of the opening.

would be cut off and portions of painted parchment lost. In addition to enhancing the folio's textile character, the selvage-like frame around the textile pattern provided a sort of buffer zone between the textile pattern and folio edge that served to minimize such damage. The selvage buffer itself might have been lost when the page was trimmed, but it prevented the blade from cutting into the actual repeat-like design. In fols. 51v—52r the buffer zone consists of the purple selvage border and a strip of green paint, some of which remained visible along the upper right edge of folio 52r [fig. 238]. The makers of the *Codex Aureus* devised a different formula in the third and fourth textile openings. In these pages, especially fol. 109v [fig. 240], the buffer zone is not only much wider but also the space beyond the selvage-ribbon continues in the same purple color as the textile pattern. Also, the textile patterns, but not the selvage buffer, use expensive silver paint on the lion and lozenge-and-lily-pattern whereas the selvage is rather bland. If sections of the buffer zone got cut away, no expensive paint was wasted. It appears that the one purpose of this buffer zone was to "save" the textile pattern from damage when the page was trimmed.

The *Codex Caesareus* now in Uppsala demonstrates more clearly that the Echternach painters planned the textile pages as full-folio illuminations and that the borderless appearance is not an accidental effect caused by subsequent trimming.[562] For example, the white textile-like pattern on fol. 2v—3r is framed by a purple border with eagle pattern that terminates along the lower edge of the opening in a pearl-string motif [fig. 243]. The space beyond this pearl ribbon is covered in purple paint. As in the third and fourth textile pages of the *Codex Aureus*, the advantage of this composition is that the monochrome purple matches the colors of the remaining textile ornament, so that the buffer zone is less apparent. In the upper portion of this opening, however, trimming left a visible trace. Portions of the eagle-border were lost. The irregular layout of the page may have contributed to the damage. The frame around the white textile design is narrower on top than below. This irregular layout is consistent throughout the manuscript. In all folios there is less space on top of the text block (or image in illuminated pages) than beneath it. That the artist adapted the textile pattern to this layout in some pages demonstrates that they were meant to be borderless. On fols. 125v—126r a textile pattern in white, green, and purple frames the evangelist portrait of John and the facing initial page [fig.

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[562] On this manuscript see Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*.

244]. The exterior purple frame shows anthropomorphic faces with swirling hair that resembles the head of Medusa. Compared to the medallions below and on the left and right, the textile pattern in the upper section of the frame is smaller. Moreover, not only was the size of the faces reduced, but they were also squeezed into semi-circles instead of filling full medallions. Especially toward the upper right corner of fol. 126r these adaptations are visible. Although the faces in the top row were trimmed after completion, the adaptation to the layout demonstrates that they were designed to fit this narrow space.[563] In addition, the half medallions in the upper part of the frame were arranged the wrong way round. According to the compositional logic of a symmetrical repeat the half-medallions should face upwards. The painter, however, drew them facing down. Similarly, on the left, the faces inside the three-quarter medallions are turned sideways and the upper parts of the heads are cut off. While this might be an actual mistake, the artist adapted the medallions in the top right corner to the irregular format of the layout. This shows that the page was designed as a borderless composition from the start.

The borders in British Library Harley MS 2821, another Echternach Gospel book, are the most practical solution for a full-folio design. The manuscript is now fragmented and the leaves are no longer in the original order.[564] The textile pages show two different patterns on the same page. The folio that is now numbered 67 shows large medallions and octagons hemmed in by a zig-zag border and framed by a pattern of cruciform floral shapes [fig. 245].[565] The combination

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[563] That the artist adapted the ornament to the irregularly spaced layout confirms that the final size of the folios in this book was fixed *after* fols. 2v—3r were painted (where a large section of the eagle pattern on top was lost when the page was trimmed), but *before* the textile border in the opening of John was made. Towards the end of the manuscript the painter knew how large the folio would eventually be and reduced the size of the lion heads in the upper section accordingly. When the pages were finally trimmed in the process of binding the book for the first time, or at any time thereafter, only a minimal portion of the ornament was lost.

[564] On this manuscript see *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt,* ed. Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Munich: Hirmer, 2006), cat. no. 475, 2:378. Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 80, 92—93, 101—102, 115. Albert Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III (*Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933), 44—46, 83—85. When the manuscript was rebound, some of the double-folio textile pages were separated from each other and placed at the end of the book. See Christine Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain: On the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161—89, n. 10. I was unable to examine this manuscript.

[565] Fol. 99 differs from these pages. It shows one motif instead of two. On this page see Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus*, 100—102.

of two different textile patterns adds a "patchwork" look to the page. When this folio was trimmed, portions of the cruciform-patterned outer border were lost, but because this frame is generously spaced, the fragmentation made no great difference. The interior textile motif clearly remained intact. Folio 99v shows a similar "patchwork" pattern of two different motifs [fig. 246]. The green outer frame appears to buffer the purple pattern inside.[566] The composition of these pages indicates that extensible full-folio ornamentation was not an accident but a deliberate effort of the Echternach painters. Full-folio textile ornament is an essential feature of these pages and the Echternach painters made an effort to come up with different solutions. What purpose, then, did this full-page ornamentation serve?

Textile ornament and material transformation

While most textile images are surrounded by empty parchment space and hence appear as an image of a textile, the full-folio composition of the Echternach textile pages causes a visual and material metamorphosis. The ornamented surface conveys the impression that the textile pattern has merged with its parchment support. The manuscript page appears as if it was itself made of cloth. The conflation of visual and material properties is a key characteristic of real patterned textiles. In woven silk, the ornament is inseparable from its fabric support. It seems that the illuminators of the full-folio designs of the Echternach scriptorium deliberately copied this unique textile feature because they aimed at transforming parchment pages into cloth. Manuscript folios painted in this way appear like something that, in truth, they are not.[567] Although the folios still feel like parchment, from an optical point of view they seem transformed into a piece of silk. This effect alters not only the visual perception of the page but it also infuses the manuscript folio with metaphoric meaning.

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[566] Similar borders appear on fols. 21v, and 68v—69r around figurative images.

[567] This is one of the definitions James Trilling proposed for the function of ornament. "The business of ornament is to transform shapes and surfaces, by whatever means, into something other than what they really are." James Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003), 38. The process of transformation from parchment to silk is, however, a mere optical effect. The textile page neither smells like silk nor feels like it. In addition, none of the Echternach textile pages are painted on both sides. In a real silk both sides would show the same colors and similar patterns.

Text as textile

The virtual material change that borderless textile ornament causes has an effect on the Echternach folios because it interconnects the parchment pages with allegoric conceptions of the textile as a material and a medium. Hereafter I refer to this mixture of multi-layered textile references as the textility of textile ornament.[568] One such layer of the textility in the Echternach manuscript pages is caused by the link between written text and the textile medium. Although there is no writing on the ornamented pages themselves, the textile folios are part of a book that contains important texts, the four Gospels. Ancient scribal culture knew a textile metaphor that is particularly relevant for textile ornament in the Echternach manuscripts: the notion of text as a woven structure.[569] This conflation of textiles and text is grounded in the Latin verb *texere*, which means both writing and weaving. Greek and Latin writers of Antiquity frequently likened the process of writing and composing a text to weaving.[570] As Hedwig Röckelein has shown, this metaphor survived well into the Middle Ages.[571] Medieval writers frequently referred to texts through the terminology of textile manufacture and related the prose and syntax of the one medium to the visual and material quality of the other. The better a text was written the more beautifully composed was its fabric.[572] Röckelein further showed that the idea of written text as a woven garment is a metaphor that frequently appears in the writings of medieval hagiographers.

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[568] I use textility in analogy to materiality, as defined by the social, political, theological, material, allegorical context of textiles and their metaphoric connotations. See note 531 above. On a different use of the term textility see Ingold, "The Textility of Making," in *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 34 (2010): 91—102.

[569] See, for example, John Scheid and Jesper Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1996), esp. 131—155. Beate Wagner-Hasel, "Textus und texere, hýphos und hyphaínein: Zur metaphorischen Bedeutung des Webens in der griechisch-römischen Antike," in *Textus im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im Schriftsemantischen Feld*, ed. Ludolf Kuchenbuch und Uta Kleine (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2006), 15—42.

[570] On the notion of weaving poetry in Homer, Ovid, Cicero, and others see Schied and Svenbro, *Craft of Zeus*, 135—155. Wagner-Hasel, "Textus und texere," 36—42, on Ovid, Cicero, Quintillian, and Luxurius.

[571] Hedwig Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen zum hagiographischen Text", in: *Textus im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im Schriftsemantischen Feld*, ed. Ludolf Kuchenbuch und Uta Kleine (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2006), 77—110.

[572] Röckelein "Vom webenden Hagiographen," esp. 98—99.

The life of a saint, for example, was considered analogous to a dress that clad the saint, and therefore, the clearer and better organized the *vita* was the more finely woven was its text-fabric.[573] While Röckelein focused primarily on hagiographic sources, she mentions other sources that indicate that the notion of weaving a text was equally applicable to the Bible. According to Jerome, for example, scripture was a woven texture made of the deeds of saintly men and women that were woven into the *textus beati viri*.[574] Jerome's notion of scripture as a textile reappears in the context of an exegetical explication of the liturgical garments by Rupert of Deutz, who identifies divine wisdom as its weaver (*textrix*) and relates the *sapientia Dei*, who wove the Gospels, to a tunic that was first worn by Christ and later by the Apostles after the Holy Spirit had been poured out over them.[575] By means of this analogy, Rupert associates not only the structure of a written text with the textile medium but also its verbal and spiritual content. Considering scripture within the framework of such textile terms raises the question of the extent to which textile ornament in the Echternach Gospel books also visualizes the well-woven fabric of the Gospels. A look at the codicological structure of the *Codex Aureus* sheds light on the role textile pages play in 'dressing' the book of scripture and how they add meaning to the text-garment of scripture.

The textile garment of the Codex Aureus Epternacensis

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[573] Ibid.

[574] Ibid., 89. The parallels between hagiographic texts and the Gospels is further apparent from Milo of St. Amand, who divided the life of St. Amand into four parts, and related each of them to an evangelist, thus linking his hagiographic text-fabric with the higher order of the four Gospels. Röckelein "Vom webenden Hagiographen," 96.

[575] "'Significat' autem, ut Hieronymus ait, 'rationem sublimium,' quae non patet omnibus, sed maioribus atque perfectis. […] Praecipe ergo hanc habuit tunicam evangelicae textrix doctrinae sapientia Dei, Christus Dominus, et dedit illam apostolis suis." "Die Tunika aber 'bedeutet zeichenhaft,' wie Hieronymus sagt, 'die Erkenntnis des Höheren, die nicht allen zugänglich ist, sondern nur würdigen und vollkommenen Männern.' […] Vornehmlich hat daher die Weberin der Lehre des Evangeliums diese Tunika besessen, die Weisheit Gottes, Christus, der Herr, und er hat sie seinen Aposteln gegeben." Rupert von Deutz, *De divinis Officiis*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, transl. Helmut und Ilse Deutz (Freiburg: Herder, 1999), ch. 1,23, "De tunica," 199. Compare also "De evangelio," 230—41. See also Thomas Lentes, "Textus Evangelii: Materialität und Inszenierung des textus in der Liturgie," in *Textus im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im schriftsemantischen Feld*, ed. Ludolf Kuchenbuch und Uta Kleine (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2006), 133—148, (esp. 138).

The codicological structure of the *Codex Aureus* in Nuremberg suggests that the ornamented pages were conceived quite literally as a garment that wraps scripture in a textile dress and, at the same time, interweaves the four Gospels into one harmonious unit. At the very beginning of the *Codex Aureus* four folios painted in monochrome purple color stage the entrance into the book. In the current binding, these purple pages appear as two double folios [fig. 247—248]. Originally, the first page functioned as flyleaf and was pasted onto the front cover facing fol. 1r.[576] A Maiestas domini miniature with facing inscription follows on fols. 2v—3r [fig. 249], after which comes more prefatory material and finally the canon tables on fols. 9v—14r [fig. 250—252]. On 14v begins the prologue to the Gospels of Mathew, which is followed by the *capitula* ending on 17r [fig. 253—255]. The first textile-ornamented opening is fols. 17v—18r [fig. 256]. Compared to the monochrome purple folios at the beginning of the book, this ornamented double-page is far more compelling visually. The monochrome folios not only lack ornament but are also painted in a watery shade of purple that contrasts with the saturated colors of the four textile pages that follow later in the book.[577] The arrangement of colored and ornamented folios in combination with the Maiestas miniature and decorative text pages in the first quires of the book suggest that the visual program of the codex was supposed to progress gradually in a sort of visual "crescendo" from simpler to more stunning illuminations.[578] The highlights in this choreography are the Maiestas miniature, which follows after the

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[576] The flyleaf that now appears as fol. 1v of the Nuremberg manuscript was removed by Carl Nordenfalk in 1931—32, who discovered a Maiestas Domini drawing on its reverse. Carl Nordenfalk, "Neue Dokumente zur Datierung des Echternacher Evangeliars in Gotha," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1932): 153—157. See also Kahsnitz 1982, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, 121—24, who counts the flyleaf as fol. -1. My foliation follows the original binding as it is referred to in the current literature. I am not counting the purple painted flyleaf that shows a drawing of Christ in Majesty on the reverse, but begin with its facing folio 1r. For a digital facsimile see http://www.gnm.de/fileadmin/redakteure/Sammlungen/swf/codex/ (accessed 2014/02/06).

[577] Despite the deviation of the colors, these folios appear to be original to the book and were unlikely added at a later point. Grebe, "Ornament, Zitat, Symbol," 59. For a chemical analysis of the pigments and materials of the *Codex Aureus* see Doris Oltrogge and Robert Fuchs, *Die Maltechnik des Codex Aureus aus Echternach: ein Meisterwerk im Wandel* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2009).

[578] Robert Calkins described the decorative program of the Drogo Sacramentary as a visual "crescendo" in "Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 25 (1986): 17—23. For a similar argument about ascending decoration in the pericope book in Bremen, see Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III*, 66.

monochrome purple pages and before the prefatory material and the canon tables. The purple textile page on fols. 17v—18r is the second highlight. This opening leads to scenes from the life of Christ on fols. 18v—20r [fig. 257—258], and the portrait of Matthew with its facing dedicatory page on fols. 20v—21r, as well as an incipit and initial page on fols. 21v—22r [fig. 259—260]. On fol. 22v the text begins, which is written in gold throughout [fig. 261]. The visual choreography that is built into this sequence of figurative and ornamental miniatures is echoed in the openings of the remaining Gospels. Each of the remaining Gospels is introduced by decorative text pages that also include the argumentum, the name of the evangelist in a title page, and the capitula. The three remaining double-folio textile pages [figs. 238—240] open onto narrative images, after which follow the evangelist portraits, incipit and initial pages.[579] A closer look at the quire structure of the *Codex Aureus* further reveals that the visual choreography of the ornamental program goes hand in hand with the codicological organization of the book. The quire structure of the *Codex Aureus* follows a distinct plan in which the four textile pages play a major role worth considering in detail.

Each of the two textile folios that face each other in the double-page textile openings of the *Codex Aureus* belong to two separate gatherings that were connected only in the final binding. The verso page is always the last folio of the previous quire, while the recto is the first folio of the following gathering. These two textile pages were brought together when the quires were bound back to front and merged the four parts of the Gospels into one volume.[580] In a bound book the codicological structure is perceptible only to a trained and carefully looking eye.

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[579] The structure of the Gospels of Mark contains the incipit of the argumentum on 49r, facing on fol. 49v a decorative page showcasing the name MARCVS, which is painted in gold on purple ground, succeeded by text that continues until 50r. Fols. 50v—51r contain the capitula with decorated incipit and visually highlighted explicit. 51v—52r is the textile page, which is followed by two double folios with narrative scenes from the life of Christ, the evangelist portrait on 54v and a facing inscription. Fol. 55v contains the incipit for the Gospels proper, which begins on 56r with the initial I(nitivm). In Luke and John the argumentum, a page with the evangelists name, and the capitula are placed equally immediately before the textile pages. Scenes from the life of Christ, the evangelist portraits and incipit page facing the initial pages follow in like manner. The only exception is that in John, on fol. 107v, where the incipit of the argumentum and the name JOHN are drawn together on the same page, which is not the case in the previous texts.

[580] This codicological arrangement is also the reason why the ornament in most of the pages of the *Codex Aureus* does not align perfectly. In the *Codex Caesareus* all openings with textile ornament are bifolia, which made it easier to match the ornament on verso and recto pages.

However the continuous ornament visually unites the two quires. In fact, the ornament plays a crucial role in this process of linking the four Gospel parts into one volume. Although from a codicological point of view each page of the four openings belongs to a separate gathering, the ornament displayed on the verso always mirrors the paintings on the facing recto so that the openings visually link the quires together. In this way, the double-page textile openings clearly mark the places in the book where the four Gospels intertwine.[581] Looking at the ornamental program in total shows that the textile pages serve another function in addition to linking the Gospels. The role of the ornament is not only to bridge the gap between the individual quires, but the textile folios also wrap each Gospel in a textile garb both at the beginning and the end. In other words, the viewer accesses an individual part of the New Testament through an opening covered in a particular textile design at the start, and then each of the Gospels concludes in a folio that displays a different textile pattern, which connects the first book to the second and so on.[582] The way the codex is organized in total shows that the textile pages weave the four Gospels into a single codicological "fabric" that manifests in both codicological and ornamental terms the concept of the harmony of the Gospels.[583] Although the book is divided into four visually distinct parts the textile openings weave these together into one harmonious unit. The text contained in this well-composed fabric-dress is not just any text, but the four Gospels, the

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[581] The textile opening before the Gospel of Matthew further connects with the two quires that contain the Maiestas miniature, the prefatory material, and the canon tables. According to Kahsnitz's codicological analysis, the first quire is made of fols. -1—7, which contain the praefatio sancti Hieronymi, argumentum Evangeliorum, Plures fuisse and beginning of epistola Eusebii ad Carpianum. The Eusebian letter continues in the second gathering, fols. 8—17, and is followed by the canon tables, prologus in Evangelium sancti Mathei, and capitula, which end on 17r. Fol. 17v is the verso of the first textile page. Kahsnitz noted that the makers of the *Codex Aureus* paid particular attention to this structure. In order to make sure all Gospels (except John's) ended in a textile page, as the last folio of one quire, and begin with another gathering, the regular quire structure had to be topped up with additional pages. The verso of the textile page before Mark (fol. 51v) is the last folio in a gathering that comprises five bifolia rather than the regular four. In the textile page in John, fol. 109v is the verso of an inserted bifolium, which follows after an irregular gathering of three bifolia. For the quire structure, see the diagram in Kahsnitz, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, 124, 126.

[582] An exception are the Gospels of John that terminate in text. There is no additional textile page at the end of the book. It is unclear whether this page is missing or never existed. The manuscript has possibly lost one quire at the end, but, as Kahsnitz notes, the book's current state no longer allows for a conclusive determination. Kahsnitz, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, 124.

[583] On the harmony of the Gospels see Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 43—138.

vita Christi, as the cycle of full-page miniatures illustrating scenes from the life of Christ make clear. These were divided in four sections and placed within the textile wrapping at the beginning of each Gospel unit.[584] In this remarkable way, the ornamental and codicological program of the *Codex Aureus* visualizes the idea that the life of Christ presented in the Gospels is not only a beautifully woven narrative but is also analogous to the scriptural *habitus* of written *vita.* The four Gospels are represented as a woven texture, and the book itself appears as a skillfully crafted garment in which the life of Christ is wrapped. The four textile pages each show a different design, perhaps to illustrate that each of the four Gospels is an individual account. Combined in the textile fabric of the one volume, the woven text and its textile-ornamented dress resonate in perfect harmony.

A similar case of covering the Gospels in a textile garment that both clads and unites the four Gospels occurs in the Lindau Gospels.[585] The book contains two bluish textile pages, which appear on the first and last folio of the quire that contains the canon tables [figs. 262 and 263]. The purpose of canon tables is to index each Gospel account in a concordance that allows the reader to find parallel texts in different Gospels. Because the canon tables summarize and synthesize the contents of all four accounts, the canon tables can be considered a *pars pro toto* of the evangelical Gospels.[586] The form in which the Lindau Gospel artist clad the canon tables in textile ornament resembles the textile garment of the *Codex Aureus.* The Echternach artist, however, dressed each Gospel in different layers of fabric, which were united when the book was bound. In the Lindau Gospels, the quire that contains the canon tables was dressed in two different versions of textile ornament on the front and back. The first page of the quire, fol. 5v,

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[584] The exceptionally well-structured codicological program of the *Codex Aureus* becomes clear again in comparison with the other Echternach codices. While the *Codex Caesareus* lacks a narrative cycle of the life of Christ altogether, in the other Echternach manuscripts in Madrid and Paris the figurative images are interspersed with the text. Only the *Codex Aureus* gathers the life of Christ miniatures together at the beginning of each Gospel. See Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* (London: Miller 1999), 2:188.

[585] Von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst*, cat. no. 99, 1:408—11. The codicology was recorded by William Voelkle and is available on Corsair. http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0001.htm [accessed 29.10.2013], 20.

[586] Carl Nordenfalk, "The Apostolic Canon Tables," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 62 (1963): 17—34. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life."

shows four quadrupeds surrounded by floral ornament [fig. 262]. On fol. 12r, a pattern of flowers and stars concludes the gathering [fig. 263]. If we take the canon tables as a symbolic representative of the book in total, dressing the quire that contains the concordance is equivalent to cladding the entire volume. Furthermore, as was the case in the Codex Aureus, the textile dress is not only a form of vestment but also symbolizes that all four Gospel accounts belong together and form one harmonious unit. In this respect it is worth recalling that the Lindau Gospels are dressed in an additional layer of real silken textiles that form part of its binding. Two differnt silk pieces were pasted onto the inner front and back covers [figs. 264 and 265].[587] Together with the textile pages inside the book, the silken covers vest the Lindau Gospels in a precious and symbolically meaningful garment.[588]

Purple and textiles as metaphors for the human body

   If we read these textile dresses of the Gospel books as a metaphoric garment for the life of Christ, this text-and-textile structure also clads Christ himself, just as the hagiographic texts, analyzed by Röckelein, appeared to vest the saints. The Gospel book, in turn, becomes a metaphor for the body of Christ. Looking at the *Codex Aureus* and the Lindau Gospels in this way brings to mind the notion of textiles as a metaphor for the body, which we already discussed

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[587] Herman A. Elsberg, "Two Mediaeval Woven Silk Fabrics in the Binding of the 9th Century Ms. 'The Four Gospels' in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City," *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 17 (1933): 2—11, esp. 7—11. Adèle Coulin Weibel, *Two Thousand Years of Textiles: The Figured Textiles of Europe and the Near East* (New York, 1952), no. 62, 95. Von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst*, 1:411.

[588] David Ganz is currently completing a book-length study on medieval manuscripts and their covers, which he similarly reads as material and metaphoric investiture. See his essays on the subject, "Das Kleid der Bücher," and "Kleider des nackten Christus." Furthermore, other manuscripts also display textile ornament in the canon tables and the ornamentation might have similar meaning. Early Byzantine manuscripts such British Museum Add. 5111, which I discussed in chapter one, show textile patterns in the arcades of the canon tables, but not as full-page miniatures. For more examples see Carl Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte* (Göteborg: O. Isacsons, 1983), esp. figs. 15, 25, 31—32, 34, 36, 130, 131, 132—142. In the Gospels of Henry the Lion, made in the twelfth century, the *intercolumnium* of the canon tables are further equipped with textile-patterned grounds. *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: autorisiertes vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Guelf. 105 noviss. 2° der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Dietrich Kötzsche (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1988). Elisabeth Klemm, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1988). Eberlein, *Apparitio regis*, 99—100, mentioned some Ethiopian manuscripts that show curtains in the canon tables.

in the previous chapter. One crucial aspect of textile ornament in the Echternach manuscripts—
color—helps to define the material nature of this textile garment further. The textile pages are
not only symbolic of the human body but also evoke Christ's dual natures. The primary color of
the textile pages in the Echternach Gospel books is purple.[589] Medieval interpretations of the
colors purple and red as blood suggest that the textile garment of the *Codex Aureus* is not only a
garment woven of text but also suggestive of a fabric that is made of flesh. Christel Meier and
Rudolf Suntrup's *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter* offers a plethora of textual
sources on medieval color symbolism that is highly useful for such an interpretation of textile-
meaning in the *Codex Aureus*. Allegorical readings of purple, *purpureus*, and most
denominations for pink and reddish colors like *roseus*, *rubeus*, *rubicundus*—which the sources
use largely interchangeably—appear primarily in exegetical texts and usually pertain to the
physical nature of the human body, especially Christ's.[590] Augustine, for example, likened the
red light of the setting sun to the blood that Christ shed on the cross.[591] Similarly, for Isidore of
Seville, red is the color of the flesh that was sacrificed, and in an explication of the Song of
Songs, Hrabanus Maurus explains the color red more generally as signifying the Passion.[592]
Noteworthy in our context is a reading of *purpureus* in Alcuin's exegesis on Hebr. 9:19, where
he relates the blood of the sacrificed animals that was soaked up by the wool to the blood of
Christ; as we have already seen, Alcuin further likens the Virgin Mary, who was overshadowed
by the Holy Spirit at the Annunciation, to white wool "made purple by the divinity."[593]

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[589] Those pages that are multi-colored will concern us below.

[590] Christel Meier and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2011).

[591] "Serenum erit, 'rubicundum est enim caelum' [AB Mt 16,2], id est sanguine passionis Christi in primo aduento indulgentia peccatorum datur." Augustinus, *Quaestiones evangeliorum*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 44B, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), 18. Cf. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 696.

[592] "Caro … rosea sanguine passionis." PL 83, col. 349B. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 631. "'Rubor' est passio Christi, ut in Cantico … (5.10), quod qui candet in gloria Deitatis, rubet in agustia passionis." PL 112, col. 1041A. Cf. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 648.

[593] Alcuin, De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis, PL 101, col. 46D "Ita Spiritus sanctus superveniens in beatam Virginem, [et] virtus Altissimi obumbravit eam, ut lana fieret divinitate purpurata, solummodo aeterno imperatori indui dignissima." Herbert Kessler, "'Hoc Visibile Imaginatum Figurat Illud Invisibile Verum': Imagining God in Pictures of Christ," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early*

Medieval exegetes likely adopted the metaphor of the body as a textile from antique Greek and Latin texts.[594] Not only the textile medium as metaphor for the body as such, but also in particular the notion of purple-colored fabric as an index of flesh has its roots in antiquity. In Porphyry's treatise on the cave of the nymphs in the Odyssey (*De antro nympharum)*, for example, textile material and textile technology are combined with color meaning in the metaphoric image of the purple garments that the nymphs are weaving and that Porphyry reads as symbols for the human body.[595]

> What symbol could be more appropriate than looms for souls descending to genesis and to the creation of a body? […] And the sea-purple garments would obviously be the flesh woven from blood. For woolen garments are sea-purple because of blood, since the wool is dyed in the blood of animals; and similarly, it is by means of blood and from blood that flesh is formed. And the body is the garment of the soul which it clothes, a really wonderful sight, whether one considers its composition or the nature of the soul's connection with the body.[596]

This ancient allegory of purple fabric as a metaphor for the body further effected exegetical readings of textiles mentioned in the Bible. The intimate conflation of red and purple color with textile material is brought to bear, for example, on Hebr. 10:20. As we have seen in chapters two and three, the temple curtain that was rent in half at the Crucifixion was frequently related to the

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Middle Ages, ed.. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 291—325, esp. 301. On Alcuin's explication of Heb. 9:19, see PL 100, col. 1074C—1075A. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 339.

[594] Wagner-Hasel, "Textus und texere." For late antique sources see the compilation of sources in Nicolas P. Constas, "Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotocos, and the Loom of the Flesh," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995): 169—194, esp. 185. Also Henry Maguire, "Body, Clothing, Metaphor: The Virgin in Early Byzantine Art," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 39—51.

[595] Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*, ed. John M. Duffy, Seminar Classics 609 (New York: Arethusa, 1969). On this text see also Constas, "Weaving the Body of God," 185.

[596] Duffy (ed.), Porphyry: *The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey* 14.3—5, 10—18. On weaving and textiles metaphors in ancient texts more generally see also Scheid and Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus*.

Savior's human body.[597] As the sources collected by Meier and Suntrup suggest, the Pauline epistle is, however, not among the major biblical passages that fueled exegesis on the colors red and purple and its interpretation as flesh; such readings are based on the Song of Songs, Is. 63:1, and Apoc. 19:13. The red and white appearance of the beloved, and the garment stained red in the winepress or reddened by blood in particular were related to Christ's sacrificial human body.[598] Patrizia Carmassi has shown that medieval miniaturists frequently painted the cross red in order to visually enhance the theological message implied by the symbol of Christ's martyrdom, the cross, on which the Savior's blood was spilled.[599] From such readings it becomes clear that purple and red in medieval art and thought are frequently associated with the body, with blood, and more specifically the blood of Christ. In the textile pages of the *Codex Aureus* and its sister manuscripts the emphasis on the colors red and purple carries these associations clearly across to the viewer. If we read the ornament within the subtext of ancient textile metaphors and medieval color exegesis, the borderless textile-ornamented pages of the Echternach manuscripts appear as parchment pages that are virtually stained purple with blood and woven like a human body.

Before turning to the relation between textile ornament and the body of the Incarnation, the fact that these purple pages appear in a book calls for a look at another metaphor for

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[597] On diverse medieval readings of the temple curtain in the context of Christ's humanity see Constas, "Weaving the Body of God." Also Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis, revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), esp. 85—86 and Mateusz Kapustka, "Per velamen, id est, carmen suam: Die textile Dimension des Christuskörpers als Bildparadox," in *Christusbild: Icon+Ikone. Wege zur Theorie und Theologie des Bildes*, ed. Peter Hofmann and Andreas Matena (Paderborn, Munich, et. al: Schöningh, 2010), 117—136.

[598] The purple colored threads of the temple curtain are usually interpreted as a symbol of love, not as flesh. Rupert of Deutz speaks of the triple-colored velum in the context of the Easter liturgy and compares it to the scarlet mantle Christ wore at the passion but reads the red color in both cases as a manifestation of love. Rupert of Deutz, PL 169, col. 1166C, trans. Deutz and Deutz, in *De divinis officiis* ed. Haacke, 803—5. Meier and Suntrup further state: "Das blutgetränkte Gewand des Wortes Gottes gewinnt seine Bedeutung durch den Bezug auf Cant. 5.10," Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 696. See further ibid., 606, 643, 663, 675. In relation to the Codex Aureus, Metz, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch*, 41—42, already connected red with blood and love, purple with Christ's humanity without taking the idea any further.

[599] Patrizia Carmassi, "Purpurismum in martyrio: Die Farbe des Blutes in mittelalterlichen Handschriften," in *Farbe im Mittelalter: Materialität, Medialität, Semantik*, ed.. Ingrid Bennewitz and Andrea Schindler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 251—273.

corporeality that influenced medieval manuscript culture. The symbolic language of late-antique scribal culture associated a book page in and of itself with physical corporeality, since parchment pages are made of animal skin. One example that illustrates the late antique perception of parchment as corporeal matter is Augustine, for whom stories written in books were made of words that were "concealed in fleshly coverings."[600] This notion of parchment as a bodily substance survived well into the Middle Ages. As Herbert Kessler noted, "no medieval scribe would have forgotten that the parchment on which divine revelation is transcribed is literally flesh, the skin of animals."[601] In the purple textile pages of the Echternach Gospel books, the idea of a flesh-like parchment page is given a more subtle twist, however. Covering the surface of a parchment folio fully in purple color and textile-like ornament adds an unusually dense materiality to the page because it brings out multiple layers of body allegory. A textile-ornamented book page is painted in purple flesh-color, appears woven like textile-flesh, and is itself made of parchment-flesh. Each of these allegories adds a different corporeal aspect to the materiality of the textile page. Visual and conceptual references to the physical properties of the human body thus locate purple textile pages within a multi-layered system of metaphors that references the human body and the *corpus Christi* in particular, to which I now turn.

The Echternach Gospel books as a form of incarnation

In the context of a manuscript that relates the life of Jesus Christ, the corporeal associations conveyed through textile allegory and color symbolism pertain specifically to the body of Christ. In a Gospel book such as the *Codex Aureus*, the notion of the book as a textile-garment woven of words comes together with the blood-colored textile ornament in a powerful material metaphor that can be read as a symbol of the Incarnation. The combination of material

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[600] "Of which we read in those books rolled up and concealed in fleshly coverings". Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus.* Augustine, *The First Catechetical Instruction*, trans. Joseph P. Christopher, Ancient Christian Writers 2 (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1946), ch. 13, 33. Compare also the sources collected in Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen," 77—110.

[601] Herbert Kessler, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata," in *Testo e Immagine Nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1994), 2:533—94, esp. 581. See also Dieter Richter, "Die Allegorie der Pergamentbearbeitung: Beziehungen zwischen handwerklichen Vorgängen und der geistlichen Bildersprache des Mittelalters," in *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis,* ed. Gundolf Keil, Rainer Rudolf, Wolfram Schmitt et al. (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 83—92.

and textual metaphors generates a form of embodiment for the Word of God that substitutes for the flesh-and-blood *corpus* of Christ. The notion that scripture has a corporeal dimension was not new in eleventh-century Echternach. As Laura Kendrick has shown, the Gospel book was understood as a form of embodiment in other medieval contexts as well.[602] A text by a fifth-century bishop of Lyon, for example, described the conceptual link between written text and the book by stating that "the body of Holy Scripture is in its letters."[603] The specific relation between the New Testament and the Incarnation is further apparent from the writings of the Church Fathers and other early Christian writers. While Pseudo-Melito explained the corporeal dimension of scripture as "the new testament, which Christ reddened with his blood," Ambrose and others related scripture more directly to the body of Christ.[604] Origen further explained that the book-body of scripture is made of matter and he defined the nature of its physicality in relation to Christ's humanity.

> For the Word came into the world by Mary, clad in flesh, and seeing was not understanding; all saw the flesh; knowledge of the divinity was given to a chosen few. So when the Word was shown to men through the lawgiver and the prophets, it was not shown them without suitable vesture. There it is covered by the veil of flesh, here of the letter. The letter appears as flesh; but the spiritual sense within is kown as divinity […]. Blessed are the eyes which see divine spirit through the letter's veil.[605]

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[602] Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1999).

[603] "Corpus ergo Scripturae sacrae, sicut traditur, in littera est." Cited in Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 1:193. Trans. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 66.

[604] "Novi testamenti, quod Christi sanguine rubet." Ps.-Melito Clavis, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, ed. Johannes Baptista Pitra (Paris: 1855, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1963), 3:304. Johannes Niederhuber, *Des heiligen Kirchenlehrers Ambrosius von Mailand Lukaskommentar mit Ausschluss der Leidensgeschichte* (Kempten and Munich: Köselsche Buchhandlung, 1915), 284, cites Ambrose, "Sein Leib sind die überlieferten Schriften." Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 646. Compare further Origen, "Homiliae in Exodum," in *Origenes: Werke*, ed. Wilhelm A. Baehrens (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920, repr. De Gruyter, 2012, 4:145—279 (esp. 156—57).

[605] Origen, *In Leviticum* I.1, PG 12, col. 405. Trans. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 1. See also Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 66.

Origen likens the New Testament, thus, to a corporeal book-body whose exterior material layer can be perceived through the physical senses, while knowledge of the Gospel's mystical sense requires spiritual sight.[606] This notion brings the concept of the book of scripture together with Christ's human body that was physically present in the Incarnation. While Christ became visible and tangible in his human form, the invisible and immaterial words of the New Testament can be given shape by writing them down in a book.[607] Medieval authors likewise understood the Gospel book as a figure of the Incarnation. In the eighth-century Life of St. Wilfrid, for instance, the author Fridegode described the four Gosples as a text-*corpus*.[608] Medieval sources further captured the concept of the Gospel book as a material metaphor for the incarnate Christ in the term *textus evangelii*.[609] The designation *textus* or *textus evangelii,* which is attested since the Carolingian period, refers to the liturgical Gospel book that was understood not as a mere collection of writings but explicitly as a physical book-body and material representative of Christ.[610] The corporeal nature of the *textus* was intensified by cladding it in precious materials on the exterior and interior of the books.[611] According to Thomas Lentes, the use of the term

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[606] See also Otto Nussbaum, "Zur Gegenwart Gottes/Christi im Wort der Schriftlesung und zur Auswirkung dieser Gegenwart auf das Buch der Schriftlesungen," in *Wort und Buch in der Liturgie. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Wirkmächtigkeit des Wortes und Zeichenhaftigkeit des Buches,* ed. Hanns Peter Neuhauser (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1995), 65—92.

[607] "Wie dieses ausgesprochene Wort seiner eigenen Natur gemäß untastbar und unsichtbar ist, wenn es aber in ein Buch geschrieben wird und [darin] gleichsam Fleisch annimmt, dann gesehen und angetastet wird, so ist es mit dem unfleischlichen und unleiblichen WORTE Gottes: der Gottheit gemäß wird es weder gesehen noch geschrieben, nimmt es aber Fleisch an, wo wird es gesehen und geschrieben. Darum gibt es, sofern es Fleisch geworden ist, auch ein 'Buch des Werdens Jesu Christi.'" Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Origenes: Geist und Feuer. Ein Aufbau aus seinen Schriften* (Einsiedeln and Freiburg: Johannes Verlag, 1991), 107. See also Origen, *In Leviticum* I.1, PG 12, col. 405. SC 286, 66.

[608] "Codex aurato conseptus grammate scriptus/Auctus evangelicum servans in corpore textum." Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (London: John Parker, 1842—1846), no. 434, http://www.archive.org/stream/biographiabritan01wriguoft/biographiabritan01wriguoft_djvu.txt (accessed 07.02.2013). The text was edited by Johannes Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in Saeculorum Classes distributa,* Saeculum III, pars prima (Paris, 1672), 171—196.

[609] Lentes, "Textus Evangelii."

[610] Lentes, "Textus Evangelii." Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen." See further David Ganz, "Das Kleid der Bücher."

[611] Lentes implied a direct connection between the decoration of the *textus* with precious materials and its role as the materialized Word. Lentes, "Textus Evangelii," 137—38. On the notion of "dressing" the

textus is limited to Gospel books that were used in the liturgy, for liturgical processions and relic translations, and distinguishes these books from unadorned library volumes, which the sources call *liber*.[612] The Gospel book in its function as a material *corpus Christi*, therefore, represented Christ in the liturgy, as well as during church councils, and at times the book-body of Christ even performed miracles.[613] Textile ornament in the *Codex Aureus* turns this Gospel book into such a book body that represents Christ in the form of a material metaphor.

Extensible ornament from a viewer's perspective

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book-body in precious matter see further Ganz "Das Kleid der Bücher," and Lowden, "Materializing the Book." Odilo of Soissons, for instance, mentions a *textum sacrorum evangeliorum* written in gold "Textum deinceps sacrorum Evangeliorum aureis characteribus exaratum." Odilo of Soissons, *Translatio S. Sebastiani*, c. 19, *Acta Sanctorum* Jan. II (20th January), 293. Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen," 80, n. 17, and 82.

[612] Lentes, "Textus Evangelii," 142. Röckelein "Vom webenden Hagiographen," 81, n. 24. *Textus,* thus, designates a Gospel book or lectionary that was kept in the church treasure together with the other sacred objects. Charles du Fresne du Cange, defined *textus* as follows: "Liber seu Codex Evangeliorum, qui inter cimelia Ecclesiastica reponi solet, auro gemmisque ut plurimum exornatus, aureis etiam interdum characteribus exaratus." Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort, Léopold Favre, 1883—1887, t. 8, col. 091b. http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/TEXTUS1 (accessed 2014/02/06). Lentes, "Textus Evangelii," 139, 144, 147, strictly distinguishes between the Gospel book called *textus* and other liturgical books. He states, 146—47, that in opposition to the Gospel lectionary (*Evangelistar*), only the Gospel book (*Evangelienbuch*) was called *textus* in the sources and, therefore, only the Gospel book qualified as an embodiment of scripture and symbol of Christ. I think, the concept of the *textus* was more fluid. I prefer to read any version of the New Testament, Gospel book or lectionary as *textus*, as long as the book functioned in the liturgy. Both types of books were used in the church for reading and both contained Christ's *vita*, regardless of the order in which the texts were structured. As Anton von Euw has shown, books of the New Testament, lectionaries and Gospel books likewise, served additional purposes, such as functioning as "keepers" of inventory lists, charters, and privileges. Usually there is no distinction made in these cases between Gospel book and book of pericopes. Anton von Euw, "Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Evangelienbücher im Gebrauch," in *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, ed. Christel Meier, Dagmar Hüpper und Hagen Keller (Munich: Fink, 1996), 21—30.

[613] Nikolaus Gussone, "Der Codex auf dem Thron. Zur Ehrung des Evangelienbuches in Liturgie und Zeremoniell," in Neuheuser, *Wort und Buch in der Liturgie*, 191—231, esp. 200—201. For the record of a Gospel book performing a miracle during a relic translation see Röckelein, "Vom webenden Hagiographen," 81. On the relation of book and body in the liturgy see further Jeffrey Hamburger, "Body vs. Book: The Trope of Visibility in Images of Christian-Jewish Polemic," in *Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren: Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne,* ed. David Ganz and Thomas Lentes (Berlin: Reimer, 2004), 114—45.

Reading full-folio textile ornament in the Echternach Gospel books as a system of textile references that designate the book as a multilayered material metaphor of the Incarnation further raises the question of how such a book-body was perceived by the viewer. Despite the fact that painted ornament in general operates by visual and not tactile means, I argue that textile ornament not only implicates the viewer's sense of sight, but that the full-folio textile pages of the Echternach manuscripts also have a bearing on the sense of touch. The textile-ornamented pages play a crucial role in the viewer's tactile experience of the book precisely because the ornament is borderless. Through the full-folio ornamentation the materiality of the pages comes to bear more fully on the Echternach textile folios than any other Ottonian textile pages. Ornament in general implies a relationship between the onlooker and the object.[614] A fully painted page covered in a textile pattern from edge to edge is especially striking to the viewer, however, because in order to turn the vellum over the person handling the book is forced to touch a painted surface. From a physical and tactile perspective, turning a fully ornamented page does not feel very different from touching an unpainted vellum sheet, but the user's emotional and sensual response to the painted surface is unquestionably different. While the folios of medieval illuminated manuscripts are usually surrounded by an empty parchment space—a neutral area that the reader can touch to flip the page [fig. 241], none of the Echternach textile pages offer such a neutral "exposure zone." Instead, the entire page is covered in a textile pattern and the folio can only be turned if the reader's fingers make contact with the ornamented surface. Most modern viewers examining the Echternach manuscripts will hesitate to touch the painted surfaces of the parchment folios, if not resist altogether. Allowing oneself to touch a continuously painted page requires a certain mental effort, and it is a privilege if the library grants such permission.[615] We have no record of medieval viewers' responses to the Echternach codices themselves but Gerald of Wales gives us a good idea how generous ornamentation stunned the medieval viewer, and because borderless textile ornament was as unusual and unprecedented then as it is today, we

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[614] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[615] In Uppsala I used cotton gloves, but the Bibliothèque nationale de France graciously allowed me to touch the pages of Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2196 with bare hands. I could not consider this book for this chapter. The tactile effect is noticeable also in the facsimiles of the manuscripts, although a facsimile is always less impressive than the original and smells and feels different than a parchment codex.

can presume that the tactile effect of the Echternach textile pages did not go unnoticed.[616] Laura Kendrick has further shown that richly ornamented manuscript pages especially lend an enigmatic aura to books and invest them with sacred power.[617] This investiture of books is not limited to visual means but also generates a physical aura, which Kendrick described as the "'embodiment' of the divine" in writing, in accordance with how the Church Fathers regarded the book of scripture.[618] Moreover, that the liturgical Gospel book was brought out into the medieval church in veiled hands by the acolyte and touched with bare fingers only by the deacon who read the pericope shows that the touching of liturgical books was an entitlement.[619] The privilege of touching is, of course, not due primarily to the fact that books were often sumptuously ornamented—although we know that colorful illuminations and ornamentation in general had a strong effect on the medieval viewer—but because the liturgical Gospel book was a sacred object.[620] This leads to a last problem that needs to be considered. If we read purple

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[616] In his *Topographia Hibernica* Gerald mentions a richly ornamented medieval Gospel book he was looking at in Ireland, perhaps the Book of Kells, and describes "the mystery of the art […] so delicate and subtle, so dense and artful, so bound up in knots and links" in rich language as a work miraculously made by angelic forces. "Sin autem ad perspicacius intuendum oculorum aciem invitaveris, et longe penitus ad artis archana transpenetraveris tam delicatas et subtiles, tam arctas et artitas, tam nodosas et vinculatim colligatas, tamque recentibus adhuc coloribus illustres notare poteris intricaturas, ut vere hec omnia potius angelica quam humana diligentia iam asseveraveris esse composita." *Topographia Hibernica* 2, transl. Cohen, "Magnificence," 84. Although the account is topical, Gerald makes clear that he was impressed by the aesthetic of the illuminated page, and if he was indeed looking at the Book of Kells, we can deduce that the pages he described were not as completely covered in intricate patterns as the Echternach pages, but nearly. The Echternach textile folios that saturate the pages fully with extensible ornament evoke a sense of marvel that can certainly compete with the insular knot-work pages Gerald described. On this text and the notion of marveling at books in the Middle Ages more generally, see Cohen, "Magnificence," 82—85.

[617] Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, esp. chs. 3, 65—109.

[618] Ibid., 67—68.

[619] On the Ordo that describes the use of the liturgical books in the service see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen-âge* (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1948), 2:73—77, 88—89. See also Heinzer "Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuchs," 45. On the metaphoric implications of touch in medieval books see Peter Schmidt, "Der Finger in der Handschrift. Vom Öffnen, Blättern und Schliessen von Codices auf spätmittelalterlichen Bildern," in *Codex und Raum,* ed. Stephan Müller and Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 85—125.

[620] In 735, Saint Boniface wrote to the abbess Eadburga asking for a copy of St. Peter's Epistles written in gold because he wanted "to impress honor and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures visibly upon the carnally minded to whom" he was preaching. Ep. 35 of "S. Bonifacii et Lulli Epistolae," in *Epistolae*

colored textile ornament as a metaphor for the Incarnation, the body that comes alive in the book is of course Christ's, and so my reading of a textile-ornamented Gospel book as a corporeal incarnation intimates that touching such a book equals contact with the physical body of Christ, who, metaphorically speaking, comes alive through the book *materialiter*. However, Christ was not only human but also divine. Likewise, the liturgical book-body must equally reflect that the Incarnation is not just a corporeal manifestation, but also an incarnation of the spirit. How did the Echternach book illuminators address the issue of Christ's dual nature?

Multicolored textile ornament and the dual nature of Christ

Not all textile pages in the Echternach Gospel books are purple. Some display a combination of purple and green, or purple and white. The textile opening at the beginning of the *Codex Caesareus* now in Uppsala sheds light on the meaning of these color combinations in relation to Christ's dual nature and the embodiment of scripture in the book-*corpus*. The textile page on fols. 2v—3r of the *Codex Caesareus* is not all purple, but the exterior border encloses a white textile-like pattern in the middle [fig. 243]. If the purple colored textile ornament is read as a metaphor of the human body, what does the white ornament signify? Medieval exegetes commenting on the Song of Songs, which was one of the primary contexts in which medieval authors commented on the color purple, interpreted the red and white appearance of the beloved as opposite poles. While red signified blood and corporeality, white was the color of purity, clarity, and the divine.[621] For Ambrose, white is the color of divine light and signifies the

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Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 1:285—86. Trans. Ephraim Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940; repr. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 42—43. On the significance of this letter with respect to illuminated manuscripts see also Cohen, "Magnificence," 82. The Echternach painters used mostly purple and green, occasionally silver, as for example on the lion and coin pattern on fols. 75v—76r of the *Codex Aureus*. More important, the Echternach manuscripts combine these two crucial aspects of book illumination, color and ornamentation, in an unprecedented and unusually condensed manner.

[621] See Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 266—322.

luminescence emanating from it.[622] In Pseudo-Hrabanus white signifies the glory of God that shines in Christ.[623] According to the sources collected by Meier and Suntrup, the standard reading of the verse "My beloved is white and ruddy" (Cant. 5:10) was to relate the colors red and white alternately to Christ's human and divine natures.[624] The Son of God was whitened by the luminescence of the Divine and reddened by the Incarnation and Passion. It is important to note, however, that "the white of the *generatio divina* and the red of the *generatio humana* are joined in Christ, not mixed."[625] Analogous to the dual natures united in one person, the textile opening in the *Codex Caesareus* juxtaposes purple and white textile patterns in a patchwork manner without mixing the colors. While the exterior border is saturated with purple, the interior shines bright white. If we read the ornament on this page as a commentary on the dual nature of Christ, the textile pattern shows the Son of God who "shone like the sun" (Math. 17:2) and yet could be "seen with the eyes, touched with hands" (John 1:14).[626]

In addition to purple and white, another form of condensing the paradox of the two natures of Christ into a color code is the juxtaposition of red or purple and green, for example in fol. 67 and 99v of Harley 2821 [figs. 245 and 246].[627] In addition to the codicological placement in the book, the combination of purple and green appears meaningful in the Pericopes of Henry

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[622] Ambrose, *Sancti Ambrosi Opera*, pars V. *Explanatio psalmi CXVIII*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 62, ed. Michael Petschenig (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 86. Also PL 16, col. 201C. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 280. Compare Math. 17.2, "and his face did shine as the sun: and his garments became white as snow."

[623] "Qui candet in gloria Deitatis." PL 112, col. 1041A. Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 280.

[624] "*Fraternus meus candidus et rubeus,* candidus claritate diuina, rubeus specie coloris humani, quem sacramento incarnationis adsumpsit." Ambrose, *Explanatio psalmi* CXVIII, ed. Petschenig, 86. See also Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 280.

[625] "Das Weiß der *generatio divina* und das Rot der *generatio humana* sind in Jesus Christus vereint, nicht vermischt." Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 281.

[626] Compare also the Byzantine sources collected in Constas, "Weaving the Body of God," 190—191.

[627] See, for instance, Ambrose, who relates red and green precious stones mentioned in Apoc. 4:3 to the dual nature of Christ. "Quid enim per lapidem hyaspidem, nisi diuinitas Mediatoris nostri figuratur? Quid uero per sardinem, nisi humanitas eiusdem exprimitur?" Ambrose Opera, "Expositionis in Apocalypsin libri I—4, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 27, ed. Robert Weber (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 1:207. See also Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 658—59.

III in Bremen, in which the two textile pages clothe the book on either end.[628] Fol. 1v—2r is a purple double-page with a pattern of golden lions [fig. 235]. The textile at the very end of the book, fol. 125v—126r, however, is green [fig. 236]. If we read the colors in both textile pages as symbolic of Christ's two natures, the textile pages characterize the body that materialized in this book as an embodiment of spirit in matter. Yet another solution for expressing the duality of matter and spirit is the pairing of orange and green, where the orange color of the carnelian—a symbol of flesh—is juxtaposed with the green jasper that stands for the divine according to medieval exegesis on Apoc. 4:3.[629] The unusual striped textile opening on fols. 51v—52r of the *Codex Aureus* seems to combine all of these colors at once. The page is painted in various hues of green, purple, pink, and orange (minium) with white highlights sprinkled across the page [fig. 238]. If we assume that the clerics who used these books in the liturgy on the altar were versed in color exegesis, this opening contains a treasure of abbreviated color-codes and textile allegories that makes for a multi-medial and multi-allegorical commentary on the dual nature of Christ.[630]

It is meaningful, therefore, that the exterior textile border of the textile page in the *Codex Caesareus* is painted purple like flesh and frames the white inside, rather than the other way around [fig. 243]. It is precisely the purple outer frame where the reader's hand touches the page or, in other words, makes contact with the book. If we read the book as a material metaphor for Christ, touching the book also implies touching a material version of Christ. The white interior textile pattern makes clear how we must envision this form of touching. On the one hand, the white color of the textile design evokes the luminescence of Christ's divine nature that was veiled beneath his human body. In this sense, the white textile motif can also be related to radiant textiles mentioned in the Bible, such as Christ's robe that appeared shining white during the Transfiguration (Matt. 17:2), or the garb that the angel wore at the tomb, which exegetes

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[628] Knoll, *Das Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III.* Joachim Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III.*, esp. 66 on the textile folios.

[629] For example Alcuin, PL 100, col. 1116C. See also Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 659.

[630] In this page the outer selvage band is again purple, though decorated with white dots. The colors are also mixed in the interior space, although the orange minium frame seems to suggest a sort of barrier between inner and outer patterns. On the meaning of green and purple combined in medieval book illumination see further Carmassi, "Purpurismum," 253—54. While Carmassi warns that green and red are common colors in manuscripts and their meaning should not be overestimated, the Echternach codices certainly apply these colors deliberately, at least in the textile pages.

interpreted as symbols for the luminous glory emanating from Christ triumphant.[631] On the other hand, the combination of purple and white ornament on one page, and its placement at the beginning of a Gospel book, suggests that the makers of the *Codex Caesareus* understood the white pattern as a symbolic veil of scriptural revelation. I think this curtain represents the *sensus spiritalis*, which must be discovered in scripture as opposed to the literal sense that can be deduced from the letters themselves.[632] As the *Glossa Ordinaria* states, "Also, Origen says '… thus the word of God is proffered through prophets to men—there covered in flesh, here by the veil of the letter. The letter, as flesh, may be seen; the spiritual meaning, as divinity, may be felt.'"[633] If we read the textile page of the *Codex Caesareus* in this sense, the dual-natured book-body makes Christ's humanity physically tangible, but his Divinity cannot be revealed through man-made things. As we have seen in chapter two, however, scripture is a veil that opens a path to divine truth. John Scottus Eriugena noted that it is "in a dual way, indeed, that the exegetes of the divine law explain the incarnation of the Word: one of which teaches that he took flesh from the Virgin […]; the other is that this same Word is as if incarnated, that is, embodied in the letter of Scripture on the one hand and, on the other, in the ordered shapes of visible things."[634] The textile page of the *Codex Caesareus* can be seen as such an ordered shape that both embodies the Word and, at the same time, veils its sacred meaning just as Christ's divinity was always present but hidden under his corporeal body.

The Godescalc Gospel lectionary, a manuscript from the court school of Charlemagne, shows another pictorial and material strategy that demonstrates how medieval book illuminators

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[631] On a reading of white cloth as a symbol for Christ triumphant see Jerome on Math. 28:3, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 77, ed. David Hurst and Marc Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 290. See also Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 282.

[632] Friedrich Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter," in idem, *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 1—31.

[633] "Origenes quoque ait: … sic verbum Dei per prophetas profertur ad homines, ibi carnis, hic litterae velamine tectum. Littera tanquam caro aspicitur: spiritualis sensus tanquam divinitas sentitur." *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, col. 298. Trans. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 246, note 6.

[634] "Duobus quippe modis divinae legis expositores incarnationem dei verbi insinuant. Quorum unus est, qui eius incarnationem ex virgine … edocet. Alter est, qui ipsum verbum quasi incarnatum, hoc est, incrassatum litteris rerumque visibilium formis et ordinibus asserit." Johannes Scottus, *Commentarius in evangelium Iohannis* I.1 (on John 1:27), PL 122, col. 307B. Trans. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, 246, n. 5.

played with various expressions of materiality in order to make the divine visible in the form of a book.[635] In the case of the Godescalc lectionary, corporeal physicality and divine light were not evoked by the combination of purple and white paint, but by golden text written on purple-colored vellum. A dedicatory poem in this manuscript reveals the meaning of these colors. "The golden letters are written on purple pages. They reveal heaven that was opened through the rose-colored blood of God."[636] Thus, the poem explains that the purple-colored vellum is symbolic for the blood of Christ's humanity, while the golden letters reflect the heavenly light that radiated from his Divinity.[637] The allegory of revealed heaven not only refers to the visibility of celestial light but also to the true meaning of scripture. Eusebius explained that light reflected in gold is also symbolic of the spiritual sense that was hidden behind the literal meaning of the words.[638] The textile page of the Codex Caesareus expressed the same metaphor in a different visual mode and with different color codes. Here, the symbolism of gold paint as an indication of the *sensus*

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[635] Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar. Ein Buch für die Reformpolitik Karls des Grossen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1998). Fabrizio Crivello, Charlotte Denoël and Peter Orth, eds., *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: eine Prachthandschrift für Karl den Grossen* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2011).

[636] "Aurea purpureis pingitur grammata scedis / Regna poli roseo pate — sanguine — facta tonantis / Fulgida stelligeri promunt et gaudia caeli." Reudenbach *Godescalc-Evangelistar*, 98. For Reudenbach's German translation see ibid., 99—101. For an alternative translation see Beat Brenk, "Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls des Grossen," in *Testo e Immagine Nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1994), 2:631—691, esp. 643, n. 28.

[637] Metalwork objects from the Carolingian period such as the golden altar frontal of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and Suger's use of material iconology attest that the metaphoric use of the color gold as symbol of divine light was well known throughout the Middle Ages in relation to various media, not only book illumination. Eric Thunø, "The Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Image and Materiality," in *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the dynamics between image and altar in the Middle Ages,* ed. Søren Kaspersen and Eric Thunø (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press 2006), 63—78. See also Bruno Reudenbach, "Gold ist Schlamm: Anmerkungen zur Materialbewertung im Mittelalter," in *Material in Kunst und Alltag,* ed. Monika Wagner und Dietmar Rübel (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 1—12. Herbert Kessler, "Image and Object: Christ's Dual Nature and the Crisis of Early Medieval Art," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davies and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 290—326. On Suger see Martin Büchsel, "Licht und Metaphysik in der Gotik: noch einmal zu Suger von Saint-Denis," in *Licht und Farbe in der mittelalterlichen Backsteinarchitektur des südlichen Ostseeraums*, ed. Ernst Badstübner, Gerhard Eimer (Berlin: Lukas, 2005), 24—37, 226, with further references.

[638] According to Eusebius, gold is also a symbol for the spiritual meaning of scripture that is hidden behind the literal sense of the words. Cited in Meier and Suntrup, *Farbenbedeutungen*, 731—32, who translate as follows: "Goldglanz ist ein Zeichen der Entdeckung des geistigen Schriftsinns."

spiritalis of scripture comes to bear on the golden script in which the book is written throughout, even if the pages are not purple. If we read the physical materials used to make the *Codex Aureus* and the *Codex Caesareus* as material metaphors, and contextualize these metaphors in the codicological structure and ornamental programs of the books, these manuscripts appear as material metaphors for the dual-natured Christ. They signify a material container that is characterized by a duality of matter and spirit, which are represented, on the one hand, by the physical materials and on the other by sacred scripture. By analogy to Christ, who was both man and God, these liturgical books appear as material containers that embody a spiritual essence. If the books were used on the altar, they stood in as material substitute for Christ's body. On the lectern they represented the four Gospels, the evangelical *vita Christi* that made Christ tangible in the form of a textual garment. Understood as a veil of scripture, finally, the dual-natured Gospel book also functioned as a bridge into the realm of the spirit.

I conclude this chapter with another look at the textile page in the Codex Caesareus, which brings all of these aspects together. On fol. 4v the Codex Caesareus represents an image of Christ in Majesty. This miniature is visible through the white textile design on the recto of the double page [figs. 243 and 266]. A closer look at the composition, function and symbolic meaning of the textile page suggests that the images on the verso and recto of this folio were planned as corresponding images. The textile page can be read as a visual and material commentary on the Gospels' function as a book-body and veil of revelation. The compositional correspondance between the verso and recto pages is apparent in the geometric pattern of the white textile design that almost perfectly mirrors the roundels that enclose the evangelists' symbols painted on the reverse, while the rosette in the center of the lozenge frame comes to rest in the middle of Christ's body. In addition, the lozenges and rosettes of the textile design recall the typical lozenge and medallion compositions of Maiestas miniatures in Carolingian manuscripts. A lozenge with circular extensions appears, for example, in the First Bible of Charles the Bald (the so-called Vivian Bible) [fig. 267].[639] We know that the Echternach

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[639] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Msc. lat. 1, Tours, 845, fol. 329v. Marie-Pierre Laffitte, "Bible de Vivien, dite première Bible de Charles the Chauve," in Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël (eds.), *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles the Chauve* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2007), cat. no. 13, 103—5.

workshop used Carolingian models, which might have inspired the lozenge design.[640] A similar Maiestas Domini further appears in the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, a Carolingian manuscript that was well known in Ottonian Regensburg [fig. 268].[641] On fol. 46v the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram shows another Maiestas in the incipit page to the Gospels of Mark [fig. 269].[642] The geometric medallion and lozenge composition in these Maiestas images have been read as a symbol of the world.[643] In the incipit page to the Gospels of Mark, the ethereal background and the stars on blue and green grounds further identify the world ruled by Christ as a cosmic world. In addition, the evangelist, prophets and evangelist symbols characterize the image as a vision of future events. In contrast, the textile page in the Codex Caesareus depicts birds, griffins, and fabulous half-humans, which inhabit the border and the lozenge pattern. Viktor Elbern suggested that the presence of animals and plants in lozenge-and-medallion

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[640] Mayr-Harting also noted compositional similarities between the Maiestas miniatures of the Vivian Bible and the Maiestas of the *Codex Aureus*. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 195. On Carolingian manuscripts in Echternach see Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: the Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Rainer Kahsnitz, "Frühottonische Buchmalerei," in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa,* ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), 1:228, 246.

[641] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, fol. 6v. Georg Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 6 vols. (Munich: Schmidt, 1921—25). Wilhelm Köhler and Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* 5, *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1982), 175—98. For a digital facsimile see http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00057171/images/ (accessed 2014/02/07). When the Codex Aureus was restored at the scriptorium of St. Emmeram, Abbot Ramwold had his picture inserted on fol. 1r to mark his achievement. Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 18—20. See also William Diebold, "The Anxiety of Influence in Early Medieval Art? The Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald in Ottonian Regensburg," in *Under the Influence: The* Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts, ed. John Lowden and Alixe Bovey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 51—64. The figure of Ramwold appears against a textile-ornamented ground, similar to the bishops in the Egbert Psalter in Cividale. See fig. 41 and bibliography in chapter 1. I will return to this image and to the miniature of Uta in the Uta Codex in a future study.

[642] Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 18—19.

[643] Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 51—52. Madeline H. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," in *Gesta* 22 (1983): 99—120, esp. 107. Viktor Elbern, "Bildstruktur—Sinnzeichen—Bildaussage: Zusammenfassende Studie zur unfigürlichen Ikonographie im frühen Mittelalter," *Arte medievale* 1 (1983): 17—37. On the function and meaning of geometric schemata in Ottonian book illumination see Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 157—71.

symbols of the world mark such geometric images as representations of the terrestrial cosmos.[644] If we read the textile page along these lines, the geometric ornament with birds and various creatures represents the terrestrial world. In addition, the purple color of the textile-like border alludes to the concept of textiles as a corporeal fabric and evokes the materiality of the body. The white textile veil inside this purple frame is more difficult to read. On the one hand, the design represents a physical material, cloth, and shows a geometric pattern that symbolizes the world. On the other, the white color evokes the radiance of celestial light. In short, the white textile pattern presents a mixture of matter and spirit. We might read this textile page in a Pseudo-Dionysian sense as a representation of physical matter that makes visible the immaterial sphere of the spirit. Moreover, if we consider that this dual-colored textile page veils an image of Christ and further appears in a Gospel book, the textile image appears to reflects the "paternally transmitted enlightenment coming from sacred scripture."[645] However, Christ, the source of spiritual enlightenment that is to be found in scripture, remains veiled under a cloth-like page. Thus, like the textile curtains and textile-parchment-veils that I discussed in chapter two, textile ornament in the Codex Caesareus transforms the parchment page into a metaphoric veil of revelation. The textile image, placed at the very beginning of the book, visualizes the notion that reading and contemplating the Gospels uncovers the mystical truth in scripture and fills the readers' heart with the spiritual light of heaven. While the ultimate goal in such a spiritual reading of scripture is to overcome the attachment to the material world, physical matter plays an important role in this process. That the precious Codex Caesareus was made for private contemplation is unlikely, however.[646] Probably, this book had its place on the lectern and altar

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[644] Elbern, "Bildstruktur."

[645] Pseudo-Dionysius, "The Celestial Hierarchy," I. 2, trans. Colm Luibheid, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (London: SPCK, 1987), 145. On Pseudo-Dionysius and his influence in the Middle Ages see Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16, 79.

[646] Manuscripts designed for private study and contemplation often contain schematic diagrams like the textile page in the Codex Caesareus, but these were usually line drawings. See Caviness, "Images of Divine Order." Also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Haec Figura Demonstrat: Diagrams in an Early-Thirteenth Century Parisian Copy of Lothar de Segni's De Missarum Mysteriis," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (2009): 7—75. Adam S. Cohen, "Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany," *Gesta* 48 (2009): 135—152.

during the liturgy.[647] Bound into a *textus*, which physically represents Christ in the liturgy, the textile page of the Codex Caesareus represents simultaneously an opaque corporeal garment and a translucent veil that clads Christ, the source of celestial light. Moreover, the book itself presents Christ as the veil that separates heaven from earth. The design and color of the textile page, beneath which Christ is visible, can be read as a commentary on Christ's dual nature. While the purple color and textile motif evoke his human body, the white color of the pattern inside the border alludes to the celestial light that flowed from Christ's divinity. Kessler has draw attention to an image in the Carolingian Stuttgart Psalter that shows Christ similarly from behind in front of an extensible purple and white pattern [fig. 270].[648] A marginal note explains the meaning of this image. "Here Christ our Lord spreads out the heavens like an animal skin."[649] Kessler mentioned this image in the context of a discussion of physical matter as an aid for spiritual sight. He explained that "the miniature represents the Lord holding out the veil of the firmament, the physical sky that separates this world from the next, colored blue, violet and white."[650] Kessler was unaware how closely the ornament resembles floral textile designs in images of the evangelists, for example those in Ms. Astor 1 of the Public Library in New York [fig. 106].[651] The "animal skin" of Heaven shown in the Stuttgart Psalter is actually textile-ornamented. In addition, Kessler interpreted this image as one of Christ, who is the "portal into the celestial realm" [fig. 268].[652] He noted in particular that the body of Christ in the Stuttgart

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[647] On function of the Gospel book in the liturgy see Heinzer, "Die Inszenierung des Evangelienbuchs."

[648] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. Fol. 23, fol. 83v. Kessler, Kessler, "Image and Object," 299—301. *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. fol. 23. Facsimile* (Stuttgart: Schreiber, 1965—1968). Felix Heinzer, *Wörtliche Bilder: zur Funktion der Literal-Illustration im Stuttgarter Psalter, um 830* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005). For a digital facsimile see http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/digitale-sammlungen/seitenansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf[id]=1517&tx_dlf[page]=1&cHash=a60b54c1ec3937ca39171c430bedbb2b (accessed 2014/02/07)

[649] Kessler, "Image and Object," 301.

[650] Ibid.

[651] On the Astor manuscript see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow and Lucy Freeman Sandler (eds.), *The Splendor of the World: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), cat. no. 27 (Jacqueline Ann Frank), 143—47.

[652] Kessler, "Image and Object," 301.

Psalter "occupies the same plane as the skin-firmament […], thereby equating the 'Word-Made-Flesh' with the vellum on which sacred writ is inscribed, and here, simultaneously with the membrane dividing the physical and spiritual realms."[653] If we relate the miniature in the Stuttgart Psalter to the Codex Caesareus, the purple and white textile page equally resembles such a skin-firmament. Moreover, as in the Stuttgart Psalter, the makers of the Codex Caesareus brought this corporeal firmament together with the body of Christ, and also showed Christ from behind. The Stuttgart skin-firmament stretched out before the body of Christ and the Echternach parchment-and-textile book-body likewise demonstrate that material images facilitate a contemplative approach to scripture and aid anagogical ascent, but also make clear that art can never replace spiritual sight.[654] In both cases "Christ's averted visage asserts the limits of carnal seeing, and hence of art itself; a kind of behind-the-scenes Maiestas Domini, the depiction reminds the faithful that gazing at the Lord's face is promised only at the end of time, and then solely to the blessed."[655] We have seen in chapter two that textile pages function as a warning not to confuse a painted image of Christ with spiritual sight. While the Echternach textile page might also be read along these lines, the artist appears to have placed the focus more clearly on the body of the Incarnation, which he re-cast as a book-body that liturgically represents Christ on the altar. Such a material reading of the liturgical *textus* demonstrates that material props and sensual stimulation played an essential role in the medieval experience of the Divine. The function of material objects in medieval worship, so it seems, must not be underestimated. Handling objects like the *textus* and participating physically in the act of revelation, for example when the reader

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[653] Ibid.

[654] Theodulf of Orléans, for example, addresses the dangers of visual representations. "God is to be sought not in visible things, not in manufactured things, but in the heart; he is to be beheld not with the eyes of the flesh but only with the eye of the mind." "Unde datur intellegi, quod non in rebus visibilius, non in manufactis, sed in corde Deus est quaerendus; nec carnalibus oculis, sed mentis solummodo oculo aspiciendus (4.2)," *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (Libri Carolini), Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia, 2: *supplementum*, ed. Ann Freeman (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 473. Trans. Herbert Kessler, "Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in idem, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 104—48, esp. 119. On Theodulf's critique of images see Karl F. Morrison, "Anthropology and the Use of Religious Images in the Opus Caroli Regis (*Libri Carolini*)" in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 32—45.

[655] Kessler, "Image and Object," 301.

turned the textile-ornamented pages, intensified the spiritual experience. While the Echternach textile book-bodies comment on the importance of reading and contemplation and make clear that God is invisible to corporeal eyes, these sumptuous books strongly encourage a sensual approach to scripture. The full-folio textile pages made at Echternach present the Word of God as a form of Incarnation that stimulates in particular the tactile senses suggesting that the embodiment of scripture in a material and tangible container can equally function as a vehicle for spiritual revelation.

Conclusion

Unlike most textile images that function as visual symbols, the full-folio designs of the Echternach manuscripts transform manuscript pages into material metaphors that the readers can explore with their eyes *and* by means of their tactile senses. Textile patterns in combination with the colors purple and red evoke associations of blood and flesh. In addition to the textile metaphor of the body, the Echternach book illuminators exploited the notion of writing as weaving and scripture as a textual garment in an unusual manner to cast the Gospels into a corporeal and tangible form. The context of the liturgy adds additional layers of meaning to the textile-clad book-body because on the lectern and altar the Gospel book functions as a material representative of Christ. Thus, the textile-clad *textus* appears as a form of Incarnation, as spirit clad in a garment of corporeal matter. However, in analogy to Christ's two natures the embodied Word presents itself as a dual-natured body. In addition to the metaphor of the parchment page as a veil that reveals and conceals at the same time, color codes make clear to the viewer that the *textus* is not the embodied Divinity, but a material symbol that functions as a bridge between the world of matter and the realm of the spirit. Thus, the textile-ornamented Echternach Gospel books combine the notion of scripture as a veil of revelation with the idea of Christ's human body as a vessel of redemption into the powerful material metaphor of the liturgical *textus* and present the Word of God in the form of a physical book-body that re-enacts the Incarnation.

Conclusion

Textile ornament is beautiful. Beauty, however, must not be understood as a meaningless form of decoration. On the contrary, this study of textile ornament in early medieval manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh century has shown that textile ornament is not only deeply meaningful but also a means to an end.[656] Isidore of Seville and Alain de Lille considered beauty a tool for the gathering of spiritual knowledge.[657] Textile-ornamented pages in medieval manuscripts generated such knowledge by helping the readers of biblical and liturgical manuscripts to establish communication with God. Such ornament facilitated access to the Divine and allowed the readers to enter a spiritual sphere made visible and tangible in textile-ornamented books. As the large number of surviving manuscripts demonstrates, textile ornament was not only a potent ornamental formula but also a very popular one. It is difficult to say with certainty when and where textile ornament was invented. The textile folios of the Folchart Psalter, 872—883, and the Lindau Gospels, 883—890, point to St. Gallen as a potential place of origin for textile pages.[658] Carolingian manuscripts that display a repertoire of ornamental motifs similar to those appearing in Ottonian textile pages were available at the scriptorium of St. Gallen, as were Anglo-Saxon Gospel books that contain ornamental interlace-images.[659] Perhaps St. Gallen artists merged Carolingian ornamental motifs with the full-page format of insular interlace pages

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[656] Andreas Speer, "Vom Verstehen mittelalterlicher Kunst," in *Mittelalterliches Kunsterleben nach Quellen des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Günther Binding and Andreas Speer (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann & Holzboog, 1993), 13—52, esp. 48, defined the medieval concept of beauty evoked by the terms *pulcher* and *pulchritudo* not as beauty for beauty's sake but as a vehicle for emotional affection and a source of knowledge.

[657] Ibid., 48—49.

[658] Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (St. Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), cat. no. 97, 1:394—99, and cat. no. 99, 1:408—11. Peter Ochsenbein and Beat von Scarpatetti, *Der Folchart Psalter aus der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1978).

[659] Anton von Euw, "Anfänge und Höhepunkte der St. Galler Buchkunst," in *Die Kultur der Abtei St.Gallen: Vorträge im Studium Universale anlässlich der Ausstellung vom 1. April bis 18. Mai 1996 in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1997), 60—81.

for the first time and thus created a new type of ornamental image: the textile page. From St. Gallen the phenomenon would have spread in the tenth century especially to Reichenau and from there elsewhere.[660] Why the dissemination of textile ornament and its re-appearance in the work of Anno and Ruodprecht, two book illuminators who worked very near St. Gallen at Reichenau, occurred nearly one hundred years later remains an open question. It is further unclear by what routes textile ornament was transmitted to other places like Corvey, Regensburg, and workshops in Flanders. The reasons that triggered the sudden flourishing of textile ornament in the late tenth-century remain equally obscure. What we can now say is how textile ornament functioned, what spiritual purposes it served, and what religious needs it satisfied.

Three major functions of textile ornament have emerged from my analysis. First, textile pages function as a veil of revelation. In the context of evangelist portraits, textile ornament evokes the metaphor of the veil in order to paraphrase the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Textile ornament placed at the beginning of the Gospels, either in combination with an evangelist portrait or as an individual textile page, also illustrates how textile images facilitated the contemplative exercises of reading and meditation. As chapter two demonstrated, textile-ornamented pages in Gospel books devise a form of veil that is both metaphoric and physical. Touching and turning a textile-patterned manuscript page makes the process of revelation both a corporeal *and* a spiritual experience. Second, because textiles are a medium that relates to the human body on both a physical and metaphoric level, textile ornament lends itself to visual exegesis on the Incarnation. When contextualized in the Christmas and Easter liturgies, textile patterns illustrate basic theological arguments about the blood and body of Christ as the vehicles of redemption. In the context of the mass, textile ornament further comments on the allegoric nature of the Eucharistic body and indicates that the sacrament of the Eucharist is a way of establishing a spiritual union with God. Finally, cladding the quires and canon tables of a liturgical Gospel book in textile ornament transforms a manuscript into a material metaphor that functions as a physical representative of Christ in the liturgy. The textile-clad and tangible book-body symbolizes the body of the Incarnation, which contained Christ's

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[660] Von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst*, 1:410, and idem, "Echternacher Prachthandschriften," in *Die Abtei Reichenau: 698—1998*, ed. Michele Ferrari, Jean Schroeder, and Henri Trauffler (Luxembourg: Cludem, 1999), 166—202, esp. 180, suggested that textile ornament occurred first in St. Gallen and spread from here in the tenth century to Reichenau, and from Reichenau to Echternach in the eleventh, but the development was perhaps not as linear as such a notion of transmission suggests.

divine nature under a physical human habitus, just as the *sensus mysticus* of scripture is concealed under layers of parchment and paint. Color codes play a significant role in marking this book body as a form of embodiment that mirrors the two natures of Christ. In addition, the metaphor of the scripture as a woven dress and the book as a corporeal garment for the life of Christ characterizes the medieval *textus* as a container that unites the four Gospels in one body. As ethnologist Jean-Pierre Warnier noted, however,

> Containment as a means of symbolizing power […] is based on […] passing through and transformation. Containment is of little value unless it is accessible through opening.[661]

Thresholds are usually embellished for this reason: they highlight openings and signal ways of transformation. Ornament draws attention to the places where two spheres meet and where transformation takes place, not only in Christian art but also in sacred objects produced by many different cultures.[662] The textile pages discussed in this study serve all of those functions. They conceal, contain, and make the sacred accessible to those faithful who seek spiritual transformation. While textile ornament emphasizes entranceways to the realm of the Divine and helps readers along the spiritual passage of scripture, it also contains the immaterial Word in a visible and tangible form. The book container, in turn, functions in private contemplation and in the liturgy as another form of passage. Showing the book-body and opening it to read sacred scripture from it acts to unveil the gates of heaven that metaphorically open inside this book, just as heaven opened when the body of Christ was sacrificed on the cross.

Three potent agents, color, geometry and metaphor fuel the power of textile ornament as a motor of revelation and spiritual transformation. As Madeline Caviness, Mary Carruthers, and Kirk Ambrose, among others, have noted, non-figural ornament in particular stimulates the mind because it is non-specific.[663] Since it is a form of textile iconography, textile ornament is not

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[661] Jean-Pierre Warnier, "Inside and Outside: Surfaces and Containers," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2006), 186—97, esp. 193—94.

[662] Ibid.

[663] Madeline H. Caviness, "Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing," *Gesta* 22 (1993): 99—120. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400—*

strictly speaking non-figurative. However, textile ornament operates based on an abstract geometric formula that enhances the potency of textile pages because it lends itself to many interpretations that stimulate discursive thinking. If we take into account, furthermore, that textile images in a medieval manuscript do not act independently from their physical support but correspond with the material, textual, and codicological structure of the book-body in which they operate, these manuscripts emerge as multi-dimensional objects. The textile-ornamented Gospel book, in both its capacities as a tangible veil of revelation *and* as a physical book body for the Word, is a form of embodied exegesis, a thinking machine that triggers interpretation, contemplation and spiritual transformation. As material vehicles that generate both thought and spiritual sight, textile ornamented manuscripts add to our understanding of the cooperative workings of matter *and* spirit in medieval art.

1200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 167—78. Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006), 64.

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Figures

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Figure 137. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 86v, photo: Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2:plate 18.

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Figure 138. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 87r, photo: Bildindex Marburg.

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Figure 139. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 88v, photo: Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2:plate 19.

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Figure 140. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 128v, photo: Bildindex Marburg.

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Figure 141. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 129r, photo: Bildindex Marburg.

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Figure 142. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., Corvey, late 10th century, fol. 129v, photo: Bildindex Marburg.

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Figure 143. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, Gospels of Otto III, Reichenau, late 10th century, fol. 23v—24r, photo: Mütherich and Dachs, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III*, plates 14—15.

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Figure 144. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 5v, Matthew, photo: Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften*, 23, fig. 35.

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Figure 145. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 6r, John, photo: Kirmeier,
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Figure 146. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 6v, Mark, photo: Kirmeier,
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Figure 147. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 7r Luke, photo: Kirmeier, *Schreibkunst*, 77.

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Figure 148. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 7v, Henry, photo: Kirmeier,

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Figure 149. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 8r, Mary, photo: Kirmeier,
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Figure 150. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 8v, Joseph's dream, photo: Kirmeier, *Schreibkunst*, 76.

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Figure 151. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 9r, textile page, photo: Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften*, 22, fig. 34.

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Figure 152. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 14v, the Magi, photo: Kirmeier, *Schreibkunst*, 77.

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Figure 153. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 15r, textile page, photo: Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften*, 124, fig. 399.

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Figure 154. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 53v crucifixion, photo:

Kirmeier, *Schreibkunst*, 78.

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Figure 155. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 59v, Women at the Tomb,

photo: Kirmeier, *Schreibkunst*, 79.

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Figure 156. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, 1007—1014, fol. 60r, textile page, photo: Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften*, 26, fig. 94.

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Figure 157. Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, triumphal arch, Annunciation, 5th century, photo: Pietrangeli, *Santa Maria Maggiore*, 113.

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Figure 158. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 17.190.49, ivory plaque with Mary,

photo: Metropolitan Museum digital collection.

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Figure 159. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. Fol. 23, Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 83v, photo: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 160. Erevan, Matanadaran, Cod. 2734, Etschmiadzin Gospels, fol. 228v, photo: Maguire, "Body, Clothing, Metaphor," plate 3.9.

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Figure 161. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2246, Cluny, ca 1100, fol. 6r, photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, digital collection.

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Figure 163. Paris, Cluny Musée Nationale de Moyen âge, Thermes de Cluny, Cl. 23757, Ascension, cutting from fol. 64 of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2246, ca 1100, photo: Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *Canossa 1077,* 1:340.

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Figure 164. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2246, Cluny, ca 1100, fol. 79v, photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, digital collection.

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Figure 166. London, British Library, MS Add. 49598, fol. 5v, 963—984, photo: Deshman, *Benedictional*, plate 8.

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Figure 167. Hildesheim, Domschatz. Ms. 61, Bernward Gospels, ca 1015, fol. 17r, Mary, photo: Brandt, *Das Kostbare Evangeliar*, 10.

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Figure 168. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Eins. 88, 980—90, pages 8—9, photo: author.

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Figure 169. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Eins. 88, 980—90, pages 74—75, photo: author.

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Figure 170a. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. Fondo Antico 1452, ca 970, fol. 2v, photo: Lang

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Figure 170b. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. Fondo Antico 1452, ca 970, fol. 2v, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 353.

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Figure 171. Rom, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. Fondo Antico 1452, ca 970, fol. 5v—6r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 354.

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Figure 172. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 1948, Gero Codex, shortly before 969, fol. 5v, Maiestas, photo: Exner, *Das Guntbald-Evangeliar*, plate 66.

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Figure 173. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 41r, Maiestas, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 174. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 41v, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 175. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 44r, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 176. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 42v, *Dominus vobiscum*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 177. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 43r, *Vere dignum*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 178. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 44v, *Te igitur*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 179. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 54v, *In die admissam*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 180. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 55r, *Concede*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 181. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 105v, *Die dominico sancta passione*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 182. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, Petershausen Sacramentary, 980, fol. 106r, *Deus qui hodierna*, photo: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, digital collection.

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Figure 183. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 2v, *Vere dignum*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 56.

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Figure 184. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 3r, textile page, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 57.

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Figure 185. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 3v, *Te igitur*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 58.

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Figure 186. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 13r, *Concede*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 59.

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Figure 187. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 85r, *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 66.

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Figure 187. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 85r, *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 66.

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Figure 189. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 9r, *Deus qui nos redemptionis*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 62.

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Figure 189. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 9r, *Deus qui nos redemptionis*, photo: Härtel, *Die Handschriften im Domschatz*, 62.

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Figure 190. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 100r,
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Figure 190. Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 19, Bernward Sacramentary, early 11th century, fol. 100r,
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Figure 191. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 3v, donor portrait, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 24.

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Figure 192. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 4r, Christ, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 25.

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Figure 193. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 5v, Luke, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 26.

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Figure 194. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 6r, Mark, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 27.

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Figure 195. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 7v, John, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 28.

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Figure 196. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 8r, Matthew, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 29.

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Figure 197. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 9v—10r, Nativity, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 30.

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Figure 198. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 18v—19r, the Magi before Mary and Christ, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 31.

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Figure 199. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 25r, Candlemas, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 40.

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Figure 200. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 35v—36r, Crucifixion, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 32.

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Figure 201. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 46v—47r, Washing of the Feet, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 33.

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Figure 202. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 48v, textile page, photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, digital collection.

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Figure 203. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 50v—51r, Women at the Tomb, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 34—35.

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Figure 204. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 66v—67r, Ascension, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 36—37.

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Figure 205. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, Poussay Evangelistary, fol. 69v—70r, Pentecost, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 38—39.

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Figure 206. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 1v—2r, frontispiece, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 321.

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Figure 207. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 2v, *Dominus vobiscum*,
photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 322.

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Figure 208. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 3r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 324.

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Figure 209. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 4r, *Te igitur*, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 325.

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Figure 210. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 12v, initial page Christmas, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 326.

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Figure 211. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 27v, initial page Candlemas, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 327.

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Figure 212. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 91v, textile page, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 323.

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Figure 213. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 92r, initial page

Saturday of Holy Week, photo: Puhle, *Otto der Große*, 2:241.

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Figure 214. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 94r, initial page Easter, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 329.

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Figure 218. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B. R. 231, 978—983, fol. 163r, initial page All Saints, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 333.

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Figure 219. Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aa 21, 1066—71, fol. 2v, dedication image, photo: Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit*, 2:55, fig. 29.

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Figure 220. Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aa 21, 1066—71, fol. 3r, textile page, photo: Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit*, 2:217, fig. 113.

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Figure 221. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 3, ca 1020, fol. 62r, photo: Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften*, 40, fig. 88.

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Figure 222. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23261, 1080—1125, fol. 69r, photo: Usener, "Das Breviar Clm. 23261," fig. 19.

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Figure 223. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Rep. I 57, ca 970, fol. 1v, photo: Puhle, *Otto der Große*, 2:194.

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Figure 224. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Rep. I 57, ca 970, fol. 1v, photo: Puhle, *Otto der Große*, 2:195.

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Figure 225. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Einsiedlensis 121 (1151), 964—996, page 29, *In die admissam*, photo: Lang, *Festschrift zum tausendsten* Todestag, 241, fig. 34.

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Figure 226. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 9v and 19r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 304—305.

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Figure 227. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 10v, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 41.

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Figure 228. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 28r and 36r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 307 and 306.

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Figure 229. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 96v—97r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 301.

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Figure 230. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 239r and 240v, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 303 and 302.

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Figure 231. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 12r, photo: Labusiak, *Ruodprechtgruppe*, fig. 68.

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Figure 233. St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20/I (olim XXIX. 2.2.), ca 980, fol. 15r, photo:
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Figure 234. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, front cover, 10th century, Byzantium, photo: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek.

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Figure 235. Bremen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21, fol. 1v—2r, textile page, photo: Knoll, *Das Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III. Faksimile*, fol. 1v—2r.

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Figure 236. Bremen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21, fol. 125v—126r, textile page, photo: Knoll, *Das Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III. Faksimile*, fol. 125v—126r.

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Figure 237. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 17v—18r, textile page, photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 53, fig. 32.

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Figure 238. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis) fol. 51v—52r, textile page, photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 71, fig, 50.

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Figure 239. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 75v—76r, textile page, photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 83, fig. 60.

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Figure 240. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 109v—110r, textile page, photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 96, fig. 71.

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Figure 241. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, KG 1138, front cover of Codex aureus Epternacensis), photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 25, fig. 8.

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Figure 242. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 78—462, Byzantium, 10th—11th century, photo: von Wilckens, *Mittelalterliche Seidenstoffe*, 34.

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Figure 243. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Cod. C 93, Codex Caesareus, fol. 2v—3r, textile page, photo: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek.

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Figure 244. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Cod. C 93, Codex Caesareus, fol. 125v—126r, John, photo: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek.

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Figure 245. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2821, Echternach, 11th century, fol. 67, photo: British Library, digital collection.

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Figure 246. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2821, Echternach, 11th century, fol. 99v, photo: British Library, digital collection.

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Figure 247. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. -1r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 248. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 1v—2r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.
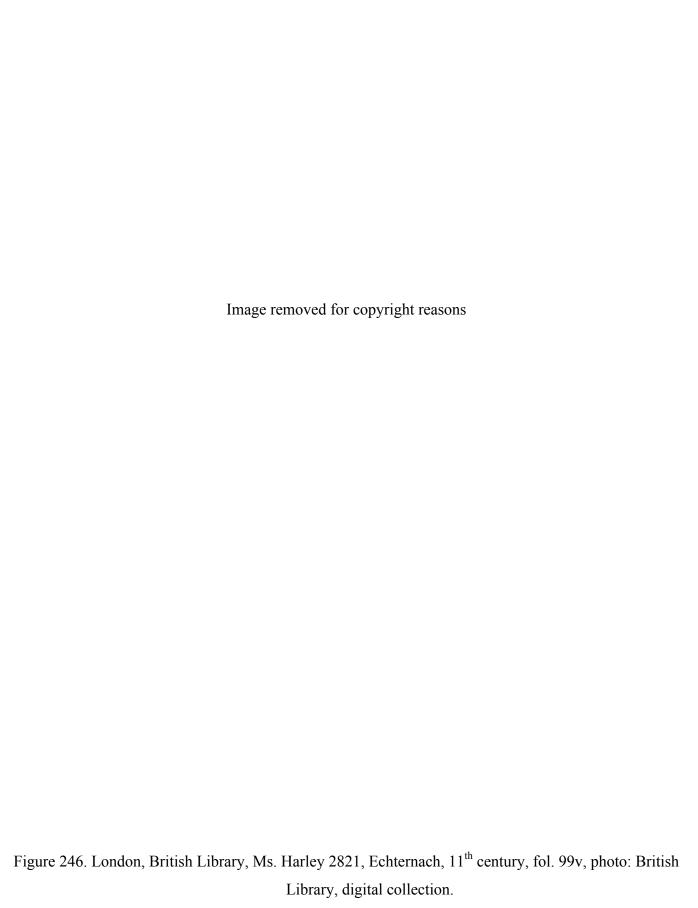
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Figure 249. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 2v—3r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 256. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 17v—18r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 257. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 18v—19r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 258. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 19v—20r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 259. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 20v—21r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 260. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 21v—22r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 261. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HS 156142 (Codex aureus Epternacensis), fol. 22v—23r, photo: Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, digital collection.

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Figure 262. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1, Lindau Gospels, St. Gallen, 883—890, fol. 5v, textile page, photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, CORSAIR digital collection.

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Figure 263. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1, Lindau Gospels, St. Gallen, 883—890, fol. 12r, textile page, photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, CORSAIR digital collection.

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Figure 264. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1, Lindau Gospels, inner front cover, 8th—9th century, photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, CORSAIR digital collection.

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Figure 265. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1, Lindau Gospels, inner back cover, 8th—9th century, photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, CORSAIR digital collection.

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Figure 266. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Cod. C 93, Codex Caesareus, fol. 3v, John, photo: Grebe, *Codex Aureus*, 126, fig. 97.

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Figure 267. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Msc. lat. 1, First Bible of Charles the Bald (Vivian Bible), 845, fol. 329v, photo: Laffitte and Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens*, 104.

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Figure 268. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, fol. 6v, Maiestas, photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital collection.

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Figure 269. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, fol. 46v—47r, incipit page Mark, photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital collection.

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Figure 270. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. Fol. 23, Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 116v, photo: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, digital collection.