Clothing Sacred Scriptures

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Clothing Sacred Scriptures

Book Art and Book Religion in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Cultures

Edited by
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In memoriam Silke Tammen (1964-2018)

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Preface

The volume presented here is the result of a long involvement. In 2015, David Ganz published his study on book covers with the title: *Book-Vestments: Treasure Bindings in the Middle Ages (Buch-Gewänder: Prachteinbände im Mittelalter*). One of its goals was to release the most exciting phenomena from their insulation by understanding them as part of an alliance between book religion and art. In this sense, it is also an attempt to reflect on the complex relationship between art and Christianity from a new perspective. Whereas the focus of this book had to lie on Western examples, David Ganz widened his own perspective very early in his research process by studying the enclosing of holy scriptures in religions other than Christianity. On the other hand Barbara Schellewald, being part of the research program NCCR Eikones – Iconic Criticism in Basel, initiated a lecture series (Basel/Berlin) with Vera Beyer in 2010, entitled *One God – No Image? Iconic Practices and Theories in between Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. In these lectures, the different uses and interdictions of religious images in monotheistic religions were discussed with regard to the processes of their mutual constitution. So it seemed a logical consequence that, in 2012, we both invited a small group of colleagues to Eikones in Basel, for a workshop entitled *Enclosing Sacred Scripts*. This workshop offered us the opportunity to consider the historical concept of *Ornat* in the context of our contemporary art-historical understanding of the ornamental. It also gave us the chance to take into account the diversity of book cultures during the Middle Ages. After these two days, it was more than obvious that this interdisciplinary topic had gained much greater attention – and even, under contemporary conditions, a certain necessity – in the last years. All participants shared our opinion that it would be worthwhile to pursue this comparative and transcultural theme further, and to initiate an international conference in Zurich. We were very happy that most colleagues with a broad background experience in this subject were able to take up our invitation to *Clothing Sacred Scripture. Book Art and Book Religions in the Middle Ages* in October 2014. It took more time than expected to realize the book after the conference. It would not have been possible without the very welcome support of many people. First of all, we must thank those institutions who were persuaded that it was worth supporting our project financially: the Swiss National Science Foundation and both Universities of Zurich and Basel. We are very grateful to our colleagues who were willing to take the step from speaker to author, and further develop their own theses with the experience of the conference. They not only produced their contributions, but managed to focus their papers even more strongly on our main questions. To reinforce the idea of this volume and to underline the chosen perspective in its whole complexity, David Ganz decided to formulate a general introduction to our theme, rather than following the tradition of introducing the diverse papers.

A book like this relies on the editorial support of many. We would like to especially thank Henriette Hofmann, Caroline Schärli and Sophie Schweinfurth for their willingness to be part of our editorial staff. And we felt privileged that Beatrice Radden Keefe took a thorough look at our texts with English eyes. We were very happy when Martin Wallraff offered us the wonderful opportunity to publish this volume in the newly-founded series *Manuscripta Biblica*. We are thankful not only for this opportunity, but also for the confidence in the relevance of our topic. We do hope that this volume reaches its readers and invites much more discussion and research.

David Ganz, Zurich
Barbara Schellewald, Basel

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David Ganz

1 Clothing Sacred Scriptures

Materiality and Aesthetics in Medieval Book Religions

In the early twelfth century, Turgot, the prior of the monastery of Durham, composed the Life of Margaret, the shortly deceased queen of Scotland. In an attempt to convince his readers of Margaret's true sainthood, he not only provided a long list of her pious deeds but concluded reporting a miracle he judged most suitable for a person so devoted to teaching and meditating on sacred scripture:

> She had a book of Gospels beautifully adorned with jewels and gold, and ornamented with figures of the four Evangelists, painted and gilt. The capital letters throughout the volume were also resplendent with gold. For this volume she had always a greater affection than she had for any others she was in the habit of reading. It happened that while the person who was carrying it was crossing a ford, he let the volume, which had been carelessly folded in a wrapper, fall into the middle of the stream [...]. It was sought for a long time, but was not found. At length it was found at the bottom of the river, lying open, so that its leaves were kept in constant motion by the action of the water, and the little coverings of silk which protected the letters of gold from being darkened by the contact of the leaves, were carried away by the force of the current. Who would imagine that the book would be worth anything after what happened to it? Who would believe that even a single letter would have been visible in it? Yet of truth it was taken up out of the middle of the river so perfect, uninjured, and free from damage, that it looked as though it had not even been touched by the water. For the brightness of the leaves, and the form of the letters throughout the whole of the volume remained exactly as they were before it fell into the river, except that on the margins of the leaves, towards the edge, some trace of water could with difficulty be detected. The book was conveyed to the Queen, and the miracle reported to her at the same time, and she having given thanks to Christ, esteemed the volume much more highly than she did before.[1]

Although this account is presented as an event from Margaret's life, its true protagonist is an individual book. What is introduced as proof of the sainthood of a human being turns out to be a demonstration of the holiness of this particular book.[2] We learn that this object is at once vulnerable and potent, easy to lose and splendent, in need of diligent care and capable of imposing its superior force. All this is even more interesting as, however one may judge Turgot's miracle imputation, his account is related to a real and still existing Gospel book, nowadays kept in the Bodleian Library.[3] Not long after Margaret's death, another version of the same account was added to folio 2r of this manuscript.[4] From this inscription in the book we learn that an individual book-object with particular material properties is at the very center of this story.

From the perspective of the early twenty-first century, this might remind us of events from our own time in which the sacredness and physicality of holy books intermingle. For example, when the American president elect lays his hand on a book he has consciously chosen and performs the oath of office while touching the pages or the binding of this book. Physicality has also been an issue in violent episodes of book burnings that we have seen in the past years. Incinerated Qur'ans and Bibles have repeatedly ignited turmoil and sparked homicide. Apparently, these stories point to differing conceptions of the holiness of books. The book burnings follow a metonymic logic, according to which each copy of the Qur'an or the Bible is considered to be an integral part of sacred scripture. The ritual of the inauguration and Turgot's miracle story are based on the assumption that holy books are individual objects whose power depends equally on their history and on their material shape.

Probably the best way to better understand these different conceptions of sacred books' power is to go back to the biblical Book of Exodus which offers an archetypal narrative of the origin of sacred scripture, embedding it in the remote history of the Israelites' flight from Egypt. Three months after they crossed the Red Sea and escaped the troops of the Pharaoh, the Israelites arrive at the wilderness of Sinai. Then, Moses, their leader, is called to climb the top of the mountain on which God has descended in a huge cloud. In this elevated and hidden place, God's Law is revealed to the prophet in thundering words. As a sign of the pact between Yahweh and Israel, Moses is handed the essence of the Law, the Ten Commandments, on "the

1 Turgot, *The Life of S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, 3 (ed. Metcalfe 1895, 315–316). For an edition of the Latin text, see Turgot, *Vita s. Margaritae reginae Scotiae*, 3 (ed. Henschenius et al. 1698, 329).
2 See Gameson 1997; Bridges 2005, 106–110.

3 Actually, it is a small lectionary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. liturg. fol. 5). See Rushforth 2007.
4 For a transcription and translation, see Gameson 1997, 165-166.

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two tablets of the Pact, stone tablets inscribed with the finger of God" (Ex. 31,18).[5]

In this account, sacred scripture's power is explained by a close link to divine origin: the words on the tablets are words uttered by Yahweh, and the letters on the tablets are letters written by God's hands. It is easy to imagine the tablets being the starting point of a chain of text transmission where each copy is invested with power by its filiation with the divine original. In this sense, the Sinai story gives the most authoritative explanation for calling a sacred text the word of God. This model applies also to the much more frequent cases in which a sort of collaboration between God and human beings is assumed, whereby the wording and the writing fall under the responsibility of the human author.

Yet, as the same Book of Exodus teaches us, the power of sacred scripture comes not from the wording and writing alone. In a remarkably long and detailed passage, Yahweh instructs Moses how the Tablets of the Ten Commandments have to be enshrined and adorned in order to create the conditions for God's presence over these writings:

> The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: "Tell the Israelite people to bring Me gifts; [...] And these are the gifts that you shall accept from them: gold, silver, and copper; blue, purple, and crimson yarns, fine linen, goats' hair; tanned ram skins, dolphin skins, and acacia wood. [...] And let them make Me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them. Exactly as I show you—the pattern of the Tabernacle and the pattern of all its furnishings—so shall you make it. They shall make an ark of acacia wood, two and a half cubits long, a cubit and a half wide, and a cubit and a half high. Overlay it with pure gold—overlay it inside and out—and make upon it a gold molding round about. Cast four gold rings for it, to be attached to its four feet, two rings on one of its side walls and two on the other. Make poles of acacia wood and overlay them with gold; then insert the poles into the rings on the side walls of the Ark, for carrying the Ark. [...] And deposit in the Ark [the tablets of] the Pact which I will give you. You shall make a cover of pure gold, two and a half cubits long and a cubit and a half wide. Make two cherubim of gold—make them of hammered work—at the two ends of the cover. [...] They shall confront each other, the faces of the cherubim being turned toward the cover. Place the cover on top of the ark, after depositing inside the ark the Pact that I will give you. There I will meet with you, and I will impart to you—from above the cover, from between the two cherubim that are on top of the Ark of the Pact—all that I will command you concerning the Israelite people." (Ex. 25,2–22)

Reading this passage in the Book of Exodus, one is struck by the extreme attention that God and his prophet pay to the materials and the visual aspect of this enormous shrine of sacred scripture. Even before he is handed over the stone tablets in which God has written the Decalogue with his own finger, Moses receives detailed instructions for how they are to be adorned: how their container, the Ark of the Covenant, shall look, which materials have to be used for its construction, which artist is most capable of executing this work, and what else should be part of the tablets' dwelling. And when Moses, after having smashed the first pair of tablets, climbs down from Mount Sinai for the second time, he immediately gathers his people and asks them to contribute materials for the construction of the Ark and the other elements of sacred furniture that are then crafted by Bezalel.[6] For the narrator it is clear that storing the tablets outside the Ark would have been an inconceivable act of profanation—and in fact no word is said about what Moses did with the tablets before the Ark was ready. Finally, when Bezalel and his collaborators complete their work, and the tablets are put into their richly adorned container, a cloud is said to have descended on the Ark, making God's presence visible.

Both the stories about the making of the tablets and the miraculous preservation of Margaret's Gospels are archetypes for the phenomena that are discussed in this volume. In the very moment sacred scripture is created, its ornament becomes an issue. The question is not if sacred scripture should receive ornament but how this ornament should look and in what kind of media it should be realized. In short, the Mount Sinai account as well as Turgot's miracle tale provide impressive evidence of sacred scripture being deeply involved in what recently has been called the materiality of religion.[7] A decade ago, the anthropologist Webb Keane put it in the trenchant formula: "Religions may not always demand beliefs, but they will always involve material forms. It is in that materiality that they are part of experience and provoke responses, that they have public lives and enter into ongoing chains of causes and consequences."[8]

Most contributions to the field of material religion are dedicated to objects and practices that could be considered the "other" of scripture: to images, relics, ex votos and amulets, to rituals and other performative practices. This preference is understandable as a reaction against the long dominion of text-oriented research in the study

5 All citations from the Hebrew Bible are after *Jewish Study Bible. Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation* (ed. Berlin/Brettler 2014).

6 For Bezalel as biblical archetype of an artist, see Legner 2009, 135–137.

7 See Morgan (ed.) 2010; Engelke 2012; Promey (ed.) 2014; Plate (ed.) 2015; Pongratz-Leisten/Sonik (eds.) 2015; Apostolos-Cappadona (ed.) 2016; Hutchings/McKenzie (eds.) 2017.

8 Keane 2008, S124.

of religions. Yet as the narratives in Exodus and in Margarita's Vita demonstrate, excluding scripture from the issue of religion's inherent materiality would miss an important point and ultimately perpetuate the dichotomy that recent research seeks to overcome. Against such an opposition, several scholars have rightly drawn attention to the materiality of scripture itself. In his seminal article *The Three Dimensions of Scripture*, the religious scholar James W. Watts claims that "scriptures […] are not just texts to be interpreted and performed. They are material objects that convey religious significance by their production, display, and ritual manipulation."[9] Adding to that his colleague S. Brent Plate states that:

> Regardless of their semantic meaning, words and—by extension—sacred texts exist in and through their material, mediated forms. Words are primarily seen and heard. They are printed, written, chiseled, carved, painted, as well as sung, spoken, digitally recorded, dramatized, echoed. […] Visually speaking, words are seen more often than is realized, and it is in the seeing of words, whether printed or written, in a carefully designed layout, that religious experiences can occur. Whether talismanic or technological, visible or seemingly invisible, words have existed through religious cultures as objects that are experienced before and beyond their semantic meanings.[10]

As a paradigm of research, material religion is part of a broader methodological shift towards issues of materiality in the Humanities.[11] While important theoretical impetus for this new perspective came from anthropology, ethnology and archeology, that is from the field of studies in material culture, other more text-based disciplines have developed a specific interest in the materiality of books, charters and other writings: in historiography, literary studies, paleography or musicology, the relevance of elements such as layout, coloring, graphic signs, and traces of use is now widely acknowledged.[12] Quitting a long tradition of distilling texts by removing their alleged accessories, these disciplines have started to discuss the iconic, spatial, multisensorial and performative aspects of books as objects. Art history has considerably widened its traditionally narrow focus on illuminations and initials, looking at the shape of the entire manuscript, its making and use, its covers and its spatial structure.[13]

1 Sacred scripture: canon, commentary, clothing

In this volume, the turn from scripture as content to scripture as object is applied to and explored for the three religions that included the Mount Sinai episode in their prophetic tradition; Judaism, Christianity and Islam evolved as textual communities that were centered on sacred scripture.[14] In the Qur'an, the term *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book), testifies to the fact that this similarity was perceived at an early stage: Christians and Jews were thought to have the same foundation of scriptural revelation, if also in an imperfect manner.[15]

In modern scholarship, common features of *ahl al-kitāb* have been seen in shared textual practices: first of all, the formation of a "canon," of a corpus of texts that could not be altered or expanded and led to the exclusion of texts regarded as non-sacred, be it apocryphal or heretical.[16] Secondly, there is consensus that this corpus needed to be accompanied by a growing collection of commentaries: texts that established hermeneutical rules for reading the canon, differentiated between lower and higher levels of interpretation, authorized certain interpretations against others and adapted these readings to changing cultural contexts and historical situations.[17] Whereas these two categories have been regarded for a long time as the essential features of sacred scripture, recent scholarship has emphasized a third constitutive element: complementary to canon and commentaries, material devices come into play by which scripture is perceived and performed as an aesthetical, tangible and visible object. In analogy to Bezalel who crafted the Ark, countless scribes, painters, goldsmiths, embroiderers and ivory carvers were engaged in crafting what the title of this book labels "clothing sacred scripture."

9 Watts 2006, 137.
10 Plate 2007, 157–158.
11 See Miller (ed.) 1998; Miller (ed.) 2005; Tilley et al. (eds.) 2006; Bennett/Joyce (eds.) 2010; Kalthoff/Cress/Röhl (eds.) 2016.
12 See for example Nichols 1990; Bornstein/Tinkle (eds.) 1998; Busby 1999; Kiening/Stercken (eds.) 2008; Johnston/Van Dussen (eds.) 2015; Meier/Ott/Sauer (eds.) 2015. For a more systematic and theoretical approach, see Krämer 2003.
13 See Schmidt 2003; Lowden 2007; Hamburger 2009; Cohen 2010; Tilghman 2011; Ganz 2015; Rudy 2015.
14 See Stock 1983, 88–151; Haines-Eitzen 2009; Stroumsa 2015, 103–135.
15 See Madigan 2001, 193–213; Stroumsa 2003, 153–158.
16 For canonization as cultural phenomenon, see Assmann/Assmann (eds.) 1987; Assmann 1997, 103–129; Becker/Scholz (eds.) 2012. For canonization as historical process, see Kooij/Toorn (eds.) 1998; Alexander (ed.) 2007; Jacobsen (ed.) 2009; Lim 2013; De Smet/Amir-Moezzi (eds.) 2014.
17 See Schmid/Renz/Ucar (eds.) 2010.

In contrast to canon and commentary, whose historical developments and cultural mechanisms have been the topic of intense scholarly discussion, the material and aesthetic side of sacred scripture has fundamental theoretical implications that are only beginning to be explored. Clothing sacred scripture constituted an area of collaboration between religion and art, where art has the power to transform written texts into holy objects.

In this introductory essay, I will discuss some key concepts, models and areas of research that are relevant to a systematic approach towards the role of the arts in medieval *ahl al-kitāb*. This approach has to be a strongly interdisciplinary one. In this regard, the following text is the result of a long journey in the territory between art history and religious studies that in the past ten years has proceeded on pathways toward the aesthetics of holy books. The first chapter introduces the concepts "religion of the book" and "inlibration" and proposes ways to adapt them to the materiality of books. The second and the third chapter will focus on "iconicity" and "ornamentality" as two categories that complement each other in the artistic transformation of holy books. Each chapter develops these categories into a cluster of topics that I consider useful as orientation for further research and as points of comparison. Since it would be contradictory to discuss issues of materiality without reference to concrete objects, the second and the third chapter include a number of examples.

1.1 Book religions: from texts to objects and rituals

The modern scholarly term "book religions" has been introduced as a differential category that allowed comparing religions in a systematic perspective.[18] Undoubtedly, the history of this concept was determined by a conspicuous bias: when Friedrich Max Müller, the founder of religious studies, coined the term in the late nineteenth century, he thought of a sharp hierarchical divide between the "aristocracy of real book-religions" and the "the vulgar and nondescript crowd of bookless or illiterate religions."[19] This judgmental approach was still perceptible when specialists of ancient near eastern cultures converted Müller's stratification into an evolutionary model: in 1950, the egyptologist Siegfried Morenz proposed a diachronic reconstruction of religious history that led from (older) "cult religions" to (younger) "book religions." The turn from one type to another, Morenz argued, occurred "when the range of the cult was curtailed and written records were put into the midpoint of worship communities."[20] Historically, he located the first transition of this kind in the kingdom of Juda between the late seventh and the mid-fifth century BCE. Recently, the egyptologist and historian of religions Jan Assmann has included this model in his studies on the rise of monotheism.[21] Harking back to a terminology introduced by Theo Sundermeier, he defines monotheistic religions of the book as "secondary religions" that arose "from a radical rupture with tradition": "To these belong all religions which are not derived from a remote past and immemorable tradition but from historical acts of revelation and foundation."[22]

Ultimately, the historian of religions Guy Stroumsa has proposed a different typology that considers book religions in opposition not to "cult" but to "sacrifice" and therefore leads to a remarkable chronological shift versus what he calls the "religious revolution of late Antiquity:" "To encapsulate the nature of this transformation, one may perhaps speak of the 'end of sacrifice,' in reference to the fact that at the time of Jesus, religion meant, for Jews and Greeks alike, the offering of sacrifice, while the situation had changed in some radical ways in the sixth century."[23] For Stroumsa, the "end of sacrifice" is intimately connected to new ideals of interiority and the perfection of the inner self, goals that could be achieved through the regular reading of sacred texts.[24]

Certainly, the category of "book religions" has not been undisputed. In fact, it may be doubted if the kind of universal taxonomy that Müller proposed solves more problems than it creates. Looking for "book religions" in all cultures and times bears the risk of ending up with criteria that are too vague or too normative.[25] Instead of this approach, one may fruitfully apply "book religions" as a comparative term for limited contexts of neighboring faiths. In making use of this term for Judaism, Christianity and Islam, I want to highlight a group of common traditions and comparable features that these

18 For an overview, see Colpe 1988; Lang 1990; Stine 1994; Graham 2005. For a comparative approach to the three Abrahamic religions of the book, see Denny/Taylor (eds.) 1985.

19 Müller 1873, 102. While the term "book-religions" was introduced by Müller, the history of the concept goes back to the eighteenth century with authors as Giambattista Vico, William Warburton and Immanuel Kant, see Lang 1990, 144–145, and Assmann 1996, 56–61.

20 See Morenz [1950] 1975, 385.

21 See Assmann 1996. A good discussion is in Schaper 2009.

22 Assmann 2001, 97 with reference to Sundermeier 1987, 417–418.

23 Stroumsa 2015, 27–28. See also Stroumsa 2009, especially 56–83.

24 See Stroumsa 2009, 1–55.

25 For discussions of these methodological problems, see Graham 2005, 8194–8195; Rüpke 2005; Luft 2014, 6–14.

communities share. This does not mean that we have to ignore the considerable differences between Jewish, Christian and Islamic scriptures. That the Tanakh, the New Testament and the Qur'an have different structures and comprise dissimilar textual genres is obvious. Yet I do not see such dissimilarities as an obstacle to the fruitful application of an overarching concept.[26]

My point is not to reject but to suggest a different understanding of the concept of "book religions": what I see as the shortcoming of all previous discussions is the exclusive focus on the textual dimension of sacred scripture.[27] Book religions are discussed as ultimately immaterial religions in which rituals, objects and other material factors have no particular relevance. In light of the material turn, a reformulation of the concept and a reevaluation of the materiality of sacred scripture is overdue.[28] To do so, I will return for a moment to Jan Assmann's idea that the shift from primary to secondary religions leads to an "expatriation of the sacred out of the world":

> Primary or cult religions deal with the sacred that manifests its presence in the world *(ἱερός)*. The priests' acquaintance with the sacred requires sanctity in terms of *ὅσιος*. [...] Secondary religions nihilate this difference since the sacred cannot be found inside the world anymore. The only thing that can still be considered to be *ἱερός* or *sacer* is sacred scripture, the *biblia sacra*.[29]

What this passage highlights, rightly I think, is the role of book religions in the establishment of the distinction between immanence and transcendence that superseded the older distinction between the profane and the sacred.[30] Following this assumption, religions of the book evolved in a context of existing religious communities whose cult was centered on other, non-textual objects: images, shrines, relics, talismans, sanctuaries or sacred places. Their introduction was based on a critique of these pre-existing cults which were rejected in favor of a clear distinction between immanent and transcendent spheres. That notwithstanding—and here I dissent from Assmann—religions of the book were based on material media, and especially on those objects that preserved the divine revelation in its written form. It seems much more appropriate therefore, to describe the (admittedly idealized) process of book religions' emergence in terms of a transfer of sacredness: a transformation that invests sacred texts with the sacredness formerly owned by other objects.

Against the standard models of book religions, three aspects of this transfer need to be underscored: the importance of holy books as visible and tangible objects; the relevance of ritual practices involving holy books; and a complex, if sometimes contradictory relationship between holy books and other cult objects. To sum up, book religions can be characterized by the adoption and transformation of elements that come from cult religions. It is misleading to consider these as "impurities" or "compromises" in the pursuit of an immaterial ideal that failed to be realized in Jewish, as well as in Christian and in Islamic cultures. With regard to the last point, it needs to be emphasized that a conflictual tension between the sacralization of holy books and the desacralization of other objects has repeatedly become an issue in the history of the three faiths.

Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions share the belief that sacred scripture contains words of divine revelation.[31] This postulate of a non-human, transcendent origin had to be asserted in contexts where other, non-sacred practices of writing and reading are already known: sacred scripture is by no means connected to primordial practices of writing and reading. There is no claim that writing itself is a sacred practice with divine origins. This means that as book religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam always have to make a distinction between the Book and books, between the Word and words, between Scripture and writings. The sacred text has to be set against a majority of non-sacred texts. This opposition to other, profane or mundane texts needs to be articulated on a material level.

1.2 Levels of inlibration

In order to define contrasting approaches of Islamic and Christian communities towards God's manifestation to humankind, the philosopher Harry A. Wolfson has coined the term "inlibration."[32] For Wolfson, inlibration is the Islamic counterpart to the Christian concept of 'incarnation': where Christian faith is based on the belief in the incarnation of the pre-existing, uncreated Logos, he argued, Islamic religion has been founded on the belief

26 See Stroumsa 2003; Brague 2015, 97–102.
27 This critique applies also to Stroumsa. Although he repeatedly discusses the impact of the change from scroll to codex in late Antiquity, his understanding of book religions is focused on the private reading process, as his witty formula of Christianity as the "religion of the paperback" shows. See Stroumsa 2009, 41–44.
28 For a similar stance, see Luft 2014, 14–25.
29 Assmann 2001, 100.
30 See Schulze 2015, 124–137.

31 For an overview, see Deninger [1987] 2005; Wießner et al. 1995. Recently, Angelika Neuwirth has advocated a more differentiated view of revelation in the Qur'an, see Neuwirth 2015, 223–228.
32 See Wolfson 1976, 244–263.

in the inlibration of the pre-existing, uncreated Qur'an. Recently, this concept has been critically re-evaluated by scholars of Islamic religion. As several authors argue, the Qur'an gains its full potential as divine revelation only in the act of oral recitation.[33] Therefore, the Islamic religion would be focused more on voice and memory and less on letters and material books.[34] Contrary to Jewish and Christian rituals, no liturgy of the book takes place during the regular prayers inside the mosque.[35]

What I propose, is a different use of Wolfson's neologism in a broader and transreligious perspective. Religions of the book share the belief that scripture is the result of a process by which divine truth and wisdom are transformed into words of human language and ultimately, into graphic signs to be written into books. This does not exclude the idea that these books get integrated into complex settings of elaborate recitation, intense meditation or extensive use of other sacred media (such as holy sites, images, relics or the Eucharist). What the term inlibration implies is the indispensable presence and contribution of material objects to the process of divine revelation. In each of the three Abrahamic religions this role is so powerful that the attribute "Word of God" is assigned to sacred scripture.

For a deeper analysis of religious book cultures, two different levels of inlibration should be differentiated: (transmaterial) texts and (material) books. Usually, when it comes to the "sacredness" of scripture, only the textual level of inlibration is taken into consideration. The classic example for this is the process of canonization that leads to a distinction between those texts that constitute the core of divine revelation and others that do so to a less extent or even not at all. This selection implies scenarios of inspiration that explain how human persons might have been able to become transmitters of divine revelation. Sometimes, sacred texts contain self-referential statements about their own origin, a tendency that is especially strong in the Qur'an, but also in the Revelation of John and prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible.[36] Still on a textual level, commentaries create a centralizing framework around scripture, explaining and evidencing their revelational quality.[37]

Yet for the purpose of this volume it is essential that this kind of text-related discourse is inseparably intertwined with a material dimension of book-aesthetics: adorning sacred scripture visually and materially with elaborate artistic techniques, handling the books in which the sacred text was written, venerating these objects, reciting and memorizing their letters constitute fundamental religious acts that enhance the belief in the inlibration of divine revelation. The importance of these practices is very evident in the Pentateuch account of Moses receiving instructions from God on Mount Sinai, but is less clear in modern discussions of religions of the book. It is the aim of this volume to expand the field to any artistic practice that contributes to the configuration of the basic medium of scripture: the book, understood as a three-dimensional, material, visual and tactile object.

1.3 Crossing religious borders

Applying categories such as "book religions" and "inlibration" offers a chance to abandon the focus on single textual communities that has hitherto prevailed in research on book art. There are of course important reasons for the specialization in objects that belong to single religious groups, be it linguistic competences in Hebrew, Arab, Greek and Latin, intimate knowledge of specific religious traditions or art historical expertise in determined fields of artistic production. Asking for a comparative and transcultural approach to religious book culture does not mean to put this specialist knowledge into question. Rather, it is an invitation to a dialogue about various strategies for "clothing sacred scripture" that involve objects and practices from different religions. Conducting this dialogue across established borders will offer new insight into parallels and divergences, synchronies and phase-shifts, innovations and imitations and therefore contribute to a more differentiated picture of the aesthetics of inlibration.

The labels "Judaism." "Christianity" and "Islam" stand for communities that are closely intertwined and that develop reacting to each other. The term "Abrahamic," as problematic as it may be, indicates a common tradition of revelation that the three faiths share.[38] It also points to geographic proximity, shared territories and borders, and a long history of exchange and encounters, with the Mediterranean playing the role of "an exceptionally important place of interaction, competition, and, at times, of

33 See Madigan 2003; Neuwirth 2010, 158–168; Neuwirth 2015, esp. 233–236. See also Wallraff 2013, 54–62.

34 See Kellermann 1995; Neuwirth 2010, 168–174; Schulze 2015, 245–322.

35 See Ergin 2008.

36 For the Qur'an, see Madigan 2001; Wild (ed.) 2006. For the Revelation of John, see Gradl 2014.

37 For the development of concepts of human authorship in sacred scripture, see Wyrick 2004.

38 For recent contributions on Abrahamic religions, see Silverstein/Stroumsa (eds.) 2015; Stroumsa 2015. For a critique of the term, see Hughes 2012.

conflict among Jews, Christians, and Muslims [...] in which members of these religions have defined their identity ever more sharply in relation to one another, in which sectarian division characterized all three religions, and in which there has existed a constant flow of population."[39] With regard to this intense and sometimes violent interaction, there are good reasons for a synoptical approach that includes both comparison and analysis of exchange. As neighboring religions, Judaism, Christian and Islam were in need of visualizing their specific identity: since at their foundation was a claim of exclusive truth, they had to define a set of markers that distinguished them from their competitors. On many occasions, the rivalry about this common source induced a show of intolerance and hostility and led to the defamation of the competing *ahl al-kitab*.[40]

To intensify research on the material and aesthetic side of scripture will enable us to overcome the simplistic concept of religions as monolithic entities. In fact, it is important to stress that "Judaism," "Christianity," and "Islam" are abstract categories that span a rather variegated field of different subgroups. Privileging the textual dimension of these communities has had the effect of leveling their discrepancies and of producing homogeneous confessional entities. This is due to the fact that the process of canonization was remarkably successful in producing sacred texts that are highly resistant to change and alteration. Yet this does not mean that Jews, Christians and Muslims of the twenty-first century deal with the same books as their predecessors in the first millennium. For once we shift from the textual to the material side of the phenomenon, we will gain an extremely sensitive indicator for historical transformation and regional diversity in one and the same religion. Therefore, I basically agree with Aaron W. Hughes when he states that

> closer examination of the three generic religions that comprise the even more generic category "Abrahamic religions" reveals porous boundaries and much greater complexity than originally meets the eye [...]. Rather than imagine "Jews," "Christians," and "Muslims" working with or against one another, we need to examine specific, localized encounters that involve shared cultural vocabularies or semantics around which various subcultures within each of the so-called religions themselves. Some of these subcultures may well exhibit greater similarities with subcultures of the other two "religions" than they do with those we often think of as their own.[41]

Complicating things even more, artistic skills and techniques, materials and artifacts, forms and rituals circulated on their own pathways, crossing borders of faith, language and culture. Especially research on Jewish book art has dedicated much energy in conceptualizing extremely complex constellations of cross-religious hybridity: Jewish scribes who collaborated with Christian illuminators for Jewish patrons, haggadah manuscripts that came into the possession of Christian monks.[42] Other investigations have highlighted the mobility of "Eastern" artefacts such as Islamic silks and seals, Byzantine ivories and pagan cameos that traveled to Western Europe and were appropriated for Christian bookbindings (figs. 1.7, 1.10, 1.18).[43]

Chronologically, the focus of this volume is on the Middle Ages, comprising the time between 400 and 1500. The main reason for the choice of this timeframe is that it ensures a set of comparable material conditions of book production in the Christian, Jewish and Islamic cultures, the essential common feature being manuscripts of parchment or paper written and illuminated by hand. When typographic printing techniques spread through Western Europe, the materiality of books started to change dramatically. From the sixteenth century onwards, the diffusion of the printing press affected the production and the reception of religious books both in Jewish and Christian communities.[44] The impact of this change was even more noticeable in the areas of evolving Protestantism that aspired towards greater accessibility of the Bible in vernacular translations, whereas sacred scripture lost ritual significance in public worship.[45] Interestingly enough, there has been a strong resistance to typographic bookprint in Islamic cultures: in the Ottoman Empire, typographic reproduction was banned to Muslims until the 1720s. The production of printed copies of the Qur'an in Islamic countries began only in the nineteenth century.[46] Also for Jewish Torah scrolls, the use of printing

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39 Abulafia 2015, 121.

40 See the articles of Thomas Rainer and Maria Portmann in this volume.

41 Hughes 2012, 119.

42 See Kogman-Appel 2004; Shalev-Eyni 2010; Mann 2014; Stern/Markschies/Shalev-Eyni 2015 and the article of Sarit Shalev-Eyni in this volume. For instructive examples of shared practices and materials in Byzantine and Islamic cultures of the early Middle Ages, see Nelson 1988; Nelson 2005; Evans/Ratcliff (eds.) 2012.

43 See Wilckens 1990; Shalem 1996; Wittekind 2008; Ganz 2010; Toussaint 2012; Ganz 2015, 32–63.

44 For a recent overview, with selected references to the immense bibliography, see Finkelstein/McCleery 2013, 45–66. See also Pettegree 2010; Buskirk/Mareel (eds.) 2016.

45 See especially Shevchenko 2007, 66–91. For the impact of the Reformation on books and reading, see also Burkhardt 2002, 48–63; Sandl 2011, 65–130.

46 See Bloom 2001, 215–226; Albin 2005.

technology was considered inacceptable. All these later developments, which are beyond the historical scope of this volume, demonstrate once again the relevance of the materiality of holy books for religions.

2 The iconicity of holy books

Clothing sacred scripture may imply that books are displayed and looked at more than read, venerated more than understood. They gain the status of what one could call "iconic" objects. Recently, James Watts has emphasized how this iconic quality is constitutive for book religions. In his already cited article, *The Three Dimensions of Scripture*, he states that: "Scriptures *are* icons. They are not just texts to be interpreted and performed. They are material objects that convey religious significance by their production, display, and ritual manipulation. […] The iconic dimension of scriptures finds expression in the physical form, ritual manipulation, and artistic representation of scriptures."[47]

For the art historical perspective of this volume, it is crucial to reflect systematically on the difference between the object class of "icons" and the epithet "iconic." Saying that scriptures are icons—what I will call, for the sake of brevity, the "books are icons" posit—points to an analogy or identity between sacred books and cult images: pictorial representations that are venerated as media of presence of the sacred beings they depict.[48] In a seminal essay, the biblical scholar Karel van Toorn has insisted on "a functional analogy between the Babylonian cult of divine images, […] and the Israelite veneration of the Torah":[49]

> The sacred image and the holy book served the same function: they were each an embodiment of the sacred, and both were perceived as incarnations of God. Like the icon, the Book is both a medium and an object; as a medium, it refers the reader to a reality beyond itself, whilst as an object, it is sacred in itself. Presented as divine revelation, the cult symbol, be it an image or a book, tends to be perceived as being consubstantial with God.[50]

In a similar vein, the religious scholar Dorina Miller Parmenter has argued that Christian book rituals in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages shared important features with the cult of icons in contemporary Byzantium: the book of the Gospels was carried around in processions, raised above the head of the deacon, lit with candles and enveloped with incense, kissed by the clerics and hailed as son of God by the congregation.[51]

In the introduction to his study, van Toorn emphasizes the iconophobic or aniconic context in which the "icon" of the Torah was introduced as "a substitute image."[52] This important observation reveals a kind of common ground between religions that propagated opposing views on the use of sacred images. Yet on the other hand, if sacred books could be employed against sacred images, rejecting and condemning their veneration as idolatrous, and justifying their mutilation or destruction, a significant flaw of the "books are icons" posit comes to the fore: it means that ultimately, their common ground is not the sacred image but the sacred object. Historical evidence for a "books are different from icons" discourse is extremely rich and comprises the Jewish Decalogue, Islamic hadith that speak out on pictorial representations of sacred beings, as well as Christian iconoclastic discourses in Byzantium and in the Age of Reformation.[53] In other words, the "books are icons" posit ultimately oversimplifies complex situations in which books and icons usually constitute different object groups. The major insight that this argument is able to provoke is about cult practices and rituals: in some specific constellations sacred books were treated as if they were carriers of personal presence. This kind of handling is to be found in Jewish synagogues and Christian (Catholic) churches, but not in Islamic mosques or in Protestant places of worship.

Calling holy books "iconic" offers a much more compelling and fruitful if also less spectacular and provocative approach. To pursue this further, it seems useful to depart from Charles S. Peirce's well-known concept of iconic signs as differing from indexical and symbolic signs: "An icon is a representamen which refers to its object merely because it resembles, or is analogous to, that object. Such is a photograph, a figure in geometry, or an algebraical array of symbols […]. An icon is so independent of its object that it is immaterial if the latter exists or not."[54] Following Peirce, icons are potential signs that may be regarded as representations of something else by their similarity. At this level, all objects are potentially

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47 Watts 2006, 137, 142.
48 See Freedberg 1989, 27–40, 82–160; Belting 1990.
49 Toorn 1997, 230.
50 Ibid., 242.
51 See Parmenter 2006. For a detailed analysis of late antique and early medieval book liturgy in Latin Christianity, see Gussone 1995; Lentes 2005; Heinzer 2009; Reudenbach 2014.
52 Toorn 1997, 229. For similar conclusions from an art-historical perspective, see Kessler 2006.
53 See the references in note 95.
54 Peirce, *Definitions for Baldwin's Dictionary: Icon. MS 1147* [ca. 1901/1902] (eds. M. Bergman/S. Saavola 2014).

iconic objects, and therefore all books are potentially iconic books. To be effectively activated, books have to be transformed and performed in a way that more or less forces their users to look at them as iconic objects. This change will happen when books are more than containers of texts—or, in the Peircean diction more than carriers of symbolic signs. Books become "iconic" objects when they are endowed with visual forms that may be looked at as a resemblance of something else. When we interpret the topic of this volume in this way, "clothing" sacred scripture refers to practices that lead to a condensation of iconicity in holy books.

In view of traditional art-historical discourses, adopting the concept of iconicity marks a radical departure from the powerful paradigm of "illustration" which implies that artistic decoration of books has to be analyzed in terms of a visual translation of texts into pictures.[55] The underlying assumption is that these pictures offer a repetition or variation of what is already being said in the text. Iconicity is reduced to one option, while others are neglected or completely ignored. In the following, I want to highlight four alternative possibilities of sacred scripture's iconic dimension.

2.1 Books as spatial configurations

The famous Qur'an fragments from the Great Umayyad Mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ contain remnants of an opening with two facing representations of buildings (fig. 1.1).[56] Within an ornate frame, several rows of arches rise one above the other. What at first glance appear to be depictions of upright structures turn out to be ground plans of buildings that are divided into several naves, built around a central court, and preceded by staircases and doors. These architectures are certainly not meant as illustrations of buildings mentioned in the text. Most art historians have tended to interpret them as an allusion to contemporary mosque buildings. In fact, single elements such as lamps, columns, arches, and the central court have been shown to bear close similarities to the spectacular mosque buildings under construction during the Umayyad period.[57] On the other hand, as Finbarr Barry Flood argues, the position of these pictures in the book is meaningful. In the original state, their place was on the first pages of the manuscript. As Flood reminds us, this kind of architectural frontispiece finds close parallels in Jewish and Christian books. Therefore, it is plausible that these pictures had a double reference: they represent both the buildings where the Qur'an would have been recited and the sacred text as building whose threshold the reader is about to enter.

When depictions of architecture are placed on the first pages of sacred scripture, it is emphasized that books are spatially structured objects.[58] The relevance of this topological dimension became an issue in late Antiquity when two diverse book formats, roll and codex, competed with each other before the younger one eventually superseded its older rival.[59] As Bruno Reudenbach explains, the main difference between these configurations was their topological matrix:

> Therefore, the roll can be understood as a surface without articulation, which ideally is endless and whose material constitution does not provide any specifications for the use of this surface. The codex, quite differently, partitions the unstructured continuum of the roll and defines clearly enclosed units, the rectangular pages [...]. With the parceling in page units, and even more so with their arrangement in succession and in a row the codex gathers additionally a spatial dimension. Therefore one could say that the roll unfurls along a plane and the codex additionally in depth.[60]

As has been repeatedly pointed out in recent studies, this fundamental change in media history was driven by religious forces, especially by the rise of Christian communities that preferred the codex format from the very beginning [61] Yet to characterize this development as a mere substitution of one format by another would be far too simple, as a closer look reveals: when Christians started to produce their first books—between the first and the third century CE—codices were thin booklets, consisting of a small number of sheets and quires, that were used for occasional writings and not at all for literature.[62] Later on, when the codex was established as the official format for authoritative books, it had considerably grown into a

55 A classical example is Weitzmann 1970.
56 See Bothmer 1987. The sheets belong to a group of 25 folios from the same manuscript that have been detected in the *genizah* of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ. According to von Bothmer, the original codex measured 51 x 47 cm and comprised 520 folios. For recent discussions of the date and function of this Qur'an manuscript, see George 2010, 79–86; Déroche 2014, 107–116.
57 See Flood 2012 (b).
58 On this still rather unexplored topic, see Perelman 2007; Müller/Saurma-Jeltsch/Strohschneider (eds.) 2009; Ganz 2016.
59 See Roberts/Skeat 1985; Harris 1991; Blanck 1992; Winsbury 2009, 15–34.
60 Reudenbach 2009, 60–61.
61 See Resnick 1992; Skeat 1994; Gamble 1995; Hall 2004; Grafton/Williams 2006; Hurtado 2006; Klingshirn/Safran (eds.) 2007; Nicklas 2007; Seeliger 2012; Wallraff 2013.
62 See Wallraff 2013, 19.

Fig. 1.1: Frontispieces with architecture, Qur'an fragment, eigth century. Ṣanʿāʾ, Dār al-Makhtūṭaṭ al-Yamaniyya, IN 20-33.1.

huge, multi-quire structure. While the new format gained prominence in the Roman Empire, Jewish communities decided to keep the roll format for their writings, including the Sefer Torah. Yet also in this case, a modification of the structure took place: whereas the early Torah consisted of several smaller scrolls (*ḥomashim*), it was transformed into a "single monumental scroll" in the mid-third century, a huge and heavy "ritual object" made out of parchment.[63] Still some centuries later, Muslims adopted the by then common codex structure for copies of the Qur'an. During the Abbasid period, the *muṣḥaf* (the material copy of the Qur'an) was commonly produced in a particular oblong format that "had the advantage of creating an immediate visual distinction with books other than the Qur'an, including bibles and Arabic writings."[64] Probably at the same time, Jewish communities, who by then lived mostly under Islamic dominion, started using the (vertical) codex format for books other than the Torah, designating it as *miṣḥaf*, a word derived from the Arabic *muṣḥaf*.[65] At this point, all three religions disposed of books with distinct and well recognizable spatial structures that required specific ways of handling these objects.

On the other hand, the format question, which has attracted so much scholarly attention, is but one factor in the larger set of operations that clothing sacred scripture encompassed. In fact, it needs to be recalled that codices

63 See Stern 2017, 39–40.

64 George 2017, 123. See also Blair 2008; George 2010, 38–40 and 74–89; Flood 2012 (b).

65 See Stern 2017, 65–68; Liss 2017, 91–98.

Fig. 1.1: (Continued).

and scrolls continued to be employed for different purposes, sacred and profane, throughout late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Nor should the discussion of this issue induce a teleological perspective in media history: when we look at the development of the codex from a small number of sheets to thick, multi-quire volumes, we see a series of steps that comprehensively altered the topological potential of these objects.

Spatial structures in the book were always related to the architectural space of the synagogue, the church, the mosque. With regard to the large Qur'an manuscripts of the Umayyad period, Alain George explains that these books were deployed in mosques by Umayyad authorities, where they would be read and seen during the ritual, especially Thursday invocations (*du'a'*) and Friday prayer. For the rest of the week, they were stored in wooden coffins within the same mosque or taken to the palace [...] Once opened in front of worshippers, their size and layout would have made them stand as a physical embodiment of the divine Word, visible from afar in the prayer hall.[66]

In this framework, George concludes, "a multilayered relationship between Qur'ans and religious architecture can be discerned" which is especially striking in the case of the Ṣanʿāʾ Qur'an: "Building and manuscript seem to have been made to function in concert, mirroring and completing each other."[67]

In the Jewish synagogue, the place where the Torah scroll was stored constituted the very focus of the

66 George 2017, 119.
67 Ibid., 119.

congregation. Normally, the scroll was framed by multiple layers of enshrinement: the niche, the ark (*teivah/aron*), the curtain (*parokhet*), the case (*kufsa/tik*) or the mantle (*me'il*).[68] When the ark was opened for the liturgy, a procession took place that crossed the space of the synagogue and led to the platform of the *bimah* where the scroll was unfurled for reading.[69] Ruth Langer has shown how liturgical commentaries of the medieval Ashkenazi tradition tended to connect "the ritual space of the synagogue, the contemporary place of proclamation, with the historical proclamations of Sinai and Zion."[70] In manifold ways, the spatial iconicity of the Torah could be marked by architectural representations, for example by microarchitectures on the Torah finials (*rimmonim*) and a tower-like appearance of the ark.[71]

Complementary to that, sacred scripture was thought to mediate between the outer space of the book and the inner space of the believer's soul. "Edification" is the appropriate keyword for an imaginary building process that should transform the inner self into a space that facilitated access to the divine.[72] Doorways, arches, windows or entire facades were elements that should help readers to mentally construct and to move along imaginary topographies of the text.

2.2 Books as revelational apparatus

Clothing sacred scripture transformed books into iconic objects that visualized the spatiality of revelation. If we are right in assuming that the distinction between transcendence and immanence is an important peculiarity of book religions then we should expect that artistic endeavors of clothing were directed on locating books at the threshold between those spheres, qualifying them as media of revelation.

The complex and paradoxical topology of the threshold is now the subject of a vast literature.[73] With regard to books, the most influential model is Gérard Genette's typology of the paratext where the French literary historian classifies elements such as title-pages, tables of contents, fore- and afterwords that somehow interfere in the communication between books and their users.[74] Despite its now classic status in literary, book, film and manuscript studies it is important to emphasize that Genette's typology is tailored to commercial and industrialized book production in Modernity. When older book-cultures, and especially manuscripts, are examined, it needs to be thoroughly reformulated.[75] Still more importantly, when it comes to the very special case of sacred scripture, a double threshold should be taken into consideration: the Genettian threshold between the books and the world of their users, and the threshold between books and the transcendent sphere.

Clothing sacred scripture amplifies the spatiality of the material book, linking it to the inaccessible, immaterial and invisible realm of the divine. Comparing Jewish, Christian and Islamic examples, we can identify common areas for highlighting these thresholds: on the one hand, the exterior of books, their encasement, envelope, cover or binding; on the other, the beginning of texts or chapters inside the manuscripts and the border area on single pages. With regard to book-beginnings, there are important points in common between the Ṣanʿāʾ Qur'an opening (fig. 1.1), the architectural framework of canon tables in the first section of Christian Gospel books (fig. 1.2),[76] and pictures reminiscent of the facades of sacred buildings that introduce the single books of the Pentateuch in Hebrew Bible manuscripts (fig. 1.3).[77] As these examples show us, it is due to artistic interventions that books, be it scrolls or codices, can be experienced as media of revelation when they are unclosed, unfurled, opened, paged through, folded and shut.[78]

Discourse about revelation has a strong tendency to describe this process in terms of sensory experience. "Revelation" itself is ultimately a visual metaphor based on the idea of veils or curtains that are pushed aside. Other notions of this concept may evoke images of descent and inspiration as Angelika Neuwirth has highlighted for the terminology of the Qur'an,[79] or a secret communication in

68 For the early typology of Torah shrines and Torah arks, see Meyers 1997; Hachlili 2000; Rodov 2010; Yaniv 2017, 5–20. For Torah cases, see Yaniv 1997; Yaniv 2002, and Thomas Rainer's article in this volume.

69 For the liturgy of the Torah, see Langer 1998; Langer 2005; Stern 2017, 44–48. For an analysis of similar aspects in the liturgy of the Gospel book, see Heinzer 2009, and Vladimir Ivanovici's article in this volume.

70 Langer 2005, 130.

71 For the book as house, see Lipis 2011, 116–125.

72 See Caldwell 1991; Whitehead 1998; Harris 2002.

73 The most influential points of departure remain Gennep [1909] 1990 and Turner 1969. For recent contributions, see Endres/Wittmann/Wolf (eds.) 2005; Mukherji (ed.) 2011; Achilles/Borgards/Burrichter (eds.) 2012; Bawden 2014; Jacobs 2017.

74 See Genette [1987] 1997.

75 See for example Smith/Wilson (eds.) 2011; Ciotti/Lin (eds.) 2016.

76 See Laffitte/Denoël/Besseyre (eds.) 2007, 203–204, no. 55a. For canon tables in general, see Nordenfalk 1938; Reudenbach 2009; Ganz 2016, 72–75.

77 See Tahan 2007, 43–45.

78 See Schneider 2002; Hamburger 2009; Ganz 2016; and Rostislav Tumanov's article in this volume.

79 See Neuwirth 2015, 223–227.

visions and dreams.[80] In any case, these are processes that go beyond the letters in a book. While books containing sacred scripture are the ultimate medium of revelation, the written text should not be taken for the revealed truth itself. Hermeneutical models teach that readers have to proceed beyond the written letter. Iconic elements may be used to visualize this potential of books as media capable of producing revelational elements.

In the First Bible of Charles the Bald, made in mid-ninth century Tours, a huge frontispiece precedes the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation of John (fig. 1.4).[81] And revelation is indeed the very topic of this original composition; in the upper part of the picture, the Apocalyptic Lamb and the Lion from Juda approach the Book with the Seven Seals whose appearance is described in Revelation 5. The book is set on a giant throne built of gold and silver which is clad with a cloth of red silk. This powerful image of revelation through a book is elucidated by a second scene in the lower register that shows the removal of a white fabric from the sitting figure of an aged, bearded man. While the man, who is to be identified as Moses, tries to hold back the cloth that covered him, the three winged animals that represent the evangelists Mark, Luke and John, pull at the textile with their teeth and claws. The fourth member of the group, Matthew's angel, is trumpeting in the man's mouth. The same beings return in the upper picture, displaying four opened Gospels. For any reader there is strong evidence to understand the two scenes as a pictorial model of divine revelation: a process that unfolds the hidden and mute truth of the Old Testament in the New Testament, and therefore connects both parts of Christian sacred scripture as they are combined in this manuscript.

Looking beyond such specific iconographies of revelational subjects, one could argue that the large group of book images that are commonly identified as "illustrations" ultimately serves the purpose of emphasizing the revelational nature of sacred scripture. A promising way to reassess a large corpus of mainly narrative book illuminations may be followed when these pictures are treated less as a visual reduplication of content already available in the text than as an invitation to experience the revelational function of holy books.[82] Impressive examples for this can be found in illuminated *maḥzorim*, Jewish prayer books for special Sabbaths and Festivals that were initially intended for the use of the cantor in the synagogue and later changed into books for the private use of single worshippers. Let us have a brief look at one of the most beautiful of these smaller editions, the Tripartite Maḥzor which was produced in Konstanz around 1322 (fig. 1.5).[83] The beginning of the prayers for Shavuot (Festival of the Revelation on Sinai and of the Giving of the Law) is marked by a huge panel that overlays the word *adon* (the Lord), written in huge golden letters, with a picture that shows Moses kneeling on Mount Sinai and receiving the Tablets of the Law while his brother Aaron and the Israelites wait for him and pray. Like the Apocalypse frontispiece, this is also a scene of revelation (according to Jewish tradition, Moses received not only the Tablets of the Law but also the Torah when he ascended Mount Sinai) but at the same time there is a complex interplay between text and image that visualizes that the words of the prayer have a potential that goes beyond the written text; the letters point to the Tablet of the Law and are activated by the six trumpets that sound from heaven. At the same time, they get enlaced by the tendrils of two trees that grow between the two groups of men and women, collectives that prefigure the worshippers in the synagogue while the prayer is recited.

2.3 Books as sacred bodies

While spatiality and revelation belong to a common ground for book art of all Abrahamic religions, artistic decoration that evokes an anthropomorphic body constitutes the other, much more controversial end of the spectrum. Especially in Christian contexts books for ritual use could be clothed in quite a literal sense and be enveloped in corporeal representations of God. On Western covers of Gospel books this is the predominant option.[84] Since late Antiquity, treasure bindings presented Christ in sculptural, three-dimensional forms as the celestial ruler of the world, sitting on a throne, as if his body were emanating from the book (fig. 1.6).[85] In Carolingian times, artists started to depict Christ hanging on the cross, often accompanied by his mother and his disciple, John the Evangelist (fig. 1.7).[86] The representation of Christ's naked

80 See Ganz 2008; and Vera Beyer's article in this volume.

81 See Ganz/Ganz 2016, 28–35.

82 See Hamburger 2009; Krause/Schellewald (eds.) 2011.

83 See Shalev-Eyni 2010, 43–51. For the codicological data and a reconstruction of the original shape in two volumes, see ibid., 191–196.

84 See Ganz 2015, especially 64–105. See also Steenbock 1965; Lowden 2007; Toussaint 2013; Ganz 2014; Ganz 2017 (a).

85 Pair of book covers in gold repoussé, gemstones, pearls on wood, original samite silk on the spine. For a contemporary illuminated Gospel book. See Laffitte/Taburet-Delahaye 2001.

86 Pair of book covers; front cover: gilt silver, gemstones, antique cameo, engraved silver, enamel on wood; back cover: engraved silver on wood; green velvet on the spine. The cover was commissioned by

Fig. 1.2: Opening with canon tables of the first canon, Gospels from Metz, ca. 840/850. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9383, fol. 2v–3r.

Fig. 1.2: (Continued).

Fig. 1.3: Initial page of Deuteronomium, Pentateuch, early fourteenth century. London, British Library, Add. 15282, fol. 238r.

Fig. 1.4: Apocalypse frontispiece, First Bible of Charles the Bald, 845/846. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1, fol. 415r.

body visualized the sacramental potential of the Gospel book which remembers Christ's salvific death in the same words that the priest would use during the consecration of bread and wine. The sculptural artworks on the covers deliberately provoke a kind of short-circuit between the incarnation of the divine Word in human flesh and the inlibration of the divine Word in the material book.[87]

While there can be no doubt that such straightforward strategies of anthropomorphic iconicity were intimately linked to specific Christian concepts of inlibration, it should be emphasized that there were considerable margins for iconic embodiment on and around holy books in Jewish as well as in Islamic communities. In particular, Jewish cult

abbot Johannes III Simmerl, for an illuminated Gospel book made in 1030/1040. See Klemm 2004, 158–161. For crucifixion imagery on book covers, see Ganz 2015, 106–155.

87 In her article in this book, Gia Toussaint discusses treasure bindings with relics that enhance this strategy of embodiment.

Fig. 1.5: Revelation at Sinai and giving of the Law, initial word panel for the first day of Shavuot, Tripartite Maḥzor, ca. 1322. London, British Library, Add. 22413, fol. 3r.

Fig. 1.6: Christ and the four evangelists, back cover, Third Gospels of the Sainte-Chapelle, ca. 1260/1270. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17326.

practice fashioned a personal, bodily identity for the Torah that was enhanced through book ornaments. Sarit Shalev-Eyni has drawn our attention to an Italian illumination in a manuscript with Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* that connects the word *ahavah* (Love) with the depiction of a man embracing a Torah scroll enveloped in a textile cloth (fig. 1.8).[88] While this depiction may allude to the Christian iconography of Mary holding the infant Christ, as Shalev-Eyni points out, the Jewish liturgical practice of putting the huge roll with the five books of Moses in a mantle and decorate it with a crown (*'atarah/keter*), must have evoked the appearance of a king or a queen.[89] Later on, the finials and the breastplate (*tass/ẓiẓ*) added to that noble picture.[90]

88 See Shalev-Eyni 2008, 142.

89 For a female gendering of the Torah as queen and bride, see Wolfson 1995, 1–28 (Female Imaging of the Torah. From Literary Metaphor to Religious Symbol).

90 For an overview, see Landsberger 1952/1953; Gutmann 1983, 5–11; Yaniv 2007; Stern 2017, 48–55. See also Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1982 (Torah binder/*avneit*); Cohen 2001 (Torah mantle/*me'il*); Feuchtwanger-Sarig 2004 (Torah pointer/*yad*); Gelfer-Jørgensen 2004 (Torah finials/*rimmonim*). Medieval Torah ornaments have been almost completely destroyed, for a discussion of objects before 1600, see Mann 1996.

Fig. 1.7: Crucifixion, front cover, Gospels from Niederaltaich, 1496. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9476.

Fig. 1.8: Man holding the Torah scroll, initial word panel for Ahava, Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, first half of the fourteenth century (text), late fourteenth century (illumination). Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms 4° 1193, fol. 32r.

Generally speaking, the construction of an iconic body for scripture and the assimilation of the book to a living person are efficient means to put emphasis on the efficacy of inlibration: in and through the book, the godhead himself speaks to the believers.[91] In terms of media history, this concept goes back to the widespread idea of writing as an extension of a speaking body who is captured in the graphical signs of the letters.[92] This means that the performative act of reciting scripture is seen as shared agency by which the iconic body of the book and the human body of the lector collaborate with the transcendent godhead. Departing from this constellation, holy books may develop an agency of their own and ultimately assume traits of a fetish or a talisman that have the power to act without actually being activated through a lector.[93]

Besides recitation, the performance of holy books comprised other activities that evoked the interaction with a sacred being: in prescriptions for the handling of the Qur'an, a personal dimension of sacred scripture becomes manifest. In early Islam, concerns about the purity or impurity of persons who touched the Qur'an were a matter of intense discussion. They show that tactile contact with the *muṣḥaf* was considered more problematic than the oral recitation of Qur'anic verses.[94] Similar apprehensions about physical contact with the book inform Jewish regulation of how the Sefer Torah should be handled during the liturgy; these are condensed in the famous saying: "He who touches a naked Sefer Torah will be buried naked."[95] And burial was indeed an issue for the Sefer Torah itself: worn and damaged copies of the sacred text needed to be deposited in hidden places attached to synagogues known as *genizot*. Once these chambers had filled up, their contents had to be buried in the earth.[96] Similar practices of book disposal were known in medieval Islamic cultures, but with a broader spectrum of options; in addition to the storage of worn books in locked chambers and interment, "incineration, sinking in a body of water, washing and erasing, cutting, enveloping and intercalating in book bindings" were used.[97] As Finbarr Barry Flood points out, these practices "may reflect tensions between the theological invulnerability of scripture as the word of God and its vulnerability as an artifact subject to wear."[98]

2.4 Idolophobia and self-reference

In any case, the transformation of books into "iconic objects" is a complex process. This is also due to the fact that only within the framework of book religions could the use of images be condemned, their fault being the multiplication and therefore falsification of the one and only God's true nature.[99] That the establishment of monotheism and the emergence of book religions created potential for a vehement critique of idolatry, as has been repeatedly stated, seems essentially plausible.[100] As is well known, Jewish and Islamic communities banned figurative idols from their places of worship. In Jewish and Islamic contexts, the idea that sacred scripture should take the place formerly occupied by idols had an absolute priority. This also meant that no Torah scroll and no copy of the Qur'an could be made that included depictions of human bodies, since they would have produced new idols. Only in other sacred books that did not belong to the "core" of divine revelation were anthropomorphic pictures admitted. In sharp contrast to this attitude, Christians cultivated the idea of Christ's flesh as having taken the place of Jewish sacred scripture.[101] This concept left wide margins for negotiating the relation between different media—sacred scripture, the altar sacrament and images—in flexible constellations. Generally, the idea of a certain convertibility among these media, and especially between text and image prevailed, as for example expressed in the letters of Gregory the Great to bishop Serenus of Marseille in 599/600.[102] That notwithstanding, idolophobia was certainly a familiar issue in medieval Christianity.[103] A good indicator of these sensibilities is the special treatment that liturgical Gospel books received in artistic decoration: in many cases, the texts that preserved Jesus' life have less images than illuminated books in general.[104] And in specific circumstances—the era of

91 For the identification of the Torah with Yahweh, see Wolfson 2005; Tigay 2013.
92 See Derrida [1967] 1976, 6–26; Camille 1985; Müller 1988; Wenzel 1995, 204–225.
93 See Sabar 2009 (Torah); Schreiner 2000 (Christian books); Flood 2014, 475–481 (Qur'an).
94 See Zadeh 2009; Svensson 2010.
95 Rothkoff/Rabinowitz 2007, 243. See Milikowsky 2000.
96 See Beit-Arié 1996; Habermann 2007; Schleicher 2010. In the Middle Ages, these practices were extended to all written documents bearing Hebrew letters: it was script and not the text that made them sacred.
97 Cohen 2006, 136. See also Sadan 1986.
98 Flood 2012 (b), 291, note 21.
99 For the idolatry discourse in Islamic cultures, see Naef 2007; Elias 2013. For the debate in Byzantium, see Barber 2002; McClanan (ed.) 2005; Brubaker 2012; Elsner 2012.
100 See for example, Assmann 2006.
101 See Assmann 2013, 25–36.
102 See Chazelle 1990; Brown 1999. For the discourse on this topic in Byzantium, see Lange 1969.
103 See Hoeps (ed.) 2007.
104 This applies to early medieval Gospel books, as highlighted by Saurma-Jeltsch 1997.

iconoclasm in Byzantium, the early Carolingian Empire, and the reformist movements led by Zwingli and Calvin—in which the idolophobic stance prevailed, we encounter a discourse that insisted on the fundamental difference between text and image and therefore also between holy images and holy books. Sacred scripture, as Theodulf of Orléans wrote shortly before 800 in the *Libri Carolini*, cannot be compared to sacred images, since it is the sole medium of revelation that God has authorized, and the only one that is trustworthy in teaching doctrine and reliable in transmitting the documents of eternal life.[105]

To sum up, the iconicity of sacred scripture is always an ambivalent and sometimes a controversial issue. In any case, proscription of sacred pictures would not have the effect of transforming sacred books into "aniconic" objects as it often has been stated—on the contrary, the absence of images in books as well as on other sacred objects or in buildings produced an extremely strong iconic effect.

In addition to that, figurative images in and on holy books often comprise self-referential elements that put the very mediality of the book in the foreground. On the shimmering surface of an early eighteenth century Torah mantle now in London, we find an embroidered image—an elaborate Torah ark with a pair of twisted columns, a curved gable with the inscription "Crown of the Law" carrying a huge crown (fig. 1.9).[106] Behind the semi-open doors of the ark, another Torah scroll is visible, vested with its own mantle. Hence, a *mise en abyme* takes place by which the mantle points to itself and thereby counters idolatric or fetishistic perceptions of the Torah. This is by no means a postmedieval feature: on one of the Gospel books donated by Saint Louis for the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, Christ is depicted holding a codex on his lap (fig. 1.6). As companion to the celestial ruler, this book represents a celestial scripture in which two texts mingle, the Book of Life and the Gospels. In the corners of the cover, we see the human authors of the Gospels at work, meditating, writing, cleaning their utensils, and thereby producing four slightly differing translations of the divine book presented by Christ. Interestingly enough, Christ is framed by two identical altars on which the opened Tablets of the Law and the veiled chalice of the Eucharist have been placed. Jewish Law and Christian Sacrament,

Fig. 1.9: Silken Torah mantle with embroidered applications, 1720/1725. London, Jewish Museum, inv. no. 62.

the cover suggests, share the same origin in the divine Logos, but differ in their power to transform into something that transcends scripture.

Instead of a building or a body, clothing sacred scripture can represent just books. Despite their different religious and historical contexts, representations of books (and authors) on or inside books that we encounter in Jewish, Christian and Islamic book art produce one and the same basic effect: they establish an iconic self-reference by which the real book points to itself and gets at the same time linked to other, imaginary books.[107] In other words, what we notice here is a kind of self-referentiality that belongs to the prehistory of phenomenons that art history has considered for a long time a signature of modern or early modern self-consciousness.[108] What the abundant "bookish" imagery in religious book art

105 *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, II.30 (ed. Freeman/Meyvaert 1998, 303–322), 303–322. See Freeman 1994; Kendrick 1999, 36–45.
106 Barnett (ed.) 1974, 18 (no. 62). The mantle comes from the Hambro' Synagogue in London.
107 See Ganz 2015, 158–223.
108 Rosen 2003; Rimmele 2007. See Stoichita [1993] 1997; Krüger 2001.

can teach us is that self-referentiality has a long history in which religious concerns about immanence and transcendence play a predominant role.

Nor do we need to look for this aspect of books' iconicity only in the realm of figurative *mise en abyme*. The iconicity of writing (*Schriftbildlichkeit*) could be exposed in many possible ways.[109] Script in scripture is never simple writing but always for display—an effect that is produced by the selection of particular writing materials, particular styles of shaping the letters, and by a special handling of threshold elements such as the beginnings of books or chapters, initials, and ends of paragraphs.

3 The ornamentality of holy books

Complementary to iconicity, a second approach to "clothing sacred scripture" consists of exploring the intimate connection between "holy books" and "ornament." In fact, the first ideas that come up when we are confronted with the materiality of medieval book religions are probably glowing surfaces, colored pages, precious textiles and beautifully formed letters, objects such as the spectacular initials of early medieval Insular Gospel Books, the micrographic interlace of Hebrew Bibles or carpet pages in Qur'an manuscripts, to mention only some of the most salient examples. To explore this aspect further, we have to address some fundamental misunderstandings and shortcomings in modern discussions of book ornament. Despite important critical interventions, "ornament" is still widely treated as a rather peripheral category that only adds to but changes nothing in the essence of artworks and texts.[110] Even worse, ornament is often judged as the opposite of the image, and therefore especially appropriate for book art in "aniconic" cultures.[111]

The contributions to this volume supply rich evidence that the iconic and the ornamental should be considered more as two complementary perspectives on the same phenomena: if the iconic dimension is more about how holy books are experienced and what they represent, the ornamental dimension is mainly about how holy books are transformed and what they do. Ornament is always related to something it embellishes, it presupposes an action of decoration that is executed on or around objects and persons. This relational nature is still present in Gottfried Semper's theory of ornamental forms generated by textile techniques while it is rather obfuscated in later literature that conceptualized ornament as a formal structure of repeated patterns.[112] In the following, instead of sticking to a narrow concept of compositions of detachable motifs, I will argue for a broader understanding that goes beyond the phenomena commonly addressed as ornament and approximates what Jean-Claude Bonne has aptly called the "ornamentalisation of art."[113]

The essential point about this relational approach is to respect the object that ornament decorates. Following Jonathan Hay, a specialist of Chinese Art, we can conceptualize book ornament as a "surfacescape" that is articulated according to the spatial structure of the book: it may form envelopes, cases and other types of enshrinement, it may accentuate openings through symmetrical arrangement of carpet pages, it may frame text blocks, fill empty areas of the page or be attached to specific letters of the written text.[114] In many instances, several of these devices will be combined in order to create a multilayered decoration that comprises and articulates the entire space of the book. Which areas and elements of the book receive ornamentation tells us a great deal about the concepts behind them.

109 For theoretical models of *Schriftbildlichkeit* see Krämer 2003. For the iconotext, see Wagner 1996 and Horstkotte/Leonhard (eds.) 2006. For the iconicity of the page, see Bornstein/Tinkle (eds.) 1998. For some historical case studies that overlap with the topic of this volume, see Kendrick 1999; Cutler 2004; O'Driscoll 2011; Tilghman 2011.
110 Criticism of this marginalisation of ornament goes back several decades, with most of the interventions coming from fields of Islamic and East Asian Art History. See Grabar 1992, 9–46; Necipoğlu 1995, 61–87; Hay 2010, 61–89. For Western medieval art, see also the series of fundamental contributions by Jean-Claude Bonne, for example Bonne 1996; Bonne 1999; Bonne 2000.
111 For a detailed discussion of this point, see Finbarr Barry Flood's article in this volume. Among the most important recent contributions are Ceccarini et al. (eds.) 2000; Beyer/Spies (eds.) 2012; Dekoninck/Heering/Lefftz (eds.) 2013; Tietenberg (ed.) 2015; Necipoğlu/Payne (eds.) 2016.

112 See Semper 1860. For recent reevaluations of Semper's approach, see Papapetros 2010; Payne 2010, 25–64; Schneider 2012.
113 Bonne 1996, 209. In the terminology proposed by Jonathan Hay, this would be "decoration" from which "ornament" represents a smaller subset, see Hay 2010, 68–77. Beyer and Spies propose a distinction between "ornament" and "ornamental," using the latter as overlapping term with iconic, see Beyer/Spies 2012.
114 "A topography of sensuous surface—a surfacescape is the principal feature shared by two-dimensional and three-dimensional decorative objects. Moreover, important as volume, mass and trajectory are in our transactions with the latter, we get to know their object-bodies simultaneously through their surfacescapes, for directed attention to individual artefacts is unable to separate the object's shape and materiality from visible surface." Hay 2010, 67.

3.1 Clothing

A strong anthropological paradigm for this relational activity is the act of clothing a body that Barbara Schellewald and I have chosen as the guiding metaphor for this volume. What is interesting about the metaphor of clothing is the power of transformation that it elucidates.[115] Clothing conveys social identity by transforming the surface of bodies. It confers the power to act in a given social role. This also implies that clothing creates distance: it prevents direct contact and protects its wearer. Clothing has the power to transfigure bodies and to transport them into a symbolic place.

It is this power of transformation and transport that real clothing shares with the metaphorical clothing of ornament. When holy books are clad with color, ivory, gold, silver, gemstones, fine leather or fabrics, their elevated place in the "society" of writings and other objects is made visible. With regard to the special category of holiness, one could say that the transport effectuated by clothing books in ornament brings the categories of *sacer* and *sanctus* into play: in specific ritual contexts, the sacredness of scripture can only be perceived through the sanctification with ornaments. Coming back to Walter Benjamin's famous formula, it could be argued that clothing generates the "aura" for scripture, and therefore "the unique phenomenon of a distance however close it may be."[116]

Complementary to creating aura and distance, dressing with ornaments enables physical contact with the very medium of the divine sphere. The lavish mantles of miraculous Madonna statues in the Catholic world are an impressive example of the widespread belief in this ability.[117] Similarly, clothing holy books can be considered an effective way to get in physical contact with these objects without actually touching them. This aspect is already present in Yahweh's directives to collect materials from the Israelites for the construction of the ark. Late heirs to this tradition are early modern Torah binders (*avneit*) made from the cloth on which a circumcision had taken place, rectangular pieces of linen that were cut into a long strip and decorated as a girdle for the Torah scroll.[118] This "cut that binds," as Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett nicely put it, is an illuminative example for the particular power that was frequently assigned to textiles through acts of donation in order to establish human contact with the divine word. Precious cloth was not only required for tailoring Torah mantles (fig. 1.9), it was often used for enveloping Western and Byzantine Christian Gospel books (fig. 1.10), and for wrapping manuscripts of the Qur'an.[119] In Western Europe, pieces of silk could be placed inside holy books, for example on the inner cover, or as curtains to protect illuminations and decorated initials, as we have seen in the miracle tale about Queen Margaret's Gospels.[120] Furthermore, in Hebrew, Christian and Islamic manuscripts we encounter spectacular "carpet pages" that have been interpreted as pictorial representations of—or at least as painted equivalent to—figured fabrics (figs. 1.11–1.13).[121] All these examples show a common preference for

Fig. 1.10: Red Byzantine silk with bird motifs, second half of the tenth century, reused as binding for the Seeon Pericopes, before 1012. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95.

115 For an overview, see Schneider 2006 and Dudley 2011. For clothing as metaphor, see Peterson 1934; Hollander 1978; Gordon 2001; Frank et al. 2002; Burns (ed.) 2004; Woodward 2005; Rudy/Baert (eds.) 2007; Ganz/Rimmele (eds.) 2012.

116 Benjamin [1939] 2008.

117 A well-documented example is the Madonna of Einsiedeln in Eastern Switzerland, a statue whose cult goes back to the late Middle Ages; this statue has a huge wardrobe of dresses that are changed throughout the year, see Zenoni 2015.

118 See Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1982.

119 See Wilckens 1990; Coron/Lefèvre (eds.) 1995; Ganz 2015, 32–63; and Robert S. Nelson's article in this volume.

120 Sciacca 2007.

121 For carpet pages in early and high medieval Western manuscripts, see Bücheler 2015; Bücheler 2018; and Anna Bücheler's decorating books with materials that were used for tailoring real garments. In this context, it is important to remember that clothing sacred scripture was also a means of connecting holy books to the vestments of the persons that handled them during the ritual. Small and miniature books were produced to be worn attached to the body and therefore became part of the attire of their owners.[122]

3.2 Writing

Trying to grasp ornaments of sacred scripture without getting back to the limited notion of pattern, the importance of traces needs to be emphasized. To perceive a carpet page, an initial, a figurative miniature or a treasure binding as ornamental, means to focus on marks of the labor that has been invested in embellishing the book. Looking at these artworks as ornament implies that we imagine the immense effort of drawing lines, coloring areas, weaving threads, chiseling gold and silver foil. To put it again in Peircean terms, it can be argued that the ornamental dimension is constituted by the "indexicality" of surfacescapes: visible and tangible traces of manual processes that require careful selection of materials, skillful handling of working tools and an overall rule of proceeding.[123] Obviously, the ornamental index is not related to spontaneous, individual gestures but to controlled movement according to a definite scheme. In the end, the effort of ornament becomes an efficient testimony of the reverence for the sacred object it decorates, of an attitude of devotion that inspires awe and admiration.

The most obvious example of this aspect in the realm of book-art is the transformation of simple handwriting into elaborate calligraphy. Again, there is no need to use the term in a strictly technical manner and to confine its use to specific book cultures to the exclusion of others.[124] Calligraphy in a broader sense belongs to the sober surface of Jewish Torah scrolls (fig. 1.14), the overwhelming elegance of Islamic Qur'an manuscripts (fig. 1.15) and to the more pragmatic approach to writing in Christian liturgical books (fig. 1.13).[125] In any case, highlighting the ornamentality of the writing process makes us understand that there is no strict disjuncture between book and book-ornament: the very process of clothing sacred scripture starts with the production of the books themselves. The labor of the scribes merged with the labor of other artisans. Both groups used their tools and materials in ways that should add particular beauty to the appearance of sacred scripture.

Another reason for looking at script as ornament is a common anxiety for appropriate pronunciation of the sacred text, since the books for ritual use that we are considering here, are always related to practices of public recitation. As systems of notation for oral performance, Hebrew and Arabic script differ considerably from Greek and Latin: while the first two are abjads (or consonantal alphabets) based on the notation of consonants only, Greek and Latin are complete phonetic alphabets that comprise graphems for vowels. As a consequence, diacritical marks are a bigger issue for the rules of writing Qur'ans and Hebrew Bibles than for Christian liturgical manuscripts: the use of vocalization marks is strictly forbidden in the Torah scroll while it is a prominent visual feature in Qur'an and Jewish Bible manuscripts.[126]

Among the most interesting objects in this respect are Jewish Masoretic Bibles that not only contain vocalization marks (*niqud*) and cantillation notes (*te'amim*) but also a huge apparatus of annotations written in micrographic letters (the Masorah) that discuss linguistic properties of the biblical texts and some differences between the written and the spoken words.[127] Initially, the Masorah constituted a metatext that was added to ensure a tradition of correct writing and reading. Yet in the tradition of the *Masorah figurata*, the text of the masoretic annotations is transformed into patterns and images. Sometimes they frame the initial word of a new book, which is set on the page in monumental square script, sometimes

article in this volume. For the particular history of ornamental compositions in Byzantine illumination, see Nelson 1988.

122 See the article of Romina Ebenhöch und Silke Tammen in this volume.

123 "Indices are signs which stand for their objects in consequence of a real relation to them. An index is a sign which stands for its object in consequence of having a real relation to it. A pointing finger is its type. Of this sort are all natural signs and physical symptoms. [...] The index asserts nothing; it only says 'There!' It takes hold of our eyes, as it were, and forcibly directs them to a particular object, and there it stops." Peirce, *An Elementary Account of the Logic of Relatives: Index. MS 537; MS 585* [1886] (eds. M. Bergman/S. Saavola 2014).

124 This is one major weakness of Grabar's chapter "The Intermediary of Writing" that shows a strong bias against Western manuscript cultures: "It is in fact difficult to assess the nature, in reality even the existence, of artistic Writing in western medieval art." (Grabar 1992, 53).

125 See Stern 2017, 27–39; George 2010; Cherubini/Pratesi 2010.

126 In the liturgical use of Christian books, graphemes visualize the *ornatus* of cantillation, such as punctuation, early medieval neumes or later mensural notation. See Haug 2015 and the articles of David Ganz and Bruno Reudenbach in this book.

127 See Stern 2017, 68–78.

Fig. 1.11: Carpet page and incipit of Matthew, Lindisfarne Gospels, ca. 715–720. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.iv, fol. 26v–27r.

they encircle the entire block of the main text (fig. 1.16), and occasionally they transform into marginal elements such as dragons or plants.[128] That the *Masorah figurata* was actually read seems almost improbable if one considers the continuous movement of the codex or the reader that this task would have required.[129] This means that the Masorah lost its functionality as readable text and gained new power as ornamental text.

3.3 Material splendor and the critique of book ornament

In the story from Exodus, which I cited in the introduction of this text, the material for the container that will enshrine the Tablets is wood that is covered with a golden surface. Looking at the later history, God's command to Moses sets the tone for the ornament of sacred scripture. Throughout the Middle Ages, the "gold standard" of shimmering surfaces in precious metals or other sumptuous substances has had an enormous influence on the practice of book decoration: there was no element that could not be revetted

128 See Fronda 2013; Halperin 2013, 5–21, 149–252; Weber 2015.
129 See Weber 2015, 17.

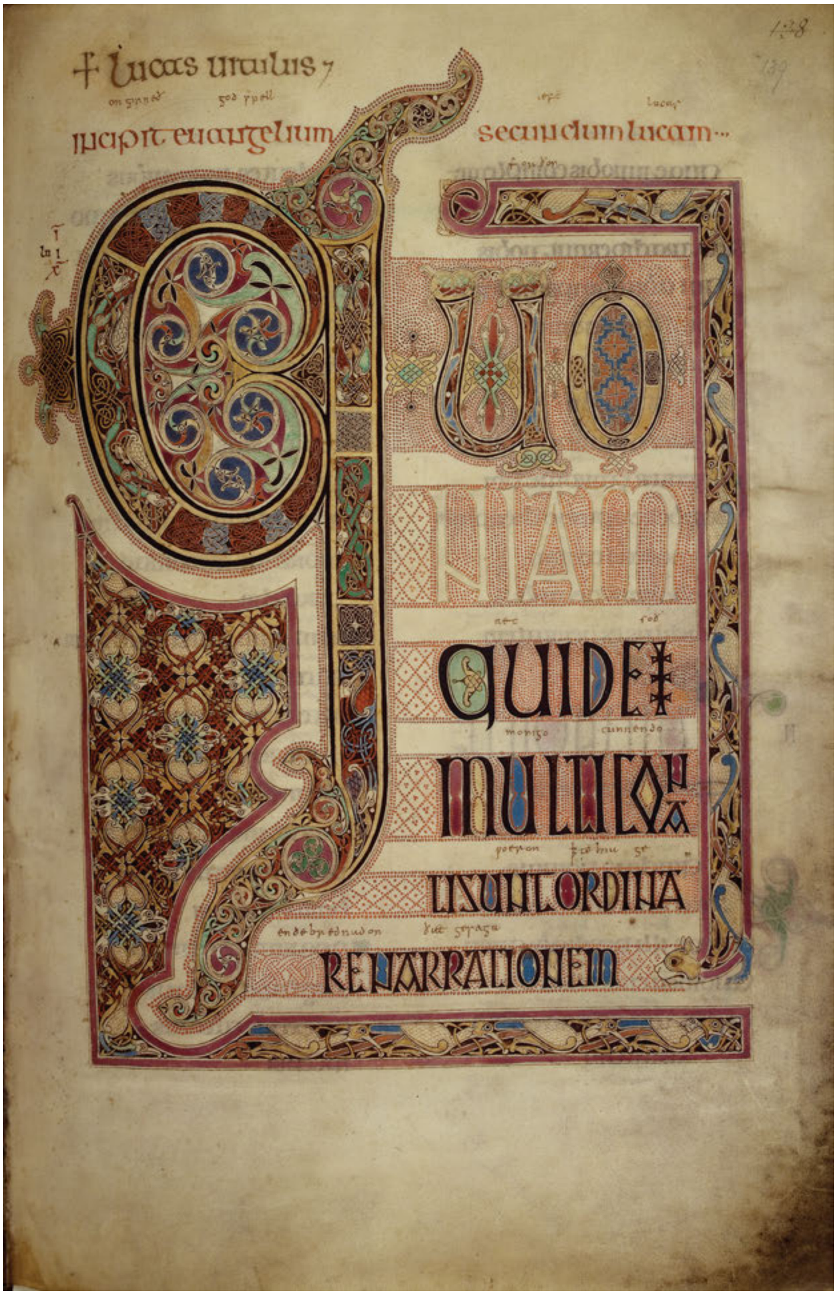

Fig. 1.11: (Continued).

with gold, silver, ivory, purple, gemstones, silk etc. At first glance, there seems to be nothing book-specific about these choices, since the same materials play a dominant role in all object categories for sacred rituals, and therefore also in contexts outside of book-religions.[130] This view seems to be corroborated by the fact that richly ornamented copies of sacred scripture could be stored in treasure houses rather than in bookshelves or libraries, in the guise of the collection of objects that were made for the Tent of the Covenant.[131] Yet a closer look at the Sinai story reveals a more differentiated concept that is based on the combination of gold with specific writing materials, in this case stone. Why stone and not gold? The contrast between stone and gold in the Sinai story points to an implicit tension between the idea of divine writing and the practice of precious and splendid objects, a tension that becomes even more palpable

130 See Janes 1998.

131 See Palazzo 1996; Braun-Niehr 2010; Ganz 2015, 225–341; Ganz 2018 (forthcoming).

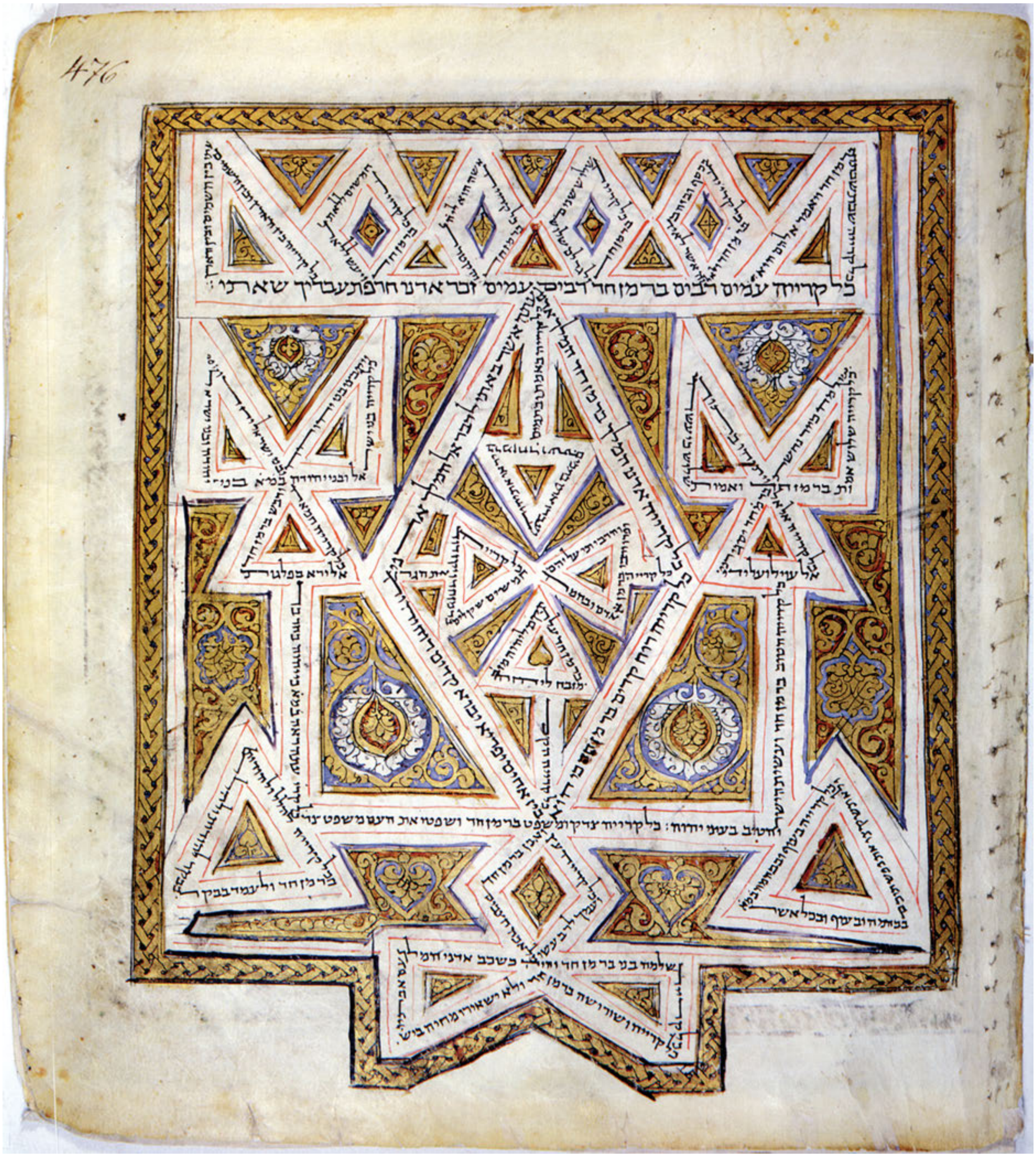

Fig. 1.12: Carpet pages, Leningrad Codex, 1008. St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, EBP IB 19A, fol. 475v–476r.

in the subsequent account of the Golden Calf that Moses' brother Aaron makes from the same substance that is used for the revetment of the Ark. Besides the often highlighted fact that the Calf is an idol while the Tablets represent the origin of sacred scripture, the contrasting materials of these objects add further meaning to these two episodes. In fact, moving on in the account, we learn that on his arrival at the Israelite camp, Moses is so enflamed with rage that he destroys both objects, the Tablets and the Calf. If stone had been chosen as a durable substance that shall guarantee the longevity of Yahweh's pact with the Israelites, this property turns out to be a relative one. Eventually the whole procedure of making the Tablets has to be repeated (this time with Moses writing down their text).[132] Although this

132 See Gertz 2016.

Fig. 1.12: (Continued).

story has always been read as dealing with the incompatibility of book religions and idolatry, it seems also to pose the question of whether book religions require a different regime of materiality. Looking back from the medieval situation to these chapters in Exodus, they seem to foreshadow the preference for writing materials such as parchment and paper in Jewish, Christian and Islamic book cultures. While practical considerations certainly had a role in the decision to use cheap carrier media even when the books in question were made for display in the ritual, this choice could also be interpreted as a reminder of a potential conflict between gold and scripture, a conflict that we encounter in all Abrahamic religions in the Middle Ages.

The most cited and also one of the earliest critical voices is Jerome's allegation that "parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted for lettering, manuscripts are

Fig. 1.13: Abu Bakr Sandal, carpet pages, volume three of Sultan Baybar's Qur'an, 1304/1306. London, British Library, Add. 22408, fol. 1v–2r.

Fig. 1.13: (Continued).

Fig. 1.14: Exodus 15, Torah scroll, ca. 1155–1255. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Rotulo 2.

decked with jewels" while "Christ lies at their door naked and dying."[133] It is important to note that this sentence is embedded in a letter written for Jerome's female disciple, Eustochium, and that it comes with the denunciation of wealthy Christian women who have a weakness for luxurious attire.[134] In fact, the assimilation of book ornament to (female) clothing is a recurrent theme in the critique of precious and splendid book decoration in the Abrahamic religions: its worldly splendor is a seductive distraction from content that is not from this world, and the cost of these objects is not an expression of reverence but a symptom of their owners' pomposity. This connects

133 Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, 22,23 (ed. Wright 1933, 130–133).

134 Ganz 2015, 57–58. Jerome takes a similar stance, this time associating the clothing of scripture with oriental costume, in his letter to Laeta regarding the education of her daughter Paula: "Instead of jewels and silk let her love the manuscripts the manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures, and in them let her prefer correctness and accurate punctuation to gilding and Babylonian parchment with elaborate decoration." Hieronymus, *Epistolae*, 107,12 (ed. Wright 1933, 364–365). Correctness and accuracy of the text are the inner values of books from which material luxury detracts, a position that is most prominently corroborated in Jerome's preface to Job (to be included in all copies of the *Vulgata* version) which characterizes golden books as burden: "Let those who will keep the old books with their gold and silver letters on purple skins, or, to follow the ordinary phrase, in 'uncial characters,' loads of writing rather than manuscripts, if only they will leave for me and mine, our poor pages and copies which are less remarkable for beauty than for accuracy." Hieronymus, *Praefatio in librum Hiob* (ed. Schaff/Wace 1890, 492). See Nordenfalk 1970, 89–96; Kendrick 1999, 36–39; Kearney 2009, 11–12. On earlier criticism of chrysography by pagan authors, see Ernst 1994, 350–351.

Fig. 1.15: Ornate text pages written in rayani script, Qur'an of Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq, early fifteenth century. London, British Library, Or. 848, fol. 26v–27r.

the critical voice of the Roman cardinal with the Islamic legislation that from the ninth century onwards rejected the use of gold for Qur'an manuscripts.[135]

While we can observe a convergence in content of ornament critique in medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam, they differ greatly in their status: ornament critique in Islamic communities, but also in Jewish regulation regarding the production of the Torah scroll is to be found in normative texts,[136] whereas the remarks of Christian authors of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages have an incidental character.[137] Relatively late, with the establishment of monastic orders such as the Cistercians, the Franciscans and the Dominicans in the twelfth and thirteenth century, do we encounter norms that try to ban gold ink and polychromy from holy books.[138] A new desire for

135 On this topic, see the article of Finbarr Barry Flood in this volume.

136 Prescriptions for the production of the Torah scroll are found in the Talmudic *Soferim*, dating from the mid-eighth century, which speaks out against the use of writing in gold or in purple, see Tov 2004, 54.

137 Another early critique comes from John Chrysostom, see Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae LXXXVIII in Ioannem*, 32.3 (ed. Migne 1862, 187): "I hear of no one who strives for understanding books but rather of those who are concerned with having them written in golden letters. But which is the profit emerging from this? For scriptures were not given to us to have them in books but to engrave them in our hearts." For an overview on chrysography in the classical and Western medieval tradition, see Trost 1991, especially 6–35; Ernst 1994.

138 See for example Idung of St Emmeram, *Dialogus duorum monachorum*, 1,36 (ed. Huygens 1980, 105–106) where the Cistercian monk says: "Beautiful pictures, variegated works of goldsmithery, both decorated with gold […] beautiful and precious windows from gem-like stained-glass, choir-mantles and chasubles decorated with orphrey, golden and encrusted chalices, and golden letters in the books. All this is not required by necessity of use but by the appetite of the eyes." In 1330/1340, the Franciscan Alvarus Pelagius complains in his *Lament over the Church*: "The pride of clerics and religious in gilded and illuminated books which are clad into silken fabrics and silver is deplorable. Knowledge does not abide in gold, since neither gold nor the precious stone compare to it […] Carry books with you, especially those of parchment. The brethren do not dare to lend beautiful books nor do they study in them. They keep them closed in their cells, shut with four clasps out of pride and avarice; the more they own, the less they generally know." Alvarus Pelagius 1570, 207 (II.76).

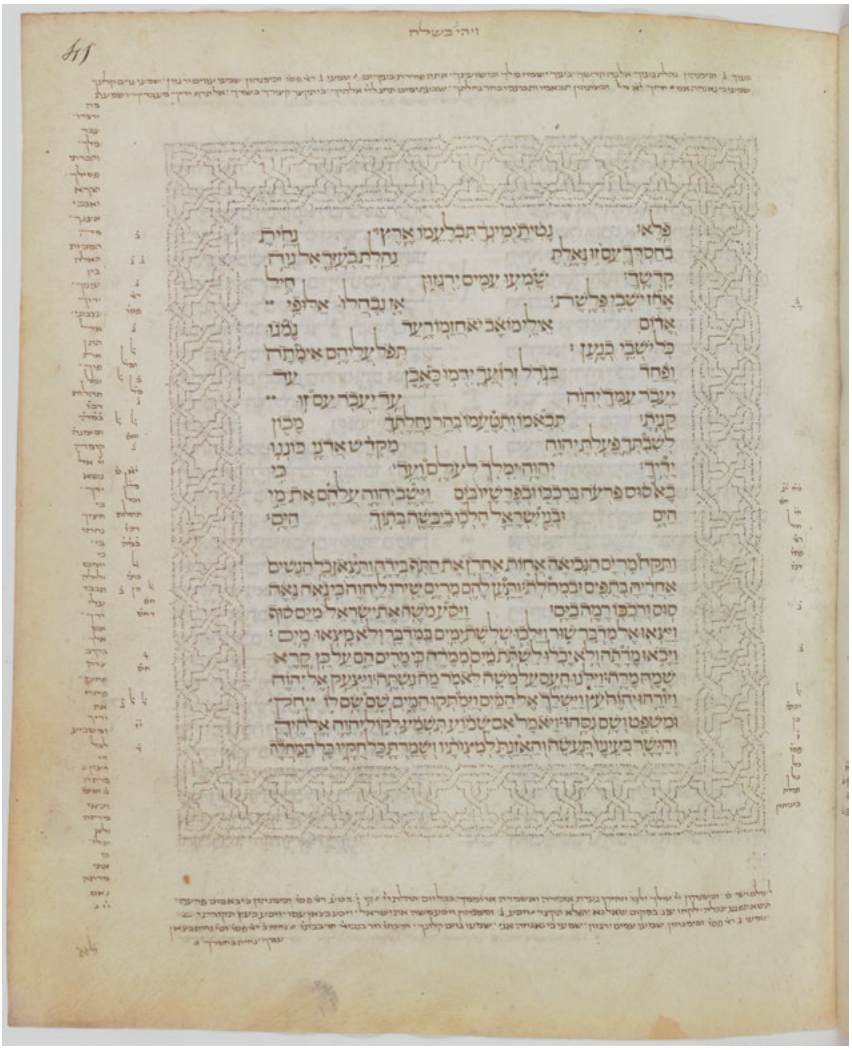

Fig. 1.16: Opening with Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), Sephardic Bible, 1232. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. héb. 25, fol. 40v–41r.

rigor and ascetism articulates a new interest in the interior values of scripture. This tendency will intensify in the later Middle Ages with the rise of a larger book market in Western Europe and a wider accessibility of books. In Richard de Bury's famous *Philobiblon*, this new situation is echoed by the books' complaints about a division of labor by which the making of ornament appears as an illiterate activity:

> We [the books] will add the last clause of our long lament though far too short for the materials that we have. In us the natural use is changed to that which is against nature, while we who are the light of faithful souls everywhere fall a prey to painters knowing nought of letters, and are entrusted to goldsmiths to become, as though we were not sacred vessels of wisdom, repositories of gold-leaf.[139]

The question remains how these criticisms affected the practice of book production. As in the case of sumptuary laws regulating dress we may assume that rules of interdiction react to deviating realities. But speaking of deviance already implies that we adopt the perspective of ornament criticism. The fact that Cistercian monks and Franciscan friars commissioned lavish manuscripts, that Islamic rulers continued to order copies of the Qur'an with a certain amount of decoration in gold, and that according to the sources there even existed Torah scrolls written in gold ink, points to implicit models and plausibilities of ornamental efficacy that could not be easily overruled.[140] Instead, there seem to have been spaces of negotiation in which artists, commissioners and users could react to critical allegations without simply obeying them. For

139 Bury, *Philobiblon*, IV (ed. Thomas 1960, 33).

140 Although Torah scrolls with gold writing are mentioned in early sources, as Tov 2004, 54 points out.

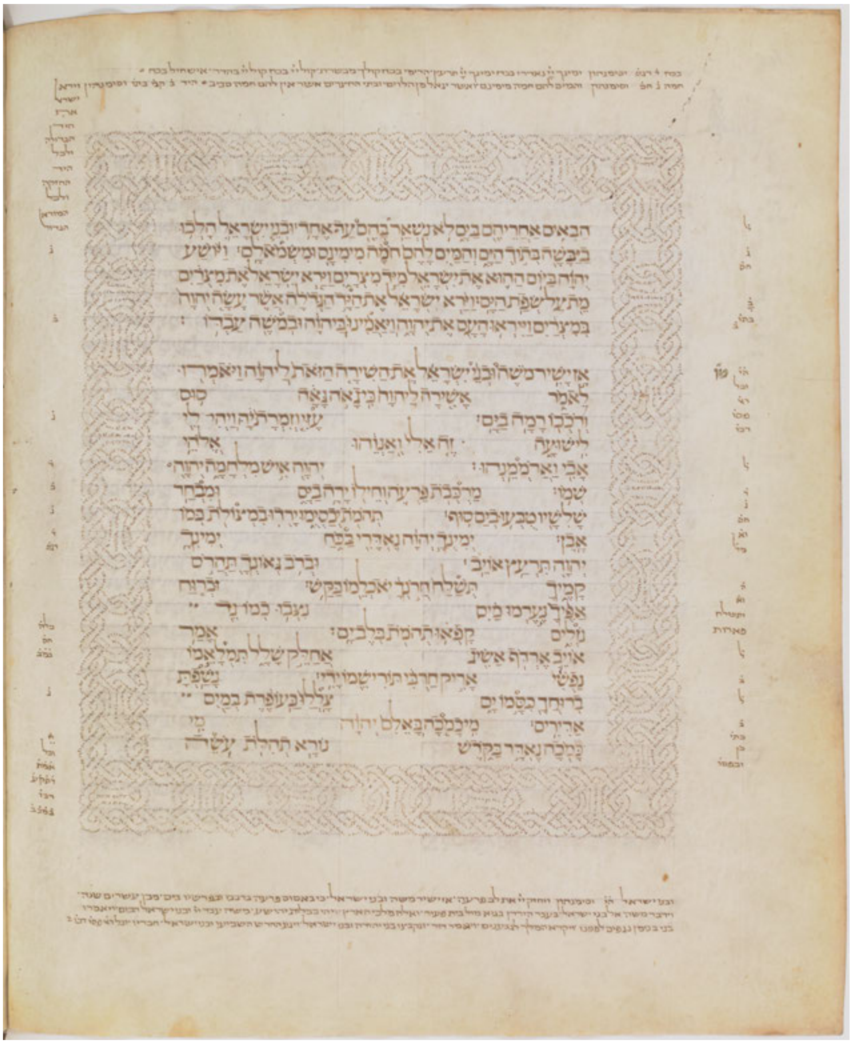

Fig. 1.16: (Continued).

example, in the production of Qur'an manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Alain George has observed a tendency towards shrinking formats, lighter and cheaper materials (paper instead of parchment).[141] The application of gold continued, but with the exception of deluxe editions such as the Blue Qur'an it was limited to chapter headings, chapter dividers, carpet pages and other decorative elements (fig. 1.15).

The tension between the critique of and the desire for ornament paved the way for strategies of self-legitimation of ornament. In Christian Gospel books and Psalters of the Carolingian period, poems were added that justified the use of golden letters and purple dye with their ability to open access to the golden halls of heaven and the blood of the Savior (fig. 1.2).[142] Gold was always said to be splendid and shining, and therefore closely associated with light.[143] Complementary to that, a strong link connected the Word of God to light in the imagination of all Abrahamic religions. It is under this close association of both the Word of God and gold with light that golden letters, golden illuminations or golden envelopes could be understood as enhancing the contact with the divine.[144]

On the book cover of the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram, the goldsmiths working for the Carolingian emperor Charles the Bald depicted the story of Christ's

141 See George 2010, 143–146.

142 See Ganz 1987, 30–31. For further examples, see Ernst 1994, 357–364.

143 Schellewald 2014.

144 See Vladimir Ivanovici's article in this volume.

Fig. 1.17: Christ and the Adulteress, Front cover of the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram (detail), 870. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000.

encounter with the adulteress (fig. 1.17).[145] As the Gospel of John reports (Ioh. 8,2–11), Christ wrote with his finger on the ground when he was asked for his opinion about the woman caught in adultery. Remarkably, this is the only instance in which the Bible explicitly mentions Jesus as writer, and therefore performing the same activity as the four evangelists that are depicted on the cover, but also the same activity as the scribes that actually produced the Gospel book. With regard to the writing materials, this picture plays with an interesting contrast between the poor writing material that Christ uses in the story and the precious material that was used by the goldsmiths and by the scribes that wrote this codex entirely in golden letters.

145 Front cover with gold repoussé, emeralds, sapphires, pearls and colored glass on wood. Back cover and spine early modern. For a contemporary Gospel book. See Ganz 2015, 179–182; Ganz 2018 (forthcoming).

3.4 Diagrammatic constellations

In his fundamental reflection on the ornament of Insular book art, Jean-Claude Bonne has mostly highlighted the importance of "intrication" as a basic structural device for illuminated initials, carpet pages and even narrative miniatures (figs. 1.11–1.13, 1.16).[146] For Bonne, intrication is a key for understanding ornament as "modus operandi" that goes beyond the formal limited sense of repeated patterns. Interlacing, knotting and weaving are operations that create connectivity between elements, relating them to each other. In this respect, clothing sacred scripture may develop a strong affinity to diagrammatic compositions whose importance has been recently re-evaluated in the wake of the pictorial turn.[147] This re-appraisal has opened up new ways of approaching the pictorial potential of abstract, non-figurative "graphic elements" that extend significantly beyond an iconographic decoding of symbolic signs. The decisive consideration in this context is the ability of schematic formations to make relations between elements evident: through positional correspondences, chromatic correlations and by classification as a particular type.[148] In Jewish, Christan and Islamic visual cultures, diagrams were an important medium that permitted visualizing invisible orders, concepts or rules. These practices had a shared foundation in antique models of schematic visualization that had been developed in areas such as geometry, astronomy, optics or land survey and that were subsequently adopted by medieval authors.[149] In this sense, the exchange with scientific images constituted an important intellectual stimulus for the decoration of sacred scripture.[150]

Diagrammatic elements can be found in most of the images that accompany this essay. Here, I want to concentrate on an early medieval Christian example, the Ottonian book cover of the Reichenau Gospels (fig. 1.18),

146 See Bonne 2000.

147 See Gormans 2000; Bogen/Thürlemann 2003; Bogen 2005; Krämer 2012; Schmidt-Burkhardt 2012; Krämer/Ljungberg 2016.

148 This relational understanding goes back to Peirce who defined diagrams as a subcategory of iconic signs: "The Diagram represents a definite Form of Relation. This Relation is usually one that actually exists, as in a map, or is intended to exist, as in a Plan. […] The pure Diagram is designed to represent and to render intelligible, the Form of Relation merely. Consequently, Diagrams are restricted to the representation of a certain class of relations; namely, those that are intelligible." Peirce, *Prolegomena for an Apology of Pragmatism* [1906] (ed. Eisele 1976, 315–316). See Engel/Queisner/Viola 2012; Krämer/Ljungberg 2016.

149 For an overview, see Murdoch 1984; Bonhoff 1993; Charette 2005. For diagrams in Christian Europe, see Gormans 1999; Eastwood 2007; Müller 2008; Lutz/Jerjen/Putzo (eds.) 2014. For diagrams in Islamic countries, see King 1995.

150 See Esmeijer 1978; Kühnel 2003; Hamburger 2009.

Fig. 1.18: Cross composition, Front cover, Reichenau Gospels, early eleventh century. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4454.

beginning with a short comparison with the book cover of the Gospels from Niederaltaich (fig. 1.7).[151] Although both compositions have the cross as the central motif, there is a categorical difference between them. In the second case, the cross is the representation of an object that is embedded in a narrative composition. In the first case, in contrast, the cross is a schematised object, symmetrical both along the horizontal and vertical axes, directly abutting all four sides of the cover's framing bands and thus structuring the binding's entire surface. In this constellation, the cross is no longer simply a sign, but a schematic grapheme that visually relates to other schematic forms traced on the cover such as the lozenge, the diagonal cross and the rectangle, and thus affords scope for relationships to assume thematic importance, such as the four-to-one ratio, the complementarity of enclosing and enclosed forms, or the tension between big and small structures.

The geometrical figures that we encounter here are not semantically "empty." In a first instance, cross, lozenge, rectangle and diagonal cross are encoded as schematic representations of the Christian cosmos with its cascade of "fournesses": the four cardinal points, the four winds, the four seasons, the four elements, the four rivers of paradise etc.[152] At the same time, the arrangement of these figures invites the viewer to think about the structure of the book that is behind the cover, a book composed of four, intricately interwoven parts—in other words, to understand this composition as a diagram in self-referential terms. It is not so much the "architecture" of the Gospels in general that is visualised here but rather the participation of this specific book in that architecture. In a certain way, the cover represents an ambiguous figure that is related both to the world and to the book. Such ambiguity is further enhanced by the lack of textual elements: in diagrams in a narrower sense, inscriptions are a constitutive element that allows the identification of elements of reference. Whereas diagrams of this type follow a logic of iconic representation, the diagrammatic ornament of sacred scripture confronts the viewer with a much more ambiguous structure. As Oleg Grabar observed with regard to the Qur'an frontispiece from Ṣanʿāʾ (fig. 1.1):

> But if one imagines all these architectural compositions as evocations and as intermediary filters that modify the spaces in front or ahead of them—the sanctuary of a mosque or a book—then one can indeed propose to see them as covering with beauty and well-being their mundane or sacred environment. They succeed, or at least were meant to succeed, because they evoke rather than represent. Precision of depiction is needed for them to be buildings, but the specificity of that precision is secondary to their power of evocation.[153]

Deliberate visual ambiguities can be noticed in the decoration of many Christian, Jewish and Islamic books. Also on carpet pages and book covers of Qur'ans and Jewish Bibles (figs. 1.12–1.13, 1.16, 1.19), an eschewal of textual markers is combined with a condensation of lines and forms that opposes a decipherable meaning. Decorative compositions are generated by a concatenation of figures, be it circles, triangles, squares, pentagons or organic forms, enhancing their degree of interrelatedness. This excess of intrication is the quintessence of ornament-specific effects of interlinking and intertwining that counteract a separation of clearly delineated elements. What they suggest is ornament's preference for compositions that have no beginning and no end.[154] Yet in each case it is fundamental to look at the specific traditions that

151 The cover has been analyzed in detail by Katharina Theil in her unpublished M.A. thesis, see Theil 2016. See also Ganz 2015, 85–100, 307–315; Ganz 2017 (b).

152 This cosmological aspect has been emphasized in older literature, see Elbern 1955/1956; Werckmeister 1964; Steenbock 1965, 28–32.

153 Grabar 1992, 191.

154 See Bonne 2000.

Fig. 1.19: Leather binding with blind and gold tooling, Qur'an from Marrakesh, early thirteenth century. London, British Library, Or. 13192.

informed the use of diagrammatic structures in a given community. With regard to the grid-based *girih* patterns in Islamic art for example (figs. 1.15, 1.19), Gülru Necipoğlu has analysed in full detail how ornamental practices were based on a specific mathematical and theological background of speculation about proportion, light and perception.[155]

4 Concluding remarks

At the end of this paper I would like to come back to the story that I mentioned in my introduction. We are now in the position to better understand the seriousness of the accident that happened to the Gospels of Queen Margaret. When ornate books fall into the water, there is more at stake than a loss of precious property, and much more than a loss of just one piece of writing. What sinks between the waves is the investment in sacred scripture, the belief that arduous labor, sumptuous materials and exceptional skill had the power to transform the book into an auratic object, into a visible and tangible medium of a transcendent divinity. Not by chance, plunging holy books into water is one option for the disposal of worn copies of the Qur'an. Yet in Turgot's story, instead of an involuntary book-burial a thaumaturgic rediscovery of the book takes place. The rescue of the book can be celebrated as a miracle that reinstated the belief in the efficacy of this investment. Even more than that, under water a revelation of sacred scripture is performed: the book is opened, the pages are moved, the curtains above the initials lifted. Instead of washing the letters away, the waves reveal them to the eye. As the book reemerges clothed and not naked, the miracle accredits the eminent role of sacred scripture's ornament. The following articles will demonstrate how multifaceted and productive the practice of clothing sacred scripture was in Jewish, Christian and Islamic book-cultures of the Middle Ages.

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Part I: **Religions of the Book**

Finbarr Barry Flood

2 Bodies, Books, and Buildings

Economies of Ornament in Juridical Islam

In his account of a dream that he had in the 1950s, the philosopher Theodor Adorno describes undergoing a verbal examination in sociology. As part of the exam, he was presented with a nineteenth-century passport and asked what was special about it. By way of reply, the dreaming Adorno traced the history of gilding, beginning with the icon:

> I went into a long winded exposition on the fact that the use of gold for such purposes dated back to Russian and Byzantine icons. The *Bilderverbot* was taken very seriously in those days, it held true for everything except gold, the purest of metals. Gold then went on to be used in pictorial images on Baroque ceilings, then as inlays on furniture, and the golden writing in the passport was the last vestige of this great tradition.[1]

In Adorno's dream, gilding traces a trajectory between religious and secular time, evoked metonymically in the shift from the visual authority of the icon to the textualized authority of the nation state. Functioning as a kind of philosopher's stone, gold negotiates the *Bilderverbot*, effecting the alchemical transmutation of images into words. The conceit invokes a common opposition between imaging and writing, one standard in evaluations of early Islamic religious art, which often assert that the gilded or gold mosaic inscriptions found in early mosques and shrines (figs. 2.1–2.2) functioned as counterparts or substitutes for the icons found in Christian churches.[2] There are certainly historical instances in which Muslims replaced images with texts, and even cases that make explicit perceived homologies between the content of Christian icons and Islamic scripture. Perhaps the best example concerns the verses from the Qur'an referring to the Virgin Mary in her mihrab (Qur'an 3,37) inscribed around the prayer-niche installed in the church of Hagia Sophia after its conversion to a mosque in 1453. These established a clear homology between the ninth-century apse mosaic featuring the Virgin and child (which remained visible) and the epigraphic content of the mihrab installed far below (fig. 2.3).[3] It is, however, doubtful whether one can extrapolate from these specific historical examples to a generalized theory of the word as icon in Islam.

Just as important is the fact that the shift from image to word assumed to have been occasioned by the rise of Islam is generally imagined as a kind of aniconic revolution, comparable to that which took place in sixteenth-century Europe, when Protestant reformists expelled the images from the churches, replacing them with the divine Word writ large on retable and wall (fig. 2.4), or sometimes even over the surface of existing figurative images.[4] That the legacy of the Reformation still resonates so strongly in modern Euro-American representation of Islamic attitudes to images and the related understanding of public texts as icons is part of a more general tendency to privilege immaterial content over the materials of mediation. Thus, there is a widespread assumption that the very nature of the Qur'an as a sacred text rendered it an unproblematic substitute for the icon, ignoring questions of materiality and mediality associated with the process of inscription. In short, a disaggregation of meaning from medium that is central to the semiotics of Modernity has been universalized and retrojected to medieval and early modern Islam.[5]

Yet, as a material practice, the significance of inscription(s) cannot be reduced to semantic content alone, to a transcendental meaning located in some immaterial netherworld outside the inscribed text. Rather, both materiality and visuality (including context, medium, scale, script, and so forth) constitute meaning rather than simply mediating it in a passive way.[6] In a de facto acknowledgement of this, jurists in the Islamic world were acutely attentive to questions of media, mediation, and materiality when it came to texts in general and scripture in particular.

According to Islamic tradition, the Qur'an is comprised of a series of revelations from God transmitted verbally by the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca and Medina between roughly 610 and the Prophet's death in 632. The compilation and complete textualization of the revelation only occurred in the decades after

1 From Theodor W. Adorno, *Dream Notes*, cited in Koch 2001, 158.
2 Dodd 1969, esp. 46–47, 54–61; Dodd/Khairallah 1981.
3 Soucek 1998, 39.

4 Koerner 2004, 171–320, esp. 289–291; Michalski 2011, 89.
5 For a general discussion of the Protestant legacy to conceptions of materiality, mediation and meaning see Greene 1997; Keane 2003; Keane 2005; Squire 2009, 15–89.
6 For an exploration of these issues, see Lenoir 1998.

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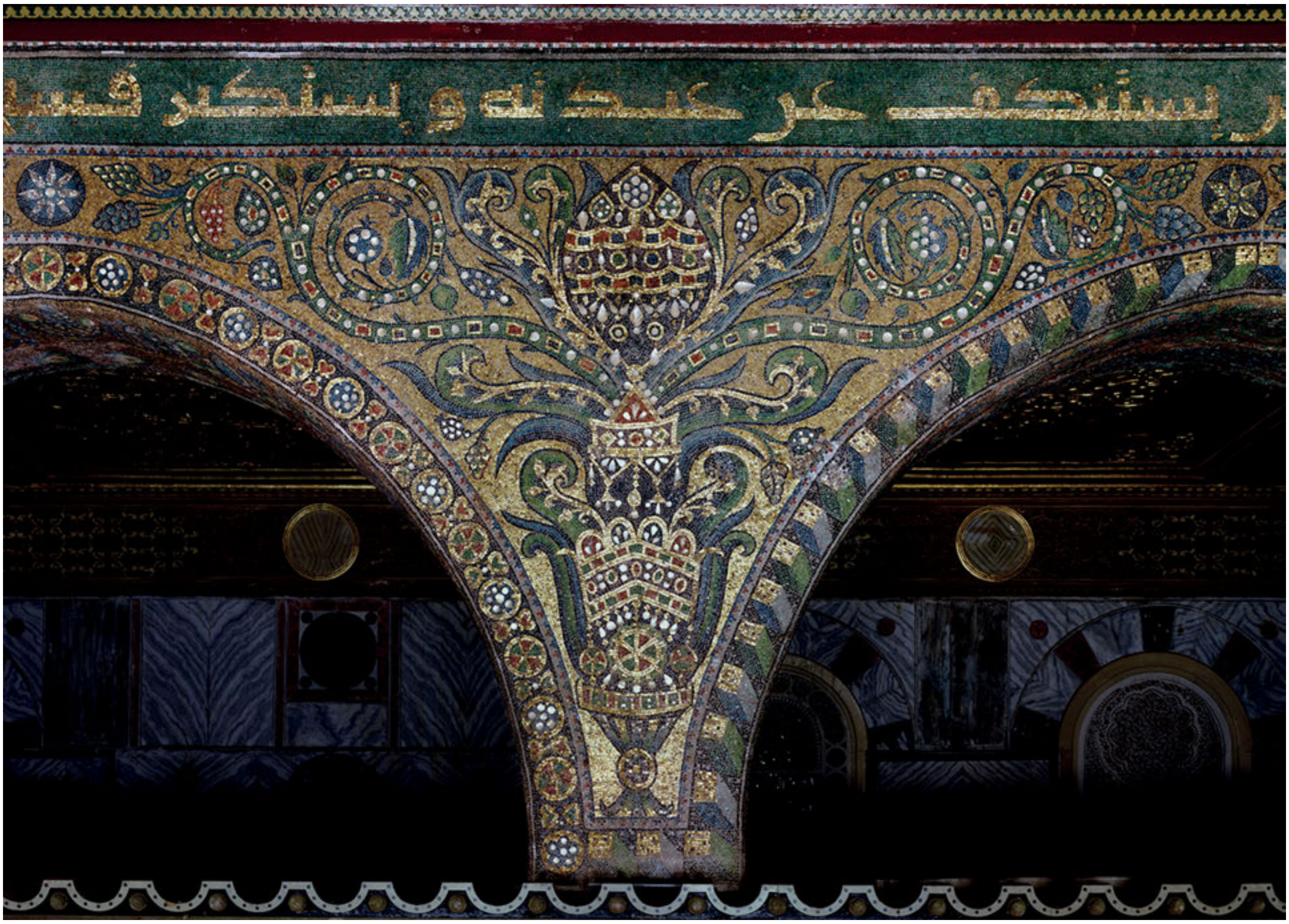

Fig. 2.1: Detail of Qur'anic inscription, glass mosaic, 692. Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock.

the Prophet's death, and was marked by debates about the relative value of oral and textual transmission. The verbal revelation, the Qur'an, is distinguished from its materialization as written text by the Arabic term *muṣḥaf* (pl. *maṣāḥif*), derived from the word for leaf or folio. In other words, questions of materiality inhere in both the nature of the revelation and its historical transmission.

From what is preserved in texts from the ninth century onwards, it appears that early opposition to textualization sometimes focused on the question of ornamentation. These debates cast doubt upon a shibboleth of modern Islamic art history: that the development of aniconic ornament was stimulated by the proscription of representational images in theological Islam; or, that non-figural ornament supplied an easy and universally acceptable alternative to the images rejected in the ornamentation of sacred space and text. A general suspicion of elaboration and ostentation as both deceptive and distracting, and as occasioning a waste of economic resources took on particular resonances in the space of the mosque, where the optical qualities of ornament threatened to distract the worshipper, attracting his eyes (the organs of perception) and turning his heart (the organ of cognition) from the realm of the transcendental to that of the material and earthly. Not all jurists objected to ornamenting mosques and Qur'ans, but some even went so far as to reject the presence of richly carved or gilded Qur'anic inscriptions in the space of the mosque. On occasion, critics of ornament gained the upper hand, leading to remedial action. Debates about ornament, including Qur'anic inscriptions, continue to have occasional effect until today. In April 2015, for example, the superfluity of ornament was invoked in an edict of the Islamic State ordering the erasure or removal of all ornament from the walls of the mosques of Mosul, including carved or painted Qur'anic texts.[7]

Such opposition builds on a late antique suspicion of ornament that is apparent in the Qur'an, but most clearly articulated in the hadith, the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad recorded after his death in 632.

7 Anon. 2015.

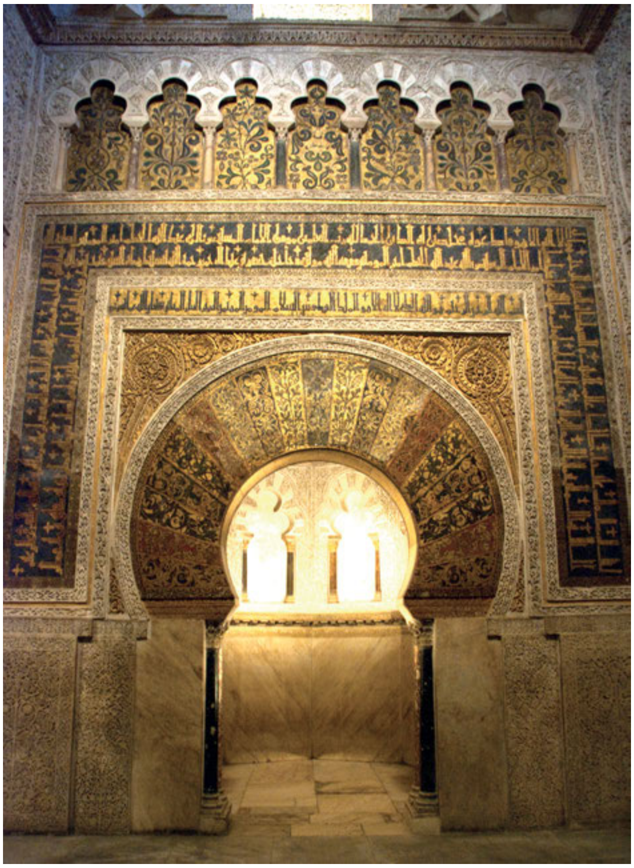

Fig. 2.2: Mihrab with glass mosaic and carved marble ornament, 961. Cordoba, Friday Mosque.

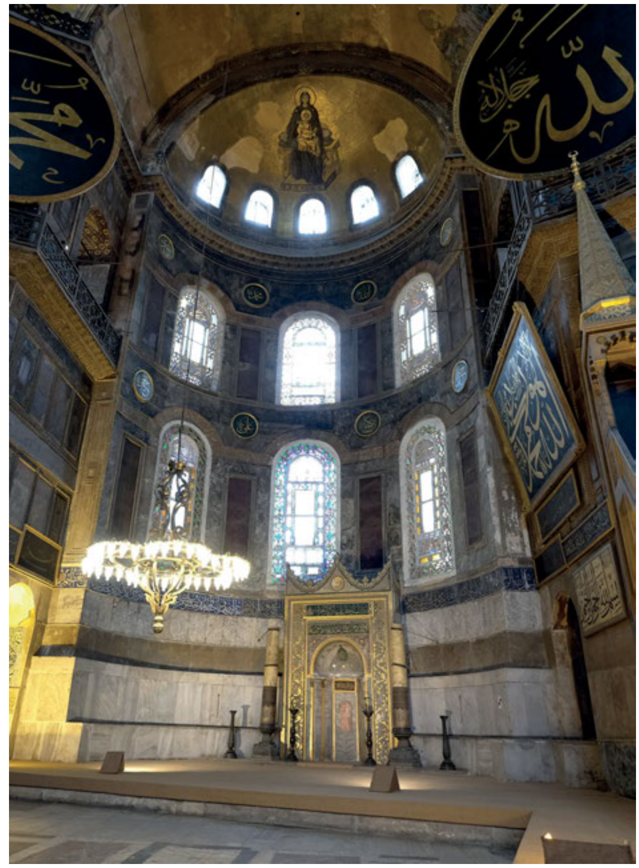

Fig. 2.3: Central apse with a ninth-century mosaic of the Virgin and Child and the Ottoman mihrab installed after 1453 below. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia.

Fig. 2.4: Retable inscribed with the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Supper, 1537. Dinkelsbühl, Spitalkirche.

The attitudes promoted in these traditions were later elaborated in juridical texts that build on their precepts in order to legislate acceptable modes of conduct for those Muslims living in later centuries or in material conditions that differed significantly from those of seventh century Arabia. There are six canonical collections of Sunni hadith, which are the primary source for discussions of the legality of figural imagery in juridical Islam. One remarkable feature of the hadith concerning figural images is that they do *not* comprise a distinct book within the canonical collections of hadith. Instead, most traditions pertaining to images are, in each collection, found at the end of the *Book on Dress* (*Kitāb al-libās*), where they are sandwiched between traditions rejecting the use of gold and silver vessels, of silks, brocaded fabrics and gold jewelry by men, hair extensions, tattooing and tooth widening, a common cosmetic practice. Questions about the acceptability of images are, therefore, intimately linked to questions about the materiality and permissibility of ornament, although this linkage has been generally ignored in modern scholarship on the *Bilderverbot*.

In addition, the relevant hadith establish a relation between the ornamentation of bodies and buildings. A hadith included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhari (d. 870), one of the six canonical Sunni collections, explains how the

Prophet frowned upon an artist that he encountered painting images in the upper levels of a house in Medina, explaining that on the Day of Judgment, the walls would need to be cleaned by ablutions (even as the human body is) up to the level of these ornaments (*al-ḥīlyat*).[8] A hadith included in both the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 874) and the hadith collection of Abu Dawud (d. 889) makes the analogy between adorning bodies and buildings even more explicit. It relates that when Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, hung a decorative or even figurative textile on the door of the Prophet's house, he removed and tore it, explaining that God has not ordered us to clothe stones and brick (*al-ḥijārat wa'l-labina*). The verb used here, *kasā*, to dress or clothe underlines the point.[9]

As we shall see, the terminology of the Qur'an and hadith establishes a series of negative analogies between ornamenting bodies, buildings, and language, in which fancy forms are rejected in favor of plain, and embellishment opposed to simplicity in a dialectic of truth and falsity. There is nothing about books, but later juridical rulings extended two principles contained in the Qur'an and hadith to the ornamentation of mosques and Qur'an codices. The first was a preference for appearance plain and simple, for the avoidance of elaborate or ostentatious ornament, whether of bodies or buildings. The second was a rejection of precious metal ornaments and of gold and silver vessels, seen as the purview of unbelievers. We will consider the logic for this prohibition later, but it is worth emphasizing that concerns with these two principles are evident in relation to rulings on the ornamentation of mosques and Qur'ans from at least the eighth or ninth century.

It may be relevant that the architecture of the congregational or Friday mosque underwent a dramatic canonization and crystallization between 705–715, when many of the major mosques were rebuilt in a monumental mode that included new formal features and spectacular ornaments of gilding, marble and mosaic at the order of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid (r. 705–715). The jewel in the crown of this building program was the Friday Mosque of Damascus, whose mosaics were considered one of the wonders of the medieval Islamic world (fig. 2.5).[10]

Less well known, however, is the reported opposition by prominent members of the early Islamic community to the adoption of monumental architectural forms, lavish marble and mosaic decoration, and the illumination of Qur'ans in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, despite their aniconic content. According to slightly later sources, this opposition rallied around a hadith, circulating at least as early as the ninth century, according to which the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said to the Muslim community: "When you adorn your mosques and decorate your Qur'ans, then ruin will be upon you." and to have also condemned the elevation of mosques as a practice of the Christians and Jews and a sign that the end of time was near.[11] Similarly, the pious second caliph 'Umar I (r. 634–644) is reported to have condemned the ornamentation of mosques as an evil.[12] Such objections were among the factors underlying juridical attempts to regulate both the height and the decorative elaboration of mosques and minarets.[13]

This kind of reported objection was neither new nor peculiar to Islam. Concerns with decorative elaboration and architectural scale are, for example, anticipated in earlier Syrian Christian discourses on architecture, asceticism, and ostentation, which trace an inverse relation between the spiritual heights to which the Syrian stylites aspired and the depths plumbed by their successors in erecting lofty churches and monasteries.[14] Equally, objections to the lavish ornamentation of Qur'ans find precedents in early patristic texts, in the writing of St Jerome (d. 420), for example, who railed against the production of manuscripts written in gold or silver on purple parchment (fig. 2.6), condemning them as burdens rather than codices. Similarly, John Chrysostom (d. 407) highlighted the tension between the referential quality of scripture and the value invested in its materiality through the use of chrysography.[15]

Critics of the splendid mosques built by the Umayyad caliphs in the early eighth century contrasted them with the simple mosques of an earlier era, declaring: "We built it in the manner of mosques, you built it in the manner of churches."[16] On occasion, such concerns seem to have inspired remedial action. This was apparently the case in Damascus (fig. 2.5). The Iraqi polymath al-Jahiz (d. 869)

8 Bukhari 1997, vol. 7, no. 837.

9 Al-Sijistani 2008, vol. 4, no. 4153. The perceived association between ornamenting architecture and dressing the body is not, of course, confined to the hadith or the Islamic world. For analogies from early modern Europe see Jütte 2015, 10–12.

10 Flood 2001.

11 The tradition appears in many medieval juridical texts. See notes 22 and 30 below and al-Ghazali 1967–1968, vol. 3, 408.

12 Ibn Majah 1993–1994, vol. 1, 407–408, nos. 739–741.

13 See, for example, Serjeant 1953, English text 6, Arabic 15–16.

14 Vööbus 1960, 149; Brock 1973, 17. See also Siecienski 2008.

15 For an excellent overview of objections to chrysography see Shell 1982, 191–193. Hieronymus, *Prologue to the Book of Job*, URL: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_job.htm; see also Kendrick 1999, 37, 89–96.

16 Cited in Bierman 1998, 53.

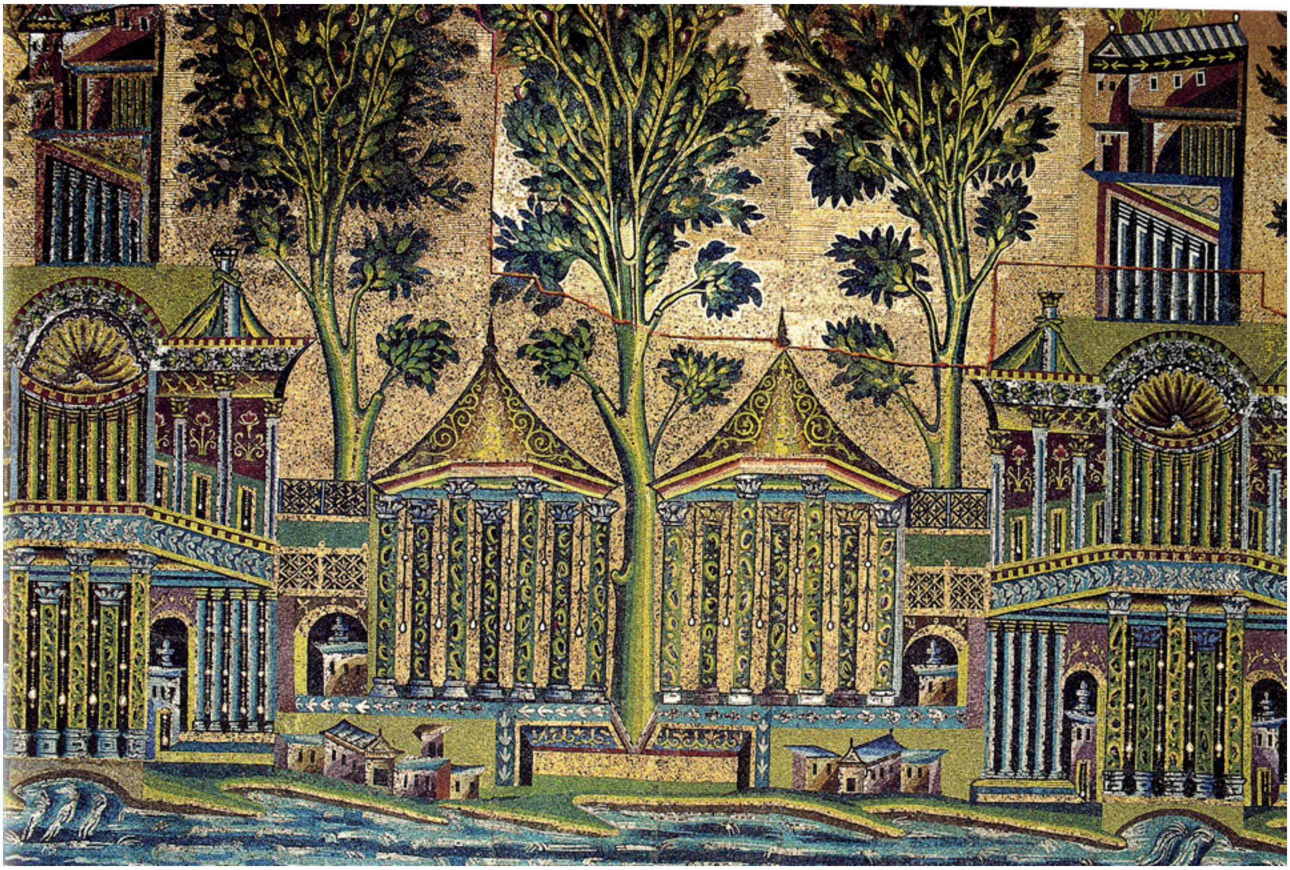

Fig. 2.5: Glass wall mosaics, 715. Damascus, Friday Mosque, courtyard.

relates an incident that occurred just two or three years after the completion of the city's celebrated Friday Mosque, when the pious caliph ʿUmar II (r. 717–720) took action that might have permanently obscured its splendors:

> I saw the mosque of Damascus when one of the kings of the city gave me the opportunity to see it. One who sees it knows that no other mosque resembles it, and that the Byzantines have great admiration for it. When ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz acceded [to the caliphate], he clothed it with drapes (*jallalahu bi'l-jalāl*) and concealed it with white canvases (*karābīs*). He also boiled the [golden] chains of the lamps in order to destroy by this means their luster and glitter and he destroyed by this means that which was alien to the Sunna of Islam [Islamic law], since beauty and arresting delicacy are confusions for hearts and distractions.[17]

The metaphor of clothing and concealment that al-Jahiz uses in describing ʿUmar II's temporary effacement of the Damascus mosaics with white drapes is perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the critiques of ornament found in hadith, in which the adornment of architectural spaces is frowned upon, even as artificial ornaments are rejected as inappropriate to the human (especially the male) body. According to other reports, the gold, marble and mosaics attracted the gaze of the worshippers and distracted them from prayer.[18] ʿUmar II was a great economic reformer, and several authors also see the caliph's actions as a practical critique of inappropriate expenditure, remedied by carrying off the golden ornaments to the Treasury (*bayt al-māl*).[19]

Accounts of ʿUmar's alterations to the appearance of the Damascus mosque encapsulate two distinct but related objections already present in embryonic form in the hadith: first, to the optical properties and visual allure of richly worked surfaces and glittering ornaments,

17 Al-Jahiz 1938–1945, 1, 56–57. For a slightly different translation and an excellent discussion of this passage, see Alami 2011, 159–164. See also Flood 2001, 244.

18 Ibn ʿAsakir 1954, 44; Elisséeff 1959, 66; Yaʿqubi 1992, 2, 306.

19 Al-Hamadani 1885, 108; Massé 1973, 132–133; Ibn Sasra 1963, English 161, Arabic 120.

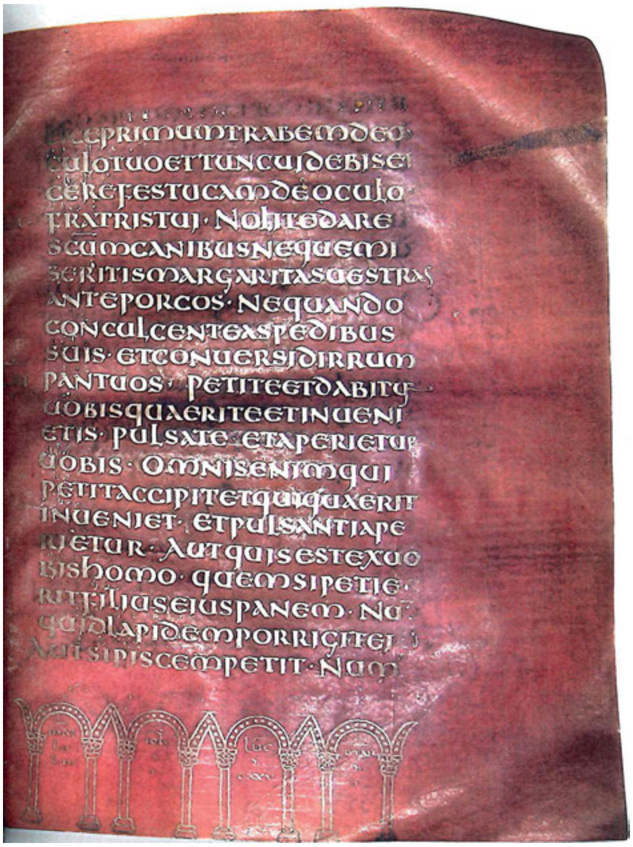

Fig. 2.6: Folio written in silver ink on purple parchment, with arcaded canon tables, Codex Brixianus, northern Italy, sixth century. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, unnumbered, fol. 419r.

and their consequent capacity to distract the onlooker; second, concerns with the frivolous or superfluous expenditure that they occasioned. Both themes were elaborated in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) from the tenth century onwards, by which time both al-Walid's decoration of mosques and ʿUmar II's attempts to whitewash and remonetize their ornaments were being invoked to establish either negative or positive precedent in judgments on the acceptability of decoration in mosques and Qur'an manuscripts. The case for and against the decoration of mosques is, for example, presented by the Hanafi jurist Abu'l-Layth al-Samarqandi, who includes a chapter on the ornamentation (*naqsh*, a term that can refer to carving, drawing, inscription or painting) of the mosque in his *Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn* (*Garden of the Gnostics*), written before 373/983. In it, al-Samarqandi refers to contemporary debates concerning gilding, decoration (*zukhruf*), ornament (*zīna*) and pictures (*al-ṭasāwīr*) in mosques, citing hadith on the subject, including a tradition in which the Prophet rejects decoration and images as un-Islamic, recommending instead the whitewashing of mosques. It is in this regard that al-Samarqandi cites the objections of ʿUmar II to the rich embellishments of the Damascus mosque as precedent, although as a supporter of mosque ornament, al-Samarqandi also cites those in favor, including Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767) the founder of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, who invoked not only the precedent of the beautiful mosques built by al-Walid in Damascus and elsewhere, but also the rich ornamentation of the Biblical Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, referred to as the Mosque of Jerusalem (*masjid bayt al-mqdis*).[20] The decoration of the Solomonic Temple is a transhistorical stalwart in Christian defenses of the image against criticisms of idolatry leveled by both fellow Christians and Jews, but is here cited as precedent along with the Umayyad mosaics in the Friday Mosque of Damascus to permit the lavish but aniconic ornamentation of mosques.[21]

Among the earliest record of the extension of these concerns to the decoration of Qur'an manuscripts is the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* (*Book of the Qur'an Codices*) of Ibn Abi Dawud (d. 929), son of a famous hadith transmitter. This contains several variants of the prophetic tradition "When you adorn your mosques and decorate your Qur'ans, then ruin be will upon you," and reports several traditions criticizing the embellishment of Qur'anic texts with gold (the juridical position on silver was more equivocal, as we shall see).[22] In his study of early Qur'ans, Alain George offers the plausible suggestion that these concerns with ornamental elaboration may underlie the production of a group of small, plain possibly archaizing early Qur'an manuscripts devoid of decorative and textual elaboration (fig. 2.7).[23]

Although seldom noted, medieval juridical rulings on the ornamentation of Qur'an codices and mosques clearly take their cue from the hadith, generally discussing the topic in relation to dress and jewelry. In some juridical compilations, for example, a distinction is made between the use of gold and silver in the ornamentation of the codex. This distinction is rooted in proscriptions of the *Kitāb al-libās* (*Book of Dress*) or *Kitāb al-libās wa'l-zīna* (*Book of Dress and Ornaments*) in the canonical hadith collections, which prohibit the use of gold jewelry and silk by men, while mentioning the Prophet's use of a silver signet ring as a positive precedent. According to the Maliki jurist Ibn Abi Zayd (d. 996), for example, "It is not wrong to use silver to decorate a ring (of leather, for example) or

20 Al-Samarqandi 1982, 413–414.
21 For a useful survey see Lawee 2006, 760–768.
22 Ibn Abi Dawud, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, in Jeffery (ed.) 1937, 150–152.
23 George 2010a, 91–93, figs. 60–62. See also George 2010b, 103–104.

Fig. 2.7: Undecorated and unilluminated folio from a Qur'an written in Hijazi script, eighth or ninth century (?). Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, KFQ34.

a sword or a copy of the Qur'an, but silver should not be put in a bridle or saddle or a knife or other such things."[24]

In other compilations of jurisprudence, rulings on the ornamentation of the Qur'an are included in sections on jewelry and dress. These are clearly inspired by a gender distinction extrapolated from hadith in which gold jewelry is permitted to women but not to men, who may nonetheless make use of silver signet rings.[25] For example, in the *'Umdat al-sālik wa 'uddat al-nāsik* (*Reliance of the Traveler and Tools of the Worshiper*), a compilation of Shafi'i jurisprudence compiled by Ahmad ibn an-Naqib al-Misri (d. 1367) we read that, "It is permissible for both men and women to decorate copies of the Koran and to embellish writing with silver [...]. It is permissible for women to have copies of the Koran decorated with gold, but this is unlawful for men."[26]

The issue of ornamenting the sacred text also crops up in the sub-genre of Islamic jurisprudence known as *ḥisba*, which was intended to guide those charged with regulating public conduct and morality, including commercial activity and markets. In his *ḥisba* manual, the Egyptian Shafi'i Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 1329), explains that the jurists differ regarding whether ornamenting copies of the Qur'ans with gold and silver is licit.[27] As if to underline the point, a near contemporary north Indian Hanafi *ḥisba* manual contains the more permissive statement that: "One may gild ceilings, oil lamps, censers, Qur'ans, stirrups, saddles, bridles and similar objects."[28]

As this suggests, despite differences between distinct schools of jurisprudence, and even between individual jurists, the ornamentation of the mosque and Qur'an codex was a standard topic. The theme is especially well elaborated in juridical texts of the Maliki rite of Sunni Islam, which was dominant in the western Mediterranean, and which generally rejected the ornamentation of the qibla wall and the mihrab, the focal parts of the mosque that indicated the direction of prayer and towards which worshippers faced. As early as the ninth century, debates had arisen among jurists in the central Islamic lands not

24 Al-Qayrawani 1988, 156.
25 Juynboll 1985, 111.
26 Al-Misri 1999, f.17.10.
27 Ibn al-Ukhuwwa 1938, English 25, Arabic 77.
28 Sanami 1986, 267; Izzi Dien 1997, 100.

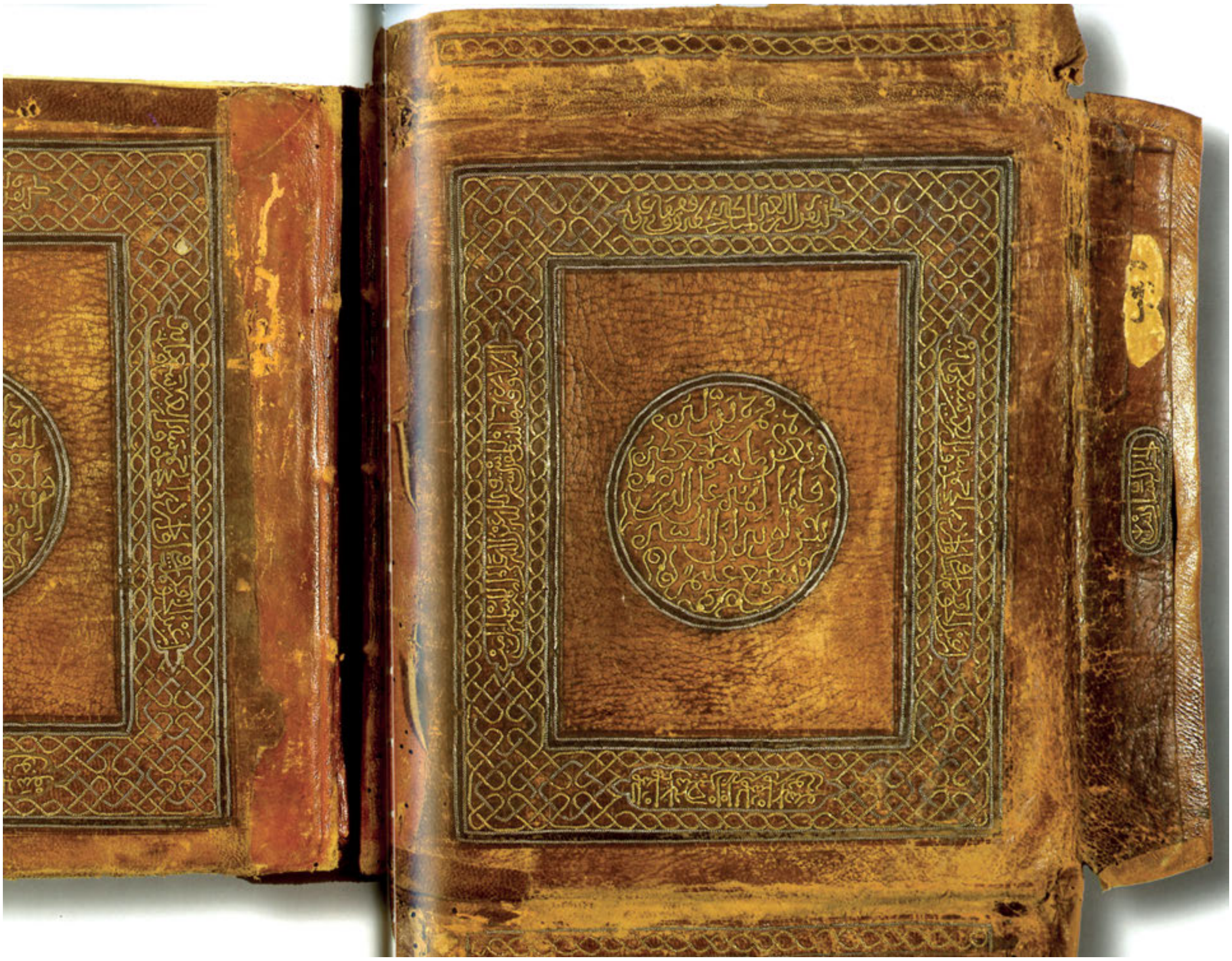

Fig. 2.8: Leather cover of a Qur'an written by the Marinid sultan Abu al-Hasan with applied gold and silver ornament, 745/1344. Jerusalem, Al-Haram Al-Sharif Islamic Museum.

only about ornamenting the *musḥaf* or Qur'an codex but also about the permissibility of placing it in the mihrab or against the qibla wall.[29] Reflecting the legacy of these early debates, Maliki jurists not only prohibited the decoration of the qibla wall because of its ability to distract the worshiper but, in a telling *mise en abyme*, even rejected the placement of the Qur'an codex within the mihrab, for fear that it might function as an idolatrous object. A similar objection is recorded in the Hanafi law school based on a tradition ascribed to Ibrahim al-Nakhaʿi (d. 714), one of its major sources of inspiration.[30]

It is not the Qur'an that is idolatrous (this would be a blasphemy), but the materialized revelation (*musḥaf*) deployed in a focal location within the mosque. Here it is not the ornamentation of the individual folios that is at stake, but the materialization of the revelation as an object capable of eliciting inappropriate investments from the worshippers, whose gaze might be drawn to the visual properties of the *musḥaf* rather than its message. It may be relevant that the leather covers of Maghribi Qur'ans were often ornamented with gilded ornaments, including Qur'anic texts that prefigured those contained in the codex (fig. 2.8), in another kind of *mise en abyme*.[31]

However counter-intuitive it may seem, even the practice of inscribing Qur'anic texts in the mosque is condemned by some jurists. A rich subgenre of Islamic jurisprudence here concerns *bidʿa* or innovation, something with negative connotations since it implied divergence from established practice. Once again, the Maliki school of jurisprudence is especially rich in relevant

29 Jeffery (ed.) 1937, 179.
30 Al-Jundi 1956, 1, 56; Radscheit 2007, 309.
31 Salameh 2001, 66–83.

rulings. In his manual on innovation, Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (d. 520/1126), an Andalusian Maliki who lived in Alexandria, cites a number of traditions that reject the ornamentation (*zukhruf*) of mosques and Qur'ans, for two fundamental reasons: first, it imitates the practices of Christians and Jews; second, it distracts the Muslims from their prayers, and/or contributes to their corruption (*al-fasād*).

Rejecting the inscription of Qur'anic verses on the qibla or Mecca-oriented walls of mosques, al-Turtushi cites Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), founder of the Maliki school of jurisprudence: "It is abhorrent (*makrūh*) to inscribe a passage from the Qur'an on the qibla wall of the mosque or to ornament it."[32] The term used here for ornaments is *zukhruf*, which is the most common term used to denote ornament in the Qur'an, and one invested there with a series of negative connotations. *Zukhruf* is the name of the forty-third sura of the Qur'an. It occurs in connection with flowery or ornamented speech and lavishly decorated architecture.[33]

The relationship between skill in visual depiction, fine work in brocade or gold, and verbal or poetic representation is a commonplace of early medieval Arabic writings on poetics.[34] This common quality of embellishment finds a less positive echo in Qur'anic and juridical usage, in which fancy speech, elaborate ornament and figurative images are equally implicated as over-wrought deceptions likely to lead astray, signs of material excess and worldly vanity. In Qur'anic usage, the connotations of *zukhruf*, are invariably negative; embellishment is a signifier of deception and delusion associated with the practices of those who reject Islam. In two cases, *zukhruf* denotes lavish architectural embellishment associated with or demanded by those who deny the message of Islam. Building on the theme, al-Turtushi writes: "The foundation of ornament (*zukhruf*) is gold. It refers to the embellishment of mosques with gold and the like. Related to this is the expression 'The man ornaments (*zakhrafa*) his speech,' when he adorns and decorates it with vain and futile things."[35]

Such opinions were not only confined to the western Islamic world, where the Maliki law school predominated, but are also found in Egypt, Syria and Iran, and among jurists who were not Malikis. The Egyptian Shafi'i legal scholar Muhammad ibn Bahadur Zarkashi (d. 794/1392) discusses the problem of the ornamentation of Qur'ans and engravings or paintings in the mosque distracting the heart by attracting the gaze (*al-naẓar*) of the worshipper to itself, once again citing objections to the inscription of verses from the Qur'an on the qibla wall.[36] Similarly, the Syrian Hanbali jurist Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Hadi (d. 1503) also addresses the question of mosque ornamentation, including worked stones, teak ceilings and silver inlay, citing the opinions of scholars belonging to all the major law schools, including that of the Hanbali scholar Ibn Muflih (d. 1361), according to whom the decoration of the mosque with gold, silver, colors, engravings or inscriptions is forbidden if this is funded from the *waqf* (endowment) of the mosque.[37]

Even lamps were a consistent bone of contention, especially gold and silver lamps. In an extended eulogy on the lamps in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, for example, the Shafi'i jurist Taqi al-Din al-Subki (d. 1355) discusses divergent attitudes among the jurists to the ornamentation of Qur'ans and mosques, including the suspension of lamps (both gold and silver), their embellishment with plaster, gilding, marble, teak, carpets and curtains.[38] Like gilded ornament, gold and silver lamps bedazzled the worshipper and drew his gaze to themselves, diverting his heart from contemplation of the divine. In addition, like golden ornaments, they took precious metals out of circulation, frustrating the natural function of precious metals to mediate exchange in circulation while also displacing a value rooted in this mediating function onto the metals themselves.

These juridical texts routinely cite earlier, primarily Umayyad, precedents for and against the ornamentation of mosques and Qur'an codices. They may well canonize debates that existed as early as the early eighth century, if one believes accounts of the caliph 'Umar's attempts to destroy the ornaments in the Great Mosque of Damascus and to remove its gilded lamps. They implicate the ornamentation of mosques and Qur'anic texts and the use of such texts as ornament in four interrelated concerns; first, the need to differentiate Muslim places of worship from their Christian and Jewish counterparts; second, anxieties about the vulnerability inflicted by materiality—the danger that the material text might be touched by those considered ritually impure, for example, or that the medium of inscription might fall on the ground and be trampled;

32 Al-Turtushi 1990, 216–226, quotation at 223–224; Fierro 1993, 288–290.
33 Qur'an 43,35 and 19,33–35.
34 See, for example al-Jurjani 1954, 317–318; Abu Deeb 1979, 264–265; Puerta Vílchez 1997, 312–313, 354.
35 Al-Turtushi 1990, 220; Fierro 1993, 288.
36 Al-Zarkashi 1964, 335–339.
37 Al-Hadi 1943, 166, 170.
38 Al-Subki 1980, 1, 264–284.

third, a concern that the visual properties of gilded ornaments would, by attracting the gaze of the worshipper, distract him from the contemplation of transcendental matters; fourth, a perception that economic investment in such ornaments was inappropriate, since the funds thus invested would be better used for the benefit of the *umma*, the Muslim community, and its poor in particular. I would like to address each of these concerns in turn.

First, concerns about confusion and identity highlight a desire to make difference legible or visible, to inscribe it on sacred space and text. This underlies critiques of architectural ornamentation and ostentation on the grounds that both risk confounding mosques, churches and synagogues. Again, this is by no means peculiar to Islam: similar concerns are apparent in Bernard of Clairvaux's (d. 1153) criticism of the excessive height and ornamentation of churches as a distraction to the worshippers that recall "the ancient rite of the Jews."[39] The visual differentiation of sacred space and text was closely related to a desire to inscribe both gender and sectarian difference on the body that is evident in numerous hadith. Gold jewelry is permitted to women, while gold jewelry and clothes dyed in saffron are, for example, forbidden to men who *are* permitted to dye their hair in any color other than black since, according to the relevant hadith, the Jews and Christians did *not* dye their hair.[40] As we saw, such traditions assume a relationship between the ornamentation of bodies and buildings that was later extended to the ornamentation of scripture. Objections that the ornamentation of sacred space and scripture was a practice associated with Christianity and Judaism highlight a perceived need to differentiate mosques and Qur'ans from the sacred spaces and texts of other monotheistic traditions. These concerns may have informed both the ornamentation and the fundamental form of early Qur'an codices, some of which were in fact produced by Christian scribes.[41]

Such concerns are not confined to the macro level of architecture, but also find expression at the micro level of textual ornament. The clear preference for micro-architecture as ornament in Umayyad Qur'an codices establishes self-reflexive engagements with the architecture of early mosques, while also continuing a late antique tradition. However, as in the architecture of the mosque itself, continuity with earlier traditions in the illumination of Qur'an manuscripts is qualified by syntactic reconfigurations. Just as traditional late antique architectural elements are used in novel combinations and contexts in the architecture of the early mosque, so the ornamental vocabulary of arcades and columns that had served to ornament and structure the canon tables of Christian Gospels (fig. 2.9) recurs in Umayyad Qur'ans, where columns are rotated through ninety degrees, subverting their structural logic in order to create horizontal dividers between suras (chapters) of the Qur'an (figs. 2.10–11). These experiments with reorienting architectural illuminations on the page seem to prefigure a radical reorientation of Qur'an codices in their entirety from vertical to horizontal format (fig. 2.12) that may have occurred as early as the eighth century, and which then exerted a near hegemony in the ninth and tenth. This dramatic change may have addressed the sorts of concerns with visualizing difference preserved in contemporary critiques of ornamented Qur'ans and mosques.[42]

In addition to making difference visible, perhaps even producing it, a further concern was with the materiality of the *muṣḥaf*, the Qur'an codex. Once again, this very quality sometimes featured in inter-sectarian debates and polemics about alterity and identity, including the relative value of words and images, debates in which materiality could function both positively and negatively. In such debates, especially in the east Christian world, the standard riposte developed by Christian iconophiles to rationalize the veneration of icons—that veneration was directed not to the material fabric of the icon but towards what it recalled or represented—was often adapted in order to rebut by analogy Muslim accusations that Christians were idolaters. To give but one example, in the thirteenth century, the bishop of Nisibis in the Jazira explained that:

> The Muslims and the Jews venerate the revealed Scripture as well as any material on which the name of God is written. Their exaltation does not go to the material on which it is written, be it paper or parchment, or the pigments and the ink, but to the meaning which is indicated by it, which is the recollection (*dhikr*) of God, the Prophets, and the Saints.[43]

For pious Muslims, however, the very materialization of the revelation rendered it vulnerable to desecration or pollution if touched by the hands of unbelievers or those in a state of ritual impurity. When, for example, quotations

39 *Apologia* XII.28.12–15; Rudolph 1990, 279.

40 See, for example, al-Nasa'i 2007, vol. 6, book 48, hadiths nos. 5072, 5074–5079; *Sahih Muslim*, Book 24, hadiths nos. 5173, 5208–5215, 5241–5245, URL: http://www.iupui.edu/~msaiupui/024.smt.html.

41 George 2010 (a), 52–53.

42 Déroche 2002, 616; Déroche 2004; Déroche 2006, 172–173; Flood 2012 (a), no. 89, 253–254.

43 Cited in Teule 2007, 340. The same argument surfaced in the polemics of the Reformation, when Catholics defended their veneration of the crucifix by arguing that it was not the wood that was venerated, just as the paper and materials of the Gospels were not worshipped: Koerner 2004, 163.

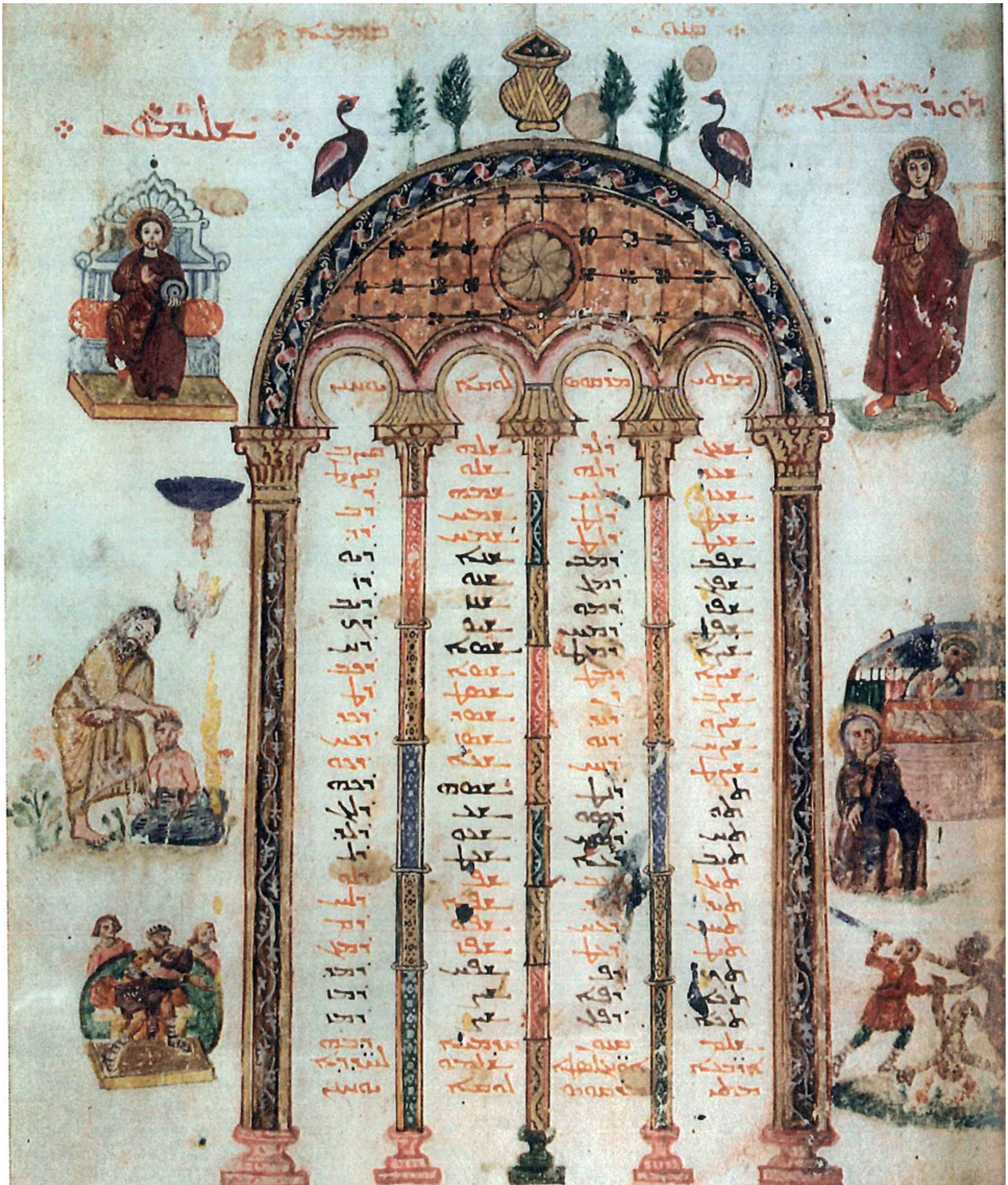

Fig. 2.9: Canon table from the Rabbula Gospels, sixth century. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56, fol. 4b.

Fig. 2.10: Qur'an folio with a chapter divider in the form of an illuminated marble or faux-marble column, ca. early eighth century. St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Marcel 13, fol. 33r.

from the Qur'an were first stamped on coins in the late seventh century, some pious believers objected on the grounds that, as it circulated on the numismatic medium, the sacred text would be polluted by the touch of unbelievers or those in a state of ritual impurity.[44] Similar concerns underlay objections to inscribing the Qur'an on the walls of mosques, and also the development of juridical protocols for the solemn disposal of worn codices, which were in effect treated as corpses, and subject to ritual washing or burial.[45]

These concerns are reiterated frequently by later jurists. For example, a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Hanafi *ḥisba* manual from north India insists that coins bearing Qur'anic inscriptions must be treated like the *muṣḥaf* itself and not touched by unclean persons or trampled underfoot.[46] It was for this reason that Qu'ran 55,77–79, which reads "This is indeed a Holy *Qur'an*, in a book well-guarded, which *none* shall touch *but* those who are pure," was often cited on the exterior cover of the codex.[47] A fatwa issued by the Central Asian Hanafi jurist Fakhr al-Din Qadi Khan (d. 1196), and preserved in a seventeenth-century Indian legal manual records that "It is not considered appropriate to write the Qur'an on *miḥrābs* and walls for fear that the inscription may fall and be stepped upon."[48] Similarly, the Hanafi jurist 'Ali ibn Sultan al-Qari' al-Harawi (d. 1606), based in Mekka, considered it forbidden (*ḥarām*) or disapproved of (*makrūh*) to write Qur'anic verses or the names of the Prophet Muhammad on the walls of mosques or on cenotaphs, or to touch or lean against those already in place.[49]

Jurists of different Sunni schools of jurisprudence voice analogous concerns in relation to the use of Qur'anic and other kinds of religious inscriptions in mausolea and on tombs. The Egyptian Maliki jurist Ibn al-Hajj (d. 1336) denounces the presence of scripture in such contexts for fear that, when the tomb decays, the inscription will fall to the ground and be trampled or taken for reuse in inappropriate contexts such as a threshold (where it will be trampled) or in a lavatory. Jurists of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence such as the Egyptian scholar al-Suyuti (d. 1505) and the Mekkan-based jurist and theologian Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (d. 1566) repeat these concerns and add to them the anxiety that the fall of inscribed texts into the grave might contaminate them with the polluting touch of decaying remains.[50]

A third objection to ornamenting Qur'ans or inscribing scripture on the walls of mosques relates to its optical properties. It is often claimed the role of ornament is to mediate between the viewer and something else. The idea is typified by Hans-Georg Gadamer's assertion that architectural ornament often avoids the use of representational forms that might be recognized and "read," thus holding the gaze for longer than necessary for the process of mediation:

> Certainly it should not invite us to linger and notice it as a decorative motif, but should have a merely accompanying effect. Thus in general it will not have any representational content, or will so iron it out through stylization or repetition that one's eye glides across it. It is not intended that the forms of nature used in an ornament should be recognized.[51]

44 Sezgin (ed.) 2003, 195; Bacharach 2010, 1–3.
45 A practice that led to the development of store-rooms in Damascus, Sana'a', Fustat and Qairawan, from which many of the most spectacular examples of early Qur'ans now found in European and American museum collections were taken; Sadan 1986, 36–58; Flood 2012 (b), 266 and nos. 188–189.
46 Sanami 1986, 163; Izzi Dien 1997, 46, 89.
47 Déroche 2006, 176, 179; Zadeh 2009, 443–466.
48 Cited in Necipoğlu 2007, 97.
49 Al-Makki n.d vol.1, 142; Al-Makki 1966 vol. 4, 76.
50 Cited in Schöller 2004, 272–275.
51 Gadamer 2004, 151. See also Grabar 1992.

Fig. 2.11: Detail of figure 2.10.

Fig. 2.12: Folio from a Kufic Qur'an, Syria or Iraq, ninth or tenth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.142 (Gift of Philip Hofer, 1937).

However, if the role of ornament is to mediate between the viewer and something else, the danger lies in its ability to usurp the attention of the viewer rather than directing it elsewhere, to impede the smooth glide of the gaze and trap it in the well-worked surface.[52] In this case, words, even the carved or painted words of revealed scripture, are by no means an easy alternative to images.

Anticipating the problem, some jurists denounce the decoration of mosques, including their inscription with Qur'anic texts, as a distraction (*shugl*) for the worshippers, since lavishly calligraphed Qur'anic citations have the ability to draw the gaze (*al-naẓar*) to themselves, distracting the worshipers by leading their thoughts from contemplation of God to more material and worldly matters.

The theme of distraction has been much in evidence in recent work on visual culture, given impetus by a renewed interest in the work of twentieth-century German theorists such as Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer and their work on mass entertainment. Distraction for Kracauer involved an abstracted or unfocused mode of relation between the self and the material world, a quality invested with redemptive qualities by virtue of its ability to articulate a kind of fragmented aesthetic experience that resisted "totalizing systems of rationality."[53] By contrast, when medieval jurists spoke about distraction, they envisaged material objects possessed of an allure capable of entrapping the gaze. For theologians concerned with regulating the appearance of the mosque, and through it the gaze, absorption *in* the intricacies of ornament was synonymous with distraction *from* contemplation of the divine. The relationship between the two states is well articulated by Diderot in 1751 in an entry in his encyclopedia that would no doubt have found approval from many medieval Islamic jurists: "[…] one speaks in a figurative sense of being absorbed in God, or in the contemplation of some object, when one gives oneself up to it with all one's thought, without allowing oneself the least distraction."[54]

The problem was not exclusive to Islam of course, it also preoccupied late antique and medieval Christian and Jewish thinkers. These ranged in their opinions from those, like Abbé Suger (d. 1151), who believed in the capacity of material artifacts to lead the mind to thoughts, and ultimately knowledge, of more immaterial matters, to those like Bernard of Clairvaux or Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg (d. 1293) who criticized ornament in churches and prayer books as distractions from prayer, while often also condemning the inappropriate expenditure that ornament occasioned.[55]

None of these theologians and thinkers doubted the ability of certain forms and materials to attract the gaze. For similar reasons, the Prophet Muhammad is said to have rejected the use of garments embellished with designs (*a'lām*) when praying, on the grounds that they functioned as a distraction (*shugl*), while the pious caliph 'Umar I is said to have recommended the wearing of white garments by those reading the Qur'an in mosques.[56] According to some hadith, the Prophet Muhammad was distracted from prayer by a figured curtain hung by Aisha, his wife.[57] Consequently, the use of textiles bearing figurative imagery was discouraged during prayer for fear that their images might encourage (or be seen to encourage) image veneration. In some cases, the slippage between distraction and idolatry is made explicit, as in a fourteenth-century Indian *ḥisba* manual in which the images on figured textiles used for clothing are rejected as akin to idols, and are therefore especially unsuited to prayer.[58]

It is not the semantic content or semiotic function of immaterial words that is at stake in juridical rulings on mosque ornament, including Qur'anic inscriptions, but their material properties and visual allure. The core problem addressed by these hadith and the jurists is what Alfred Gell has called the "cognitive stickiness" of ornament and well-worked surfaces, their ability to act as human fly-paper, reeling us in by drawing the gaze to themselves.[59] Their concerns reinforce the late Michael Camille's point that the gaze did not spring into being with the discovery of one-point perspective or (one might add) the invention of the Cartesian subject.[60] Although focused on the visual properties of ornament, the unornamented plain white textiles and walls opposed by the jurists to ornamented surfaces might even be seen in terms of a quasi-haptic distinction between the sticky and the smooth—in other words, surfaces that entrap versus those that give little purchase to the gaze. It is tempting to relate this distinction to the extramission theory of vision that held sway in the Arab world until the eleventh century,

52 On this problem in early modern Europe, see Zorach 2005, 152.
53 Aitken 1998, 125.
54 Cited in Fried 1980, 183–184.
55 Rudolph 1990; Mann 2000, 110–111.
56 Sunan Abi Dawud, Book 34, hadith 33, URL: http://sunnah.com/abudawud/34. Sunan al- Nasa'i, Book 48, hadith 5354, URL: http://sunnah.com/nasai/48. Malik Ibn Anas (2010), 385, Book 48, Number 48.1.2; al-Fasi 1994, 18–21. I am grateful to Jan Just Witkam for this last reference.
57 *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhari, Book 77, hadiths 5817, 5959. URL: http://sunnah.com/bukhari/77.
58 Sanami 1986, 272–273; Izzi Dien 1997, 102.
59 Gell 1998, 80, 86.
60 Camille 2000, 198.

and which held that vision emanates from the eyes to "touch" the objects of vision and engage them in an almost tactile manner in order to convey their forms to the eye.[61]

The terms in which ornament is denounced also highlights a quasi-Platonic distinction between sense perception and intellectual apprehension, between the perceptive function of the eyes, which provide unfiltered access to the material world, and the heart, the seat of understanding and the apprehension of the divine; one can see with the eyes, the organ of perception, without "seeing" truth with the heart, the organ of comprehension.[62] The distraction that results from inability to move beyond the allure of the visual, and which is addressed by the prescriptions of the hadith and the jurists, is not merely a matter of inconvenience or interruption, but occasions a type of fetishism verging on idolatry.

However, despite the jurists' ambivalence about the ethical implications of this hypnotic quality, it was recognized that in certain situations it might be turned to advantage. In their awed emphasis upon a lavish materiality characterized by opulent media and ornate forms, including great height, gilded and silvered architectural ornament, brocade curtains, precious metal lamps, glass mosaics, and ceilings and walls decorated with gold and images, descriptions of Christian churches and monasteries in pre-Islamic Arabia and early Islamic Syria that one finds in Arabic geographies and poems from the tenth century onwards provide a mirror to the proscriptions of the hadiths and jurists. One invests the forms and materials of ornament with positive qualities of spectacle and wonder, the other gives them an unrelentingly negative gloss.[63] This tension between awe and abjection may provide the context for a well-known passage in the work of the tenth-century Jerusalemite geographer al-Muqaddasi, who attributes the splendors of the Dome of the Rock and Damascus mosque to the desire on the part of the Umayyad caliphs who built them to provide a counter-balance to the beautiful Christian churches of Syria whose ornaments (*zukhruf*) were seducing the Muslims. In order to counter this effect, the Umayyad caliphs provided Muslims with shrines that would attract their attention, making an impression upon their hearts, the heart being the organ of comprehension as opposed to the eyes, the organ of perception.

Similarly, 'Umar's efforts to permanently destroy the ornaments of the Damascus mosque were apparently thwarted by its ability to manifest the power of Umayyad authority to the Byzantines. This suggests that, in situations in which Muslims were a minority, the very allure of the visual that concerned the jurists might be productively used to exert its magic—what the anthropologist Alfred Gell called the "technology of enchantment"—within the space of the mosque itself.[64]

Fourth, if the stickiness of form was one part of the problem with ornament, the materials of its realization and its dissolution by the shimmer of golden matter in particular presented the jurists with another. As Rebecca Zorach put it, writing in another context, "one of the ways in which ornament may "stray" is to be apprehended as matter, in the absence—or *as* the absence—of form."[65] Chrysography is generally seen as lending a dynamic, animate quality to the scriptural medium while giving visual expression to the idea of scripture as a medium of divine illumination (fig. 2.13).[66] This was often the case in the Islamic world, but the use of gold also raised specific concerns for many jurists, according to whom gold and silver are worthless stones whose value derives not from any intrinsic properties, but from their ability to mediate exchange as they circulate, most obviously as coin or specie. The presence of elaborate ornaments in mosques or Qur'an manuscripts thus occasioned a series of misplaced investments, from the visual investment in well-worked or gilded surfaces to the economic investment in precious metals as valued ornaments rather than media of exchange.

Qur'an 9,34 promises punishment to those who hoard gold and silver rather than spending them in the way of God. Consequently, as many medieval jurists make clear, removing gold or silver from circulation through hoarding, casting, or gilding not only frustrated their dynamic function but displaced value from their mediating function onto the mediators themselves. As Marx was to put it later, gold and silver are necessarily the *perpetuum mobile* of the process of circulation.[67] Value is not therefore located in the metals themselves, rather they represent value while in circulation as media of exchange. The use of gold to create golden objects or glittering surfaces occasions a slippage between natural and unnatural function,

61 Lindberg 1976, 18–32; Lindberg 1978, 137–159; Russell 1994, 255, 263. Although for a critical reevaluation of the role that extramission has played in modern historiography, see Betancourt 2016.
62 Qur'an 22,46.
63 For example, al-Hamawi 1867–1873, vol. 2, 704; Shahid 2002, 161–163. For an excellent discussion of these texts, see Fowden 2007, 4–5. For the general background, see Tohme 2009.
64 Gell 1992.
65 Zorach 2005, 153.
66 George 2010 (b); Thunø 2011.
67 Marx 1859.

Fig. 2.13: Folio from the Blue Qur'an, gold ink on indigo dyed parchment, Iraq or North Africa, ninth or tenth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.88 (Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2004).

between precious metals in circulation as the abstracted sign of true value and incarnated as false value in object form. The tension is between gold and silver as mediators that represent a value located outside themselves and precious metals as materials that present or instantiate value in their own right.

Citing Marx's critique of monetary fetishism, the aesthetic theorist Jean-Joseph Goux notes that "the fetishist believes the gold to have intrinsic value, just as the idolater believes the idol in the temple to be something other than the product of human work: a veritable god."[68] Writing in the eleventh century, al-Ghazali (d. 1111) makes the same point in a different way, invoking the figure of Ibrahim/Abraham, celebrated in the Qur'an and elsewhere as the destroyer of his people's idols:

> The Prophet Abraham prayed: "O God, save me and my successors from idol worship" [Qur'an 14,35]. By this he meant the worship of gold and silver, as gold and silver are deities of people. [...] The Prophet said: "The slaves of dinars [gold coins] are wretched and the servants of dirhams [silver coins] are wretched." [...] So it appears that those who love them and serve gold and silver are among those who serve stones and idols.[69]

Taken out of circulation and cast into object form, gold becomes a signifier that signifies only itself, like the idols and stone images rejected by Islam as material things lacking a referent that would confer a truth-value.[70]

The prohibitions against using gold and silver vessels either as functional objects or as ornaments are reiterated frequently in medieval and early modern juridical texts, which occasionally deal with the recuperation of precious metals from brocaded textiles or even architectural ornament.[71]

This explains why 'Umar II reportedly removed golden lamps when he draped the aniconic mosaics in Damascus, and why precious metal lamps are singled out in later juridical texts: according to the Hanbali jurist Ibn Qudama

68 Goux 1990, 160.

69 Al-Ghazali 1967–1968, vol. 3, 216.

70 For an extended discussion, see Flood 2009, 34–36.

71 See, for example, Lagardère 1995, 51, 127.

Fig. 2.14: Qur'an written in cursive script with gilded chapter headers, Iran or Iraq (?), eleventh century. Cairo, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, QUR284F, fol. 200v–201r.

(d. 1223), gold and silver ornamented lamps donated to a mosque must be smashed, and their precious metals put into circulation to pay for its upkeep and repair.[72]

It is often said that the rulings of jurists and theologians had little impact on material practice. The proliferation of Qur'anic inscriptions in mosques, or the use of gilding in mosques and Qur'ans (figs. 2.13–2.14) despite repeated objections on the part of many jurists, is proof enough of this. That they could, on occasion, be related to practice can hardly be doubted, however, even if ʻUmar II never realized his ambition to permanently whitewash the Damascus mosque. The recent erasure of ornament, including Qur'anic inscriptions, in the mosques of Mosul finds precedents in earlier historical episodes. In the tenth century, for example, the qadi of Sanaʻa' Yahya ibn ʻAbdallah ibn Kulayb (d. 341/952–953), gave orders for the beautiful and wondrous stucco carvings (*naqūsh*) of the Umayyad period around the mihrab of the city's Friday mosque to be destroyed. Since the mihrab was part of the mosque erected by the Umayyad caliph al-Walid (r. 705–715), it seems that these carvings were of the same vintage as those to which Umar II had taken umbrage in Damascus two centuries earlier. The stucco ornaments effaced in Sanaʻa' undoubtedly contained inscriptions, which were commonly set around the mihrabs in other early mosques. The reasons given for this effacement are identical to the denunciations of mosque ornament found in tenth- and eleventh-century legal texts: the decoration of mosques was reprehensible (*makrūh*), since it attracted the gaze of the worshippers, distracting them from prayer.[73]

In the rationalization of such remedial action, as in juridical concerns with the haptic and optic properties of scripture and the materiality of its inscription, anxieties about the ornamented text function in a series of registers that proceed from the micro to the macro level. First, there is the problem of the illumination or ornamentation of the

72 Juynboll 1985, 113.

73 Al-Razi 1974, 86; Finster 1978, 96. The practice of anointing the mihrab with unguents had been prohibited slightly earlier.

text itself, a problem that combines anxieties about ostentation and inappropriate expenditure with an economy of piety in which gilding is frowned upon as displacing value from the mediating function of gold onto the golden matter itself. The second register in which concerns about materialized scripture resonate is the ability of the Qur'an codex as an object in its own right to attract inappropriate investments on the part of the worshipper when placed within the mihrab or near the qibla wall, the wall that indicates the direction of Mecca. Third, there is the problem of monumental Qur'anic texts inscribed or painted on the walls of mosques, with, once again, particular anxieties about their appearance on the qibla wall or around the mihrab, towards which worshippers faced when praying. These occasioned concerns related to both the materiality of sacred text and its consequent vulnerability, and to its visual properties and capacity to distract the worshipper from prayer.

Paradoxically, in light of the widespread perception of Islamic art as an art of ornament, in the traditions discussed here, images and words are equally implicated (both positively and negatively) by virtue of their materiality, their visual properties and the contexts in which they appear. Rooted in the Qur'an and hadith, juridical concerns about ornamenting bodies, books and buildings highlight a series of interrelationships between aesthetics, ethics and economics that structure the perception of graphic forms, visual elaboration, and verbal representation. These interrelationships adumbrate an economy of piety similar to that which Lee Wandel has noted in her study of religious practice in sixteenth-century Zurich. For the Protestant reformists of that city, even non-figurative objects could be identified as idols by virtue of their relationship to a Christian economy in which idolatry was not confined to facture or figuration, but also inhered in the privileging of static accumulation over circulation, or the use of material resources for the embellishment of inert icons rather than the sustenance of living believers. As one iconoclast, prosecuted in Zurich in 1523 for destroying a retable and other church ornaments put it, "such ornaments are the food of the poor."[74] In sixteenth-century Zurich, as in eighth-century Damascus, lamps ("the idols that eat oil") were a particular target not only for their inherent materiality but for their ability to consume church monies.[75]

There are, in fact, numerous parallels between the economy of piety adumbrated in the Qur'an and hadith and attitudes to materiality found in early patristic writings, sources upon which Protestant Reformists drew heavily. This may explain the striking parallels between the attempts of medieval Islamic jurists to regulate the visual economy of sacred space and text and the attempts of Protestant reformists to theorize the relationship between consumption, function, materiality, and the visual. Exploring those parallels would, however, be a topic for another venue.

74 Wandel 1990, 138.
75 Wandel 1999.

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3 Concealed and Revealed

Insular Visualizations of the Word

The codex played a highly significant role in the process of conversion of the peoples of Britain and Ireland to Christianity and helped to transform their cultures from late Iron Age or late Antique (depending on levels of exposure to Roman influences) into early medieval forms. Prehistoric, proto-literate responses to Roman and/or Etruscan script systems resulted in the ogham and runic alphabets, and both Celtic and Germanic societies had rich oral and visual cultures which predisposed them to a heightened perception of the authority of writing when it was introduced in a Christian sacred context. This soon also extended to its use in the secular sphere. The scripts of the earliest extant English charters (from Kent during the final third of the seventh century), for example, are accordingly stately uncials of the sort practiced in Gregory the Great's Rome and used in contemporary scriptural and liturgical books imported or written in early England, rather than the debased new Roman cursive derivatives, resembling the wanderings of a spider through the inkwell and across the page, of the sort inherited on the Continent.[1] In this paper I shall discuss some of the material manifestations of the Insular awareness of the iconic potential of the book as a cultural mediator and of the visual potency of the written word, and accompanying imagery and ornament, even when the actual text was inaccessible and hidden from view.

Books were major vehicles of long-distance cultural transmission—the emissaries which Cassiodorus and Pope Gregory viewed as itinerant teachers.[2] Some of the Vivarium's codices may have found their way to Northumbria amongst the treasures salvaged from its dispersed library by romanophiles such as Benedict Biscop, Abbot Ceolfrith and Wilfrid of York during their many pilgrimages to Rome. The crypt which Stephanus tells us was constructed by Wilfrid at Ripon, was intended to recall the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and was stocked with relics of the Roman and Eastern martyrs. It became the center of Wilfrid's own cult from 709/710, and its focal point was a purple codex he probably acquired during one of his many trips abroad. Wilfrid's shrine therefore assembled iconic references to *romanitas*, the holy places, and the imperial dignity, expressed through the Byzantine taste for the visible consumption of costly materials in book form, such as gold and silver inks and purple-dyed pages.[3] An impressive roll-call of early Christian purple codices from Byzantine territory (or in the case of the Codex Uppsalensis, Ostrogothic territory), including the Rossano Gospels, the Vienna Genesis, Codex Brixianus, Codex Petroplitanus Purpureus, and the Syriac Codex Caesarensis, is joined by the equally impressive Stockholm Codex Aureus (Stockholm, Royal Library, A 135), made in mid-eighth-century Kent and, presumably, by the volumes penned in gold which Boniface requested Abbess Eadburh of Minster-in-Thanet to supply for his German mission in the 740s.[4] The Anglo-Saxons evidently shared the Byzantine taste for honoring the Word of God with the materials and symbolism of worldly power to which their own rulers also aspired. Wilfrid's crypt at Ripon thus enshrined at its heart a beautifully adorned copy of scripture, evoking the presence of the body of Christ in the Holy Sepulchre and promising the hope of resurrection. This tapped into a deep and ancient pool of tradition and of perception of the talismanic power of text and of the objects that conveyed it, stemming in Judeo-Christian thought from God's gift of his Word, in the form of the Ten Commandments, to Moses and their enshrinement in the Ark of the Covenant which came to lay at the heart of the Tabernacle in the Temple of Jerusalem.

This line of ideographic connection is portrayed in the quire of prefatory images and diagrams in the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1)—one of the three great biblical pandects made at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow in Northumbria at the behest of Abbot Ceolfrith, before he carried one of them off with him as a gift to the Pope in 716.[5] This gathering includes

1 For the place of ogham and runes within the development of Insular writing, see Brown 2011 (a). On post-Roman chancery cursives, see Bischoff 1990; Brown 1999.

2 See Brown 2000; Meyvaert 2005.

3 On Wilfrid's purple codex, as recounted by Stephen of Ripon, see Brown 2003, 277. On biblical purple codices from different cultural backgrounds, see Brown 2006, nos. 44, 64, 70, and see also the excellent contributions by H. Kessler in that volume.

4 See Brown 2001.

5 For discussion of aspects of the significance and timing of this, see Brown 2017. For discussion of the Codex Amiatinus prefatory images, see also Corsano 1987; Farr 1999.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110558609-003

Fig. 3.1: Christ in Majesty, Codex Amiatinus, late seventh or early eigth century. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 796v.

a plan of the Temple and Tabernacle, diagrams representing the division of scripture, and a miniature of Ezra the scribe which is a multivalent image of transmission depicting Ezra, who reconstructed Hebrew scripture from memory and committed it to writing, Cassiodorus whose monastic publishing house (the Vivarium) was dedicated to studying and publishing sacred text and whose *novem codices* edition is depicted in the adjacent *armarium*, each book's spine bearing the name of a different biblical editor, and Ceolfrith and his editorial/scribal team. This prefatory cycle is completed by a figural image of Christ in Majesty at the start of the New Testament (fig. 3.1), flanked by the evangelists and their symbols, in an apocalyptic vision of the Second Coming of the integrated human and divine will (as espoused by the Orthodoxy of Chalcedon). Enthroned at the center of the Cosmos is Christ, holding the Gospels bound in a treasure binding, gesturing to it as the vehicle of transmission of that will, with the four evangelists bearing their own Gospels of witness into the four corners of the world. Each figure bears their book in draped hands, honoring its sacrality in the manner of the deacon who bore the Gospels in similarly draped hands during their liturgical display and performative proclamation in the readings of the day. In this authoritative statement of the Insular role in the ongoing process of transmission of the divine will the image of the sacred "book" is central.

Insular culture also bears the mark of Eastern influence in the talismanic power and regard that it accorded to copies of sacred texts. Early Armenian practices and artefacts provide some particularly intriguing and unusual Insular parallels.[6] These include the enshrinement of books in leather satchels, their substitution for the Byzantine *palladium* as a guarantor of victory when carried before armies into battle, their redemption as hostages from pagan captors, and the commemoration of makers and patrons in colophons.[7] Insular parallels for such Armenian phenomena include the following: leather book satchels—one found in a loch in western Scotland and now in the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, and another in an Irish peat bog at Faddan More in the western Midlands of Ireland; the Cathach of St Columba (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 12 R 33, see below), which was borne enshrined into conflicts by its hereditary keepers; the redemption of the Stockholm Codex Aureus and the St Chad Gospels and their presentation to leading church altars during the mid-ninth century; and the colophons found in the Barberini Gospels and the Book of Armagh around 800 and those added to the MacRegol, MacDurnan, and Lindisfarne Gospels in the tenth century.

The practice of binding sacred texts in imposing treasure bindings or metalwork book-shrines (Old Irish *cumdach*) is also of ultimately Eastern origin. Such opulent bindings have been produced for Byzantine, Coptic, Armenian, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Carolingian, and Ottonian books.[8] In Coptic Egypt and in Ireland, metalwork shrines

6 On Insular colophons, see Gameson 2001. On the Armenian practices, see Nersessian 1978, 61–62. See also Mathews/Wieck 1994, XV. During the mid-ninth century the Codex Aureus (Stockholm, Royal Library, A 135) was redeemed from a Viking army, in return for bullion, by Ealdorman Alfred of Surrey or Kent and his wife, Werburh, and presented to Canterbury Cathedral, whilst the Lichfield Gospels (Lichfield, Cathedral Library, Ms. 1) was traded by a Welshman, Gelhi, for his horse and presented by him to the altar of St Teilo, Llandeilo Fawr, see Brown 2008.

7 See Brown 2011 (b); Brown 2016 (b). See also Brown 2012 (a).

8 See Brown 2006, nos. 66, 67, 74; Lowden 2007. Important early medieval treasure bindings include the Lindau Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1) and the Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000), see Ganz

are also encountered.[9] The earliest surviving example (ca. 600) of what may be a book-shrine forms part of the Coptic Treasure of Archbishop Abraham of Harmonthis (Cairo, Coptic Museum), whilst early treasure bindings are the gold and silver Sion Treasure book covers, made in Constantinople during the second half of the sixth century (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, inv. BZ 1963.36.8).[10] A particularly early and imposing depiction of a jeweled treasure binding is that held by the Pantocrator in the remarkable sixth-century encaustic icon in the museum at the Holy Monastery of St Catherine's, Sinai.[11] Such images may have helped to inspire subsequent Insular practice, with the treasure bindings depicted in the Christ in Majesty image in the Codex Amiatinus perhaps being modelled upon ones shown in the panel paintings and icons brought back from Rome to adorn the walls of the churches at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in the late seventh century.[12]

In the seventh century the original fifth-century binding of the Freer Gospels was modified by Coptic craftsmen who adorned the wooden covers with encaustic wax images of the four evangelists, each carrying his own Gospel in jeweled covers, held in draped hands recalling the manner in which the deacon carried the Gospels during the liturgy (fig. 3.2). The book was thus transformed into an icon.[13] The style and technique are recalled in the Lindisfarne Gospel's evangelist miniatures, which sit framed like icons set upon the page, their backgrounds of thick pink paint burnished to emulate the encaustic icon technique. In the Matthew miniature (fig. 3.3) a mortal, ageing evangelist—representing Christ incarnate and his human will—sits writing his contribution to the New Testament whilst the Old is revealed, in the form of a codex borne by a nimbed figure, from behind a curtain which is drawn aside, perhaps in recollection of the Temple curtain which was rent asunder to reveal the Ark of the Covenant at the Crucifixion.[14]

At the same time as the Freer Gospels covers were painted, a metalwork fitting was also added which permanently locked the covers, entombing or enshrining the text of the Freer Gospels within the volume's own binding boards.[15] Here, the Word remains veiled and awaiting, like Christ in the tomb, the resurrection that is proclaimed by its external visualization of the evangelists about to declare Christ's teaching, sacrifice and triumph over death during the liturgical reading of their bejeweled Gospels, rather as the trumpeting angel of the Apocalypse (which doubles as Matthew's symbol, the man) does in the Lindisfarne Gospels' Matthew miniature.

The covers of some early Coptic bindings resemble the cross carpet pages of such Insular Gospel-books, the sacrality of their texts reinforced by external protective symbols. This rendered them as efficacious closed as open. A late eighth-century Irish metalwork book-shrine

Fig. 3.2: The Freer Gospels binding, fifth century, with added Coptic encaustic depictions of the evangelists and metal closure fitting, seventh century. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, F1906.297.

2015, 131–148, 158–191. See also the contributions of Vladimir Ivanovici, Robert S. Nelson and Thomas Rainer in this volume.

9 See Ó Floinn 1994.

10 See Brown 2003, 212; for the Sion Treasure bindings, see Brown 2006, no. 67.

11 Orthodox icon of Jesus Christ Pantocrator (23), Encaustic icon of Sinai, Christ Pantocrator. The Holy Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai.

12 See Brown 2000, 3–4.

13 On books as icons, see Watts 2006; Watts 2012. See also the introduction to this volume.

14 See Brown 2003, 359–362; Brown 2017.

15 Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, F1906.274, and its covers, F1906.297 and F1906.298. See Brown 2006, nos. 28–29, 150–151, 268–269.

Fig. 3.3: St Matthew, Lindisfarne Gospels, ca. 715–720. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.iv, fol. 25v.

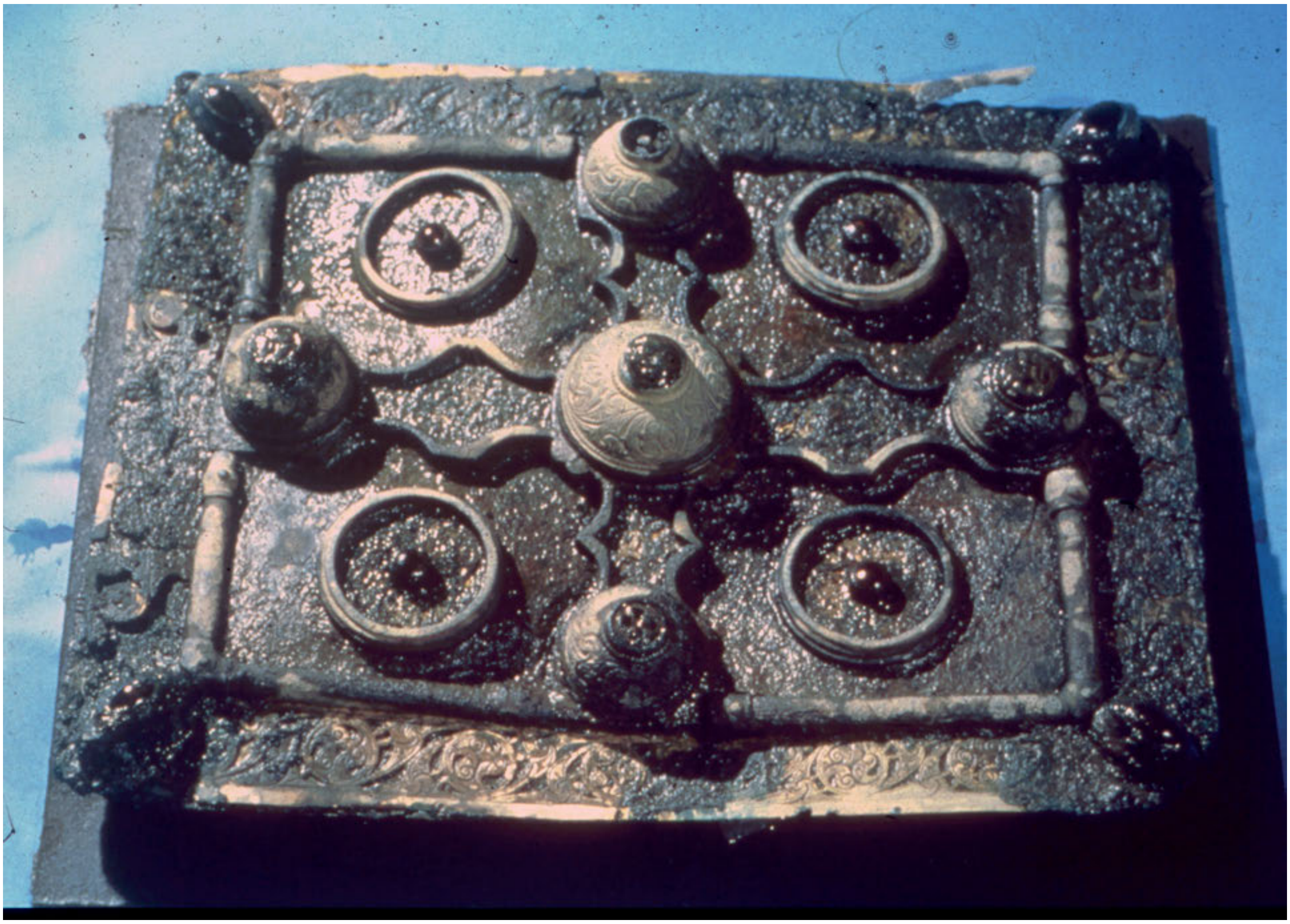

Fig. 3.4: The Lough Kinale Bookshrine, ca. 800 (reconstructed). Dublin, National Museum of Ireland.

(fig. 3.4) from Lough Kinale, Co. Longford, likewise carries a design recalling carpet pages and, like the Coptic Freer Gospels, was designed not to open—the sacred book being entombed, or enshrined, within its own cover (rather like the Cuthbert Gospel which may have lain within the saint's coffin), the external visual symbolism and the knowledge of what lay hidden within ensuring the relic's efficacy.[16] The fact that these texts were considered effective even while closed demonstrates, amongst many things, the power of the Insular visual imagination, which could conceive of the unseen visual symbol.

When the Irish Derrynaflan hoard of church plate was buried beneath a protective cauldron, during the ninth century, and the Faddan More Psalter was committed to the peat,[17] perhaps those responsible may have been intending not only to conceal these items with a view to later retrieval, but to save them from desecration by pagan raiders by giving them ritual burial, resembling deposit within Jewish *genizoth* and Near Eastern examples of book burials.[18]

16 Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1986: 141. See Kelly 1994. If the Cuthbert Gospel was indeed inside St Cuthbert's coffin, we do not know how often it may have been made visible, whether during occasional openings of the coffin or on more regular display to pilgrims, on which see Brown 2017.

17 Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1980: 4, 5. See Brown 1993; Meehan 2007.

18 The Talmud (Shabbat 115a) stipulates that all sacred writings (scrolls of the Torah, Prophets, and Writings), should be preserved in a place where they cannot be destroyed. This idea originally related to a prohibition from erasing God's name, but Maimonides ruled that holy books, such as the Talmud and *midrash*, should also be retired to the *genizah* as well, even though they do not contain God's name (*Mishneh Torah*, *Hilhot Yesodei HaTorah* 6, 8). At some point it became the practice to empty the *genizoth* (whether rooms or boxes) found in each synagogue, to make room for more deposits, and to bury the earlier contents in the associated cemetery.

Codicological influences from the Christian Orient also reached the Insular world, revealing a shared appreciation of what I have termed "sacred codicology."[19] In eastern Mediterranean Gospel books, each Gospel occupied its own gatherings, emphasizing originally distinct books by different authors.[20] The Gospels were also usually prefaced by one or more separate gatherings containing introductory matter. This distinctive codicological arrangement prevails in several Insular Gospel books, including the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Barberini Gospels.[21] Perhaps most significant, however, was the Insular espousal of the Eastern phenomenon of solitary scribal heroics and of one person being both artist and scribe of a few important works, notably the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Macregol Gospels.[22]

The cults of Saints Columba, Cuthbert and Chad all evinced intriguing aspects of influence from the Christian Orient, not least in their use of books as visual and ideological symbols as well as transmitters of text. The Cathach (or "battler") of Columcille (figs. 3.5–3.6) was so called because its medieval hereditary keepers, the Mag Robhartaigh/McGroarty clan from Ballintra (Donegal), carried it, enshrined in a *cumdach*, before them in battle as a *palladium* to ensure divine favor, a practice encountered earlier in Armenia where Gospel books preceded armies into battle.[23] This was long thought to be the book that occasioned the notorious charge of copyright infringement levelled against Columba and which prompted his departure on *peregrinatio* to found Iona in 563. Columba, his friend the hermit St Canice, and St Ultan all won acclaim as hero-scribes,[24] Canice writing a Gospel book single-handedly, for copying the Gospels was seen as the highest scribal calling and, as already mentioned above, solitary scribal heroics were a recognized feature of the Near Eastern production of sacred texts.

If, as seems likely, Aldred's colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels preserves an accurate earlier account of its production team, then the task of binding the Gospels, as well as of writing them, was the preserve of the "seniores" within the Columban tradition, and fell in this instance to Bishop Aethilwald of Lindisfarne, who succeeded the book's artist-scribe, Bishop Eadfrith, in 722. Bilfrith the Anchorite, whom the colophon says adorned the book with gold and gems, is mentioned in the Durham Liber Vitae (London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.vii) of ca. 840 and this would suggest that the Lindisfarne Gospels was contained, before that date, in a treasure

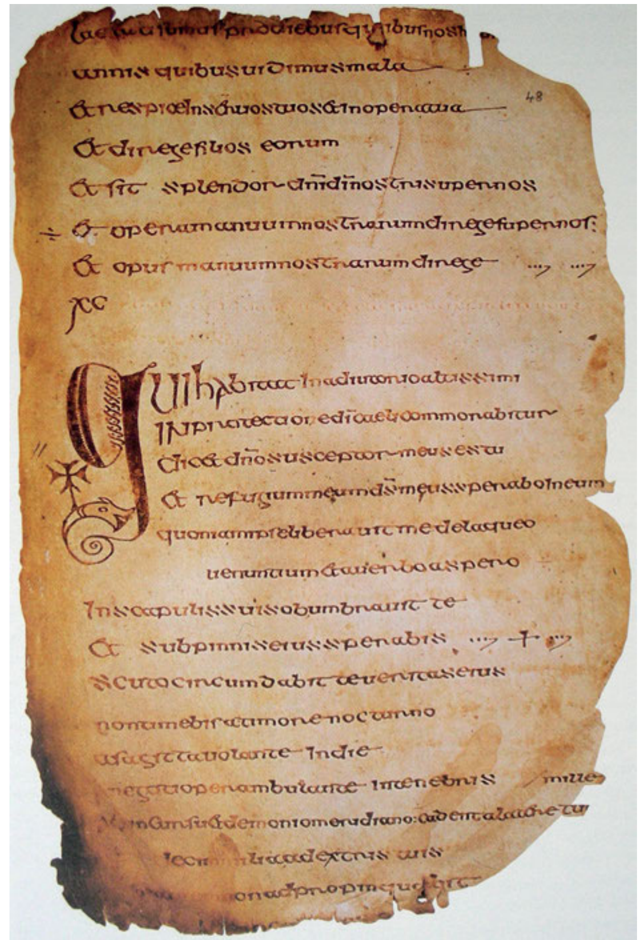

Fig. 3.5: The Cathach of Columcille, late sixth–early seventh century (?). Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 12 R 33, fol. 48r.

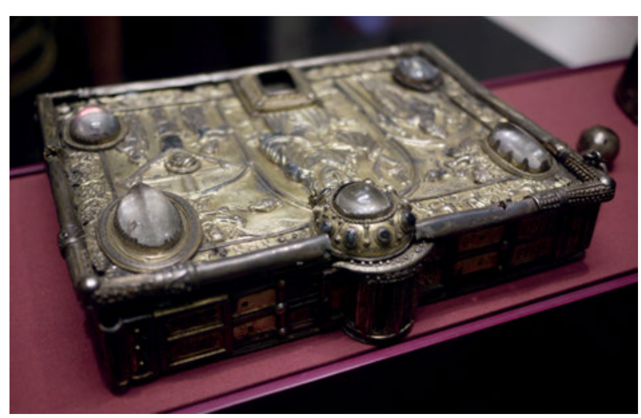

Fig. 3.6: Shrine of the Cathach, eleventh–fourteenth centuries. Dublin, National Museum of Ireland.

19 See Brown 2003.
20 See McGurk 1961, 6–7.
21 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 570. See Brown 2007 (a).
22 See Brown 2003. See also Rapp 2007.
23 See Nersessian 1987, 11.
24 See Brown 2000, 8–9; Brown 2003, 396–397; Gameson 2001, 3–6.

binding or *cumdach*.[25] Another example of a former treasure binding, bearing metal or ivory plates, is the Bodmin Gospels (London, British Library, Add. 9381). This volume was made in Landevennec in Brittany around 900 and from the 930s served as the book of the high altar of St Petroc (at Bodmin or perhaps Padstow), where it served to sanction legal transactions, notably the manumission of slaves (as the St Chad Gospels did at Llandeilo Fawr in Wales from the mid-ninth century.[26] This was part of the socially transformative function that such sacred tomes represented. It retains its original binding boards, covered with pink kermes-stained leather, with a recess on the upper board to receive an inset decorative panel and mounts. The external semiotics of such books would have helped to reinforce public perceptions of the power of the sacred Word that they contained, during the performative practices of liturgical reading and legal process.

The earliest Western binding to have survived intact still protects the St Cuthbert Gospel (fig. 3.7).[27] This is thought to have been written at Wearmouth/Jarrow in the 690s, or possibly during the early eighth century when the cult of St Cuthbert was being developed and the Lindisfarne Gospels was being made.[28] Certainly the style of its uncial script supports this.[29] It is usually assumed to have been bound there, too, although if its intended destination was indeed the shrine of St Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, then it might conceivably have been bound once it reached there. This unsupported binding structure employed the "Coptic" sewing technique, as opposed to what became the Western norm of sewing on supports (an early extant example of which is Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Codex Bonifatianus 1, probably made in the early eighth century).[30] It is well executed and evinces mastery of a practical skill that may represent a *prima facie* learning encounter between Insular and Near Eastern book producers. The decoration of the outer cover also displays probable Eastern influence for, as already mentioned, early Coptic bindings also often feature tooled or raised designs resembling cross carpet-pages, as does the tooled

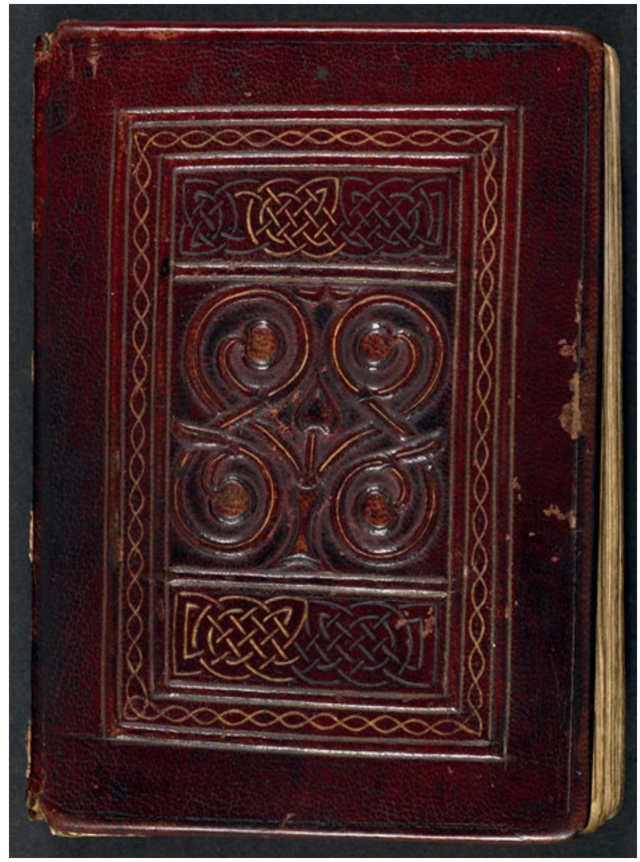

Fig. 3.7: St Cuthbert Gospel, upper cover, late seventh century. London, British Library, Add. 89000.

lower board cover of the Cuthbert Gospel, whilst its upper cover features the raised design of a vine-stem, of the sort seen on contemporaneous Northumbrian and southern Scottish sculpture.[31]

The St Cuthbert Gospel is thought perhaps to be that which was found inside St Cuthbert's tomb, lying on top of the inner coffin, in 1104. It cannot be proven conclusively when the book was deposited in the coffin, which was certainly opened occasionally to receive further relics and gifts (including textiles donated by King Athelstan), but, as is noted in the facsimile volume, it contains marginal marks that indicate that it was used liturgically during the Office of the Dead and that it might, conceivably, have been used at the obsequies for St Cuthbert's remains during the translation of 698.[32] Sister Benedicta

25 Brown 2016 (a).

26 Brown 2007 (b); Brown 2008. See also Brown 2016 (a).

27 Brown et al. 1969. The manuscript, now London, British Library, Add. 89000, has been fully digitized and is available at the British Library's digitized manuscripts site: http://www.bl.uk. For an overview of recent research, see Breay/Meehan 2015. See also the entry generated by British Library curatorial staff: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=St_Cuthbert_Gospel&oldid=506347847.

28 Brown 2017.

29 For a recent discussion of uncial script and its Insular context, see Brown 2012 (b).

30 See Wilson 1961, Szirmai 1998, 95–96.

31 For the former, and for such patterned bindings, see for example, Kramer 1964, and for the latter Avrin 2010. For a comparison of a Coptic binding of the seventh/eighth century (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 569) with the St Cuthbert Gospel, see ibid., 310.

32 Brown et al. 1969. The book found in 1104 was, however, described as a book of the Gospels (plural), see Cambridge 2015, 115–128. On the

Ward has highlighted the special role that John's Gospel played in the religious life of the period.[33] It was this text that Cuthbert studied with his master in the last week of Boisil's life, for it contained "the simple things of 'the faith that works by love'" (Gal. 5,6) and was an apt focus for meditation for one about to leave this life. Bede likewise devoted his final days to translating the Gospel of John into the vernacular for the benefit of his people, and it is he who informs us that Boisil's copy of John was written on seven quires, symbolizing the week of study and the time taken for the Creator to complete the work of Creation. The Cuthbert Gospel is written upon twelve quires, again evincing a preoccupation with number symbolism—this time representing discipleship—and with what I have termed "sacred codicology," in which theological symbolism was embedded within the very structure of books, as in other aspects of the Insular arts.[34]

The Cuthbert Gospel of St John may, therefore, have been interred with the saint at some point in recollection of Boisil's book, but was evidently not that self-same book.[35] Its palaeography is consistent with a late seventh- to early eighth-century date and it is conceivable, if not demonstrable, that it was made in connection with St Cuthbert's cult as his own Gospel of John, recalling that which he explored, in discipleship, with Boisil. In 488 St Barnabas's tomb in Cyprus was opened, and the Apostle was found with St Matthew's autograph Gospel on his breast—a deposition perhaps also intentionally recalled when the little Wearmouth/Jarrow Gospel was placed inside St Cuthbert's coffin.[36] Another reason for its inclusion may be, I would suggest, that Wearmouth/Jarrow was "publishing" copies of a particularly good version of Jerome's Vulgate edition of St John's Gospel by distributing copies to other scriptoria—a strategy that Alcuin of York and the Tours scriptorium would later emulate—and that this was Lindisfarne's gift copy, consulted during the writing of the Lindisfarne Gospels, around 715–720, and placed in the coffin thereafter. Study of this intriguing little book continues, most recently in a project hosted by the British Library to celebrate its acquisition for the nation.[37]

The presence of the St Cuthbert Gospel inside his coffin—as in the case of books encased in metalwork shrines as saints' relics—was evidently of powerful significance.[38] An earlier case of scripture included in a burial is the earliest extant Coptic Psalter, which was lovingly placed as a pillow beneath the head of an adolescent girl around 400 in a humble cemetery at Al-Mudil, near Oxyrhynchus. An older analogy was the ancient Egyptian practice of interring the Book of the Dead with the deceased to aid the person's passage into the afterlife. The little bone key that serves to lock the Coptic Psalter emulates those used for the ancient Books of the Dead—replaced here, and in Northumbria, with the Christian Book of Life. Might the St Cuthbert Gospel similarly have served as the saint's pillow-book?[39]

At the time of the translation of St Cuthbert's relics, the incorrupt, undecayed bodies of deceased bishops in Sinai, like those found elsewhere in Egypt (such as St Bishoi in the Wadi Natroun), were also being placed (according to a mid-nineteenth-century account), fully vested, in painted wooden mummy cases or coffins,[40] a practice which recalls not only ancient Egyptian practice but the contemporary enshrinement of St Cuthbert's imperishable body in his wooden sarcophagus with his Book of Life. An example of a Coptic painted wooden coffin of late fourth-century date and of similar form to that of St Cuthbert (the image on the lid in this instance depicting the interred youth partaking of his funerary feast) survives in the J. Paul Getty Museum, 82.AP.75.[41] Some of the fragments of Cuthbert's coffin in Durham Cathedral apparently still show traces of probably having been painted.[42] Its images of the evangelists

possibility that the relics of St Cuthbert may have been more regularly visible, see Brown 2017.

33 Ward 2002, 65–80.

34 On the Insular deployment of such number symbolism, see for example Brown 1993. D. Howlett's work is yielding increasing evidence of the use of sophisticated compositional structures, many of them numerically based and with scriptural authority. See, for example, Howlett 1998.

35 Beda, *Vita Cuthberti*, capitulum 8 (ed. Farmer, 53–54). See Brown 2000, 12–13.

36 Recounted around 750–66 by Alexander Monachus, *Laudatio Barnabae*, 4087–4106 (ed. van Deun, 116). See Dilley 2010. This account and other interesting related ones are mentioned in Rapp 2007, 208–09. However, her suggestion that the St Cuthbert Gospel was copied by the saint himself, or by his master Boisil, is unlikely given the nature of the uncial script, which is that practiced at Wearmouth/Jarrow at the end of the seventh century rather than the half-uncial favored by houses such as Melrose and Lindisfarne.

37 See Brown 2003, 71–72, Brown 2011 (a), 90. For the initial findings of the British Library project, see note 27, above.

38 Brown 2012 (a).

39 Accounts of the opening of the coffin suggest that a book was found near St Cuthbert's head, see Cambridge 2015, 115–128.

40 Robinson 1841, 99. Interestingly, parallels have been drawn between the early Sinai encaustic icons and the Egypto-Hellenistic Fayyum portraits, which were placed over the face of the mummy for burial.

41 Török 2005, 51–56, fig. 9, previously noted in Parlasca 1996, 188–89, fig. 2 and 155–160, figs. 1/a–f. For the conservation report, see Elston 1995. On other Egyptian funerary analogies for St Cuthbert's enshrinement, see Brown 2017.

42 I have been in discussion with Durham Cathedral library staff on this matter and it is hoped that in the future some technical

Fig. 3.8: Sculpture of the Virgin Hodegetria (holding the codex in place of the Christ child) and Apostles, ca. 800. Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire).

and angels replace the Egyptian deities and *shabti*, whilst the Virgin and Child adopt the distinctive sideways pose of Coptic art (rather than the frontal Byzantine pose), recalling the ancient iconography of Isis and Horus. Such stylistic echoes of Eastern influences may have been long-lived, for George Henderson has drawn attention to the resemblance of the depiction of Joseph's shrouded body in the Old English Hexateuch, made at Canterbury ca. 1000 (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B.iv, fol. 72v), to Egyptian mummy wrappings.[43] The presence of papyrus as part of a cartonnage binding, in Egyptian fashion, to the Irish late eighth-century Faddan More Psalter is also highly suggestive of continued Eastern links with the West that run counter to Henri Pirenne's theory of Islamic rupture of such trade routes.[44] Papyrus was still being used occasionally as a writing material at St Catherine's during the ninth century, to make a book for use by the community of Georgian-speaking monks at the monastery. Might Egyptian papyrus still have been reaching areas as far afield as Ireland?[45]

In conclusion, I have sought to demonstrate that in the course of the establishment of the early Christian churches, and as part of the process of conversion and reception of the authority of Logos, books containing scripture were elevated in public perception and in performative context to an iconic status as sacred and cultural artefacts. This response was shaped in part by influences from the cradle of Christianity—the Near East.

Their symbolic power exerted a transformative effect upon rituals not only of worship but of devotional piety and even of legal process. In the course of this process of reception and the formation of perception, the physical appearance and structure of the codex became imbued with new significance and its power could be expressed not only by accessing the text it contained but by its very materiality and invested sacrality.

examination, along the lines of the non-destructive Raman laser examination of the Lindisfarne Gospels that I co-supervised, might be undertaken. See Brown 2003, chap. 5 and Appendix.

43 Henderson 1972, 178.

44 Pirenne 1925, ch. 1–2.

45 Brown 2006, no. 38, 1, 68, 275–276.

Perhaps the ultimate expression of this phenomenon was the "hidden" book, whereby the text was rendered inaccessible to the "reader" by virtue of its external protective cover or by the context of its containment, but its symbolic power reinforced by its external semiotics and awareness of its very presence. This shift in mindset to view the codex as the ultimate image of *auctoritas* is graphically depicted in the sculpture of the Virgin Hodegetria (the "Indicator of the way") at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire), a Mercian work of ca. 800, in which Mary holds not the Christ child, as is usual in this well-known Byzantine iconography, but the Gospel book (see fig. 3.8).[46] The sacred book has become the incarnation of Logos and signifies the divine presence and will. A radical shift in cognitive perception had occurred that embodies the essence of the process of transition from classical Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

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46 See Brown 2011 (a) and Brown 2017. For Byzantine use of this iconography can be observed in the Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, made in Constantinople, ca. 1400, depicting the icon of the Hodegetria flanked by the champions of the reintroduction of Christian imagery to Byzantium in the mid-ninth century (London, British Museum, inv. 1988, 0411.1).

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Thomas Rainer

4 Adoring God's Name

Images of the Torah Case (Tik) and its Erasure in Medieval Jewish and Christian Manuscripts

Introducing his theological treatise *Shulḥan Kesef*, the fourteenth-century Jewish philosopher Joseph Ibn Caspi records a fictive conversation with a Christian bishop about the sacredness of Hebrew scripture. The dialogue starts with the bishop asking his Jewish interlocutor: "Why do you ask the kings, the popes and the bishops to honor and revere the book of Moses' Torah when you take it before you on their entering town, just as we do when we take out before them our icons?"[1] The question is remarkable for two reasons: it is an important document for the public display of the Torah scroll in medieval advent ceremonies, and it gives us a unique insight into how a Jewish participant interpreted the Christian viewers' perception of these rituals. Actually, Caspi supposes, that for the Christian bishop the Torah scroll is just another icon representing God, nothing special compared to the Christian holy images and books. By pointing out the exceptional holiness of the God-given Hebrew script and language the Jewish philosopher tries to refute this argument.[2]

Comparing the Jewish cult of scripture to Christian icons had a long tradition in Christian anti-Jewish polemics. The fourteenth-century frontispiece of a French translation of Augustine's *City of God* dedicated to the French King Charles V shows a representation of the Christian cult equidistant from pagan idolatry and the Jewish adoration of the Word of God (fig. 4.1).[3] To the left of the Christian altar with a chalice, an open codex and a crucifix, pagans adore two naked golden statues and to its right the Jewish high-priest incenses a shrine. In his ground-breaking study *The Gothic Idol,* Michael Camille offers the following description of the scene: "Out of this ark spurts a speech scroll—the Word of Jehovah—the booming voice of the Old Testament God."[4] The Gospel's logos made flesh is opposed to two extremes: pagan image worship and the Jewish cult of scripture. This typological scheme juxtaposes the scroll as the aniconic figure of the Old Testament prophecy to the Christian revelation that combines body and book, word and image, open codex and crucifix.[5] As has already been noticed by Camille, the scroll here is not a realistic depiction of the Torah scroll. The typological scheme opposing ark and scroll of the Old Testament to Christian icons rarely generated interest in the real material objects of the Jewish liturgy.[6] Only when the Christian typology lost its predominant role in the comparison of religions, did the materiality of the different cult objects in their contemporary ceremonial settings gain new prominence in thought and images. Instead of opposing false idolatry to true faith, the anthropology of religions henceforth looked for similarities in different rituals.[7]

Nonetheless, even in the new anthropology of religions, the contrast between the ancient gods and Jewish scripture remains a fundamental model to explain the special status of the Christian icon. Hans Belting's central chapter entitled "Why images?" in one of the most influential books on the cult of images in Christianity, *Bild und Kult,* discusses the importance of this question by

1 Joseph Ibn Kaspi, *Shulḥan Kesef* (ed. Kasher, 58). I cite the translation by Linder 2009, 336, who correctly translates the expression צלמינו as "our icons." For the Biblical Hebrew expression צלם (*zelem*) meaning icon, image or idol, see Mitchell 1986, 31–32; Lorberbaum 2015, 53–58.

2 For the context, see Mesch 1975, 56–58; Linder 2009, 336.

3 For a brilliant analysis of this miniature, see Camille 1989, 191–194. Also see Schüppel 2012, 53.

4 Camille 1989, 192.

5 For further examples of this typological scheme, see Hamburger 2004, 113–145.

6 Camille 1989, 192. For the depiction of scrolls as symbols of the Old Law in the *Bible moralisée*, see Lipton 1999, 54–81.

7 See Revel 2010, 331–347; Effinger/Logemann/Pfisterer (eds.) 2012, 131–133. The comparison of the engraving on page III of Jean Frederic Bernard's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, Amsterdam 1723 with the aforementioned frontispiece of Augustine's *City of God*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22912, fol. 2v is highly instructive. Both depictions compare paganism (associated with the Saracens by medieval Christians) and the monotheistic religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (depicted only in the engraving). Whereas the general layouts resemble each other, the ritual objects and ceremonial dress of the non-Christian religions have changed. The creator of the engraving takes great care to show contemporary practices and not only Old Testament types. See Beaune, Bibliothèque Gaspard Monge, Ms. 21, fol. 149r, for a similar representation of Christian, Jewish and pagan prayer from the middle of the fifteenth century, where a more realistic depiction of a Torah scroll than in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22912 can be found. See Sansy 1992, 361–362, Hamburger 2010, 70 and fig. 27.

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Fig. 4.1: Paganism, Christianity, and Judaism, Raoul de Presles, Cité de Dieu, ca. 1375–1377. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22912, fol. 2v.

juxtaposing the pagan adoration of images with the Jewish prohibition of idolatry.[8] According to Belting, the damnation of idol worship made the cult of images difficult in all monotheistic religions following Judaism. He writes:

> It had not been forgotten that Yahweh was present only in the written word of revelation, which was venerated in the Torah [scroll] as his sign and bequest, as the two rabbis do in figure 9 [the figure cited here by Belting is discussed below—see fig. 4.2]. Here the icon of God is the Holy Scripture housed in the Torah shrine. No visible image could do justice to the idea of God. An image of Yahweh that resembled a human being could be confused with the idols of polytheism.[9]

Belting's argument builds upon the long tradition of juxtaposing the Jewish adoration of the word and the pagan cult of images in order to explain and justify Christian images. By doing so he equates the Torah scroll housed in its shrine with an icon of God not in human form but in the form of scripture—an argument strikingly similar to the reasoning of the Christian bishop in Caspi's fictive dialogue.[10] As has been noted by David Ganz in the introduction to this volume, recent scholarship has underlined the analogies between the cult of books and the cult of images.[11] The concept of incarnation, by which the iconodules legitimized images of Christ and the Holy Virgin in human form,[12] is compared here to the concept of inlibration, the materialization of God not in the form of a human body but in the form of a book;[13] a comparison which is visualized in Belting's book by a photo of the presentation of a scroll in its case and an image of the Holy Virgin illustrated together on the same page (fig. 4.2). The Word of God clothed in flesh is juxtaposed to the word clothed by a book shrine, an age-old topos of Christian-Jewish polemics.[14] By chance or intention

8 Belting 1990, 54–59.

9 Belting 1996, 42. I quote the English paperback edition of the book that gives an accurate translation of the German text. See Belting 1990, 55.

10 See above, note 1. A similar argument is made by van der Toorn 1997. Also see Tigay 2013, 323–326, 340.

11 See Ganz 2015, 9–10, note 11 and Watts (ed.) 2013, especially Miller Parmenter 2013, 63–92, and Brown 2013, 99–103. Also see Kessler 2006, 77–103. Van der Toorn 1997, 227–254, was important for the development of this trend.

12 Belting 1990, 170–175, 318–319. Also see Kessler 1991–1992, 53–65.

13 The expression was coined by Wolfson 1976, 235–290, who compares the Christian incarnation to the inlibration of the Qu'ran. See Ganz 2015, 45–48, note 28. For a critique of Wolfson's concept in the Islamic context see Neuwirth 2010, 163–168; Madigan 2003, 100–112. The literature on the Christian books as the embodiment of Christ is vast. A good overview is given by Ganz 2015, 45–50; Reudenbach 2014, 229–244; Hamburger 2004, 113–145.

14 For the patristic sources, see Origen, *In leviticum homilia*, 1,1 (ed. Baehrens, 280); Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Matheum*, 4,23,5 (ed. Hurst/Adriaen, 212). See Rainer 2011, 146–147; Ganz 2015, 46–48, notes 34–35. See Hamburger 2004, 113–145 for the medieval tradition.

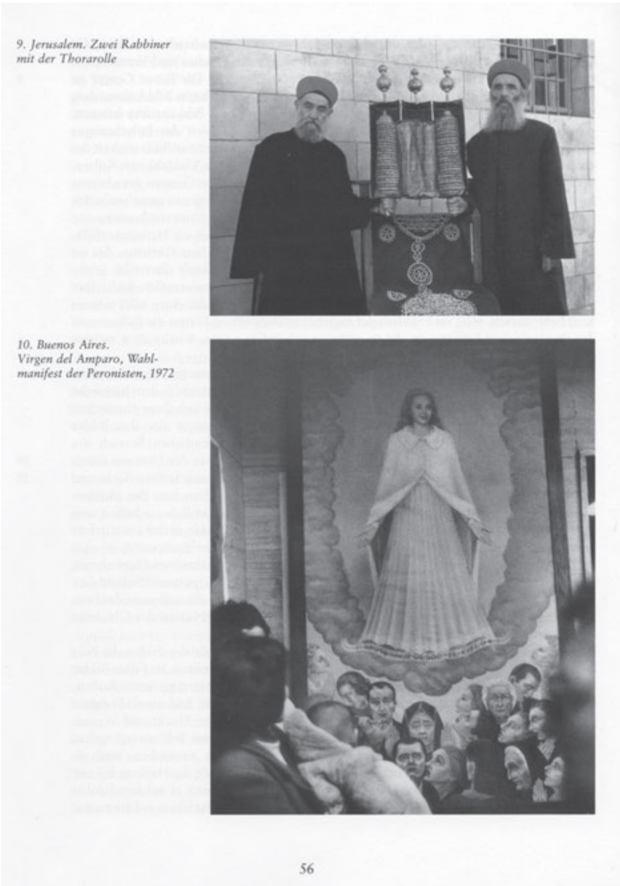

Fig. 4.2: Hans Belting, Bild und Kult, Munich 1990, p. 56.

Belting pairs two archetypical images that he admits are taken from totally different contexts, but whereas the ritual, theological, and political context of the Marian icon is carefully explained,[15] in Belting's book the context of "holy scripture as icon of God" remains murky.

Belting states that the two men holding the scroll are both rabbis. Actually the photograph shows two Samaritan priests presenting a scroll of the Samaritan Pentateuch.[16] We see it not housed in a Torah shrine but held above a chair covered with a rectangular fabric. It is wound around two metal staves with handles and ornamented finials on top and is protected, according to Yaniv Bracha, by a "cylindrical metal container with a base and a top, divided lengthwise into three parts joined together by hinges and hooks."[17]

Rigid scroll cases containing sacred scripture will be at the centre of this paper. But instead of further exploring the ritual setting of the Samaritan case presented in Belting's book,[18] I will focus on the earliest medieval representations of such cases and their ritual contexts. By doing so I hope to confront one of the basic dilemmas raised by Caspi's dialogue: is it possible to look beyond the stereotypes of Christian anti-Jewish polemic regarding idol, icon, and scripture? Is it possible to dis/recover a medieval image of the Torah scroll with its contemporary clothing in the Christian pictorial tradition that does not denigrate its special place in Jewish liturgy by designating it as just another precursor to the Christian icon?

Torah cases are used not only by Samaritans to adorn and protect their holy scriptures; they are also common in many Jewish communities, where the custom to house the scroll permanently in a rigid case originated.[19] A great variety of such Torah cases called *tik* in Hebrew[20] are documented for the Near Eastern, Middle Eastern, Indian and North African Jewish communities, as well as for the Romaniote community in Greece and communities in Italy and in Spain before the Expulsion.[21] The material of the case (wood, ivory, precious metal, or wood with metal, textile or leather covering), the shape of the cylinder (circular or polygonal) and its decoration vary; however, the basic elements of the construction—a case that opens lengthwise in two halves with the scroll wound around two staves inside—and the great care to make it look sumptuous and ornate (in most instances with an

15 Belting's figure 10 below the image of the holy scroll shows a Peronist election campaign demonstration in Buenos Aires in 1972 with a propaganda poster in the form of a Marian icon. The image of the Virgin of Amparo on the election poster has the facial features of Evita Perón. See Belting 1990, 58–59. For his detailed analysis of Marian icons in Byzantium and Italy see 314–330, 423–452.

16 Depicted are two Samaritan priests from Nablus: on the left, Tsedaka b. Yitzhaq b. 'Amram (1895–1971) and on the right, Phinhas b. Matzliach b. Phinhas (1898–1984), Samaritan high priest in the years 1982–1984. The scroll shown is a Samaritan Pentateuch dating from the fourteenth century, which was stolen from the Samaritan synagogue of Nablus on March 21, 1995. The case of the scroll is (probably) the famous Torah scroll case "of the images" with an engraved depiction of the Tabernacle (dated June 26–July 25, 1522) which was usually shown to visitors of the Nablus Samaritan Synagogue before 1967. Email by Benyamim Tsedakas to the author, July 8/9, 2015—I am grateful to Mr. Tsedakas for his help identifying the priests. For the scroll case, see Pummer 1998, 29–41.

17 Yaniv 2000, 4.03–4.04. For the chair used as a stand for the Torah scroll, cf. Roth 1949, 100–111.

18 For the Samaritan scrolls and their clothing, see Yaniv 2000, 4.03–4.13; Crown 2001, 324–325, 347–348; Pummer 1998, 39–41.

19 See Yaniv 1994, 9–16.

20 For the etymology of this word see Krauss 1898–1899, vol. 2, 335.

21 Yaniv 2006, 416–419, note 27 states that the Sephardic communities in Spain did not use rigid cases. The visual evidence assembled by Mann 2010, 95–96, and the miniatures discussed below contradict this assessment.

onion-shaped, conical or circular crown) always remain the same (figs. 4.8, 4.3).[22]

This care is due to the object's central importance in the synagogue service. The cases protect the holiest object of the synagogue, the Torah scroll. In the Jewish communities just mentioned the scroll is permanently housed within the case, even inside the Torah shrine. It is transported in the closed case from the ark to the reading platform or desk, where the case is opened, the scroll with the case is lifted and the prescribed passage of the Torah is read. The procession and presentation of the Torah scrolls adorned by their sumptuous cases is one of the most impressive sights in the synagogue service, giving the impression of an immediate presence of the sacred object that can be touched, hugged and kissed.[23] This can be observed in a photograph of a Torah scroll procession outside the Paradesi Synagogue in Cochin, India during the celebration of Simḥat Torah, the conclusion of the annual reading cycle (fig. 4.3).[24]

Were processions with the Torah scrolls in their sumptuous cases like the one above ever seen by medieval Christian viewers, who then could compare the scrolls to the Christian icons and sacred books? To answer this question, raised by Joseph Ibn Caspi's text, let us first consider the earliest material evidence of Jewish Torah cases.

The earliest extant scroll cases are Samaritan cases like the one seen in the historic photograph from Nablus (fig. 4.2) and can be dated to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[25] Although the Jewish cases that have survived are much younger—most intact examples date to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the earliest to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries[26]—, there is ample evidence in the written sources that the practice of using rigid Torah scroll cases was already in place as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Torah scroll cases made of copper, silver and silver-coated wood are mentioned in synagogue inventories found in the Genizah of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo) dated 1075 and 1159. Maimonides describes a rigid Torah case made of wood in his twelfth-century commentary on Mishnah Shabbat.[27]

Fig. 4.3: Hakkafot during Simḥat Torah service at the Paradesi Synagogue courtyard, Cochin, India, 1971, Photo: Dan Kala, Israel.

What did these early cases look like? Was their basic design and construction the same as the ones used today? The visual evidence for the medieval cases has rarely been studied. There is one obvious reason for this: rigid scroll cases developed and were mainly—but not exclusively—used by Jewish communities living or originating in Islamic countries, where no Jewish tradition

22 The best overview is given by Yaniv 1997; also see Yaniv 2002, 39–76; Grafman 1996, 72–74.

23 For the procession, the elevation (*hagbahah*), the touching and the kissing of the Torah scrolls in the synagogue ritual, see van der Toorn 1997, 243; Langer 1998, 65–67; Fishbane 2011, 17–26; Ron 2013, 296–297; Tigay 2013, 236–239.

24 "Hakkafot" during Simḥat Torah service at the Paradesi Synagogue courtyard, Cochin, India, 1971, photograph by Dan Kala, Tel Aviv, Beit Hatfutsot Photo Archive, unit no. 3884–3. For a description of the Torah scroll procession in Cochin, see Mandelbaum 1939, 457–458. See also Slapak (ed.) 1995, 63.

25 See Yaniv 1997; Yaniv 2000, 4.03; Crown 2001, 325, note 6.

26 See Yaniv 1994, 9. Early Jewish Torah cases from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are illustrated in Gutmann 1983, plates Va, Vb. Remnants of the upper part of a silver Torah case from the Alsheikh Synagogue in Safed, Israel, dated 1434, are illustrated in Yaniv 2002, fig. 21.

27 Goitein 1964, 94–96; Goitein 1967–1993, vol. 2, 151. For Maimonides' commentary on Mishnah Shabbat, see Mann 2005, 179–180. Whereas Mann suggests an Islamic model for the development of the rigid Torah case in early medieval Jewish ceremonial art, Yaniv considers a possible late antique antecedent, namely the ancient storage of scrolls by means of a *capsa*. See Rainer 2011, 117–124, 137–140.

of figural painting existed. Those who have studied the visual evidence of Jewish liturgical practice in the Middle Ages have focused on Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from Northern Europe for the Ashkenazi ritual, and on Jewish manuscripts from Spain and Italy for the Sephardic customs. For a long time the sole medieval pictures thought to document a Jewish Torah case were two closely-related depictions of Synagogue ritual found in two illuminated haggadot from fourteenth-century Catalonia, which we will study in detail later.[28] Only recently Vivian Mann, who besides Yaniv Bracha has published the most extensive studies on the development of the Jewish Torah case, noticed its depiction in several late medieval Christian altarpieces from Spain where the presumed images of the Jewish Torah case were used in a typological sense to decorate the altar of the Old Testament Temple.[29]

Neither Mann nor Yaniv mention the oldest known depiction of a Jewish Torah case. This highly instructive picture shall be studied in detail. It is found not in a Jewish manuscript but in a Christian world chronicle copied and illuminated in Acre in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1260 and 1270, and now preserved in the Dijon Municipal Library (fig. 4.4).[30] This French world history entitled by modern scholars *L'histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* was written by the Chaplain Wauchier de Denain in Flanders between 1208 and 1214 and recounts a famous episode from the life of Alexander the Great.[31] According to Flavius Josephus and the ancient *Alexander romance*, the world conqueror on his way to Egypt was expected to conquer and plunder Jerusalem in order to punish its inhabitants for not supporting his campaign. After a divine dream the high priest Jaddus fearing a terrible attack decided not to defend the city but to open its gates. Jaddus in his ceremonial costume accompanied by all the other priests in white linen and together with Jerusalem's entire population went out in procession. To the surprise of everyone, Alexander, upon seeing the high priest, saluted him and adored the name of God inscribed in the head plate worn by the priest. Jaddus then led Alexander to the Temple, where he made sacrificial offerings. Finally he showed him the Book of Daniel in which the conquest of the Persian Empire by a Greek was prophesied. Alexander took the prophecy to refer to himself, granted privileges to the Jews and left Jerusalem without doing any damage.[32] The story is told with some variations by the author of the French *Histoire* leaving aside the presentation of the Book of Daniel and adding a moralizing commentary that exhorts the Christian nobles to follow the example of the pagan king by showing humility and reverence to God, his law and ministers.[33]

Most interesting for our purpose is the description of the high priest and the name of God adored by Alexander. We are told that Jaddus, who is always referred to as "evesques" (bishop), all dressed in white, had a golden plate that was beautifully made and raised up high in front of him, where the name of "Our Lord" was inscribed in the Hebrew language.[34]

When Alexander saw the "evesques" and the name of God he descended his horse and kneeled before the high priest and the divine name. This is also reflected in the descriptive title of the chapter and its preceding illumination marked in red: *Coment Alix s'agenoilla contre le nom de dieu* (fig. 4.4).[35] When we look at the miniature we easily recognize Alexander kneeling before the high priest. Jaddus and the priest behind him are coming out of the archway of a domed building that, according to Pamela Berger, represents the Temple in Jerusalem by alluding to the Dome of the Rock.[36] Unlike the description in the written text neither the high priest nor his follower

28 The Barcelona Haggadah, London, British Library, Add. 14761, fol. 65v and the Kaufmann Haggadah, Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection, Ms A 422, fol. 42r. See Mann 2005, 29.

29 Mann 2010, 95–96; Mann 2011, 189–192.

30 Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562, fol. 170v. For the localisation and dating of the manuscript, see Buchthal 1957, 69; Folda 1976, 22, 98–102, 159, 215; Oltrogge 1989, 35–36, 246–250; Folda 2005, 339–346.

31 See the introduction to the recent edition of the text, Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.) 2012, 5–39 and de Visser-van Terwisga 1995–1999, vol. 2, 217–231.

32 Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 11, 325–339 and the *Alexander Romance*, γ, 2,23–24 (ed. Engelmann, 214–219) and ε, 20,2–5 (ed. Trumpf, 75–78). See Momigliano 1979, 442–448; Delling 1981, 1–51; Cohen 1982–1983, 41–68; Stoneman 1994, 37–53; Pummer 2012, 158–161, 173–174.

33 See Ross 1963, 181–231, and the edition of the text by Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.) 2012, 138–141. The text is based on Petrus Comestor's adaptation of Josephus in the *Historia scholastica*, Liber Esther, 4 (ed. Migne PL 198, 1495–1497). For the addition of the moralizing commentary, see Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.) 2012, 37–38. Contrary to other medieval adaptations of the legend, Alexander is neither condemned as a false idolater nor is his conversion to Christianity hinted at. See Gaullier-Bougassas 2007, 8–9. For the latter theme in the medieval Alexander tradition, see Raynaud 1995, 297–322; Gaullier-Bougassas 2002–2003, 305–326 and, for a differing view, Fabre 2009, 1–44.

34 "Ensi le fist Joaddus li evesques, quar il fist toz ses prestres dou temple revestir en blanches vesteüres et il meïsmes se revesti ausi et si fist devant lui porter une table d'or mout bien faite et haut amont levee, ou li nons Nostre Segnor estoit escris en ebriu language." *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, 34,11–14 (ed. Gaullier-Bougassas, 138).

35 *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, 35,1–5 (ed. Gaullier-Bougassas, 139).

36 Berger 2012, 120–121. Also see Buchthal 1957, 76.

Fig. 4.4: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César, ca. 1260–1270. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562, fol. 170v.

is dressed in white. Instead they wear red and blue garments and special head coverings.[37] There is no golden plate with the Hebrew name of God in sight. The high priest with veiled hands carries a large, white polygonal case with a pointed top that closely resembles the shape and the measurement of the extant silver and wooden Torah cases from later times.[38] The three visible segments of the cylinder are each inscribed with an "S". What are the sources for these details in the image that are so strikingly different to the description of the scene in the written text?

As far as we know they are not the few earlier illustrations of the world history produced around 1250/1260 in the North of France, which have been preserved in the National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague and in the Palace Library in Pommersfelden.[39] In the Pommersfelden manuscript the high priest, who is called "evesques" in the text, appears all in white, wearing a mitre and holding a rectangular plate with a pseudo-Hebrew inscription.[40]

In the manuscript from the National Library of the Netherlands, he is dressed like a contemporary bishop[41] and holds a tablet with a rounded top resembling the traditional iconography of the Old Testament Tablets of the Law where one can read "ave ihs"—the beginning of a contemporary hymn "Ave Jesu Christe, verbum patris" reciting different epithets for Jesus' name (fig. 4.5). The words are also reminiscent of Jesus' greeting upon entering Jerusalem.[42] Note the change in the reading direction: as usual from left to right, not from right to left as in the Acre miniature.[43]

Unlike the illuminations in the contemporary *Histoire ancienne* manuscripts, which are somewhat closer to the text, we have to look for other sources for the Acre miniature. To some degree they can be found in Byzantine illuminations, a typical trait for the artists working in Acre, who, as has been explained in the fundamental studies by Buchthal and Folda, often combined Western, Byzantine and Islamic models.[44] In our case the closest parallel for the high priest leaving the domed Temple is an illustration of the Alexander-Jerusalem scene in the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela* manuscript, preserved today in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.[45] It shows a scene following Alexander's adoration of the divine name. As he converses with his general Parmenion, Alexander is invited by the high priest to enter the Temple. His costume, his veiled hands, his beard, his haircut and especially his head covering[46], as well as his position in the archway of the domed Temple building resemble the high priest in the Acre manuscript. What cannot be explained by the copying of a model related to the Byzantine tradition is the large casket.

To my knowledge neither in Byzantine art nor in the Western tradition of illuminating the *Alexander romance* can we find a casket comparable to the one held by the high priest in the Acre miniature.[47] Where, when and under what circumstances was the casket added to the traditional Byzantine iconography of the high priest? The most likely scenario is that this was done in Acre by the workshop that illuminated the *Histoire* manuscript. It has already been noted by Buchthal in the first extensive study of the so-called "Acre school" that it was typical for this workshop to introduce "characteristic details, which were not taken from any pictorial model. For example, the miniature of Jacob on his way to Egypt [in the Histoire-ancienne manuscript] contains a magnificent camel which is clearly a study from nature."[48] If indeed the casket was drawn from nature, what specifically was depicted?

The first to note the striking resemblance of the large cylindrical container with the pyramid-shaped tip to the Torah cases of oriental Judaism was Christine Raynaud,[49] an

37 See below note 46.

38 See, for example, Yaniv 1997, 54, 128, 164, and a wooden Torah case from Egypt, 1853, The Bezalel Narkiss Index of Jewish Art, Obj. ID 3074 (Sc_254 2) that has the same pyramid-shaped top.

39 Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, Ms 295, fol. 135r; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 78 D 47, fol. 117r. For both manuscripts, see Oltrogge 1989, 13–20. For Pommersfelden, see Oltrogge 1989, 309–312. For The Hague, see Oltrogge 1989, 251–254; Korteweg 2004, 11, 86–87, 208; Morrison/Hedeman (eds.) 2010, no. 3, 99–101.

40 Oltrogge 1989, 108.

41 For the high priest dressed like a contemporary bishop, see Raynaud 1995, 305, citing numerous examples illustrated in Ross 1981.

42 For the iconography of the round-topped tablets of the Law, see Mellinkoff 1974, 28–43. For the hymn "Ave Jesu Christe, verbum patris, filius virginis […]," see Chevalier 1892–1921, vol. 1, no. 1844; Wilmart 1932, 412.

43 See Raynaud 1995, 305, and below note 74.

44 Buchthal 1957, 69–70, 73–74; Folda 2005, 411; and recently Maraszak 2014, 1–41.

45 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. grec. 923, fol. 192v. See Weitzmann 1979, 246.

46 For the high priest's headdress and his iconography in Byzantine art, see Revel-Neher 1992, 55–72. For the *Sacra parallela* miniature of Alexander, see Revel-Neher, 1992, 61–62.

47 The uniqueness of the iconography has been pointed out by most scholars who have analysed the miniature. See, for example, Buchthal 1957, 76; Kühnel 2004, 163–164.

48 Buchthal 1957, 74.

49 See Raynaud 1995, 305: "Jadus présente à Alexandre une pyxide qu'il élève comme Sefer Torah." Rainer 2005, 376–377, Fabre 2009, note 43; Berger 2012, 121 follow Raynaud's interpretation. Buchthal 1957, 76 identified the casket as a pyxis and compared it to an ivory reliquary, a reading followed by Kühnel 2004, 164, who saw "a pyxis, a possible container of relics." The unusual largeness of the object and its

Fig. 4.5: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, ca. 1250–1260. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 78 D 47, fol. 117r.

observation that will be supported by the subsequent analysis. Could the artist really have seen such a case in Acre? At the time of the manuscript's production (1260–1280) there was a thriving multi-ethnic Jewish population in crusader Acre, where famous rabbinic scholars such as Yehiel from Paris and Naḥmanides from Barcelona settled with their schools after being persecuted in their home countries. Emigrés from Christian Europe were living side by side with Jews from the Holy Land, the Middle East and North Africa, each community practicing their own religious customs.[50] *Tikim*, rigid Torah cases, would have been a familiar sight in the synagogue of Acre and would also have been displayed outside the Jewish quarter.[51] This especially occurred during the same type of ancient and medieval ceremony that is represented in the Alexander scene of our manuscript.

When a king entered the city it was customary that the Jews with their Torah scroll were present at the *adventus* ceremony. At least this is what we are told in a contemporary history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus written by the anonymous Templar of Tyre in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Describing the entry ceremony for King Hugh III of Jerusalem and Cyprus, who resided in Acre from 1272 to 1276, when entering the neighbouring city of Tyre in 1283, the chronicler, a resident of Tyre, states that "the Torah of the Jews was carried there to the encounter, according to the usage practiced for kings."[52] Already seventy years earlier, in 1210, when John I of Brienne entered Acre as newly-crowned king, he was greeted not only by the whole population on horses and on foot but also by a procession of Latin and Greek clerics and the Jews with a scroll of the complete Torah.[53] Similar entry ceremonies, where the Jews presented their

special shape do not support this interpretation. See Fabre 2009, note 43: "[the object] est bien celle d'un *Sefer Torah* d'origine orientale, dissimulé dans son beau coffret ouvragé, et non celle d'une pyxide, petite boîte dans laquelle on conserve l'eucharistie. La taille de l'objet, porté a deux bras par le *Cohen Gadol*, ne permet pas d'en douter: si on a eu l'affaire à une pyxide, c'est toute l'armée d'Alexandre qui aurait put communier!"

50 See Prawer 1988, 251–291.

51 Jews were obliged to take an oath on the Torah in legal proceedings by the kingdom's Lower Court. Likewise members of other religions were obliged to take an oath on the books of their faith: Christians on the Gospels, Muslims on the Qur'an and Samaritans on the Pentateuch. See Prawer 1988, 99 citing *Les Livres des Assises de la cour des bourgeois*, chapter 236 (ed. Kausler, 270) from the middle of the thirteenth century.

52 "La tore des Juïs ly fu porte[e] a l'encontre, si con est usage quel'on fait as roys." *Gestes des Chiprois*, cap. 419 (ed. Paris et al., vol. 2, 790). See Prawer 1988, 257; Linder 2009, 335–336. Also see the introduction to the English translation of the chronicle in Crawford (ed.) 2003, 2–7, 82 with further information about its anonymous author.

53 "[…] toutes les genz a cheval et a pié e li clerc a procession, Latin et Grifon, furent issu contre lui, neis li Jude o toute la tore." *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, 30,17 (ed. Beugnot/Langlois, 310). See Prawer 1988, 264.

Torah scrolls, were recorded for the kingdom of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and France, as well as for the papal court in Rome between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[54] Amnon Linder, who studied these ceremonials in detail, noticed a delicate balance between an encompassing inclusion of the Jewish community and a religiously motivated exclusion.[55] Like the other participants in the regal entry ceremonies the Jews were supposed to sing hymns, psalms and lauds using their own language, Hebrew.[56] And like the Latin lauds that hailed the emperor and pope as "Vicarius Christi,"[57] entering Jerusalem (something unacceptable for the Jews), the Hebrew praises also had a strong religious underpinning.[58] An echo of this can be seen in the Latin inscription on the Torah case adored by Alexander.

The three S's obviously refer to the "Sanctum Domini," the inscription "Holy to the Lord" that according to biblical tradition was engraved in the head plate of the high priest's mitre.[59] But the "Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus" also recalls Isaiah 6,3, "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory." This verse forms the first part of the Christian Sanctus, followed by the Benedictus that alludes to Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.[60] In Hebrew Isaiah 6,3 is recited by the Jewish congregation during the Kedushah prayer.[61] In recensions γ and ε of the ancient *Alexander romance* that adapt Christian and Jewish sources the world conqueror declares himself a servant of the only God that rules over heaven and earth by citing Isaiah 6,3.[62]

The theme resonated in synagogue service. In the post-Talmudic tractate *Massekhet Soferim*, which was the most important Rabbinic reference for the production and proper handling of the Torah scrolls, the reader while in the synagogue is advised to lift the scroll during the "three declarations of God's unity" that "correspond to the three 'holies'" praising God's name.[63] This leads us to a second depiction of a medieval Torah case that will help to clarify the interconnectedness of synagogue ritual and the presentation of the Torah scroll in the Alexander miniature. This image of the Torah case is found in an illuminated haggadah from the medieval kingdom of Aragon or the south of France, dated to the fourteenth century and now preserved as the Barcelona Haggadah in the British Library.[64]

The manuscript contains an extensive cycle of miniatures depicting Passover rituals.[65] On folio 65v the beginning of Hallel, the Hebrew prayer to praise the Lord consisting of a verbatim recitation of Psalm 113–118, is illustrated (fig. 4.6).[66]

Flanked by two columns the first three verses of Psalm 113 are written: "Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord, blessed be the name of the Lord, from this time forth and for ever. From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof [the Lord's name is to be praised]."[67] Above we read the very first word of the Psalm written in golden letters on a starry blue background, "Hallelujah—praise the Lord." The letters containing the name of God are framed by a synagogue scene. To the left stands the *ḥazzan*, the cantor leading the service, dressed in white, on a platform crowned with a cupola, and holding with veiled hands a Torah scroll in its beautifully decorated case.[68] The shape of the scroll case and its design are reminiscent of extant Torah cases of a later age, which are decorated by the same combination of red fabric with a rhomboid pattern on the large cylinder and a golden, bulbous crown (figs. 4.7, 4.8).[69] The case is

54 Linder 2009, 331–332. On the Jewish participation in the twelfth-century papal adventus also see Champagne/Boustan 2011, 487–493.

55 See Linder 2009, 332–334; Also see Coulet 1979, 672–683.

56 Linder 2009, 332, 334.

57 Linder 2009, 333–334, 336. Also see Coulet 1979, 672; Kantorowicz 1944, 210–211.

58 Linder 2009, 328–331; Coulet 1979, 673–674.

59 Ex. 28,36.

60 Cf. Buchthal 1957, 76. For the Christian Benedictus and its role in medieval entry ceremonies see Kantorowicz 1944, 207–217.

61 For literature on the Kedushah, see Langer 2015, 134–135.

62 See Rainer 2005, 375–376; Delling 1981, 16–26.

63 *Massekhet Soferim*, 14,5. See Langer's translation in Langer 1998, 58 based on the critical edition of Higger, 1937.

64 London, British Library, Add. 14761, fol. 65v. On the manuscript see Beit-Arié 1992.

65 The illuminated haggadot from medieval Spain featuring miniatures with biblical scenes have been extensively studied. See Kogman-Appel 2006; Epstein 2011. In contrast, cycles with ritual scenes have rarely been the focus of scientific interest. On this disparity, see Shalev-Eyni 2010, 24. The only comprehensive studies of the miniatures of the Barcelona Haggadah are Cohen 1992, 24–43; Cohen 1998, 142–151, comparing the cycle of ritual scenes in the Barcelona Haggadah, the Kaufmann Haggadah and the Sasoon Haggadah, and most recently Kogman-Appel 2016, 327–346.

66 On the Hallel, see Zeitlin 1962, 22–29. Concerning the history of its composition, see Brunson 2003, 82–101; Hammer 2011, 101–113.

67 Schonfield (ed.) 1992, 90.

68 See Cohen 1992, 37–38; Narkiss 1982, vol. 2, 78; Gutmann, 1965, 18. The synagogue scene closely resembles the depiction of Hallel in the Kaufmann Haggadah, Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection, Ms A422, fol. 42r. Cf. Cohen 1998, 146; Mann 2005, 29; Yaniv 2006, 417, note 27 and for this and other synagogue scenes in Jewish art Metzger 1982, 60–74.

69 See Torah case, Iran 1799, wood, red velvet, silver, partly gilt, Israel Museum, no. 145/12. See Roth 1961, 339; Katz/Kahane/Broshi (eds.) 1968, 167, 281. Mann 2005, 29 states "that the Barcelona tik appears to

Fig. 4.6: Hallel, Barcelona Haggadah, fourteenth century. London, British Library, Add. 14761, fol. 65v.

Fig. 4.7: Torah case, detail from Fig. 4.6.

held and presented in the same way the high priest presents the casket in the Acre miniature. Below the congregation stands or sits; it is comprised of a man, three women and three children. The child in the first row is presenting a small codex, presumably a prayer book containing the prayer illustrated here. The scene alludes to the synagogue service held prior to the Passover Seder, when it was customary to pray Hallel in some Sephardic communities.[70] Above all, however, the image is a striking illustration of the towering Torah that in the miniature has been equated with the presence of God's name among the Israelites. Commentating on an interpretation of the biblical verse Deut. 27,26, "Cursed be he who does not raise up the words of this Torah," the late thirteenth-century Cabbalist Joseph of Hamadan following the great Catalonian Rabbi Naḥmanides asks: "Is there a Torah that falls? This is rather a warning to the Cantor to show the writing of the Torah scroll to the community, so that they will see the pattern of the upper form."[71]

be inlaid with vari-coloured woods, a decorative idiom known from mosque furniture like the minbar made in Cordoba in the twelfth century for a mosque in Marrakesh." Yaniv 2006, 416–417, on the contrary, thinks that the Torah scroll is wrapped in a cloth mantle, "decorated with an alternating pattern in a diagonal mesh, which was typical of the Italian silk industry in the thirteenth century." She denies the existence of rigid Torah cases in pre-Expulsion Spain, criticizing Feller 1992, 83 on this point. Mann's subsequent discovery of several representations of wooden Torah cases in late medieval Spanish altarpieces seems to confirm the existence of rigid cases in medieval Spain. See Mann 2010, 95–96; Mann 2011, 189–192. In my opinion, a combination of different materials, wood, fabric and metal appliqués, as seen on the case mentioned above, should also be considered.

70 See Gutmann 1965, 18; Freehof 1962, 222, 226–227. Also see Flug, 2010, 15–19; Hamburger 2010, 127–133; Hezser 2001, 467.

71 Joseph of Hamadan, *Sefer Ta'amey ha-Mizwoth* (ed. Meier, 58). See Naḥmanides' commentary on Deut. 27,26: Moses ben Naḥman, *Perushe ha-Torah le-R. Mosheh ben Naḥman* (ed. Chavel, 2, 472).

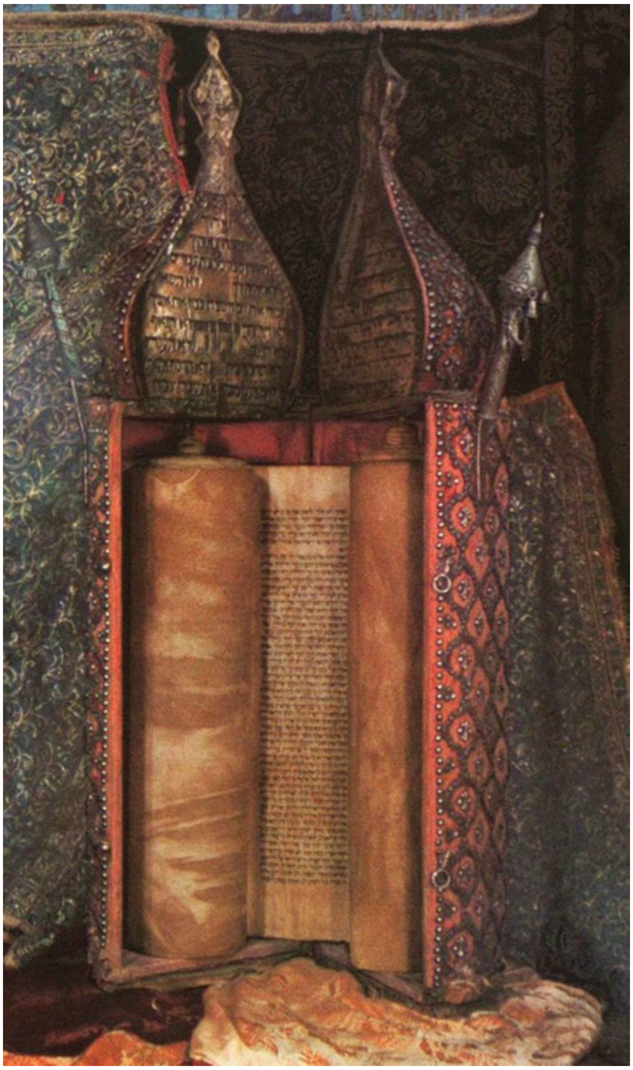

Fig. 4.8: Torah case, Iran, 1799. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, no. 145/12.

The Cabbalists equated the Torah with the name of God.[72] But for those who did not cherish the teachings of the *Zohar*, the raising and showing of the Torah scroll in synagogue service could also reinforce the central message of the Hallel, namely that there is a special bond between Israel and the almighty God, which is upheld by the presence of His Law and the praise of His name among His chosen people.[73] We now can easily grasp how powerful the image combining the presentation of the Torah scroll and the praising of God's name was for the Jewish community at royal entry ceremonies. Is this the context in which the model for the Acre Alexander miniature was created?

I think this is certainly possible. The miniature is not only unique by depicting a Torah scroll case, it is also unusual for its reading direction which goes from right to left as in Hebrew manuscripts. We have already seen that this is different to the contemporary illustrations of the same scene from northern France, where the reading direction follows the usual model of Latin script from left to right (fig. 4.5).[74] It is also known from a slightly later source that illustrations of the *Alexander romance* were made for Jewish commissioners. Explaining, why he made a Hebrew translation of the *Alexander romance*, Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils, a Jewish scholar from southern France, writing in the middle of the fourteenth century stated: "Indeed, I wished to translate it after I saw it written in the book of the Christians and painted with nice figures and different colours, and with silver and gold, because of their great love for it."[75] Bonfils' Hebrew translation only survived in a copy without illuminated miniatures. But we can be sure that his original work included pictures because titles for the images were preserved: one such title reads "A picture of Alexander bowing down before Onias the High Priest."[76] Hebrew translations of the *Alexander romance* had been produced since the tenth century.[77] We don't know for sure if it was such an illuminated translation of the *Alexander romance* produced or copied in Acre that was the ultimate source for the first depiction of a royal entry scene with a contemporary Torah scroll case. Whereas we can only speculate about this, we have proof that the reception of the image in Christian art was certainly less enthusiastic than Bonfils' high regard for the Christian Alexander figures.

The translation follows Wolfson 1994, 377. See Idel 2001, 210–211; Fishbane 2011, 17–19.

72 See Idel 2001, 213. Also see Scholem 1969, 39; Idel 1981, 49–58; Wolfson 1994, 376.

73 See Tabory 2008, 48; Hammer 2011, 104–105. On the presence of the Torah scroll, its "thisness," during the synagogue service, see Fishbane 1989, 115. Also see Woolf 2014, 317.

74 See above note 43. See Raynaud 1995, 305; Kogman-Appel 1997, 6–7.

75 Jacob Bonfils, *Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni*, prologue, edited and translated by Boyarin 2008, introduction, XVIII. Also see Kazis (ed.) 1962, 40–41.

76 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. hébr. 750, fol. 25v. See the edition by Kazis (ed.) 1962, 79 and Levi 1881, 248–251. A second manuscript with Bonfils' translation had been kept in the Royal Library in Turin, Italy but was destroyed in a fire. Only this manuscript contained the prologue transcribed and published by Israel Lévi in 1886. The Turin manuscript also does not seem to have been illuminated, but again it contained Hebrew titles for the illuminations. See Boyarin 2008, XVIII. For the name of the high priest, who is called Onias instead of Jaddus, see Dönitz 2013, 79.

77 For the Hebrew versions of the *Alexander romance*, see Kazis (ed.) 1962, 27–39; van Bekkum 1986, 218–226; Boyarin 2008, 90–121; Dönitz 2011, 27–30.

In his study of the Jewish participation in entry ceremonies, Linder noted that because they created a setting where the pope or the Christian king seemed to acknowledge the special holiness of the Torah scrolls and the exceptional role of the Jews as God's chosen guardians of it, precautions were taken by the Christians who scripted the ritual encounter to limit its exclusiveness and frame it firmly within the Christian world order.[78] The Christian sources relating the entry ceremonies frequently describe a staged confrontation that took place whereby the pope or king ignored and passed by the Jews presenting the Torah scroll. The Jews urged the ruler to bless or even kiss the Torah scroll, a plea that the pope or king would ignore.[79] Instead often a theologically framed answer was given, especially during the papal court's carefully scripted ceremonies that are well documented in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The Jews are called blind, because they do not believe in the revelation of Jesus Christ. The closed Torah case is physically opened by the pope, who "shall approve the Law yet condemn the Jews' observation and interpretation [of the Law]."[80] With a similar intention, the chronicler who recounts the aforementioned entrance ceremony of King Hugh III of Jerusalem and Cyprus to Tyre in 1283 relates a terrible incident when a Jewish participant, who was following the Torah scroll, collided with the cleric who carried the cross before the procession. The result was "that the cross, which was so high, fell onto this Jew, and broke his head."[81] The physical violence described in this text is echoed by the pictorial tradition of the Alexander-Jerusalem scene.

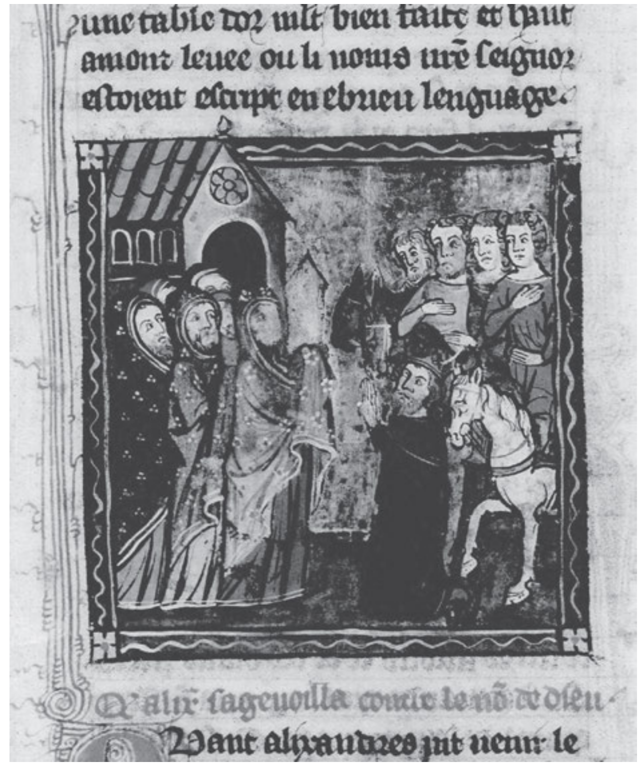

Fig. 4.9: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, ca. 1300. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9682, fol. 212r.

Four close copies of the miniatures in the Acre *Histoire* manuscript or of its pictorial cycle's source in Acre have been preserved. Three were presumably produced in Acre before the Muslim conquest of the crusader city in the years between 1260 and 1291, and one shortly afterwards around 1300 or a few years later, in Paris.[82] The Paris manuscript, although its style is different, contains the closest copy of the scene that depicts Alexander adoring the name of God (fig. 4.9).[83]

78 Linder 2009, 333–335.

79 Linder 2009, 335 citing the description of the entry ceremonial of King Louis II in Arles in 1385. The Jews urged the king to kiss their Torah scroll but the king was dissuaded from doing so by his entourage. For the papal ceremonies in Rome, see Linder 2009, 338, 340–341, 348–350, 359–362.

80 This was the answer given to the Jews urging the pope to bless the Torah scroll in the course of the papal procession on Easter Monday. It is related in *Ordo XIV* in connection to the ceremonial performed for John XXII in 1316. See Linder 2009, 341. For the opening of the Torah scroll, see Linder 2009, 348–350, who mentions as an example the unrolled scroll in the depiction of the ceremonial reception of Emperor Henry VII by the Jewish community of Rome during his coronation festivities in 1312. The miniature, in stark contrast to the depiction of the kneeling Alexander in the Dijon manuscript from Acre, shows the mounted emperor as lawgiver. See picture chronicle of Henry VII, Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Bestand 1 C Nr. 1, Balduineum I, fol. 24r.

81 "La tore des Juïs ly fu porte[e] a l'encontre, si con est usage que l'on fait as roys; et [un] Judé, quy avait nom Samouel le Miege, au passer que il fist après la tore, coty le clerc quy portoit la crus devant la presesion, que la crois, quy fu sy haut, chaÿ sur le Judé, et li brisa la teste." *Gestes des Chiprois*, cap. 419 (ed. Paris et al., vol. 2, 790). See Crawford (ed.) 2003, 82; Linder 2009, 335.

82 For a stemma of these manuscripts, see Buchthal 1957, 72; Folda 1976, 102. Also see Oltrogge 1988, 20–22, 35–36. The main difference between Buchthal, Folda and Oltrogge is the dating and localization of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 20125. On this particular manuscript, see below note 89.

83 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 9682, fol. 212r. Buchthal 1957, 70, 80, dates the manuscript around 1300 and localizes it to Paris. Folda 1976, 102, 128–129, 169 offers a date between 1291 and 1295. Oltrogge 1988, 24–25, 292–295 proposes a later date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. All authors agree that the model for the manuscript was an illustrated *Histoire ancienne* from Acre closely resembling the Dijon manuscript. Also see Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.) 2012, 48–50.

The general layout of the scene is exactly the same: the high priest with his followers, all with veiled heads are proceeding out of the Temple, depicted here in the form of a church. Alexander kneels before the high priest. Behind him are his horse, Bucephalus[84], and his mounted men. The world conqueror is looking devoutly at the priest and the object he is holding. But where we would expect the Torah scroll case, we see an object, which has been physically erased. Still we can recognize the outline of the cylindrical case with a pointed top, although the colour has been scrapped off. The same has happened to the face of the high priest presenting the erased Torah scroll case. All his facial features have been extinguished, leaving solely one eye.[85] We do not know by whom and when this damage was inflicted on the picture. But it seems clear that it was done with purpose. The aggression directed against the image reflects the physical violence described in the aforementioned chronicle. By erasing his face, the Jewish high priest was literally blinded, a common pictorial strategy, used in Gothic art to depict the blindness of the Jews and of those who worship idols.[86] The Torah scroll was singled out as a non-legitimate cult object that had to be censored. In the Paris manuscript this was done by physically erasing the scroll and leaving a void in its place.

Fig. 4.10: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, ca. 1270–1280. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10175, fol. 216v.

In the other copies of the *Histoire ancienne* presumably produced in Acre this void was filled either by objects not relating to a specific cult, or by objects that were used in Christian liturgy and could easily be interpreted typologically as precursors to the Christian cult. The first case is illustrated by a copy of the *Histoire ancienne* written by a certain Bernat d'Acre around 1270/80, now in the Bibliothèque royale in Bruxelles (fig. 4.10).[87] Whereas the general layout of the scene remains the same, the Torah case has been supplanted by a rectangular plate with a pseudo-Hebrew inscription carried by the high priest dressed in white.[88] In all details the miniature closely follows the text of the manuscript. No allusion to a specific cult can be detected. Also the reading direction has been changed from left to right, which is standard practise for manuscripts written in the Latin script.

The second case, the Christianisation, is well documented by a *Histoire ancienne* manuscript that most likely was written in Acre just a few years later, maybe close to the city's fall, and is now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (fig. 4.11).[89] Once again we see Alexander kneeling before the high priest, who is dressed like a Christian bishop.[90] His face has been erased, but not the object that he is holding: two rounded

84 For Bucephalus studying the Torah, see Rainer 2005, 371–387.

85 For the erasure of eyes and faces in medieval art, see Camille 1998, 141–146. For this phenomenon in medieval Jewish manuscripts, see Frojmovic 2014.

86 Camille 1989, 187–189; Revel-Neher 1992, 104; Kessler 2011, 102–106.

87 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10175, fol. 216v. For this manuscript and its close relation to Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562, see Buchthal 1957, 69–70; Oltrogge 1988, 35–36, 234–238; Folda 2005, 408–412; Maraszak 2014, 11–13.

88 See Oltrogge 1988, 108; Raynaud 1995, 305; Rainer 2005, 373, 376–377.

89 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 20125, fol. 232r. There has been an ongoing discussion on the dating and localization of this manuscript, ever since Folda 1976, 95–103, 188–192 refuted Buchthal's older view that the manuscript was illuminated in France around the year 1300 copying a French model from the middle of the thirteenth century. Folda, on the contrary, claims that it is the work of an apprentice of the Paris-trained "Hospitaller master" (also called "Paris-Acre master") produced in Acre in 1287 copying a French model, which was also copied by the illuminator of Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562. Oltrogge 1988, 20–22, 302–307; de Visser-van Terwisga 1999, vol. 2, 24–27 were not convinced by Folda's arguments but a recent study by Derbes/Sandona 2004, 211–214 seems to validate his view. See Folda 2005, 429–433; Rodríguez Porto 2013, 62, note 29, 64–65; Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.) 2012, 46.

90 The reading direction is again right to left, which indicates a close relation to Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 562 or its model.

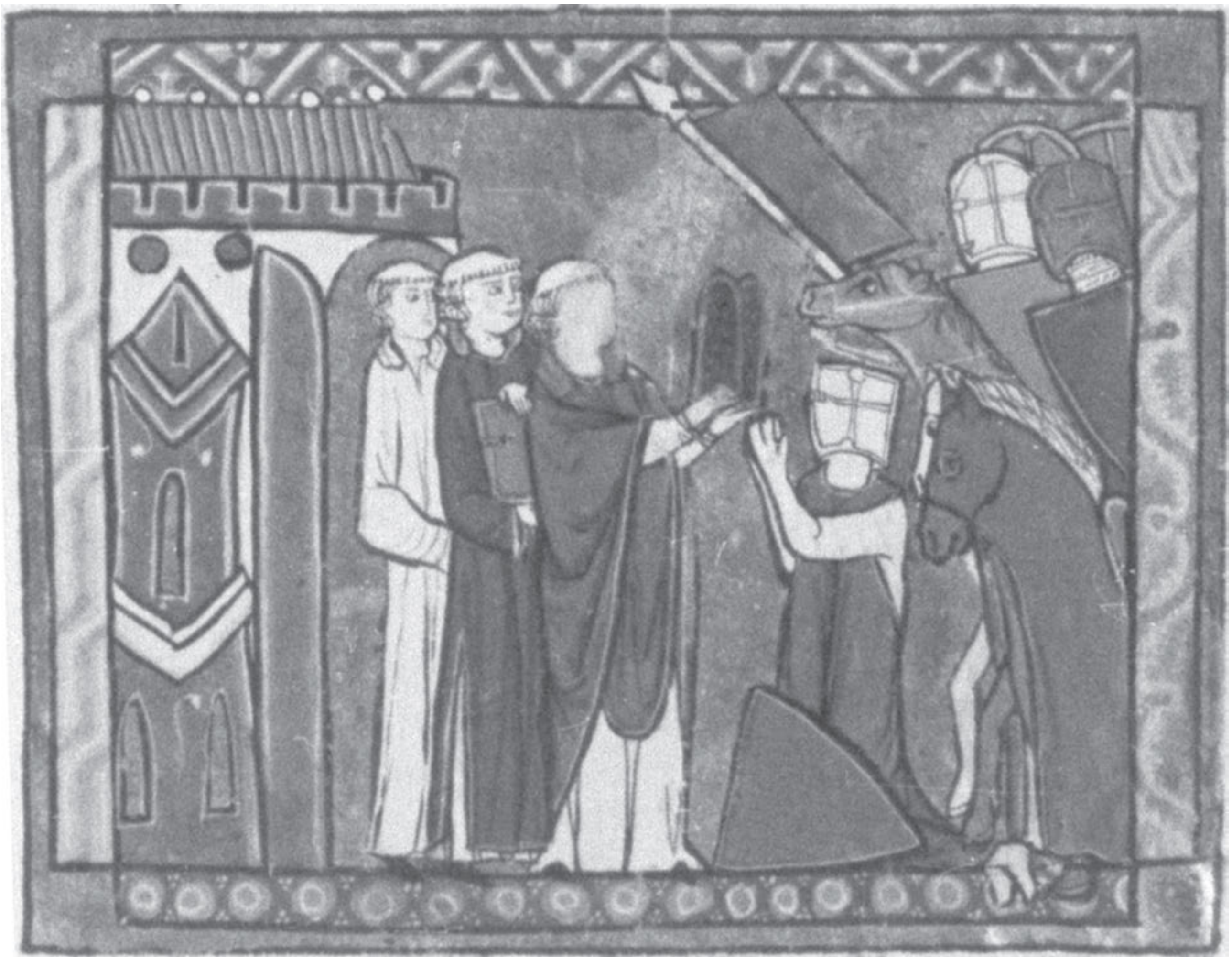

Fig. 4.11: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, ca. 1280–1290. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 20125, fol. 232r.

tablets, the standard iconography for depicting the Old Testament Tablets of the Law in French thirteenth-century manuscripts. The book in the form of a codex, which the deacon is carrying behind the bishop could hint at a typological reading. Normally the book carried by the deacon refers to the Christian Gospel.[91] In our context it could allude to the biblical Book of Daniel, in which Alexander's successful conquest was prophesied, and that according to the *Alexander romance* was shown to him inside the Temple.[92] A similar book is illustrated in a famous early fourteenth-century copy of the French *Alexander romance* from the Southern Netherlands, now in the British Library: Alexander kisses the Book of Daniel that is presented to him by the high priest in ecclesiastical vestments (fig. 4.12).[93] The book itself resembles a Christian missal; what is shown is the kiss that according to the contemporary descriptions of medieval entry ceremonies was refused for the Torah scroll but granted to the Gospels and the missal.[94]

91 For the deacon carrying the Gospels, see Ganz 2015, 13, 18.

92 On this theme, see Arnold 1963, 324–330; Ross 1963, 33–36; Fabre 2009, § 32–34.

93 London, British Library, Harley MS. 4979, fol. 27v. See Pérez-Simon 2011, 1–19. There are two close copies of the Alexander Jerusalem scene in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS. 78 C. 1, fol. 22v and Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 11040 Br, fol. 23r, where the book is only adored but not kissed. For these manuscripts and their relationship to each other see Stones 1982, 193–241; Ross/Stones 2002, 345–356; Rieger (ed.) 2006, 38, 177–180.

94 See above note 79. For the ritual kissing of the Gospels in medieval entrance ceremonies see Kantorowicz 1944, 208. For the kissing of the Gospels during Mass, see Heinzer 2009, 46, 48, 50; Ganz 2015, 18, note 52. For the late medieval kissing of books as acts of private devotion, see Rudy 2011, 21–30.

Fig. 4.12: Alexander enters Jerusalem, Roman d'Alexandre en prose, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4979, fol. 27v.

The pictorial triumph of the Christian reading of the Alexander-Jerusalem scene over the possibility of a Jewish interpretation was far-reaching. In the numerous illustrations of the scene depicted between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries,[95] I know of only one further depiction of the adoration of the name of God displayed in the form of a Torah case. It is found in a lavishly illustrated *Histoire ancienne* illuminated between 1460 and 1465 by the anonymous French artist commonly named the Maître de Coëtivy, lately identified as Colin d'Amiens (fig. 4.13).[96] The high priest, who is kneeling in front of Alexander outside Jerusalem, carries a beautifully carved wooden case that stands open and empty. The curved interior of the tall but narrow shrine with its conical top closely resembles the inside of half of an open Torah case without its scroll. Inside we read a pseudo-Hebrew inscription that alludes to the sacredness of the divine name.[97]

The possibility of the presentation of an empty Torah case at a royal entry ceremony was discussed in a Jewish legend, which has its roots in late medieval culture. This reflected the growing uneasiness of Jewish communities about taking part in a ritual that increasingly was scripted by Christians to demonstrate the blindness of the Jews and the limits of their interpretation of the Law. The legend reflects upon the following question: should one expose the Torah scrolls to the false adoration of an idol-worshipping king, or would it be better to hide the scrolls and present empty, closed cases. Of course such a trick, if discovered would have been severely punished. The legend concludes with a divine intervention: when the king demands to open the supposedly empty cases, the Jews have been miraculously warned and the missing scrolls have been replaced. We don't know if there is a historical basis for this legend known as *Purim of Saragossa* or *Syracuse*.[98] Although the story is set at the turn of the

95 For a good overview, see Raynaud 1995, 297–300.

96 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 64, fol. 138r. For the manuscript and its artist, see Avril/Reynaud (eds.) 1995, 58–69 and no. 23, 60–61. The identification of the artist as Colin d'Amiens has been confirmed by Grodecki 1996, 334–336.

97 I am grateful to Sarit Shalev-Eyni for her help with the pseudo-Hebrew script. On this theme, see Rodov 2013, 462–477.

98 A careful philological study of this legend has been presented by Burgaretta 2006, 51–80, who demonstrates that the *Purim of Saragossa* in Spain was really a *Purim of Syracuse* in Sicily. The manuscripts containing the legend cite two different dates for the event: 1380 and 1420. For the king's demand to open the cases in order to see the scrolls inside, see Zeldes 2012, 254–255, who compares this passage to the entrance ceremony of King Pedro of Aragon in Messina in 1282 described by Bartholomaeus de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, cap. 53 (ed. Paladino, 42), stating that on this occasion "the synagogue of the Jews revealed the Law" ("Judaeorum synagoga legem

Fig. 4.13: Alexander kneeling before the name of God, Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, 1460–1465. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 64, fol. 138r.

fourteenth century and might already have been known in the fifteenth century, it is definitely not the source for the depiction of the empty Torah case in the French miniature. Unlike the cases described in the legend, its emptiness is not concealed, but instead openly presented. The scroll as an object of devotion has been supplanted by the pseudo-Hebrew symbol of God's name. What can be learnt from this comparison? To conclude, I will reflect on the complicated relation of the scroll, the case and the name of God. The fundamental question of what sort of veneration was legitimate for the Torah scrolls was intimately linked in both Judaism and Christianity with adornment and regalia.

In the miniature illuminated by the Maître de Coëtivy, Alexander has removed his crown and is kneeling bareheaded before the high priest, who is also kneeling (fig. 4.13). The removal of the royal headdress is easily understood as a sign of respect and reverence towards the high priest and the holy name appearing inside the Torah shrine. It can also be read as a symbol of conversion affirming the Christian context of the liturgical scene

aperuit"). Linder 2009, 348–349, supposes an anti-Jewish reading of the rite which "was probably motivated by the Easter liturgy's emphasis on the 'closed' Torah as symbol of the Jewish closed mind and their resultant erroneous interpretation of its divine truth." For this metaphor, see Eberlein 1982, 89–92. On the type of Torah cases described in the legend, see Feller 1992, 82–85; Burgaretta 2006, 73, note 125.

Fig. 4.14: Hallel, Kaufmann Haggadah, fourteenth century. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection, Ms. A 422, fol. 42r.

that is also hinted at by the little cross above the high priest's papal tiara.[99] Uncovering the head to demonstrate one's conversion stood in sharp contrast to the Jewish custom of covering one's head when in the presence of the Torah scroll.[100] The artist of the aforementioned synagogue scene in the Barcelona Haggadah took great care to depict all members of the congregation with their heads covered (fig. 4.6). The *ḥazzan*, leading the prayer, is completely wrapped in a white mantle, a *tallit*, which is pulled over his head.[101] The royal crown that was removed from Alexander's head in the later Christian miniature is here bestowed upon the Torah case that has a prominent golden top. Contemporary Jewish sources describe the *keter Torah*, "the crown of the Torah," placed upon the Torah scroll as a symbol of royalty. The congregation praying before the Torah scroll is likened to an audience paying tribute to a king; showing signs of respect, in other words, that emphasize their special bond.[102] This thought is explicitly depicted in an interesting miniature of the so-called Kaufmann Haggadah, an illuminated manuscript from fourteenth-century Catalonia.[103] In this manuscript the depiction of Hallel is based upon the same model as the synagogue scene in the Barcelona Haggadah: the *ḥazzan* standing on a reading platform is presenting a Torah case with a splendid golden crown to the

99 A similar *adventus* scene is depicted in the *Grandes chroniques de France* printed by Antoine Vérard, Paris, 1493: Pope Adrian I, dressed in ceremonial garb and accompanied by three acolytes with candles and a cross, is kneeling before Charlemagne, who lifts his crown. For the removal of the head covering as a sign of respect see Panofsky 1939, 3–4, whose interpretation of the gesture leaves aside its religious meaning. See Heinzer 2009, 49, note 23 according to whom crowns and all head coverings had to be removed during the reading of Gospels in the Roman papal liturgy. For the removal of the "Jewish" head covering as a symbol of conversion, see Lipton 1999, 18–19, fig. 4.

100 For the rabbinic and medieval sources referring to this custom, see Zimmer 1992, 325–352.

101 For the depiction of the *tallit* in medieval Jewish manuscripts, see Revel-Neher 1992, 97–99.

102 For the development of the Torah crown, see Mann (ed.) 1996; Mann 2005, 33–35. For the *keter torah* as a symbol of royalty, see Rodov 2009, 462–464. Also see Woolf 2014, 309–310.

103 Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection, Ms A 422, fol. 42r. For the manuscript, its illustrations and dating, see Sed-Rajna 1990, 5–39, and Kogman-Appel 2006, 14, note 9, who ascribes the miniature cycle of Exodus to a Christian artist.

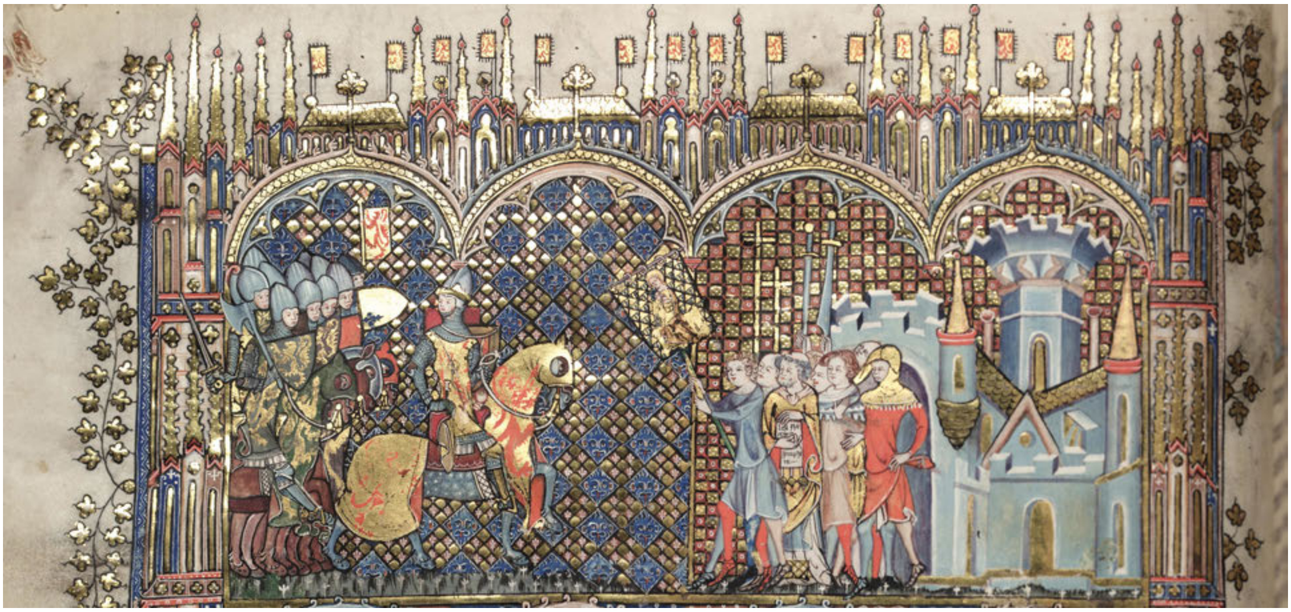

Fig. 4.15: Alexander enters Jerusalem, Roman d'Alexandre, 1338–1344. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 43v.

congregation below (fig. 4.14).[104] But contrary to what is often stated he does not hold the Torah case with veiled hands. Unlike the *ḥazzan* in the Barcelona Haggadah, his arms are crossed below the now-effaced body of the Torah case, a gesture interpreted by the fourteenth-century Jewish Provençal scholar Aaron ben Jacob of Lunel in his halakhic work *Orḥot Ḥayyim* as a sign of respect when addressing a king that conveys the meaning "I'm helpless without you."[105]

The likening of the reverence toward the Torah to courtly manners was a central argument in Joseph ibn Caspi's treatise *Shulḥan Kesef* (1332–1335), cited in the introduction, where the Provençal philosopher defended the superiority of the Torah scrolls to Christian books and icons. Caspi explains: "Certainly our books are superior and more saintly than yours because these books were first made in our tongue and our writing [...]. If a king gives us a letter of freedom and if he writes it with his own hand and in our tongue it will be more precious to us than anything else."[106] For Caspi the authentic language and writing is the key to transferring royalty to the Torah scrolls. The Hebrew characters, with which the name of God is written, guarantee the sanctity of the scrolls and constitute the special bond between the Jewish community and God. The relation of the Torah scroll and the Hebrew letters forming the name of God was also central to the depiction of the scroll in the Hallel miniatures. We have already mentioned, that the Torah case and the word "Hallelujah"—"Praise the Lord" containing the first letters יה (Yah) of the holy name (Yahweh)—are positioned on the same level and facing each other. The idea is further elaborated in the lower half of the Barcelona miniature (fig. 4.6). Here the Hebrew characters of Psalm 113 are framed by the remarkable depiction of two columns. Seen in the light of medieval Jewish representations of the Temple implements they can easily be identified as images of the Temple columns called *amudim* in Biblical Hebrew.[107] In the Mishnah the same word is

104 See Sed-Rajna 1990, 13; Cohen 1998, 146; Mann 2005, 29; Yaniv 2006, 417, note 27.

105 Aaron ben Jacob of Lunel, *Orḥot Ḥayyim*, "Teffillah," 47, translated by Ehrlich 2004, 115: "What is the correct posture [for prayer]? [...] There are places where they cross their arms, placing the right arm under the left elbow and the left one under the right elbow, when they speak to the king, and this is the custom in Christian lands [...]. In all these postures they stand as if without hands, namely, to convey 'I am helpless without you'." The same gesture can be seen on fol. 9v of the Kaufmann Haggadah, where a servant kneeling before the pharaoh is depicted with his arms crossed on his chest.

106 Joseph Ibn Kaspi, *Shulḥan Kesef* (ed. Kasher, 58–60), translation by Sirat 1990, 326.

107 For the Temple columns in medieval Jewish depictions of the sanctuary, see Revel-Neher 1998, 78, note 70. The columns in the Hallel miniature of the Barcelona Haggadah resemble the columns of the Tabernacle and the Temple depicted in the First Leningrad Bible, Sankt Peterburg, National Library of Russia, Firk. Hebr. II B 17, fol. 4v used to describe the rollers of the Torah scroll.[108] Hence the rollers of the scroll could be interpreted as pillars of the Temple that frame the sanctuary of the Hebrew letters forming the name of God written on the parchment of the Torah scroll.[109]

When compared to the Christian miniature depicting an empty Torah shrine containing the name of God in pseudo-Hebrew characters, we notice a remarkable analogy (fig. 4.13). Two columns are attached to the outer rim of the tall narrow wooden case flanking its curved interior. With its columns and its conical top the case looks strikingly similar to the representations of the Torah niche in Jewish art that conflate the image of the Temple sanctuary with the repository for the Torah scrolls in the synagogue.[110] What could be the reason for depicting such a case in a Christian context? The key to answering this question is the missing scroll replaced by the name of God. God has opened the previously closed sanctuary revealing his name by replacing the scroll. The metaphor was widely used by late medieval theologians referring to the incarnation: Mary was the open sanctuary receiving the Logos thereby replacing the Ark of the Old Testament with a new, living one—a metaphor commonly depicted by juxtaposing the ark and the scroll with the human body of the Virgin and Christ.[111]

Only when used in such a typological sense did realistically depicted pieces of the Jewish liturgy stand any chance to survive in late medieval Christian art.[112] The depiction of a Jewish Torah case in the miniature of the Alexander Jerusalem scene in the French *Histoire ancienne* manuscript from Acre was an exceptional case (fig. 4.4). The erasure of the Torah case and the face of the Jewish high priest holding it in a copy of the scene made a few years later in Paris (fig. 4.9) demonstrate how difficult it was for the Jewish community to publicly convey an alternative image of their holiest cult object. In the late medieval Christian context the *zelem*[113] of Christianity towered high above all other expressions of holiness in public space. This is poignantly illustrated in the last image: the beautiful entrance scene of Alexander to Jerusalem in an illuminated, French Romance of Alexander from the mid-fourteenth century in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where instead of a Torah case the people of Jerusalem display a charter, crosses, swords and, spearheading all, a banner with an image of the Virgin and Child (fig. 4.15).[114]

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and fol. 5r. See Laderman 2013, 194–197. For the Temple columns in Christian art, see Naredi-Rainer 1994, 139–154.

108 Resnick 1992, 16.

109 On the Hebrew letters of the Torah as signs of God's presence, see Idel 2001, 202–206, 214–215. On the "Two-Column motif" in Renaissance *parokhot*, see Yaniv 1989, 26–43.

110 Rainer 2011, 117–124. See Metzger 1983, fig. 89; Narkiss 1992, 32–34, fig. 13.

111 See Hamburger 2004, 118–120, 129–130. Also see Revel-Neher 1998, 58–59; Ganz 2015, 48.

112 It is not by chance that all later depictions of Torah cases in medieval Spanish altarpieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries discussed in the fundamental study by Mann 2010, 76–128, appear in Temple scenes opposing the incarnated body of Christ and the story of his coming into the world through the vehicle of the Virgin Mary to the Old Testament Ark of the Covenant. See for example The Expulsion of Joachim and Anna from the Temple in an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child in the parish church of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Villarroya de Campo (Mann 2010, fig. 28) or The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple in the main altarpiece of Christ the Saviour in the church of San Salvadore in Ejea de los Caballeros (Mann 2010, fig. 38), where the body of Christ is typologically paired with the ark in the form of a Torah case standing in an open tent on the altar table.

113 For this expression, see note 1.

114 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 43v. See Cruse 2011, 165–170. The charter is inscribed with the words "lex Jheremie prophete." For legends about the prophet Jeremiah and Alexander, see Fraser 1996, 19, note 39. The swords are carried hilt-up, a token of surrender showing peaceful intentions.

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Part II: **Textile Dimensions**

Robert S. Nelson

5 Dressing and Undressing Greek Lectionaries in Byzantium and Italy

In 1783 two Byzantine lectionaries entered the collection of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, Mediceo Palatino 243 and 244. Palat. 243 arrived without its bejeweled cover, which had been stolen in the transferal from the Palazzo Vecchio to the Biblioteca. Its mate, Codex 244, had lost its decorated binding at least twice in prior centuries. Once the two manuscripts were at the Biblioteca, its librarian, the Enlightenment antiquarian Angelo Maria Bandini, made a study of them, writing that when the books arrived they were "nude and utterly stripped of their ancient coverings" ("nudi e spogliati affatto delle antiche coperte").[1] He therefore decided they should be properly clothed and fashioned new covers for them out of sixteenth-century liturgical vestments with medallions of saints (fig. 5.1). Such acts of dressing and undressing manuscripts in Byzantium and Italy will reappear in this overview of deluxe Byzantine book covers. The survey will be restricted primarily to the Gospel lectionary, known in the Middle Ages but not in more modern periods as the *evangelion* (εὐαγγέλιον), the book that contains passages from the Gospels that are arranged for reading in church according to the ecclesiastical calendar.[2] For simplicity's sake, it will here be referred to as the lectionary. It was the most public or ceremonial of religious texts, and its prominence meant that some copies were lavish productions, reserved for special occasions, as was the case with Codex 244 written entirely in gold ink and containing a limited number of pericopes for the most important feast days of the year.[3] Other lectionaries, especially in the eleventh century, had extensive marginal decoration. This was the Byzantine text most likely to have a luxurious binding of gold and silver, as in the case of a tenth-century binding on a lectionary at the Lavra monastery on Mt. Athos (fig. 5.2).

Decorated Byzantine book covers do not survive in large numbers, but among those preserved, the great majority are or probably were meant for lectionaries, where the principal iconographic theme on the front is Christ either as a single figure (figs. 5.2, 5.4), or the scene of the Crucifixion (fig. 5.8) and less often the Anastasis, the Byzantine image of the Harrowing of Hell. This narrow iconographic focus distinguishes Byzantine deluxe bindings of the ninth and later centuries from the greater range of subject matter and textual contents of ornate Latin book covers. In turn, all Christian bindings, whether eastern or western, differ categorically from the aniconic book covers of the Qur'an, embellished with intricate designs suggestive of textiles, either woven fabrics or the medallion patterns of carpets (fig. 5.3). Textiles, however, are an important aspect of the supplementary interior decoration in Latin manuscripts, as David Ganz's recent book makes clear,[4] but seldom in Greek manuscripts.[5]

Ganz's study also poses a number of stimulating questions about book covers generally and introduces new theoretical perspectives among which is Gérard Genette's notion of the threshold or *paratexte*, that is, those elements that precede the text of a book proper and enable the text to become a book. Rarely is a literary text "presented in an undressed or nude state" ("à l'etat nu"), writes Genette, curiously echoing the words of the aforementioned eighteenth-century antiquarian, without "a certain number of productions verbal or not" that render the text present and establish the presence of the book in the world.[6] This threshold is not merely the boundary or border of the book, or the outside that encloses the inside, but a genuine threshold that one must go through to get to the other side, and thus a zone of transaction.[7] Something happens when one goes through this space and emerges on the other side. Because the book cover as paratext has a performative function; it is an enabler of the text inside. Besides those elements that are found within the printed book (cover, title page, preface, etc.), Genette also

1 Bandini 1787, quoted in Biagiarelli 1971, 147.
2 Karavidopoulos 1993.
3 R. S. Nelson in Evans (ed.) 2004, 542–543; Nelson 2007; J. C. Anderson in Bernabò 2011, 187–189.

4 Ganz 2015, 141–150. On bindings of the Qur'an, see James 1980 and below.
5 Greek miniatures do not copy directly textile patterns as in the West, but in the later Middle Ages, patterns derived from Islamic textiles, metalwork, or ceramics do appear in headpieces. See Nelson 1988. Deluxe textile bindings in the late Middle Ages, in the case of those with the monogram of the imperial Palaeologan family, are a separate matter. On the latter, see for example Belting 1970, 52, 64, fig. 36. On lectionaries covered with silk and metal ornaments, see Thomas/Hero (eds.) 2000, 1672.
6 Genette 2002, 7. My English translation differs from Genette 1997, 1.
7 Genette 2002, 7–8.

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Fig. 5.1: Byzantine lectionary of eleventh century, front cover, eighteenth century. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palat. 244.

Fig. 5.2: Phocas Lectionary, front cover, tenth century. Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery, Skevophylakion.

includes other paratextual aspects such as interviews with the author and book reviews that might also precede the reader's engagement with the text.[8] Although Genette's concern is the printed book, especially French fiction, and he deliberately ignores historical aspects of the topic, his frames of reference suggest ways to understand the varieties of mediation that surround medieval manuscripts and their covers, mediations that neither begin nor end with a manuscript's binding.

That mediation in turn may be followed, if we look for comparison outside the usual realm of Christian medieval art and consider the Qur'an and its bindings.[9] Like the binding of a Christian sacred text, the tooled leather cover of a late fourteenth-century Qur'an from Mamluk Egypt (fig. 5.3) marks the text inside as something special. The paratextual elements of Qur'ans serve the same function, namely, the decorated and inscribed cabinets in the mosques or religious schools in which they were stored, the ritual ablutions required to handle the Qur'an, the embellished Qur'an stands on which they were opened for reading while seated, and the distinctive declamation reserved for recitation of the Qur'an.[10] This particular manuscript in London is part seven of a thirty volume Qur'an (37 x 27 cm) made for the library of a mosque in Cairo,[11] but some Qur'ans may have folios size twice as large, and a few have as many as 700 folios in a single volume.[12] It follows that such manuscripts were not portable. In worship, recitation of the Qur'an from memory was privileged and celebrated to a degree not sanctioned in Christianity or Judaism, a dynamic that makes paratextual comparisons

8 Genette 2002, 345–406.

9 James 1980.

10 Déroche 2004; Baker 2007. The larger context of the Qur'an in Muslim culture, the paratext, of the Qur'an, like that of the Bible, is vast, and in a religious culture without images, is more pervasive than the Bible as text. See Berthier/Zali (eds.) 2005, 145–201, and the entries "Epigraphy," "Material Culture and the Qur'ān," "Art and Architecture and the Qur'ān," and "Recitation of the Qur'ān" in McAuliffe 2001–2006.

11 Lings/Safadi 1976, 93; Baker 2007, 42.

12 Déroche 2004, 27–30.

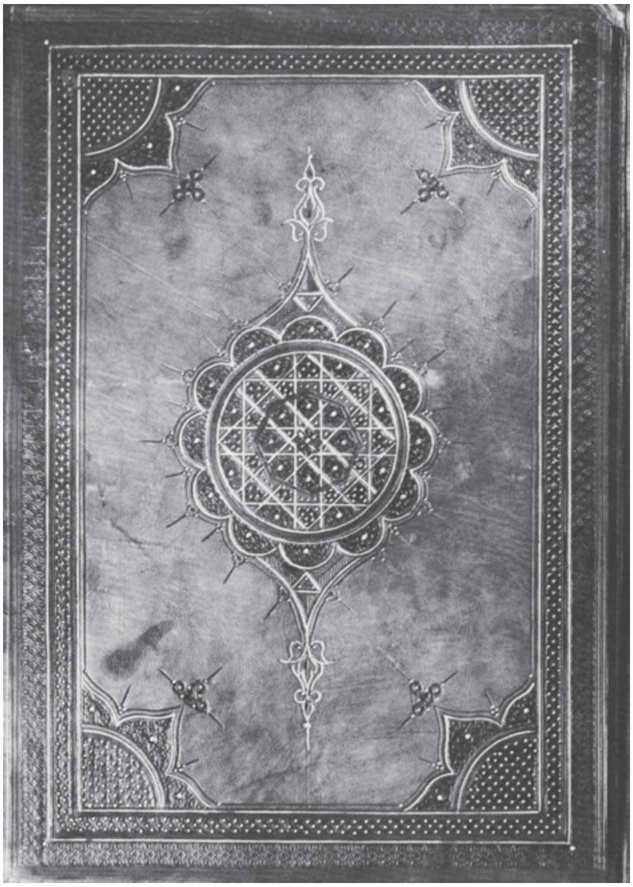

Fig. 5.3: Front cover of a Qur'an, fourteenth century. London, British Library, Or. 9671.

of the sacred texts of the three religions complex.[13] Thus paratextually, the deluxe medieval Qur'an and the Byzantine lectionary are not equivalent objects and do not play the same roles in their respective religious cultures.

Book covers represent one aspect of that difference. In contrast to the deliberate modesty of Qur'an covers, the Byzantine lectionary, was at its most lavish covered in gold, silver, precious jewels and pearls and bore figural representations of Christ, Mary, scenes of their lives, and images of saints, prophets, and other religious symbols. Moreover, the lectionary was restricted to one volume. It was read by ordained clergy standing in an ambo, the Byzantine term for pulpit, or at a lectern[14] and was not so large that it could not be carried and held up for display, although an ornate book cover of gold and silver surely added to its heft. Crucial to the nature and iconography of the book cover of the Byzantine lectionary were its paratexts, the ritual practices that surround the use of the manuscript during the First or Little Entrance of the liturgy. The latter's purpose was to bring the *evangelion* into the public space of the church for the reading of the lection of the day.

In the early Byzantine period, this ritual brought in not only the lectionary but also the clergy and the entire congregation and marked the beginning of the liturgy. However, over the centuries other rites were added to the beginning of the liturgy, and the First Entrance became a truncated procession from the altar out of the *templon* or the chancel barrier, through the nave and back to the altar again.[15] During the process, the lectionary was honored or reverenced multiple times. At the beginning, the priest took it from the altar, kissed it, and gave it to the deacon. The priest and deacon walked around the altar with it, and then accompanied by subdeacons with candles, and possibly a processional cross, they exited through the north door of the *templon*. The procession wound its way through the faithful in the naos or nave of the church up to the central door of the *templon*, where the deacon handed the lectionary to the priest, who kissed it again, raised it up, and made the sign of the cross with it. Then the entourage processed back to the altar, and the priest placed the book on the altar. Before the actual reading of Gospel lection came the lection from Acts or the Epistles, followed sometimes by a reading from the Prophets, prayers, the censing of the lectionary, a prayer before the lectionary, then finally the recitation of the Gospel lection, which took place in the nave. At the great church of Hagia Sophia, the lection was read from the monumental ambo in the center of the nave, and the deacon processed there, carrying the *evangelion*, accompanied by subdeacons bearing candles.[16]

According to the ninth-century author, George Harmartolos, a monk and firm supporter of icons in the years following Iconoclasm, Christians venerated the sacred images on the outside of *evangelia* or lectionaries (figs. 5.2, 5.4–5.5, 5.8), as well as the Gospel itself.[17] He says no more about the nature of those images, but one clue is provided by *Historia ecclesiastica*, the liturgical commentary

13 "The Muslim worshipper does not *read* the Koran, but rather *recites* it. Reading the Koran from a codex in the course of worship is a practice mentioned by some old Muslim authorities, but they do so only to disparage it: it reminds them of Jewish ritual." Cook 2000, 77. See the useful comparative study of Jewish and Muslim practices by Talmon-Heller 2012, for which I thank Ariel Fein. I also am grateful for conversations with my colleague Kishwar Rizvi.

14 See the illustrations in Nelson 2006, fig. 37; Nelson 2007, fig. 3.1.

15 Taft 1997, 205–216.

16 Mateos 1971, 73–90.

17 Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, IX, 41 (ed. de Boor, 2, 786), cited in C. Walter 1993, 207. The Iconoclasts destroyed decorated silver book covers, see Mango 1972, 154.

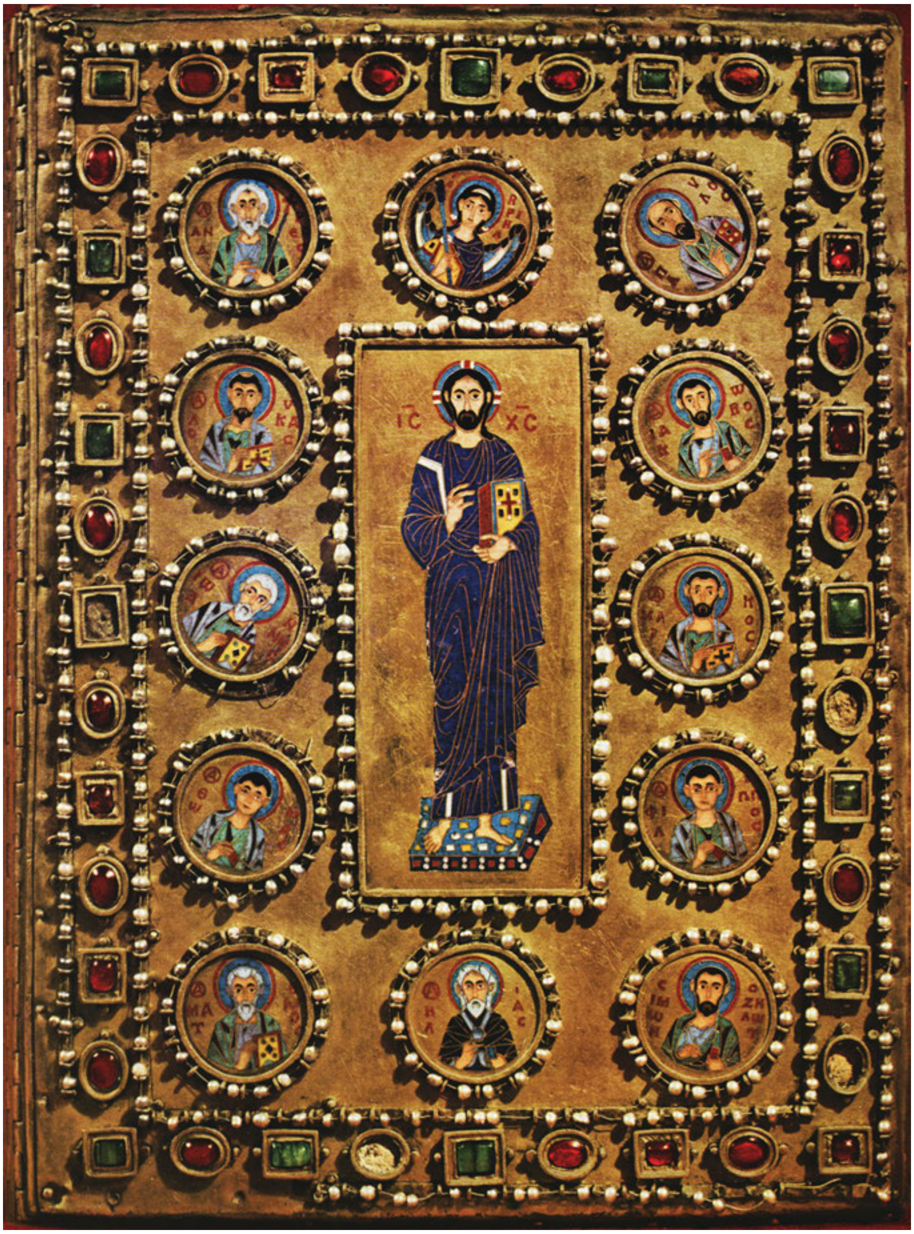

Fig. 5.4: Reused Byzantine book cover, front, tenth century. Venice, Tesoro di San Marco (for Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. I, 100).

of Germanos, who was the Patriarch of Constantinople from 715 to 730 at the outbreak of Iconoclasm and later canonized. His commentary, long the most influential interpretation of the Byzantine liturgy, states that "the entrance of the Gospel (*evangelion*) [during the First Entry] signifies the coming (παρουσίαν) of the Son God and His entrance into the world."[18] After commenting on specific moments in the liturgy, Germanos comes to the reading of the Gospel lection and writes, "The Gospel (*evangelion*) is the coming (παρουσία) of God, when He was seen by us: he is no longer speaking to us as through a cloud and indistinctly, as He did to Moses through thunder and lighting and trumpets, by a voice, by darkness and fires on the mountain […]."[19] The word used for "coming"—παρουσία—also means presence or manifestation in the sense being physically or visual present.[20]

Byzantine book covers before Iconoclasm remain an elusive subject, because few examples survive of bindings on manuscripts. Some wish to restore various

18 Germanus Constantinopolitanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, cap. 23 (ed. Meyendorff, 72–73).

19 Germanus Constantinopolitanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, cap. 31 (ed. Meyendorff, 80–81).

20 Liddell/Scott 1996, 1343.

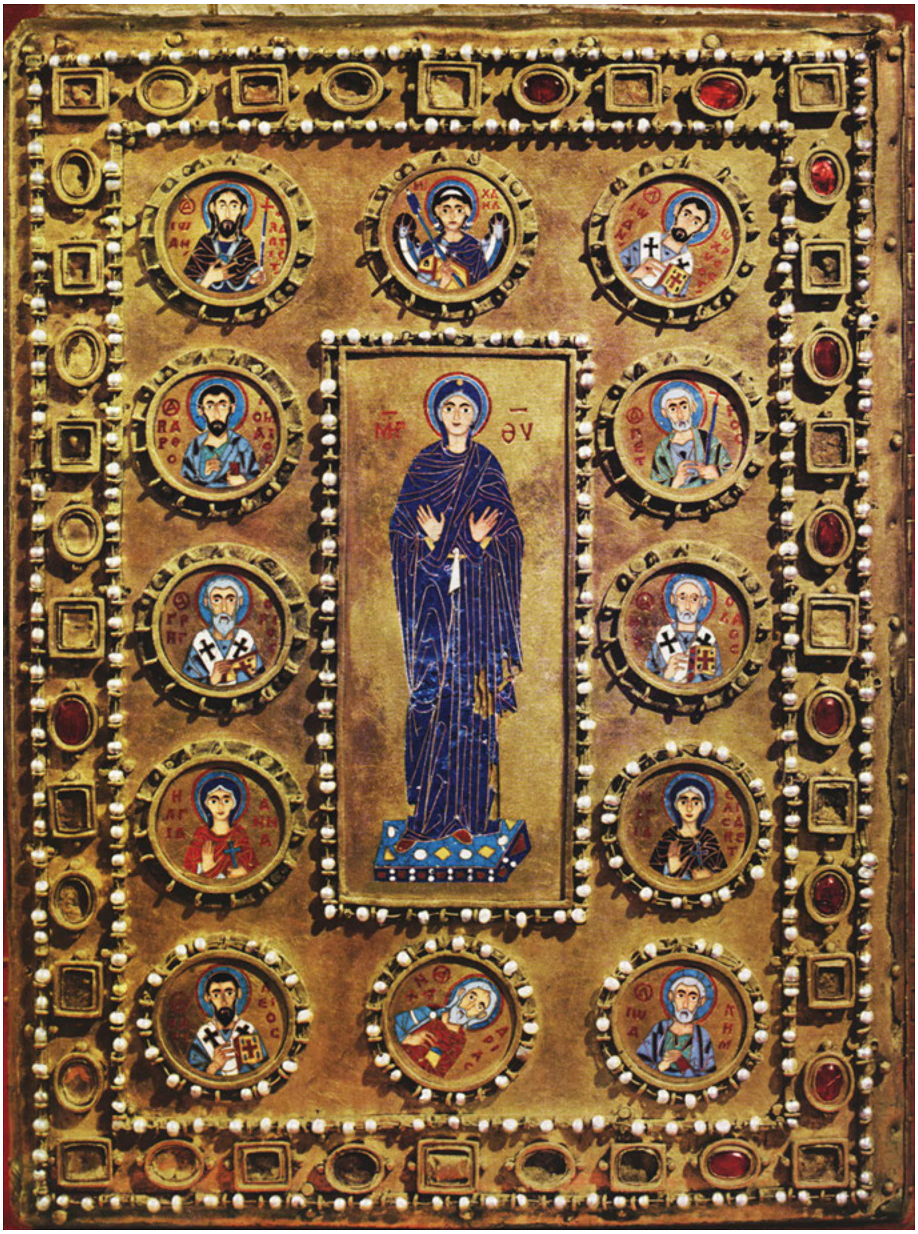

Fig. 5.5: Reused Byzantine book cover, back, tenth century. Venice, Tesoro di San Marco (for Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. I, 100).

silver plaques as book covers, and indeed it has become routine to describe certain plaques as book covers, but Marlia Mango has cautioned that such plaques could have varied uses in addition to being book covers.[21] Compared to the earlier period and the varied subject matter of the silver plaques proposed as book covers, the decorated *evangelion* after Iconoclasm has on its front side images of Christ, as if the book becomes the literal instantiation of the παρουσία of God that Germanos described in his commentary. Or was it the other way around and when Germanos wrote, did he have in mind ornate lectionaries with images of Christ on front that he saw at Hagia Sophia in the early eighth century? Moreover, after Germanos was canonized and his commentary became the standard interpretation of the liturgy, did it continue to determine the iconography of the lectionary cover?

One of the earliest post-Iconoclastic bindings that survive is the front and back enamel plaques of the later ninth century now in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice. Displayed separately from the Latin evangeliary for San Marco that it once enclosed (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. I, 101), the front cover has a broad border surrounding an image of the crucified Christ on a dark green enameled

21 Frazer 1992; Kitzinger 1974; Lowden 2007; Mango 1986, 199–210.

cross.[22] He wears a dark blue colobium, a sleeveless tunic that stretches down to his ankles. The garment is seen in early depictions of the Crucifixion, but also in ninth and tenth century enamel work.[23] The field is filled with medallions of angels, apostles, and John the Baptist, while the border consists of a pattern of crosses interlocked with chevrons, all formed from deep set enamel cells. The back cover depicts Mary against the same green cross with arms raised in prayer, the orant gesture. This side of the cover has suffered more losses in the medallion figures and the enameled compartments of the border. At the ends of the cross arms on this side are medallions with monograms that have been interpreted to read "Lord help your servant Maria Magistrissa." The book cover may have been made for a Constantinopolitan shrine of the Virgin about 900.[24] The donor's prayer was placed strategically close to Mary so that she might convey it to her son on the other side of the book cover.

The crucified Christ on the front cover should be seen in the larger context of the *evangelion*, that is, its placement on the altar where after the First Entrance the priest would soon celebrate the rites of communion. But why is the Virgin given such a prominent role on the back of the book cover in this example or on a yet more handsome set of plaques in Venice from the following century (figs. 5.4–5.5)?[25] The latter were also reused for another service book for San Marco, a Latin epistolary (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. I, 1000).[26] It features on the front (fig. 5.4) a majestic enameled figure of Jesus clad in dark blue garments with gold highlighting and carrying a gilded book with a red cross on the front. He stands on a richly colored footstool and around him are medallions of apostles, saints, and prophets. The outer border consists of large stones bordered by pearls. The rear cover has the same format but with Mary (fig. 5.5) in the center also clad in dark blue. She stands on a similar footstool and holds her hands waist high in a gesture of prayer. Looking outward to the beholder, she also prays on the behalf of believers to her son on the opposite side of the book.

Fig. 5.6: Processional cross, back side (center), tenth century. Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery, Skevophylakion.

Both sides of the lectionary need to be covered. The front is presented to the faithful and represented the manifestation or παρουσίαν of Christ, but the reverse would also be visible, especially to those who followed the book in processions. In the small confines of a typical monastic Byzantine church of the middle period, this might be the priest walking behind the deacon, a person that a donor might well want praying for him or her. In larger churches, grander processions were possible, especially for the stational liturgies of Constantinople that began at Hagia Sophia and then went out to the station of the day, a church or other site associated with the person or event being commemorated.[27] The ritual would include a processional cross of the sort found in several museums today, but one in the Lavra monastery on Mt. Athos, by tradition a gift from the imperial founder of the monastery Emperor Nikephoros Phocas, is contemporary with the second San Marco cover. This impressive cross, kept on the altar when this photograph was taken in 1919, has a triumphal Psalm inscribed on its backside. As I have argued elsewhere, the verbal message of Psalm text combines with the visual prayer of the orant Virgin (fig. 5.6) to address the figure of Christ in a medallion in the center of the cross on the opposite side of the cross.[28] The Virgin's prayer gesture

22 A. Grabar in Hahnlosen (ed.) 1971, 47–48; Wessel 1967, 58–62.
23 M. E. Frazer in Buckton (ed.) 1985, 124.
24 M. E. Frazer, in Buckton (ed.) 1985, 124.
25 There was a prior tradition of pairing Christ and the Virgin seen in early Byzantine ivory diptychs. Five-part ivory diptychs of the sixth century feature on one side Christ and on the other the Virgin enthroned. One of these diptychs was reused as the bookcover of the tenth-century Etchmiadzin Gospels (Erevan, Matenadaran, No. 2374). For the latter, see Der Nersessian 1978, 72–74. On these diptychs, see Caillet 2008, 17–29. I thank David Ganz for the latter reference.
26 A. Grabar in Hahnloser (ed.) 1971, 48–49; M. E. Frazer in Buckton (ed.) 1985, 152–155; Wessel 1967, 85–89.

27 Baldovin 1987, 196–197.
28 Nelson 2011–12, 178–180. For the Virgin *orans* on processional crosses see Cotsonis 1994, 47.

Fig. 5.7: Menologium of Basil II, ca. 1000. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613, p. 350.

on the Lavra cross and the Venice book cover are similar. Moreover, the figure of Christ on the front of the Lavra cross holds a book in his left hand against his chest and blesses with two fingers, just as the figure of Christ does on the front of the San Marco cover.

The lectionary cover and the contemporary processional cross, both likely products of Constantinopolitan craftsmen, were associated ritually as well as visually. A euchologion of 1027 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Coislin 213), contains the liturgical rites for Hagia Sophia and describes the ordering of the procession as it moves from the altar out through the *templon* to a strip of dark green marble on the floor of the nave, where prayers were said, and then continues out the west doors of the church. The manuscript specifies the pairing of clergy and the objects they carry. First comes a deacon carrying the censor, then another deacon with the cross, the archdeacon with the lectionary, and finally the patriarch with no ritual object.[29] A miniature in the Menologium of Basil II from about 1000 preserves the protocol of these grand processions (fig. 5.7). On this day, January 26, commemorating an earthquake in 450, the procession left the Hagia Sophia for a church dedicated to the Theotokos in Helenianiae elsewhere in the city. The miniature illustrates the fifth-century emperor Theodosius II and Patriarch Anatolius processing together; thus it is at least partially an historical scene.[30]

Although the illustration unfortunately was partially repainted in the Renaissance, it still retains its basic

29 Dmitrievskij 1965, vol. 2, 1009; Mateos 1971, 88–89.
30 Baldovin 1993, 32–33.

medieval composition and conveys accurate liturgical detail. The thurifer leads the procession, as two groups of congregants with candles watch. They are the laity that would have followed not led the procession, but here they have been distributed on either side of the central group for the sake of symmetry. Behind the thurifer, a deacon holds up the jeweled cross, doubtlessly a difficult assignment for a procession of any duration. More realistic is the depiction in another miniature in the manuscript where the cross-bearer supports a taller, heavier cross by means of long strap around his neck that has a cup at the bottom to rest the cross.[31] In another departure from actual practice, the scene for January 26 (fig. 5.7) represents the patriarch holding the lectionary contrary to the stipulation in the Coislin manuscript that the patriarch, often an older man, carried nothing in the procession. However, artistic license may be at work here. The lectionary is the most important of the objects carried in the procession, and giving the patriarch this attribute accords him greater visual prominence, as does the isolation of emperor and patriarch at the center of the composition.

The miniature in the Menologium of Basil II and the ritual details provided by the Coislin manuscript help to explain the visual correspondences between the iconography of the front and back of the lectionary cover and the processional cross. While the front was the more important, the back was seen by people of significance, the priest in smaller or monastic churches and the patriarch and even the emperor in stational processions, as well as the laity who followed behind, including the donors of liturgical objects such as books covers and processional crosses. On such a cross, if both sides are decorated, the reverse was the place where the Virgin was likely to appear and sometimes the prayer of a donor in analogy to the aforementioned ninth-century book cover at San Marco.[32]

The preceding discussion has assumed that both the ninth- and tenth-century book covers at San Marco (figs. 5.4–5.5) once enclosed Greek lectionaries,[33] but it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence to support this assumption, only circumstantial details. The basic problem is that Byzantine manuscripts and their covers often went in different directions, especially when they came to Italy. The treasury of San Marco contains the world's greatest collection of Byzantine liturgical art, because Venice had the access to and the appreciation of that material culture both before and after it directed the forces of what became the Fourth Crusade to sack Constantinople in 1204. While Crusaders from diverse parts of Europe took part in that lamentable event, few except the Venetians both stole and preserved what we today regard as works of art. As the important dissertation of Ranee Katzenstein has explained,[34] the two Byzantine book covers were reused in the fourteenth century as part of a program of Doge Andrea Dandolo to refurbish the altar area of San Marco through the incorporation of the sacrality and prestige of Byzantium. Major service books for San Marco were made to fit three book covers, the two in question and a third one either also Byzantine or more likely a Venetian imitation of a Byzantine design. The designers of Lat. I, 100, a Latin Evangeliary, and Lat. I, 101, a Latin Epistolary, used Greek book covers that suited the liturgical character of their texts intentionally or not. The extent to which Venetian craftsmen were familiar with deluxe Byzantine lectionary bindings can never be known, but the Venetian knowledge of Byzantine material culture was generally high and was acute at this moment in the middle of the fourteenth century, when Doge Dandolo also commissioned the restoration of the Pala d'Oro and the decoration of the baptistery of San Marco with Byzantinizing mosaics.[35]

What resulted in the case of the service books for San Marco and their covers were liturgical manuscripts made for a church built according to a Constantinopolitan plan and decorated with mosaics by Byzantine artists. Amidst the mosaic bedecked vaults of San Marco and the flickering light of lamps and candles, the bright metallic covers would have been as resplendent in Venice as they would have originally been in Constantinople. The reuse of the Byzantine book covers on the service books of San Marco and their storage in the church's treasury saved them from the fate of Cardinal Bessarion's Greek manuscripts that he donated to the Republic of Venice in 1468, all of which were rebound 1735 and 1742.[36]

Given the uncertainties of the original destination of the San Marco book covers, it is an initial relief to turn to the handsome front cover of the lectionary in the treasury or *skevophylakion* of the Lavra Monastery at Mt. Athos (fig. 5.2).[37] It, like the monastery's processional cross has traditionally been associated with the monastery's principal patron, the emperor Nikephoros Phocas, whom Athanasius, the monastery's founding monk,

31 Cotsonis 1994, fig. 7.

32 Cotsonis 1994, figs. 14b, c, 18b.

33 As A. Grabar states without further discussion, in Hahnloser (ed.) 1971, 47–48.

34 Katzenstein 1987, 218–252.

35 Belting 2006.

36 Pugliese 2008, 219.

37 There is an excellent color reproduction without commentary in Pelekanides et al. (eds.) 1973–1991, vol. 3, 24.

mentions repeatedly in the *typikon* or charter of the monastery.[38] Known as the Phocas Lectionary, the front cover is tenth century in origin and like the cross is also from Constantinople. The back cover, its ornament disrupted, may not be of the same period,[39] and the miniatures of the manuscript inside can be assigned to the early twelfth century.[40] It has been proposed that an earlier binding was reused from a tenth-century lectionary at Lavra.[41] Thus what seemed at first straightforward is not, and it, like many Byzantine manuscripts, has been rebound not as in most cases with a new cover, but a venerable older one. Thus the circumstances of the Phocas Lectionary and the two book covers in Venice are similar.

The front cover of the Lavra lectionary is one of the finest examples of Byzantine metal and enamel work of any period, but little studied.[42] At the center stands Christ blessing and holding an open book. His feet rest on a footstool decorated with an enameled vine scroll pattern on a white ground. To the left and right of Christ are two small enamel plaques of St Gregory Nazianzenus and St Basil the Great, respectively. The outer frame and other parts of the plaque are modern restoration.[43] The book is inscribed with two sentences, one each on the verso and the recto, arranged to mirror each other as far as possible: "My peace I give you: My peace I leave you."[44]

The inscription is adapted from the words of Jesus in the Gospel of John (14,27): "Peace I leave you; my peace I give you."[45] There Jesus is preparing his disciples for the time in the near future when he will no longer be with them, and the Holy Spirit instead will remain to direct them. The verse is ideal for a lectionary that contains the words that Jesus left his followers. In the restaging of the Biblical text, the order of the two sentences has been reversed. With an economy of means, their language has been made parallel in order to establish Jesus's presence and anticipated absence. What he leaves, his peace, also becomes the words contained in the *evangelion* that he holds and the book that the cover encompasses. The rearrangement of the Biblical verse also transforms it into a speech act or the performative utterance of the person depicted. Jesus raises his hand in an ancient and medieval gesture of speech and addresses these words to whomever can read or hear someone read them, thereby effecting an aural manifestation (παρουσία) of Christ.

Of the two subjects on the ninth- and tenth-century book covers discussed so far, the standing figure of Christ and the Crucifixion, only the latter continued in later centuries. Panagiotis Vokotopoulos has called attention to a series of book covers with separate metal plaques, consisting of the Crucifixion in the center and evangelists in the corners. The latter take the shape of what in the Latin alphabet would be called L-shaped metal pieces, but Greek texts term gammas, a decorative device that survives from the late antique period.[46] The earliest surviving book cover of this type is a lectionary at the Dionysiou Monastery on Mt. Athos, cod. 19, of the eleventh century, but examples extend into the post-Byzantine period. Vokotopoulos also noted medieval sources describing similar covers.[47]

The inventory of the library of the monastery of St John on Patmos is typical of such sources in that it orders its manuscripts hierarchically beginning with lectionaries. The Patmos inventory was completed in 1200, so that all manuscripts described are prior to this date. The cover of the first *evangelion* has the Crucifixion and the four evangelists, but the second is more interesting. Its upper cover depicts the Crucifixion with Mary, John the Evangelist and the evangelists. The latter were presumably located in the corners of the binding. The lower cover has a cross with the Virgin, recalling the arrangement of the Virgin on the reverse of the aforementioned crosses and book covers.[48] An inventory of 1077 from the monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople describes a related binding:

> A book containing the four gospels in uncials, with two crosses and eight gamma-shaped ornaments [front and back covers], all of pure cast gold; and one of the crosses depicts the Crucifixion, the other the most holy Mother of God, and the gamma-shaped ornaments represent the holy apostles and various other saints.[49]

Although the manuscript is a copy of the four Gospels not a Gospel lectionary, the binding follows the lectionary tradition, one that I have suggested depends upon the processional context of the lectionary.

In the later Middle Ages, the Crucifixion appears on a handsome gilded cover at the church of the Protaton on Mt. Athos that was published for the first time a couple of

38 G. Dennis in Thomas/Hero (eds.) 2000, vol. 1, 245–270.
39 Kondakov 1902, pl. 27.
40 Pelekanides et al. (eds.) 1973–1991, vol. 3, figs. 6–8.
41 Litsas 2000, 218–220.
42 It was first published by Kondakov 1902, 195–198.
43 Weitzmann 1971, 249.
44 "Εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν. Εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν ἀφίημι ὑμῖν."
45 "Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν."
46 The codex held by Christ on the sixth-century icon at Sinai has these *gammadiae* in the corners. See Weitzmann 1976, 14, pl. I. On this motif more generally, see the discussion in Rainer 2011, 15–89.
47 Vokotopoulos 2008.
48 Astruc 1981, 22.
49 A.-M. Talbot in Thomas/Hero 2000, 358; Gautier 1981, 92–93.

decades ago.[50] Framing the central composition on four sides are medallion portraits of apostles with the Prepared Throne, the Hetoimasia, at the center of the top row, a composition that recalls a reliquary of the True Cross in the Hermitage Museum.[51] Although displayed at several exhibitions, no one has mentioned the contents of the manuscript accompanying the book cover, but presumably, this is a cover of a lectionary. The clearly labeled Hetoimasia that appears here is a subject of early Christian and early Byzantine art and reappears in later Byzantine art with the instruments of Passion added. It has the significance of the Second Coming or the Parousia, a notion that is particularly relevant for the *evangelion* and the interpretation of the First Entrance in liturgical commentaries.[52] During the later Middle Ages, Germanos's commentary was still read, and its impact is clear in the interpretation of the reading of the lection in the fourteenth-century commentary by Nicholas Cabasilas. For him,

> the readings from Holy Scripture […] represent the manifestation of the Saviour soon after his showing. The first showing of the Gospel [*evangelion*], with the book closed, represents the first appearance of the Saviour, when, while he himself remained silent, the Father made him manifest; when he, saying nothing, had need of another's voice to proclaim him [referring to John the Baptist].[53]

A few lines later Cabasilas compares the reading of the Gospel to the Second Coming (Parousia) of Christ to express the power of its unadorned manifestation of the Lord. Thus the representation of Hetoimasia on the book cover at the Protaton church at Mt. Athos visualizes a concept of the lectionary reading that had been latent for centuries.

The motif of the Hetoimasia appears again on the center of the upper border of the front cover of a binding is in the Treasury of San Marco. In this instance, the host manuscript is known, and the book was intact until 1801, when the manuscript Gr. I, 55 was transferred to the Biblioteca Marciana.[54] According to its colophon, Sophronios completed this lectionary in November 1438 at Ferrara and thus during the council for church union that first met in Ferrara and moved to Florence the next year. In the colophon, the scribe repeated hallmark phrases of copyists of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, the leading copying center in late Byzantium. He must have been a well-trained scribe, who had accompanied the Greek delegation to the council.[55] The field of its front cover has the standard Crucifixion with busts of the apostles in the border. The lower cover is decorated with the Anastasis and in the border with another Hetoimasia, prophets and saints. Although opinions vary, the cover is best understood as an Italian adaptation of a Byzantine design.[56]

The superior version of this binding type, also in the Treasury of San Marco, is the cover formerly attached to the Greek lectionary, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. I, 53 of the later eleventh century (fig. 5.8).[57] The manuscript was rebound in the fourteenth century with perhaps the finest late Byzantine book cover, one that combines gilded relief and enamel as did the tenth-century Phocas Lectionary. Like the binding of Gr. I, 55, the center of the upper cover displays the Crucifixion, while the lower panel has the Anastasis, but the borders are more intricate. The frames of both sides alternate small relief scenes of the life of Christ and Mary with enameled medallions of the Hetoimasia, Church Fathers, and Prophets. On the back cover, the Hetoimasia in the center of the upper border is on axis with the Christ of the Anastasis.

The play between the bright colors of enameled roundels and the three-dimensional relief of the narrative scenes in the field and border creates a lively visual rhythm not seen in previous covers. Adding to this effect is the intricate vine scroll decoration that fills the rectangular compartments framing the enameled medallions and the detailed engraving of inscriptions on the New Testament scenes. The unusual height of the central Crucifixion panel permits multiple compartments on the sides of the frame, but also necessitated an overly tall cross that the designer incorporated into the content of the scene. This gigantic cross dominates Mary and John, stressing their pathos and grief, as do their elongated, expressive bodies, especially the slender figure of the Virgin. Christ's reedlike arms end in hands of unequal size. His enlarged right hand emphasizes this side of his body, as do his head bent in that direction, the fluid squirting from his side, and his pointed loin cloth. The visual drama on the left side of

50 K. Loverdou-Tsigarida in Karakatsanis (ed.) 1997, 341–342, dated it to the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Chazal (ed.) 2009, 236, dated it to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. A good, but brief overview of late Byzantine book covers is by Ballian 2004, 121.
51 Volbach/Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, fig. 77.
52 On the Hetoimasia, see A. Weyl Carr in *ODB*.
53 Nicholas Cabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, 22 (ed. Hussey/McNulty, 62).
54 Castellani 1895, 75; Mioni 1960, 71–72.
55 Politis 1959, 268. On other people with this name who may be identical with this scribe, see Trapp (ed.) 1976–1996, nos. 27366–68.
56 A. Grabar in Hahnloser (ed.) 1971, 52–54. It should be noted that Grabar confused Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. I, 55 and I, 53, switching manuscripts and covers. Zorzi 1993, 19, 26.
57 Castellani 1895, 70–72; Mioni 1960, 69–70; Zorzi 1993, 18–19, 23, 26; A. Grabar in Hahnloser (ed.) 1971, 50–52. Wessel 1967, 196–200 erroneously lists the manuscript's number as cod. Gr. 56, further adding to the confusion.

Fig. 5.8: Lectionary, front cover, fourteenth century. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. I. 53.

the Crucifixion makes more effective Mary's all but overlooked gesture toward her son.

Margaret Frazer was right to call attention to the misplacement of the medallions on the two sides of the San Marco cover and to propose two possible solutions, either a mixture of Prophets and Church Fathers on both sides or the segregation of the groups to separate sides.[58] Of these alternatives, placing of the church fathers on the front and the prophets on the back is to be preferred. The front side already has at the top St Basil and St John Chrysostom, the authors of the two principal versions of the Greek liturgy, and it will be recalled that the lectionary resided on the altar during the liturgy. If the prophets were placed on the lower cover with the Anastasis, then they would be grouped with the venerable on the Old Law that Jesus raised from the dead after his Crucifixion. David and Solomon, two of the figures in medallions, are represented in the scene of Anastasis as the two crowned kings behind Jesus.

The book cover that once bound Gr. I, 53 (fig. 5.8) exemplifies two innovations of the late Byzantine period, the pairing of the Anastasis with the Crucifixion, and the inclusion of narrative scenes. The latter begin in the upper left corner with the Annunciation to Mary, seated in a round-backed throne, followed by the Nativity in the upper right corner. The series continues with the Presentation of the infant Jesus in the Temple below, shifts to the middle left for the Baptism, to the bottom left for the Transfiguration, and concludes with the Resurrection of Lazarus at the bottom right. All are important events in the life of Jesus, but also in the church on earth. The Resurrection of Lazarus is celebrated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday and thus on the last day of Lent before the beginning of Holy Week that leads to the Crucifixion, the subject of the central panel. The narrative on the back cover picks up immediately at top left with the Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, but then the sequence presumes the Crucifixion on the front and skips all the way to the bottom right for the descent from the cross. Chronologically the Anastasis in the center comes next, followed by the Ascension at top right, and below it the Pentecost. This leaves two scenes of the life of Mary on the left side: her Presentation in the Temple, bottom left, and Dormition or Koimesis, left center. The pictorial design on the back is seemingly without order, because there is no consecutive narrative. Because this is a work of high quality, the appearance of disorder, however, is more likely to be in the eye of the modern beholder than the medieval creator.[59]

Grabar pointed out that late Byzantine icon frames combined feast scenes and panels of ornament similar to the San Marco binding,[60] but to judge from surviving evidence, such intricate bindings were not common in the period. The Byzantine court poet Manuel Philes (ca. 1272–after 1332) composed a descriptive epigram about an *evangelion* with a decorated binding of gold and silver that had feast scenes.[61] Related to the San Marco binding (fig. 5.8), but of a lesser quality or at least a more robust style is the gilded front cover of a Slavonic Gospels in Sofia that was in the sacristy of the church of St Clement in Ochrid, Macedonia at the beginning of the twentieth century.[62] This fourteenth-century panel has a Crucifixion in the central field surrounded by a border that alternates intricate interlace seen on late Byzantine icon frames with relief designs of the four evangelists and four feast scenes. The latter correspond in subject matter with four of the six scenes on the upper cover of Venice, Gr. I, 53. As on the Venice binding, the series concludes with the Resurrection of Lazarus in the lower right corner. The Sofia binding has Greek inscriptions, but its epigraphy and figural style lacks the finesse of the cover in Venice. In the seventeenth century, more panels were added to the cover to make it appropriate for the church of St Clement in Ochrid.

The second innovation of the cover of Gr. I, 53 (fig. 5.8) is the appearance of the Anastasis, placed in this case on the lower panel, as it was on the somewhat later cover of Gr. I, 55. The Anastasis, the Byzantine resurrection image and the icon for Easter, thereby follows the Crucifixion, the Good Friday icon, on the altar Gospels. Such a program has a theological inevitability, and both events continue to be found on lectionary bindings of manuscripts and then printed books for hundreds of years. However, in the more recent centuries and in Orthodox contexts under strong Western influence, the Anastasis gives way to the Latin iconography of the Resurrection.[63] Another impetus for the incorporation of the Anastasis on lectionary bindings may

58 M. E. Frazer in Buckton (ed.) 1985, 176. She unfortunately followed Grabar's description of Gr. I, 53 and repeated his statement that it was dated 11 November 1439. Where this date came from is not clear. Gr. I, 55 is dated November 1438. In any event, Gr. I, 53 is an eleventh century manuscript.

59 Chronological sequence is not the only possible order but other possible solutions, such as the horizontal pairings of scenes and the relationship of narrative scenes to the prophets, remain to be explored.

60 A. Grabar in Hahnloser (ed.) 1971, 44.

61 Manuel Philes, *Carmina* (ed. Miller), I, no. 159, 70–72). Cited in Ballian 2004, 121. Most recently this poem is discussed and translated in Drpić 2016, 147–151.

62 Kondakov 1909, 273–275, pl. XIII; Gerassimov 1970; *Kreuz und Ikone* 1996, 18, 47; best color illustration in T. Matakieva-Likova in Pace (ed.) 2001, 202–203.

63 Popescu (ed.) 1999, 209, 213, 252, 277.

have been the text of the lectionary itself, because Easter Sunday is its first lection. In an illustrated Byzantine lectionary, the Anastasis is the first image encountered, and on some decorated bindings, the Anastasis appears on the front cover.

A case in point is the magnificent gilded silver cover of the illustrated Slavonic lectionary for the church of the Dormition in the Russian Kremlin, the coronation church of the Russian czars and the site for the installation of Russian patriarchs and metropolitans. At the center of the binding is a large polylobed composition centered on the Anastasis and inscribed with a later Slavonic inscription of gold letters on a black ground. At the corners of the cover are the traditional gamma shapes with standing evangelists; seraphim fill out the horizontal sides of these brackets. Numerous other figures in medallions as well as precious stones populate the field giving the whole as rich and lavish a presentation as possible. The latest study of the cover credits it to Greek craftsmen working in Moscow during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a period when Byzantine influence at the Russian patriarchate was strong.[64]

No Byzantine binding has survived with as much gold and precious jewels as the Dormition Cathedral lectionary, for the simple reason that whatever Constantinople had left in its places and churches by 1453, the Ottoman Turks swept up in their quest for booty after the sack of the city. Doukas, a historian of the fall of Constantinople, took note of the plight of manuscripts. Ships were loaded with costly merchandise of gold, silver, copper, and tin vessels and books of immeasurable number. Wagonloads of books were dispersed to the east and west. For the price of one gold coin, ten books of Plato, Aristotle, and the theologians could be bought, and then Doukas mentions copies of the *evangelion*.[65] “After pulling up their gold and silver, lectionaries with ornament of all sorts beyond measure were either sold or thrown away.”[66]

Doukas’s statement can only apply to ornate book covers of lectionaries, because it is not easy to remove the gold from illumination or writing in a manuscript, but the gilded silver plaques attached to the wooden covers of a manuscript could be readily detached. Similarly the smaller individual plaques that Vokotopoulos mentioned could also be pried from their wooden supports. The surviving examples that he illustrated, however, may not have been of sufficient value to entice looters in 1453, but the binding described in the 1077 inventory of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon would have been of greater interest. As noted above, its two crosses and eight gammas were “all of pure cast gold.”[67] When Doukas distinguishes the gold and silver on the lectionaries from “ornament of all sorts” (κόσμου παντοίου), he presumably means another category of decoration on these bindings. Based on surviving examples, this might be metal relief or enamel, but these would seem to be material distinctions too fine for the historian. Rather he probably is referring to precious stones and pearls that were likely found on Byzantine bindings in analogy to Latin and Russian book covers.[68]

The San Marco covers arrived in the west with their ornate metal plaques, if not always their manuscripts intact. This was not the case with the two manuscripts (fig. 5.1) with which I began and end. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 243 had its binding removed by someone in the process of its transferal from the Palazzo Vecchio to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in the late eighteenth century. A 1553 inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio says its cover was of gilded silver with pearls and silver clasps, but makes no mention of other decoration or representation. This is typical of inventories, either Italian or Byzantine, which are more interested in materials than imagery. Palat. 244 is described as having only a “simple” binding.[69] However, two texts in the manuscript record payments for luxury bindings. The first in Greek documents the addition of a gold and silver book cover in 1330, when this eleventh-century lectionary was at the cathedral of Trebizond on the northern coast of Anatolia. That binding was lost by the time the lectionary reached its next attested owner, the bishop Alexius Celadenus (d. 1517), a member of the Vatican Curia. A letter in Latin that he added to the beginning of the book states that because the manuscript was bereft of an appropriate binding, he paid to have it covered “in pure silver and gold.” The letter, accompanied by a presentation miniature, offers the book to Pope Julius II (d. 1513).[70] Sometime before the Palazzo Vecchio inventory of 1553, Celadenus’s book cover was removed and replaced by what the inventory termed a “simple” binding.

In the late eighteenth century, Angelo Maria Bandini, the librarian of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, covered both manuscripts with medallions from a Renaissance

64 A.G. Barkov and I. A. Sterligova in Sterligova (ed.) 2013, 150–156.
65 Grecu 1958, 391, 393; Magoulias 1975, 240.
66 “Εὐαγγέλια μετὰ κόσμου παντοίου ὑπὲρ μέτρον, ἀνασπῶντες τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, ἄλλ’ ἐπώλουν, ἄλλ’ ἔῤῥιπτον.”
67 See note 46.
68 Magoulias translates this as “many different jewels.” Magoulias 1975, 240.
69 Conti 1893, 198.
70 Nelson in Evans (ed.) 2004, 542–543; J. C. Anderson in Bernabò 2011, 187–189.

liturgical vestment (fig. 5.1). He had known both manuscripts at the Palazzo Vecchio and had requested them for his library, so he had seen the jeweled cover of Palat. 243 and had read the notices in Palat. 244 about its prior ornate bindings. Thus he was well informed, when he wrote, as mentioned at the beginning of this essay, that the books came from the Palazzo Vecchio "nude and utterly stripped of their ancient coverings."[71] His comment implies that he regarded the manuscripts as if they were people without clothes and required proper garments. This clothing of the Greek manuscripts was etymologically appropriate, although it is not likely that Bandini, as learned as he was, would have been aware of this. In Byzantium, the word for bookbinding had a different etymological basis than its equivalents in Western European languages. The English word bookbinding implies a process by which the parts of a book are bound together, or tied up, and this, of course, is what happens in the process of tying together the quires of a manuscript and then attaching them to the cover. In German, *Buchbinderei* has more or less the same meaning as the English. In the Romance languages, similar connotations apply. In French, the word is *reliure*, whose root is *lier*, to reunite or join, from the Latin *ligare*, to attach, join, or assemble. The Italian of Bandini, as expected, is closer to Latin. *Legatura*, the word for bookbinding, is from *legare*, to bind or tie up.

In contrast, the Greek word for bookbinding vivlioamphiasis (βιβλιοαμφιάσις) has a different etymology, a point made by Niki Tsironis following other scholars.[72] The common roots of these Greek terms are *vivlio-* from vivlion (βιβλίον) book in Byzantine and Modern Greek pronunciation, and the word *amphiasis* (ἀμφιάσις) for clothing, so instead of tying up or binding the book, the book is clothed or dressed. The concept is gentler and less violent, and these Byzantine terms better suit, so to speak, my topic. Deluxe book covers of the Byzantine lectionary present, encode, and dress the texts that they contain and prepare them for the contexts for their use and performance. In a similar fashion, the Greek term for bookbinding fits the covers of these manuscripts.

71 See n. 1.
72 Tsironis 2013. Similarly Ivan Drpić has just pointed out that Greek and Slavic terms referring to embellishment of icons with precious metal coverings have the connotation of clothing or dressing: Drpić 2016, 172–173.

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Anna Bücheler

6 Clothing Sacred Scripture

Textile Pages in Two Medieval Gospel Books (Trier, Dombibliothek, Ms. 138 and 139)

Two medieval Gospel books from the Domschatz in Trier illustrate in exemplary manner how so-called textile pages, ornamented folios evoking the appearance of precious cloth, contribute to the clothing of sacred scripture. Both manuscripts, Dombibliothek Ms. 139 (Domschatz Nr. 68), and Dombibliothek Ms. 138 (Domschatz Nr. 64) are very similar in terms of their codicological structure, miniature program, and style, which is why they have been thought of as sister manuscripts that must have been made in close proximity to one another (figs. 6.1–6.2).[1] Each book carries the *ex libris* of the Paderborn deacon count Christoph von Kesselstatt (1757–1814), whose impressive manuscript collection came to the Trier Domschatz by means of inheritance in 1823.[2] While Ms. 138 and 139 have long been known, they have not had a significant impact on scholarship.[3] The discussion has largely focused on the manuscripts' style and the question of whether the books were made in Helmarshausen or Paderborn. Recently, Hartmut Hoffmann produced new palaeographical evidence suggesting that the books "were written in the scriptorium of Paderborn cathedral in the second half of the eleventh century" by scribes who worked under the bishops Imad (1051–1076) or Poppo (1076–1083).[4] Art historians, however, have not accepted Hoffmann's conclusions unanimously.[5] Elisabeth Klemm objected to the Paderborn attribution, especially for Ms. 139.[6] The style and quality of the known illuminations from Paderborn is heterogeneous, which makes the Paderborn workshop style difficult to grasp and challenges new attributions. To complicate the question of the manuscripts' origin further, all the miniatures in Ms. 138 and 139 were painted on separate bifolia, which raises the possibility that the images were perhaps commissioned in Helmarshausen but later bound with books written in Paderborn.[7] The relative chronology of Ms. 138 and 139 is also unresolved. For reasons of style, Ms. 138 has been claimed to be younger

This essay is based on ideas I will more fully explore in my forthcoming book Bücheler 2018. Since only a limited number of images could be printed with this contribution, I refer at times to color photographs of the Trier miniatures in previous publications.

1 The two Trier Gospel books are usually grouped with a third manuscript, Trier 137, a Gospel book without textile pages and therefore of less importance for this essay. For a detailed palaeographical and art-historical description of all three manuscripts, and a review of the older literature, see Krüger 1972, 28–125, 897–905, 906–914. Krüger's palaeographical analysis has been surpassed by Hoffmann 1992; Hoffmann 2006. Sauerland 1890–1891, and the typoscript of Siffrin/Lauffner 1969 have not been available to me.

2 See Jansen 1936, 355–359.

3 The most important recent contributions are Wolter-von dem Knesebeck 2003; Klemm 2006.

4 Hoffmann 1992, 67–69, esp. 68; Hoffmann 2006, 457.

5 The older literature largely left the question of where the books were made unanswered. Irsch 1931, 346–347, identified the scribes of Ms. 138 and 139 as hands writing around 1100, and noted that both Helmarshausen and Paderborn are possible places of provenance. Jansen 1985, 4–5, 16, suggested a Helmarshausen provenance for Ms. 139. Concerning Ms. 138 he observed that the book's Helmarshausen provenance has not been proven beyond doubt. Usener 1966, 490–492, listed Ms. 138 as a manuscript from Paderborn, while attributing Ms. 139 to Helmarshausen. Although Krüger 1972, 28–125, esp. 125, did not exclude a Paderborn provenance, he attributed both Ms. 138 and 139 to Helmarshausen based on the argument that we know too little about the Paderborn scriptorium. Taking Hoffmann's new palaeographical analysis into account, Wolter-von dem Knesebeck 2003, 83–84, recently claimed the Trier codices Ms. 137, 138, and 139 as representatives of the "Paderborn background from which the illuminations that can be claimed securely for Helmarshausen, should differ significantly."

6 In opposition to Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Klemm 2006, 471–473, argued that Ms. 138 might be a product of "direct cooperation" between the Helmarshausen scriptorium and the bishopric of Paderborn, but for iconographic and stylistic reasons she maintains her previous position (see Klemm 1988, 46) that Ms. 139 was commissioned by Abbot Thietmar "in and for Helmarshausen." Jansen 1985, 8–9, had already connected the Trier manuscripts with Abbot Thietmar II (1080/81–ca. 1115/20), who has been credited with improving the monastery's financial situation and instigating art production in Helmarshausen.

7 We also find miniatures that are independent from the text quires in other manuscripts that Hoffmann 2006, 455, recently attributed to Paderborn. The illuminations of Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 1, which has never been claimed for Helmarshausen but was written in Paderborn, are painted on separate bifolia. This Gospel book further contains textile ornament comparable to the Trier manuscripts. The iconographic and codicological parallels raise the question of how common it was in Padeborn at that time to import custom-made images for books written in the in-house workshop. Klemm 2006, 473, pointed out, however, that not only the finished miniatures might have travelled, but also the artist himself could have been sent to Paderborn.

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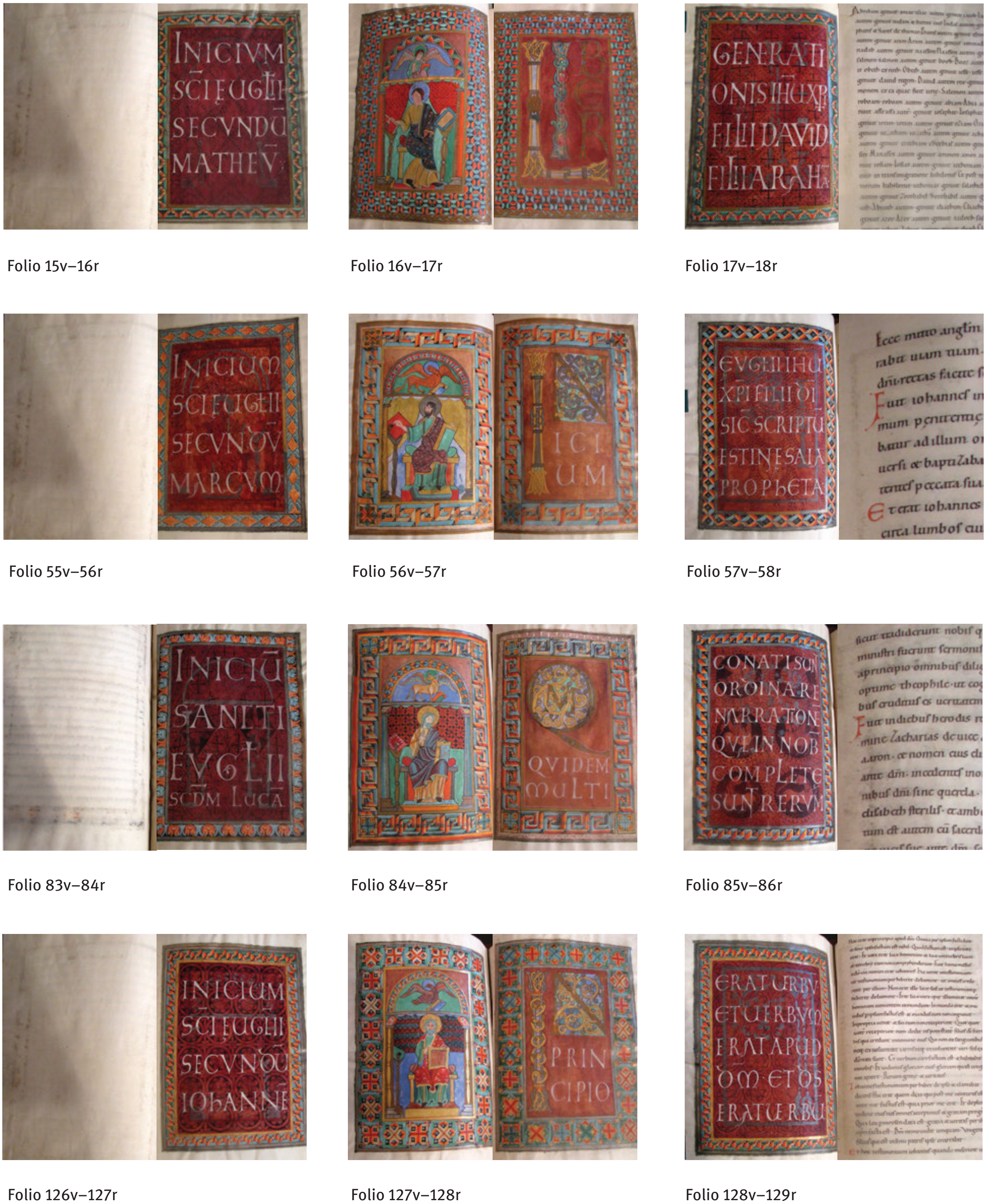
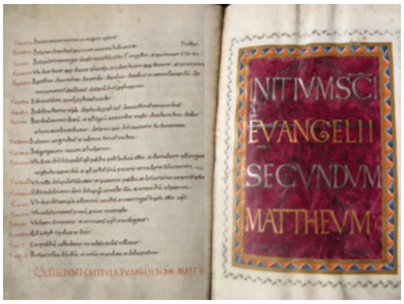
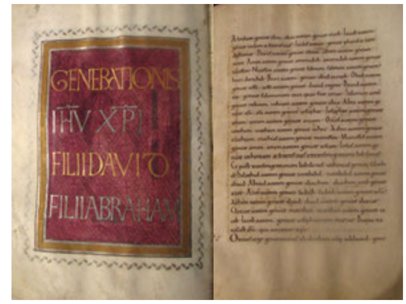


Fig. 6.1: Synopsis of textile pages, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64.

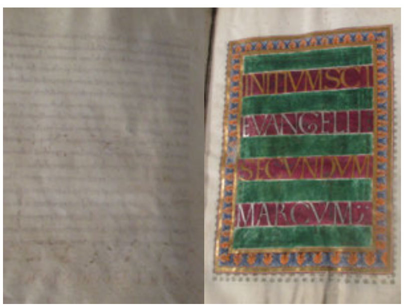


Folio 13v–14r

Folio 14v–15r



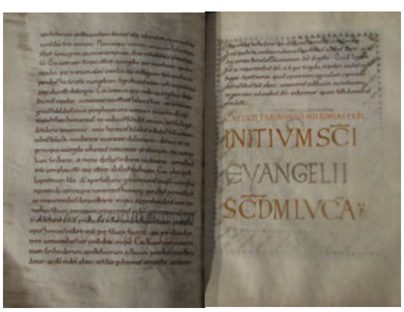
Folio 15v–16r



Folio 53v–54r

Folio 54v–55r

Folio 55v–56r

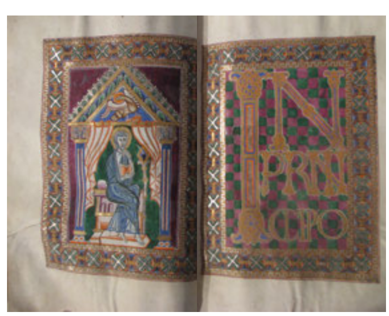


Folio 80v–81r

Folio 81v–82r

Folio 82v–83r

Folio 122v–123r



Folio 123v–124r

Folio 124v–125r

Fig. 6.2: Synopsis of textile pages, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, last quarter of eleventh century. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 139, Nr. 68.

than Ms. 139 but the planning of the miniature programs might suggest otherwise.[8]

While previous research on the Trier manuscripts has primarily focused on questions of attribution, dating, and style, little attention has been given to the extraordinary ornamented folios, so-called textile pages, that distinguish both Trier manuscripts.[9] Previous descriptions of the manuscripts only briefly mentioned the textile pages, although it has been noted repeatedly that the Helmarshausen scriptorium had a decisive interest in ornament.[10] The only contribution that takes a closer look at the Trier textile pages and discusses them in a larger art-historical context is Rainer Kahsnitz' study on ornament in the Gospels of Henry the Lion, which also touched on manuscripts from Helmarshausen.[11] Textile pages in medieval manuscripts in general have not received much attention. Previous scholarship, of which Stephen Wagner's work is the most significant, discussed the form and function of selected textile pages but largely omitted the lesser-known manuscripts like the Trier Gospel books.[12] In addition to Corvey, Hildesheim, Echternach, and Helmarshausen, which are often mentioned in the context of the Trier manuscripts, similar textile pages were also made in Einsiedeln, Liège, Mainz, Regensburg, Reichenau, Seeon, St Gall, and elsewhere.[13] A considerable number of textile pages, however, were made in workshops that remain unidentified. In addition to drawing attention to the poorly known textile pages in the Trier manuscripts, it is my purpose to investigate their function and meaning based on the miniature's iconographic and codicological context. I focus in particular on the means by which the textile pages in these books clad, veil, and unveil scripture.

1 Textile pages in Ms. 138 and 139

Before plunging into the function of textile pages in Ms. 138 and 139, it is necessary to explain what a textile page is. With few exceptions, all ornamented pages in Ms. 138 and 139 show a repetitive geometric motif that has been drawn in purple or brown on monochrome purple ground. While some motifs including rosettes and lozenges appear repeatedly, no textile page in the Trier Gospel books is like another. A typical textile page, such as occurs not only in the Trier manuscripts but also elsewhere, is folio 17v in Ms. 138 (fig. 6.3).[14] The dark-brown drawing on red ground shows a grid of diamond-shaped lozenges filled with a floral pattern. Including the bisected fist and last diamonds of each row, all lozenges are roughly identical. More complex is the pattern in the incipit page to Matthew on folio 16r (fig. 6.4). The diamonds enclose either a lion or a griffin and the whole composition is framed by half-lozenges with a flower motif. Similar motifs, griffins and flowers, occur in the incipit page to Mark on folio 56r but in a different order and also the diamonds are arranged horizontally rather than vertically. The incipit page to Luke (fol. 84r) repeats the lozenge motif from folio 17v, but enriches the background pattern with four large flower-filled diamonds forming the shape of a cross. Among the most spectacular textile pages in the Trier manuscripts are the medallion images on folios 57v and 85v (figs. 6.6–6.6). The former shows lions in roundels that are placed over a scale-patterned background, the latter depicts eagles in the upper row, griffins in the middle, and lions beneath. The contrast of lighter colored animals against the dark purple background on folio 85v makes this image

8 Krüger 1972, 122–125, 897–905, 906–914, dated Ms. 139 to the last quarter of the eleventh and Ms. 138 to the first quarter of the twelfth century suggesting that a generation passed between the making of the one manuscript and the other. The catalogue entries in Stiegemann/Wemhoff (eds.) 2006, cat. no. 500 and 501 (E. Klemm) recently also dated Ms. 139 to the last quarter of the eleventh century, but Ms. 138 to around 1100. The older literature (for example Irsch 1931, 346–347) usually attributed both Ms. 138 and Ms. 139 to hands writing around 1100. In opposition to previous suggestions, there is reason to believe that Ms. 138 might be the slightly younger manuscript. Since the layout of Ms. 138 is well planned while that of Ms. 139 is flawed, Ms. 138 might be a newer, improved version. To give an example, in Ms. 139 there is no full-page incipit for the Gospel of Luke. Instead, fol. 81r shows both the explicit of the prologue and the incipit crowded together on the lower half of the page (fig. 6.2). In contrast to Ms. 139, the layout of Ms. 138 is flawless and visually homogenous (fig. 6.1). All four Gospels open with an equal number of ornamented pages that resemble each other formally and are spread evenly throughout the book. In comparison, Ms. 138 appears to be the more carefully planned manuscript, which might suggest that it is the younger, improved version.

9 Ms. 137, which has been regarded as part of the group for reasons of style, has no such pages.

10 Jansen 1985, 23, 55, 70, 90–91. See also Kahsnitz 1988.

11 Kahsnitz 1988, 255–256.

12 Wagner 2004, who presented the first study focusing exclusively on textile pages, restricted the discussion to selected manuscripts from Corvey, Hildesheim, Regensburg, and Echternach. See also Wagner 2010; Grebe 2012. Wagner's and Grebe's definition of context and function differs significantly from mine. For a contextualized reading of textile pages that includes the lesser-known manuscripts, see Bücheler 2018 (forthcoming).

13 The Trier folios have mostly been related to Ottonian manuscript illumination from Echternach, Hildesheim, and the so-called "Wesergruppe." See Kahsnitz 1988, 255–256; Klemm 2006, 469.

14 The modern pencil foliations in Ms. 138 are incoherent. Krüger follows the foliation written in the lower right corner of the pages, which begins on fol. 2 and adds fol. 130a after 130. In order to prevent confusion, I keep Krüger's foliation.

Fig. 6.3: Beginning of Matthew, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 17v.

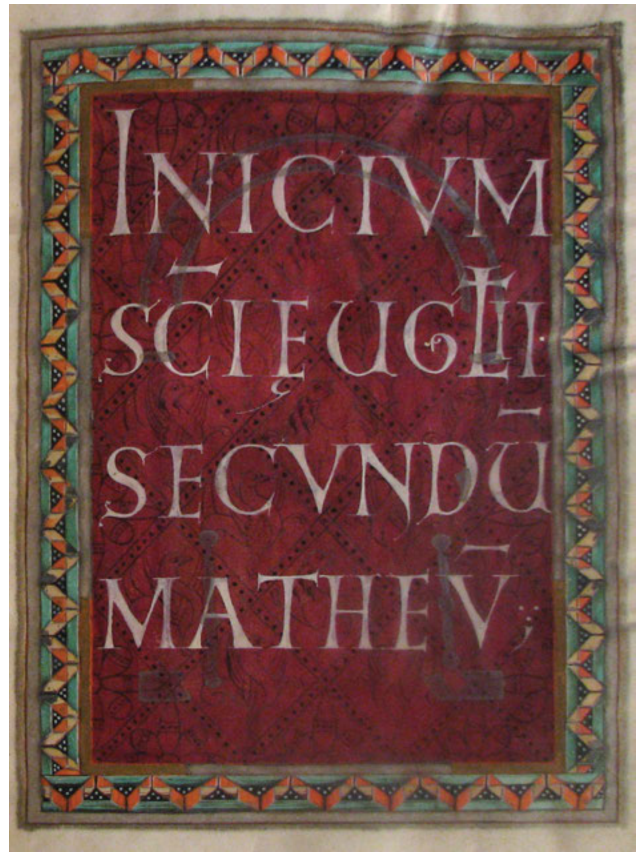


Fig. 6.4: Initium of Matthew, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 16r.

especially appealing. A similar contrast between light and dark colors can be observed in the flower medallions on folio 127r.[15] Folio 128v shows an almost identical medallion motif but lacks the color contrast (fig. 6.7).

The textile pages in Ms. 139 differ in style and form from those in the sister manuscript. Folio 14r of Ms. 139 depicts leafy foliage arranged in the form of a large diagonal cross (fig. 6.8). Compared to folios 17v and 84r in Ms. 138, the lozenge pattern on folio 15v is almost identical in form, but the intricate pattern was drawn in two shades of purple by a masterly hand in a far more elegant style (fig. 6.9). In the textile page on folio 55v the ornamental pattern is not immediately apparent because the miniaturist left the page unfinished. Traces of a medallion ornament, however, were impressed into the parchment and are visible beneath the monochrome purple finish (though only to the naked eye). The traces indicate that the page was planned but not executed as a page with textile ornament. One of the most appealing textile pages in Ms. 139 is folio 82v (fig. 6.10). It shows medallions forming an extensible design of intricate floral forms. The last textile page in the book (fol. 124v) presents yet another variant of the lozenge-and-foliage motif already known from folio 15v.

Textile pages like those in the Trier manuscripts have been associated with precious silk fabrics that were imported from Byzantium and elsewhere in the early and high Middle Ages, because the ornamental images' composition resembles weave patterns.[16] Although it is beyond question that the ornamented folios in the Trier manuscripts evoke the appearance of precious textiles, assuming that book illuminators copied Byzantine silk for these pages would go too far and, at the same time, this claim fails to note the pictorial achievement that textile-like patterns constitute.[17] As the Trier textile pages show, the repertoire of forms used to draw the textile pages is limited. Most common are lozenges and medallions. Because the paintings are always stylized and formulaic, the images neither allow conclusions

15 For an image, see Kahsnitz 1988, fig. 107.

16 See Kahsnitz 1985–1989, 254–255.

17 On the following, see Bücheler 2016.

Fig. 6.5: Beginning of Mark, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 57v.

Fig. 6.6: Beginning of Luke, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 85v.

concerning the technique, i.e. woven silk or embroidered linen, nor the origin of the textile, i.e. Byzantine or Islamic. On the contrary, textile pages are not representations of specific pieces of cloth, but rather evoke the textile medium in a most general sense. The frames that enclose the patterns further clarify that the textile pages are to be read as images. These textile-evoking images aim at generating in the viewer's mind the image of precious cloth. In other words, textile pages are a rather common form of medieval textile iconography that has largely escaped art historical attention.

As in all iconography, the ornamented folios in the Trier manuscripts display a number of key characteristics that help the viewer to decipher the image. Primarily responsible for lending the textile pages their "textile-like" appearance is the symmetrical and often geometric structure of the patterns.[18] The artists multiplied an individual motif to fill the space inside the frame entirely. By means of repetition and mirror-reversing the extensible ornament can be extended *ad infinitum* in all directions vertically and horizontally.[19] We know such extensible patterns with a recurrent repeat from woven and printed textiles. As the loom produces a length of patterned cloth, it duplicates the same repeat over and over. Because the formal composition of textile pages evokes such recurrent "repeats," the ornamental images suggest the appearance of woven textiles.

In Ms. 138 extensible ornament not only occurs in the textile pages but also in the curtains depicted in the evangelist portraits. The identification of the extensible ornament as an evocation of cloth, however, is not immediately apparent in all cases. The clue is usually given by

18 For a fuller discussion and definition of textile ornament that also takes color into consideration, see Bücheler 2016.

19 Even the foliage cross in Ms. 139, fol. 14r (fig. 6.8), the only motif in the Trier miniatures that was not multiplied in the image itself, can be extended in this way.

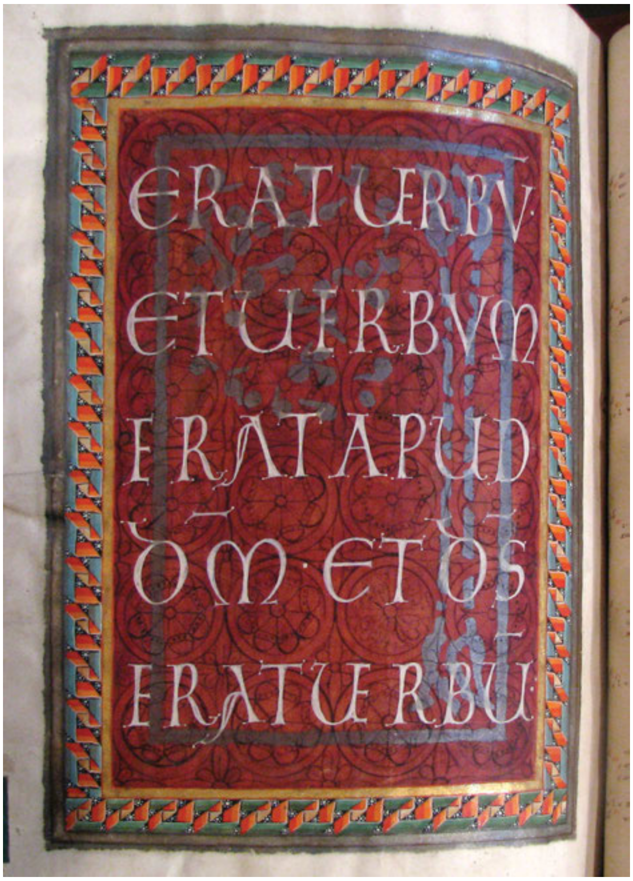


Fig. 6.7: Beginning of John, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 128v.

Fig. 6.8: Initium of Matthew, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, last quarter of eleventh century. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 139, Nr. 68, fol. 14r.

the surrounding iconography, which is why it is so important to read textile ornament in context.[20] For example, on folio 16v Matthew is shown between two shawls of red patterned fabric that open towards the light-green background (fig. 6.11). The scalloped line along the upper end of the cloth unmistakably defines the red shapes as the representation of a curtain, which was fastened to the golden crossbar above the evangelist's head. Mark on folio 56v is seated before a similar but monochrome yellow curtain without a pattern. In contrast to these open curtains, the veil in the image of Luke on folio 84v is not parted. Instead, a wall hanging covers the space behind the evangelist.[21] As in the previous evangelist portraits, the scalloped line on the upper border identifies the ornamented space as cloth. A very similar patterned textile, equally identifiable due to the scalloped edge, covers the upper part of the background in the image of John on folio 127v (fig. 6.12).

The evangelist portraits in Ms. 139 differ from those in its sister manuscript since the curtains in Matthew (fol. 14v) and John (fol. 123v) lack textile patterns. They show conventional curtains fixed to the architrave above the evangelists' heads instead.[22] In contrast to the conventional iconography, Mark (fol. 54v) and Luke (fol. 81v) are seated in front of a patterned background that is not immediately recognizable as textile-like, but we can decode the stripes in Mark and the pyramids in Luke as textile patterns, if we view the images in the context of evangelist portrait iconography more broadly.[23] Johann Konrad Eberlein has pointed out that curtains are a common attribute in evangelist portraits in medieval art and serve not as a decorative attribute but have symbolic meaning. The curtain signifies the veil that lay over

20 Beissel 1906, 291, described the patterned backgrounds in Ms. 138 as "carpets [that] are hanging behind the evangelists."
21 For an image, see Klemm 2006, fig. 4.
22 For an image, see Ronig 2006, fig. 5.
23 For an image of the pyramid pattern in Luke, see Klemm 2006, fig. 2.

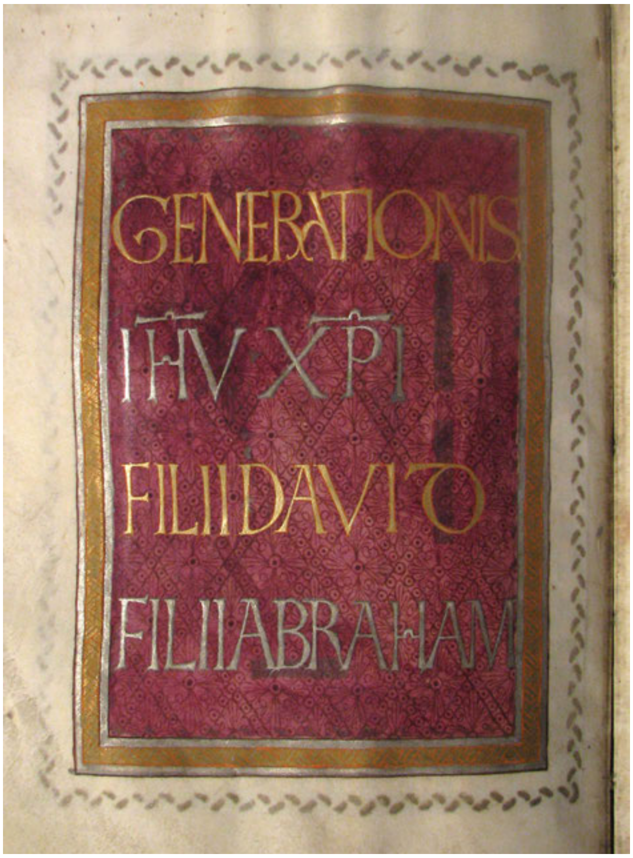


Fig. 6.9: Beginning of Matthew, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, last quarter of eleventh century. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 139, Nr. 68, fol. 15v.

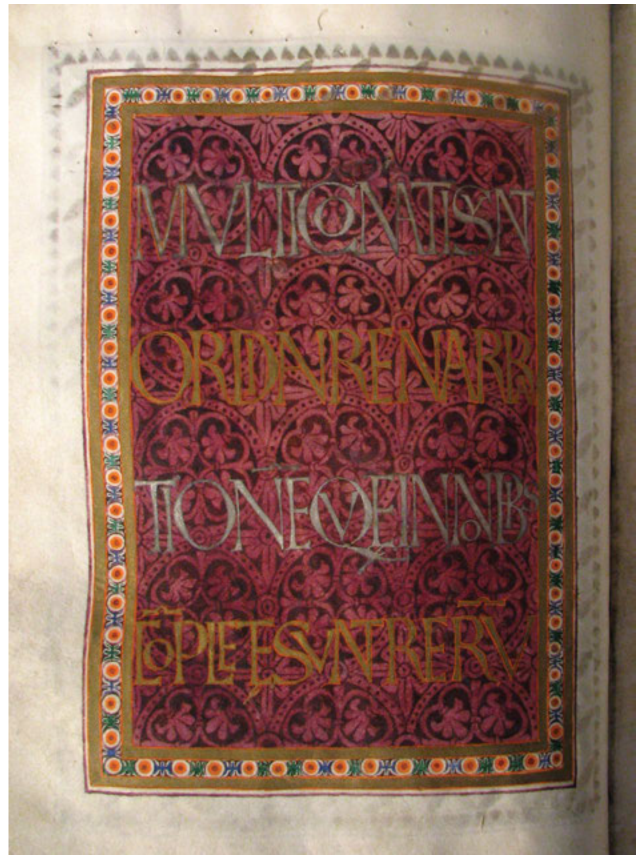


Fig. 6.10: Beginning of Luke, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, last quarter of eleventh century. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 139, Nr. 68, fol. 82v.

the Old Testament but was taken away from the New.[24] It is a visual comment on the dual meaning of scripture including the literal and spiritual senses. A comparison of the patterned backgrounds in Mark and Luke with the remaining evangelist images in Ms. 138 and 139, all of which show either conventional curtains or textile hangings, suggests that the stylized ornament likewise evokes a curtain, although the artist omitted textile keys such as loops, folds, or fixations. The patterned backgrounds in Mark and Luke, therefore, not only relate to the iconographic convention of curtains in evangelist portraits, but also have similar meaning. Eberlein's theological explanation of the curtain motif in evangelist portraits identifies the textile medium as metaphor for the spiritual sense of scripture that the readers are asked to detect beneath the literal sense of the words. The curtain, therefore, can be read as a symbol of revelation. Revelation is also the clue that explains the form, function, and position of the textile pages in the Trier manuscripts. Robert Calkins has already likened textile pages to "curtain pages" because they "recall the pair of curtains pulled aside to reveal the seated Evangelists within their architectural settings in each of their portraits."[25] The following considerations carry Calkins' argument further by showing that the textile pages in the Trier Gospel books not only evoke a metaphoric veil by means of textile ornament, but also that the inscriptions written on the textile ground make perceptible the notion that the spiritual meaning of scripture is veiled by the literal sense. The formal and material concept that characterizes these text(ile)-veils instructs the readers that revelation, although it may be aided by the corporeal senses, is primarily an intellectual and contemplative challenge to the eyes of the mind.[26]

The visual and symbolic function textile pages take in the Trier Gospel books becomes more clearly apparent if we view these pages in the context of the individual

24 See Eberlein 1982, 82–92.

25 Calkins 1983, 147.

26 On the notion of "spiritual seeing" and images as aids for contemplation, see Kessler 2000.

Fig. 6.11: St Matthew, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 16v.

Fig. 6.12: St John, Gospel book from Helmarshausen or Paderborn, ca. 1100. Trier, Domschatz, Ms. 138, Nr. 64, fol. 127v.

manuscripts. Three particular aspects of context shed light on the function of these pages. The place of the textile pages within the manuscript (they introduce the Gospel beginnings) identifies the textile folios as markers of a threshold. A look at the relationship between the inscriptions written on the textile pages and the notion of revelation that the textile images allude to, shows further that the textile pages connect the illuminated openings visually, textually, and conceptually with scriptural content of the books. Finally, if we relate the textile pages of Ms. 138 and 139 to *lectio divina* and scriptural contemplation, the images reveal their didactic and metaphoric functions.

2 Textile pages in context

A closer look at the visual program and the quire structures of Ms. 138 and 139 shows that both books are organized in roughly the same manner. An illuminated opening introduces each of the four gospels (figs. 6.1–6.2).[27] In both books, textile ornament highlights the incipit to the Gospel of Matthew, the very first illuminated page in the manuscript, which is followed by the evangelist portrait and a facing initial page. In Ms. 138 similar purple textile pages also introduce the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John. All incipit pages contain the name of the evangelist and the title of his work. The layout structure of Ms. 139 is less regular. The incipit page to Luke fell victim to a planning mistake.[28] Also, instead of showing purple extensible designs, the incipits of Mark and John are written in silver and gold on green and purple text bands (fig. 6.2). The reading of the striped incipits as textile pages depends on the interpretation of the ornament and on its context in the book.[29] Both manuscripts have in common, however, that the folio following after the initial pages are also textile-ornamented so that, at least in Ms. 138, the evangelist portraits and initial pages are framed by textile ornament on either side. These textile-ornamented folios on the verso of the initial pages deserve a closer look. They accentuate the threshold where the illuminated Gospel openings end and meet with the plain text pages that contain the continuation of the Gospel text. While the textile-ornamented incipits present a form of “stage curtain” that introduces the evangelist, I argue in the following that the textile folios on the verso of the initial pages serve a more complex function. Similar to the initial pages, they draw particular attention to the text, which is after all the most important part in a Gospel book. However, whereas the initial pages generally lack textile grounds, the introduction of the curtain metaphor to the illuminations on the verso turns these folios into a meaningful cipher for the dual natures of scripture.

3 Textile pages and text

One purpose of the illuminations on the verso of the initial pages is to connect the Gospel openings including the evangelist portrait and the initial page with the following plain text folios that contain the bulk of the Gospel text. The connection functions on a codicological, textual, and conceptual level. In both Trier manuscripts all four miniatures of the illuminated openings are painted on a single bifolium. Except for the missing incipit page in Ms. 139 (Luke), the first and last pages of these bifolia are textile-ornamented. From a codicological perspective there is a gap between the textile folios at the end of the miniature sequence and the following quires of plain text pages. However, the inscriptions written on the textile ground serve as a connecting bridge. The text continues verse one of the first pericope (which begins on the initial page) and, thus, carries the text flow over to the plain text pages where the pericope continues. In this way, the inscriptions written on the textile pages link the initials with the remainder of the Gospels that appear in ordinary book script on undecorated pages. From a linguistic point of view the textile folios unite separate blocks of text that have been truncated by the layout and furthermore belong to separate codicological units, but syntactically these fragments belong together. The textile pages with inscriptions are the link that holds everything together. What distinguishes these folios from ordinary decorative text pages is the textile pattern. These pages not only operate with text but iconographic content and iconological meaning also has an impact on their function. If we read the ornamental pattern as an evocation of the textile medium, the

27 For a full description of both manuscripts, see Krüger 1972, 897–905, 906–914.

28 The incipit was written in capital letters beneath the explicit of the prologue on fol. 81r and a proper incipit page is missing.

29 A similar striped background appears in the evangelist portrait of Mark, where the iconographic context suggests that the pattern evokes a curtain. Also, since all incipit pages in the sister manuscripts Ms. 138 are textile ornamented, it is likely that the illuminator of Ms. 139 also had textiles in mind when he composed the incipit pages of Mark and John. Another peculiarity of Ms. 139 is the checkerboard pattern in the initial page of John, which is the only initial presented on textile ornament. All other initial pages in the Trier manuscripts show monochrome grounds. The checkerboard pattern resembles the background in Luke on fol. 81v (pyramids instead of squares) and also appears in other contemporary evangelist portraits.

iconography transforms the parchment page into a form of curtain. In contrast to the textile-incipit-pages at the beginning of the Gospel openings, which the inscriptions identify primarily as curtains that introduce the evangelist and his work, the textile pages at the far end of the miniature sequences share a more immediate relationship with scripture because the inscriptions written on the textile ground are taken from an actual pericope. I argue that the purpose of these text-veils is to bridge the gap between the opening miniatures and the plain text pages not only textually and codicologically, but also conceptually. As we have seen, by means of ornament and inscriptions, the layout leads the reader's eye from the colorful incipit to the evangelist and the initial pages, and from there via the second textile page to the plain parchment folios that contain the book's actual treasure: the Gospel text. In addition to making this connection visible, the textile pattern in the second textile page also mediates between the literal and the spiritual aspects of scripture. In traditional evangelist iconography, the symbol represents the evangelist's divine inspiration and visualizes the mediation between God, the source of the Gospels, and its human voice. In the Trier manuscripts the symbols are depicted in the arches above the evangelist while the textile patterns below evoke the curtain motif, which, as we have seen, has related meaning. In addition to showing the symbolic veil of revelation in the evangelist portraits, the Trier manuscripts use the textile pages at either end of the Gospel openings to emphasize the evangelist's role as a divinely inspired mediator of the Word. More obviously than most Gospel openings in other medieval luxury manuscripts, the curtain motif highlights crucial passages in the book's layout (the beginning and the link between the opening and the plain text quires), thus, drawing attention to the fact that the Gospel book itself functions as a transmitter of scriptural revelation.

The meaning of the curtain metaphor and its implications concerning the Gospel book's function as a container and transmitter of the Word of God gains significant power by the way ornament and text work together in the Trier textile pages. The inscriptions are superimposed on the textile ground and mark a layer of visual and textual information that is clearly distinct from that of the ornamental pattern. Because of the light reflections in the metal paint the superposition is especially visible in the gold and silver inscriptions of the textile pages in Ms. 139. The gleaming letters are visually set apart from the opaque purple ground, which gives the impression of the letters floating on top of the textile-ornamented surface. The contrast makes clear that the letters are not interwoven with the textile ornament, but distinct. This visual separation of letters and ornament entails a conceptual corollary. The text and its textile support represent not only different layers of the same image but also address various aspects of meaning concerning both the dual natures of scripture and the function of the Gospel book. The way in which the medium of the textile page combines image and text into a meaningful visual metaphor, and because the meaning of this metaphor depends in large part on both the materiality of textiles and the materiality of gold and silver, I suggest that the textile pages in Ms. 139 can be read as images that specifically play with the symbolic meaning of different materials. While the textile ornament refers to cloth, that is a material related physically and metaphorically to the body and the tactile senses, the gold and silver paint used for the inscriptions evokes light and immateriality.[30] In the Middle Ages, gold is a frequently used material in religious art and, more so than silver, has been shown to have been applied by medieval artists in contexts where the material was specifically meant to capture and transmit the heavenly light.[31] As the Godescalc Evangelistary, a Gospel lectionary written for Charlemagne entirely in gold on purple-stained vellum shows, medieval book illuminators applied gold ink precisely in this way as material metaphor. Godescalc's often-cited dedication poem explains that golden letters on purple ground evoke the divine light that permeates scripture.[32]

> Golden words are painted [here] on purple pages,
> The Thunderer's shining kingdoms of the starry heavens,
> Revealed in rose-red blood, disclose the joys of heaven,
> And the eloquence of God glittering with fitting brilliance
> Promises the splendid rewards of martyrdom to be gained [...].
> In this way the teaching of God, written with precious metals,
> Leads through to the entrance rooms of the light-beaming kingdom
> Following with a receptive heart the light of the Gospel,
> And climbing above the steep constellations of the heavenly heights
> It gathers [us] in the inner sanctum of the king of heavens forever.[33]

30 On textiles as a corporeal and tactile material, see Bücheler 2015; Zschocke 2010.

31 To name but a few examples, see Reudenbach 2002; Thunø 2006; Kessler 2007, Suntrup/Meier 2011, 120–234, esp. 144–153, 162–171, 182–189, 218–224.

32 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. fol. 1203, fol. 126v–127r.

33 "Aurea purpureis pinguntur grammata scedis / Regna poli roseo pate—sanguine—facta tonantis / Fulgida stelligeri promunt et gaudia caeli [...]. Sic doctrina dei pretiosis scripta metallis / Lucida luciflui perducit ad atria regni / Lumen evangelii sectantes corde benigno, / Scandentesque poli super ardua sidera celsi / Collocat in thalamo caelorum regis in aevum." *Poetae Latini* (ed. Dümmler, 94). For a modern

Godescalc's explication of the colors and materials of this medieval Gospel lectionary recalls the material mix used in the textile pages of Ms. 139. The Godescalc dedication poem can be read as a comment on the Trier pages. Although the textile folios in the Trier manuscript are not purple-stained but covered in purple paint, the interpretation of these colors finds a parallel in the Trier textile pages. According to Godescalc, the purple parchment stained with rose-red blood is symbolic of the body of Christ, the vehicle of redemption that was sacrificed on the cross. The textile pages in the Ms. 139 evoke a similar concept since the purple textile ornament transforms the parchment pages into the material metaphor of a textile curtain, which, as we will see, is simultaneously opaque and permeable. Antique and medieval thought related the materiality of cloth to skin and the body.[34] The medium of cloth evoked in textile ornament, therefore, matches the materiality of the parchment pages (vellum, i.e. animal skin) and merges both media into a material metaphor that represents corporeal physicality. Analogous to the purple vellum mentioned in the Godescalc dedication poem, the purple textile pages visualize the material nature of the book, which, since the book contains the four Gospels, can also be read as a material book-body of Christ.[35] At the same time, as we have seen in the context of the evangelist portraits, the curtain is also a medium that is flexible and permeable, which is why the veil lends itself easily to the metaphor of revelation. The contrast between matter and immateriality insinuated in the Godescalc dedication poem culminates in the gold and silver ink, which, although made of material substance, evokes the symbolic quality of light and presents scripture as an immaterial and intangible agent of the divine. Not only in the context of book illumination but also in theological texts and hagiography we find similar symbolic readings of light as a theophanic medium.[36] The metaphor of resplendent light signifies the virtue of the saints and their relics, and evokes the presence of the divine. While gold ranks higher in the hierarchy of materials, in terms of its symbolic quality the radiance of silver, which was also used in the inscriptions, is similar to gold.[37] Although the inscriptions in the textile pages of Ms. 138 were not written in gold and silver but in white on purple ground instead, the conception of these pages suggest the same meaning. Like gold and silver, white stands out in exegetical and hagiographical texts as a metaphor of clarity, divinity, and saintly virtue.[38] The textile-parchment veils in the Trier manuscripts, thus, are marked by a similar dichotomy of matter and spirit such as we can deduce from the Godescalc dedication poem. While the white and metal-paint inscriptions illustrate that scripture guides the reader spiritual knowledge, the purple-colored textile ornament marks the codex both as a physical container for the Word of God, and as a passage. Not only the visual quality of the textile pages, but also the material symbolism implied by the images, therefore, captures the spiritual, non-material dimension of scripture and presents the Trier manuscripts as books that are both a material container and the source of immaterial divine truth.

4 Curtain pages

The Godescalc dedication poem instructs the readers that access to the divine can be gained through the portal of studying scripture. We are well informed that the reading of the Gospels in the Middle Ages was essentially an exercise in revelation. Especially in a monastic context, reading sacred scripture was understood as *lectio divina*, that is as a form of meditation, which aimed at gathering spiritual knowledge.[39] We have very little information on the medieval use of the Trier Gospel books, but their provenances and other evidence suggest that Ms. 139, and perhaps also Ms. 138, belonged to the Helmarshausen monastery before the books were removed to Paderborn cathedral in the sixteenth century, where they remained until von Kesselstatt acquired them for his collection.[40] If we accept a monastic

edition, see P. Orth, *Das Widmungsgedicht*, in Crivello et al. 2011, 38–48, at 42. English translation in Kessler 2006, 77, 103 (P. Dutton). On the manuscript see Reudenbach 1998; Crivello et al. 2011.

34 See Bücheler 2015.

35 On the book as body, see also Lentes 2006; Reudenbach 2014; Ganz 2015.

36 See Meier 1977; Angenendt 2010.

37 See Suntrup/Meier 2011, 83–117, esp. 88, 91–92, 110–114.

38 See Cardelle 2011; Suntrup/Meier 2011, 39–78, esp. 46–61.

39 See Leclerq 2008.

40 Two charters concerning the Helmarshausen abbey added to Ms. 139 by a fifteenth-century hand prove that the book was in the possession of the Helmarshausen abbey at least until that time. See Usener 1966, 491; Jansen 1985, 24; Baumgarten 1991, 40. The metalwork cover, which Ms. 139 received in the twelfth century, and which has been attributed to the Helmarshausen workshop, further suggests that the book was used at the abbey already much earlier. See Steenbock 1965, 171–173, Nr. 79; Jansen 1985, 4, 12–13, 24; Mende 2003, 177–180. In the first half of the sixteenth century Helmarshausen was dissolved and most of the manuscripts were transferred to Paderborn cathedral. Jansen 1936, 364–365, indicates that Ms. 139 was among them. Both manuscripts are now bound in baroque velvet covers with silver fittings that can be dated to 1625 and show the engraved image of St Liborius, the patron of Paderborn cathedral.

use and contextualize the Trier manuscripts in the *lectio divina*, the textile pages reveal yet another layer of meaningful materiality. The textile veils not only separate image and text visually, but also physically mediate between the reader's eyes and the spiritual content of sacred scripture. As Robert Calkins pointed out, textile pages in medieval manuscripts often "serve as introductory shrouds or 'covers' to each of the Gospels," but this is not their only function.[41] He also noted, when "these pages are turned, the Word of God is [...] unveiled."[42]

Calkins outlined two of the key functions of textile pages in medieval Gospel books, but he neither paid attention to the material quality of these folios nor did he consider textile pages in relation to the inscriptions they show. We have seen that the repeat patterns on textile pages evoke the materiality of cloth. These folios, however, resemble curtains not only visually, but also relate to veils functionally because textile pages are also flexible and moving objects. Like a veil, a manuscript page can be turned in order to reveal something that lies behind. As we have seen, in the Trier manuscripts, the turning of the textile pages triggers a forward movement that guides the reader from the incipit to the actual Gospel text. The discussion of color symbolism and material metaphors has further shown that the visual design of the textile pages transforms these folios into symbolic veils that accentuate the dual natures of scripture. In this sense, the textile pages carry the reader's eyes from page to page in an attempt to instigate spiritual transformation through reading and meditation. While the textile patterns appeal to the sense of seeing, and the function of the glittering text is to stimulate the reader's inner eye, the spiritual process is also triggered by touch. In addition to employing color symbolism and material metaphors, the Trier textile pages are also tangible assets: parchment curtains that can be touched and turned. In this aspect, the textile-parchment-veils resemble those real textile curtains that were sewn onto manuscript pages and which, as Christine Sciacca has shown, intensified the contemplative interaction with images.[43] Sciacca argued convincingly that touching these curtains, which results in the viewer's physical participation in the act of unveiling an image increases the image's sacred power and heightens the viewer's contemplative experience. Touching a textile-ornamented parchment page in order to reveal the Gospel text, I would argue, produces a similar experience of revelation: the external, physical turning of the page mirrors the internal process of opening the heart. From this contemplative point of view, the superposition of the text on top of the textile ground emerges as a thoughtful detail of the pages' conception. Even without turning the page, the user of the book can read the pericope, however, the letters he perceives appear to connote the literal meaning, while the true sense of scripture remains hidden beneath the veil. The reader is asked to lift this veil not only with his hands, but also from his mind.

It has gone unnoticed in previous scholarship that in all four Gospel openings of Ms. 139 there are needle holes above the textile pages testifying to the existence of real curtains that were once sewn over the ornamented pages. One question raised by these veils is why they were needed in the first place since the textile pages already fulfilled their function. It is possible that the curtains have been added at a later point for protecting the miniatures, although Sciacca convincingly argued against such a merely practical explanation for the existence of veils in medieval manuscripts.[44] Unfortunately, it is not certain when these veils were fixed onto the pages or which material they were made of. Textiles were also pasted onto the inner book covers of Ms. 139. A Byzantine medallion silk with a floral motif, dated to the tenth or eleventh century, survived as a flyleaf *in situ* on the inner front cover.[45] Only traces remain of a second piece of silk that has been pasted onto the back cover. The glue on the wooden book panel preserved the imprint including a few threads of a now-lost purple silk with lozenge pattern. Since the original cover of Ms. 138 has been lost, there is no information whether this book also contained textile flyleaves. There are needle holes on some of the pages in Ms. 138, but it is unclear whether they were caused by attaching textile veils. Although we are poorly informed about such image-veils and textile-covered flyleaves, the available evidence suggests that textiles were a common medium in book-making ateliers and might have served metaphoric functions similar to the textile pages painted inside the books.[46] David Ganz has recently discussed the textiles used in and on the covers of medieval manuscripts and related them to concepts of clothing scripture more broadly. He read the

The medieval provenance of Ms. 138 is unclear, but Helmarshausen is not excluded.

41 Calkins 1983, 147.

42 Calkins 1983, 147.

43 See Sciacca 2007, 188.

44 See Sciacca 2007, 186.

45 Various dates have been suggested for the textile. Most recently, Schorta 2001, 128, dated it to the tenth or eleventh century. See also von Wilckens 1992, 37, "around 1100," and Eichler et al. (eds.) 1966, 492, cat. no. 180, "9. Jahrhundert."

46 On the uses of textiles in medieval manuscripts, see von Wilckens 1990; Sciacca 2010.

silken flyleaves as a form of "underwear," which clads not only the material codex, but also invests the metaphoric book-body of Christ with a multi-dimensional attire.[47] This form of clothing medieval manuscripts embodies essential theological notions of seeing and believing by making the dual nature of the Gospel book perceivable in ways that resemble the material and metaphoric processes by which the Trier codices veil and unveil scripture.

In conclusion, a closer look at the ornamental, textual, and codicological structure of the Trier Gospel books has shown that textile pages in these manuscripts take a distinct place in the visual program of the codices and serve various theological and didactic purposes. Textile pages function as didactic devices in that they turn the books into tools designed for a spiritual reading of scripture. By evoking the medium of the textile, the ornamental patterns visually and metaphorically transform the parchment folios into veils, which, in turn, serves to emphasize the dual meaning of scripture. Since the textile pages in the Trier manuscripts present text and textile ornament as separate layers of the same image and also operate with color and material symbolism, the textile images further address the dual function of the Gospel book as such and mark it as both a material container and a metaphoric passageway to sacred knowledge. The way in which the textile pages in the Trier Gospel books not only address the readers' spiritual aspirations but also involve the reader's physical presence testifies to the medieval practice of using material objects for spiritual learning and contemplation. By activating both the reader's external and internal perception, the Trier manuscripts emerge as devices designed for instructing a (monastic) audience on how to use the Gospel book in a beneficent way as a source of scriptural inspiration.

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47 Ganz 2015, 39, 50, 141.

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Part III: **Multiple Objects**

Gia Toussaint

7 Relics in Medieval Book Covers

A Study of Codices Called Plenarium and Textus

1 Introduction

Should Christian books that are used in the liturgy be adorned or not? This question was already discussed in Antiquity.[1] In the sixth century, Cassiodorus suggested that codices of scripture should be bound in covers worthy of their contents, with the beauty of the cover echoing the beauty of God's Word: "I have also brought in men skilled in bookbinding with the object of covering the loveliness of sacred letters with external beauty. In this we imitate to some extent that example of the parable of the lord who dressed in wedding garments those whom he thought he should invite to dinner in the glory of the heavenly banquet."[2] However, this approach was not supported by everyone, as can be seen from the frequently quoted statement of Jerome that codices of sacred scripture should remain simple, free from extravagant ornamentation.[3] Nevertheless, the wish for beautiful covers eventually prevailed, and this was due not to the sheer love of splendor, extravagance and display, but, as was argued, due to the very nature of scripture itself. Rupert of Deutz hints at the matter when he argues for the adequate ornamentation of the Gospel books with "gold and silver and precious stones." On the Gospel book covers, he observes, "the gold of heavenly wisdom shines, the silver of the eloquence of faith shimmers, the precious stones of the miracles glimmer—of the miracles wrought by the hands of Christ that are 'as of gold, full of hyacinths' [Cant. 5,14]."[4] What on first reading seems to look merely like an explanatory gloss on the metaphorical meaning of the precious materials used, is actually meant as a statement about the sacred quality of the text thus clothed. The cover and its ornaments serve as media of heavenly wisdom *(sapientia caelestis)*, the eloquence of faith *(eloquentia fidelis)*, and the miracles *(miracula)* wrought by Christ himself. The mediality of the precious materials aims at expressing something that can be grasped only through media: the Gospel codex is the visualized embodiment of the Word of God, or to use the often-quoted dictum of Isaac of Stella (d. ca. 1174), "the sacred Gospel, the text of which is, as it were, the corporeal presence of the visible Word."[5]

The embodiment of God's Word belongs to the fundamental teachings of the New Testament. The "Deus erat verbum"—in the first sentence of the Gospel of John—are subsequently elaborated by explaining that "verbum caro factum est" (Ioh. 1,1.14). God reveals himself in the Logos incarnate. According to Christian theology, the incarnation of God happens in two ways: in the birth of Christ and in the materialized Word *(verbum, logos)* of scripture, that is in the Gospel codex. The *verbum Dei* is rendered visible in the material corpus of the book. This notion of a twofold incarnation is impressively visualized in the Vienna *Bible moralisée* of 1230: it portrays the Christ child not in a manger, but instead lying between the pages of an open, monumental codex.[6]

The naked embodiment of the Word *(verbum)* needed clothes, and so it does not come as a surprise that the making of the medieval Gospel codex reflects the metaphorical idiom of garment.[7] Characteristically, medieval sources call the Gospel books *textus*, that is fabric.[8] The

1 On what follows, see the comprehensive study of Ganz 2015.

2 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I,30,3 (ed. Bürsgens, 272–273): "His etiam addidimus in codicibus cooperiendis doctos artefices, ut litterarum sacrarum pulchritudinem facies desuper decora vestiret, exemplum illud Dominicae figurationis ex aliqua parte forsitan imitantes, qui eos quod ad cenam aestimat invitandos in Gloria caelestis convivii stolis nuptialibus operuit." The English translation is from Cassiodorus 2004, 165.

3 Hieronymus in a letter addressed to Eustochium warns of vanity in things such as clothing. In this context, he also objects to the ornamentation of manuscripts—no doubt including the holy scriptures—as something unnecessary: "Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted for lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels: and Christ lies at their door naked and dying." ("Membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices uestiuntur et nudus ante fores earum christus emoritur.") Hieronymus, *Epistola* 22,32 (ed. Hilberg, 193, transl. Wright, 130–133).

4 Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, 2,23 (ed. Haacke, 335). The full passage in Latin: "Codices quoque evangelici auro et argento lapidibusque pretiosis non immerito decorantur, in quibus rutilat aurum caelestis sapientiae, nitet argentum fidelis eloquentiae, fulgent miraculorum pretiosi lapides, quae 'manus' Christi 'tornatiles aureae plenae hyacinthis' operatae sunt."

5 "Sit quasi visibilis Verbi praesens corpus, sancti Evangelii textus." Isaac of Stella, *Sermo* 9,6–7 (ed. Buchmüller/Kohut-Berghammer, 264).

6 Wenzel 2000, 29–32 and fig. 16.

7 Again, see Ganz 2015.

8 On the Gospel book as *textus*, see Lentes 2006.

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metaphor of the textile garment implies two aspects. First, the Word of God—the Gospels—is clothed and materialized in parchment, colors, writing, and illuminations, a method that follows, like the making of a piece of cloth, an essential set of rules. Second, the book cover wraps up the *verbum Dei*, thus giving the verbal body of Christ an outer form. Both the biblical language of the divine Word incarnate and the garment metaphor of *textus* contribute to the perception of the Gospel book as a "body."

The Gospel book represents Christ who has embodied himself in the very words of the Gospel. As Isaac of Stella explains, it is through writing that Christ is visible—"visibile in littera." Accordingly, in the liturgy, the Gospel book is paid the same kind of homage that is paid to a secular lord.[9] The *corpus Christi* is visible and tangible not only in the Eucharist, but also in the Gospel codex. The abbot Isaac of Stella puts the matter well:

> Dear brothers: the true Word that has become flesh, the Lord Jesus himself, Christ our only teacher, has become a book for us. [...] The holy Word itself, which the blessed eyes of the apostles were allowed to see in physical form and to touch with their own hands, is today among us—visible in the written word [visibile in littera], and tangible in the sacrament. Although he is no longer present in the flesh, he is with us in scripture. [...] He graciously granted us the holy Gospel, the text of which is, as it were, the physical presence of the visible Word.[10]

This notion of the "inverbation" of Christ was quickly made relevant to the material shape of the sacred book. In modern times, this notion caused scholars to spend much energy on the discussion of the particular material characteristics of the bookish body of Christ.[11] Precious metals, gems, costly textiles, animal skin, color pigments and ink all serve to clothe this unique book-body adequately, endowing it with the appropriate dignity. The metaphorical meanings connected with these materials enhance their actual value, giving them sufficient transcendent qualities to justify their use. All of this is true for the design both of the book cover and the individual pages of the codex.

9 Lentes 2006, 136–141.

10 "Ipsum, fratres mei, verum Verbum caro factum, ipse Dominus Iesus, ipse unus magister noster Christus, etiam nobis liber fit. [...] Ipsum sanctum Verbum, quod beati oculi apostolorum viderunt in carne, manus tractaverunt, hodie est nobiscum, visibile in littera, in sacramento tractabile. Si autem carne recessit, sed littera mansit. [...] sanctum Evangelium benignus indulsit, ut sit quasi visibilis Verbi praesens corpus, sancti Evangelii textus." Isaac of Stella, *Sermo* 9,6–7 (ed. Buchmüller/Kohut-Berghammer, 264).

11 Wenzel 2000, 29–36; Reudenbach 2014, 229–244; Ganz 2015, 65–105.

2 Relics in book covers: *corpus Christi mysticum*

Not infrequently, relics were included in the book covers. Is their inclusion to be understood along the same lines, i.e. as belonging to the notion of a garment? This question must be given a negative answer: it seems to me that the inclusion of relics actually *evokes a different conceptual model of the book-like body of Christ*. The relationship between sacred scripture and relics is close. The venerable relics *(reliquiae)* of the holy martyrs and confessors serve as earthly witnesses to the truth of scripture. Or rather, the relationship between the Gospel and the saints is reciprocal: sacred scripture forms the basis for the witnesses' giving up their lives; and the saints, who after their death are assumed into heaven, work miracles to support the truth of the Gospel. This reciprocity is expressed in the close proximity of the book cover and the inner body of the book. Included in the cover, the saintly *membra Christi*, somehow alive in their relics, encompass the Word of God, somehow incarnated in the Gospel.[12] This arrangement echoes the organismic notion of the *corpus Christi mysticum* and allows us to understand the complete Gospel codex as an image of the body of Christ.[13] Rupert of Deutz, in his portrayal of the Gospel, actually resorts to the image of a human body, organized into *caput* and *membra*: "The holy Gospel is the most important text spoken at the office of Mass. Just as the head dominates the body and the other parts are subject to it, so the Gospel dominates the entire office. The spiritual meaning of everything that is read and sung there is in harmony with it."[14]

Due to its underlying theological notion of the *corpus Christi*, the codex that includes relics appears as a close relative of reliquaries that present a similar tension between unity and fragment. This is evident from a

12 On the saints as *membra Christi*, see Pietri et al. 1975; Gagé 1929.

13 The notion of *corpus Christi mysticum* is based on the theology of St Paul's letters: "For as the body is one and has many members; and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink. For the body also is not one member, but many" (1 Cor. 12,12–14). See also the following passage: "Now you are the body of Christ and members of member" (1 Cor. 12,27; see Rom. 12,4). See also the classic treatment by Henri de Lubac 2009.

14 Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, 1,37 (ed. Haake, 236–238): "Sanctum evangelium principale est omnium, quae dicitur ad missae officium. Sicut enim caput praeeminet corpori et illi cetera membra subserviunt, sic evangelium toti officio praeeminet et omnia, quae leguntur vel canuntur, intellectuali ratione illi consentiunt."

Fig. 7.1: Staurotheca or True-Cross reliquary, ca. 1130. Zwiefalten, Katholisches Münsterpfarramt.

precious reliquary covered with gold foil, an object now housed in the parish house of the Zwiefalten monastery church (fig. 7.1).[15] According to the 1138 chronicle of Zwiefalten, which lists the items included in the treasury of the monastery church *(thesaurus ecclesiae)*, this unique object was "made almost in the manner of a book" ("paene in modum libri fabricate").[16] As a matter of fact, the book-shaped reliquary of ca. 1130 represents a type called *staurotheca* or True-Cross reliquary, because at its center, a relic of the Holy Cross is inserted.[17] The small central chest with the cross is framed by a frieze of gems, followed by a somewhat broader frame of leaf tendrils. The outermost frame is again a frieze with larger gemstones into which enamel medals are incorporated, and the latter portray parts of the body of Christ: at the top, centrally placed, the head with cruciform nimbus, on both sides the hands, and at the bottom the feet of Christ. Visually, the placing of the medals around the double cross with its relic of the Holy Cross identify the relic with the body of Christ,[18] whereas the framing enamel medals form the *membra Christi*. The cruciform arrangement of both the fragmentized *corpus Christi* and the relic of the cross itself makes the image cohere, visualizing the mystical body of Christ that encompasses the entire church.[19] A similar constellation of fragment and unity characterizes the relic-bearing codex, with the sole difference that the central piece of the codex is the Gospel, rather than the relic of the Holy Cross.

2.1 *plenus* and *textus*

Relics inserted into the book cover give the latter a sacred quality. With this addition the book cover achieves a status that equals that of the Gospel, the *textus*. Through their relics, the saints bear witness to the power of the Gospel, so that the codex represents an ideal, complete unit made of cover and text. It is therefore not by chance that medieval sources call a Gospel book with inserted relics a "plenary," derived from Latin *plenus*, meaning "complete" or "perfect." In German-speaking lands, the preferred name was *plenarium*, whereas English and French sources regularly use *textus* for these codices.[20] At first sight, this terminology seems confusing, because plenary and *textus* originally designated liturgical books "which included the complete—i.e. *plene*—series of Epistles and Gospel readings of the Mass." However, a reliquary "was also called *plenare* when it was actually a book of Epistles or Gospel texts with a relic-bearing cover. The insertion of

15 For more detail, see the recent treatments by Toussaint 2011, 66–69, and Klein 2004, 198– 202.

16 Bertholdus, *Chronicon*, 40 (ed. Wallach et al., 264).

17 As the inscription on the back indicates, the *staurotheca* houses the relics of those who belong to the immediate milieu of Christ: the bones of John the Baptist, of the apostles Andrew and James as well as of Mark the evangelist.

18 For the identity of the relic of the Holy Cross with Christ himself, see Toussaint 2011, 60–65.

19 See Reudenbach 2010, 27.

20 Braun 1940, 46–47, 283. Relics in book covers have never been treated systematically, though one finds occasional references in modern descriptive manuscript catalogues. Exceptions are Joseph Braun's groundbreaking *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kults* (1940) and this author's posthumous entry *Buchreliquiar* in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, see Braun 1940, 283–286; Braun 1954, 1–2. Braun describes two forms of book reliquaries: (1) the reliquary in the form of a diptych of which the two square or rectangular boards are linked with hinges so as to form an object that can be opened like a book; (2) the so-called plenary *(plenarium)*, which is actually a book of liturgical readings from the Epistles and Gospels. For occasional scholarly references to such objects, see Rapp 2007, 200–203; Spilling 1992, 29 with note 157.

relics made it into a reliquary."[21] The use of both terms—*textus* and *plenare*—for book- and plenary-reliquaries is widely attested.[22]

As a rule, special covers of Gospel books bear relics, but it is difficult to say how many covers actually included relics. Gospels and relics have been combined since early Christianity. Gospel texts and relics combined were considered the most powerful apotropaics, as we know from the polemics of Jerome against superstitious women who wore them on their bodies.[23] In the biography of Peter the Iberian (ca. 412/17–491), who served as the bishop of Maiuma near Gaza in Palestine, we read of a Gospel book into which a fragment of the Holy Cross was included.[24] In 603, on the occasion of the baptism of the heir apparent Adaloald, Gregory the Great sent a *theca Persica* with relic and Gospel to the Lombard queen Theodelinda, though it is not known exactly how this gift combined a relic of the Holy Cross with a Gospel book.[25] For a long time, scholars have tended to identify the famous Gospel Book of Queen Theodelinda with this object, but there is little reason to do so.[26]

The first unambiguous examples of relics and Gospel book combined in a codex (plenary) date from Carolingian times, though most of the objects that are still extant come from the late Middle Ages. One of the earliest examples, housed in the chapter library of the cathedral of Noyon, France, is a Gospel book from the ninth or tenth century; richly furnished with relics, it was originally used in the nuns' convent of Morienval.[27] The inscriptions placed on the back cover tell of the relics of which only some survive.[28]

Plenaries abound in major collections such as the Guelph Treasure (Welfenschatz) and in the illustrated relic inventories of Vienna (Heiligtumsbuch) and Halle (Heiltumsbuch).[29] The inventory of the Guelph Treasure lists three plenaries. Two of these are now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum of Berlin: the Sunday plenary made in Brunswick in 1326,[30] and the Plenary of Otto the Mild (1292–1344) of 1339,[31] also made in Brunswick. Another piece, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, was transformed into a book-shaped reliquary in the time of Otto the Mild.[32] The 1482 inventory of the Guelph Treasure calls this object, like the other two, a *plenarium*. Furnished with an Ottonian ivory plaque, this plenary reliquary was originally designed to be a book cover, but it was eventually

21 Braun 1940, 283.

22 Braun uses the two terms interchangeably. In Braun 1940, 283–286 the objects are called "Plenarreliquiare"; similarly Braun 1954 in the article "Buchreliquiar" in RDK.—A similar imprecision is well known from objects called relics, because medieval sources rarely distinguish between reliquaries and relics. For instance when a *brachium* is mentioned, this may refer either to a reliquary in the form of an arm, or to a relic—the bone of an arm.

23 Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, 4,96 (ed. Hurst et al., 212): "Hoc apud nos superstitiosae mulierculae in paruulis euangeliis et in crucis ligno et istiusmodi rebus, quae habent quidem zelum Dei sed non iuxta scientiam, usque hodie factitant, culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes."

24 "They also carried with them a small book of John the evangelist into which was inserted a fragment of the holy, venerable and saving cross. It protected them, and our Lord worked many signs and not a few mighty deeds through it, because he had put into it a mild power to strengthen them and to provide consolation." Raabe 1895, 29–30.

25 Gregorius Magnus, *Epistola* 14, 12, Ad Theodelindam Langobardorum Reginam, in: *Registrum Epistularum, Libri VIII–XIV* (ed. Norberg, 1082–1083): "Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adulouualdo regi transmittere filacta curauimus, id est crucem cum ligno sanctae crucis Domini, et lectionem sancti euangelii, theca Persica inclausum."

26 See Lowden 2007, 33–34; Ganz 2015, 228–234. For a very detailed discussion, see Rainer 2011, 62–69.

27 On the cover, see Steenbock 1965, 114–115, no. 37; Braun 1940, 283 and fig. 264; Molinier 1895. There is another Gospel book with relics in its cover: the Gospel Book of Tours (London, British Library, Add. 11848). It boasts "a splendid treasury binding [...] with the bones of saints recessed within its boards." See Michelle Brown, The Book and the Transformation of Britain, ca. 550–1050: A Study in Written and Visual Literacy and Orality, London 2011, 95.

28 For a complete edition of the cover inscriptions, see Molinier 1895, 217–220. Two unusual, multi-layered oak panels form the front and back cover. Both are coated with red leather, which is still visible. Onto the leather are applied ornamental horn plates with inscriptions; and into these plates are set ivories and coins. Through symmetrically arranged openings in various forms—crosses and stairs—the leather coating can be seen. On the front cover, a small ivory plaque with a depiction of the *traditio legis* is framed by four small plates showing the symbols of the evangelists, each identified by an inscription. On the central vertical axis, above and below the symbols of the evangelists, were placed two coins, of which one is extant—a gold coin of Lothar I (840–855). The upper coin, now lost but still visible in an 1895 photo, shows Charlemagne with laurel-wreath, see Molinier 1895, 219. The back panel shows a similar design: a centrally placed ivory with crucifixion, framed by four round relic depots, now empty, with inscriptions. After the loss of the relics, the top and bottom depots were covered with roughly cut brass plates, of which the bottom one is still extant. Of the four small ivories showing saints, placed at the four corners of the back cover, only the two bottom ones are extant. The inscriptions identify the four relics placed in the round depots as particles of the Holy Cross ("de ligno paradise"), the tomb of Christ, and Calvary. The relics of the saints were those of Saints Marcellus, Castor, Simplicianus, Serotinus (a martyr from Sens) and Carilaffus, see Steenbock 1965, 114; Molinier 1895, 217.

29 Other treasures also included codices with relics, as can be seen in the inventory lists of the Benedictine abbey of Zwiefalten; Spilling 1992, 27–31.

30 Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. W 31.

31 Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. W 32.

32 The object is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. 30.741. On the object, see de Winter 1986, 119–120 with colour plate 27, and the detailed discussion in Neumann 1891, 232–236.

transformed into a book-shaped reliquary. In this case, it is not fragments of the bodies of saints that serve as relics; placed below the ivory are inscribed pages that must have belonged to the original Gospel book.[33]

The important reliquary collection of Halle (Hallesches Heiltum) assembled by Cardinal Albrecht included, among 350 reliquaries, three plenaries, i.e. Gospel books with relics in the covers. The oldest piece dates from the first half of the thirteenth century. With the exception of a few pieces, this unique ensemble is lost, but the *Heiltumbuch* of Halle, printed in 1520, and the Aschaffenburg Codex Ms. 14, written ca. 1526, supply complete illustrated inventories of the treasury.[34] When the Halle treasures were brought out of the treasury for public display, the first items shown to the faithful were three plenaries, no doubt given priority because of their precious contents—in addition to standard relics, mainly relics of Christ and of the Holy Land.[35]

As already mentioned, sources from England and France use a terminology that differs from that used in German lands; they refer to plenaries as *textus* or *teuxte*.[36] Like the word "plenary," *textus* has a double meaning. The term refers to "the *Textus Evangelii*, an expression that since the eleventh century, at the latest, designates the actual codex that was used in the liturgy. But what this meant is not simply the 'text,' because as a symbol the codex represents the body of Christ in the liturgy."[37] By extension, *textus* may also refer to a codex filled with relics. In 1297, William of Hennegau, bishop of Cambrai, bequeathed to his cathedral "un teuxte d'argent plain de reliques," to the Flines monastery "notre secont teuxte de reliques," and to the charterhouse "le tiers teuxte de reliques." The charterhouse inventory includes the following list: "a most beautiful silver *textus* with many relics of saints; a big *textus* of silver and gold with the silver image of St Martin who holds a pastoral staff in his right hand, and in his left hand a silver cup with a crystal in which is placed a tooth of the aforesaid St Martin" ("textus argenteus pulcherrimus, in quo continentur multae reliquiae sanctorum; textus magnus argenteus et deauratus, in quo est ymago argentea b. Martini, tenens in dextera manu cambucum et in sinistra vasculum argenteum cum cristallo, in quo est dens praedicti b. Martini").[38] The *Inventarium ornamentorum, vestimentorum, et jocalium* (inventory of furnishings, vestments and jewelry), made at St Albans monastery around 1400, includes a list of Gospel books, all of which are called *textus*; the second item, called *textus principalis*, has a special feature—a relic of the Holy Cross: "Another major *textus*, of gold-plated silver, a precious piece of work, with an image of the crucified Christ at the center. [...] above the head of the crucified Christ is a hand that receives his spirit, and below his feet is a fragment of the Lord's cross" ("Item, alius textus principalis de argento deaurato, operis pretiosi, cum imagine Cruxifixi in medio. [...] super caput Cruxifixi habetur manus recipiens spiritum ejus, et sub pede ejusdem portio ligni Domini").[39]

Yet, without the text of the Gospel, a plenary would not be complete, as is implied in the very term *plenarius*. In 1268, Henry of Sevelde donated part of his collection of relics in the form of a plenary to the Heiligkreuz monastery; he states that this plenary lacks, or still lacks, the text of the Gospel: "giving to the same house for its glory part of our relics, i.e. a plenary without a book of the Gospels" ("addentes eidem domui pro suo decore partem reliquiarum nostrarum, id est, plenarium, quod est sine libro Evangeliorum").[40]

Most of the inventory listings of these manuscripts—manuscripts which I have studied that include relics in their covers—say nothing about the relics; they simply refer to them as plenaries. But the term plenary itself, when it appears in an inventory, does not tell us whether the item listed is simply a complete Gospel book or a codex with relics in its cover, because the term "plenary" may designate either. When the relevant object is not extant, we simply have no way of telling what kind of plenary it actually was.[41] That is why a study of book covers with

33 Apparently, the original relics were replaced more than once by other relics. In 1887, the reliquary was opened in the presence of Duke Ernst August (Neumann 1891, 235); a leaf of parchment inscribed with a passage of the Holy Friday liturgy was found. This contradicts an earlier report according to which four twelfth-century parchment pages, each inscribed with the beginning of one of the four Gospels. We have no way of telling when these pages were replaced. According to Boockmann 1997, 129, these four pages no doubt existed in 1482, when the treasure was inventoried.

34 See *Das Hallesche Heiltumbuch,* ed. Nickel. The plenaries are listed on fol. 4v–6r, 26v, 27v, 55v. Aschaffenburg Codex, Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, Codex Ms. 14, fol. 12v–15r, 74v–75r, 111v–113r, 218v–219r, drawings and descriptions of the plenaries. See Hofmann et al. 1978, 43–44. The manuscript is available on CD-ROM: *Das Halle'sche Heiltum*, ed. Haus der bayerischen Geschichte.

35 Public displays of relics could assume the form of liturgical dramas where the lesser items were shown first, with more important examples representing the dramatic culmination. Such was the case in Wittenberg and Nuremberg, see Laube 2011, 182–184.

36 Braun 1940, 47.

37 Lentes 2006, 139.

38 All quotations after Braun 1940, 47.

39 London, British Library, Cotton, Claudius E.iv, fol. 350v. Published by H. T. Riley 1871, appendix I.

40 *Codex diplomatico-historico-epistolaris* (ed. Bez/Hueber, 115).

41 How, then, shall we translate *plenarium* when it appears in inventories? The editors of the modern printed version of the Zwiefalten relics cannot rely on medieval inventory listings; instead, the researcher depends on chance finds in modern manuscript catalogues that supply more detailed descriptions. Nevertheless, the large number of plenaries with relics prevents us from speaking of them as rare exceptions.

As for the insertion of the relics, this does not follow one standard pattern. Relics may be placed anywhere in the covering: they may be inserted into the reverse side of the front board so that they remain concealed below it, as is the case with the Golden Book of Hohenwart;[42] they may also be placed under gemstones such as crystal on the front cover, so that they are actually visible, as in the *Biblia Pauperum* of Metten from the early fifteenth century; [43] or they may have been placed under *repoussé*, as we may conjecture in the case of the Berthold Sacramentary. Another approach altogether was resorted to in the case of the Plenary of Otto the Mild in the Guelph Treasury, where a chessboard was transformed into a book cover and used as a deposit for relics.

Representing as it does the mystical body of Christ *(corpus Christi mysticum)*, the Gospel book with relics also provides a comprehensive image of the church. A regular part of the relics in books, and rarely missing, are relics of Christ. As a rule, one or more such dominical relics are centrally placed and surrounded by relics of saints who represent the *membra Christi*, the limbs of Christ. The saints stand for the entire community of the saints, though it is always fragments from particular, named saints whose relics are inserted. The choice of saints generally depends upon the stock of relics locally available, that is relics found in the church treasury and not already placed in the altar. As can be seen from the examples discussed in what follows, the decision to use a certain relic was often determined by interests that can be understood by the modern historian: the relic is meant to link the liturgical book with a specific church building, a known donor or event, thus highlighting the uniqueness and individuality of the book over and beyond the uniqueness it already has as an individually designed object of art. There is a mutual relationship between the saints and the Gospel book: the saints of a particular church—who are also saints of the universal church—bear testimony to the truth and power of the Gospel, and the Gospel testifies to the truth and power of the saints' witness.

This combination of universality and particularity will be evident from the book covers that we will discuss in the section that follows. The first item is –

3 The Plenary of Otto the Mild

The Plenary of Otto the Mild is a Gospel book for feast days (fig. 7.2).[44] Complete with its precious cover measuring 35 by 26 cm, it was donated, in 1339, to the Collegiate Church of St Blasius, now the Cathedral of Brunswick, Germany. Otto the Mild (1292–1344), the donor, was duke of Brunswick-Göttingen. A note on the fly-leaf tells us the year when it was donated, and lists the relics that are concealed in the front cover (fig. 7.3). Made of what used to be a chessboard, this front cover is an unusual piece of work. The back cover, by contrast, less spectacularly shows the donor and his wife as they adore St Blasius, engraved on a gilded silver plate (fig. 7.4). The front cover will be my focus as the relics are concealed under the chessboard squares. The "black" squares are made of red jasper, while rock crystal with underlying drawings on parchment constitute the "white" ones. There are thirty-five squares altogether. The fifteen squares at the center are sunk into a frame formed by the other twenty squares. Below these, and not visible from the outside, are placed those twenty relics listed on the fly-leaf. The only visible relic, placed at the center of the cover and surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists, is given the shape of the cross: this is the relic of the Holy Cross.

For its re-use, the chessboard was broken apart, but significantly, the chessboard pattern as such was not disturbed. The original chessboard may have come from Italy.[45] The precious chessboard of Brunswick was

treasure inventory render *plenarium* as "missal," see Bertholdus, *Chronicon*, 40 (ed. Wallach et al., 264). This rendering is not entirely accurate. A better translation is "Gospel." But the entry "Duo plenaria, unum argento circumdatum, alterum auro, argento et lapidis decoratum," found in the inventory of Zwiefalten, and translated by Ganz as "two complete Gospels, one with a silver covering, the other decked with gold, silver and precious stones" (Ganz 2014, 88), may actually be rendered more descriptively as "two Gospels with relics [...]." As Spilling 1992, 23 with note 134 shows, all the Zwiefalten plenaries were actually Gospel books with relics. In the major relic inventories, a "plenary" is always a codex that includes relics.

42 The Golden Book of Hohenwart (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7384) consists of two parts (eleventh and thirteenth centuries). On fol. 1v we can read a sixteenth-century note on the relics included, see Klemm 1998, 61–63.

43 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8201. On the cover of the *Biblia Pauperum* of Metten, see Wagner (ed.) 2006, 22–23.

44 Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. W 32, parchment, 56 fol., 35.4 x 26 cm. The plenary, part of the Guelph Treasure, provides only the readings of feast days. The miniatures are dated to ca. 1320–1330. For relevant bibliography, see Engelhart 2003; Lambacher 2010; Fey 2006.

45 A similar piece, with similar drawings on parchment placed under rock crystal, is in the collegiate treasury of Saints Peter and

Fig. 7.2: Plenary of Otto the Mild, front cover, dated by inscription to 1339. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen, inv. no. W 32.

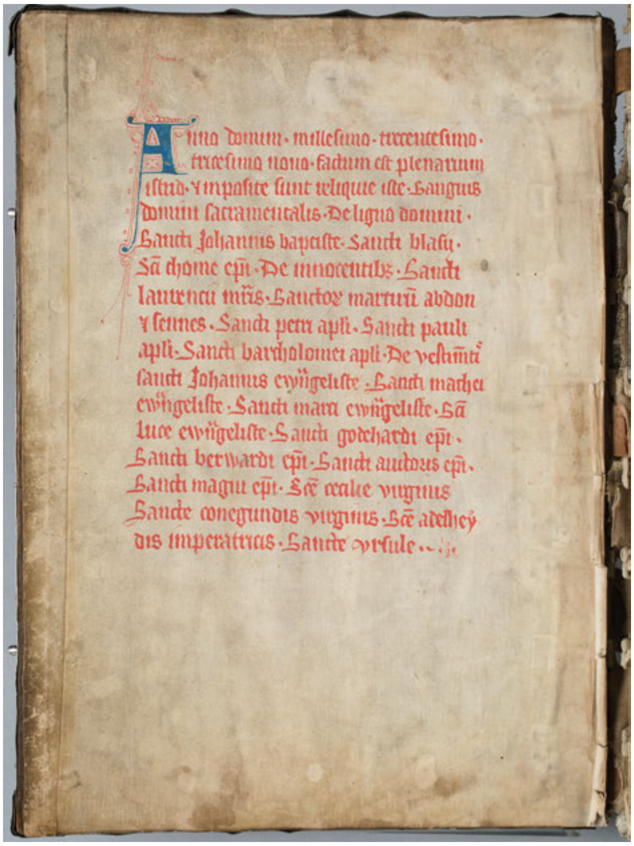

Fig. 7.3: Plenary of Otto the Mild, relics listed on the fly-leaf of the front cover. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen, inv. no. W 32.

presumably owned by Agnes of Brandenburg, spouse of the donor.[46] Although portrayed on the back cover as a living person, she died five years before the donation was made. Together with her husband, she kneels in adoration before St Blasius, patron saint of the collegiate church, whose relics are placed second on the list after those of Christ.[47] Now separated by death but united in the image, the couple provided for the salvation of their souls and the relevant commemoration. In 1322, the couple had already enlarged the southern nave of the Brunswick collegiate church and donated more altars. The enlarged southern nave included a funerary chapel for Otto and Agnes, dedicated to St Laurence.[48] The plenary thus forms part of a comprehensive memorial donation; it is in keeping with the memorial character of the chapel that the plenary should also include relics of St Laurence.

Agnes died during the time when she and her husband were promoting the various donations. However, their marriage was concluded for eternity. Accordingly, as a couple they provided for their *memoria* and their liturgical commemoration. The plenary can be seen as the central, culminating piece of their provisions for the afterlife. In the image on the back cover, they ask St Blasius, patron saint of the church, to intercede for them with God. Although placed on the plenary, the request for intercession is based on the complete set of donations. By using her chessboard, the duke created a memorial to his late wife. Through the insertion of relics and the addition of a manuscript he increased the object's value and nobility, transforming, as he did, a profane, courtly object into a sacred one. The plenary as a whole is a witness to the combination of the world of courtly luxury and the need to provide for one's life in the hereafter. While its chessboard squares remind the viewer of the late owner, the donated relics, the plenary and the funerary chapel are meant for the couple's liturgical *memoria*.

The next book cover to be discussed will reveal still more aspects of the very same function, that of *memoria*. It is known as –

4 The Precious Gospel Book of Bernward of Hildesheim

Around 1015, Bishop Bernward donated the so-called Precious Gospel Book[49] (fig. 7.5) the cover of which subsequently underwent—and suffered from—several alterations.[50] The donor's name, that of Bishop Bernward, plays

Alexander in Aschaffenburg. This object, now in the Stiftsmuseum Aschaffenburg, was considered a reliquary; concealed in the altar of the Collegiate Church, it survived the vicissitudes of history.

46 See Neumann 1891, 249–253.

47 The list is edited in Neumann 1891, 247: "On the waste-sheet, glued to the front panel, we find the following notes in a hand that is certainly later than the codex itself: 'Anno Domini MCCCXXXIX. factum est Plenarium istud: et imposite sunt reliquie iste: Sanguis Domini sacramentalis. De ligno Domini. S. Johannis baptiste. S. Blasii. S. Thome ep. De Innocentibus. S. Laurencii mart. SS. martyrum Abdon et Sennes. S. Petri Ap. S. Bartholomei Ap. De vestimentis S. Johannis Evangeliste. S. Mathei Ewang. S. Godehardi ep. S. Bernwardi ep. S. Auctoris ep. S. Magni ep. S. Cecilie Virg. S. Cunegundis Virg. S. Adelheydis Imperatricis. S. Vrsule.'"

48 On these memorial donations, see Fritz 1998, 378–380.

49 The literature that deals with this object is immense. The essential monograph, published when the dismantled manuscript was displayed, remains Brandt 1993. See also Ganz 2010.

50 As can be seen from the shortened, though essentially original, fittings at the back, the wooden panels were renewed and made smaller. The redesign lacks subtlety and expertise, as is clear from the Greek letters that now surround the Virgin—letters the meaning of which was no longer understood. An explanation of the Greek letters was suggested in 1840: we should read the letters as V O P

Fig. 7.4: Plenary of Otto the Mild, back cover, 1339. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen, inv. no. W 32.

Fig. 7.5: The so-called Precious Gospel Book of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, front cover, ca. 1015. Hildesheim, Dom-Museum, DS 18.

a central role in the design both of the cover and the manuscript itself. By placing his name both on the front and the back cover, Bernward links his name forever with this donated object.[51] In the note placed at the end of the Gospel book, Bernward does not hesitate to sing his own praises: "I, Bernward, have ordered this codex to be written, and, as you can see, I have also ordered that my treasures are added to it" ("Hunc ego Bernvvardus codice[m] conscribere feci atq[ue] meas ut cernis opes super addere iubens"). But what exactly were these treasures? No doubt the ivory plate placed at the center of the front panel belongs to these, but in the case of the other objects, it is difficult to see how they relate to the person of the donor. In the case of the front cover, most of the ornaments are post-Ottonian, with the exception of the Byzantine ivory plate and, possibly, the small double cross below the ivory plate. All the post-Ottonian items come from the same workshop and were made in tandem with the reworking of the cover.[52]

It was most likely in the context of Bernward's canonization as a saint, around 1194, that the monks of St Michael's in Hildesheim altered the book cover's design, though the reasons for this interference are far from clear.[53] Moreover, we cannot be sure about what is old and what is newly added.[54]

The evidence, some of which was brought to light during restoration work in the 1990s, is as follows: first, a sepulcher for relics was discovered below the cross. What this sepulcher once contained is not known. Second, before the cross was inserted into the cover, its suspension eye was removed. It was also discovered that the reverse side of the double cross was worked on by an artist; the item was originally meant to be worn as a pectoral cross (fig. 7.6). Third, the double cross with a height of 3.1 cm, is most likely a Byzantinizing item dating from Ottonian times.[55] I am basing this opinion not on stylistic arguments (which actually refer to other Ottonian artifacts), but on the Byzantinizing design of the small cross.[56] Bernward's preference for everything Byzantine and Byzantine-like is well known; this preference is in evidence on the cover where we find both Byzantine originals (such as the ivory plate) and Byzantinizing imitations (such as the Virgin of the back cover). For the unusual double cross, complete with its depiction of Christ crucified, the inspiration may have come from a Byzantine ivory plate placed on the cover of the Quedlinburg Otto-Adelheid Gospel Book. This Gospel manuscript originated around the year 1000; its cover is dominated by a Byzantine four-part ivory plate made in the late tenth century. As is the case with the Bernward Gospel Book, the original cover is not extant, but we may assume that the ivory formed part of the original design.[57] Around 1000, the use of Byzantine ivory plates was quite common. It must be an Ottonian donation, as is clear from the explicit reference to Otto III and his sister Adelheid, abbess of Quedlinburg, a fact that could not have escaped Bernward. Having served as his personal tutor, Bernward maintained a close relationship with Otto III; accordingly, he may well have been familiar with the Byzantine object and its portrayal of the crucifixion. And it may well be that this portrayal served as the model for the cross—an assumption that is as attractive as it is difficult to prove.

Such is the evidence; and what does it mean for the design of the book cover? It remains unclear whether the cover included relics right from the beginning. By 1194, when the monks of St Michael's reworked the cover in the context of Bernward's canonization as a saint, there is clear evidence of the presence of relics. As for the double cross, there are two possibilities: it was inserted either by Bernward himself, or in the late twelfth century by the monks. If inserted by Bernward himself, the cross would have belonged to the book cover's original design. Bernward would have placed his own pectoral cross on the cover. In his donor's note, included in the manuscript, Bernward tells us that the cover was ornamented with items from his own treasures. If inserted not by Bernward,

M = "virgo ora pro me" ("Virgin Mary, pray for me"); while this is an interesting suggestion, one wonders why the letters should have been arranged in such a strange way; see Johann Kratz 1840, 123. For all further alterations, see the detailed account of Brandt 1993.

51 The inscriptions have been edited many times; for an example, see Ganz 2010, 204.

52 Brandt 1993, 59.

53 The date itself, 1194, is certain, because we know that two Bernward reliquaries with filigree work that corresponds to that of the book cover were made in 1194, the very year of Bernward's canonization.

54 According to Brandt's conjecture, the manuscript's present cover was originally a book case the boards of which were reduced in size.

55 Wesenberg 1955, 42–43. Whereas Wesenberg's comparative stylistic analysis identifies the cross as Ottonian, Michael Brandt considers the cross a post-Ottonian piece, see Brandt 1993, 60, with no. 36. The very form of the double cross with added crucifixus, Brandt argues, was not known in Ottonian times, which indicates that this "miniature" piece comes from a workshop of the West. Brandt connects the rise of the double-cross form with the reception of this form during the time of the crusades. While this is essentially correct, it is not the whole story. Byzantine art could also be imitated in contexts other than the crusades, as was the case in Ottonian times.

56 On the reception of things Byzantine by the Ottonians, especially by Bernward, see Klein 1998, 127–138; Effenberger 1993.

57 The Gospel Book now belongs to the cathedral treasure of Quedlinburg, and its present cover is dated to ca. 1220–30. The most recent discussion is Labusiak 2012.

Fig. 7.6: Front and back sides of the double cross placed on the front cover of the Precious Gospel Book (formerly used as a pectoral cross). Hildesheim, Dom-Museum, DS 18.

but by the monks, the pectoral cross was inserted as a relic from the saint's personal possessions.

My personal conclusion from this perplexing and ultimately inconclusive evidence is as follows: most likely it was the monks who after the saint's death added Bernward's pectoral cross to the book cover. They may also have placed further Bernwardine relics in the depot under the cross, though we do not know anything about this.[58] Thus, after the canonization of Bishop Bernward, the sacredness of the already precious and sacred Gospel book was enhanced. Moreover, the sacred object was linked to Bernward not only through the original donation, but also through a genuine relic of Bernward. All of this results in an individualized Gospel book; linked to the life and work of Bernward, it also represents the entire community, the *ecclesia*, of Hildesheim.

To sum up: Bernward's hope of *post mortem* bliss in heaven, expressed through the donation of a splendid Gospel book, has actually become true through his canonization as a saint. The Gospel book must have impressed the monks of Hildesheim as an object invested with efficient sacrality. When the monks resorted to adding their abbot's pectoral cross to the object, they no doubt meant to secure their relationship with the saint whose person and work testifies to the truth and power of the Gospel. The combination of saint and Gospel, made visible and tangible in the precious book, also represents the *ecclesia*—both the local church of Hildesheim and the universal church.

The next—and final—example of a reliquary book cover is that of –

5 The Berthold Sacramentary

A sacramentary rather than a Gospel book, the Berthold Sacramentary (fig. 7.7) is quite unlike the manuscripts discussed above. In the early thirteenth century, when it was made, the sacramentary was "an almost anachronistic type of book,"[59] as is clear from its very

58 According to the curator at the Dom-Museum, Hildesheim, no information about the relics is available. When the object was recently restored, the relics were not paid attention to (personal Email communication from Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim, June 6, 2014).

59 Heinzer 2008, 306.

Fig. 7.7: Berthold Sacramentary, front cover, 1310/1320. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 710.

design,[60] especially from its cover that echoes well-known older Gospel books such as the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram.[61] The Berthold sacramentary, explains Felix Heinzer, is best understood as an object of representation in a twofold sense, with the two meanings complementing each other: first, as a visible and tangible demonstration of conspicuous wealth, power, personal dignity and social as well as clerical prestige; and second, as an embodiment of specifically spiritual values and realities.[62] While all of this is true, we must not forget the fact that the sacramentary has above all a role in the liturgy.

The sacramentary was created in Weingarten some time in the second decade of the thirteenth century, when Berthold served the monastery as the abbot (1200–1232).[63] Highly appreciative of art, this abbot became well-known for commissioning and donating artifacts and expensive manuscripts. After the monastery was destroyed by fire in 1215, he immediately promoted its rebuilding, so that the new monastery could be consecrated by 1217.[64] The so-called Berthold sacramentary is the most magnificent of the manuscripts donated by Berthold. Measuring about 20 by 30 cm, the codex is protected by strong panels made of oak wood, about 3.2 cm thick, which allows for a many-layered ornamentation. An embossed gilded sheet of silver with human figures covers the wood, and numerous gems frame the complex pictorial program. The center, dominated by the Virgin Mary and her child, reflects Mary's role as one of the main patron saints of the Weingarten monastery. Iconographically, she represents a *maiestas dominae*, because, like the usual *maiestas domini*, she is surrounded by the evangelists: in the upper corners of the cover by John and Matthew, accompanied by archangels Michael and Gabriel; in the lower corners, we can see Mark (left) and Luke (right). The latter are not accompanied by angels, but by Berthold the donor (Mark) and St Nicholas (Luke). The Virgin Mary, who here seems to represent the church, is flanked on either side by two personifications and another two saints. Above, below John and Mark, the personifications of the Marian virtues *virginitas* and *humilitas* are placed. Below, there are two saints: on the left, below *virginitas*, St Oswald, facing St Martin; these two are patron saints of the church of Weingarten. All these figures are closely associated with the history of the monastery, and their names are mentioned in the inscribed silver band that frames the front cover.

The pictorial design of the front cover, as described, does not point to any relics. But as soon as we have a closer look at the framing inscription, our ideas change, because what we read is a list of relics (fig. 7.8): HIC CONTINENTVR REL[iquie] S[ancte]. MARIE V[irginis]. / S[ancti]. BARTHOLOMEI S[ancti]. THOME S[ancti]. / PETRI S[ancti]. PAULI S[ancti]. JACOBI S[ancti]. GEORGII M[agni]. S[ancti]. OSWALDI M[artyris]. The whereabouts of these relics is completely unclear. An X-ray examination could not find any evidence of hollow space inside the cover. Are they concealed under the bossed work? Or were they in a depot, no longer extant, near the head of the Virgin, as conjectured by Frauke Steenbock?[65] Unfortunately, these questions can no longer be answered. We also cannot tell what was applied onto the non-gilded circular areas on either side of the head of the Virgin, at the end of the two throne pillars. Was it there that the relics were placed under a circular crystal lid? An example for such a placement of relics would be the *Biblia Pauperum* of Metten (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8201), a book made two centuries later.[66]

By their very presence, the relics serve to protect the sacramentary that includes the prayers recited exclusively by the celebrating priest who is, as we may assume, Berthold himself. Of particular interest in this respect is the Berthold portrait placed at the lower margin of the cover (fig. 7.9). The abbot is not depicted as looking at the lectern of the evangelist (as one might expect); instead, he turns his attention to St Nicholas whom he may have considered his personal patron, which would explain the building of a separate chapel for him.[67] The two figures are separated by fine metalwork replete with gems and filigree that connects the frame surrounding the enthroned Virgin with the outer frame of the book cover. The most conspicuous feature of this connecting bridge is an inserted item, a *spolium*—a re-used drop-shaped piece of enamel. Presumably dating from the eleventh century, this cloisonné-enamel most likely comes from

60 Heinzer 2008, 359–364.

61 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000. On the cover, see Steenbock 1965, 90–92, no. 20; Ganz 2015, 158–191.

62 Heinzer 2008, 360.

63 Steenbock 1999. That the codex was actually donated when the monastery church was consecrated in 1217 is not certain but likely. Tradition calls this book a missal, though it does not include songs and biblical readings, see Steenbock 1999, 195. The more adequate designation "sacramentary" is used since 1999, when a facsimile of the manuscript was made.

64 Steenbock 1999, 195.

65 Steenbock 1999, 199.

66 For the cover of the *Biblia Pauperum* of Metten, see Wagner (ed.) 2006, 22–23.

67 According to recent research, it was Berthold who built the St Nicholas chapel in Weingarten; see Rudolf 1999, 31–32.

Fig. 7.8: Berthold Sacramentary, spine, inscription on the frame of the front cover: HIC CONTINENTVR REL[iquie] S[ancte]. MARIE V[irginis], 1310/1320. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 710.

Fig. 7.9: Berthold Sacramentary, front cover, detail: portrait of abbot Berthold placed at the lower margin, 1310/1320. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 710.

an object damaged by the monastery fire.[68] While some of the relics included in the cover seem to have survived the fire, others had to be replaced, as was the case with the relics of St Martin. But like the *spolium*, the relics provide a sense of uninterrupted historical continuity. By means of their relics, the patron saints protect the sacred space of the abbey, and the same function can be ascribed to the liturgical acts celebrated within its walls and codified in its liturgical books. As rebuilder *(reaedificator)* of the monastery, Berthold gave this idea a visible and tangible form.[69]

68 That the enamel comes from an earlier version of the Holy Blood reliquary, remains a speculative assumption, see Steenbock 1999, 199.

69 For a different opinion, see Ganz 2015, 351 who thinks that Berthold would have introduced the relics in the interest of enhancing the effective power of the object.

The most conspicuous feature of the relics included in the book cover is the nature of the collection itself. The saints portrayed on the cover echo the relics that Abbot Berthold chose for inclusion in the new main altars and in the chapels. During the great fire, all the relics deposited below the main altar in a special vault were destroyed, along with several missals.[70] Relics of St Martin, one the monastery's patron saints, had to be imported from Reichenau Island.[71] In addition to Martin, saint and martyr Oswald was also elected as patron saint for the monastery, and his relics were deposited in the main altar.[72] To house the relics of St Nicholas, Berthold donated an additional chapel.[73] Some of the relics listed in the consecration document of the new monastery and the four main altars of its church are identical to those mentioned in the inscription on the cover of the sacramentary. The consecration, we are told, was held "in honour of [...] the Holy Trinity, the most Holy Cross, the blessed Mary who gave birth to God, and in honour of bishop St Martin, martyr St Oswald and further saints."[74] The Virgin Mary, St Oswald and St Martin were actually portrayed, and St Nicholas received his own chapel. If Berthold donated the sacramentary immediately after the fire, we cannot avoid the conclusion that he wished to immortalize himself as rebuilder *(reaedificator)* and donor of the luxurious sacramentary.[75] His merits as builder of the new monastery and as consecrator are echoed in the set of relics that are shared by the church and the sacramentary. The codex can be considered as an object of supreme spiritual significance: as the *ecclesia* in miniature form. Within the symbolic universe of the *ecclesia*, the relics of the saints selected by Berthold serve to indicate that the church meant is not just the church that he has rebuilt, the monastery church at Weingarten, but the church universal.

70 Rudolf 1999, 33.
71 Rudolf 1999, 35.
72 Rudolf 1999, 31.
73 Rudolf 1999, 32.
74 Rudolf 1999, 35.
75 Whether the sacramentary was made before the fire, or shortly after the fire in the context of the consecration of the new abbey church and its altars, remains an open question. The traditional dating—the making of the sacramentary after the fire, on the occasion of the new consecration, is defended with good reasons by Steenbock and Rudolf in the commentary volume that accompanies the facsimile of 1999. In the same volume, one author disagrees, see Spilling 1999, 187–192.

6 Conclusion

Some medieval codices, generally Gospel books, include relics in their covers. To the owners of these codices, the relics were pregnant with meaning. The selection of relics also made sense, because relics were not selected at random, but chosen so as to make a meaningful statement: they were meant to establish firm links between the book and particular saints, a particular church, and a particular place. The saints belong to the *ecclesia* in two ways. First, the saints are related to the particular church building in which they are venerated. In the case of the Precious Gospel Book, the relics of Bernward link the book with the cathedral of Hildesheim, the episcopal seat of St Bernward. The local connection is also evident in the case of the Sacramentary of Berthold: this abbot rebuilt his church after a fire, and equipped the restored church and the sacramentary with the same set of relics. Second, the saints represent the universal church, the *corpus Christi mysticum*, of which they form a part. A good example is the Plenary of Otto the Mild in the Guelph Treasury, where the relics of the saints are arranged around the central relic of Christ—a fragment of the True Cross. These relics also have the cathedral of Brunswick as a local referent, but this fact in no way detracts from the universal symbolism. The combination of reliquary and book also made sense because the Gospel stands for the truth for which the saints, present in their relics, lived and died, just as the relics represent the saints who, through their lives and deaths, testified to the truth and power of the Gospel. Even the modern viewer can enter the world of the relic-bearing codices, a world replete with spiritual, local and universal symbolism.

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Maria Portmann

8 Jewish Writings and Holy Scripture in Christian Paintings in Spain during the Late Medieval Period

1 Introduction

During the fourteenth century, in the Kingdom of Aragón, painters depicted on Christian altarpieces not only Latin but also Hebrew scriptures whose texts could be read by the viewers. These painted letters were related to an exegetical context that considered ancient Jewish prophets as Jersus' forerunners whereas contemporary Jews were seen as "the other," i.e. the enemy of Christians. Knowing that Jews were persecuted after the Black Death and during riots in 1391, we have to reconsider the representation of these textual typologies in order to reconsider either the identity or the alterity of such figures. According to Margaretha Boockmann, most of Hebrew scripts in Western art were used since the fourteenth century. Imitations of Arabic and Hebrew scripts were used negatively to highlight the oriental origin of Jewish figures in biblical images.[1] But readable Hebrew letters and texts could also show the importance Christian believers gave to the knowledge of Semitic languages in studying the Old Testament.[2] In Spain, *conversos* (converted Jews) and Jews took part in translations and transcriptions of Hebrew texts in paintings.[3] According to Norman Roth, since the thirteenth century, some religious disputes were only transcribed into Hebrew because some Christians were also able to read and write in Hebrew.[4] In Barcelona, during the reign of Peter IV the Ceremonious (1319–1387), Jews and Christians were in close contact and traded together.[5] During this period, Arnau and Ferrer Bassa illuminated manuscripts for Jews and Christians and also painted altarpieces, with stylistic similarities that have been noted by Rosa Alcoy.[6] For example, Arnau Bassa and Ramon Destorrents represented different types of scripts in St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary to Read (1340–1348), made for the King's chapel in the castle of the Almudaina in Palma de Mallorca (fig. 8.1). The border of the mantle worn by St Anne is decorated with square forms imitating Hebraic letters, and the Virgin Mary is reading a book that contains a prayer written in Latin with illuminated capital letters. It is a transcription of the incipit and Psalm (46,1–2) read during *Laudes*.[7] The Latin text quote parts of the Bible as in the Psalter of Queen Mary.[8] For example, in the *Hours of the Virgin* in this manuscript, the queen is portrayed in the initial "O." She is praying with an open book and looking at the Annunciation, depicted on the preceding folio (fol. 17v–18r), where the Virgin Mary addresses her answer to the angels' salutation, as we can read on her open book.[9] Although Hebrew texts are rare in Christian paintings, the image of Moses giving the Ten Commandments to the Jews has a central place in both Jewish[10] and Christian art, as we will see with later paintings realized in the context of the religious disputes between Jews and Christians. The first dispute took place in Barcelona in 1263, between Nahmanides and Pablo Christiani under the pressure of the Catholic Church, which rejected the Talmud (burned in Paris in 1242) but not the Torah. In another dispute (1285), Abraham ibn Adret answered Raymond Marti (author of the *Pugio Fidei*, 1278), who had recognized the legacy of Hebrew scripture but not its

1 Kalmar/Penslar 2005, 12–50.
2 Boockmann 2013, 4–7.
3 Fellous 2015, 19.
4 Roth 1991, 137–139.
5 Dame 2005, 108.
6 Alcoy i Pedrós 1993, 60–64 explains that miniatures realized in Barcelona before the Black Death (Moshe ben Maimon, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 1348, Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Heb. 37, fol. 114a, a manuscript written for the king's Jewish physician Menahem Bezalel) have stylistic similarities with Christian manuscripts illuminated by Arnau and Ferrer Bassa.
7 "Deus in adjutorium meum inténde. Dómine, ad adjuvandum me festína. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. [...] Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus: jubilate Deo in voce exultationis. Quoniam Dominus excelsus, terribilis: Rex magnus super omnem terram." The Latin text is translated: "O God, come to my assistance; O Lord, make haste to help me. Glory to the Father, and the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. [...] O clap your hands, all ye nations: Shout unto God with the voice of joy. For the Lord is high, terrible: a great king over all the earth." Ps. 70,2; Ps. 46,2.
8 Morgan/Alcoy i Pedrós (eds.) 2006, 66–69, 103. Alcoy i Pedrós et al. (eds.) 1996.
9 Alcoy i Pedrós et al. (ed.) 1996, 191–192.
10 Roth (ed.) 1963, 22.

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Fig. 8.1: Arnau Bassa and Ramon Destorrents, St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary to Read, 1340–1358 (prov. Chapel of the Castle of the Almudaina in Palma de Mallorca). Lisbon, Museo do Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1643 Pint.

interpretation by Jews, saying that false interpretations were due to the long exile of the Jews. Only those who observed the Commandments gave proof of the legitimacy of holy scripture since Moses.[11] Holy scripture and the Ten Commandments were important for both traditions. Therefore, in paintings and miniatures realized during the fourteenth century, the depiction of holy books and holy scripture took an important place in art. This shows a common interest in understanding the Hebrew text in order to translate it correctly. However, in the anti-Jewish context of these disputes, the use of Hebrew on Christian altarpieces could also have served to criticize the "otherness" of Jews. The attitude of the Church towards Jews during the Late Middle Ages was rooted in the Fourth Vatican Council (1215),[12] which proclaimed the transubstantiation of the Holy Eucharist and imposed on Jews the wearing of a sign of distinction. Christians could not practice usury, nor could they have sexual intercourse with Jews. As a consequence, anti-Jewish legends and sermons began to appear, criticizing the "false" faith and the bad morals of Jews, who worked as usurers and "polluted" Christians. On altarpieces, the images were intended to instruct believers and show them the dangers of the faith of "others," who did not act and believe as the Church wanted.[13] We will now take into consideration scenes from the New Testament that reflect the context of these disputes, such as Jesus among the Doctors of the Law, as well as readable Hebrew scripts that unveil common ways of reading the holy scripture by Jews and Christians during the fourteenth century in the Kingdom of Aragón after the death of the Bassa family (1348), which was caused by the Black Death but attributed to the bad morals of the Jews.[14] Criticism of and pogroms against Jews and the Jewish faith led to the destruction of the *aljamas* (Jewish communities) in the Kingdom of Aragón in 1391. They were followed by forced conversions under the pressure of Dominican preachings and the creation of visual "otherness" in art.

2 Jaume and Pere Serra's altarpiece

On the altarpiece painted around 1369 for the Santa Maria monastery of Cistercian nuns in Sigena, the brothers Jaume and Pere Serra represented the lives of Jesus and the Virgin (fig. 8.2). In the center, the donor, Fontaner de Glera, is kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child.[15] On the left side, Jesus is seated on a stone chair among the Doctors of the Law in the temple (fig. 8.3). His tunic is orange and embroidered with golden motifs. He is holding an open book in his hands. The book contains a text in scripts similar to Hebrew. Jesus turns toward his parents, who are entering the temple (Luc. 2,46). On the other side of this panel, two doctors of the Law are showing an open

11 Shalev-Eyni 2010, 45–48.
12 *Canones Concili Lateranensis* (1215), Geneva, Foundation Martin Bodmer, CB 80, fol. 40r–40v.

13 About Pere Serra's altarpiece see Ruiz i Quesada et al. 2004, 90 and Cornudella/Favà/Macías 2011, 34–36 and 54–55.
14 Meiss 1964.
15 Luttrell/Nicholson 2006, 39. On the history of the monastery, see Baches Opi. On the Jews in Barcelona, see Forcano/Planas 2010, 55. Estanyol Fuentes 2011, 109 explains that Peter III *El Ceremonioso* (The Ceremonious) was protecting the Jews. But the Christian people accused the Jews of being responsible for the pestilence in 1348 because of their sins (Jews were moneylenders, work considered as a sin by the Church since 1215). Since the Black Death, although Jews were protected by the pope and King Peter III, Christians attacked Jews, killing them and forcing them to convert under the pressure of exalted preachers criticizing the economic, political, social and religious privileges of the Jews.

Fig. 8.2: Pere Serra and Jaume Serra, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1365–1380 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria in Sigena). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 15916.

Fig. 8.3: Pere Serra and Jaume Serra, Jesus and the Doctors of the Law, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1365–1380 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria in Sigena). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 15916.

book to Jesus. Below them, two other men are sitting on the ground. The one on the left holds another open book in his hand and a red shawl covers his head. Like the other doctors on the left side, he is staring at Jesus. On the right side of the panel, there is another Jewish man seated and tearing a text into pieces. His profile is characterized by a curved nose and a long grey beard, and according to Anthony Bale[16] we can assume that he is Jewish.

On this altarpiece, the old man's gesture and his physical characteristics and clothing are depicted to show his Jewish faith, and his rejection of Jesus' words. Moreover, all the Jewish men except Joseph wear a prayer shawl, and Hebraic letters are often woven onto their garments to emphasize their "otherness," because they do not recognize Jesus as the son of God. In fact, similar clothes are worn by Jews leaving the synagogue in a miniature painted on a page of the Sarajevo Haggadah,[17] a compendium of religious rites for Passover, showing the life of the Jews in Barcelona during the fourteenth century.[18] They are wearing the *capa juehga* (Jewish dress) that was imposed on the Jews by King Jaime I (1268) in Barcelona.[19] In the background of the miniature, women are closing the holy shrine in which the rolls of the Torah are protected by a curtain. The Torah shrine is shown in a more complex architectonic frame on another page.[20] Compared to another miniature, made in Italy a century later, the central position of the Holy Scripture and the colored headdresses of Jewish figures are relevant for this period in Spain.[21] The architectonic frame of the Mantuan Torah is more complex and it is depicted open to let a man take a Torah scroll from behind a red curtain. In Christian paintings, the depiction of the ark of the Torah is rare, as Sonia Fellous has shown.[22]

On one hand, this shows the importance that the Old Testament had retained for Christians according to a typological reading of the Bible. But on the other hand, it

16 Bale 2006, 131.
17 Regarding men and women in this scene, see Sabar 2009, 142–146.
18 Sarajevo Haggadah, ca. 1350, Sarajevo, Zemaljski Museum, Ms. 1, fol. 34r. See Roth (ed.) 1963, 25. Regarding the relationship between Christian and Jewish miniatures at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Barcelona, see Shalev-Eyni 2010, 54.
19 Jacobs 1894, 137; Resnick 2012, 4.
20 Sarajevo Haggadah, ca. 1350, Sarajevo, Zemaljski Museum, Ms. 1, fol. 32r. See Roth (ed.) 1963, 24.
21 Jacob ben Asher, *Arba'ah Turim* (Halakhic code), Mantua, 1435, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 555, fol. 12v: Synagogue scene bordered by the four beasts of R. Judah b. Tema, with lion, and eagle on the left-hand corners of the frame of the central image. See Epstein 2011, 57.
22 Fellous 2001, 292–298.

demonstrates that Hebrew scripture was not really known by Christians. Although it was formally recognized as part of the biblical text, Talmudic interpretations were rejected by Christians.[23] On the Spanish Peninsula, Hebrew was less well known than Arabic, which was also used for basic communication. Hebrew was used in some cases by Dominican friars in their disputes as a tool to convince the Jews of the rightness of Christianity, as is demonstrated, for example, by the case of Raymundo de Peñafort, who organized the dispute in Barcelona between Moshe ben Nahman (Nahmanides) and Pablo Christiani in 1263. After the dispute, Maimonides' books were burnt in Aragon.[24] Moreover, Raymundo Martini was one of the first Dominican friars to learn Hebrew around 1250 in Paris and then in Spain.[25]

In the altarpiece painted by Jaume Serra, the central position of Jesus in the Doctors of the Law panel shows that he is the main character overcoming the Old Law through his conversations with the Jews, but also as the "Word became flesh" (Ioh. 1,14). In fact, on this altarpiece, only two open books contain phrases taken from the Bible, which complement this idea: in the *Annunciation* (fig. 8.4), a few extracts from the New Testament are written in Latin script (Luc. 1,38): "I am the Lord's servant. Let it be with me just as you have said" ("Ecce ancilla domini fiat secundum verbum tuum. Quod parascrivere"). In the Death of the Virgin, an apostle is holding a prayer dedicated to the Virgin taken from the *Litany to the Virgin*: "Blessed comforter [...] we are in peace." ("Benigna, consoladora [...] estem en paz"). Both texts underline the role of the Blessed Virgin as an intercessor for the donor of the altarpiece and in the incarnation, which together with the transubstantiation was one of the main subjects of the disputes between Jews and Christians.

In the middle of the predella (fig. 8.5), the Last Supper depicts Jesus holding a chalice with a host and blessing the Apostles. On the left side, Judas is reaching toward the lamb roasted for Passover on a plate. Not only does Judas have red hair, a yellow gown and the same profile as both doctors of the Law in the upper panel, but a demon is perched on his shoulder. This focuses attention on his responsibility for Jesus's death and, by a process of transfer, on the responsibility of all Jews. In the Kingdom of Aragon, this topic had been expounded by critical texts such as the *Pugio Fidei* (*Fight for Faith*) written in 1278 by the Dominican friar Raymond Martini, and finds expression in the many taxes Jews were forced to pay to the king of Aragon in exchange for his protection.[26] Moreover this Last Supper is set between two legendary scenes. On the right hand side of Jesus in the Last Supper, the first miracle refers to the *Cantiga de Santa María* (*Songs of the Virgin Mary*) written by King Alfonse X the Wise (1221–1284), in which a peasant places a host in a beehive.[27] On the panel to Jesus' left-hand side, a desecration of the host is depicted (fig. 8.6). The first part of this legend is similar to the miracle of Billettes, near Paris (1291), whilst the second part seems closer to an English legend, as Jacob Yuval has shown.[28] The story describes how a Christian woman exchanged her host for a dress from a Jewish moneylender. The Jew then desecrated the host, which bled. But the Jew cooked it and the host was transformed into a child. In the Spanish altarpiece, the legend has to be read from right to left. I believe that this has to do with the direction in which Hebrew scripture is read, to show the negative aspect of this legend and to invite Jews to read this story, in order to focus on their unbelief and bad morals. In the first scene, the host is expelled from the woman's throat and blood is depicted all around the wound. Blood is also depicted in the crucifixion and was also the main theme of other anti-Jewish legends.[29] In this altarpiece, the host is brought by the woman's servant, a Moorish woman, to the Jewish family (we can see the husband, his wife and their son in the house). Her dark brown skin also has negative connotations. Finally, the Jew gives the host to the Christian woman in return. To underline the contrasting identities of the Christian and the Jewish woman, their headdresses are different. The Jewish woman wears a round yellow distinguishing sign around her head, as ordered by the Lateran Council in 1215. It has the same shape as the one worn by a Jewish woman (who is burned with her husband by Christians) on the altarpiece of Vallbona de les Monges (fig. 8.7), on which I will comment in the next paragraph. But it is different from the golden *tocado* (the Jewish headdress) worn by a Jewish woman in the Presentation in the Temple in the upper part of this altarpiece. In the Golden Haggadah (London, British Library, Add. 27210), the wife eating with her husband during the rite of Seder is also wearing a *tocado*.[30] Its shape and color are different from those worn by Jews in Christian legends.

23 Cohen 1982, 75.
24 Hinojosa Montalvo1984, 171; On Nahmanides and Maimonides, see Caputo 2007, 1–19.
25 Vose 2009, 111; Krauss 1996, 97–101.
26 Molina Figueres 2008, 33–85; Motis Dolader 1990; Barral 2008, 172–190; Galán 2003.
27 Alfonso X el Sabio 2016, 128; Alfonso X el Sabio 1990–1991.
28 Alfonso X el Sabio 2016, 104. For a comment see Yuval 2008, 181.
29 Resnick 2012, 2, 58–62; González Hernando 2013, 29–42.
30 Goldmann-Ida 1999, 526.

Fig. 8.4: Pere Serra and Jaume Serra, The Virgin Mary reading a book in the Annunciation, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1365–1380 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria in Sigena). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 15916.

Fig. 8.5: Pere Serra and Jaume Serra, Last Supper, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1365–1380 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria in Sigena). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 15916.

Fig. 8.6: Pere Serra and Jaume Serra, Legend of the Profanation of the Host, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1365–1380 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria in Sigena). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 15916.

As Molina Figueres has pointed out, a similar anti-Jewish story was also depicted a century earlier on two panels painted for the Corpus Christi Chapel in the nuns' monastery in Vallbona de les Monges (1335–1345).[31] This cycle is the most complete one from the Gothic period in northern Spain and shows miracles involving Christians and animals, as well as desecrations of the Blessed Sacrament. This type of illustration is linked to a particular religious devotion that took place in nuns' monasteries in the late Middle Ages. These paintings show the importance of the consecrated host to the nuns. Because the holy bread

31 Espi Forcen 2008. On the altarpiece of Vallbona de les Monges, see Melero Moneo 2002–2003, 21–40.

Fig. 8.7: Master of Vallbona de les Monges (attr. Guillem Seguer), Converted Jews burned by Jews, Altarpiece of Corpus Christi, ca. 1335–1345 (prov. Monastery of Vallbona de les Monges). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya. inv. no. MNAC 9920.

Fig. 8.8: Jaume Serra, The Dispute of St Stephen, Altarpiece of St Stephen, ca. 1395 (prov. Monastery of Santa Maria de Gualter). Barcelona, National Museum of Art of Catalunya, inv. no. MNAC 3947.

could be touched, the real presence of Christ was perceived even more "real" in the Eucharist.[32]

But Jaume Serra depicts Jewish figures not only desecrating the holy bread. In the upper part of the altarpiece, they also destroy holy books, a detail that enhances the negative aspect of their behavior. Moreover, Jesus reveals his importance as the one who was foretold in sacred scripture, was born from the Virgin Mary, was crucified, and who is present in the Blessed Sacrament, which can be both seen and touched and performs miracles. Although the shape of the books hold by the Doctors of the Law indicates a holy object, their bad action (to torn it) may be linked to attacks against Talmudic. In fact, not only pogroms, but also the destruction of many Jewish religious books by Christians took place during the second half of the fourteenth century in Aragon, as was also the case after the first dispute (1263).[33] While the representation of both the desecration of the host and the destruction of holy books is unique to this altarpiece, other examples of the destruction of Christian books by Jews and undecipherable Hebraic scripture can be found on altarpieces which were realized during the same period in Catalonia. However, few examples show any knowledge of Hebrew by the painters taking part in making these Christian works of art.

In the Dispute of St Stephen in the Synagogue, painted by Serra for Santa María de Gualter in Catalonia (fig. 8.8), Jews read books which contain texts written in scripts similar to Hebrew while two other men tear apart pages of other books. The men's garments are similar to those in the altarpiece in Sigena. But in the background Jewish figures cover their ears with their hands, as Molina Figueres has rightly observed.[34] But in both scenes of dispute, the destruction of Holy Scripture has a much more complex meaning: a Christian painter is letting a Jewish figure destroy Christian texts as a sign of Jewish incomprehension and disbelief. It recalls cases of blasphemy against Jesus, the Virgin and the Church, which were reported by Dominicans in their disputes with Jews.[35] In his *Summa theologica*, St Thomas Aquinas criticizes the unbelief of Jews who do not want to recognize Jesus Christ

32 Sánchez Ortega 1995, 25; Molina Figueres 2008, 49–52.

33 On the destructions, see Molina Figueres 2008, 39–40; Roth 2002, 20–33; Hinojosa Montalvo 1984, 143–170.

34 Molina Figueres 2008, p. 68.

35 Robin Vose 2009, 189–190. About Jewish polemics in Aragon, see Soussen 2013, 175–189.

as the Son of God.[36] However, in St Stephen's Dispute, Margaretha Boockman has read "EL," written in Hebrew and meaning "God" in the book held by the man on the left side.[37] This hidden word unveils part of the faith of Jews and Christians, who believe in God and recognize the importance of the Old Testament.

In Christian art, Hebraic scripture is depicted in different ways. In Rubielos de Mora, forty years after the altarpiece in Sigena, Gonçal Peris and his workshop depicted another scene of Jesus and the Doctors of the Law.[38] Two Jews are holding open books in which we see Hebrew letters.[39] Jesus is sitting on a chair placed on a pile of books. But instead of looking at his parents, Jesus is turned toward the doctors of the Law. Only the man sitting on the right (wearing an orange headdress and a brocade mantle) is turned toward Jesus's parents to underline the importance of their presence. In her book, Christina Tuor has shown that the Hebrew letters in both open books refer to Talmudic Hebrew.[40] The lack of written word and readable letters are participating in the visual construction of the Jewish otherness of the Doctors of the Law.

Although these examples show different ways of reproducing Hebraic script, there is another exceptional example.

In Guerau Gener's, Pedro Serra's and Luis Borrassa's Altarpiece of the Virgin for the Santes Creus monastery of nuns which is now in the cathedral of Tarragona (1411),[41] the joys of the Virgin Mary are framed with saints and prophets (fig. 8.9). On the lowest left panel, the Dispute between St Peter and Moses is depicted; Peter is holding a white scroll while Moses holds the Tablets of the Law with the Ten Commandments written in Hebrew (fig. 8.10). As Christina Tuor has pointed out, the text on the tablets corresponds to Exodus 20,2–17 but does not follow the right biblical order:[42]

On the left panel:	On the right panel:
I am God (v. 2)	You shall have no [other gods before me] (v. 3)
Do not abuse (v. 7)	Remember the [Sabbath] day (v. 8)
Honor your father (v. 12)	You shall not murder (v. 13)
You shall not commit adultery (v. 14)	You shall not steal (v. 15)
Thou shall not bear false witness (v. 16)	You shall not covet (v. 17)[43]

Vivian Mann argues that these paintings were made in a context where disputes between Jews and Christians happened. In Tortosa, another dispute (1413–1414) took place during the reign of the Antipope Benedict XIII and also involved a converted Jew, who was the Pope's physician and was named Joshua Harloki.[44] Christians and Jews asked each other questions, but the answers the Jews gave were barely criticized by Christian theologians. On the Jewish side, we find harsh criticisms written down from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, like the *Milhamot ha-Shem* or David Kimhi's commentaries on the Psalms, or Nahmanides' report of the dispute in Barcelona.[45] When these disputations were not as objective as they should have

36 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, II,2, q. 10-11 (ed. Fathers of the English Dominican Province). For a commentary, see Hammele 2012, 150–154; Boguslawski 2008, 43.

37 Boockmann 2013, 290.

38 Mann (ed.) 2010, 92

39 Matilde Miquel 2008, 138–139 (for the altarpiece), 345 (for the image).

40 Many thanks to PD Dr. Christina Tuor for this information.

41 Pere Serra, Lluis Borrassa, Altarpiece of the Virgin of Santes Creus, Santes Creus, 1411, Tarragona, Detail of the Dispute between Saint Peter and Moises in Mann (ed.) 2010, 78.

42 Many thanks to PD Dr. Christina Tuor who translated the Hebrew text and remarks that it does not follow the biblical order of Ex. 20, 2–17. On the left panel: "Ich bin Gott … (v. 2) / Missbrauche nicht… (v. 7) / Ehre deinen Vater (v. 12) / Du sollst nicht ehebrechen (v. 14) / Du sollst nicht falsch zeugen (v.16)." On the right panel: "Nicht sollst du haben… (v. 3) / Gedenke des Tages… (v.8) / Du sollst nicht morden (v.13) / Du sollst nicht stehlen (v. 15) / Du sollst nicht begehren… (v. 17)." Christina Tuor, e-mail received on 8 September 2014.

43 "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery. /You shall have no other gods before me. / You shall not make for yourself a carved image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. / You shall not bow down to them or serve them, for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, / but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments. / You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain. / Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. / Six days you shall labor, and do all your work, / but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, your male servant, or your female servant, or your livestock, or the sojourner who is within your gates. / For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy. / Honor your father and your mother: that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you. / You shall not murder. / You shall not commit adultery. / You shall not steal. / You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour. / You shall not covet your neighbour's house; you shall not covet your neighbour's wife, or his male servant, or his female servant, or his ox, or his donkey, or anything that is your neighbour's." Ex. 20,2–17.

44 Mann (ed.) 2010, 41.

45 On these comments, see Soussen 2013, 175–189.

Fig. 8.9: Lluis Borrassa, Guerau Gener, and Pere Serra, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1411 (prov. Monastery of Santes Creus). Tarragona, Cathedral.

been, they reflected a cultural context that was becoming more difficult for the Jews. Pogroms were taking place at the middle of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, during the Shepherds' Crusades (1251; 1320), and violent acts were perpetrated against Jews on Good Friday, after the Black Death (1348). Despite this difficult situation, there were Jewish scholars working at the court of Aragon, such as Abraham ibn Ezra of Tudela. Vivian Mann indicates that the depiction of correct Hebrew texts like the one we can read in the books of the Jewish scholars in Tarragona could indicate the potential participation of *conversos* in creating this scene. Moreover, in Dominican and Augustine exegesis, we can find references to Jewish scholars.[46] Henk Schoot has mentioned that St Thomas Aquinas was in Paris at the same time as Pablo Christiani. Although St Thomas criticizes Jewish interpretations of the Bible in his *Summa contra gentiles*, he makes few references to the Talmud.[47] This shows that Judaism was considered a different religion because of the Talmud, even though it was also considered as a forerunner of Christianity by Dominicans. The Talmud was used against the Jews to show the differences in faith, but the Hebrew text of the Old Testament

46 Schoot/Valkenberg 2004, 51–70.
47 Schoot/Valkenberg, 2004, 55.

Fig. 8.10: Lluis Borrassa, Guerau Gener, and Pere Serra, The Dispute between St Peter and Moses, Altarpiece of the Virgin, 1411 (prov. Monastery of Santes Creus). Tarragona, Cathedral.

was praised for its truth. St Thomas based his interest in Jewish theology on St Augustin's texts, in which we find an objective recognition of the differences in the faith of Christians and Jews, and of the importance of learning Hebrew to understand and correctly translate the Old Testament.[48]

4 Conclusion

The visual construction of Jewish "otherness" in Christian art in the Kingdom of Aragon appears not only in the depiction of signs of distinction, but also in the different manners of transcribing Hebrew script and in the different attitudes of Jews and Christians toward the Holy Scripture. On one hand, we can see that artistic relationships between Jews and Christians continued beyond the period of the Black Death, albeit only rarely. On the other hand, after 1348, criticism was focused on the depiction of the unreadable Hebrew script. But in order to convert Jews, Christian painters inserted details in their images which focus on the knowledge of Hebrew by Jews and *conversos* (e.g. in the altarpiece showing the anti-Jewish legend progressing from right to left, or the Ten Commandments written in Hebrew). Moreover, Hebrew script was used on dresses to underline the Jewishness of biblical figures like St Anne; but contrary to Latin scripts, Hebrew scripts were most of the time unreadable and they had a negative connotation. The importance of translations from Hebrew into Latin is visible in the psalm being read by the Virgin Mary in the altarpiece made for Queen Mary of Navarra, which is meant to emphasize her recognition of both the Old and the New Law.

48 See Schoot/Valkenberg, 2004, 57; Fredriksen 2008, 220, 307–314, 323 explores the question of "rhetoric" and of "historical" Jews in Augustine's commentaries on the Bible.

Depictions of open books with Latin script did not have the same meaning or use as open books with Hebraic script or Hebrew letters being read by Jews. In the context of the disputes between Jews and Christians, the "distinctive" letters hidden in unreadable scripture were used as a stigma to distinguish Jews, who did not want to believe in Christ, "the Word became flesh" (Ioh. 1,14). Moreover, anti-Jewish polemics had a strong influence on the different depictions of Holy Scripture. Its form and its content are parts of the process of the visual construction of Jewish "otherness." The complex depictions of Jewish books and sacred Scripture in Christian altarpieces are different from Jewish images such as those in the haggadot, but the importance of the Old Testament remains the same for both religions. Therefore, the altarpiece in Tarragona also shows readable Hebrew verses of the Old Testament (only the few people who knew how to read Hebrew could understand them). This unique example emphasizes the importance given to Holy Scripture by Christians during the late medieval period in Spain and unveils the boundaries between Jews and Christians in art.

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Romina Ebenhöch/Silke Tammen

9 Wearing Devotional Books

Book-Shaped Miniature Pendants (Fifteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)

1 Introduction (Silke Tammen)

This paper introduces a research topic that might seem foreign to the idea of this volume: inverting, so to speak, the issue of *clothing sacred scripture*, we discuss precious miniature books, which may have been worn as personal and private jewelry on the body. We thus hope that research on miniature books shall complement the idea of *clothing scripture* with that of *clothing the body by books* as protective and devotional media. Late medieval book-shaped pendants show considerably more images than texts and should not be considered containers for sacred scriptures in the strict sense with the exception of one pendant in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien with scenes from the Passion accompanied by brief Gospel citations.[1] Book-shaped pendants rather refer to the book as a *symbolic form* by condensing conceptions of the book as a medium for salvation and memory, as a container corresponding to conceptions of the heart and soul as inner spaces, in a materially precious and technically skilled manner. Thus, the present paper will contribute to the conference's interest in the spatiality of the codex and aspects of performativity regarding the handling of miniature books.

Before Romina Ebenhöch explores some miniature books in detail, I want to approach the idea of wearing books in a rather associative way. I must, however, dampen expectations though right from the beginning: *wearing books* means covering and decorating just a small part of the body with an even smaller book—the book-shaped pendant.

No medieval garments made from actual books are known to us, yet some kind of pragmatic recycling did indeed exist; not only were book covers lined with discarded parchment, but parts of clothing were also lined with parchment. Thus a miter was lined on the inside with a piece of parchment containing a Norwegian love poem dating to about 1270.[2] Only in our present digital era, when material books are sometimes considered rather nostalgically, do we encounter playful practices of clothing oneself in references to education, literature, to whole libraries, and even in artful dresses made of real book pages: a *Pride and Prejudice* scarf with printed writing against a neutral background might cling softly to your neck,[3] whereas some book dresses highlight the book's materiality: the *Library Dress* by New York based fashion designer Maria Cornejo shows a loosely flowing dress printed with a photomontage of a book shelf (2011).[4] Bridal designer Jennifer Pritchard made a dress of 2,500 pages from copies of Angela Carter's *Book of Fairy Tales* for the lecture of the contemporary fairy tale author Claire Massey at the Lancaster Litfest (2010).[5] Both designs are quite astonishing, insofar as that which hitherto served as some kind of clothing for written words (the book cover in the case of the *Library Dress*), or that which first of all enabled the writing's appearance (the page in the case of Pritchard's dress), now cloaks a human body. The dresses are playing with their material *superficiality*, and with the tension between the alluring female body beneath the book covers, spines and pages and their association with intellectuality and education. This tension between corporeality and text, generated by the imagination of tactile contact between book and the female body and its skin has a long history: church father Jerome already links the splendor of clothes and the splendor of books in his *Epistula ad Eustochium*. All in one breath, he first criticizes women for wearing a different dress every day, and then, in the next sentence he criticizes the use of purple, golden ink and precious stones for the ornamentation of manuscripts.[6] In a similar way the poet Eustache

1 See footnote 32.

2 The miter is in Kopenhagen, Den Arnamagnaenske Samling. See the blog-entry "Wearing a book" by Erik Kwakkel (book historian at Leiden University) on the multiple usages of discarded parchment sheets. URL: erikkwakkel.tumblr.com/post (accessed 23.02.2015).

3 "Storiarts. Literary Apparel for your bookish life" sells scarfs, t-shirts, gloves and pillow cases printed with extracts from literary texts.

4 URL:http://www.harpersbazaar.com/culture/art-books-music/news/a4908/zero-maria-cornejo-book-dress-021411/. (accessed 07.04.2017)

5 URL:_http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/lancashire/hi/people_and_places/newsid_9095000/9095535.stm. (accessed 07.04.2017).

6 "But to-day you see many women packing their wardrobes with dresses, putting on a fresh frock every day, and even so unable to get the better of the moth. The more scrupulous sort wear one dress till it is threadbare, but though they go about in rags their boxes are

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Deschamps, in his long enumeration of female covetousness in the *Miroir de Mariage* of around 1400, begins with costly dresses, and other luxury articles like ivory mirrors, and ends the list of things close to the body with a book of hours, bound in golden cloth and adorned with two golden clasps.[7] The connection between clothes for human beings and clothes for books is to be found most intensely in images of devout female readers. Think of the famous full-page miniature in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy with its conspicuous parallel between the splendor of the lady's clothes and the devotional book's green *chemise* and the adjacent veil on the threshold to a church's interior.[8] This leads us, admittedly in a quite suggestive way, onto the track of gender history, in which this decorative, material aspect of book culture, the *clothing* of devotional and sacred scripture appears as gendered female.[9]

In what follows, we wish to pursue another aspect. The correlation between clothing and covering bodies with books may only be understood against the wider background of the roles books played for Christians. Most of all we are interested in the close, even intimate relationship with books suggested by the image of Saint Hedwig (fig. 9.1), clutching to her body small devotional objects: a figurine of the Virgin Mary, a chain of prayer beads fastened with a brooch and a book, all of which seem to almost merge into her rich garb.

If we follow Eric Jager's research on the heart as a book to be imprinted and inscribed, being both open and secret at the same time,[10] and link to that a history of interiority and its media[11], the book appears as an *interface* between the viewer, his breast, and the innermost chamber of his heart and thereby his soul, and Christ, also metaphorized as a book, or else the Virgin Mary.[12] And this aspect again leads us back to considering the carrying and wearing of real books and book-shaped pendants. If we suppose that pendants in the shape of books were worn on the chest as other devotional pendants were, especially under one's shirt, they touch, and if you like, they clothe[13] a certain part of the body: namely the breast, and they aim for the heart lying beneath.[14] This concept takes shape in a sixteenth century brooch that not only shows an opened book framed and protected behind crystal glass, but also cites the beginning of the Gospel of John: "verbum caro factum est/ et habitabit in [n]obis" (fig. 9.2). [15]

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full of clothes. Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted for lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels: and Christ lies at their door naked and dying." *Epistola* 22,32 (ed. Hilberg, 193, transl. Wright, 130–133).

7 "I want Hours of my Lady, appropriate to a noble woman, subtly made with gold and blue […] well covered by a fine cloth of gold and two golden clasps which close it." ("Heures me fault de Nostre Dame,/Si comme il appartient a fame/Venue de noble paraige,/Qui soient de soutil ouvraige,/D'Or et d'azur, riches et cointes,/Bien ordonnées et bien pointes,/De fin drap d'or très bien couvertes,/Deux fermault d'or qui fermeront"). The list continues with items and persons of a well-ordered household. Deschamps/Tarbé (eds.) 1865, 24.

8 Nicolas Sierinc or the "Master of Mary of Burgundy," book of hours, ca. 1475–1480. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1857, fol. 14v.

9 On *chemises/chemisettes* (also called *aumonières*) and other adornments for books see Laffitte 1989, 61–67; Bearman 1996, 163–187 and Reinburg 2012, 78–80. On the material practice of binding books in textiles and the metaphorics of *investiture* see Ganz 2015, esp. 32–63. Signori 1996, 125–167 has noticed in passing that especially depictions of female donors (diocese of Tournai) show them with costly books in textile wrappings. A broader study of the book as a devotional attribute of male and female donors, where such observations should be pursued in more depth, is lacking to my knowledge.

10 See Jager 2000.

11 I am pursuing this relationship further in my research on medieval jewelry. See Tammen 2015, 299–322.

12 For the relationship between book, heart and Christ see Tammen 2011, 229–251.

13 See Blaschitz et. al. 2004, 735–774, here: 740 have commented on the meaning of the verb "schmücken (mhd. *smücken, smucken*)," that meant originally "sich in etwas eng Umschließendes schmiegen, drücken, an sich ziehen" and has been used as a synonym for clothing oneself.

14 The concept of clothing the heart with a book was shaped early and in a complex way in Liuthar's famous dedication double-page to Otto III in the Aachen Book of Gospels. On the left page Liuthar carries a codex in his hands. Written above are the verses: "Hoc Auguste Libro tibi cor D[eu]s induat Otto." The inscription continues under the figure of Liuthar: "Quem de Liuthario te suscepisse memento." ("With this book, which shall remind you of Liuthar, from whom you received it, may God clothe your heart, Emperor Otto"). The page on the other side shows Otto in a mandorla, accompanied by the symbols of the four evangelists as well as by secular and clerical dignitaries. The evangelists hold an empty ribbon in front of Otto's breast. Schneider 2002, 7–35 has shown how Liuthar arrives at the height of the emperor's feet so that he is able to present him the book in a reverential way when clothing these pages. And the words of the text block on the left page—"cor D[eu]s induat"—lie exactly in the middle of the ribbon over the emperor's chest. The previously empty ribbon is now filled with text and may in the context of the evangelist's symbols be understood as a parchment role with the Gospel texts. God's word covers and clothes Otto's heart. A similar concept can be seen in a fresco of the Last Judgment on the western wall of the Cathedral of St Cecily in Albi from ca. 1490, where the resurrected souls appear with opened books above their hearts. See fig. 8 in Jager 2000.

15 The puzzling object, which Romina Ebenhöch found in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello Florence (inv. no. 748 C), is labelled as a "fermaglio di Pluviale," but it seems to be rather small for this representative function. No late medieval cope morse known to me is decorated by a book; a study on post-medieval cope morses does not exist to my knowledge. See Tammen (forthcoming).

Fig. 9.1: Hedwig, Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, and his spouse Agnes of Sagan, Life of St Hedwig (Schlackenwerther Codex), 1353. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XI 7, fol. 12v.

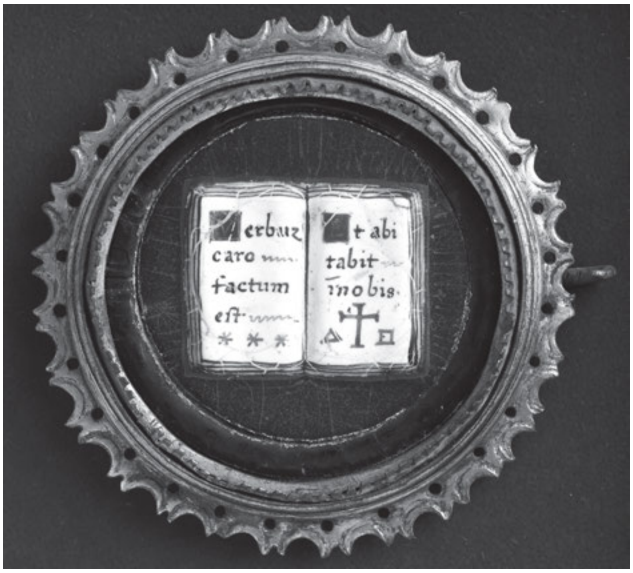

Fig. 9.2: Brooch, sixteenth century. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 748 C.

Brooch and book-shaped pendants can be linked to a widespread practice that is known from Late Antiquity onwards, in which small Gospels and other texts were temporarily or permanently worn on the body as amulets and salvific media in phylacteries, or were even wound around the body as pregnancy sashes.[16] We are only too willing to regard book-shaped pendants as part of this tradition: however, they seldom cloak texts. Instead, they have pages decorated with pictures, and sometimes they are just containers (with long-lost contents)—their external shape cites the idea of the book. When David Ganz interprets the covers of real codices as media for communication and reflections on the books' interior and content in the sense of a broader theory on the relationship between clothing and image,[17] then this may possibly be reinterpreted and broadened to include the human body, decorated with a book-shaped pendant, communicating via this special surface concepts ideally lying within.

2 Book-shaped pendants (Romina Ebenhöch)

The following approach will draw attention to specific book-shaped pendants and the contents that the chest and heart of the wearers of miniature books were meant to be clothed in.[18]

A silver-gilt pendant in the shape of a book, with a height of 2.5 cm, was created in southern Germany, presumably in one of the centers of medieval goldsmithery like Nuremberg or Augsburg in around 1500.[19] Pictures of the Virgin Mary adorn the insides of the gilded covers, thus enclosing six silver sheets with engraved depictions of saints on both sides (fig. 9.3). The silver gilded sheets of another pendant show scenes from the Passion of Christ, which may be associated with engravings by Albrecht Dürer among others, thereby enabling a dating of the pendant to after 1508 (fig. 9.4).[20] These book-shaped pendants are exemplary of a special type of jewelry, the existent pieces of which have never been systematically inventoried, nor have their designs, iconographies and functions been explored so far.[21]

Pieces of jewelry in the shape of books are *hybrid* objects, standing on the allegedly clear medial boundary between book and jewelry. As miniaturized books these objects are closely related to small format books of hours and real miniature books. As ornamental objects they are themselves located at a functional as well as an aesthetic threshold: they are precious status symbols but at the same time intimate pieces of property, reliquaries and amulets as well as objects of a focused and ideally devotional gaze and media of tactile experience.[22]

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16 See Eckstein/Waszink 1958, 407–410. On early Christian practices and objects see Skemer 2006.

17 See Ganz 2015.

18 The considerations elaborated in this article are mainly based on observations I made in Ebenhöch 2014 as well as on preliminary results of my ongoing PhD-project "Bücher tragen. Miniaturbuchanhänger des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Schmückende Pretiosen, Bücher, Miniaturen und Medien der Andacht."

19 Book-shaped pendant ("Berlin Pendant"), of around 1500, gilded silver, 2.7 x 2.5 x 0.7 cm, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 4235.

20 Book-shaped pendant ("Figdor Pendant"), after 1508, gilded silver, 3.5 x 3 cm, location unknown.

21 The pendants are mentioned primarily in digital or published catalogues or inventories, as well as in overviews on goldsmithery and engravings, for example: Fritz 1966, 380; Hefner-Alteneck 1889, 27; Kohlhaussen 1968, 424–25; Rosenberg 1911, 346; Weixlgärtner 1911, 322. Efforts on gathering some pendants under the aspect of their particular book-shape were made by: Forrer 1942, 5–8 and Köster 1979, 177–202. More recent are the brief contributions of: Husemann 1999, 109–110 and Rödiger-Lekebusch 2000, 294–295. My dissertation project *Bücher tragen* (see footnote 18) will assemble the widespread material and study the pendants in a whole range of aspects.

22 An inspiring approach to the correlation of tactile and visual experience with regard to medieval sculpture can be found in Jung 2010, 203–240. The recent anthology *Touch Me, Touch Me Not* relates also to the diversity of tactile experience. See: Benay/Rafanelli (eds.) 2014/2015.

Fig. 9.3: Berlin Pendant, ca. 1500. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 4235.

Books have always been more than bearers of textual information.[23] Still the pendants in the shape of miniature books from around 1500 make us consider whether they possibly permit a view on the visuality and materiality of a book- and prayer-culture at a time when the medium of the handwritten and painted book literally began to *be put under pressure* by printing techniques.[24] The precious pendants refer to the immense importance of books in Christian medieval and early modern cultures in a compressed manner: They condense in a materially precious and technically virtuous way concepts of the book as a medium of salvation and memory, as a container corresponding to the heart and soul, and as realm of experiencing *privacy*, and they embody the tense relationship between visibility and secrecy[25]: They are objects carried now openly, now in a hidden way, which may be closed and opened, and in which pages and their pictures overlap. The book is less interesting in this context as a carrier of scripture than as a container, a basic supposition in the consideration of book-shaped pendants. After all, most of the time they have little to no text, and sometimes they do not even have pages.[26]

According to our current knowledge it seems that book-shaped pendants are a phenomenon of the later Middle Ages. Pendants in the shape of a book with engraved or enameled pictures have come down to us from the second half of the fifteenth century, and became particularly

23 On the explicit materiality and tactility of medieval books see: Bridges 2006, 103–122; Camille 1997, 34–77; Camille 2001, 33–53; Ganz 2015; Rudy 2011, 1–56.

24 See Müller 1988, 203–217; Tammen 2011, 229–251.

25 See Moos 1998, 3–83; Keller 1997, 353–376.

26 Exemplary for that is a group of pendants mostly in reverse glass painting partly collected by Forrer 1942, 5–8. Another object that could be added to his group of pendants is now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, inv. no. W 46.1.

Fig. 9.4: Figdor Pendant, after 1508. Formerly Vienna, Collection Dr. Albert Figdor, current location unknown.

popular in the sixteenth century.[27] The absence of book-shaped pendants prior to the middle of the fifteenth century,[28] and their sudden rise in popularity from 1500 onwards, is in need of explanation. The evidence indicates a connection between the establishment of book-shaped pendants and the above-mentioned development of prints as well as the innovations in book printing. Apart from that we must consider the rise in popularity of books of hours from the thirteenth century onward, books that were also increasingly seen as prestigious objects, and were sometimes carried close to the body. The growing popularity of small-sized books of hours may well have supported the development of book-shaped pendants,[29] dynamically correlative to other objects of private devotion. Devotional jewelry emerges already in the late twelfth century, in the course of a general change towards devotional practices performed in private. Precious pendants in the shape of double-sided medallions, diptychs and triptychs are found apart from the large-scale production of pilgrim's badges.[30] These objects and the book pendants have many features in common: they can be opened and closed, are foldable as well as multilayered. Especially pendants in the shape of diptychs and triptychs are proof of the transfer of publicly accessible church equipment via private house altars and diptychs to miniaturized pendants, which are in direct contact with their wearers.

We may distinguish between two distinct groups of pendants despite the multifariousness of their designs: there are those pendants, designed, so to say, in a purely material way, as *actual books* with metal pages to be turned, and those with only an outward book shape and volume without any pages. The second group, stemming mostly from the sixteenth century, citing the book shape and staging the book as a container, has the larger number of objects. First and foremost, we find objects in this group ornamented mainly with religious images in reverse glass painting as well as enamel or engravings, which most likely could have had the function of reliquaries.[31] Only five objects have been found and classified as book-shaped pendants with pages so far, ranging between the end of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century.[32]

27 More difficult than the pendants allocation in time is their assignment to a place or region of origin. Some exemplars from the group of book-shaped pendants with metal pages made around 1500 can be situated in southern Germany.

28 An understanding of some early medieval pendants as *book*-shaped, a hypothesis advanced by Köster 1979, 177–202 has still to be verified, and so too does the absence of book-shaped jewelry in western Europe between the tenth and the fourteenth century.

29 The correlation between books of hours and book-shaped pendants has still to be examined, since the regional classification of the pendants turns out to be problematic (see footnote 27). Hamburger 2013, 97–152 has shown that other than in France books of hours were much less popular in Germany prior to the middle of the fifteenth century and only then began to spread more widely, especially in southern Germany. This is interesting since at least four of five of the early book-shaped pendants come from this region.

30 Evans 1970; Lightbown 1992; Fritz 1982; Campbell 2009; Tammen 2015; Rinn 2017.

31 See Forrer 1942, 5–8.

32 Four of them are accessible in the museums in Berlin (Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 4235), Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. KK 9023), Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. inv. no. MAR.M.281–1912) and Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. WA2013.1.27). The pendant in Oxford most probably can be linked to a pendant published by Hefner-Alteneck 1889, 27 (plate 504 H, I) while the location of a pendant that is known only through photographs published by Rosenberg 1911, 346–348 (figs. 38–53) is still unknown. The pendant in Vienna dating to the second half of the fifteenth century is the only pendant in this group with a combination of images and texts: its pages show scenes of Christ's Passion against a crimson enameled background which also make use of the covers' outer sides that start with the Betrayal and end with the Resurrection. The two-line inscriptions on the lower margin of each page explaining the scenes are abbreviated citations from the Gospels of John and Matthew.

3 Underneath the book's covers

In the following, two book-shaped pendants shall be discussed. With a view to some of the present volume's leading questions, I will particularly concentrate on the aspects of enclosure, materiality and tactility of book-shaped pendants.

3.1 Berlin Pendant: Mary as envelope

The perception of the Berlin pendant's pages is structured by a differentiation between images of the Virgin Mary on the one hand and images of saints on the other (fig. 9.3). The figure of the Virgin Mary can be found on both of the gilded interior sides of the book's front and back covers; the first is an image of the Virgin Mary in an aureole (*Strahlenkranzmadonna*), the second shows her as *Anna Selbdritt* (fig. 9.5a,b). There are clear signs of abrasion, especially in the middle of the images, where the infant Jesus is shown. They bear witness to the devout handling of the book by its user and give some indication of its function, which was not limited to the visual aspect at all. The silver interior shows a single saint from the canon of the fourteen auxiliary saints on each page respectively and a Mass of St Gregory (fig. 9.5d). The saints are arranged in pairs according to their gender or rank, starting with Christopher as auxiliary saint of travels and proceeding with Catherine, Barbara, Erasmus, Denis, Vitus, Giles, Blaise, Margaret, Eustace and George.

The well-considered design of the covers' interior, lying as a protective coat around the engraved pages, helps to charge the pendant symbolically, evoking analogies to the idea of God's mother as a container giving life to salvation. The well-known metaphorical link between the book and Mary is important for an understanding of the Berlin Pendant's inner book covers: in written sources Mary's virginal womb can be likened to a precious container and a blank page being written upon by God.[33] However, the covers presenting a *Strahlenkranzmadonna* and Mary as *Anna Selbdritt* do not *clothe* scenes of the life of Christ, as might be expected, but instead show a collection of saints: the metaphoric potential of incarnation implied by the pendant's inner covers has not been exhausted. (Another pendant in Hannover shows a similar understanding of Mary as a container by presenting an engraved scripture recounting the words of the Angelic Salutation. The words are placed on a scroll starting on the inner side of the back's cover with AVE MARIA GRACI[A] and continuing on the inner side of the front's cover with PLENA DOMIN[US] TEC[UM]. These covers were obviously meant to protect something precious, which has now been lost.)[34]

The Berlin Pendant's images of saints, as full-page frontal representations, enter into a direct dialogue with the viewer – with the exception of the booklet's last pages, with the dramatically moving figure of St George seen from behind (fig. 9.5c), and the following Mass of St Gregory in half profile on its verso (fig. 9.5d). The first picture of the booklet—the apocalyptic Madonna in the aureole—can be linked with the energetic fighting scene of St George: his image as an ideal of combative virtue relates closely to the iconography of Archangel Michael. Not only does he fight with Satan, but his role as the weigher of souls during the Last Judgment implies the hope for individual salvation. For this reason it was even more important to provide for the salvation of one's own soul in the mortal world already. The fight of St George visualizes this strife against evil, but salvation might be also reached through prayer and meditation. Pope Sixtus IV is reputed to have granted indulgence for 11,000 years when saying a prayer to the Virgin Mary in front of the *Strahlenkranzmadonna* in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[35] Also the images of *Anna Selbdritt* and the Mass of St Gregory were connected with the promise of indulgence.[36] Whereas the user of the booklet could directly turn to the front image of the Virgin Mary during his/her prayer, the Mass of St Gregory does not give an immediate counterpart. We see the pope in front of an altar, a book resting on it, and the visionary appearance of Christ (which is in some way irritating, seeming more a crucified Christ than the Man of Sorrows to be expected in this iconography). By showing St Gregory's back from the lateral perspective, in prayer on his knees, the picture confronts the viewer with his or her own posture in devout prayer. The opened book on the

33 See Schreiner 1970, 651–664.

34 Book-shaped pendant, ca. 1500, 4.2 x 3.2 cm, Hannover, Museum August Kestner, inv. no. 3468. Maybe in this context we can also understand fifteenth century designs of book-clasps with engraved inscriptions relating to Mary: a book-clasp created in Ulm around 1470 shows the inscription *MARIA* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 1502). A book-clasp created in Augsburg around 1470 cites parts of the Angelic Salutation AVE MARIA GRACIA (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ink. III 9765). On the clasp of a Dutch book of hours (around 1460) a round medallion with a painted image of the Mother of God behind a transparent horn plate has been mounted (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 7). Similar to a brooch closing a mantle the medallion connects the two book covers.

35 See Ringbom 1962, 326–330, esp. 326.

36 See Griese 2011, esp. 311–336. For the Mass of St Gregory see Meier 2006; Gormans/Lentes (ed.) 2007.

(a) (b) (c) (d)

Fig. 9.5a–d: Berlin Pendant, ca. 1500. Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 4235.

altar meets the actual pendant in the hand of its beholder. Whereas the book on the altar might be a Gospel book or a sacramentary, the booklet has a different function: it contains a collection of popular images well known to its user from other contexts and media. Because of their popularity these images don't need to be very detailed or precise since they correlate with—as well as activate—a store of inner images already internalized in the beholder's memory. In this light, it does not really matter that the tiny retable in the Mass of St Gregory shows the crucified Christ and not the Man of Sorrows.[37] The last image in the booklet's interior—an image within an image, blurred and imperfect – seems strangely fitting: the Mass of St Gregory can accordingly be considered as a point of reflection, in which the viewer finally understands the book and its images as a medium, as an exterior medium supporting interior visions.

The shape of the book pendant already alludes to a sense of interiority, reinforced by its small format and the surrounding images of the Virgin Mary. Through them the viewer is confronted with his own corporeality, and they possibly motivate him to turn his focus inward, to the metaphorical book of his heart: it is an interior that needs to be shaped by devout prayers and salvific pictures or in which the word of God, as the brooch in Florence suggests, may find a dwelling.[38]

3.2 Figdor Pendant: Christ re/veiled

The iconographic program of this pendant from the collection Figdor, dissolved in 1930 and lost without a trace since then, is more homogenous than the Berlin Pendant. It shows 16 engraved scenes from the life of Christ, especially the Passion, on its covers' interior sides and seven pages. The background of the outer covers is decorated in a smooth manner in contrast to the protruding five rosettes and hinge. With the Annunciation as prelude and the Crucifixion as finale, the narrative frame is closed. While the focus of the first three pages is on Mary as mother of God (Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi), the center of attention in the last three images is Christ's suffering on the cross (Carrying and Raising of the Cross, Crucifixion). In between, the accusation and torture scenes unfold in great detail (Circumcision, Entry in Jerusalem, Agony in the garden, Christ before Hannas and before Kaiphas, Flagellation, Crowning with thorns, Ecce Homo, Christ before Pontius Pilate).

The mystery of Christ's divine nature is being addressed by cloth and curtains alluding to limited visibility. In the booklet's scene of the circumcision (fig. 9.6), the curtain, still opened on both sides in the woodcut by Dürer, which served as a model (fig. 9.7), is closed. This *veiling* probably points to the threatening future, namely the crucifixion on the pendant's final page. The beholder might have thought about the tearing of the temple curtain – which is not shown in the crucifixion scene.[39] Instead the closed curtain in the background of the circumcision scene introduces a limit to visibility, which seems to prevent any view into the temple's sanctuary. The curtain might allude to Christ's double nature and to the limits of human capacities of sight and insight.[40] Apart from that the maker of the pendant did not thematize Christ's divine nature: the omission of an image of the Resurrection is quite conspicuous in this context. For the pendant's ideal user, the human nature of God's son seemed easier to relate to: for example, in Christ's beseeching prayer on the Mount of Olives to let the cup pass from him. And in no other scene is Christ within the pendant's user's grasp to the extent that he is on the Flagellation page (fig. 9.4), where he is exposed to the pendant's user's eyes and hands and likewise to his torturers.

We cannot say certain things on the tactile use of the object. Weixlgärtner mentions a smoothing in several places of the gilding.[41] The last page though with the image of the crucifixion (fig. 9.8), following a copperplate print by Dürer (fig. 9.9), gives an indication of the pendant maker's conception of an ideal user/viewer and her or his tactile desires: the figure of John was scaled down, in contrast to the evangelist in Dürer's print, in order to bring into line his folded and expressively uplifted hands, the knot of Jesus' loincloth, and the booklet's clasp.[42]

37 We thank Barbara Schellewald for this insight.
38 See footnote 15.

39 Matth. 27,51 and Marc. 15,38 report the tearing of the temple's veil. This veil means Christ's flesh in Hebr. 10,19–20. For the christological allegorization of the veil see Eberlein 1982.
40 On the use of curtains which stand not only for the body of Christ but also for limits of representation and seeing see Rimmele 2011.
41 See Weixlgärtner 1911, 322.
42 A similar *Scharnierfunktion* of the loincloth of Christ (although emphasized in a different manner) on a Gospel cover (Aribert Gospel, around 1030/40, Milan, Museo del Duomo) is mentioned by Ganz 2015, 119.

Fig. 9.6: Circumcision, Figdor Pendant, after 1508. Formerly Vienna, Collection Dr. Albert Figdor, current location unknown, p. 2v.

Fig. 9.7: Albrecht Dürer, Circumcision, 1504, woodcut.

4 Sight and touch

The determining aspect of both pendants that all other design principles are subject to, is their small size. They do not merely scale-down the book-shape like real miniature books, having concrete texts on inscribed parchment or paper, but they condense them into their functional essence of being containers. There is no miniaturised scripture stored in them, but instead there are engraved images of holy persons and narratives like the Passion of Christ.

The combined materials and intricate construction reinforce the functional ambivalence of the book as a concealing, but at the same time revealing medium. The gold and silver of the book pendants provoke a shimmering of their surfaces under certain circumstances of lighting.[43] The shimmering surface always allows only a part of the images to be visible at the same time, confronting the viewer with a certain kind of unavailability (*Unverfügbarkeit*), suggesting the limitations of earthly perception.[44] When comparing the Berlin Pendant and the Figdor Pendant, it becomes obvious that their devotional function is not exclusively determined by their images. The pendant itself takes over this task as well, enabling an encounter with Christ, Mary and the saints in close view, focused and thereby devotional, on the basis of its small size and its haptic qualities in combination with the images.[45] In contrast to the visual experience of an elusive shimmering stands the experience of touching the

43 It is very likely that the Figdor Pendant, similar to the Berlin Pendant, has been created without adding any color, thus emphasizing the materials' own particular qualities and color (silver and gilded silver).

44 See Lechtermann/Wandhoff (eds.) 2008; Schellewald 2014, 237–251; Husemann 1999, esp. 200–201, 218–219 is also interested in the "lichthafte Wirkung" of materials such as mother of pearl and goldsmiths' techniques in the fifteenth century, which she connects with the metaphoric meaning of the mirror.

45 My dissertation project will pursue the question of the small format and miniaturization further. Apart from discussing (late) medieval discourses on smallness it will draw on the inspiring works of Mack 2007 and Stewart 2007 and her discussion of miniatures as media of interiority and "as both an experience of interiority and the process by which that interior is constructed." See Stewart 2007, 37.

Fig. 9.8: Crucifixion, Figdor Pendant, back cover (inner side), gilded silver, after 1508. Formerly Vienna, Collection Dr. Albert Figdor, current location unknown.

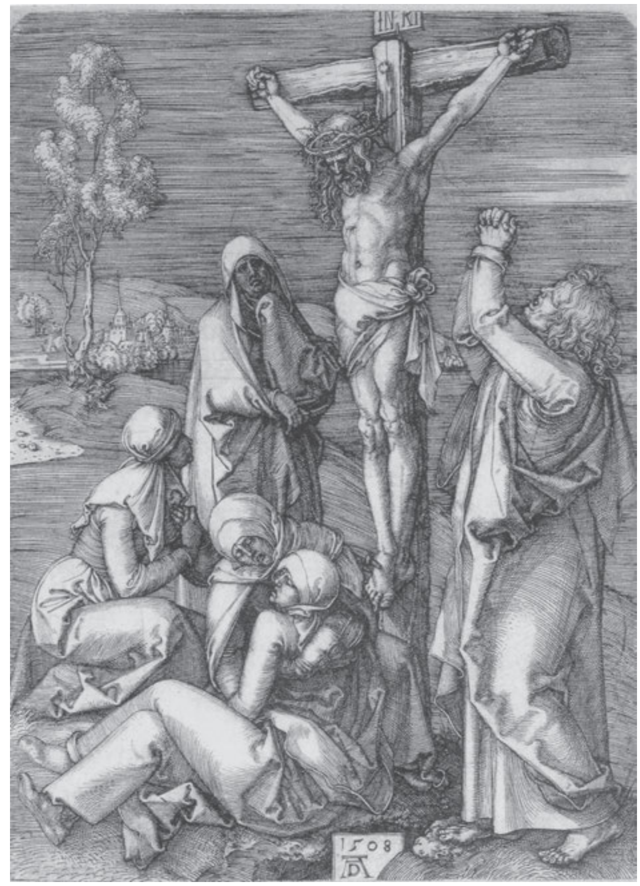

Fig. 9.9: Albrecht Dürer, Crucifixion, 1508, engraving.

pendant's engraved surface which epitomizes the aspect of durable memory.[46]

Approaching the question on how book shaped pendants were actually worn by studying the pictorial evidence of jewelry on portraits, it is surprising that there is not a single trace of them, except the very special group of girdle prayer books worn at the court of Henry VIII.[47] Nevertheless we can assume that book-shaped pendants were worn close to the body as were rosaries, reliquary pendants, rings, and brooches. Perhaps they were worn concealed under clothes[48]; they might also have been hung from the neck, or lay within the hand, or were fastened to a belt or hung on a rosary and were thereby connected to another medium of prayer. As soon as any object of jewelry was worn, viewing them was difficult for the wearer. This distance between seeing and touching might however have been bridged when the pendant lay in the viewer's hand and could realise its full visual potential there. The object, but also the images contained within, are gazed at and touched, and the images—at least in the normative ideal case of successful devotion—internalized as well.[49]

The images of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus on the Berlin Pendant's interior sides of the cover show signs of abrasion (fig. 9.5a,b). The hands of John are brought onto the same level as the crucified Christ and the booklet's clasp by the image's structure in the crucifixion scene of the Figdor Pendant (fig. 9.8, 9.9). But apart from the images, it is the book itself which is being touched. Its outer sides are three-dimensional, and handling the clasps as well as turning the pages is a sensual experience that also calls for dexterity and delicacy of touch. When opening the cover and turning the pages, the viewer enters

46 We thank Barbara Schellewald for this stimulating thought. Whereas the metaphor of writing upon the leaves of the heart or imprinting them like tablets of wax was widespread (see Jager 2000), the potential of engraving as a metaphor of memory remains still to be explored.

47 See Tait 1985, 29–57.

48 Regarding reliquary pendants see Lightbown 1992, 222: "We know little of how such containers were worn, but St Isabel of Portugal wore her crystal reliquary pendant suspended from a gold chain." Evans 1970, 74 quotes an exemplary passage of an inventory of Louis of Anjou of the 1380s, in which "petis reliquiaires d'or à porter sur soy" are mentioned. See also Tammen 2015.

49 See Lentes 2002, 177–220.

into a relationship with the object and its images, an interrelationship reaching farther than mere gazing. It manifests an intimate moment in the individual approach to an object of private devotion. Its properties unfold during the visual and tactile experience of the open booklet as they do when it is closed and worn on the body.

Like the girdle prayer books of the sixteenth century popular at the court of Henry VIII, the pendants become a part of the wearer's clothes the moment they are worn, and they are located at the boundary between interior and exterior, a boundary repeated in the shape of the book as a richly clothed medium with a hidden interior. Additionally, the Berlin Pendant is not only clothed in a precious gilded cover, but also encompasses the images on its pages with representations of the Virgin Mary, who like no other is able to visualize the metaphor of cloaking and clothing.

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Part IV: **Spatial Aspects**

Tina Bawden

10 Observations on the Topological Functions of Color in Early Medieval Christian Illuminated Manuscripts

Color has played a role for script from the earliest text cultures onwards.[1] It is one of the simplest ways of attracting attention to divine words and therefore central to religious books. In the context of the medieval codex, script is variously colored for purposes of display and emphasis, creating visual interest as much as structuring a text page by highlighting, connecting or distinguishing different units. Inventions particular to the book or even the codex format, such as elaborate initials, rubrics and glosses often rely on color for their effect as structuring techniques. Color can also be applied to very different effect: as well as guiding and structuring the perception and reception of texts it can relate to the material qualities of books and their status. Certain pigments add material worth to the book, most notably gold and silver; writing in gold (chrysography) and silver (argyrography) imbues the text with dignity or mystery, as much to impress or dazzle the reader as to provide legible words.[2]

Color is a basic strategy of "clothing" books, which applies equally to script, ornament and image in medieval codices. The concept of color in itself unites the material and the perceptual, meaning the material pigment as well as the visual experience. It therefore combines two connected senses of adornment relevant to this volume—clothing by adding matter to an object, and clothing as directing the visual experience of books and texts—determining our approach to them.

Within medievalist scholarship, color has been recognized as an important cultural material and concept on many levels. Looking at different aspects of color, studies have shed light on economic, linguistic, and religious contexts as diverse as pigment trade, color terms, or medieval color symbolism.[3] In contrast to the wealth of publications on these aspects of color, there are few explicit investigations of color use in specific manuscripts.[4] While art historians often draw on color to discuss questions related to the production of manuscripts—painting technique, attribution or style—the effect of color and therefore issues concerning the reception and perception of manuscripts are generally sidelined. As one of the last steps in the production process of book illumination, color is usually seen as an embellishment of what has already been laid out on the page in script and outline drawing, an adjunct to form: "Writing and drawing were a coordinated phase in their working procedure; color, a separate step entirely, provided decorative frill." [5] Color is seen as supporting (or more often confusing) a visual approach to a picture which leads to its adequate comprehension, but not as determining the structure of the picture. It is precisely the supposed distance from script, in terms of technique, which has often led to an implicit or explicit understanding of color as the least cognitive step in the adequate illumination of (sacred) texts. Recent studies on Byzantine art and early medieval manuscripts have shown, however, that color was used in a very thoughtful and complex way, and that it could structure, could be relevant iconographically and could have interpretive functions.[6]

By examining the topological functions of color, I would like to explore structuring functions of color further and take a closer look at the connections between surface pattern and structures relevant to perception and comprehension, between embellishment and complex meaning. Accordingly, the visual significance of color for the book is of particular interest. To what extent does color, its presence and distribution, as well as the combination of colors, participate in establishing visual patterns and structures which promote comprehension and invite further interpretation of books and texts? Color is

1 For a discussion of color and script, see Ernst 1994.

2 See Janes 1998 for the early Christian association of gold and divinity.

3 An overview from an art historical point of view is given by Pulliam 2012; for further references, see also Ernst 1994.

4 The following publications on specific manuscripts or areas of book production explicitly investigate color: Alexander 1975; Bolman 1999; Pulliam 2013.

5 Holcomb 2009, 5, writing on the ninth century initials of the Corbie Psalter; for a similar comment on the Utrecht Psalter, see ibid., 10.

6 See especially publications by Liz James and Heather Pulliam, for example James 2003, and Pulliam 2013.

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studied in a dual role, in its relevance with regard to pictorial content and in its relevance to the material fabric and the topology of the book.

In the context of this paper, the "topology of the codex" refers to the material and conventional preconditions presented by the codex for ordering visual information. The codex format differs significantly from the scroll in topological terms. It provides distinct units (book cover, openings, folios, pages), which can be related to one another by opening and closing the book and by turning its pages. In addition to these physical properties there are a variety of principles for ordering visual information, such as the *mise en page*, columns, margins and borders. Together, these flexible preconditions provide a structure which may be, and in the Middle Ages was, understood in spatial terms. The notion of the book as space is not only in line with medieval conceptions and metaphors of the book, but it also enables new perspectives on the materiality of the book as reflected in its visual appearance.[7] In particular, it allows us to address the relationship between the space of the book and its semantics on the one hand, and the spaces constructed by the texts and images it contains on the other.[8] Religious books and particularly those containing sacred scripture mediate between sacred persons and realms and their readers and viewers, acting as thresholds in both directions, "gateways to revelation" and "portals of prayer."[9]

In order to study the ways in which this notion of the book is reflected graphically within manuscripts and consider the range of topological functions color could have in early medieval manuscripts, the following observations draw on a variety of images (narrative, hieratic, dedicatory and marginal) from different types of Christian books. These include books of the mass, not only those for the readings of scripture, a Gospel book and a Gospel lectionary, but also a benedictional (containing blessings to be spoken as part of mass or liturgical celebrations), and a troper (a collection of tropes for the chant). There are also two examples from Psalters (used in the liturgy of hours), and one example from a non-liturgical poetic manuscript. While a large number of Gospel books with sumptuous color have survived from the early medieval period, and there is no doubt that this is to be seen in connection with their status as sacred books, color and specifically its topological functions, are not limited to scripture. Rather than looking only at books containing scripture, therefore, this paper discusses color and its topological functions as aspects of the "aesthetics of inlibration" which was formed by, and itself formed, Christian religion and worship more generally.[10]

1 Thresholds of color

One of the simplest instances of a spatially relevant use of color, both in terms of artistic skill and in conceptual terms, is demonstrated by miniatures in a variety of book types: color was used to draw attention to borders and thresholds in order to comment on the accessibility of these spaces or to generally characterize them further. It can be observed in particular in the depiction of heaven and hell, as two examples from different manuscript contexts may illustrate. The drawings by the first artist of the Anglo-Saxon Caedmon Manuscript have a very reduced palette of colors, and red and brown are predominant. On page 20, Satan's messenger leaves hell to tempt Adam and Eve.[11] The brown reserved for hell and its inhabitants has been used to fill in the entrance of hell. Together with the motif of the pole and the elaborate knots which tie Satan to the ground, this visually emphasizes hell as a place which is now—at least for Satan himself—impermeable and locked.[12]

The Last Judgment miniature in a Bavarian Psalter was executed with an equally reduced palette (fig. 10.1).[13] Here, a strip of light orange appears behind the door to heaven which has just been opened by the angel, emphasizing this threshold to the place of divine light. Folio 168r has the only outline drawing in a manuscript containing several fully painted historiated initials and one other framed initial page (the *Beatus vir* page, also with a historiated initial and painted display script). The drawing

7 On the book as (sacred) space, see Brown 2007; Müller/Saurma-Jeltsch/Strohschneider (eds.) 2009, esp. Reudenbach 2009.

8 This is the central interest of my research project "Topologies of the Codex: Space in Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts." The project was supported by the Freie Universität Berlin within the Excellence Initiative of the German Research Foundation.

9 Brown 2007, 50.

10 See David Ganz's introduction to this volume.

11 Ca. 950–1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 20. For color images of this manuscript, search http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

12 On p. 36, the messenger returns to hell, which is now rendered as a circular place with a broad border which has been completely filled with color. On the important role of p. 20 in the context of the manuscript, see Karkov 2001, 11–12. Color symbolism pervades the depictions of hell, see Karkov 2001, 33–34, with some comments on color.

13 Bavaria, late eleventh century, 27.1 x 19.6 cm. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 161, fol. 168r. For color images of this manuscript, search http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de. The light orange is probably lead red (minium), which varies in hue depending on its preparation.

Fig. 10.1: Last Judgement, Bavarian Psalter, late eleventh century. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 161, fol. 168r.

is situated at the end of the Athanasian creed, which refers to the Last Judgment in its concluding lines. It mixes brown and orange outlines in the upper half of the picture. In the lower half, the two colors are used to distinguish elements of clothing and motifs such as haloes and the books held by the symbols of the evangelists.

While they are very different in all other respects, both of these miniatures show that color is not a concern limited to painting. Color is employed selectively to add emphasis to form. In both these cases, it fills in the liminal motif of an entrance as a way of further characterizing the place this leads to. The colors chosen for the entrance to hell (brown instead of red in the Caedmon Manuscript) and heaven (orange instead of brown in the Psalter in Karlsruhe) also indicate that the symbolism in these early medieval manuscripts builds on a distinction between brightness and darkness of color, rather than hue, in a way that is parallel to the color symbolism Liz James has described for Byzantine art.[14]

Pictorial techniques which combine drawing with a selective use of color were particularly evolved in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[15] Two miniatures famous for this

14 See, for example, James 2003, 224.

15 For these mixed techniques, I follow the terminology developed by Sally Dormer, Dormer 1991. The Psalter from Karlsruhe indicates that these were not exclusive to Anglo-Saxon England, though artists here possibly created the most idiosyncratic examples. Other centers

Fig. 10.2: Bishop and Congregation, Benedictional of Æthelwold, between 971 and 984. London, British Library, Add. 49598, fol. 118v.

technique show color being employed more decisively as a spatial marker. In the Benedictional of Æthelwold, the last miniature depicts a bishop, presumably Æthelwold himself, standing in front of an altar holding a golden book and pronouncing a blessing in front of a congregation of clerics, monks and lay people who occupy two levels of a church building (fig. 10.2).[16] The miniature has been executed in two different techniques, red outline drawing and full paint. It differs significantly from the preceding 27 miniatures in the Benedictional which preface the benedictions for further feasts, all of which are fully painted and have elaborate frames. The combination of painting and outline drawing has led some scholars to believe that the miniature has simply been left unfinished, an interpretation that Robert Deshman has argued against very convincingly.[17] He points in particular to the different stages of Anglo-Saxon

of manuscript production which employ mixed techniques are St Gall from the ninth century onwards, and Northern France (Saint-Vaast and Saint-Amand) in the eleventh century, as well as Regensburg in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

16 Benedictional of Æthelwold, Winchester (?), between 971 and 984, 29.3 x 22.5 cm. London, British Library, Add. 49598, fol. 118v. For color images of this manuscript, search http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/.

17 See Deshman 1995, 139–140, for the following observations.

manuscript illumination, arguing that it would be highly unusual to find certain areas of the miniature completely finished, i.e. already embellished with gold, and others merely at the first stage of outline drawing. Further, the scribe has left a gap in the text for the weather vane which indicates that an irregular outline of the miniature must have been intended from the start, instead of a more level frame as in the preceding miniatures.

Within the artistic program of the Benedictional, the shift in technique and layout indicates the difference in subject matter: while the other full-page miniatures depict sacred historical persons or events, this miniature shows contemporary persons and a liturgical rite. It prefaces the feast of the dedication of the church, and as such a rite with more significance attached to the actual physical setting of its celebration, the church building, than is the case with the feast day of a saint. This may explain the emphasis on architecture and the lack of an additional frame. The area emphasized by the addition of color corresponds to the liturgical focal point and most sacred place in any medieval Christian church building, the altar. In relation to a generic church building, color in the miniature designates a space of higher liturgical importance; by visually tying together the objects and the agent associated with the space, color defines the space in terms of action and movement. Formally, however, it is not the altar, but the bishop who is placed centrally under the ciborium.

This emphasis on a particular figure is also found in the only full-page miniature of the Arundel (or Eadwig) Psalter from Christ Church, Canterbury (fig. 10.3).[18] The manuscript is famous for containing the portrait of a monk believed to be a self-portrait of Eadwig/Eadui Basan. St Benedict is presenting his Rule to the Christ Church community in an open book. At his feet, Eadui offers the Psalter (the book is inscribed "lib[er] ps[almorum]") in return. The figure of Benedict is rendered in a combination of full color wash and gold leaf which distinguishes him from the group of monks depicted in shadowed outline drawing. While in the Benedictional miniature both the bishop and the congregation are part of the same liturgical rite, in the Psalter the contrast of painting and drawing indicates the gulf that separates Benedict from the community in temporal and spiritual regard, with the hand of God in the arch above adding a third tier. The painted areas both in the Benedictional and in the Psalter miniatures emphasize the space of a figure with an exalted status, whose role, however, is that of a mediator. In the Benedictional, it is the bishop who, by pronouncing the benediction, passes on the divine power he has received from God.[19] The open book he holds with the help of an assistant, presumably the Benedictional, is located outside the altar space according to the drawn architectural borders, but in terms of color it is firmly associated with the altar.[20] In the Psalter, the scroll issuing from the hand of God in the spandrel of the arch directs the words "Qui vos audit me audit" ("he who hears you hears me," Luc. 10,16) at Benedict, emphasizing the saint's role as an intermediary.

In both miniatures, color marks an area of mediation between the human and the divine spheres. As indicated by the book-in-the-book motif, this threshold is accessed through the respective book itself. In the Benedictional, this argument is established by drawing the analogy between the bishop's painted realm with the preceding and fully painted miniatures containing sacred events and persons. In the Psalter, it focuses on the figure of Eadui, prostrate and yet confidently included in Benedict's realm. When looking at the miniatures, our eyes are drawn to the painted areas first, therefore similarly entering the picture on the second rung of the ladder of grace in spatial and spiritual terms. As both of these miniatures come from a Benedictine monastic context, it is quite possible that the mixed technique employed here was intended to turn the visual encounter with the miniatures into a humbling experience. In the Psalter, this is emphasized in the inscriptions, several of which refer to the virtue of humility.[21] After all, the figures assuming a receiving position

18 Between 1012 and 1023, 31.0 x 20.5 cm. London, British Library, Arundel 155, fol. 133r. On the technique of this and the Benedictional miniature, see Dormer 1991, 145–147; Karkov 2011, 205–207. For color images of this manuscript, search http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm.

19 The manuscript's dedication poem (fol. 4v–5r) emphasizes both Æthelwold's and the book's intermediary roles: "This book the Boanerges aforesaid caused to be indited for himself and in order that he might be able to sanctify the people of the Saviour by means of it and pour forth holy prayers to God for the flock committed to him" ("craxare hunc sibi prescriptus fecit boanarges / idcirco ut soteris populum in biblo potuisset / sanctificare, deoque preces effundere sacras / pro grege commisso"). English text after Deshman 1995, 148; Latin text after Lapidge 1975, Appendix II, 105–106.

20 For a similar position of a book both in terms of represented architectural space and in terms of color, compare the dedication image in an Educational Miscellany: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14272, fol. 1r. I am grateful to Anna Bücheler for directing my attention to this miniature. For a color reproduction, see Cohen 2000, color plate 16.

21 Other pictorial elements of the miniature emphasize humility, for example the stubble on the faces of St Benedict and Eadui. I thank Michelle Brown for drawing my attention to this context, which she has dealt with in a recent article: Brown 2011, esp. 286. Other manuscripts which appear to employ a mixed technique to highlight

Fig. 10.3: Saint Benedict, Arundel Psalter, between 1012 and 1023. London, British Library, Arundel 155, fol. 133r.

in the miniatures, one which corresponds to our role as readers and viewers of the manuscript, are rendered with a sparse amount of color.

Despite being diverse in terms of the techniques of drawing and painting employed, the miniatures analyzed so far can all be comprehended in terms of the absence and presence of areas of (any) color, with specific characteristics such as hue or intensity only secondary concerns. The presence of pigment in itself adds further value and meaning to spaces pictorially constructed. Matters are more complex when it is the combination and distribution of different colors which is of spatial relevance.

2 Color as frame and the topology of the page

The troper fragment known as the Cotton Troper[22] contains 11 half-page and full-page miniatures that vary greatly in terms of their position on the page, their frames and their subject-matter. Color, both in terms of hue and intensity, has equally been applied to very different effect. While it is therefore impossible to interpret the miniatures as a cycle,[23] the heterogeneity of the miniatures befits the type of book they accompany: this is a troper of the "anthology type" rather than one prescribing a cycle of tropes.[24]
One of the most remarkable miniatures is that prefacing the tropes for the feast day of St Peter on folio 22 (fig. 10.4). The full-page miniature depicting the Release of Peter is the most complex of the manuscript's illustrations and it is surrounded by an elaborate frame which is brick-red changing to yellow on the inside.[25] Spots of two different colors, now largely rubbed off, have been added to the red area. The gradation from red to yellow has been very evenly executed, giving the frame bar a strong impression of plasticity. At the corners, the frame ends in knots; the two lower ones form more elaborate interlaced figures compared with the knots at the top of the page. Like all miniatures in this troper, the Release of Peter is surrounded by a short hexameter legend composed especially to comment on what is depicted.[26]

In its emphasis on narrative, the miniature is unique among late antique and early medieval representations of the scene.[27] In the top register, two soldiers armed with spears and a shield sleep in front of the locked door of the prison into which Peter has been thrown by Herod. The biblical story describes Peter as bound in chains and sleeping between two soldiers, when an angel enters, filling the room with light. In the miniature, the moment of the angel's arrival is depicted quite differently: the saint is looking out of the prison window to the right, where the angel standing outside the frame bends towards him. The angel holds a scroll prompting Peter to "rise quickly" ("surge velociter," Act. 12,7), which unfurls into the picture in an arc. In the Bible text, the chains then fall from Peter's hands, and Peter is instructed by the angel to get dressed and follow him. Peter at this point still believes he is having a vision or a dream ("aestimabat autem se visum videre," Act. 12,9). He only realizes that he has indeed been freed when the angel has left him and he comes to ("ad se reversus"); Peter realizes that he has not only escaped from prison, he has also already crossed the gate into the city. The moment of the angel leaving him at the city gate is depicted in the bottom register, where Peter's scroll reads "Now I know it is true that God sent his angel and rescued me from the hand of Herod" ("Nunc scio vere misit [Dominus] angelum suum et eripuit me de m[anu Herodis]," Act. 12,11).

The reason for the inclusion and prominence of the scene of Peter and the angel parting at the city gate is provided by the specific manuscript type and the immediate context, as the verso contains the introit antiphon for the feast day beginning with the words of the miniature's concluding scroll, "Nunc scio vere […]."[28] This, however, explains neither the detailed pictorial narrative leading up to this moment, nor the care the artist has taken to map out the topological structure of the miniature. In the top register, the exchange between Peter and the angel takes

important figures with paint, or showcase the humility of other figures by leaving them unpainted include the Bury Psalter (ca. 1025–1050, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12), in which Christ has been painted in two instances, and the Grimbald Gospels (ca. 1020, London, British Library, Add. 34890), in which only the human souls on the St John miniature remain in outline. In these two cases, however, the emphasis is very much on the figures, rather than on their places.

22 Also referred to as the Canterbury, Hereford or Caligula Troper, mid-eleventh century, 22.0 x 13.2 cm. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xiv, fol. 1–36.

23 See Teviotdale 1992, 306.

24 See Teviotdale 1991, 52–53; Teviotdale 1992, 301.

25 Probably *minium* and orpiment, see Teviotdale 1991, 222–223. Both a more orange red and the browner brick-red appear in the miniature, see for example the shading on the bricks of the buildings in the upper two registers compared to that of the lower register.

26 "Claviger ecce Petrus—occulto carcere clausus / Ang[e]l[u]s hunc fractis—solvens affamine nodis / Hunc linquens valle[m] potes hunc ascendere collem / Ferrea porta quib[us] patulus dat aperta regressus / versus et in sese—Petrus inquit nunc scio vere."

27 See Teviotdale 1991, esp. 168–170 on the iconography.

28 See Teviotdale 1991, 171.

Fig. 10.4: Release of Peter, Cotton Troper, mid-eleventh century. London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xiv, fol. 22r.

place across two thresholds, a window and a frame.[29] The two thresholds seem to work semantically like a double negative, the distancing elements of window and frame giving, in fact, an appropriate visual rendering of the sudden presence of the angel emphasized in the text. The arrival and otherworldly status of the angel—announced in the text by the mention of light—are primarily expressed through the angel's position in the margin, and through spatial division. Another observation is relevant in this context: in the Bible text, Peter's realization about his rescue comes after the angel has departed. This last aspect is depicted in the third register, where the angel floats above the ground, surrounded by an expanse of yellow background with a red border, the same colors as the frame. He points towards his own figure at the top of the picture with his right hand, and towards Peter's scroll with his left, emphasizing with his chiastic gesture the retrospective nature of Peter's realization. The double enclosure of the angel within the frame and within an area filled with the same colors as the frame in the bottom register is a reversal of his double exclusion in the top register: he is both within the miniature's frame *and* within a second frame (in terms of color). At the moment when according to the text he is in the same room as Peter, the angel is shown separated from him by two spatial markers, whereas at the moment when according to the story the angel is gone already, he is doubly enclosed.

The principles of reversal, opposition and counterbalance determine the rhetoric of the pictorial narrative. The frame itself participates in establishing these guiding principles: whereas the story moves from imprisonment at the top to release at the bottom, from Peter bound in chains to the rupture of the chains by the angel, the frame is more entangled in the bottom corners than at the top, counteracting this development.[30] The frame is central to the spatially-led narrative, both by delineating an inside and an outside, and by introducing a way of comprehending the picture that is led by color, allowing the limitations of structural composition to be transcended. The only areas in which the dark red is paired with yellow are the frame and the background surrounding the angel in the bottom register, as well as a small strip between the roof and the brick wall of the prison in the first register. Parallel to light accompanying the angel's sudden entrance in the Bible text, the combination of red and yellow in the miniature can be interpreted as indication of the angel's arrival and departure, using color in addition to the drawing and crossing of borders to indicate a movement into, and out of, spaces. The distribution of color here renders something possible which pictorial motifs cannot achieve: The departing angel at the bottom cannot be shown returning to heaven at the top of the page for reasons of pictorial and narrative sequence, but the logic introduced by color, and underlined by the angel's gesture, enables us to imagine his return despite these constraints.

A manuscript traditionally closely associated with the Troper, the Gospel lectionary Pembroke 302, contains a miniature which also focuses on the theme of light and makes similar use of the topology of the page.[31] Among the miniatures opening the four Gospels the page showing Mark is singled out through the addition of several pictorial elements which extend beyond the frame (fig. 10.5).[32] The evangelist is shown lifting his quill up towards a window in order to sharpen it. In the extension of his movement and beyond the golden frame, the sun is depicted as a golden globe surrounded by blue clouds tinted with orange. As Catherine Karkov has shown, the addition of the sun motif is both apt and symbolic in the context of a Gospel lectionary.[33] The alignment of the evangelist sharpening his quill, the window and the sun shows that the sun is

29 On the relationship between window and frame in the depiction of visions more generally, see Ganz 2008, 197–206.

30 The connection between St Peter's chains and the knotted frame must have struck the author of the legend running around the miniature, as the word "nodis" concludes the second line running down the right side, and this is a term used neither in the Bible text nor in the tropes for Peter's feast day on fol. 22v–23v, where we find different terms for Peter's release: "solvere," "ceciderunt catenae," "liber catenis." Attention is thereby drawn on several levels to the main object of the feast of Peter's Chains (*Ad vincula*).

31 19.7 x 10.2 cm. Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 302, fol. 38r. Produced in the mid-eleventh century, and attributed variously to Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester or Hereford. It was probably in Hereford by the late eleventh century when a description of the eastern boundary of the Hereford see was added in Old English (fol. 8r, at the end of the canon tables). References for different views on whether or not the Gospel lectionary was illuminated by the same artist as the Troper are provided by Karkov 2007, 56, n. 10. The issue revolves around the question of which production center the manuscripts may both or separately be attributed to. For a recent discussion in favor of Worcester and a single artist, see Heslop 2007, esp. 65–66. Although the specific relationship between the two manuscripts is not the primary concern of my article, it is notable that the miniatures discussed here show the same interest in light and how to effect it, in dynamic qualities of boundaries, as well as a strong concern with the topology of the page. I therefore agree with Heslop, who argues that the differences between the manuscripts reflect the development of one artist who, moreover, "is remarkably flexible as regards both his means and their outcomes," Heslop 2007, 70.

32 Only John's cloak also extends beyond the frame (fol. 88v).

33 The motif refers to the important pericope for Easter Sunday (Marc. 16,1–7), which thematizes the Resurrection, beginning with the arrival of the three women at the tomb, "the sun being now risen," see Karkov 2007, 58.

Fig. 10.5: Mark, Pembroke Gospel Lectionary, mid-eleventh century. Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 302, fol. 38r.

intended to be understood as casting light through the window, arriving at the book on the desk via the evangelist's quill.[34] The placement of the sun provides a parallel to the Troper miniature: in both miniatures, the upper outer margin of the page signifies heaven.[35] This part of the page nearest the edge of the book is the source of heavenly light as a metaphor for the word of God, rendered in terms of color. The significance that different areas of the page might have had for this particular artist or in this particular context of manuscript production is further elaborated in the Mark miniature: from the evangelist's writing desk, a golden, flaming torch extends out of the miniature into the gutter of the opening. This continues the theme of light and emphasizes that the evangelist's text passes on the heavenly light received.[36] It becomes clear that the space inhabited by the evangelist in this picture is intimately connected with that of the material book, rather than any corresponding real "room" we might imagine. The unique motifs added to the miniature develop their significance in relation to the places they have been allotted on the manuscript page. By introducing light as a theme, the artist has found a new way of visualizing the two key moments in the Evangelist portrait's pictorial tradition, that of inspiration and that of the materialized Word. The process of the Gospel turning into text, thereby becoming a material book, and more specifically this book, is in the image enacted along the same vector as the transmission of light. Just as significantly, this transmission takes place in the direction of the gutter, the place where in the perception of a reader, both on visual and on tactile grounds, a book is most noticeably a material object.

The use and distribution of particular colors in the miniatures of the Lectionary and Troper are evidence of the "materialistic conceptualization" of color in the Middle Ages, which has been emphasized in recent publications.[37] In both miniatures, the theme of light plays an important role, and color has been employed to materialize light, making it visible. While in the Lectionary, the light effects are achieved more traditionally through the use of gold, the artist has experimented with alternative ways of depicting light through color in the Troper, probably inspired by the techniques employed in Insular manuscripts.[38] In the Troper, only the first five miniatures include gold,[39] and while there is some on folio 22r, it does not cover any large areas. In the three instances of red combined with yellow, the artist showcases his ability to achieve different effects with this combination: the changing sheen of a band resembling a modelled smooth surface such as metal or enamel in the frame, the throbbing quality of the compressed beams of light emanating from the prison structure, and the large area of yellow making use of this color's expansive quality to create the more homogenous glow surrounding the departing angel.

T. A. Heslop has commented on the Troper artist's remarkable talent: "The artist [...] found or devised means such as selectively deployed figure density, variable clarity of form, color and atmosphere, to convey the cognitive level on which the subject should engage the viewer."[40] In the miniature discussed, the themes of imprisonment and release, vision and reality, are narrated through the construction of interiors and exteriors. All pictorial and non-pictorial elements have been employed to this end: the frame, the directional logic of the page layout and motifs of transition such as the window. Color visually integrates the topology of the page and the spaces constructed for the pictorial narrative, mediating between the material places presented by the book and the virtual spaces constructed through it.

3 Constructing sacred space

A type of book with a very specific structure was the Gospel book. In addition to the sacred scripture of the four Gospel texts, it usually contained further material which stated, commented upon and made visible the harmonious nature of the quadripartite Gospel. These were first and foremost the canon tables, further prefatory texts such as Jerome's letter to Pope Damascus (the *Novum opus*) and the letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to Carpianus (*Ammonius quidam*), and images such as the portraits of the evangelists and the representation of their four symbolic beasts. The fourfold structure of the sacred scripture is the central theme of both images and additional texts

34 See Karkov 2007, 58.

35 The congruence of the Troper and the Lectionary in this regard is noted by Heslop 2007, 68.

36 Karkov interprets this slightly differently, reading the transmission of light as the transmission of voice, following the notion of Mark as the voice of the lion preparing the way of the Lord according to Is. 40,3 and Sedulius: Karkov 2007, 58.

37 See Pulliam 2012, 4. Heather Pulliam has published extensively on color in early medieval art. On the materiality of color, see also Young 2006.

38 See Pulliam 2012, 9, for examples of color used to convey the dynamic nature of light from the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.iv) and the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms. 58).

39 See Teviotdale 1991, 223, n. 11; Teviotdale 1992, 306.

40 Heslop 2007, 70.

in early medieval Gospel books, and their arrangement within specific codices creates a strong topology.

The innovative canon tables of the Saint-Vaast Gospels provide an opportunity to study color use beyond both Anglo-Saxon illumination and the single page miniature, and to take a look at the topological functions of color across a sequence of openings.[41] The illuminations of this early Romanesque manuscript are partially unfinished. Nevertheless, even in a finished state the pages were probably not meant to be fully painted, as both outline drawing and reserve parchment play an important role in completed pages such as some of the openings preceding the Gospels. In her 1956 article on the more well-known Saint-Vaast Bible and its manuscript context, Sigrid Schulten singled out crudeness, eclecticism and a lack of plan as characteristics of the Saint-Vaast scriptorium.[42] In a more recent essay on *'Signed' manuscripts from Early Romanesque Flanders*, Richard Gameson has likewise concluded that the manuscript's decoration was "ambitiously conceived but crudely executed."[43] He attributes this to the Gospels being one of the first manuscripts to be produced at the relatively young scriptorium of Saint-Vaast.[44] A look at the way color has been applied shows that these value judgements need to be amended.

The manuscript is irregular in its fifteen pages of canon tables (fol. 6r to 13r), which, moreover, have some unusual divisions. While they testify to the fact that color application was not particularly masterfully done, a certain method in the choice of colors applied most fully across each opening is evident nevertheless. Looking at a manuscript in the stages before completion therefore gives us an idea of just what kind of structuring, regulating and possibly interpreting functions color could have been intended to have. Evangelists and their symbols accompany the canon tables, holding a single scroll between them, or more often draped in a scroll or knitted together by a scroll (fol. 6r, 8v, 9r, 10v, 12r). At first glance, they are very unstructured figure additions to the colonnades. They add visual confusion to canon tables that are already far removed from the graphically balanced and clearly laid-out concordance system they were intended to have from their Eusebian beginnings onwards.[45] There are figures of various proportions, some of which are placed in the broad lower margin of the folios while others occupy various positions within the table structure.

In the most unusual opening of the sequence (fol. 8v–9r, fig. 10.6), the third, fourth, and the beginning of the fifth canon have been squeezed in together, splitting the fourth canon across the opening and combining two tables containing three Gospels with the first table which contains two. As well as the outlines in red on the architecture of the canon tables, preliminary outlines in brown, and final outlines in black (which has also been used in the interlace filling most of the columns), a green wash fills some of the rectangular borders of the columns and some pictorial detail. Reddish-brown tinting has been added to the ox on the right. Above the ox, Matthew, John and Mark hold a continuous loop of a scroll between them. The depiction of evangelists or other figures jointly holding a scroll is not unique, neither within this manuscript (see fol. 6v, 7v, 8r), nor in the context of the canon tables in Gospel books,[46] or indeed as a representation of joint authorship more generally.[47] Unlike the scrolls in these examples, however, the one in the Saint-Vaast image forms an endless loop, visualizing the idea of the harmony and unity of the Gospels by translating the architectural organizing

41 Eleventh century (abbacy of Richard of Saint-Vanne, ca. 1009–1020, or Leduinus, ca. 1020–1040), 29.2 x 19.5 cm. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 9. The manuscript's production in Saint-Vaast is attested by the dedication miniature on fol. 1r, which shows a monk ("Guntfridus") handing the manuscript to "S[an]c[tu]s Vedastus." The Gospel book was probably produced for use in conjunction with the more famous Saint-Vaast Bible, as the latter contains neither the Psalter nor the Gospels. An article by Sigrid Schulten is still the most comprehensive source of information on the manuscript: Schulten 1956, esp. 57–61 and cat. no. 11. A more recent monograph on the Bible, Reilly 2006, only mentions the Gospels in passing. For a closer look at this manuscript, see Bawden 2019 (forthcoming). For color images of this manuscript, see http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr.

42 Schulten 1956, 51: "Verbindend und charakteristisch für diesen Bibelschmuck sind Uneinheitlichkeit, Planlosigkeit und Grobheit; sie erklären sich durch den Eklektizismus, der die atrebatensische Produktion zu Anfang bestimmt."

43 Gameson 2006, 63.

44 See Gameson 2006, 64. On the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast d'Arras, see also Schulten 1956; Deremble 1994, 260–267; Reilly 2006, 22–26.

45 See the fundamental investigation on the canon tables and their early visual representations: Nordenfalk 1938.

46 See, for example, the slightly later Freising Cathedral Gospels, from Tegernsee, mid-eleventh century, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6204. In the tympana of the canon table arches on fol. 11v–12r, the symbols of the evangelists hold a scroll between them. Intriguingly, the artist has combined the formal characteristics of both scroll and codex, creating a hybrid object: In the middle of the scroll, a framed five-part pattern like that usually found on medieval book covers has been painted in gold. For a color reproduction, see Fabian/Lange (eds.) 2012, cat. no. 51.

47 Most famously, the frontispiece to the *Regularis Concordia* (ca. 1050) in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v, shows Bishop Æthelwold, King Edgar and Archbishop Dunstan holding a scroll between them, joint authors of the text composed by Æthelwold in the early 970s. On this miniature and its discussion, see Deshman 1988, and more recently, Karkov 2011, 109–114.

Fig. 10.6: Canon tables, Saint-Vaast Gospels, first half of the eleventh century. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 9, fol. 8v–9r.

device for the chapter numbers, the three arches to the left, into a pliable triangular shape. Matthew's extended arm with the scroll overlaps the column next to him, a movement which coincides with or instigates a change in its ornamental filling from interlace to a clumsy meander. This alerts us to another visual connection between column and scroll: as it is rendered in the same color, one can see in the green scroll the malleable equivalent of one of the columns' frames, which the evangelists have draped around their bodies in a simple parallel of the basic principle underlying the interlace filling of the columns.

There are similar parallels between the architectural framework and decoration of the canon tables and the interaction of the evangelists with their scrolls on several pages. The interlace principle also informs the figures on folios 9r, 10v, 12r, where scrolls loop around the arms and legs of the evangelists' symbols; the tails of the lions at the base of the three columns on folio 9v are similarly entwined. On folio 10v, the band of interlace of one column is interrupted by a strip of penned light red, which is echoed in the light brown of the scroll wrapped around and held by Matthew's and Mark's symbols (fig. 10.8). Both man and lion gesture towards this area of the column, further drawing our attention to the parallel between scroll and column. In the preceding opening, on each page Matthew and Luke sit under arches which are joined to, but set lower down than those of the tables (fig. 10.7).[48] Across the opening from left to right, different parts of the arches have been painted red, alternating between the wall above the arches and the inside background of the arch. Indistinguishable in terms of their appearance and all dressed in the complementary

48 In one of the oldest extant Gospel books, the Syrian Rabbula Codex (ca. 586), evangelists in small architectural structures flank the tables: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. I.56, e.g. fol. 9v.

Fig. 10.7: Canon tables, Saint-Vaast Gospels, first half of the eleventh century. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 9, fol. 9v–10r. Boulogne-sur-mer.

colors green and red, the initial visual impression is one of equivalence. It seems that the four figures have been assimilated in order to present an image of the four evangelists, at the same time as depicting those required by the fifth canon. Within this sequence, the counterchange pattern emphasizes the units of page and opening: in terms of the area filled with color, the evangelists complement one another on each page; in addition, the respective figures of Matthew and Luke complement one another across the opening when the book is closed and the pages are touching. The arches of the evangelists flank the two arches of the canon on either side, to form an irregular row of four arches which in turn present an image of the whole Gospel book on either page. Again, the harmony, unity and completeness of the four Gospels together are shown both in terms of architectural motifs and in terms of color.

While judging "the application of color [...] amateurish in the extreme"[49] may be appropriate for the painting technique, it does not apply to the logic of color distribution. The examination of the sequence of canon tables has revealed that color was applied to create visual analogies between otherwise dissimilar elements or forms, especially architectural elements and text objects, i.e. scrolls. The distribution of colors is clearly thought out, and the visual structures which result are highly relevant in the context of this book type.

Bruno Reudenbach has recently argued that the architectural structure of the canon tables along with the architectural framing of the evangelists was meant to convey the idea of the book as a sacred space from the

49 Gameson 2006, 63–64.

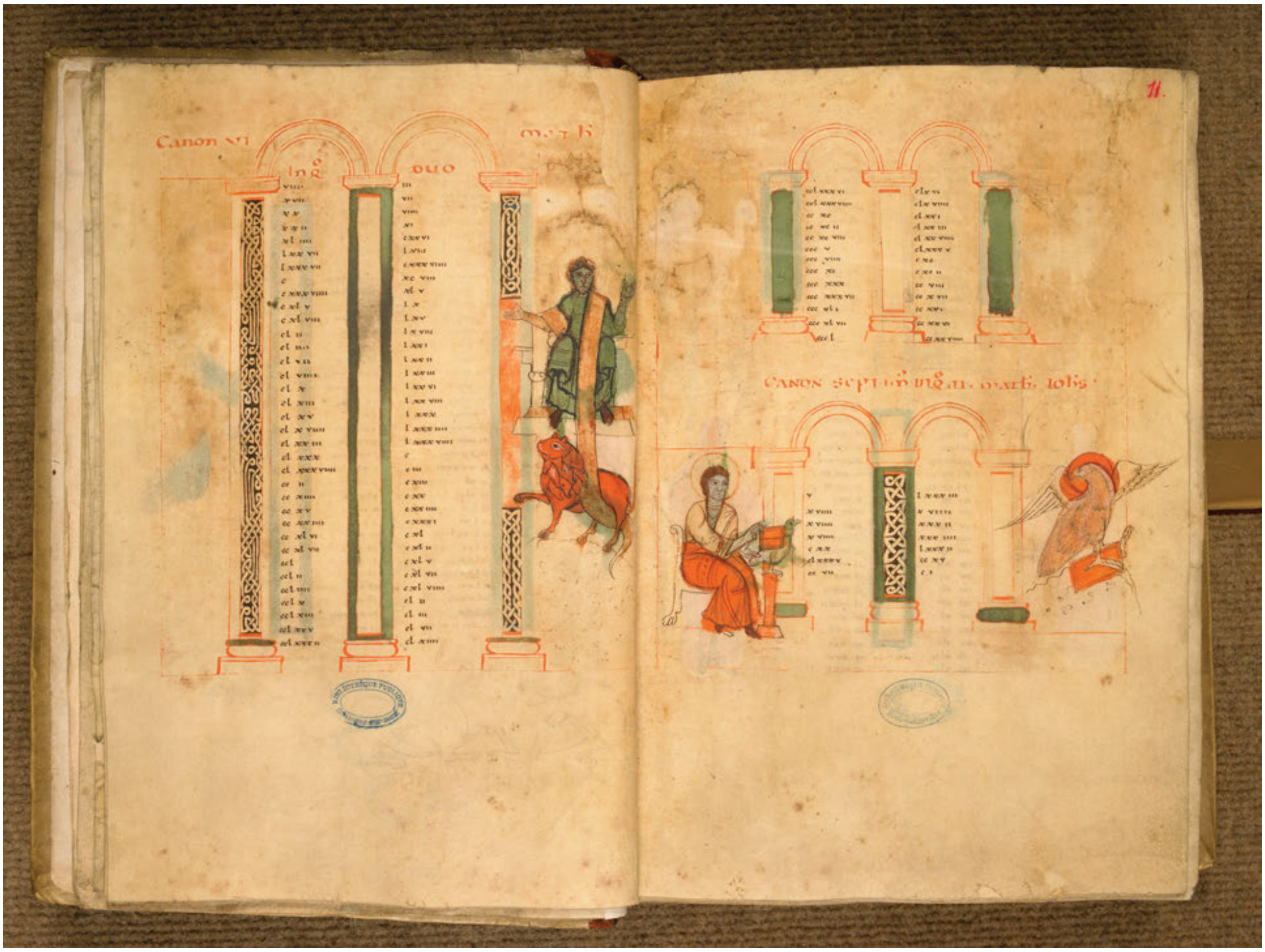

Fig. 10.8: Canon tables, Saint-Vaast Gospels, first half of the eleventh century. Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 9, fol. 10v–11r. Boulogne-sur-mer.

earliest stages of the Gospel book onwards.[50] The rows of columns traditionally erected on each opening of early Gospel books can be perceived as rows of arcades or colonnades flanking a passage into the book.[51] While the canon tables in the Saint-Vaast Gospels continue neither the early Gospel books' strong architectural emphasis nor the visual equivalence of the structures on either side of an opening, they nevertheless draw upon and continue this tradition. By means of color, elements of the loosely architectural structure of the tables are visually related to the Gospel text carried as an attribute by its authors. On most pages, the scroll, rather than a codex, is chosen to symbolize the Gospel book and the written Gospel texts. Its flexible shape allows the artists[52] to show the figures—a reversal of our topic—clothed in their sacred texts, as well as allowing an application of the decorative principle of interlacing to the relationship between the evangelists and their texts. That the artists chose the scroll because its material properties give it more formal flexibility for visual analogies is made clear by the instances in which

50 See Reudenbach 2009, esp. 61–66.

51 "Man kann demnach die fünf oder sechs Doppelseiten mit Kanontafeln, die regelhaft jedes Evangeliar einleiten, als Arkaden- oder Kolonnadenreihen verstehen, die in den Buchraum führen." Reudenbach 2009, 63–64. A metaphorical interpretation of the arcades "as a propyleum through which we approach the *sanctum sanctorum* of Holy Writ" was suggested by Nordenfalk in an article published 44 years after his *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*: Nordenfalk 1982, 30. On possible relationships between canon table arcades and specific buildings, see Neuman de Vegvar 2007.

52 Differences in facial types in particular reveal that there was certainly more than one artist involved, see Schulten 1956, 60. This observation is relevant to the application of color, as the opaque paint occasionally completely covers the outline drawing, for example on fol. 1r.

a codex is used instead: this motif appears only three times in the canon tables. It is used once as an attribute of Luke on folio 10r to mark the conclusion of a sequential reading of the opening. The two depictions of the motif on folio 11r are particularly innovative. Here, the symbols of Matthew and John regard one another across the seventh canon (fig. 10.8). In front of the man, an open book rests on an eagle lectern. John's symbol on the right is depicted in flight, clutching a closed codex in its talons and turning its head to look back at the man. The two images can therefore be read as a reversal of one another as well as a sequence, the eagle with spread wings and closed codex on the right presenting an animated version of that of the bird sculpture supporting the open codex on the left. At the same time, the two images illustrate the primary function of the codex as an object, its ability to be opened and closed, by drawing an analogy with bird's wings. Especially because it does not rely on color for its argument, this last example from the Saint-Vaast Gospels makes clear that color was employed to the same effect as other pictorial techniques, and therefore needs to be analyzed as a pictorial technique in its own right, employed to structure as well as embellish sacred scripture.

4 Conclusion

Color as visual argument is not primarily a question of style or technique, although the examples discussed show that we may want to credit artists or scriptoria for realizing its potential (in the case of the Cotton Troper, for example). Neither is color as visual argument tied to the functional context of a particular manuscript, as it is employed similarly in different book types. Both in the examples in which only some areas of the page contain color (the Caedmon Manuscript, the Psalter in Karlsruhe, the Benedictional of Æthelwold and the Arundel Psalter), and in the examples where the combination and distribution of different colors is relevant (the Cotton Troper, Pembroke 302 and the Saint-Vaast Gospels), color marks spaces in terms of communication and movement. In the Benedictional, color is iconographically associated with the sacred realm in all but one miniature. Rather than focusing on the shift of technique in the final miniature depicting the bishop and congregation, we may see this picture in terms of color: it formulates the hope ubiquitous in medieval manuscripts and formulated both in images and in texts, that the book in question (materially and pictorially in front of us) transports those who commission, make and use it closer to the sacred realm. The miniature in the Arundel Psalter similarly shows color used not only to establish a hierarchy, as is usually argued, but to mark an area of mediation between the human and divine realms. In the Troper miniature, color is a device of the pictorial narrative. As such, it transcends the possibilities inherent in line and form to establish an inside and an outside, offering an alternative to the way in which framing devices and pictorial motifs such as doors and windows can be used to create spatial divisions. It is the Troper miniature in particular which shows that acknowledging color's spatial function requires rethinking our notion of how space is constructed pictorially. The question of spatial structure in pictures, not only medieval pictures, is usually addressed by focusing on issues which are ultimately issues of form, by studying particular motifs and the rendering of depth or three-dimensionality. Art historians have therefore tended to concentrate on pictures which feature architectural settings or landscape elements, and in which pictorial space can be analyzed in terms of recessive space. In this context, only an illusionistic use of color is regarded as relevant.[53] The construction of the heavenly realm in the Troper miniature implicates the topology of the page rather than points of reference exterior to the book. Within the topology of the book, the visual play of surface pattern can become spatially relevant. This is also exemplified in the Saint-Vaast Gospels, where the counterchange theme on folios 9 verso and 10 recto—a standard pattern of alternation employed throughout the Middle Ages—acquires topological value due to the structuring frame of page and opening and their potential to fold the evangelist figures into one another by turning the page. It is this last example which shows most clearly that it is the space of the book which is always the space in question, providing at the same time the material and the semantic realm for topological associations.

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53 Compare Alexander 1975, 146–147.

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Vera Beyer

11 When Writers Dream …

Directing the Gaze Beyond the Material Aspects of French and Persian Manuscripts

This article explores how two poetic manuscripts of the fourteenth century, one from a Persian and the other from a French context, state in opening miniatures that they are not to be considered as profane tomes. It focuses on examples from two book cultures related to two book religions, and discusses how certain images emphasize that the visual comprehension not only of sacred scriptures but also of these books should not be restricted to physical qualities only; the images are meant to mediate between the material and the immaterial.

Of the two miniatures in question[1], one was originally in a manuscript of Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's *Mathnavīs*, which was illuminated at the Jalāyirid Court in Baghdad in 1396 and is now part of the *Bahrām Mīrzā Album* at the Topkapı. The other is the frontispiece of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* in an anthology that was compiled at the same time in northern France.[2]

Both miniatures depict spiritual visions that appear to the authors in dreams. As I intend to show, both depictions of dreams present a concept of images having the capacity to direct the gaze beyond the visible. Moreover, these images, when kept in mind, enable the viewer to recognize ideas from a transcendental realm in the visible.[3] Furthermore, I shall argue that these representations of dreams are exemplary for how the miniatures themselves function, claiming that they direct the gaze of beholders beyond the material aspects of the book, drawing their attention to the spiritual import of the subsequent miniatures in the book.

I will only comment in passing on the fact that this understanding of dreams in both the Persian and the French contexts probably goes back to a shared tradition. In the main, however, this article will focus on how these two manuscripts, which although they are not sacred scriptures in the narrower sense[4], nevertheless claim an intermediary function between the visible and the invisible by means of depictions of dreams.[5]

1 Towards the unbounded: the author's dream in an illustration of Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's *Rawẓat ul-Anvār*

As mentioned above, the Persian miniature (fig. 11.1) to be discussed here originated at the Jalāyirid Court in Baghdad in a 1396 manuscript of three *Mathnavīs* of Khvājū-yi Kirmānī (1290–1352) and is now part of the *Bahrām Mīrzā Album*. The original manuscript, now in London, contains two mystical texts with narrative passages as well as the epic *Humāy u Humāyūn* (1331).[6]

1 This essay is based on a chapter from my not-yet-published Habilitation thesis *Sehen im Vergleich. Modalitäten von Blicken in der persischen und nordalpinen Buchmalerei* (Seeing in comparison: modalities of the gaze in miniatures from Persia and north of the Alps). I would like to thank in particular Lieselotte E. Saurma, Christian Heck, and David Ganz for their comments on earlier versions of the text presented here.

2 I do not want to deny that this comparison is quantitatively disparate: while representations of dreaming authors are rare in Persian contexts, they are often portrayed north of the Alps, not only in illuminated manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. However, the page from the Persian manuscript does not contain some arbitrary example of Persian painting but a miniature that was considered a hallmark of Persian painting already in the sixteenth century. Thus, as representative of Jalāyirid painting, it was cut out of the original manuscript and pasted into Bahrām Mīrzā's *Account of Painters Past and Present*, which is now at the Topkapı. See Prentice 1981.

3 The dream image here is to be understood in the context of discourse on the inner eye. Research has scrutinized this subject in a variety of ways, especially with regard to religious visual practices. See e.g. Lentes 2002; Ganz 2006, here 114, as well as the chapter on the inner eye in Schleusener-Eichholz 1985, 953–1075.

4 Regarding sacred scriptures in Islamic contexts, parallels to certain Christian discourses, and their common legacy see especially the article of Barry Flood in this volume.

5 In regard to Bible frontispieces, Steffen Bogen has pointed out that "Narrative frontispieces of Bibles appear to have been the preferred place for relating how perceptual and cognitive processes in visual reception apply to visionary scenes in representation." Bogen 2001, 178.

6 Under Bahrām Mīrzā the manuscript was newly bound, whereby the order of the poems was changed and several sheets were removed (see Porter 2009, 363). In this manuscript there is only a *shamsah* at the beginning of *Rawẓat ul-Anvār* (*Garden of Lights*), that is, a page with an ornamental rosette, which is typically found at the beginning of Persian illuminated manuscripts. Teresa Fitzherbert draws the conclusion that this poem was originally situated at the beginning of the manuscript (Fitzherbert 1991, 150, n. 40). The sheet that was

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110558609-011

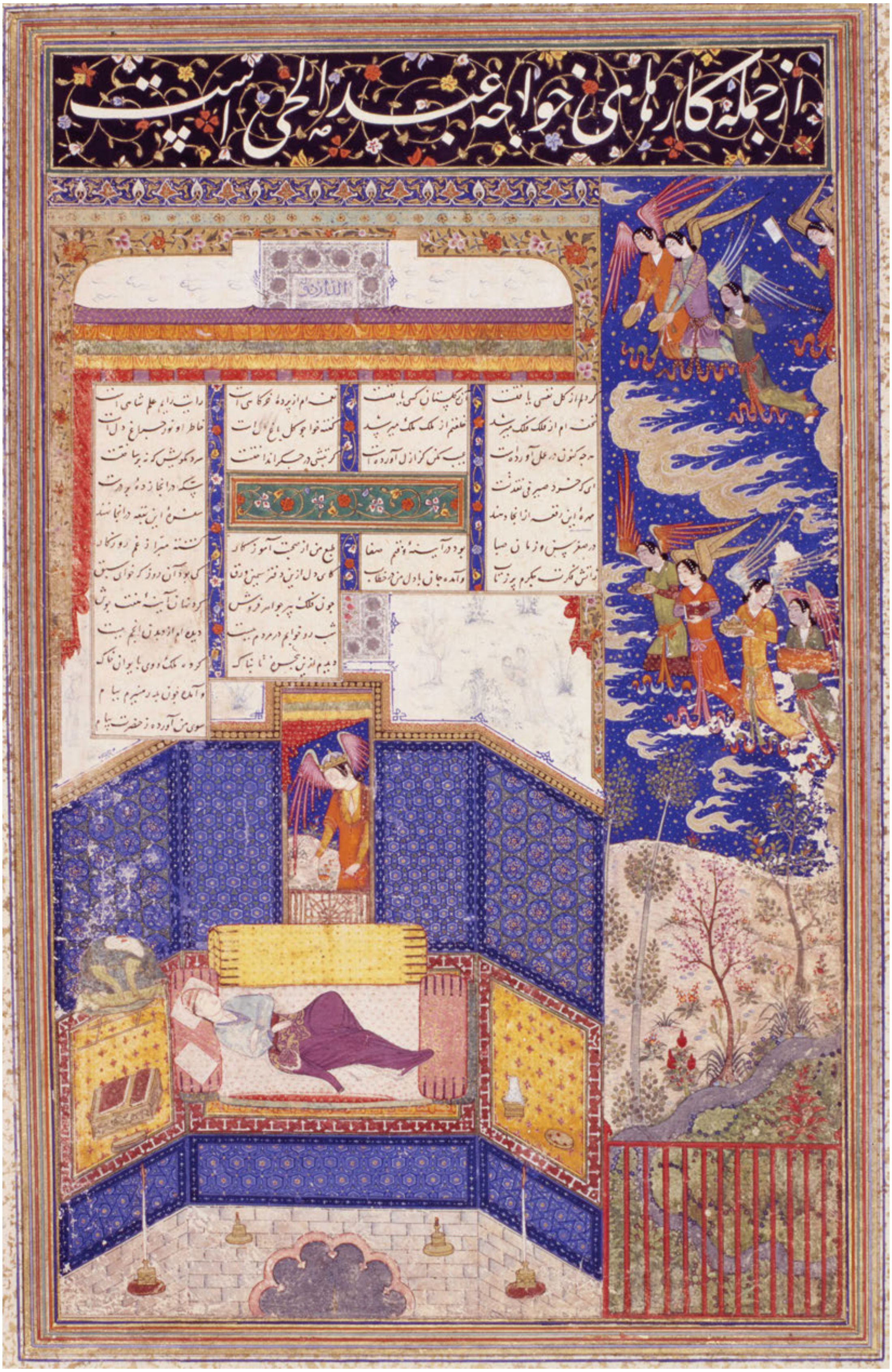

Fig. 11.1: The author dreaming, formerly Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, Rawẕat ul-Anvār, Baghdad 1396, today Bahrām Mīrzā Album. Istanbul, Topkapı, H. 2154, fol. 20v.

The miniature illustrates the following passage of the *mathnavī Rawẓat ul-Anvār* (*Garden of Lights*) (1342), with which the text of the folio ends (fig. 11.1):

> The burglar of sleep closed the door of my pupils from
> seeing the firmament.
> I saw from it [the dream] a brilliant tree [figure]
> As if an angel had turned its face from this sparkling window towards the earth
> And had come like the full moon to my roof and
> brought a message to me from The Exalted One.[7]

It describes how an angel appears before the sleeping author and brings him a message from God. It emphasizes the fact that the author's eyes are closed, and that his perception of the firmament is thus impeded. Teresa Fitzherbert interpreted the scene as depicting the inspiration of the poet.[8] Additionally, the portrayal is reminiscent of God sending the Koran to Muhammad through the archangel Gabriel. In this way, the author represented his inspiration as analogous to divine revelations in sacred texts, just as Niẓāmī had done in his *Makhzan ul-Asrār* (1163?), which Khvājū used as a model.[9]

The miniature follows such a staging in the way it combines traditional author portrayals with elements generic to representations of the Prophet. To be more precise, on the one hand, it reminds us of illustrations of the archangel Gabriel delivering the Koran to Muhammad (fig. 11.2). On the other hand—especially in the way the angels are depicted in the illuminated margin on the right—the miniature is evocative of the Ascension of Muhammad, of the *miʿrāj* (fig. 11.3), which Niẓāmī, Khvājūs's model, explicitly compared to poetic inspiration. However, it is relatively difficult to trace more definite cross-references, because very few illuminated manuscripts from the fourteenth century have survived.

Besides these iconographical cross-references, an analysis of the Jalāyirid miniature reveals that the miniature clearly defines interior and exterior space—in the former, taking up a good two-thirds of the pictorial space, lies the sleeping poet, and, in the latter, we see a nocturnal landscape with several angels in heaven depicted in a vertical column on the right-hand side. An unbroken line, which no part of the imagery overlaps, separates the two zones. According to Yves Porter's codicological analysis, this division is underscored by the fact that the dividing line also encompasses the text block, so that the exterior space is outside the text block.[10]

However, despite the clarity of definition between the two spaces, the artist has simultaneously undermined the divide by taking the "window" metaphor literally, which in the text refers to sky: in the background of the interior space we can see, through an open window, a further segment of the nocturnal landscape as well as an angel peering into the interior. A link between the two zones is thus created in the shape of a clearly delineated window opening in the ornamental far wall of the room. As the text describes a dream image in which "an angel had turned its face from this sparkling window towards the earth," it seems logical to link the window to the dream because it interconnects the realm of the sleeping poet and the nocturnal landscape inhabited by angels.

Najm ul-Dīn Kubrā's (d. 1221) notion of dreams provides a context for understanding this representation of a dream, because Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's biographer repeatedly described him as a pupil of Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī (1261–1336), who was, in turn, considered one of Kubrā's followers.[11] According to Fritz Meier, both share a "strong mediumistic preference and a capability for visionary experience."[12] An outstanding feature of how Kubrā comprehends dreams is, in contrast to earlier Sufi notions, that he not only reflects on dreams when they contain verbal instruction but also when they are purely visual manifestations.[13] Kubrā's *Fawāʾiḥ al-Jamāl* (Scents of beauty)[14] describes dreams as a form of mystical experience in which man finds himself "with his heart in the hereafter and his body in this world."[15] In Kubrā's eyes, the following happens during sleep:

> When he [i.e. man] sleeps, he [i.e. the spirit, *rūḥ*] goes to his original home and his mystical place of origin. Then he [i.e. the spirit] relaxes by meeting the spirits and by getting to know the

presumably removed at this time with the image of the dreaming author would, according to Verna Prentice's reconstruction (see Prentice 1981), have been on folio 2v of the original version. Hence this is not a title miniature in the classical sense—at this point there would have been the ornamental rosette as was mentioned above—but it would have been the first miniature of the manuscript.

7 Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, *Rawẓat ul-Anvār* (ed. Niyāz-i Kirmānī, 42, v. 853–855), English translation: Fitzherbert 1991, 140 (slightly modified by the author).

8 See Fitzherbert 1991 pl. XIXa.

9 The poem of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan ul-Asrār* (*Treasury of Mysteries*) displays parallels between prophetic and poetic inspiration especially in its comparison of the Ascension of Muhammad and the journey of his soul as a poet. On this topic see also Würsch 2005, 203–207, as well as Bürgel 1974, 9–28.

10 See Porter 2009, 369.

11 See Fitzherbert 1991, 142, as well as Elias 1995, 52.

12 Meier 2012, cited likewise in Fitzherbert 1991, 142. On al-Simnānī's vision concept see also Elias 1995, 135–141.

13 See Meier in Meier (ed.) 1957, 241.

14 I am indebted to Isabelle Dolezalek for her translation of the title.

15 Meier, in Meier (ed.) 1957, 96.

Fig. 11.2: Gabriel and Muhammad, Rashīd ul-Dīn, Jāmiʿ ul-Tawārīkh, Tabriz 1314. Edinburgh, University Library, Ms. arab 20, fol. 45v.

> meanings (*maʿānī*) and what is hidden. You see the meaning that he meets in going to the world of the kingdom (*ʿālam al-malakūt*) by way of similes (*amthila*) in the world of what can be seen (*ʿālam al-shahāda*).[16] This is the secret about the interpretation of vision.[17]

Kubrā thus views dreams as simile-images (*amthila, sg. mithāl*)—and here we find certain parallels to Western European conceptions of the same period—[18] images that mediate "the meanings and what is hidden" of a transcendental world "by way of similes in the world of what can be seen." Dream images therefore make the hereafter visible in our world.

It must be emphasized, however, that, from Kubrā's vantage, dreams pose only a kind of preliminary stage for normal mortal beings: "What the ordinary man finds in his sleep according to the strength of his lowly existence, the traveler [i.e. the mystic] finds between wake and sleep, because his low existence is weak and his noble and precious existence is strong."[19] "In a sense, the mystics just like dreamers leave their bodies behind, yet retaining their use of the various senses."[20] Therefore, according to

16 Regula Forster pointed out to me that this passage alludes to a verse of the Koran (6,73 "the world of what is hidden and what can be seen"), so that Kubrā plays with analogies to the Koranic revelation, like the miniature in its rendition of a dream.

17 Kubrā, *Risāla ila ʾl-hāʾim*, amr 9, 71a 9–71b 4, quoted in Meier (ed.) 1957, 97. I thank Regula Forster for her translation from the Arabic. A more differentiated outline of the forms of visionary experience introduced by Kubrā and their lasting impact is beyond the scope of this article.

18 See, for example, Suzanne Conklin Akbari's research on Alanus's *De Planctu Naturae*, which was written between 1168 and 1176: Akbari 2004, 19.

19 Kubrā, in Meier (ed.) 1957, ١٩ – ١٨. See also p. 98. I wish to thank Regula Forster for her translation from the Arabic.

20 Meier in Meier (ed.) 1957, 98.

Fig. 11.3: Muhammad's Ascension, Miʿrājnāmah, Herat 1436. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément turc 190, fol. 9r.

Kubrā, mystics see with their own eyes what dreamers see in their dreams.[21]

Teresa Fitzherbert has pointed out that the prevalence of dreams in Khvājū's writings may be linked to the fact that he was a follower of Kubravi Sufism.[22] Additionally, headings like "Passing through the limited world and facing towards the unbounded world," for example, insist on the importance of transcending the material world.[23] To what extent are we able to recognize such a conception of dreams not only in Khvājū's text but also in the miniature, which was executed a good half-century later at the court of Sultan Aḥmad (1383–1410), whose own poetic works likewise reveal strong Sufi leanings?[24]

It has already been noted that the depiction of the poet's dream in this miniature is iconographically linked to representations of the Ascension of the Prophet. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the dream vision is represented in the shape of a window, which means it is

21 On similar concepts of dreams as prefigurations of spiritual vision in the European tradition, see e.g. Schleusener-Eichholz 1985, Bd. 1, 335–338.

22 Fitzherbert has already noted that Simnānī's conceptions of dreams could be relevant here: "Although the device of inspirational dream or the night visit was well established before Khwājū […], the association with Simnānī may also have been significant in this respect." Fitzherbert 1991, 143. She points out that the epic *Humāy u Humāyūn* features as many as four scenes of dreams or visions.

23 Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, *Kamālnāmah* (ed. Niyāz-i Kirmānī, 126); English translation: Fitzherbert 1991, 148. However, insistence on transgressing the sensual world is rather common in Sufi thinking, which was widespread in Persia during the fourteenth century.

24 On this topic see Klimburg-Salter 1977, 61–80.

Fig. 11.4: Humāy and the image of Humāyūn, Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, Humāy u Humāyūn, Herat 1427/28. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. NF 382, fol. 10v.

framed by something that normally proffers a view of the visible world. This may insinuate that what appears in the dream can potentially also be seen while awake. Above all, the window reveals the segment of a scene that is otherwise visible beyond the dreamer's realm outside the text block in the margins. Hence it suggests that the miniature visualizes the function of a dream vision, of making the hereafter visible in this world. In the framework of the dream vision, a segment of an "otherworldly" sphere is introduced into the "this-worldly" sphere of the dreamer; a view of the transcendental world is revealed to the world of sensory perception.

If we analyse the miniature more closely, then we recognize formal similarities between the vision in the dream depicted in the window and in the miniature itself. Thus, for example, both are framed by the same red curtain with a striped border at the top and share the same blue in the backgrounds of nocturnal sky and of ornamental tiles, each above a beige ground.[25] Given the existing parallels between how the dream vision and the miniature itself are staged, we inevitably must ask whether in addition to the comparison of poetry with a prophetic dream in this manuscript, its miniatures are also likened to dream visions. Does the notion of dreams as simile-images guide the way for how the miniatures must be perceived too? Can we comprehend the miniatures of this manuscript, too, as *amthila*, as simile-images for an invisible sphere? And do the miniatures perhaps even suggest that, under certain conditions, what the dreamer beholds in his dreams can also be seen with one's own eyes?

To answer these questions, we will take a brief look at a second miniature from a manuscript of Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's *Mathnavīs* that is only slightly more recent (fig. 11.4). In this manuscript the scene in the dream discussed above is not illustrated. However, it contains a miniature that explicitly addresses the topic of images and how beholders should view them. In this scene, a fairy shows Humāy, the hero, an image of Princess Humāyun, making him fall in love with her instantaneously. A long search ensues for the person portrayed in the image. The function of visually presenting an unattainable ideal is very similar to the function of dream visions as described above. Additionally, the image of Humāyun in the Vienna miniature is placed close to where the dream vision is depicted on the page of the Istanbul folio: it too is located on the far wall of the room and largely resembles the windows in it. According to the text, an inscription was added over the image, demanding, among other things, to "look into this image with eyes that seek true meaning."[26] "Leave the outward form to proceed to the inner meaning."[27] Khvājū thus recommends in this passage that images be viewed in a similar manner to the one Kubrā claims for dreams.

25 We could pursue the issue further here and ask to what extent the ornaments also function as simile-images (*mithāl*), staging a sphere beyond the perceptible world. For an approach that considers ornaments as *mithāl* see Bier 2008.

26 Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn* (ed. ʿAinī, 32); English translation Fitzherbert 1980, addendum, 10. I am deeply indebted to Teresa Fitzherbert for providing access to her master's thesis.

27 Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn* (ed. ʿAinī, 32); English translation Bürgel 1991, 348.

On the other hand, the manuscript discussed at the beginning of this article features a miniature illustrating the moment in which Humāy sees Humāyun with his own eyes (fig. 11.5). We could therefore surmise that a personal encounter would make the intermediary function of an image redundant, and at first glance this appears to be the case. However, Yves Porter has pointed out that the object of Humāy's love in this miniature has been depicted outside the text block just like the realm of the dream in the first miniature. And Teresa Fitzherbert has clearly shown in her readings of the epic that we can comprehend the beloved in Khvājū's representation as the immortal essence of humankind.[28] Against a background of reading the work in this way, the position of the beloved in the miniature suggests that the beholder comprehend the area outside of the text block as the stage for a sphere of ideas and meanings (*maʿānī)*.[29] However, such a level is only subtly hinted at—it can also be ignored and the whole interpreted as a profane romantic narrative.[30] If there was no frontispiece that stages the boundary of the text block as a partition separating the two spheres, we would hardly think that the hero's gaze, in looking up to his beloved beyond the text block to the margin, can be understood as directed beyond the realm of images to a transcendental one. Thus the frontispiece is not only explicitly related to a dream vision and its function, but also awakens awareness in beholders of the difference between the mortal world and the hereafter, which can be transcended by the function of images as similes (*amthila*). In this regard, the depiction of the sleeping poet not only illustrates Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's concept of "dreamlike" poetry, but also functions as a model for how to visually comprehend the manuscript. It is a simile-image for the fact that the manuscript's visual properties function as simile-images. This highlights that—despite the manuscript not being a holy scripture as such—it is not to be perceived just as a profane work.

The introductory miniature of *Rawzạ t ul-Anvār* thus unveils the prospect of seeing with one's own eyes—under certain conditions of Sufi demeanour—what ordinary men experience in dreams. At the same time, it can be regarded as an introductory reference that conveys how the illustrations in the manuscript are meant to be understood: at first glance they may appear to simply be images of the visible world, but in fact they should be comprehended as dream visions functioning as "similes (*amthila*) in the world of what can be seen," which make spiritual meanings and ideas of a transcendental world perceptible.[31]

2 Prescient images: the narrator's dream in a manuscript of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*

In the French context I have chosen a frontispiece from Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (1330–31/1335)[32] in an anthology now kept at the municipal library of Arras (fig. 11.6)[33]. The anthology was compiled in northern France around 1400—thus at the same time as the Persian example—and contains, besides Deguileville's complete trilogy of the *Pèlerinage de Jhesuchrist*, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, and the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, excerpts from the *Roman de la rose* and a translation of Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*, which like the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* were among the most frequently

28 Fitzherbert 1991, 142.

29 Regarding the figure of the lover, this miniature is somewhat ambiguous with regard to the question of whether he should be allocated to the realm of ideas or material images. At first glance we presume that the text segment marks the top right-hand corner of the text block and that the lover is thus within the text block. Yves Porter argued this interpretation in an article published in 2003 (Porter 2003, 69). Seen from this angle, a dividing line would separate the beloved in the hereafter in the margin and the image of the lover within the text block, characterizing him as belonging to this world, and that the lover yearns to transgress the dividing line in his desire to unite with the primordial idea of his being. However, in 2009, Yves Porter was able to show in an analysis of the entire manuscript that the text segment is set outside the text block, and the text block in fact coincides with the wall of the garden (Porter 2009, 365). Following this premise, the lover, too, is situated outside the text block, and the area within the text block is to be seen as belonging to the palace, as an area that they must cross to reach another. I would ask here if this ambiguity should be comprehended as an allusion to the state of the lover; he oscillates between the poles of the worldly sphere of images and his origins from the world of ideas.

30 The ambiguity is further underscored by the fact that the narrative in Khvājū's text is not explicitly presented as a dream, as in the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine.* Khvājū's poem is only generally associated with 'dream-like' inspiration at the beginning. On the topic of such "oblique expressions" and "poetics of analogy" in the development of Persian court poetry in general and on Khvājū's model Niẓāmī in particular, see especially Meisami 1987, 20 and 30.

31 Teresa Fitzherbert posited that "perhaps the carefully positioned paintings in the British Library manuscript should be also understood as punctuating the text with elaborate pause marks—the impact of the visual image in the midst of text used to focus the reader's attention upon the underlying meanings." Fitzherbert 1991, 149.

32 Ursula Peters pointed out that Guillaume de Deguileville's text, compared to that of the *Roman de la rose*, only indirectly identifies the narrator with the author. See Peters 2008, 146.

33 I wish to thank Pascal Rideau at the Bibliothèque Municipale Arras for generously providing me with the images for this article.

Fig. 11.5: Humāy in front of Humāyūn's palace, Khvājū-yi Kirmānī, Humāy u Humāyūn, Baghdad 1396. London, British Library, Or. 18113, fol. 18v.

copied writings at the time,[34] in addition to several shorter texts.[35]

Folio 76r features two scenes with the traditional iconography of the preaching and the dreaming monk[36] between the introductory rubric and the beginning of the text of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.[37] In the left column underneath the scene of the sermon, the pilgrim's monologue begins with the following verses:

> To those of this country, who have no home here, but are all pilgrims, as St Paul says—men and women, rich and poor, wise and foolish, kings and queens—I want to recount a vision that came to me the other night as I was sleeping. While I was awake, I had read, studied, and looked closely at the beautiful *Romance of the Rose*. I am sure that this was what moved me most to have the dream I will tell you about in a moment. [...] Now listen to the vision that came to me as I was in my bed during my religious life at the Abbey of Chaalis.[38]

In the right column, the actual description of the vision then begins under the image of the dreaming monk: "As I was sleeping, I dreamed I was a pilgrim eager to go to the city of Jerusalem. I saw this city from afar in a mirror that seemed to me large beyond measure."[39] The transition from addressing the reader extradiegetically to the narration of the dream on an intradiegetic level is thus conveyed in two miniatures, in the first miniature we witness a speaker talking to seated and approaching listeners; in the other miniature, we find a dreamer.[40] Next to the latter we can see the city of Jerusalem reflected in a mirror, which thus provides the framework for introducing the dream vision.[41] In this way, the miniature utilizes the mirror that the protagonist sees in his dream—as described in the text—to frame the dream vision, suggesting an affinity between the dream and the reflection in the mirror. Upon turning the page, this frame within an image disappears: in the same spot on the next folio we see Jerusalem in full size in the miniature.

As Ursula Peters has emphasized, the iconography of a dreaming author in the manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* goes back to the iconography of the dreaming *Amant* at the beginning of the *Roman de la rose*, the very book the author had been reading when he fell asleep, as specifically stated in the text. In combination with a scene illustrating a sermon, however, we are clearly made to understand that a "spiritually erudite" concept of dream visions is meant here—in contrast to the intrinsically sensual dream vision of the *Roman de la rose*.[42] Just as in the Khvājū illustration, here too the dreaming author acquires unequivocally religious connotations, which underscore the believability of subsequent dream visions.[43]

The divide between a spiritual understanding of dream visions in the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and a sensual one in the *Roman de la rose*[44] corresponds to the differing functions of the mirror in which the object of desire of each text's protagonist appears: in taking recourse to medieval iconography of the opposition between a "helpful mirror of foresight [...] and the dangerous mirror of narcissistic self-absorption,"[45] the mirror in the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* proffers a view of Heavenly Jerusalem, while the narrator at the beginning of the *Roman de la rose* catches sight of the Rose in the waters of the spring of Narcissus. Upon seeing the Rose, the narrator is hit by Cupid's arrows of "sweet sight (*douz regarz*)" making him the deity's vassal. The vision of Heavenly Jerusalem incites the narrator to go on a pilgrimage. Whereas the mirror at the beginning of the *Roman de la rose* functions as an instrument of sensual temptation, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* employs it here as a means of spiritual cognition.

The same breadth of possible functions can be found in the contemporary debates on mirrors and their significance—and the same is true for the functions of dreams.[46] Discussions on the latter aspect become more intense

34 See Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 116.
35 A complete list has been compiled in Bouly de Lesdain/Veysseyre 2014.
36 See Peters 2008, 140–162.
37 On this manuscript see especially Fréger/Legaré 2008, 336–347; Clark/Sheingorn 2008.
38 Guillaume de Digulleville, *Pèlerinage de vie humaine 1* (ed. Stumpf, v. 1–14); English translation by Clasby 1992, 3.
39 Guillaume de Digulleville, *Pèlerinage de vie humaine 1* (ed. Stumpf, v. 35–42); English translation by Clasby 1992, 3.
40 Concerning the mediating function of the title miniatures in manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* see Braet 2008, 43–52, esp. 44.
41 Identifying dreams and mirrors in this way is not new here. For example, Akbari pointed out that they were interpreted in this way already in Alanus' de Insulis *De planctu Naturae*. Akbari 2004, 10.
42 See Peters 2008, 153. Werner Gewande speaks of this text as the "spiritual counter-image" of the *Roman de la rose*; quoted after Peters 2008, 140. On the relationship between the frontispieces of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and the *Roman de la rose* see also Braet 2008, 45.
43 Regarding the depictions of authors in Western Europe in general, scholars have suggested that especially portrayals of authors sitting at a writing bureau refer to depictions of the Evangelists in order to imply a corresponding authority. See, for example, Peters 2007, 27.
44 For an overview of research on dream visions in the *Roman de la rose* see Bogen 2001, 302.
45 Akbari 2004, 7.
46 See also, for example, Kruger 2005, 83–122, 136–140, concerning the parallels between dreams and mirrors. He refers to the fact that Ibn al-Haytham linked the true dream to the mirror (136).

Fig. 11.6: The author gazes at Heavenly Jerusalem, the author preaches, and the author dreams, Guillaume de Deguileville, Pèlerinage de la vie humaine, northern France, ca. 1400. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 845, fol. 75v–76r.

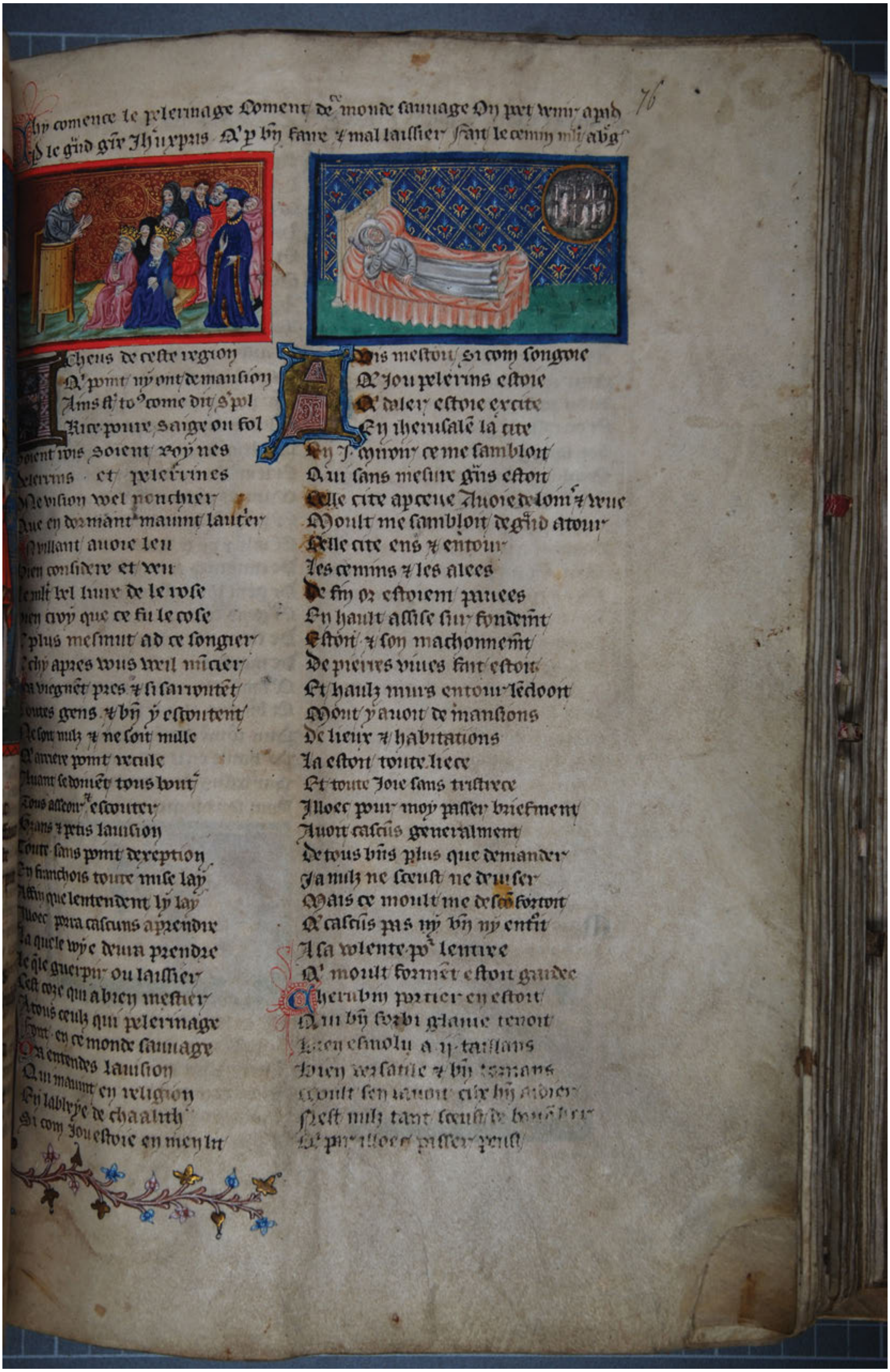

Fig. 11.6: (Continued).

in the late Middle Ages. Subsequent to the reception of Aristotle's theories on dreaming in the thirteenth century, skepticism toward dreams mounted, and Steffen Bogen sees the *Roman de la rose* as paradigmatic for this tendency.[47] According to Bogen, the *Roman de la rose* refers to Aristotle's critique of the status of dreams as visions. Moreover, he argues that, "also in viewing images, they were not necessarily comprehended as analogous to revelation in keeping with belief in visions, but, critical of such a stance, also regarded as analogous to a not-yet achieved differentiation between dream and reality."[48] Suzanne Conklin Akbari even goes a step further; in her eyes the *Roman de la rose* is an example of the growing skepticism towards the "the early medieval acceptance of the seamless mediation between subject and object in visions."[49] This view, she argues, gained impetus from the thirteenth century at the latest, not least through translations of optical theory from Arabic. Thus, when the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* explicitly contrasts its depiction of the visionary dream with the representation of dreams in the *Roman de la rose*, we must see this as an intentional rejection of the iconography of a manuscript that was exemplary for the contemporary skepticism about dreams, and that fundamentally challenged visions' claim to truth. Hence, we must see the decisive divide between the illustrations of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and those of the *Roman de la rose* as a strategy that upholds the status of images as visions in a historical context where this was being particularly questioned.

In light of growing skepticism, it was particularly important to clearly differentiate not only between dreams that deceive and dreams as cognitive vehicles but also between mirrors of deception and mirrors as a means of spiritual cognition. For this reason, Guillaume de Deguileville proactively tackled the problem by, on the one hand, explicitly implementing mirrors as the deceptive attributes of idleness and pride and, on the other, as the medium of the introductory vision as well as an element in the knob of the protagonist's staff, as pointed out by Fabienne Pomel, Anne-Marie Legaré, and Steven Kruger.[50] Guillaume de Deguileville thus discloses the range of possible functions of mirrors from a deceptive, material image and object of sheer self-obsession to an illuminating tool for gaining insight into the spheres beyond this world. The mirror as a tool of enlightenment is expressly compared to Christ as an immaculate mirror, thus presenting Christ as the purest and unadulterated reflection of God on earth, and hence the model for humankind.[51]

What I wish to discuss at this point is how the introductory miniature itself assures the viewer that the mirror showing the image of Heavenly Jerusalem is of the kind that fosters spiritual cognition. To make this certain beyond question, the manuscript includes another miniature. It was obviously rendered by another hand and was possibly added when the anthology was compiled of earlier manuscripts.[52] Besides the traditional iconography of a monk sleeping in front of a round mirror featuring Heavenly Jerusalem on folio 76r, there is, on the left on folio 75v, another miniature depicting Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 11.6). A fragment from *Voie de Paradis* has been added underneath.[53] The narrator is depicted at the left in the margin. He holds a pilgrim's staff in one hand and, in the other, a round mirror in which we can see a gate to Heavenly Jerusalem. He holds the round mirror in such a way that it is situated between him and the gate in the miniature. Thus, in keeping with the text, the emphasis is on the mirror's role as intermediary between the dreamer and Heavenly Jerusalem. Visually, we are given to understand that through mirror images it is possible to gaze beyond the limits of the earthly sphere into that of the hereafter. Hence the miniature demonstrates that the mirror does not present deceptive images on a shiny material surface, but is to be interpreted as a medium that opens up a restricted view of a transcendental sphere. At the same time, the position of the narrator in the margin, which reminds us of representations of visions,[54] underscores the visionary status of the dream while also highlighting that this particular perspective at this particular moment

47 See Bogen 2001, 301–326.

48 Bogen 2001, 319.

49 Akbari 2004, 19, and in more detail 45–113. She already emphasizes this regarding the first part written by Guillaume de Lorris and then describes how, in the second part written by Jean le Meun, the function of the allegory increasingly embodies this skepticism.

50 See Kruger 2005, 138–139, as well as Legaré/Pomel 2003, 135–141.

51 "Le haut pommel est Jhesuchrist / Qui est, so com la lettre dist / Un miroir qui est sans tache, / Où chascun puet veoir sa face, / Où tout le monde soi mirer." Guillaume de Digulleville, *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* 1, (ed. Stumpf, v. 3691–3795). On this topic see also Legaré/Pomel 2003, 133–134, who likewise point out that it takes recourse to the Book of Wisdom by containing the following description of wisdom: "For she is a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness." (Sap. 7,26). A comparable concept of an immaculate mirror that reflects God's splendor can also be found in Persian contexts.

52 See also Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 136–145, and, on differentiating authorship, Camille 1984, 147.

53 See Bouly de Lesdain/Veysseyre 2014.

54 I would like to thank David Ganz for pointing this out to me. On this topos of representing visions see his book Ganz 2008, esp. chapter 9.

of the journey is only revealed "through the mirror (*par le biais du miroir*)."[55] The mirror serves as a "privileged intermediary [...] the emblem of indirect vision," according to Legaré and Pomel.[56] Therefore we can say that the Arras anthology places an additional frontispiece before presenting the usual miniature program of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. This illumination demonstrates distinctly that the dream and mirror image guiding the pilgrim proffer views of a sphere beyond the material world. The narcissistic deception pursued by the author of *Roman de la rose* thus finds its counterpart in the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* in imagery that offers a glimpse into the transcendental spheres.

But the illumination of this manuscript page not only features—between the pilgrim in the margin and the gate of Heavenly Jerusalem—a mirror that allows the beholder to see what the frame encloses, but also a cherub standing in front of the gate of the miniature of the Holy City, his sword thrusting through a prince and pointing beyond the frame to the pilgrim. In this way, the cherub's sword articulates that death is the way of attaining direct access to Heavenly Jerusalem.[57] Hence the mirror functions here exactly in the way outlined in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: "For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then we will see face to face." (1 Cor 13,12 [NRSV])[58] The mirror proffers views that are only directly accessible to humankind after death.[59] Correspondingly, we read at the end of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* not only that the door is too narrow for body and soul to pass through together (v. 13460), but also that one is now "at the gate and at the door you saw long ago in the mirror" (v. 13471–13472).

In the Arras anthology, two poems on death follow directly after the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. Then a long rubric and a table of content announces the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*. However, a short poem *Sex ale Cherubim* has been inserted before the text begins. A large-format representation of a cherub with the names of the virtues inscribed on its wings (fig. 11.7) accompanies the poem.[60] This miniature simultaneously takes the place of the writing's frontispiece by appearing on the verso of the page before the text of the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* commences. The anthology thus inserts the image of the cherub at the very point where, after addressing the subject of death, the soul leaves the dead body behind and sets out on its journey to heaven and hell. While the cherub appears as a dream vision at the beginning of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, it now confronts beholders in full-page format as if they were meeting it at the gate "you saw long ago in the mirror." Hence not only the frontispiece of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* is contrived as a "prescient" image, but this function is also confirmed upon reading the text. At the moment of death one encounters the aforesaid cherub. Consequently, I see this frontispiece as having more than just a structural function as a visual cross-reference between the various texts, as Michael Camille convincingly postulated for the frontispieces in this manuscript.[61] Indeed, in my view, this particular frontispiece at the same time emphasizes the function of images as mirrors in the capacity of mediating truths that we only are able to see directly at a later time. Hence, the frontispiece of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* alludes explicitly to the relationship between images retrieved from the memory and those one actually sees.[62]

We must still ask, what is the function of the other miniatures depicting the pilgrim's journey in the manuscript? As a first step, the text lets readers know that the image of the goal of pilgrim's journey, which he witnesses in the mirror at the time he sets out, does not remain at the place of his departure but accompanies him on his travels in the form of a mirror on the knob of his staff to make sure it will not be forgotten.[63] Hence it is not just a memory but stays with him in the shape of a physical *memento*.[64] According to Rosemond Tuve, over the course of the text, too, the subsequent dream visions of the events of the journey may be considered as a "world of (true) spiritual significances adumbrated by the (real) phenomenal world" in keeping with the traditional affiliation between mirrors and allegory.[65] Therefore—and opinions are relatively unanimous in this—we are dealing with allegorical

55 Legaré/Pomel 2003, 128.

56 Legaré/Pomel 2003, 128.

57 Another option would be to consider if the cherub here is related to the guardian figures featured in the *Roman de la rose* instead of the visionary messenger. See Bogen 2001, 307.

58 I am indebted to Christian Heck for this reference.

59 Additionally the miniature illustrates monks who manage to climb over the walls in different ways as well as poor people whom St Peter lets in through the gates. In this way, the narrator refers to the imperative of being poor and the comparison that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God (v. 174–177).

60 See Camille 1984, 148, as well as Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 142–143.

61 See Camille 1984, 152.

62 Robert L. A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn have suggested that also the arrows in the depiction of the Ten Commandments as the frontispiece of the manuscript as a whole reference the arrows which can be found in an illustration of the *Roman de la rose*. See Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 139.

63 See also Legaré/Pomel 2003, 132–134.

64 For a more detailed discussion on the function of memory in the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* see Hagen 1990.

65 Tuve 1974, 199.

Fig. 11.7: Cherub, Sex ale Cherubim, northern France, ca. 1400. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 845, fol. 160v.

images that are meant to be regarded both as sensually perceivable objects and visualizations of ideas. Indeed, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* appears to counter the critique of a "not-yet achieved differentiation between dream and reality"[66] by means of visual allegory that corresponds with the function of dream visions in regard to God-given ends.[67]

As far as the miniatures are concerned, Clark and Sheingorn have pointed out that in the Arras anthology the majority of the illustrations are "associated with the rubric 'actor' [i.e. auctor][…]. This placement keeps the narrative voice aligned with the dreamer's eyes so that the reader-viewer 'sees' the dream-vision through the dreamer rather than individual characters."[68] The result is that "these miniatures show what the dreamer claims he saw, that is, they assist the reader-viewer in re-creating the

66 Bogen 2001, 319.
67 Again, we could enquire into a comparable function of allegory in Persian literature. On this topic see Meisami 1987.

68 Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 127.

visual experience of the dream-vision."[69] Likewise their placement in the text accentuates the fact that the miniatures do not represent real events but a dream vision.

Against this background we can surmise—with regard to the illustration of a mirror at the beginning of the manuscript of the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*—that the reader is confronted by an image that, while physically visible, is of a transcendental world, which may be understood as an emblematic visualization of how the manuscript miniatures are to be regarded. And perhaps it must even be considered as emblematic for the manuscript itself. At least one rubric of the Arras manuscript refers to the trilogy—of which, by the way, all three parts begin with a dream—as "beautiful mirror of salvation (*biaus miroirs de sauvement*)."[70] In this way, the mirror accompanies the readers on their way as a continual reminder that dream visions, just like the miniatures, are not only representations of reality and must instead be comprehended as allegories of the path that leads to Heavenly Jerusalem.[71]

3 Thresholds between a material and an immaterial realm: dreams and books in comparison

Thus, in the manuscripts of Guillaume's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and Khvājū's *Mathnavīs* discussed here, we can observe parallels in the way that dreams are represented as visualizing realms not accessible to visual perception and, concomitantly, in the way dream visions are presented as ideal images. Above all, the miniatures representing dream images at the beginning of the text in both manuscripts each provide a model for comprehending visual imagery in a way consistent with this understanding of dreams: images are able to convey ideas otherwise not physically perceptible to the senses, and disclose a view of things that can only be seen directly later. In the case of the French manuscript this is only after death, and in the case of the Persian manuscript it is by endeavoring more and more to acquire the characteristics distinguishing the holy mystics. At the same time, the memory of these images shapes the viewer's perception of the subsequent miniatures, either revealing transgressions of the text block that may indicate transcending the visible realm, or, in regard to the subject of death, recalling the presaged confrontation with the cherub at the start of the text. In this way, the miniatures at the beginning of the texts provide a backdrop and act as models for the understanding of subsequent miniatures as both visual images and as visualizations of the hereafter. The miniatures thus not only display the function of dreams as "ideal" images, but also present themselves in such a function, demonstrating within the manuscript how the memory of images shapes visual perception.

In light of these similarities, the question remains to what extent Khvājū-yi Kirmānī and Guillaume de Deguileville took recourse to conceptions of dreams that were transferred between the Near East and Europe. For instance, it could be that in both texts references to the dream theories of Ibn Sīnā can be traced.[72] At least it is said of Khvājū-yi Kirmānī that—before studying with the above mentioned Simnānī—he was a student in a Sufi fraternity whose founder is considered to have been in direct contact with Ibn Sīnā.[73] And Kathryn Lynch has emphasized how important Ibn Sīnā's dream theory, which became accessible in the West in the twelfth century, was for developing a conception of imagination that was thought to facilitate the right way of interpreting dreams in its reference to reason and in taking recourse to memory.[74]

Besides this search for a shared tradition, it can, however, be emphasized that both manuscripts are concerned about not being understood as profane tomes. As far as content goes, both writings strive toward banishing physical desire. Guillaume de Deguileville presented his dream of a pilgrimage as a spiritual counter-model to Jean le Meun's dreams of physical love. Khvājū-yi Kirmānī's epics are concerned with processes of purifying human

69 Clark/Sheingorn 2008, 130.

70 Legaré/Pomel 2003, 125. Patricia Eberle points out that le Meun also described the *Roman de la rose* as a "mirror," as a "mirouer aus amoureus." However, this may be paradigmatic for his notions of poetry. See Eberle 1977, 253.

71 For the notion of allegory that this writing relies on see especially Hagen 1990, 145–218. Hagen emphasizes the link between the allegorical readability of the text and contemporary theories of perception, especially that of Pecham, who premised that visual recognition relied on reason for linking objects perceived via the senses with universals stored in the memory (see Hagen 1990, 29). Hence, also here, allegorical readings involve a process that connects images as perceived by the senses with transcendental concepts.

72 Ibn Sīnā in turn took recourse to the dream theories of the ancient Greeks, which were later also adopted in Western European thought. It would be appropriate to also investigate the reception of Greek theories in Byzantine visual culture. However, this goes beyond my regional competence. On the relationship between dreams and seeing in Byzantine visual culture see, for example, Schellewald 2012.

73 Fitzherbert 1991, 141. Fitzherbert also points out that Brown presumes that the *Garden of Lights* was written at the tomb of this sheikh (138).

74 See Lynch 1988, 66–67.

love.[75] Correspondingly, the visual design of the manuscripts underscores the fact that, in both cases, appreciation of the books should in no way be reduced to just their physical qualities. Instead, visual comprehension of the books is meant to mediate between the material and the immaterial world, as a dream vision does. Dream images are thus represented as exemplary intermediaries between the material and the immaterial aspects of vision, and also as images to be remembered as models for the subsequent comprehension of the book as a threshold between a material and an immaterial realm.

(Translated by Christina Oberstebrinck)

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Rostislav Tumanov

12 Devotional Re-enactment on the Way Through the Book

The Peculiar Layout of the Copenhagen Hours

The Copenhagen Hours,[1] named after the Royal Library in Copenhagen where it is currently kept, can be ascribed to the workshop of the well-known French illuminator Jean Poyet. While the texts it contains are quite ordinary for a late medieval French book of hours, it features a remarkable layout that is quite unique.[2] A total of sixteen diamond-shaped illuminations, each placed in the middle of the page, are distributed throughout the manuscript. The leaves between every two miniatures feature rhomboid holes in place of pictures. When the Copenhagen Hours is opened, a pair of images opposite to one another is visible through these "peepholes" (figs. 12.1, 12.4).[3] The perforated pages on top of the miniatures form a type of deep box picture frame. When reading the prayer texts and turning the pages, this box frame is removed layer by layer from the miniature on the right, and at the same time built up again on top of the miniature on the left. In doing so, the reader is under the impression that he[4] is crossing the distance between the two images. The book therefore appears to him as a type of space, which can be entered and traversed in the act of reading.

This effect may seem quite simple at first. Throughout the Copenhagen Hours, however, it is utilized in a number of different ways. By turning the pages of the manuscript, the reader becomes actively involved in episodes of salvation history, and is made an active part of the proceedings.

In this paper I will present three different examples of how such an active involvement of the reader could play out. In the first one the daily prayer routine turns into a re-enactment of the life of the Virgin Mary as well as of the incarnation of Christ. The second example starts out at the same exact point as the first one, presenting an alternative path for the reader to take. Where before he followed the flow of the text, he now has to turn against the reading direction to discover another way to participate in salvific history. The third and last example deals with a curious case where images seem to explicitly contradict the aim of the text that they accompany. The reader is apparently invited to indulge in king David's unlawful carnal desire while at the same time reading prayers that are supposed to keep him from sin.

1 Books of hours: history, contents, and usage

Books of hours were likely the single most popular and widely spread type of prayer book during the late medieval period. Even though a few specimens can be dated as early as the eleventh century, the heyday of this type of devotional book was the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. A great number of these oftentimes lavishly illuminated codices have been produced in

1 The Copenhagen Hours is the main object of my Ph.D. dissertation, see Tumanov 2017. Further mentionings and short descriptions of the codex can be found in Hofmann 2004, 26–27 and 98–100; Wieck/Voelkle/Hearne (eds.) 2000, 37–39 as well as in the context of a digital facsimile at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/775/eng/. In Büttner 2004, the author discusses it briefly, dismissing its layout as playful but flawed. It is debatable whether he had properly investigated the manuscript prior to making his conclusions.

2 The only other known medieval codex with a similar design is the so-called Petau Hours, produced around the same time, in the same workshop. Today, that manuscript is part of a private collection. Originally my aim was to compare these two codices. However, I was not able to obtain the rights to publish any images of the Petau Hours. For that reason this article will deal with the Copenhagen Hours only.

3 The motifs depicted in the miniature pairs are as follows: first pair: John on Patmos (fol. 6v) and Madonna with Child (fol. 14r); second pair: Mary of the Annunciation (fol. 14v) and Angel of the Annunciation (fol. 22r); third pair: Nativity of Christ (fol. 22v) and Flight into Egypt (fol. 30r); fourth pair: Assumption of Mary (fol. 30v) and Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (fol. 46r); fifth pair: David looking through a window (fol. 46v) and Bathsheba bathing (fol. 53r); sixth pair: Christ carrying the cross (fol. 53v) and Pentecost (fol. 56r); seventh pair: Job on a mound of dung (fol. 56v) and Job's three friends (fol. 72r); eighth pair: Throne of Mercy (fol. 72v) and Dispersion of the Apostles (fol. 77r).

4 Very little is known about the original owner of the Copenhagen Hours. Some passages suggest that it was produced for a man. Therefore, in this article I will refer to the reader as male.

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Domine la
bia mea ap
eries. Et os
meum annu
ciabit laudem tuam.
Deus in adiutorium
meum intende. Domi
ne ad adiuvandum me
festina. Gloria patri &
filio & spiri
tui sancto.
Sicut e
rat in princi
pio & nunc
& semper et
in secula secu
lorum. Amen
Alleluya.
Invitatorium
Ave maria
gratia plena
dominus tecum.
Venite exultemus
domino iubilem'
deo salutari nostro preo
cupemus faciem eius in
confessione & in psalmis
iubilemus ei. Ave maria
gratia plena dominus te
cum. Quoniam deus
magnus dominus &
rex magnus super omnes
deos quoniam non repel
let dominus plebem sua
quia in manu eius sunt
omnes fines terre & alti
tudines moncium ipse co
spicit. Dominus tecum.
Quoniam ipsius est
mare & ipse
fecit illud &
aridam fun
daverunt
manus eius
venite adore
mus & pro
cidamus an
te deum plo
remus cora
domino qui
fecit nos qz
ipse est dominus deus
noster nos autem popu
lus eius & oves pascue ei'
Ave maria gratia plena
dominus tecum. Hodie
si vocem eius audieritis
nolite obdurare corda ve
stra sicut in exacerbatio
ne secundum diem tenta

Fig. 12.1: Virgin and Angel of the Annunciation, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 14v–15r. The Angel of the Annunciation (on fol. 22r) can only be seen trough the perforated pages on the recto.

Fig. 12.1: (Continued)

manuscript and later in print form.[5] Books of hours were primarily commissioned by wealthy and educated laypeople, who used them for their daily prayer routine or gave them away as precious gifts.[6]

The term "book of hours" is derived from the Liturgy of the Hours that encompasses eight units of prayer, which are distributed over the course of the whole day. Initially this complex devotional practice was reserved for the members of the clergy. Four of these units are associated with certain times of day and follow each other in intervals of three hours. *Prime* is prayed at six o'clock in the morning, *Terce* at nine am, *Sext* at midday, and finally *None* at three pm. A fifth unit called *Matins* is subdivided into three parts, the so-called nocturnes, and spread over the course of the night. The remaining three units had no fixed point in time as they were triggered by the course of the sun. *Lauds* was prayed at dawn, *Vespers* at dusk, and *Compline* at nightfall. The monks used a type of book called the "breviary" for their prayers. Therein the texts were arranged according to the daily routine but also with regard to the course of the ecclesiastical year.[7]

The book of hours offered laypeople the possibility to partake in a devotional practice that was very similar to that but slightly simplified and less rigid. The three nocturnes of *Matins* for example were subsumed into one single unit that could be read at dawn in addition to the *Lauds*.[8] The aim of the book of hours was therefore to provide the reader with the same spiritual merit that had been hitherto reserved for ordained members of the clergy.[9]

The contents of a breviary were tied to the specific customs of a certain diocese. Some characteristics of many books of hours were determined by the geographical area where they were intended to be used and also by the time of their production. Nonetheless, there is a certain canon of texts which are included in almost every book of hours.[10] In addition to several cycles of prayers intended for use during the Litany of the Hours, it also comprises several texts that were especially relevant for the lives of devout laypeople.

On the one hand, the book of hours provided its owner with all the texts necessary to perform a slightly simplified version of the Liturgy of the Hours. Their systematical arrangement allowed for easy access to whatever part of the prayer cycles was needed at any point in time, thereby rendering this complex devotional practice more accessible. On the other hand, it also included a number of prayers, psalms, and excerpts from the Bible, which allowed the reader to partake in a number of different types of devotional exercise and religious meditation.

Many books of hours feature illuminations most of which show scenes from salvation history. The connection between text and image may seem arbitrary at first glance. The majority of the prayers have no narrative structure and do not directly reference any of the depicted events. Nonetheless pictorial decorations and texts are oftentimes intertwined, forming complex and elaborate relationships. One of the main functions of images in books of hours was to steer their readers toward a mode of spiritual perception and to put them in a mood conducive to devotion.[11]

2 The page layout and the miniature pairs of the Copenhagen Hours

It is not unusual for a late medieval book of hours to contain several different types of page layouts. In each of these, the relationship between texts, illuminations, framing elements, and marginal zones can be widely different. Contrary to this tendency, however, the Copenhagen Hours feature only a single, consistent page configuration for every text except the calendar.[12]

The middle of the page shows a rhomboid miniature framed by four triangular ornamental elements. Together these shapes form a rectangular field. This is in turn surrounded by two columns of text, while the page margins remain completely blank throughout the manuscript.

The illuminations of the Copenhagen Hours are always presented in pairs, which in turn comprise semantic or even compositional units bridging the gap between the two sides of an opening. The role of the double-page

5 See Wieck 1988, 27.
6 See Wieck 1988, 27.
7 See Bartz/König 1998, 22.
8 See Bartz/König 1998, 22; Wieck 1997, 51.
9 See Bartz/König 1998, 25.
10 The texts most often found in books of hours are: a calendar of church feasts, four Gospel lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Office for the Dead, the Penitential Psalms followed by Litanies, and finally the Suffrages, see Bartz/König 1998, 59.

11 Theories of how books of hours were read, can be found in Saenger 1985 as well as Reinburg 2012, 84–128. The relevance of images in the context of late medieval devotion is elaborated on in Lentes 2002 and Schuppisser 1993.
12 The calendar of the *Copenhagen Hours* will not be discussed in more detail in this article as neither its contents nor its layout is in any way unusual and therefore of no interest here.

spread as a coherent unit is thereby greatly emphasized. The blank margins of the page do not distract the attention of the recipient and so he is unequivocally drawn towards the two images on the verso and recto. This arrangement suggests a mode of reception that isn't confined to the linear left-to right and top-to-bottom movement of reading. Instead, it motivates the reader's eyes to move back and forth between the miniatures or to try and survey the double-page all at once.

The images forming one of the eight miniature pairs are connected with each other not only in form but also in content. They either show two separate scenes that nonetheless have some connection with one another, or they may even contain a single scene split into two parts. The motifs chosen to accompany the different texts conform to widely used late medieval conventions for the illumination of books of hours.

However, the special design of the Copenhagen Hours, coupled with the composition of the miniature pairs, allows for certain unusual visual effects. By turning one of the perforated pages between the two pictures of a single pair, it is possible to evoke the idea of an interaction between the depicted characters. On the other hand, it also might be seen as a spatial movement or as a temporal progress propelling the reader from one of the depicted scenes towards the other.[13]

3 The life of Mary as a day's journey: the Hours of the Virgin

The Hours of the Virgin are an integral part of every book of hours. They consist of a series of eight units of text[14] that have been transmitted since the ninth century.[15] Each of these units consists of psalms, hymns, and prayers.[16]

In most books of hours, the Hours of the Virgin are illuminated with pictorial cycles retelling the life of the Virgin or—less frequently—the Passion of Christ.[17] For both cycles, a certain standardized sequence of episodes has been established (see table 12.1, column 2 and 3). In some especially lavish specimens, both cycles may even be combined.[18]

Table 12.1: Correlation of texts and images in the standardized cycles for the illumination of the Hours of the Virgin in comparison to the Copenhagen Hours.

1. Hour	2. Life of the Virgin	3. Passion of Christ	4. Copenhagen Hours
Matins	Annunciation	Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane	Annunciation (split up into two miniatures)
Lauds	Visitation	Betrayal of Christ	
Prime	Nativity of Jesus	Christ before Pilate	Nativity of Jesus and Flight into Egypt
Terce	Announcement to the shepherds	Flagellation of Christ	
Sext	Adoration of the Magi	Christ carrying the Cross	
None	Presentation of Jesus at the Temple	Crucifixion	
Vespers	Flight into Egypt	Descent from the Cross	
Compline	Coronation of the Virgin/ Assumption of Mary	Entombment of Christ	Assumption of Mary and Agony in the Garden of Gethsemene

The Hours of the Virgin, which as a whole don't contain any coherent narrative, are therefore regularly combined with cycles of images that retell important passages from the New Testament. In the case of the Passion cycle, there is also an additional layer of correspondence between texts and illuminations. It was widely believed that the time of day when each of the hours was read, directly corresponded to the time when the scene preceding the text actually took place. This intertwining of texts and images allowed the reader to retrace these episodes during the act of prayer and to superimpose them upon his own daily life. Following in the footsteps of Mary or Jesus, the reader would move from one episode to another.

Taking up fifty pages, the Hours of the Virgin are the most voluminous text of the Copenhagen Hours. It is accompanied by three pairs of miniatures. The six illuminations contain five different scenes in total (figs. 12.1–12.3), as one pair depicts a single scene, which has been split up into two parts (see table 12.1, column 4). While the first four scenes depict a shortened version of the Life of the Virgin cycle, the last one shows the first episode of the Passion of Christ. Twice over the course of the text an illuminated page is turned and the pair of images the reader has been

13 Wolfgang Christian Schneider has pointed out similar dynamics for the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, see Schneider 2000; Schneider 2002; as well as Schneider 2009.
14 See Wieck 1997, 51.
15 See Reinburg 2012, 16.
16 See Wieck 1988, 60.
17 See Wieck 1988, 60, 66. A survey of different cyclical and narrative illuminations in books of hours can be found in Büttner 2004.
18 See Büttner 2004, 94–104.

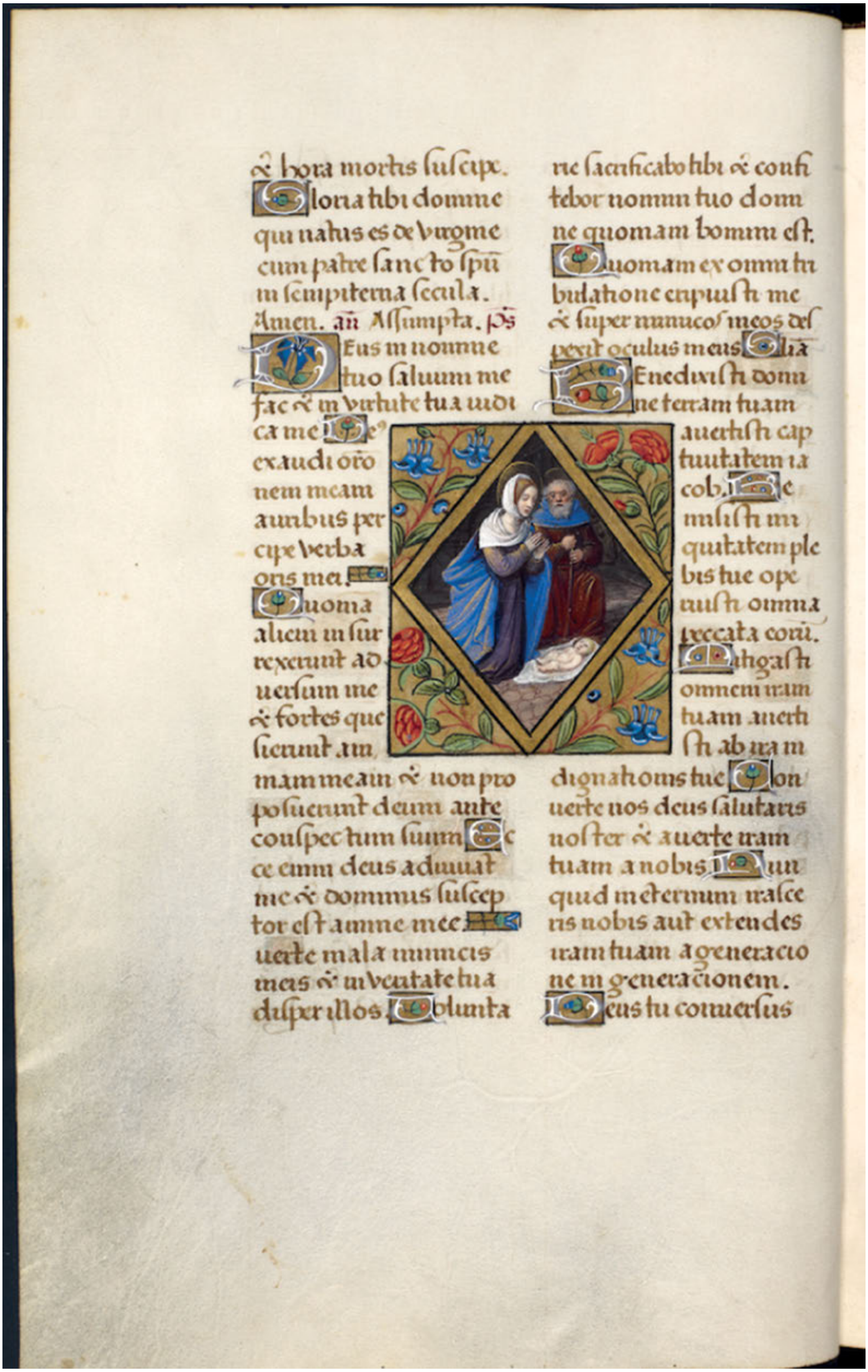

Fig. 12.2: Adoration of the Child and Flight into Egypt, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 22v–23r. The Flight into Egypt (fol. 30r) can only be see through the perforated pages on the recto.

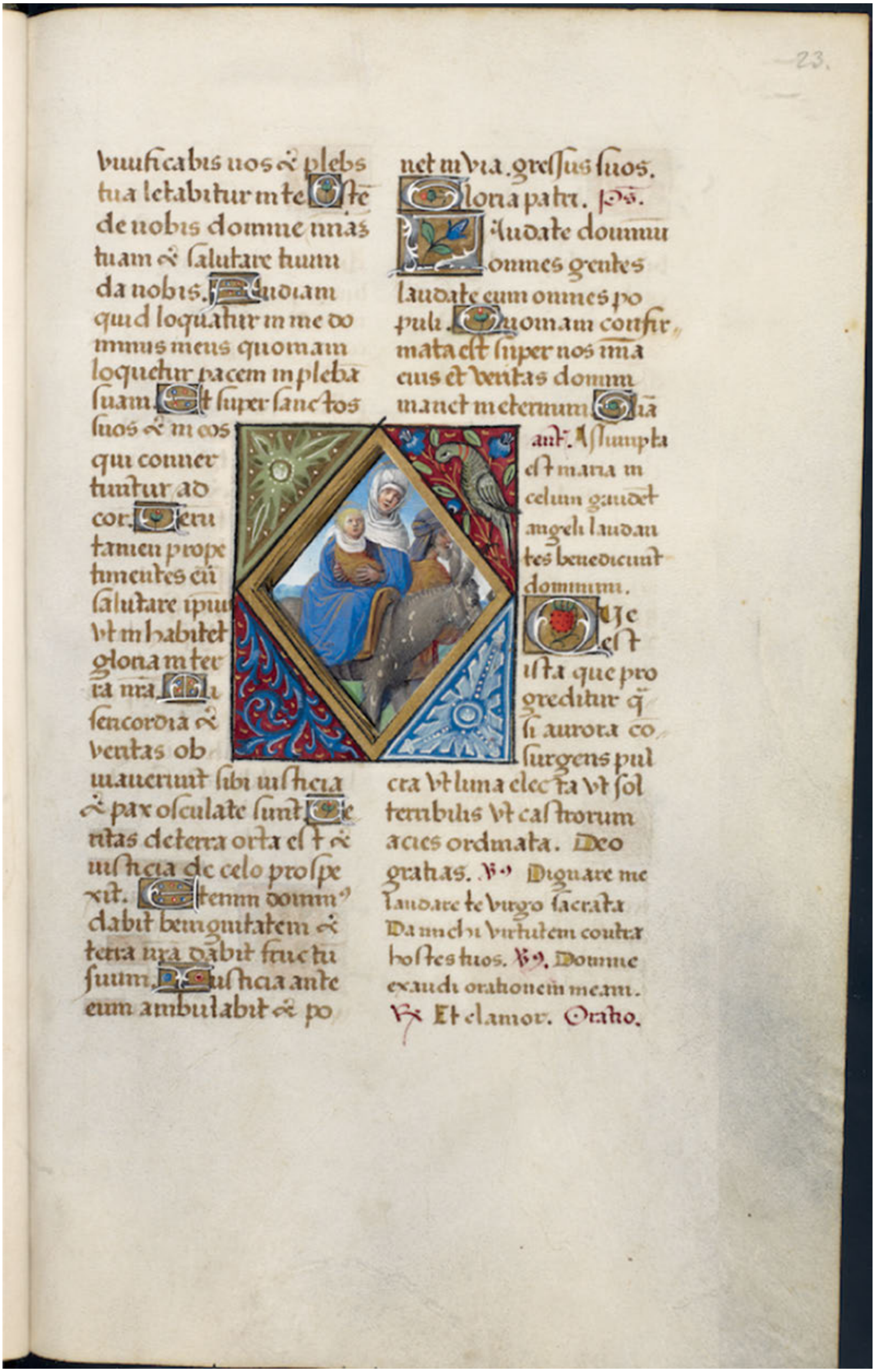

Fig. 12.2: (Continued)

Fig. 12.3: Assumption of Mary and Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 30v–31r. Christi in the Garden of Gethsemane (fol. 46r) can only be seen through the perforated pages on the recto.

31

intende. Domine ad
adiuuandum me festina
Gloria patri. Ps.
Sepe expugnaue
runt me a iuuen
tute mea dicat nunc isrl'
Sepe expugnauerut
me a iuuentute mea etc
nim non potuerunt mi
chi. Supra
dorsum me
um fabrica
uerunt pec
catores pro
longauerut
iniquitatem
suam. Do.
minus iust'
concidet cer
uices pecca
torum con
fundantur & conuerta
tur retrorsum omnes qui
oderunt syon. Fiant
sicut fenum tectorum
quod priusq; euellatur
exaruit. De quo non
impleuit manum suam
qui metet & sinum suu
qui manipulos colliget

Et non dixerunt qui
preteribant benedictio
domini super vos bene
diximus vobis in noie
domini. Gloria. Ps
De profundis cla
maui ad te domi
ne domine exaudi voce
meam. Fiant aures
tue intende
tes in vocem
deprecatio
nis mee. Si
iniquitates
obseruaueris
domine dne
quis sustine
bit. Quia
apud te pro
piciacio est
& propter
legem tuam sustinui te
domine. Sustinuit
anima mea in verbo eius
sperauit anima mea in
domino. A custodia
matutina vsq; ad noc
tem speret israel in dom
no. Quia apud do
minum mia & copiosa

Fig. 12.3: (Continued)

Fig. 12.4: The Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 14v–15r. Folio 15 is in the process of being turned. The Angel of the Annunciation (fol. 22r) can only be seen through the perforated pages on the recto.

looking at over the course of several openings is replaced by the following one. Both of these changes are situated in the midst of a prayer unit. A person using the Copenhagen Hours as a devotional aid would therefore experience them in the act of reading.

Opening the Copenhagen Hours at the start of the Hours of the Virgin, the reader is presented with a pair of miniatures showing Mary of the Annunciation (fol. 14v) and the Angel of the Annunciation (fol. 22r, fig. 12.1). These illuminations accompany *Matins* and *Lauds*, and also the first few lines of *Prime*. The Annunciation scene that is formed by these illuminations emphasizes an interplay between the principles of division and unification as well as between distance and interaction.[19] The angel is God's messenger and therefore he does not belong to the physical world, even though he might appear to be in the same room with Mary. By splitting up the protagonists of the scene and placing them into separate image fields, the distinction between the mortal and the divine sphere is clearly marked. The incarnation of Christ, however, bridges the gap between human and God. By appearing in the same image as Mary, the white dove—a well-known symbol of the Holy Spirit—hints at this moment of transgression. The golden rays of light that originate above the angel's head also seem to continue into the other miniature, furthermore emphasizing the connection between them.

This composition, however, does not seem to fit the layout effect described in the previous section, as the interaction between Mary and the angel is aligned against the direction of reading. The angel's gesture, the flight of the dove and the golden rays all point from right to left.

19 See Logemann 2009, 150–157 for thoughts on how the Annunciation in the Middle Ages was perceived as a moment of transgression.

When reading the text and turning the pages, one therefore apparently moves against the course of the Annunciation. So why has this scene been arranged in such a way that the movement effect produced by the layout of the codex seems to counteract the narrative logic of the images?[20] Poyet painted a substantial number of Annunciation scenes. In some, Mary is placed on the left side of the image with the angel on the right, and in others, the composition is the opposite way around.[21] One can therefore more or less exclude the possibility that the placement of the figures in the Copenhagen Hours is due to some personal preference of the painter. It is also unlikely that Poyet just made a mistake or that he simply misunderstood the peculiar qualities of the manuscript's layout. In fact, this exact compositional choice results in an effect that actively involves the reader in the process of incarnation, by which the divine Word is made flesh.

In turning the perforated pages between the two illuminations, one physically removes them from the angel's side and places them on top of Mary. The folios as carriers of written text become a symbolic representation of the angel's message. In this arrangement the reader plays the role of an intermediary transporting it in the process of his devotional reading and experiences the incarnation as a transmission of the divine Word.

The page on which the miniature of the angel is painted, contains the first few lines of *Prime*. When it is turned during a reading of this prayer unit, the following pair of images appears before the reader's eyes. It shows the Nativity of Christ (fol. 22v) and the Flight into Egypt (fol. 30r, fig. 12.2). The Nativity scene overlays the Mary of the Annunciation. The book in her hands is replaced by the newborn on the stone floor while her posture remains almost unchanged. The reader who has up to now acted as an aide to the angel has brought about the birth of the Son of God with a single movement of his hand. This idea is supported by an interrelation between the change of miniature pairs and the text accompanying this change. The first part of *Prime* is a hymn directly addressing Christ in order to thank him for being born from Mary's womb.[22] The transition from Annunciation to Nativity therefore comes about in the middle of a text that explicitly deals with the incarnation of Christ.

The Nativity and Flight scenes accompany the rest of *Prime*, *Terce*, *Sext*, *None,* and the main part of *Vespers*. As a combination, they can be understood to represent the linear progression of the childhood of Christ or the life of the Virgin, respectively. By turning the perforated pages between the miniatures, the reader follows the course of biblical history. Mary's posture in both images suggests a kinetic impulse in the direction of reading, which also corresponds to the direction of the flight. The Flight into Egypt in itself does not represent the terminal point of this movement. Rather it depicts a moment of transition and a journey into the unknown. Once again, this idea resonates with the text passage that accompanies it. The last lines on folio 30r—which feature the image of the Flight—address Mary as the Queen of the World (*regina mundi*) and ask for her intercession before God.[23] She is thereby not only addressed in a highly reverent manner but also credited with the ability to directly contact God and even to exert a certain influence over him. Such honorific titles, however, seem completely out of place when compared to the Flight into Egypt, where the Mother of God is riding a lowly donkey towards an uncertain future. These last few lines of text are once again to be taken as a forecast of things to come. The Flight into Egypt (fol. 30r) turns into the Assumption of Mary (fol. 30v, fig. 12.3) showing Mary's ascent into heaven as a precursor to her crowning as *regina mundi*. On the one hand, this change is a linear continuation of the life of the Virgin. The Flight precedes the Assumption. At the same time, the scenes are put into stark contrast against each other. Both images show a moment of transition. The danger and vagueness of the journey to Egypt is the polar opposite of the peaceful and happy passage between earthly and heavenly existence.

The two remaining images that make up both of these miniature pairs (Nativity of Christ and Agony in the Garden of Gethsemene) relate to each other in a similar fashion. Both of them show Christ accompanied by other figures. In the Nativity scene he is the center of loving and devout attention. In the Agony, however, he seems to have been forsaken by his disciples, who have not only turned away from him but have also fallen asleep.

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20 There is, of course, always the possibility of turning the pages against the direction of reading. This possibility will be discussed at length in the following section.

21 See Hofmann 2004, i.a. 231, 252, 257, and 262. Still, the placement of the angel on the right side of Mary is relatively unusual (see Denny 1977), which would once again underscore the idea of this composition being more than a result of a mere coincidence or artistic bias.

22 "Memento salutis auctor./ Quod nostri quondam corporis,/ Ex illibata virgine/ Nascendo, formam sumpseris./ Maria mater gratiae,/ Mater misericordiae,/ Tu nos ab hoste protege,/ Et hora mortis suscipe./ Gloria tibi Domine,/ Qui natus es de virgine,/ Cum patre, et sancto spiritu,/ In sempiterna saecula. Amen."

23 "An. Beata mater et intacta virgo gloriosa regina mundi, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. V. Domine exaudi orationem meam. R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat."

4 Re-enacting the incarnation on the way out of the book

In the previous section we followed the reader along the path of his daily reading of the Hours of the Virgin. By doing so we seemingly ignored a visual queue that the Annunciation scene presented us with and moved against the direction of the interaction between Mary and the angel. In this way, we were able to see how the turning of the pages was actually a way to actively involve the reader in the dramaturgy of this central scene of human salvation.

Now, however, we shall heed the kinetic impulse inherent in this depiction of the Annunciation. We shall follow the angel's emphatic gesture and the flight of the dove and move against the direction of reading. As soon as folio 14 is turned backwards, the two images showing Mary and the Angel are replaced by the proceeding miniature pair depicting John on Patmos and the Madonna (fig. 12.5). An especially remarkable change occurs between the two images painted on the opposing sides of folio 14: The Mary of the Annunciation (fol. 14v) is replaced by the Madonna (fol. 14r). The book in Mary's lap has been replaced by the child in her arms, while her clothes, her posture and her appearance have remained almost the same. Once again, the incarnation of Christ has been triggered by flipping a page.

In this context the image of the Evangelist on folio 6v takes on an important meaning. In the Copenhagen Hours the depiction of John on Patmos accompanies the Gospel lessons, which is a common motive for this passage in a book of hours. Even though it leads into an excerpt from his Gospel, the apostle is depicted at a later time in his life, as it was during his banishment on the island of Patmos that John received the vision of the Last Judgment and wrote it down as the Book of Revelation.

The combination of these four images forms a sequence that indicates the course of salvation history from the Annunciation to an outlook on the End of Times. The two depictions of Mary play a pivotal role in this arrangement. Not only do they connect the two pairs of images into one continuous sequence, at the same time they allow the reader to re-enact one of the most sacred miracles of the Christian faith with a simple gesture.

The image of John, however, has a further symbolic meaning, putting the codex's almost playful layout into perspective. On Patmos, John has become a visionary who has no more need for pictures or even texts to lead him into an effective mode of devotion, allowing him to see the divine without any mediation. His gaze has already left the illuminated book, demonstrating the ideal mental state that the owner of the Copenhagen Hours should aspire to achieve.

5 Desire and prayer: the Penitential Psalms

Similar to the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms—a sequence of seven Psalms[24] followed by a litany[25]—are an integral part of almost every single book of hours. In the Christian as well as in the Jewish traditions, they are believed to have been authored by David, king of the Israelites. The events leading up to their origin can be found in Samuel 2,11.[26] It is told, that one day David by chance observed Bathsheba, the wife of his subordinate Uriah, while she was taking a bath. Desiring her body, the king sent out a servant to deliver her to him, and then he slept with her and left her pregnant. To cover up his misdeed, he summoned Uriah, who was fighting in a war as the king's soldier, to his palace and offered him the chance to spend a night with his wife before returning to the battlefield. But Uriah declined the offer, stating that he would not lay with her until the war was won. After his scheme was thwarted, David decided to rid himself of his problem once and for all. He wrote a message for Uriah to deliver to his army. In this message David ordered his generals to put the cuckolded husband on the frontline of battle, so that he would surely be killed. This time the king's plan was successful, thereby making him not only an adulterer but also a murderer. A short while later David made Bathsheba one of his many wives. In the end, the prophet Nathan appeared before the king, reproached him for his sins, and told him that they would not go unpunished. To avert God's wrath and to find forgiveness, David authored the Penitential Psalms. His first son born out of the adulterous relationship to Bathsheba died in his infancy, but the king escaped further repercussions.

At least since the sixth century the Penitential Psalms have been considered to be an effective means to attain God's forgiveness.[27] The litany, which regularly follows the Psalms without any pronounced transition, first addresses God, the archangels, and several other biblical personalities, asking them for support and assistance. These

24 According to the enumeration of the *Vulgata* those are the Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142.
25 See Bartz/König 1998, 118.
26 See Costley 2004, 1237.
27 See Wieck 1997, 91.

invocations are in turn followed by a number of petitions and finally the litany closes with several prayers.

In books of hours there are two main ways to illustrate the Penitential Psalms. One of them centers around the depiction of the Last Judgment with Christ as Judge of the World. More often, however, they are accompanied with scenes from the life of David.[28] Before the end of the fifteenth century, motifs like David doing penance, playing the harp or slaying Goliath are very common as an introduction into the text. Since the 1480s, however, a depiction of David observing the naked Bathsheba becomes almost ubiquitous, even though it had hardly been used in books of hours in the years before. In most of these images, David is shown staring at the bathing woman through a window. It is possible that illuminators took up this opportunity to present the reader with an erotic scene, which was more likely to coax them towards a sinful gaze rather than facilitate their penance.[29] This episode, however, also frequently appeared in moralistic contexts throughout the Middle Ages.[30] The tale of adultery, murder, and penance acted as a warning for men to keep their eyes and their base desires in check when dealing with women. A lecherous gaze was already the first step on the path towards sin.[31] To prevent this, ocular desire—supposedly a purely male problem—had to be eliminated. Rigid training and control of bodily sight was considered to be the only sure way to protect oneself from the dangers inherent to female beauty. In such cautionary examples, Bathsheba could appear either as an innocent victim or as an evil seductress with the later idea gaining more and more prominence from the fifteenth century on.[32] Regardless of the part that is given to Uriah's wife, however, the episode is used to emphasize the grave danger threatening every man who could not keep his eyes to himself. One should never feel absolutely secure when even the virtuous David could be overcome by his carnal appetites.

Next to the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms are the only text of the Copenhagen Hours to contain more than one pair of images. The first of those depicts David looking through a window (fol. 46v) and Bathsheba bathing (fol. 53r, fig. 12.6). Once more, a single event has been split up into two illuminations. By turning the perforated pages lying between the miniatures, the reader follows the king's gaze and slowly moves towards Bathsheba until he finally reaches her on folio 53r. While every single depiction of this episode has the potential to seduce the onlooker into fixating his attention on Bathsheba's nakedness, its presentation in the Copenhagen Hours seems especially effective in this regard. The sinful image cannot be made to disappear by the turning of a page. On the contrary, Bathsheba appears to be a sort of end point or even goal to be approached in the act of reading. The moral implications of the text and the sensual content of the images stand in stark contrast to each other.

The litany, however, does not end on the folio carrying the Bathsheba-miniature. To finish it, one has to turn the page one more time and thereby replace the pair of images by the following one. The king and the object of his gaze give way to Christ carrying the cross (fol. 53v) and the Pentecost (fol. 56r, fig. 12.7).

This sequence of four illuminations indicates a pictorial arrangement that once again actively involves the reader. This time, it emphasizes his potential to succumb to the seductive power of physical images. What seems to start out as an invitation to gaze at a beautiful, naked female, to slowly close in on her page by page, suddenly turns into a reminder of Christ's suffering and death. If the reader allows himself to follow his lustful urges, then the Passion of Christ, which freed mankind from original sin, has ultimately been for naught. Such a warning is especially pertinent in connection to the Penitential Psalms. When one is susceptible to sin while reading a text that serves as a means to atone for former transgressions, putting up better moral defenses seems advisable.

This visual effect mainly depends on the stark contrast between the two pairs of miniatures. Analogous to the transition from the Flight into Egypt to the Assumption of Mary, the two images sharing the opposing sides of the same folio play an important role. Bathsheba gives way to Christ going through the agony of his Passion. The reader who has possibly allowed himself to be attracted by a tantalizing illumination is directly confronted with a depiction of suffering and humiliation. On the other hand, both pairs in their entirety act as polar opposites to each other. David's sin is superimposed by Christ's sacrifice while lewd Bathsheba is replaced by the pure and chaste Mother of God.

There is, however, an alternative reading for this sequence of images that allows for a more ambivalent interpretation. Instead of an antithetical opposition, the two miniature pairs can be seen as a continuous narrative sequence. In this case, the Passion of Christ and the Pentecost scene are shown to be the direct results of David's desire for Uriah's wife. It is a well-known fact that Christ was believed to be a direct descendant of David.

28 See Bartz/König 1998, 118.

29 See Wieck 1997, 95.

30 See Wenzel 2001, 91–92.

31 A summary of the connection between sight and sin made in the Middle Ages can be found in Lentes 2002, 196–207.

32 See Wenzel 2001, 95–97.

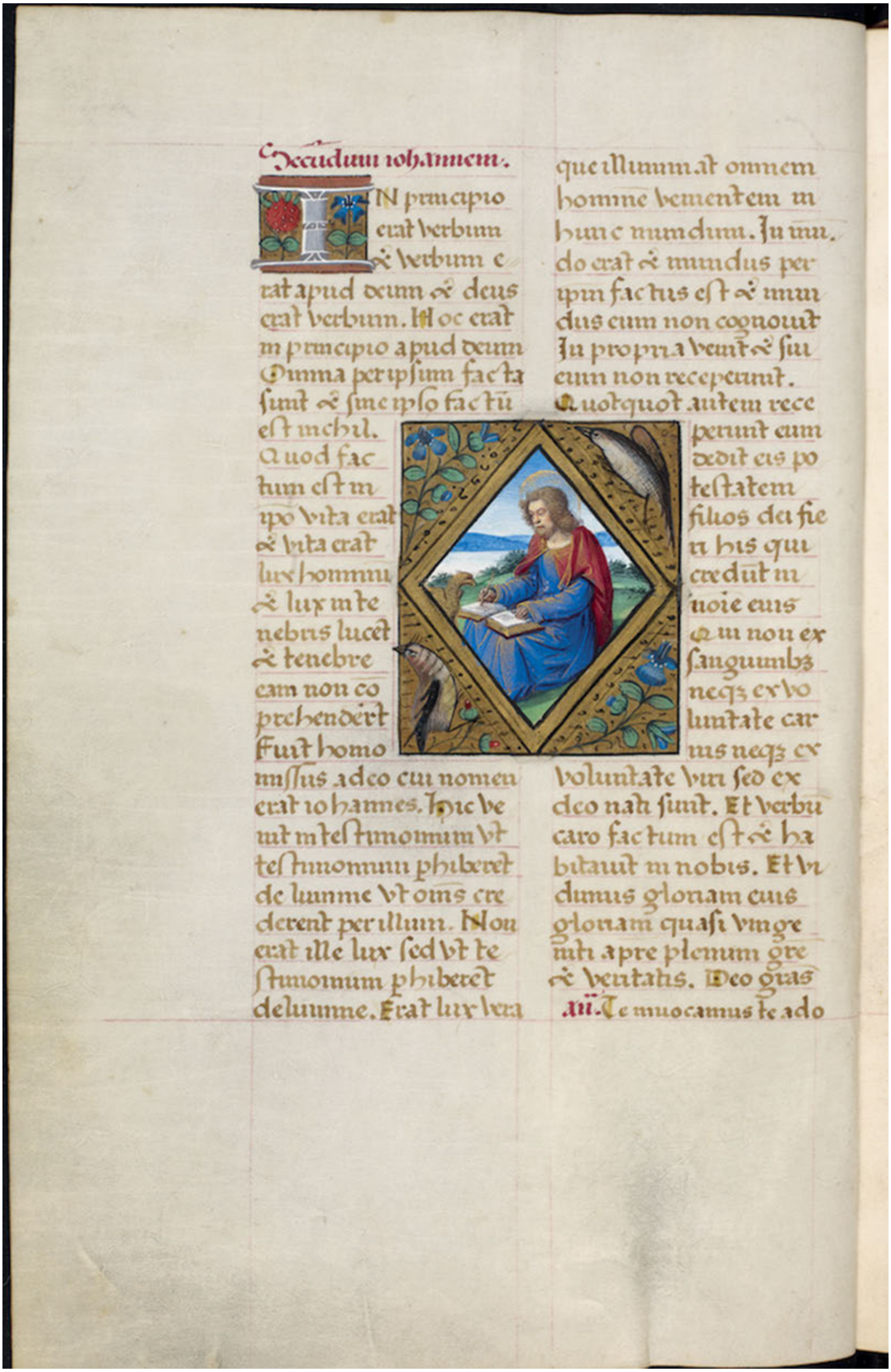

Fig. 12.5: St John on Patmos and the Virgin and Child, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 6v–7r. The Virgin with Child (fol. 14r) can only be seen through the perforated pages on the recto.

Fig. 12.5: (Continued)

Fig. 12.6: David looking through a window and Bathsheba at the bath, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 46v–47r. Bathseba at the bath (fol. 53r) can only be seen through the perforated pages on the recto.

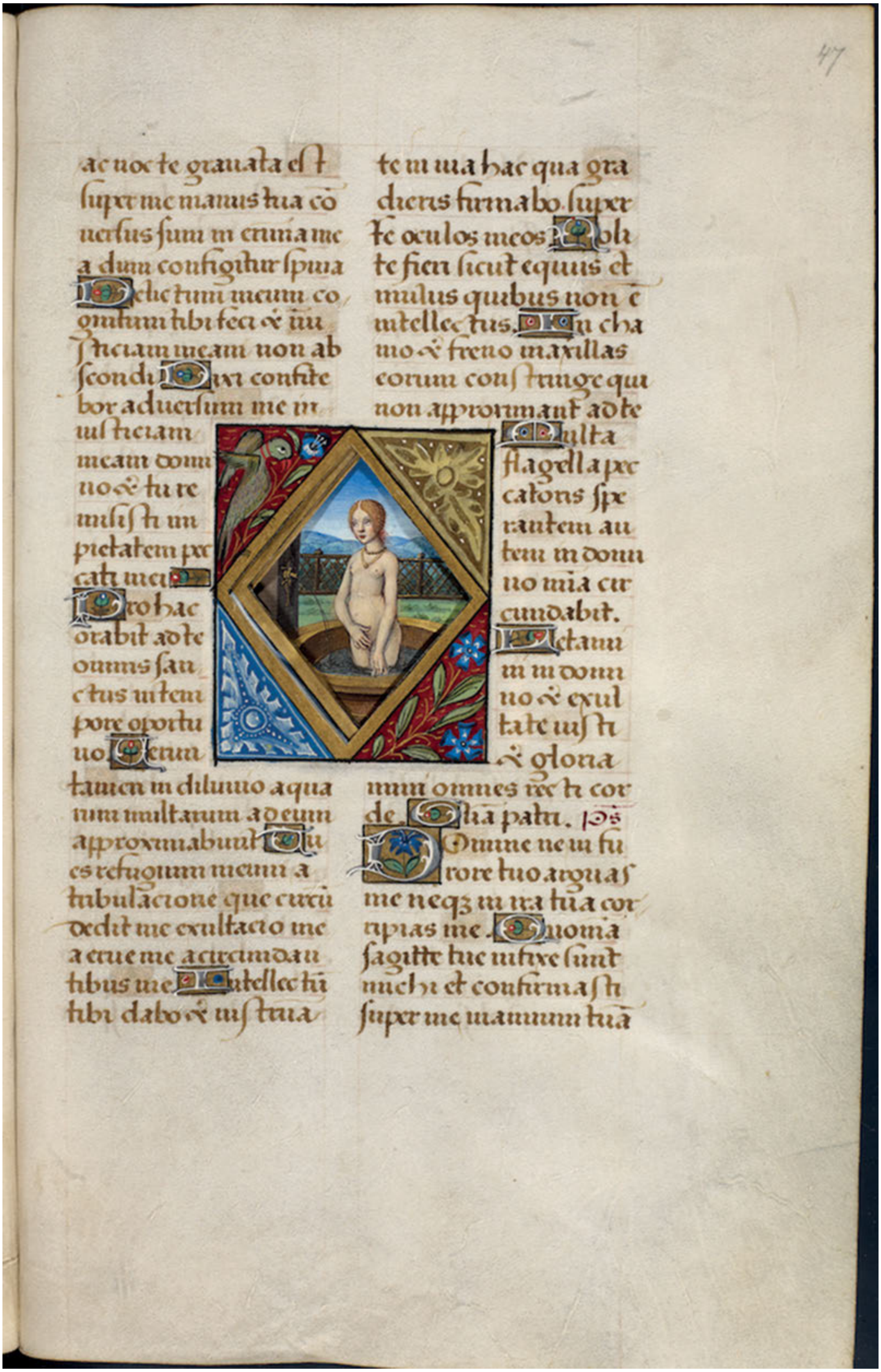

Fig. 12.6: (Continued)

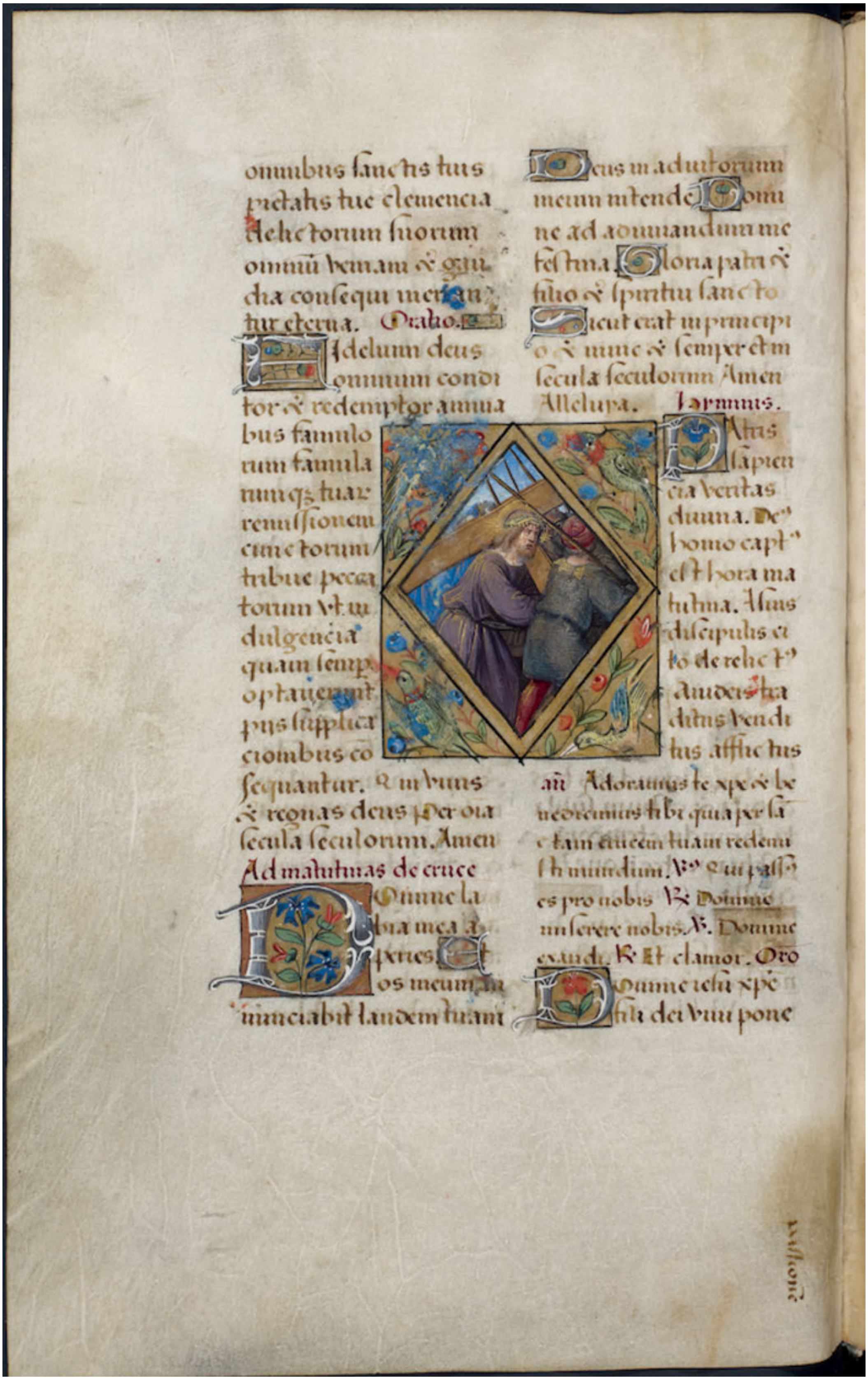

Fig. 12.7: Christ carrying the cross and Pentecost, The Copenhagen Hours, ca. 1500. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 541 4°, fol. 53v–54r. The Pentecost-scene (fol. 56r) can only be see through the perforated pages on the recto.

Fig. 12.7: (Continued)

However, if one adheres to the genealogy given in the Gospel of Matthew 1,1–17, he is a direct descendant of Bathsheba as well.[33] Such a reading would in a way justify the king's transgression by legitimizing it through its momentous positive consequences. If Christ's Passion and sacrifice follow from David's sin, then so does the salvation of mankind, which is made possible by the death and resurrection of the Son of God. This variant reading is not supposed to invalidate the first, much more moralistic interpretation. Indeed, it seems impossible for me to decide whether one of these two possibilities is intended to be the main reading, or whether the ambiguity between repudiation and legitimation is actually an intended part of the manuscript's pictorial program, forcing the reader to dwell on the question of ocular desire and to finally draw his own conclusions.

6 Conclusion

Books of hours figured prominently in the devotional practice of wealthy medieval laypeople, not only as reservoirs for texts and images but also as actual physical objects. These oftentimes lavishly illuminated books provided their owners with all the texts needed for day-to-day devotion, structured in a way that reduced the effort to find the needed passages to a minimum. Furthermore, their pictorial programs could influence the reader's state of mind and thereby support them in their prayers.

The Copenhagen Hours with its peculiar layout presents us with an interesting example of this type of devotional book. It calls the reader's attention to the fact that the codex itself is a three-dimensional object which he moves through, by reading and turning its pages. In addition to that, the arrangement of its miniatures produces numerous semantic interrelations between them. These connections are actualized by leafing through the book. The three examples considered in this article have shown how the reader himself is actively involved into the effects that unfold before his very eyes. In the Hours of the Virgin, he can retrace central episodes from the life of Mary, including the birth of Christ, and actually help out in the process.

Instead of following this path in the direction of the text, he can instead turn back and discover another string of images which also allows him to re-enact the incarnation of the Son of God by flipping a single piece of parchment. On this path, the reader is furthermore confronted with a reminder that all physical images are inferior to real visionary perception.

The miniatures accompanying the longest part of the Penitential Psalms on the other hand seem to clearly embody the dangers inherent in these physical images. While reciting prayers that are supposed to keep him free from sin, the reader actually follows king David's sinful gaze, joining him in his illicit desire. This instance of ocular seduction, however, is immediately followed by a moralistic reminder that emphatically stresses the need for earnest and devout prayer.

Yet there is an alternative reading of the same arrangement of miniatures that seems to justify David's sin instead of repudiating it. Defying a clear interpretation, this sequence of miniatures manages to remain ambiguous and leaves it to the reader to make a decision for himself.

33 Bathsheba is the mother of Salomon, who in turn is mentioned as Christ's ancestor.

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Part V: **The Performance of Sacred Scripture**

Vladimir Ivanovici

13 The Ritual Display of Gospels in Late Antiquity

1 Introduction

For the past two decades, late antique and medieval Gospel books have been addressed as artefacts and various implications of their materiality analyzed.[1] Drawing on the results of these studies I propose the existence of a particular relationship between the object, its setting, and its referents, namely Christ and the bishop. The jeweled Gospel book was a key element in the carefully orchestrated liturgical performance popularized in the sixth century. As my analysis of its use, iconography, and materiality indicates, bishops capitalized on the object's symbolic potential to instill meaning in the ritual performance and stress the Christic dimension of their office.

2 Christ made portable

According to Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–340), in 331 CE Emperor Constantine (306–337) requested the production of fifty liturgical books made of precious materials.[2] They were to be used in the churches he intended to build in Constantinople. If correct, the information indicates Constantine's role in the development of an aesthetic of the Gospel book. As with other elements of the cult, the emperor seems to have opened the way for the use of the common visual vocabulary of power and sanctity in the production of liturgical manuscripts. Gold, light, and sanctity often overlapped in late Antiquity, with gold being held to emit light and light being the main vehicle of theophany in the period. The three elements met in the Gospel books that were enveloped in the "jeweled style" particular to the period.[3] In his famous letter to Eustochium, Jerome (ca. 347–420) lamented that "parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted for lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels: and Christ lies at their door naked and dying."[4] Rather than being just a matter of taste, the adorning of Gospel books intersects a number of crucial phenomena and casts light on the complex dynamic existing between Christianity and late antique society in general. Firstly, the use of expensive materials opens the discussion on the Church's new access to resources.[5] Secondly, the use of purple and gold (the symbols *par excellence* of wealth and power) testifies to the adoption of the common visual idiom of power.[6] Thirdly, due to the crediting of reflective materials with emitting light the particular decorative aesthetic had an important revelatory dimension as light was the main vehicle of theophany in the period.[7] All three processes reflect a turning point in Christian practice as they signal the abandoning of the "sensory austerity" that characterized its ritual practice in the first centuries CE.[8] The sacraments now introduced by the Church responded to contemporary expectations by offering God to the senses. Adorned Gospels were, I argue, a key element in the process.

To Christians living the change, the decision to adorn the covers and pages of Gospel books would have likely appeared as a natural reaction to the object's sacredness rather than as a change of sensibility towards wealth.[9] As testified by texts regarding Christian behavior during the Diocletianic persecution, the Gospel book was assimilated

1 Hurtado 2006; Lowden 2007; Kruger 2012; Ganz 2015.
2 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Vita Constantini* 4,36 (ed. Heinichen 1830, 266–267). On the content of the books Constantine ordered, see Robbins 1987.
3 Term coined by Roberts 1989. The jeweled style was characterized by *varietas*/ποικιλία and was defined by Thomas 2002, 39 as an "aesthetic of adornment that revels in polychromatic juxtapositions and contrasts which seek to outdo as much as to replicate effects seen in the natural world."
4 "Membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices uestiuntur et nudus ante fores earum christus emoritur." Hieronymus, *Epistola* 22,32 (ed. Hilberg, 193, transl. Wright, 130–133).
5 The process was studied in detail with his usual perceptiveness by Brown 2012.
6 Because, according to Janes 1998, 45 "The Church adopted many of the images as well as the ways of that world. This enabled the new sect to communicate effectively and so to bring about the maximum number of conversions." "People's visual symbolic language was rooted largely outside the Church. Therefore, secular metaphors had to be used in Christian propaganda, or else such arguments would not have been comprehensible to the masses." Ibid., 117–118.
7 Because they did not differentiate well between emitted and reflected light, many reflective materials were held to be light sources. On light as theophanic medium in late Antiquity, see Schibille 2014; Ivanovici 2016.
8 On sensory austerity, see Ashbrook Harvey 2006, 46. On the staging of synaesthetic ritual experiences, see Ivanovici 2016.
9 On the sacredness of liturgical books in early Christianity, see Rapp 2007.

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to Christ before its adornment began. During the 303 CE persecution, manuscripts containing the cult's sacred texts were the first thing the Roman authorities asked to be handed over by the Christian communities, and the last objects to be given up.[10] Both the communities' refusal to hand over the books and the authorities' search for them indicate their instrumental role within the cult's practice.

At the beginning of the fourth century, in the context of persecutions that sought the destruction of texts containing the teachings of the cult, allegiance to the book became allegiance to Christ. The willingness to recognize the codex as sacred differentiated real Christians from *traditores*.[11] In the following period, the careful burial or depositing of used Gospel books in gold shrines, the placing of Gospels on thrones during Church councils, the substitution of Christ's image with that of a Gospel in *hetoimasia* scenes, and the adornment of their pages and covers, indicate the assimilation of the book with Christ.[12] In liturgical practice too the Gospel book was held to indicate the presence of Christ, as testified by Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 360–ca. 435).[13] The decoration thus appears to have been a reaction to the prestige of the object. Once the cult adopted the common "visual rhetoric of sanctity"[14] in which expensive and bright materials signified the presence of the divine, the Gospel book was embellished appropriate to its status.[15] The glow of the gold and other precious materials translated visually the sanctity of the contents in the manner late ancient society knew and expected: as light.

The assimilation of the Gospel book with Christ was catalyzed by the move from scrolls to codices. The latter allowed Christians to gather in one object all the texts considered sacred, as well as to carry and display the manuscript with ease.[16] While the rotulus remained an iconographic motif due to being a famous apocalyptic symbol, the codex gained an almost absolute precedence in liturgical practice.[17] Nevertheless, Christianity's turn into a "religion of the book" did not mean a renunciation of ritual practice as implied by Jan Assmann's dichotomous distinction between "Kultreligion" and "Buchreligion."[18] Rather, as recently proposed by Guy Stroumsa, Christianity came to place the sacred book at the center of the complex rituals it developed beginning in the fourth century.[19] It is in the orchestrated liturgical performances and complex ritual spaces introduced in the sixth century that the role of the adorned Gospel book is easiest to discern. Then, the object's prestige, gained in the period of the persecutions, was used to legitimize a new type of liturgical experience.[20]

3 The visual effect of the Gospel books

Adopting the late antique "material turn"—the willingness to believe that "the sensible world, including human sense-perception, the body, and objects in the material realm, could be viewed not as distractions but as theophanic vehicles"[21]—a Christian intelligentsia represented mainly by bishops who had received a classical education designed ritual performances in which the divine was offered to the senses. Grounded in the material *mise en scène* the phenomenon is most evident in sixth-century churches. Churches dating from the reign of Justinian I (527–565) reveal the care put into their design as architecture, decoration, and lighting were employed to create an atmosphere reminiscent of heaven.[22] The adoption of the Neoplatonic principle

10 *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 2,4 (ed. Ziwsa 1893, 187–188); *Acta Eupli* 1 (ed. Musurillo 1972, 210). See Luijendijk 2008.

11 See, e.g. Augustinus, *Breviculus conlationis cum Donatistis* 3,13,25 (ed. Lancel 1974, 74–75).

12 The shrines were reliquary-like cases that enclosed manuscripts whose text thus became inaccessible. This testifies to the books' perception as sacred objects independent of their readability. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 (ed. Mansi 4, 1237C), a Gospel codex was placed on a throne, thus signalling the presence of Christ. *Hetoimasia* scenes, popular beginning in the fifth century, showed a throne on which Christ was represented by the cross or the Gospel book. The sanctity of the Gospel book received official recognition at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 (ed. Mansi 13, 337E) when bishops agreed that Gospel books should receive veneration in a manner similar to that of icons and the cross, with incense and lights. Concurrently, in Rome liturgical *ordines* testify to the assimilation of the Gospel book with Christ during the liturgical practice, see Doig 2008, 102.

13 Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistola* 136 (ed. Migne PG 78, 272CD), quoted below.

14 Hahn 1997, 1079.

15 Ganz 2015, 50 spoke of a "Metaphorik der Einkleidung" of the book that drew on its analogy with Christ.

16 Hurtado 2006 discusses in detail the reasons Christians might have preferred the codex to the scroll.

17 See the tables in Hurtado 2006, 90–93.

18 Assmann 2003.

19 Stroumsa 2012, 180 speaks of "Buch als Kult."

20 As performances that promote a certain worldview, rituals depend for their credibility on the integration of motifs that their audiences recognize as meaningful and that function as legitimizing instruments.

21 Miller 2009, 41. On the "material turn," see ibid., 3–4; Walker 1990, 81; Frank 2000, 103.

22 The present analysis is based on the churches of San Vitale in Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, St Catherine in Sinai, the basilica

according to which each level of existence was a "clear and spotless mirror"[23] of the one above and eventually of the highest heaven, allowed bishops to design churches as imprints of the heavenly temple of Christ.[24] The perception of materials and colors in terms of brightness, together with a careful placing of windows and artificial illumination allowed church builders to flesh out the sequential structure of heaven. Upon entering churches like Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (537) and San Vitale in Ravenna (547) the onlooker was presented with a succession of increasingly luminous spaces. Thus, one's advancement from the narthex towards the apse enabled a gradual theophanic experience that, being molded on the late antique view of the cosmic structure, was commonplace in the period.[25]

The progressive luminosity of the space was stressed through the initial procession of the Gospel book. As the community watched, the Gospel book, cross, and bishop entered the church and advanced along the central axis, towards the apse. Accompanied by lights and censers, the two liturgical objects and the *summus sacerdos* manifested each in its own manner the presence of Christ.[26] The Gospel covers were usually adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones; those elements that, according to late antique beliefs, were held to give off the most light.[27] Aesthetically the Gospel book belonged in the area of the altar, which was decorated with materials similar to those used for the covers. Placed in or in front of the apse, the altar was in the sixth century covered in silver and adorned with rich tablecloths. On it were the Gospel, the cross, and other liturgical objects adorned in the same manner as the Gospel covers.[28] The assimilation of the book with Christ and the contrast between the object and the spaces it crossed on its way to the apse generated a tension, an expectation of appropriateness that was fulfilled once the book found its place on the altar.[29] Concomitantly, as the Gospel book flanked by candles cut through the increasingly luminous spaces, the sequential character of the space was stressed. Following its laying on the altar, the bishop proceeded to cense first the book and then the rest of the church. The incense smoke materialized the light emitted by various sources, including the Gospel book, which had a privileged status due to its assimilation to Christ and its position at the center. The luminous Glory that throughout late Antiquity stood for God's presence was fleshed out through the interplay between the covers, the lights, and the smoke.[30] Staged as a *parousia* the initial procession symbolized Christ's entrance into the world, with its lights reproducing the divine Glory: "The accompanying candles during the entrance represent the divine light." ("Τὰ κηρία ὀψικεύοντα ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ, δεικνύουσι τὸ θεῖον φῶς.").[31]

The placing of the Gospel book on the altar marked the moment when the earthly and the heavenly temples overlapped through the power of the ritual. With Christ reaching His place the whole *mise en scène* was filled with meaning and the luminous progression that was the main characteristic of the space received its source and focus. In the abundant light of the presbyterial area (tinted yellow by the golden mosaic around and fleshed out by the incense smoke), the jeweled liturgical objects shone (fig. 13.1).[32] As noted by Rico Franses a particularity of

Euphrasiana in Poreč, and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

23 Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De caelesti hierarchia* 3,2 (ed. Migne PG 3, 165, English translation Perl 2007, 79).

24 Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 2,3 (ed. Migne PG 3, 141); Maximus Confessoris (ca. 580–662), *Mystagogia* 1,3 (ed. Migne PG 91, 671).

25 See, e.g. *Ascensio Isaiae* (ed. Charles 1900, 83–139). On the increasing luminosity of the materials in Hagia Sophia, see Schibille 2004. On San Vitale, see Ivanovici 2016.

26 Being a ritualized expression of a practice dating to the period of the persecutions when the manuscripts were kept hidden and were brought to church during the service, the procession came to signify the consecration of the ritual through the presence of the God embodied by the book. The order of the Little Entrance differed in the East and West. In the West, the bishop entered last, after the Gospel, cross, and the rest of the clergy. In Constantinople, the archbishop was preceded only by the archdeacon with the Gospel. For a synthesis, see Doig 2008, 74–75.

27 As testified by the encyclopaedias of Plinius Secundus (23–79 CE) and Isidorus Hispalensis (ca. 560–636), the materials found in late antique churches were among those considered most luminous. The scale is by no means evident to the modern onlooker, rarity, texture, and hue influencing the material's "luminosity." On this, see Schibille 2004; Ivanovici 2016.

28 See, e.g. the cross of Justin II (ca. 520–578), now in the Vatican Museum, and the vessels held by the emperors in the mosaics in San Vitale in Ravenna.

29 The tension of the moment was enhanced through antiphons that preceded the entrance of the Gospel that, according to Germanus Constaninopolitanus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 23 (ed. Meyendorf 1984, 72), were prophecies announcing Christ's coming.

30 Taft 1980/1, 54 "Symbolized in the fire and sweet smoke of incense is the presence of the Holy Spirit […]."

31 Sophronios Hierosolymitanus, *Commentarius liturgicus* (ed. Migne PG 87, 3.3993, English translation after Dimitriadou 2013, 157). See Germanus Constantinopolitanus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 24 […] 31 (ed. and transl. Meyerdorf 1984, 72–81): "The entrance of the Gospel signifies the coming of the Son of God and His entrance into this world […] The Gospel is the coming of God, when He was seen by us: He is no longer speaking to us as through a cloud and indistinctly, as He did to Moses […]."

32 The apse area received the most natural and artificial light. While the former is attested to by the orientation of the structures and by the number and size of the openings, the latter is ascertained by sources such as the *Liber pontificalis* or Paulus Silentiarius' poem

Fig. 13.1: Altar of St Catherine in Sinai, ca. 548–565. Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery.

such settings was that the object at the center appeared as the very source of the scene's luminosity.[33] The effect was well known to Christian builders, as indicated by Paulinus of Nola (ca. 354–431) who stated:

> The source of devotion at its centre lends it brilliance,
> and in a remarkable way it both transforms the whole and is itself transformed.
>
> (medio pietatis fonte nitet mireque simul novat atque novatur.
> namque hodie bi seam geminate novatia comit.)[34]

The effect is reproduced in the figurative decoration of sixth-century churches; in both San Vitale in Ravenna and the Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč (ca. 559), the image of Christ was made of the most "luminous" materials, with the surrounding characters and spaces decreasing in luminosity as they get further from the center. Christ thus appeared as the source of the light pervading the space. The image of Christ on the vault of the apse, the

that mention the position and number of lights. The altar area was often censed during the liturgy. Narsai (ca. 399–502) states in his *Liturgical Homilies* that "The altar stands crowned with beauty and splendour, and upon it is the Gospel of life and the adorable word [the cross]. The mysteries are set in order, the censers are smoking, the lamps are shining." (quoted without reference in Dendy 1959, 73).

33 Franses 2003, 19.

34 Paulinus Nolanus, *Carmen* 28,180–185 (ed. de Hartel 1894, 299, English translation after Walsh 1975, 300).

bishop on the *cathedra*, and the Gospel book on the altar represented the apex of the luminous hierarchy present in the space and carefully constructed through architecture, decoration, lighting, and ritual.

The procession of the book brought together space and ritual, and legitimized with its presence the sacrament. The importance of the ritual gesture is testified by the architectural features introduced to increase its visibility and stimulate the procession's dramatic character. The multiplication of doors that allowed the community to enter the church before or simultaneously with the clergy and thus witness the procession; the diminishing of window surface resulting in darker spaces that enhanced the visual effect of the luminous procession; the growing popularity of the solea; the raising of the presbyterial area, and the introduction of the ambo, were all elements that enhanced the visibility, effect, and dramatic character of the procession, thus testifying to its importance.[35] Paul the Silentiary's (d. ca. 580) description of the community's reaction to the procession of the Gospel testifies to both the prestige of the book in the liturgical context and to the direct relationship existing between the book and the liturgical gestures/furnishings we have discussed. Having its sanctity stressed through the introduction of the *solea* and *ambo*, the book became an even more desirable object, with believers fighting to touch the sacred object.[36] With its reflective cover concomitantly dematerializing and spiritualizing the object, the book substantiated the presence of Christ in the manner expected by late antique audiences.

The iconography on the covers further integrated object and setting by creating a number of symbolic relationships with the space and ritual. As often noted the covers were designed taking into consideration their ritual function, with the scenes featured on them reflecting the processional role of the book. Thus, a silver cover from the sixth-century Kaper Koraon Treasure, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, shows two male figures supporting a large cross while each carrying a book, thus referencing the Little Entrance.[37] The Lupicin ivory covers, also of the sixth century, show a number of biblical scenes in which the apostles and Christ hold cross staffs and books. As noted by John Lowden, this anachronistic detail suggests the processional function of the Gospel book (fig. 13.2).[38] Nevertheless, scenes found on extant covers are not only self-referential but also coherent with the decoration of contemporary churches. Silver covers from the sixth-century Sion Treasure, now in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, show Christ and the apostles under scalloped niches decorated with peacocks, an architectural detail that embellished the Constantinopolitan church of Hagios Polyeuktos (527). The front side of the Milan Gospel cover, usually dated to the fifth century, shows the Lamb at the center of a wreath made of four types of plants symbolizing the four seasons (fig. 13.3). The same image is found in the fifth-century chapel of St John the Evangelist in the Lateran Baptistery complex, and on the ceiling of the presbytery of San Vitale in Ravenna (548), above the altar (fig. 13.4). Finally, covers from the Sion Treasure show the Cross flanked by two bowing palm leaves, thus using the kind of abstraction found in the same period in the iconographic program of the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (549). The covers of liturgical books, Gospels or not, were designed taking into account the complex dynamic between them, the ritual performance, and the decoration of their setting, with the book covers promoting the same "strategy of imagination"[39] that characterized the whole performance. Of the web of symbolic dialogues between book covers and ritual gestures or particular areas of the church, the most important appears to be their relationship with the bishop.

4 The book's *Doppelgänger*

The careful (re)production of heaven inside churches legitimized the ritual which appeared as a mirror image of the divine service. This invested the clergy with an angelic aura. What Peter Brown called "the 'othering' of the clergy" was not a collateral effect of these performances but, I argue, the main purpose of the complex *mise en scènes*.[40] As noted by the same scholar bishops sought an appropriate manner to display their status.[41] In

35 As underlined by Frank 2007, 537–538, visibility was fundamental for the successful dissemination of the imagistic patterns popularized through the liturgical drama.

36 Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio ambonis*, 247–254 (ed. De Stefani 2011, 84–85).

37 Due to its large size (28.5 x 23.2 cm), Lowden 2007, 27 believes that the cover belonged to a Gospel book.

38 Lowden 2007, 40–41.

39 De Nie 2001, 53

40 After noticing, in Brown 1981, 39–41, that the spread of the Eucharistic liturgy coincides with that of the clergy's authority, in Brown 2012, 489–492 he pointed out the power struggle existing between the clergy and the bishops and considered the ritual *mise en scènes* characteristic of the sixth century meant to consolidate the supremacy of the bishop.

41 Brown 1981, 40 "The leaders of the Christian community found themselves in a difficult position. They had all the means of social

Fig. 13.2: Ivory cover, Lupicin Gospels, ca. 550. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9384.

Fig. 13.3: Front cover of the late fifth-century gospel book from Milan. Milan, Museo del Duomo.

Fig. 13.4: Mosaic decoration of the presbytery ceiling, ca. 548. Ravenna, San Vitale.

fifth- and sixth-century churches, the figure of the bishop emerged as the living image of Christ. While the sacraments stressed the bishop's intermediation of salvation through the administration of baptism and the imparting of the Eucharist, as well as through the interpretation of the Gospel in the sermon, the setting pointed to him as the embodiment of Christ's presence. Immobile on his throne for most of the liturgy, the bishop intersected human and divine, thus bridging the world of the images depicted on the walls behind and above him with that of the embodied persons in front:

> The emperor [Valens 328–378] entered the holy place with all his bodyguard (it was the feast of Epiphany, and crowded) and took his place among the people, thus making a token gesture of unity. But when he came inside, he was thunderstruck by the psalm-singing that assailed his ears, and saw the ocean of people and the whole well ordered array around the altar and nearby, which seemed to consist of angels rather than humans—for Basil [of Caesarea 330–379] stood completely still, facing his people, as scripture says of Samuel, with no movement of his body or his eyes or in his mind, as if nothing unusual had occurred, transformed so to speak into a stone monument dedicated to God and the altar; while his followers stood around him, in a sort of fear and reverence. When the emperor saw this spectacle and was unable to relate what he saw to any previous experience, he reacted as any ordinary man would—his vision and his mind were filled with darkness and dizziness from the shock.[42]

Sitting under His image and donning His purple costume, flanked on the *synthronon* by the minor clergy members in the manner Christ was by the inhabitants of heaven, the bishop appeared as His living icon. A key element in constructing the bishop's Christic dimension was his relationship with the Gospel book. Through a series of ritual gestures an analogy was built between the *summus sacerdos* and the holy book, with the latter casting on the former its Christic aura. The first of these is the initial procession. In Constantinople, the bishop and the book appear inseparable from the beginning of the sixth century on. At the consecration of Hagia Sophia, the archbishop is said to have personally held the Gospel book, a stance that was to

dominance, and none of the means of showing it in an acceptable form."

42 Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 43,52 (ed. Migne PG 36, 561–564, English translation after McLynn 2004, 254).

Fig. 13.5: Saint/bishop shown washing his hands before changing into the purple liturgical robe and censing the gospel book on the altar, Stuttgart Psalter, ca. 801–850. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. 2° 23, fol. 31v.

become recurrent in Byzantine depictions of patriarchs and bishops.[43] In the same church the initial Entrance had the bishop enter concomitantly with the book, carried in front of him by an archdeacon. In the West the initial Entrance was composed of a triple procession as the Gospel, cross, and bishop entered one at a time, each flanked by lights and accompanied by censers.[44] Associated with these two famous symbols, the bishop also appeared as a materialization of Christ's presence. Ps.-Germanus of Paris, a late eighth- or early ninth-century anonymous source, states that the bishop entered the church *in specie Christi*.[45] Meaning "in the manner" or "with the image" of Christ, *in specie* gains a deeper meaning in the context of the liturgy due to the ritual's purpose to materialize the divine liturgy. The *in specie* is thus similar in meaning and function to the embodying (*eikonizein*) of the cherubim by the community of believers mentioned in the sixth-century Cherubikon hymn.[46] Regarding the latter C. A. Tsakiridou stated that "to iconize the Cherubim is to assume or embody their form, to give them a tangible presence, rather than to reflect or replicate them."[47]

The impersonation of heavenly beings mentioned in the hymn was stimulated first and foremost by the bishop's embodying of Christ, attested already in the fifth century. In the West, after the entrance that put him on a par with the cross and Gospel, the bishop went into the vestry and put on the purple costume that associated him visually with the depiction of Christ on the walls (fig. 13.5).[48] He then ascended to the *cathedra*, a moment that according to Germanus of Constantinople (*sed*. 715–730) consecrated him as the personification of Christ: "The ascent of the bishop to the throne and his blessing the people signifies that the Son of God, having completed the economy of salvation, raised His hands and

43 Johannes Malalas (ca. 490–ca. 570), *Chronicon paschale* 18,83,6 (ed. Migne PG 97, 716).

44 *Ordo Romanus* I, 5–8 (ed. Cuthbert/Atchley 1905, 124–128).

45 Ps.-Germanus Parisiensis, *Expositio brevis antique liturgiae gallicanae* 1 (ed. Migne PG 72, 89–91).

46 The hymn was introduced in 573 or 574 under Justin II. On it see Taft 1975.

47 Tsakiridou 2013, 71. Apuleius Madaurensis (ca. 124–ca. 170), *Metamorphoses* 2,17 (ed. Adlington 1947, 74) describes how his lover presented herself to him "in speciem Veneris."

48 *Ordo Romanus* I, 6 (ed. Cuthbert/Atchley 1905, 124–126).

Fig. 13.6: Episcopal cathedra in the Basilica Euphrasiana in Poreč flanked by two mother-of- pearl candlesticks inserted into the opus sectile, ca. 559.

Fig. 13.7: Ivory diptych leafs showing Christ flanked by Peter and Paul and the Virgin flanked by angels, respectively, mid-sixth century. Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 564/5.

blessed His holy disciples […].”[49] Dominating the main axis of the space the throne was flanked by chandeliers as the Gospel book was during the procession and while on the altar (fig. 13.6).[50] Subsequently, before the Gospel was to be read, the bishop descended from the throne and went to the altar where he removed his *omophorion* before the Gospel and censed the book. According to Isidore of Pelusium the gesture was a momentary recognition of the book's prominence as a symbol of Christ:

> For the bishop fulfils his work being in the image of Christ, and by his costume he shows to all that he is the imitator of the good and great shepherd, the one who has been appointed to carry the weaknesses of the flock. And note well, when the true shepherd should draw near through the opening of the venerable Gospels, the bishop both rises and takes off the costume of imitation, showing that Lord himself is at hand, who is the leader and God and master of the flock.[51]

The dramatic recognition of the book's precedence was meant not to devoid the bishop of his Christic aura but quite the opposite, to draw attention to the fact that his *was* a Christic performance.

Outside churches too the bishop was associated with the Gospel book, which, in turn, assimilated him to Christ. During processions, teaching scenes, or visits to the emperor, bishops are shown carrying the adorned book which becomes *the* mark of their office (figs. 13.8–13.9).[52] Concomitantly, Christ is shown in various media reproducing the very stances in which the bishops were associated with liturgical books. The decoration of covers with the image of Christ holding the Gospel should be seen as part of the same strategy of legitimizing episcopal power, as the *mise en abyme* pointed to the bishop as embodiment of Christ. Similarly, the representation of Christ as an old man and in a position characterizing the bishop: enthroned, holding the Gospel book, and flanked by other men, functioned to stress the Christic dimension of the episcopal function (fig. 13.7).

49 Germanus Constantinopolitanis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 26 (ed. and transl. Meyerdorf 1984, 76–77).

50 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 5,5b,125–126 (ed. and transl. Reydellet 1998, 25): “Inter candelabros radiabat et ipse sacerdos diffuso interius spiritus igne micans.” (“L'évêque lui-même rayonnait au milieu des candélabres, il étincelait du feu de l'Esprit qui inondait son âme.”).

51 Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistola* 136 (ed. Migne PG 78, 272CD, English translation after Woodfin 2012, 20).

52 On liturgical and relic procession, see e.g. the Menologion of Basil II of ca. 985 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613). On teaching scenes, see the various manuscripts with the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. On imperial audiences, see the Theodore Psalter (London, British Library, Add. 19352, fol. 27v).

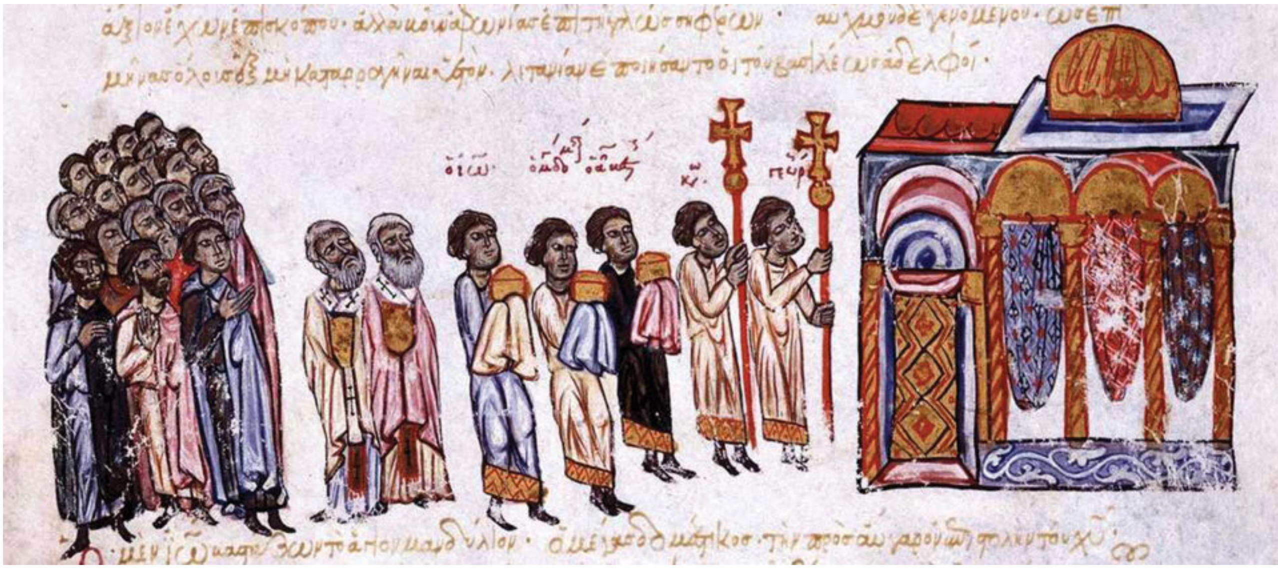

Fig. 13.8: Ioannis Skyllitzes, Litany in Constantinople during Emperor Michael IV's reign, Synopsis of Histories, twelfth century. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. gr. Vitr. 26-2, fol. 201v.

Fig. 13.9: Gregory of Nazianzus and bishops, Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus, second half of the ninth century. Athos, Panteleimon, Cod. 6, fol. 240v.

5 Conclusion

The assimilation of the eucharistic liturgy with the divine liturgy was carried out by the Antiochene Fathers of the fourth century, and was from that point on promoted consciously as a "strategy of imagination."[53] The possibility of constructing complex material settings and ritual performances during the fifth and sixth century supported the association, and the collapsing of the two dimensions gained credibility. The role played by the Gospel book in creating a web of symbolic associations that legitimized the eucharistic liturgy as theophanic performance and stressed the iconicity of the bishop testifies to a level of programming of the experience that invites further exploration of the implications of other elements of the *mise en scène*.

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53 See Taft 1980/1, 62–65.

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14 Books for Liturgical Reading?

Remarks on the Structure and Function of Early Medieval Gospel Books

Reading biblical texts aloud has been a fixed element of the Christian service since early Christian times. Public reading of holy texts, however, should not be seen as a specifically Christian undertaking; rather, it is a general aspect of the use of sacred scripture in book religions, not least in pre-modern illiterate societies.[1] The God-given words are not only important as script, as material object and written book, but also as voice and sound when they were recited for the community of believers. The Qur'an, originating in a heavenly scripture, a tablet kept by God, was delivered to posterity first only orally and later as written-down text.[2] This "publication" of the Qur'an as a book was accompanied by the development of an oral canon, recited within a devoloping Islamic cult.[3] Written fixation and canonization of the holy texts can, especially in cult contexts, complement public recitation, which not only imparts knowledge of the texts to the audience, but could also achieve teaching and instruction and could be connected with preaching, which gives the community of hearers an understanding of the norms and virtues established by the texts.[4]

This constellation is already paradigmatically described in the Old Testament. We can read that Moses, after he designated Joshua as his successor, "wrote this Law." And then he ordered:

> At the end of every seven years [...] thou shalt read this Law before all Israel in their hearing [...] that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this Law.
>
> (Scripsit itaque Moyses legem hanc [...] post septem annos [...] leges verba legis huius coram omni Israel [...] ut audientes discant, et timeant Dominum Deum vestrum, et custodiant, impleantque omnes sermones legis eius.) (Deut. 31,10–13).

It is characteristic that the reconstitution of a Jewish cult community after the Babylonian exile and the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem were similarly accompanied by the public reading of the Law. The prophet Ezra

> brought the Law before the congregation both of men and women [...]. And he read therein before the street that was before the water gate from the morning until midday, before the men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the Book of the Law. And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood [...]. And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; and when he opened it, all the people stood up.
>
> (Attulit ergo Esdras sacerdos legem coram multitudine virorum et mulierum [...]. Et legit in eo aperte in platea quæ erat ante portam aquarum, de mane usque ad mediam diem, in conspectu virorum et mulierum, et sapientium: et aures omnis populi erant erectæ ad librum. Stetit autem Esdras scriba super gradum ligneum, quem fecerat ad loquendum [...]. Et aperuit Esdras librum coram omni populo [...] et cum aperuisset eum, stetit omnis populus.) (Neh. 8,2–5).

This episode shows the importance of books, of reading out holy texts and of explaining their rules and norms for the collective memory and the identity of the Jews. As generally in book religions, here books and sacred scripture form a textual community.[5] Therefore the Qur'an can describe Jews and Christians as *ahl al-kitab*, as "people of the book."[6] Like the Jews, who since the first century BCE met together in the synagogue to read, hear and study the Law, the early Christians also established a form of liturgy of the word. In the third century CE in Caesarea, a daily service was common, as we learn from Origen. In every service a lector read two or three chapters of the Old Testament, followed by an interpreting sermon of Origen. Thus within three years the whole Old Testament could be read out.[7] This is one example of the practice of the early

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1 Graham 1987, passim. For the problematic term "book religion" see Nicklas 2008; Rüpke 2005; Stroumsa 2003, esp. 164–167.

2 Neuwirth 2010, 133; Graham 1987, 79–116. For the idea of a heavenly book see Graham 1987, 50–53; Koep 1952.

3 Neuwirth 2010, 345, for the importance of recitation ibid. 168–174; Wallraff 2013, 54–62; Graham 1987, 96–116.

4 Lang 1998, 162–171; see further Markschies 2004, who deals with the hermeneutics of read texts, but also makes some remarks about the origin and function of liturgical reading.

5 Stroumsa 2003, 153–155; Lang 1998, 164–165; Assmann 1997, 94–95.

6 Stroumsa 2003, 154–156.

7 Lang 1998, 179–184.

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church to read parts of the Bible throughout the liturgical year. This practice was not limited to Old Testament texts; on the contrary, in the early church the four Gospels were read as *lectio continua* sequentially from beginning to end.[8] Independently of temporal or local variations, in the Middle Ages the liturgy of the word had become an essential part of the Christian Mass, namely as reading pericopes, specific passages of the Gospels assigned to the particular day.[9]

This reading also means an encounter for the believers with holy books and texts.[10] It is important to take into account that this ritual encounter is twofold. Paradigmatically, this constellation can be seen in the episode with Ezra cited above. Ezra opens the book and the listening people stand up. Also, in the Christian liturgy, only the clerics are authorized to touch and open the books containing the divine Word, to look into the opened book and to read text passages for particular days. This restricted presence is constitutive for ritual texts—and this means that ordinary believers can only hear the holy texts, and can see only the closed codex in some ritual actions.[11] The material manuscript works as a link between these two aspects of ritual usage, between clerics and believers, visible scripture and audible text. The manuscript's content and its script can be seen and read by the clerics and heard by the believers. Because the holy book is the basis for the recitation, the audible text is bound to the scripture in the book and the voice of the reading cleric.

The following remarks will examine this status of manuscripts in the liturgy of the mass; more precisely, they will consider the question of whether and how the content, structure, physical characteristics and appearance of Early medieval Gospel book manuscripts are related to the liturgical usage outlined above. This approach is not a classic art historical one; it is not interested in style or iconography or in images of the evangelists and it brings into focus mainly texts, words and script, more than images. It aims for a deeper understanding of what a Gospel book is and how it works. At first glance the answer seems simple: Gospel books contain the texts of the Gospels and are intended for reading sections of the four Gospels during the liturgy. Gospel books perform this task; the priest can find the particular passage of each day in the ongoing Gospel text by the *Capitulare evangeliorum* ordered according to the calendar of the liturgical year.[12] This assumption is common sense and it is surely right, but it does not regard and does not explain why a Gospel book contains, besides the actual Gospel text, several other elements, as is well known.[13] Therefore, it is necessary to take into account all the parts of Gospel book manuscripts, and to regard the underlying concept that organizes the disposition of these parts in the book, in order to answer the question of the relationship between liturgical function and structure of Gospel books.

At the beginning of Gospel books we mostly find two texts related to Jerome: first, the letter of Jerome to Pope Damasus: *Novum opus me facere cogis*, dealing with the papal order for translating the biblical text, and second an exegetical text, *Plures fuisse, qui evangelia scripserunt*, a short part of Jerome's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, in which Jerome justifies the canonical number of four Gospels. Following this, *Ammonius quidem alexandrinus*, a letter of Eusebius to Karpianos, and *Ammonius quidem* are related to the following canon tables. Furthermore, each of the Gospels is introduced by two texts: first, the *Argumentum*, which relates some biographical details of the evangelists and gives a short summary of the Gospel, and second, the *Capitula*—other terms are *Breves, Breviarium* or *Summaria*—, a list of the chapters of the particular Gospel text. Finally the *Capitulare evangeliorum* or *Comes* is important; usually found at the end of the Gospel book, it is a list of the pericopes according to the calendar of the liturgical year.[14] So early medieval Gospel books show a clear structure, which was copied again and again, sometimes with a slightly modified sequence: four texts by Jerome, Ps. Jerome and Eusebius, the canon tables and the triad *Argumentum—Capitula/Breviarium*—Gospel text. This triad is repeated four times and occasionally accompanied by an image of the evangelist, by an incipit- or an initial-page and followed finally, as already mentioned, by the *Capitulare evangeliorum*.

First of all it is apparent that most of the accompanying texts refer to the early history of the Gospels, the core of Christian sacred scripture: the *argumenta* deal with the evangelists as the first authors of the Gospel texts, *Novum opus* has to do with the translation into Latin and

8 Palazzo 1993, 103; Klauser 1935, XI.
9 Palazzo 1993, 103–110; Klauser 1935, XI–XXII; Beissel 1907.
10 Morenz/Leipoldt 1954, 713–714.
11 Ganz 2014, 85–87.
12 Von Euw 1996, 21: "Im Evangelienbuch sind die während der Messe vorzutragenden Evangelienabschnitte enthalten, die mittels des *Capitulare Evangeliorum* am Schluss der Evangelien für den Verlauf des Kirchenjahres aufgefunden werden konnten."
13 A short overview of the several parts of a Gospel book is given in von Euw 1989; see further Rosenbaum 1970; McGurk 1998, VI.7–10.
14 For the *Capitulare evangeliorum* see Palazzo 1993, 110–115; Klauser 1935.

Plures fuisse with the establishment of the canonical four Gospels, while *Ammonius quidem* mentions Eusebius, Karpianos and Ammonius as early Christian scholars of Biblical texts. One can sum up that, through all these texts, every medieval Gospel book was linked to the origin of the Gospels and the evangelists as the first authors, and to early Christian times and the transmission history of the Gospel text. In so doing, medieval Gospel books referred to Jerome and Eusebius as authorities and witnesses who confirmed the authenticity of the text contained in the particular medieval manuscript.[15] This matter could be stressed by author-images which show the evangelists as inspired authors at the beginning of the Gospels. Sometimes the *Novum opus*-letter is accompanied by an image too.[16] The writing or dictating Jerome transfers the early Christian scholar and author into a medieval monastic sphere and characterizes the medieval scribes as followers of their early Christian predecessor. In this context it is noteworthy that the important role of Jerome in the transmission history of Biblical texts was sometimes also stressed in Bible illustration, as the famous page in the Bible of Charles the Bald, the Vivian Bible, shows (fig. 14.1).[17] Here, the transmission and translation history of the Bible text is shown at the very start of the manuscript, with Jerome's journey from Rome to the Holy Land at the beginning and the distribution of Bible codices at the end. In the last scene of this picture cycle the presentation of codices, some small-sized given from hand to hand, some of large-format carried on the shoulders, stresses an important aspect of book history and adds a media-historical aspect to the narrative of Jerome.

The same applies to Gospel books in addition to the abovementioned idea of authentication. It is a crucial point that the introductory texts of Gospel books invoke the beginning of Christian book culture in general. Significantly, we find in the *Novum opus*-letter not only the terms *liber* or *scriptura* but also three times the more specific *codex,* in one case *aperto codice*, thus referring to the material conditions of recording and transmitting sacred scripture in the form of a bound book, a codex.[18] Research on the oldest surviving manuscripts of Christian texts has shown that in the third and fourth century, especially Biblical texts were written almost exclusively in codices, and only in rare cases in rolls. In early Christian times, the codex became the genuine materialization of the divine Word and a sign of Christian identity.[19] Perhaps Christians also found in the codex an instrument for sharpening this identity in contrast to pagan or Jewish rolls.[20] The well-known imagery shows that the codex as such a sign finally found its way into the hands of Christ.[21]

The prologue texts bring an echo of this complex process, and of the early Christian decision to write sacred scripture in codices, into every medieval Gospel book. This may also have attracted the attention of medieval users to the special material characteristics and conditions of the codex format as a bound book with separated pages. There is a long-lasting and complex discussion about the reasons why Christians chose the codex as their preferred medium, a discussion which cannot be extensively reported here.[22]

But one argument must be mentioned with respect to the task of this article; the supposed practical advantages, and here especially the sometimes-mentioned ease of handling and "ease of reference."[23] The argument that the codex offered a greater facility to find and consult particular passages in texts is very controversial, not least because chapters and verse divisions appear much later.[24] This objection, however, overlooks the fact that the canon tables were created by Eusebius already in the early fourth century. It is not by accident that already this "Christian impresario of the codex" was interested in coherent and schematic systems of access to texts and also in a corresponding *mise en page*, as is shown by his chronicle with its chronological tables, as well as by the canon tables he created not only for the Gospels but also for the Psalms.[25] So Eusebius showed "an effort to configure them [i.e. the texts], using layout, colors of ink, and other visual clues to lead readers through them rapidly and effectively."[26]

So the tenor of the remarks about the canon tables in *Sciendum etiam* and *Ammonius quidem* cannot be overestimated because they refer to exactly this point. In *Ammonius quidem*, one can read:

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15 Krause 2011 showed that the early Christian iconography of inspired evangelists also emphasized the authenticity of previously orally performed and now written texts.

16 Schnitzler 1956; Miehe 1974, 520–521.

17 See Ganz 2007; Kessler 1977, 84–95.

18 De Bruyne 1920, 153–155.

19 Wallraff 2013, 8–25; Seeliger 2012 (with exhaustive bibliography 564–570); Hurtado 2006, 43–93; Gamble 1995, 42–81; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 38–66.

20 Hurtado 2006, 65; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 56.

21 Rainer 2011; Reudenbach 2014, 229.

22 See footnote 19.

23 Koep 1954, 683–684.

24 Hurtado 2006, 65–66; Roberts/Skeat 1983, 50–51.

25 For the Chronicle see Grafton/Williams 2006, 133–177: *Eusebius's Chronicle: History Made Visible*; for the canon tables of the Psalms, see Grafton/Williams 2006, 198–200; Wallraff 2014.

26 Grafton/Williams 2006, 199.

Fig. 14.1: Title page of the prologue texts of Jerome, First Bible of Charles the Bald (Vivian Bible), 845/846. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1, fol. 3v.

> Before each section of the four Gospels stands a number in the margin, beginning with the first, then the second and third, and proceeding in order throughout until the end of the books. And underneath each number is marked a note in red, indicating in which of the ten canons the number occurs. (For example, if it is one, it is clear that it is in the first canon; if two, in the second; and so on as far as ten.) Hence, if you were to open any one of the four Gospels, and wish to light upon any chapter whatever, to know who else has said similar things and to find the relevant passages in which they treated of similar things, then find the number marked against the passage which you have before you, look for it in the canon which the note in red has suggested, and you will immediately learn from the headings at the start of the canon how many and which have said similar things. If you then find the numbers of the other Gospels parallel with the number which you have before you in the canon, and look for them in the appropriate places of each Gospel, you will find those passages which say similar things.[27]
>
> (Itaque per singulos numeros supputatio per minii distinctionem inuenitur inserta significans, cui de decem titulis, adpositus numerus dignoscitur. Ueluti siquidem primun certum est in primo, si uero in secundo et eodem modo usque ad decem. Si igitur euoluto uno qualicumque de quattuor euangeliis cuilibet capitulo uelis insistere et rescire qui similia dixerint et loca propria agnoscere singulorum, in quibus eadem sunt prolocuti eiusdem sensus, quem tenes relegens propositum numerum quaesitumque eum in titulo, quem demonstrat tituli subnotatio, continuo scire poteris ex superscriptionibus quas in fronte notatas inuenies, qui aut quot de his, quae inquiris, similia dixerint. Ueniens etiam ad reliqua euangelia per eundem numerum, quem contines, uidebis adpositos per singulos numeros atque eos in suis propriisque locis similia dixisse repperies.)[28]

As is said here, the tables work as instruments of synopsis and concordance, and show comparable, identical or different parts of the four Gospels. When the accompanying letters emphasize that this synoptic function is based on the segmentation of the Gospel text and on numbering the segments, they take up the ease-of-reference argument and show the canon tables as unfolding the potential of the codex format as well as the capability of the codex for dividing, structuring and finding texts. It is remarkable that the oldest surviving Gospel books of the sixth century, like the Rabbula Codex or the probably older manuscript of the Ethiopian Abba Garima Gospels, contain both the Eusebius letter and the canon tables.[29]

In summary, it can be said that the parts of Gospel books that accompany the Gospel texts emphasize the authenticity of the Gospels contained in this specific book and bear in remembrance the early Christian idea of the codex as appropriate for the holy scripture of the Christians. So every medieval Gospel book is linked to the origin of the Gospel text and integrated into the transmission history of these texts, starting in early christian times. Through the prologues of the Gospel books, medieval users were aware of the early Christian idea of the relationship between Christ as origin of sacred scripture, the evangelists as authors and scribes, and early Christian book culture, which established the codex as a genuine materialization of the divine Word.

It is quite clear that these points do not have a direct and narrow reference to the reading of the pericopes, but it is also clear that the liturgical reading especially makes use of the characteristics and the practical advantages of the codex format. The liturgical reading practice partially dissolves the original arrangement and coherence of the continuous text, and is characterized by the need to find and read the pericope of a specific day within the text. Therefore, liturgical reading appears not as linear reading, concentrated on the whole order of the narrative, line by line and page by page, but as reading that is more connected with a process of searching and finding, turning pages back and forth. This process requires a precisely structured text and, accordingly, a detailed visual organization of pages and script. So it seems a logical and direct consequence of this situation that Gospel books offer no less than three different lists and indices. One can say that these indices generally refer to the suitability of the codex form for ordering and structuring text. But the systems and their references to the text are quite different, and apparently their function and above all their relation to liturgical reading are unclear.

When Eusebius created his synopsis of the Gospels, he divided the Gospel texts into consecutively numbered *sectiones*, Mathew and Luke into more than 300, Mark and John into more than 200; added together, there are more than 1100 *sectiones*. These enumerated textual units he arranged into ten tables, *canones*. The numbers in a column of the canon table represent the sections of one Gospel, the juxtaposition of the numbers in one line makes possible the comparison of several Gospels.[30] This system can work if the numbers contained in the tables also appear within the text to find the particular section—and normally this is the case. The marks of the Eusebian sections accompany the text as marginal notations, as a figuration composed of letters and numbers, as

27 For the translation of the Greek text see Grafton/Williams 2006, 198 (cited after Barnes 1981, 121–122).

28 De Bruyne 1920, 157.

29 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 1,56; Sörries 1993, 95–98. For the Abba Garima Gospels, see Bausi 2010; Bansi 2011 (with exhaustive bibliography); Leroy 1960.

30 Crawford 2015, 21–24; Nordenfalk 1938.

the passage from *Ammonius quidem* cited above explains (figs. 14.2–14.3).[31] That is, the information that one can find in the canon table also appears as marginal notation within the text of the Gospel. The marginal notes are formed as follows: the particular number of the section is indicated above, the canon number appears as an often rubricated number in the center, and below can be seen the parallel sections of the other Gospels. If a scribe places all these marks correctly and accurately writes all the numbers, strokes and letters, then the canon system works. But only one wrong or missing stroke—and it is difficult or impossible to find the corresponding section. And it is no wonder that mistakes and errors happen, amongst the thousands of numbers. In these cases, the tables partially do not work as concordances.[32]

These observations allow two conclusions.[33] First: canon tables as synopses are useless for performing liturgy. Concordances and synopses are tools, helpful for theological or philological studies. They have to do with examining, studying, reviewing and comparing texts, but not with liturgical reading. Originally, the canon tables had their place within Christian learning; they belonged to philological and theological scholarship. As is mentioned in the *Ammonius quidem*, Eusebius' synopsis was related to the previous project of Ammonius, which continued a long tradition of Alexandrian textual scholarship.[34] The canon tables resulted from Eusebius' engagement in these fields and from the context of the intellectual milieu of Caesarea.[35] The prologue texts, which deal with Jerome's work as translator and Eusebius' canon tables as synopses, therefore place Gospel books in the fields of scholarship and Christian learning more than in liturgy.

Second: ultimately, canon tables are superfluous because all the information contained in the tables is also given by the marginal notations. It seems much easier to read them directly in the margin near the text, and find there the parallel indications, than to look first into the table and thereafter into the text. Therefore one must conclude that canon tables are useless. Nevertheless, they were never omitted, quite the opposite: they received elaborate decoration, often more than other parts of a Gospel book.

The second list, *Breviarium* or *Capitula*, also refers to a segmentation of the Gospel text; but the system is different from the Eusebian one, and subdivides one Gospel into only 25 to 30 chapters. The list offers short summaries of the chapters, which are consecutively numbered. These numbers also appear within the continuous text, often marked with a gamma-shaped sign and in addition to the Eusebian canon notation. Apparently medieval scribes often did not worry about a correct and exact realization; sometimes these numbering marks appear only on the first pages and thereafter the scribe lost interest and patience; sometimes the list itself appears without numbering, and in this way loses its function as *index*.[36] These are clues that the practical function of the *Breviarium* is unclear, even if the list and the margins are accurately executed. Perhaps it could be used for text studies, and the short chapter summaries might be useful too; regardless, it is definite that the *Breviarium* is without any relevance for liturgical reading.

Directly related to this concern is only the third index, the *Capitulare evangeliorum* or *Comes*. Following the calendar of the liturgical year, mostly with Christmas at the beginning, the *Capitulare* lists the pericopes for every feast or day. Since Theodor Klauser's study, we know some different forms of the *Capitulare*, differentiated by chronological order, and by mentioned feasts and saints.[37] The structure of the records, however, is always similar. First the feast or day is named, sometimes with the Roman titular church, followed by the name of the Gospel and the number of the chapter. Thereafter, the first and the last words of the pericope are quoted for the definite identification of the pericope within the mentioned chapter. For example the record of Christmas reads as follows:

> IN N[a]T[a]L[e] D[omi]NI / AD S[an]C[t]AM MARIAM MAIOREM / SCD LUC k III. Exiit edictum a cesare augusto usque Pax hominibus bone uoluntatis.

How can one find this pericope within the continuous Gospel text, within the third chapter of the Gospel of Luke? It is revealing that the chapters, indicated in the *Capitulare evangeliorum*, are related to the numbering of the Eusebian canon sections. That is, within the text one has to look for the little marginal notations of the canons in order to identify the particular pericope, in the example above the third Eusebian section in the Gospel of Luke. The indexing of the *Capitulare* depends on the marginal

31 Figures 2 and 3 show as an arbitrary example a page of the Gospel of Matthew from a tenth century Gospel book from St Gall: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 17(405). For a detailed description, see www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/sbe/0017. (05.10.2015).

32 McGurk 1998.

33 For the following, see also Reudenbach 2015, 336–340.

34 Crawford 2015, 13–15, 19–21.

35 Grafton/Williams 2006, passim.

36 See for example the famous Hillinus Codex: Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Dom- und Diözesanbibliothek, Dom Hs. 12.

37 Klauser 1935.

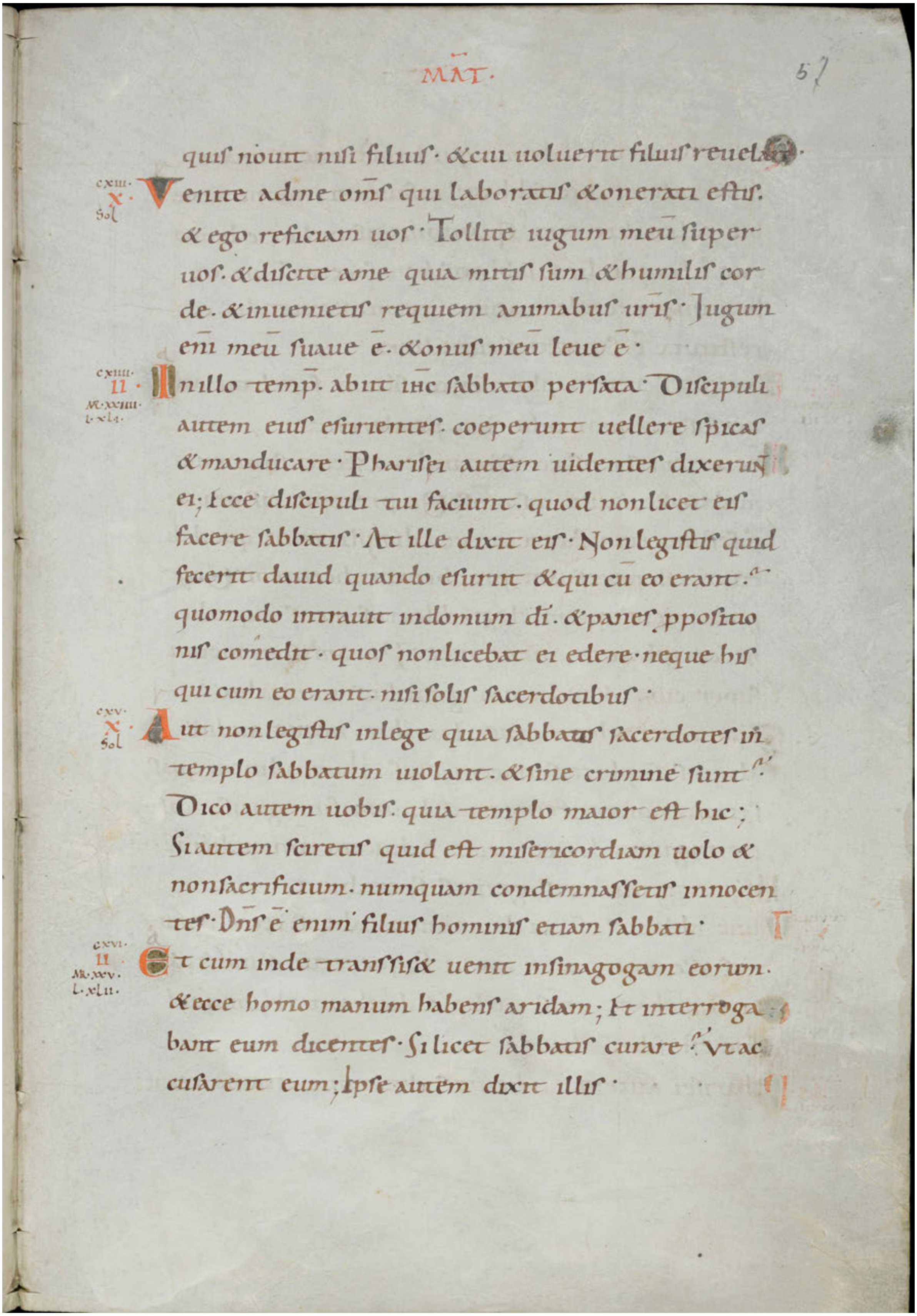

Fig. 14.2: Page of the Gospel of Matthew, Gospel book, tenth century (before 950). Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod.17(405), p. 57.

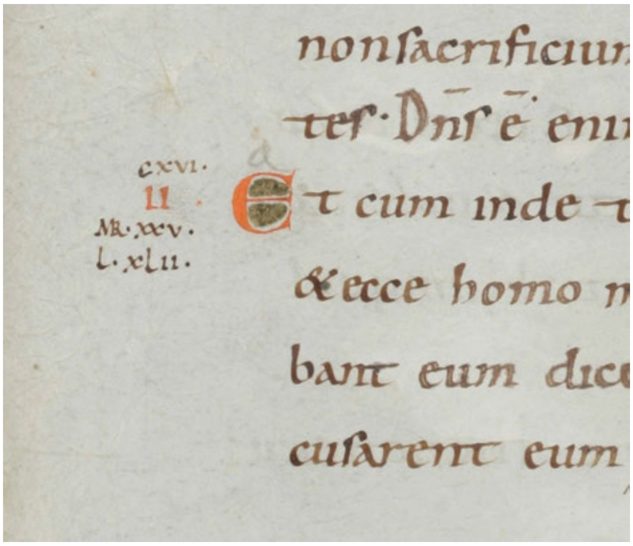

Fig. 14.3: Marginal notation of canon sectiones: [Mt] CXVI / canon II / MR [i.e. Mc] XXV / L [i.e. Lc] XLII, detail from Fig. 14.2.

canon notations. If these notations are executed accurately, the system is successful. But one cannot ignore that it seems slightly precarious. Dependent on little strokes and on marginal notes that are often briefly written, one cannot use it easily and uncomplicatedly in a daily reading practice.

Furthermore one must take into account that early medieval Gospel books normally show an exactly calculated and executed *mise en page*. This applies especially to sumptuously and elaborately decorated manuscripts, but also to more simple ones. All the visible elements of a page, the ornamented frame, the columns, and the initials, find their place in this *mise en page*, clearly defined by the ruling. Astonishingly, precisely the information that concerns the assumed primary function of a Gospel book, the liturgical reading, appears as a freely written note in the margin, and has no prominent place in the visual organization and the ruling pattern of the page.

Summarizing, it can be said that both the prologue texts and the canon tables are irrelevant for liturgical reading usage, and only one of three indices is relevant for this practice: the *Capitulare evangeliorum*—and even this depends on the correctness of the canon notations. Unlike the canon tables, there is no visual highlighting of these marks; they are only marginal notes. All these facts are not easy to explain. Perhaps the reference system of the *Capitulare evangeliorum* and the marginal numbers of the canons were not really important because the clerics memorized the pericopes and were able to recite them by heart rather than having need of a readable text; perhaps the clerics accepted that this system was awkward to handle, perhaps it was not used daily but rather in seldom or special cases. This might be supported by the fact that recitation marks can sometimes be found in Gospel books, but only in particular pericopes and not continuously.[38] Maybe this could be connected with the relationship of Gospel books and evangelistaries, and their possible usage for different occasions.

If liturgical reading has astonishingly little resonance in the physical characteristics and visual appearance of Gospel books, it would nevertheless be an exaggeration to say that they therefore were not used for reading. But there is some evidence that other aspects of liturgical usage are as important as reading, or even more relevant for the concept and structure of Gospel books. So there is a need for further and more differentiated consideration with regard to their possible function. Why do Gospel books always contain the introductory texts and the canon tables, parts which are lacking an obvious relationship to liturgy? But the canon tables especially were nearly always highly decorated, even in simple written manuscripts.

It is useful to return to the assumption that the texts of early Christian authorities emphasize the authenticity of the Gospel text and claim the uninterrupted transmission of the divine Word starting from the evangelists via Jerome through to this particular medieval book. Simultaneously, they made medieval users aware of the change in medium from roll to codex, and of the fact that the early Christians chose the codex form as most suitable for the Holy script. As already said, they emphasize the codex as a sign of Christ and of Christian identity. Therefore, one can understand the canon tables as signs that medieval users were totally conscious of these ideas as a subtext of the prologues and of all the elements that accompany the actual Gospel text. This idea is one reason for never omitting the tables even though they are, as previously mentioned, without any practical function.

A second reason also has to do with recourse to Early Christian times. For early Christians, the number of the Gospels was a serious problem, not only in regard to constituting a canonical number of Gospels. There was also the problem that the divine Word was given in several texts; one God, one divine manifestation, one truth, but several and not always compatible Gospel texts. As is well known, some early attempts existed to harmonize the Gospels and to compose one coherent Gospel text; best known is the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, of the second century.[39]

38 See the article of David Ganz (Cambridge) in this volume.
39 Petersen 1994.

Fig. 14.4: Gospel book of Fleury, ca. 820. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 348, fol. 8v.

Apparently the canon tables belong to this concept. In his letter *Ammonius quidem,* Eusebius relates that he created his system of *canones* as an alternative to the wrong Gospel harmony of Ammonius. The harmony of Ammonius relied upon the Gospel of Matthew as a guideline and assigned to the Matthew text passages of the other Gospels. Eusebius criticizes this procedure as the destruction of order and style. He replaced Ammonius' system with the canon tables, "to know also," as he writes, "the specific passages of the other Gospels by saving the body or the text" ("salvo corpore sive textu").[40] Thus, Eusebius arranged the canon tables not only as concordances; they were originally meant as a sort of Gospel harmony. One can find this idea directly articulated in the ninth-century Gospel book from Fleury, where the canon tables are followed by a full-page illustration showing the four evangelist symbols arranged together under an arc similar to a canon table (fig. 14.4).[41]

In spite of four different Gospels, the tables illustrate the unity of the holy scripture. The four Gospels appear in the columns and the complete Gospel text is represented by the numbers, and all are linked by arcs and combined and bound together in one architecture.[42] Often the idea of unity is visually emphasized by one overlapping arc or pediment. Because of the importance of this idea, we find canon tables in every Gospel book, not for practical use but for their symbolic value in representing the unity of the divine manifestation by word and script.

This understanding of canon tables, and of the corresponding concept of Gospel books, is in accordance with the information we can get in many liturgical sources, in instructions such as the *Ordines romani* and in explanations and exegetical texts of liturgy. Naturally, these texts make mention of using a Gospel book for reading the Gospels, but always in only general terms.[43] They pay particular attention to the liturgical performance and the actions in which the Gospel book was involved. It was carried into the church within a procession, it was accompanied by candles and incense, it was laid on the altar, and it was kissed. It was treated like a person and the central idea of all these actions was: the Gospel book represents Christ.[44]

The liturgical actions show the Gospel book just as the Eucharist does the body of Christ. It appears to be significant in this context that Eusebius, when he describes in *Ammonius quidem* his *canones*, uses the term "corpus sive textus." In the twelfth century, the Cistercian Isaac of Stella explained with remarkable clarity what is reflected in the making of the early Christian parts of the Gospel books, and in the performance of the liturgy. He says in one of his sermons that "our teacher Jesus Christ became for us a book" ("unus magister noster Christus, etiam nobis liber fit"). The Holy Word is "visible in the Scripture, and tangible in the Eucharist" ("visibile in littera, in sacramento tractabile").[45] The text of the Holy Gospels is, for Isaac of Stella, "the corporeal presence of the visible word" ("visibilis Verbi praesens corpus Sancti Evangelii textus"). In this, Isaak repeats ideas of the church fathers, of Augustine, Origen and Jerome.[46] Equally, the phrase "corpus Sancti Evangelii textus" sounds like a twelfth-century echo of Eusebius "corpus sive textus." So it might be possible to understand the words of Eusebius in exactly the same sense.

Summarizing, one can say that the symbolic values of Gospel manuscripts seem more important than aspects of practical usage. The clothing of the actual Gospel text by prologues, canon tables and indices, and the material clothing as codex format, refer more to the concept of the book as body of Christ and to the liturgical performing of this idea than to its practical usage as a tool for reading.

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40 De Bruyne 1920, 157.

41 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 348. For a detailed description, see: www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/bbb/0348/ (05.10.2015).

42 Crawford 2015, 26–27.

43 Heinzer 2009, 47 and note 16.

44 Reudenbach 2009, 71–73; Reudenbach 2014; Reudenbach 2015, 340–341; Heinzer 2009; Lentes 2006; Nussbaum 1995.

45 Nussbaum 1995, 74.

46 Isaac of Stella (ed. Buchmüller/Kohout-Bergmüller), vol. 1, 264; see Lentes 2006, 133–134.

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David Ganz

15 Performativity and the Passion Narratives in Early Medieval Gospel Books

Many Carolingian Gospel books mark the Passion narratives in one or more Gospels with letters written over the text. These letters reminded the reader to change the tone in which the words were read. Classical and medieval teaching about grammar and rhetoric shows the importance given to the appropriate delivery of a speech,[1] and Isidore of Seville discussed the delivery appropriate for a reader in church in a passage which was quoted frequently in the early Middle Ages. By exploring early medieval discussion of voice and delivery it is possible to get some sense of how passages from a Gospel book may have sounded, moving beyond the words on the page of a book to how they were experienced. This paper also lists those Gospel books copied before the end of the ninth century in which I have found such letters, though in most cases the letters cannot be precisely dated.

Donatus' *Ars maior*, opens with the explanation: "Concerning the voice: Voice is beaten air, perceptible to hearing, as much as is in itself. Every voice is either articulated or confused. Articulated is what can be grasped in letters: confused is what cannot be written."[2] Donatus also discussed accents and punctuation.[3] His text was the most authoritative elementary grammar studied in the early Middle Ages, and it received several commentaries.

Classical authors also discussed different kinds of voice. The Auctor ad Herrenium explained that it had three aspects: volume, stability, and flexibility. Isidore in his book on Music in his Etymologies also describes different types of voices: sweet, clear, delicate, rich, high, hard, harsh, blind, charming and perfect. The perfect voice is high, sweet and distinct: high so that it is adequate in the air, distinct so that it fills the ears, sweet, so that it soothes the spirits of the listeners. If it lacks any of these qualities, it is not perfect. Harmonics is modulation of the voice.

The two classical authors who have most to say about the delivery, what we might want to call the performance, of a text are the Auctor ad Herrenium and Quintilian. Each devotes space to the nature of the voice, its volume, its stability and its movement.[4] Volume could be cultivated and vocal flexibility enhanced by declamatory exercise. Different kinds of tone were appropriate, for conversation, debate and amplification, and to move the hearer to anger or to pity.

The Auctor ad Herrenium emphasized that the delivery had to fit the content of the words: "Corresponding to the content of the words we shall modify the delivery in all kinds of tone, now to sharpness, now to kindness, or now to sadness or to gaiety."[5] The pathetic tone was restrained, deep voiced, with frequent intermissions, long pauses and marked changes.[6] The text also discusses movement in delivery, from arm gestures to walking up and down and stamping one's foot.

Quintilian famously rated delivery above the nature of the material,[7] and his *Institutio oratoria* XI 3 gave the fullest treatment of delivery, discussing both the nature of the voice and the manner in which it could be used. In addition to accents many other forms of intonation are required, it may be intense or relaxed, high or low, and may move in slow or quick time.[8] Quintilian then listed types of vocal training, and the kinds of delivery which would avoid monotony, including bodily movement, gesture, and appropriate dress.

Fortunatianus in his *Ars rhetorica* explained that performance depended on the voice, the face and movement, and that the qualities of the voice were clarity, strength and sweetness.[9] Ambrose in his account of how the representatives of the church of Milan should conduct themselves, addressed the nature of the clerical voice:

I am very grateful to Barbara Haagh Huglo for sharing Michel Huglo's list of Gospel books with performative letters with me, and to Michel Huglo and Susan Rankin for many helpful discussions of these letters.

1 See Rebamnn 2005; Ziolkowski 2010.

2 Holtz 1981, 603.

3 Holtz 1981, 609–612.

4 *Ad Herrenium* III,xi–xii,19–22. I quote the Auctor ad Herrenium and Quintilian from the texts available at Lacus Curtius. There is a full commentary on this passage in Schulz 2014, 197–237.

5 *Ad Herrenium* III,xiv,24.

6 *Ad Herrenium* III,xiv,25.

7 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI,iii,2.

8 Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI,iii,17.

9 Fortunatianus, *Ars rhetorica*, XIII (ed. Halm, 130–134): "Bonitas vocis quibus constat? Claritate, firmitate suavitate." See also Fortunatianus, *Julius Victor. De rhetorica*, cap. 43 (ed. Halm, 440–443).

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> What shall I say about the voice, as I see it all that matters is that it is pleasant and clear [simplicem et puram]. That it should be musical is a gift of nature and is not to be achieved by effort. Its pronunciation should be distinct and it should possess a thoroughly manly timbre, not rough or uncouth, not a theatrical cadence but keeps to the inner meaning of the words it utters.[10]

The fourth century poet Ausonius urged his grandson to read so as to "bring out the measures with practiced accents, by modulation and subtlety and infuse expression as you read."[11] Modulation was a part of grammar, defined as an artful flexion of the voice, during continuous discourse, into a more pleasing style of declamation, producing a delightful manner of listening for the sake of avoiding harshness.[12] Accent and punctuation guided the voice, the acute accent raising the syllable and the grave lowering it, the circumflex for a delay. In the early Donatus manuscript in St Gall (Stiftsbibliothek, Csg 877) on page 170 the accents are drawn in the margin, together with the signs for long and short syllables. Martianus Capella defined the accent as the soul of the voice and as the basis of *modulatio*.[13] According to Julian of Toledo the law of accents depended on the need to punctuate, to pronounce and to distinguish ambiguities.[14] The ninth century Irish grammarian Donatus ortigraphus wrote of accent as the *ratio sonandi*.[15]

In the late fifth century the grammarian Pompeius wrote: "If you punctuate badly the boy can make a mistake confusing *pone* a preposition *pone* an imperative verb, the accent changes because of *discretio*."[16] He also describes how to write accents. The fullest account is that of Sergius who distinguished eight sorts of accent ("Quod naturalem unius cuisque sermonis in vocem nostrae elationis servent tenorem.").[17]

Accent was to speech what chant was to music ("Quid cantus in musica, accentus in oratione est").[18] Accent was etymologised as *iuxta cantum*. According to Julian of Toledo the law of accents depended on the need to punctuate, to pronounce and to distinguish ambiguities.[19]

The beginning of the *Ars metrica* of St Boniface gives a wider range of meaning. For accent is taken from song since through it the sound of the voice is produced.[20] Accent is the soul of the words[21] or the voice of the syllable which, in speaking, sounds more than other syllables. A more detailed account is found in a Carolingian gloss on Martianus Capella in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss Lat Fol 48, fol. 22v): Tonus that is cantus, which is the projection of the voice. Accent is its elevation or deposition, whence accent is called ad cantus for the purpose of song ("tonus i. cantus est ipsa emissio vocis. accentus autem exaltatio vel dempsio eius. unde accentus quasi adcantus dicitur.").[22] In an elaborate metaphor describing the various Christian authors Quodvultdeus wrote:

> You have the organ [formed] out of the diverse pipes of the holy apostles and teachers of all the churches, furnished with certain accents—grave, acute, and circumflex—which that musician, the Spirit of God, touches, fills, and resounds through the Word.[23]

The reader was aided in the correct delivery of the text by the use of punctuation, originally using three kinds of *positurae* placed at different heights.[24] Hildemar of Corbie in his commentary on the Rule of Benedict stated that : The art of reading clearly chiefly consists in punctuation marks ("Ars distincte legendi potissimum in posituris consistat.").[25]

Jerome feared that the teaching of the grammarians about punctuation was too difficult, and so set out his

10 Ambrosius, *De officiis,* I, cap. 23,104 (ed. Davidson, 176).

11 Ausonius, *Ad nepotum* (ed. Green, 25).

12 Diomedes, *Ars grammatica* (ed. Keil, 1, 439) quoted by Maximus Victorinus, *De arte grammatica* (ed. Keil, 6, 188): "Modulatio est continuati sermonis in iocundiorem dicendi rationem artificialis flexus in delectabilem auditus formam conversus asperitatis atque inperitiae vitandae gratia."

13 Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii,* III,268 (ed. Willis, 71): "Et est accentus, ut quidam putaverunt, anima vocis et seminarum musices, quod omnis modulatio ex fastigiis vocum gravitateque componuntur. Ideo accentus quasi adcantus dictum est."

14 Iulianus Toletanus, *Ars Iuliani* (ed. Maeste Yenes, 170–176).

15 Donatus orthigraphus, *Ars grammatica* (ed. Chittenden, 48).

16 Pompeius, *In artem Donati* (ed. Keil, 5, 130–131).

17 Sergius, *De littera* (ed. Keil, 4, 482–484).

18 Audax, *Excerpta de Scauro et Palladio* (ed. Keil, 7, 357).

19 "Accentuum legem quot res disturbant? tres. quae? distinguendi pronuntiandi, et discernendae ambiguitatis necessitas." Iulianus Toletanus, *Ars Iuliani*, XII (ed. Maeste Yenes, 172). This is a reformulation of Pompeius, *In artem Donati* (ed. Keil, 5, 130).

20 Bonifatius, *Ars metrica*, 107. This text is also in the *Liber glossarum*, see Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 16 (ed. Keil, *Anecdota Helvetica*, xlv); Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1773, fol. 23v, col. It derives from Pomponius and was quoted by Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, III,268.

21 See Pompeius, *In artem Donati*, 126: "Accentus est quasi anima vocis." This was also said by Diomedes (ed. Keil, 1, 430).

22 See Atkinson, 2009. 59–61.

23 "Aptatum quibusdam accentibus, gravi acuto et circumflexo, quod musicus ille Dei Spiritus per verbum tangit, implet et resonat [...]." Quodvultdeus Carthaginiensis, *Liber promissorum et praedictorum dei* (ed. Braun, 221).

24 The best account of Late Antique Latin punctuation remains Müller 1964.

25 Hildemarus monachus, *De ratione bene legendi* (ed. Dümmler, MGH Epistolae V Karolini Aevi III, 320).

translation of the Bible *per cola et commata*.[26] Jerome described his layout of the texts of Isaiah and Ezechiel as a new kind of writing ("novo scribendi genere").[27] Each of the parts of the *periodus* were set on a new line as this conveyed a clearer sense to the readers. Cassiodorus states that he did this because of the simplicity of the brothers. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 6332 is a unique Carolingian copy of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* which is partly laid out *per cola et commata*.[28]

Cassiodorus explicitly extended the use of the *positura*, Donatus's system of punctuation, to Biblical texts. He explained his procedure in his *Institutiones*:

> These *positurae* like paths for the mind and lanterns to words, make readers as teachable as if they were instructed by the clearest commentators. The first is the colon, the second the comma, the third the period: these were invented to enable the breath tired out by long speaking to regain its strength in the pauses.[29]

The probably Irish early medieval grammatical treatise *Quae sunt quae omnia*, which was characterized as "a conscious attempt to reconcile the Bible with Donatus,"[30] echoed Cassiodorus in linking positurae with *cola* and *commata*.[31] The author distinguishes between the "vox spiritalis" which does not need letters and syllables as when God said "fiat lux" and the "vox corporalis" and discusses various kinds of voice as Isidore had done: "vox mollis," when someone speaks their own language, "aspera," when he speaks another language, "lata, et alta aspersaque" as in "Vox in Rama audita est." ("A voice was heard in Ramah, wailing and loud lamentation").[32] "What is a cola? Cola and commata mean short and long. For a cola is uncertain and wavering but if you add one word it is complete." ("Cola quid est? cola et comata hoc est brevia et compendia. Cola autem est pendens et oratio suspensa cui si reddas unum verbum repletur.")[33]

A late tenth century work on prose composition, sometimes attributed to Notker Labeo of St Gall, applied the *cola* and *commata* to verses of scripture, using examples from Cicero and Martianus Capella. Sentences punctuated *per cola et commata* are instantly understood, continuous sentences are not understood until you reach the end of the sentence. If a sentence is punctuated it can extend to six cola as Martianus teaches.[34]

We can trace the teaching of the grammarians in Isidore's influential discussion of the lector, the order of readers in church, and how they were to read scripture. Reading in church was done by the lector but from around 400 for the reading of the Gospel the lector was replaced by the deacon. *Ordo Romanus* I: "Parant se diaconi ad evangelium legendum."[35]

Augustine in his Sermon 218 describes the solemn reading of the Passion narratives: "The Passion of our Lord is solemnly read, solemnly celebrated so that our memories be the more happily refreshed by this annual devotion."[36] Surviving epitaphs for lectors reveal that they might be children. Christopher Page has recently tabulated such epitaphs, from Rome and from elsewhere in the Roman Empire.[37] The most elaborate is that for the archdeacon Sabinus at San Lorenzo "I am he who sang psalms with voice and art: I sang holy words with varied note." ("Qui voce psalmos modulatos et arte Diversis cecini verba sacrata sonis.")[38]

The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* describe how the bishop was to ordain the lector. This regulation was incorporated into Carolingian legislation:

> At the ordination of a reader the bishop shall first describe his faith, life and character to the people after which he gives him a book from which he is to read, saying "Take this and be the relator of the word of God, and if you fulfil your duty faithfully and profitably you will be counted among those who have served as ministers of the Word of God."
>
> (Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo uerbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans eius fidem ac uitam atque ingenium; post

26 Müller 1964, 70; Scappaticcio, 172–173.
27 "Sed quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri, ut per cola scribantur et commata, qui utique prosa et non versibus conscribserunt. Nos quoque utilitati legentium providentes interpraetationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus. Legite igitur et hunc iuxta translationem nostram, quia per cola scribtus et commata manifestiorem sensum legentibus tribuit." *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (ed. Weber, 1096).
28 Discussed by Müller 1964, 29–30.
29 "Positurae seu puncta quasi quaedam viae sunt sensuum et lumina dictionum, quae sic lectores dociles faciunt tamquam si clarissimis expositoribus imbuantur. Prima est media, secunda subdistinctio, tertia plena […]." Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I,15 (ed. Mynors, 48–49). The same distinctions are described in Cassiodorus, *De orthographia* (ed. Keil, 7, 145–146): "ut distinctiones sensuum sollicita mente perquirere ac ponere debeatis sine quibus neque legere quicquam competenter neque intellegere praevalemus. […] ut distinctiones istae bene positae sensuum nobis lectionis evidenter aperiant. Nam si aliter distinguas, sine dubitatione cuncta confundis."
30 Law 1982, 87.
31 Edited by Munzi (ed.) 2004, 19–40 with commentary 41–66. This text is found in two manuscripts from Corbie copied around 800.
32 Munzi (ed.) 2004, 31.
33 Munzi (ed.) 2004, 35.
34 St Gall Tractate, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C 98, fol. 43r–44r (ed. Tax, 55–62).
35 *Ordo I*, cap. 57 (ed. Andrieu, 87).
36 "Solemnitur legitur passio, solemniter celebratur, ut annua devotione memoria nostra laetius innovetur." See Etaix 1994.
37 Page 2010, 111–113, 124–127, 685–692.
38 Diehl 1924–1931, vol. 1, 1194.

> haec, expectante plebe, tradat ei codicem de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: "accipe et esto uerbi dei relator, habiturus si fideliter et utiliter impleueris officium, partem cum his qui uerbum dei ministrauerunt.")[39]

The fullest account of the lector is given by Isidore of Seville.[40] Isidore explained that the order of lectors received its form and beginning from the prophets. During ordination the bishop was to tell the congregation about their manner of living and give them the book of the chief points of the divine messages.

One who is promoted to this grade ought to be imbued with learning and with books, and adorned with the knowledge of meanings and words. Thus he may understand in the different kinds of sentences where the paragraph is to end, as well as where the meaning of the sentence should be placed, and where the last statement should be brought to a close. He will discern the types of pronouncements so that he might make a deep impression on the minds and senses of all the people for their understanding. He will discern the types of pronouncements and express the proper sense of the statements, in a voice sometimes of exhorting, sometimes of sorrow, sometimes scolding, sometimes exhorting [...]. Even more, there is in him the knowledge so that those ambiguous points of the sentences will be tended to. For there are many things in Scripture which, unless they are expressed in a proper manner, result in a contrary opinion [...]. In addition the lector needs to know the meanings of accents so that he might recognize on which syllable the stress should be placed. For inexpert lectors commonly err in the correct accentuation of words, and they are accustomed to begrudge those of us who seem to take notice of their lack of skill, drawing away and heartily swearing that they do not know what we are saying [...]. The lector will shun a boorish and unsophisticated tone, with a voice neither too high, too low, broken or weak or too feminine.[41]

Isidore's text was combined with grammatical teaching in the Irish grammatical text *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*. The Holy Spirit teaches us to sing the Psalms wisely and the lector in the catholic church may not be ordained unless he can read and knows syllables and the reason of accents and the species and natures of utterances and the punctuation of sentences as Isidore says in his book about ecclesiastical offices.[42] The author assumes that the reader will be familiar with elementary grammar.

The blessing of the lector found in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries reads:

> O holy Lord, omnipotent father, eternal God, may you deign to bless this your servant in the office of lector so that being outstanding and adorned [ornatus] in the assiduity of reading, he might both say the things to be done and might fulfill said things in deed, and be mindful of both in the holy church.[43]

In a poem which prefaces some copies of the Tours Bible text Alcuin is explicit about how the Bible was to be read:

> Whosoever as a reader in church reads in the sacred body of the book the high words of God distinguishing the meanings, titles, *cola* and *commata* with his voice, let him say with his mouth as he knows the accent sounds. The delightful voice resounds far in the ears of the church, so that every hearer may praise God from his mouth.[44]

In the *De rhetorica et virtutibus* he wrote: "Delivery may be defined as excellence in words, the adapting of voice to the meanings and the disciplining of the body." ("Pronuntiatio est verborum dignitas vocis sensibus accomodatio et corporis moderatio.").[45] The preface to the *Liber Comitis*, the collection of Biblical readings assembled by Alcuin, was concerned with proper punctuation which would help the reader to achieve an appropriate delivery of the biblical text:

> Although many people have this book, yet by many it is read falsely and not at all clearly. For this reason it was a concern of the same worshipper of God [Charlemagne] that it should be corrected by the aforementioned man Alcuin to make it pure; and it should be distinguished by the distinctions of the grammatical art for the sake of delivery. Therefore, and so that the

39 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (ed. Munier, 98).

40 Isidorus Hispaliensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2,11 (ed. Lawson, 70–71). This is quoted by Hrabanus, *De clericorum institutione* I,11 (ed. Zimpel, 164).

41 This passage is quoted in the Irish canon law *Collectio Hibernensis*, which circulated on the continent (ed. Wasserschleben 1885, 5, cap. 4, 24).

42 Anonymus ad Cuimnanum, *Expositio latinitatis* (ed. Löfstedt/Bischoff, 16–17): "Quis meliora his potest uerbis proferre? Nam et Spiritus sanctus docet nos psallere sapienter, et lector in aeclesia catholica ordinari non sinitur, nisi qui legere et scire potest syllabas et accentuum rationem et species et naturas dictionum et distinctiones sententiarum, ut Essidorus dicit in libro de officialibus aeclesiae catholicae."

43 "Domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, benedicere digneris famulum tuum nomine illum in officio lectoris, ut assiduitate leccionum distinctus atque ornatus curis modulis spiritali deuocione resonet aeclesiae: per dominum." Deshusses 1971, vol. 1, no. 1794, 600.

44 Alcuinus, *Carmen* LXIX (ed. Dümmler, 292):
"Quisque legat huius sacrato in corpore libri
Lector in ecclesia verba superna dei
Distinguens sensus, titulos, cola, commata, voce
Dicat ut accentus ore sonare sciat."

45 Alcuinus, *De rhetorica et virtutibus* (ed. Halm, 546), quoting Fortunatianus, *Julius Victor. De rhetorica*, cap. 24.

> journey of the text of the book be laid open for the readers of the same book, and nothing ill-sounding should be brought to the ears of the readers, and it should not allow simple ones to err. But it was our concern to transcribe it corrected and punctuated just as it had been corrected and punctuated by the same master. Therefore we command that, by those who are transcribing this, no less comparable care and diligence is preserved in transcribing.[46]

Hrabanus echoes Isidore in his account of the lector whose voice should be simple and clear and suited to every kind of *pronuntiatio*. But he combined Isidore with the discussion of delivery in the Rhetoric of his teacher Alcuin:

> The voice of the lector will be simple and clear and accommodated to every kind of pronunciation full of masculine flavour, shunning a boorish and unsophisticated tone, not too low nor too high, not sounding broken or weak and not at all feminine, words should not be pronounced with an inhalation of breath or with an excessive quantity of breath nor ground out of the throat, or allowed to resound in the mouth nor made harsh by the gnashing of the teeth or uttered by lips lax and open, but with moderation, uniformity, smoothness and clarity.[47] The lector should serve the ears and the heart not the eyes so that he does not make it more important that we be spectators of him rather than hearers.[48]

Appropriate pronunciation is discussed as a part of appropriate singing in the Carolingian treatise on chant *Musica enchiriadis:*

> We can judge melodies not only from the specific nature of sounds, but also of things. For the affect of the things that are sung about needs to be imitated in the rendering of the melody, so that phrases are calm for calm things, cheerful for joyous things, mournful for sad ones. Harsh words or actions need to be expressed by harsh phrases, with subdued, loud, or agitated ones, and shaped according to other qualities of affects and events; also the subdivisions of musical and textual phrases should close together.[49]

Carolingian legislation is concerned with the errors made by those who read and write badly ("Non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere.").[50] At Lyon archbishop Leidrad told Charlemagne he had a school for readers, who were specifically trained to read the Gospels.[51] Such concern for correct reading was expressed at the Aachen Council of 816 in its legislation for monks and canons which again quoted Isidore on the lector: "Many unskilled lectors make mistakes in the accents of words begrudge those of us who seem to take notice of their lack of skill, swearing that they do not know what we are saying."[52]

The Aachen Rule for canons recommended the appointment of lectors and singers whose sweetness of reading and singing moved learned and unlearned.[53] "They should articulate the sounds of the words they sing both clearly and tunefully […]. The Psalms should be recited in church in a simple and clear tone, with compunction of heart."[54]

Agobard archbishop of Lyon, in his treatise on the antiphoner written in the 830s, objected to Amalarius having introduced readers who delighted in theatrical sounds and modulations and sweetness of the voice in reading

46 "Quia codex licet a multis haberetur, a pleris tamen mendose et non bene distincte legebatur. Ob id studii fuit eiusdem dei cultoris ut a praefato viro ad purum corrigeretur, et distinctionibus artis grammaticae pronuntiandi gratia distingueretur. Ita videlicet, ut legentibus eiusdem codicies iter planum panderet, et audientium auribus nihil inconsonum afferet. Simplices quosque errare non sineret. Nobis autem curae fuit ita hunc emendate atque distincte transcribere, sicut ab eodem magistro emendatus extat atque distinctus." Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9452, fol. 126r (ed. Fischer, 221).

47 This sentence is a quotation of Alcuinus, *De rhetorica et virtutibus* (ed. Halm, 546).

48 "Non humilis nec adeo sublimis, non fracta, non tenera, nihilque femineum sonans, non habens inflata vel anhelantia verba, non in faucibus frendentia, nec oris inanitate resonantia, nec aspera frendentibus dentibus, non hiantibus labris prolata, sed pressim et aequabiliter et leniter et clare pronunciata. Auribus enim et cordi consulere debet lector, non oculis, ne potius ex se ipso exspectatores magis quam auditores faciat." Hrabanus, *De clericorum institutione* II,52 (ed. Zimpel, 398–404). Hrabanus also quoted Isidore in *De clericorum institutione* I,11 (ed. Zimpel, 164–166).

49 "Nec solum diiudicare melos possumus ex propria naturalitate sonorum, sed etiam rerum. Nam affectus rerum, quae canuntur, oportet, ut imitetur cantionis effectus: ut in tranquillis rebus tranquillae sint neumae, laetisonae in iocundis, merentes in tristibus; quae dura sint dicta vel facta, duris neumis exprimi; subditis, clamosis, incitatis et ad ceteras qualitates affectuum et eventuum deformatis; item ut in unum terminentur particulae neumarum atque verborum." *Musica enchiriadis* (ed. Schmidt, 58).

50 *Admonitio generalis, c.* 70 (ed. Mordek/Zechiel-Eckes/Glatthaar, 224).

51 MGH Epistolae IV Karolini Aevi II, 543: "habeo scolas lectorum, non solum qui officiorum lectionibus exerceantur, sed etiam qui in divinorum librorum meditatione spiritalis intelligentiae fructus consequantur. Ex quibus nonulli de libro evangeliorum sensum spiritalem iam ex parte proferre possunt […]." The term *schola legentium* was used by Alcuin in a letter, see MGH Epistolae IV Karolini Aevi II, 347.

52 "Plerumque enim inperiti lectores in uerborum accentibus errant, et solent inuidere nos inperitiae hii qui uidentur habere notitiam, detrahentes et iurantes penitus nescire quod dicimus." MGH Concilia I, 319.

53 MGH Concilia I, 409: "tales ad legendum, cantandum et psallendum in ecclesiis constituantur, qui non superbe sed humiliter debitas Domino laudes persolvant et suavitate lectionis ac melodiae et doctos demuleant et minos doctos erudiant."

54 MGH Concilia I, 414.

divine scripture.[55] We should not ignore the exploration of the nature of the spiritual understanding of scripture, what John Cassian called "a more sacred understanding" which Cassian and Gregory saw as the fruits of reading or hearing the scriptures. Divine eloquence grows with the reader, for one understands it the more deeply as one's intention searches more deeply within it.[56] As our mind is increasingly renewed by this study, the face of Scripture will also begin to be renewed, and the beauty of a more sacred understanding will somehow grow "sacrationis intelligentiae pulchritudo."[57]

Divine scripture is clearer and its inmost organs, so to speak, are revealed to us when our experience not only perceives but anticipates its thought, and the meanings of the words are disclosed to us not by exegesis, but by proof.[58] This understanding might be achieved by prayer: "All progress comes from reading and meditation. What we do not know we learn from reading, what we have learned we conserve in meditations."[59]

The most detailed account of reading aloud in a monastery is found in the expanded version of the commentary on the Rule of St Benedict by Hildemar, a monk of Corbie:[60]

> For this is the order for reading in the church: first four children ought to read, then four priests, then three deacons, and afterwards the abbot. If there are not enough readers that each one should read just one reading, then the six or four or even just two ought to read, those who can edify those listening, since it is better that one person who edifies should read three or four readings, or five or six, than that many should read who do not edify.[61] And this is to be known: that since the Rule says that those should read who edify those listening, it is necessary that we add here the authorities of various holy fathers who teach how to read: for there are collections from the words of Augustine, Ambrose, Bede and Isidore too, and indeed of Victor and Servius and other grammarians, which teach correctly and distinctly how to read and to distinguish according to the sounds of accent.
>
> How many forms of the grammatical art are there? Four. As Victorinus says, there are four forms of the grammatical art. What are they? Reading [lectio], recounting [enarratio], emendation, judgement. What is reading? The proper pronunciation according to the necessity of accent and meaning; or as others say, reading is the varied recounting of each text respecting the dignity of the people and expressing the habit of each one's soul. What is recounting? An explanation of each description according to the will of the poet, or, as others say, recounting is the explanation of obscure meanings and questions. What is emendation? The reprimanding of errors and figments amongst the poets, or as others say, emendation is the tackling of errors, which come to pass whether by writing or action. Judgment—what is that? The right approval of the words, or, as many say, judgment is the estimation which we give to good texts. Since reading is a form of the grammatical art, and we are now dealing with reading, we ought to discuss, from the authorities of the learned men and grammarians and from the traditions of modern teachers, how many parts, that is how many divisions reading has, [page 429] or how it ought to be read, or to sound according to the sounds of its accents, and how many divisions reading has.
>
> For Victorinus the Grammarian says: there are four parts of reading: that is accent, discretion, pronunciation, and modulation. Accent is the quality of pronouncing the sound of each syllable. Discretion is the signification of confused significations through plain ones. Pronunciation is the similitude according to the persons of the writers, making a distinction, so that you might reckon to be shown the temperance of an old man, or the impudence of a young man, or the weakness of a woman, or the quality of whatever person, and the habits of each character to be expressed. Modulation is the artificial flexing [*flexus*] of speaking in continuous speech in a more cheerful fashion, turned to a delightful form of hearing, for the sake of avoiding harshness.[62]
>
> Then let the form of the accent teach you which voice to use in reading, that is as it is raised up higher or lowered below, so the voice there ought to be raised or lowered. For example, a heavy *virgula* is lowered downwards thus, \ and so you ought to lower your voice in the places where there is a subdistinction, that is a point at the foot of the letter. Similarly, an acute note is thus: / and there you ought to raise your voice higher in the medial distinction, as that figure itself shows. Where indeed after an acute medial distinction there are again points of medial distinction at the middle of the letter, there you ought to inflect your voice by modulating, that is to raise and lower it, as that circumflex is itself raised and lowered, thus: /\. For where there ought to be an enquiry [percunctatio], there ought to be this note: /\/\/. As in the Gospel "What did you go into the desert to see?" [Luc. 7,24] /\/\/'. When there is a negation, as we said above, there ought by ancient custom to be this note: \/. Modern custom however is now that for a sense of negation, such a sign ought to be made

55 "Eos vero, qui teatralibus sonis et scenicis modulationibus et quamvis in divinis verbis, vocis dulcedine intemperantius delectantur, eum non solum ab aliis non excludere, sed, quod est terribile, in seipsos introducere testatur." Agobardus Lugdunensis, *De antiphonario*, XII (ed. van Acker, 345).

56 Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, 1,7,8 (ed. Adriaen, 87).

57 Cassianus, *Collationes XXIII*, 14, 10 (ed. Petschenig, 411).

58 Cassianus, *Collationes XXIII*, 10 11 5 (ed. Petschenig, 304–305).

59 Isidorus Hispaliensis, *Sententiae Libri III*, III.8 (ed. Cazier, 228).

60 I use the translation by Charles West from the Hildemar Project: http://hildemar.org, accessed 13.12.2016). The text translated here is found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12637, fol. 110–112.

61 This is the end of the text found in the ninth century manuscripts Karlsruhe, LB, Aug 179; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 142; and the eleventh century manuscript Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 253.

62 Maximus Victorinus, *De arte grammatica* (ed. Keil, 6, 188).

with many virgules, that is /\/\/. As it is in the Gospel, "a man clad in soft garments" [Matth. 11,8] /\/\/'. Because the higher sentence is a question, the lower one of negation.

The expanded version of Hildemar's commentary offers a model for the integration of grammatical teaching about delivery into monastic experience. Hildemar's letter on punctuation quoted Pompeius, Sergius, Donatus and Isidore for the benefit of unlearned readers.[63]

We can find explicit evidence of this concern for the performance of texts in the treatment of the Passion narrative during Easter Week.[64] A number of Carolingian and later Gospel Books supply letters over the Passion narrative in one or more Gospels.[65] Originally the Passion narrative from Matthew 26,1–27,61 was read on Palm Sunday, and that from John 18,1–19,42 on Good Friday. Mark seems to have been the last passage to be added.[66] Michel Huglo interpreted the letters c = *cito* or *celeriter*, t = *tarde* or *tenete*, and s = *sursum* and he stated that the words of Christ were recited a quart lower, those of the apostles or the Jews a quint higher. The earliest account of this is found in the thirteenth century Sarum Missal: Singing and reading should be done in three kinds of voice, that is high, low and medium "triplici voce debet cantari aut pronuntiari scilicet voce alta, bassa et media."[67] These passages were very rarely neumed, unlike other Gospel passages.

Appendix: Gospel manuscripts copied before 900 which contain Passion letters[68]

I list the manuscript, its date and the letters found in it.

1. Manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England
   Durham, Cathedral Library A II 16, Northumbria, eighth century, l c in Matth.
   *London, British Library, Royal I B VII, Northumbria, eighth century, c + s in Marc.
   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct D 2 14, Italy, seventh century, annotated in Anglo-Saxon England, perhaps at Litchfield, l c s.
   Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Kk I 24, Northumbria, eighth century, c l, most probably added later.
   Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 2 CLA 408, Central Italy, ca. 800, c l.

2. Gospel lectionaries from the time of Charlemagne
   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 176 Chelles, ca. 800, t c in Matth.
   *Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 172, Gospel lectionary, Corbie, ca. 800, c l r in Matth.

3. Gospel books from the court school probably copied in the reign of Louis the Pious
   *Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 18723, Gospels, c l s.
   Aachen, Cathedral Treasury, Gospels of Charlemagne, c l in Matth.

4. Gospel books from Tours
   *London, British Library, Add. Ms. 11848, Tours, 825–830, c s t in Matth.
   London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2790, Tours, ninth century.
   Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B II 11, Tours, 825/850, c tr.
   Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 23, Tours, 850, fol. 52v, l s c in Matth. and Marc.
   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Hamilton 248, a c t.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9385, Tours 843–851, fol. 52v–53r, r c t in Marc., fol. 83r t r in Luc.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 263, Tours, 850/875, fol. 122r, c s t in Ioh.
   *Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 63, fol. 75, c a s.
   St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. lat. Q v I 21, Tours, ca. 834–843, c t.
   *London, British Library, Add. 11849, Tours, after 860, fol. 62, c s t.

5. Manuscripts from Eastern France
   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Hamilton 250, Eastern France, c t +.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9388, Metz for archbishop Drogo, c t a in Matth.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 268, Lotharingia, 800/833, later at Metz, c t e in Matth. and Luc.
   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 640, 850/875, c t r.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat 11958, Eastern France, before 850, t c s in Matth.

63 Hildemarus monachus, *De ratione bene legendi* (ed. Dümmler, MGH Epistolae V Karolini Aevi III, 320–322).
64 For a clear introduction to the treatment of the Passion, see Fischer 1975, 576–585. These letters were first discussed by Young 1910.
65 Palmer 1985.
66 Fischer 1975, 577.
67 Dickinson 1861, 264.
68 This list expands the list of manuscripts published in Huglo/Haggh 2013. Carolingian manuscripts are localized following Bischoff 1998–2014. Those manuscripts which may be viewed online are marked with *.

6. Gospel books from Fulda
   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Lat 102, Fulda, s t c.
   Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B 50, Fulda, t c.

7. Gospel books from Lorsch
   *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl 93, Lorsch, 825/850, fol. 48r, c l t.
   *Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, Ms. 1957, Lorsch, ca. 830, c t.
   *Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent V App 43b, Lorsch, c l t.
   *Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 20, Lorsch, Tironian hic and l.

8. Gospel books from Western Germany
   Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 23, Trier, after 814.
   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 249, Trier, 833–866, c t a.
   *Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 6, West Germany, 833–866, s c t, perhaps later.
   Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. 14, West Germany, 850/875 c t l.
   Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, ABM h1, Lebuinus Codex, West Germany, 825–850, l c t in Matth.
   *London, British Library, Add. Ms. 47673, Gospel Book from Schuttern in Baden, 816–825, fol. 60r–66v, t c in Matth.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10437, Mainz, 820–830, then at Echternach, c t in Matth.

9. Gospel books from Northern France
   Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 76, Northern France, 825–850, fol. 57r.
   *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 13171, St Denis, 850–875, fol. 73v–75r, fol. 174r–175r, fol. 177r, fol. 216r–218r, t.

10. Gospel books from Reims
    *Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 7, c t r, perhaps later.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17969, Reims, copied by Framegaudus, + f in Matth. and Luc.
    *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5250, Reims, c a in Matth.
    St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Q v I 21, Passio Matthaei.

11. Franco-Saxon Gospel books
    Ghent, Grand Séminaire, Ms. 13, Lebuinus Gospels, St Amand, ca. 800, T for Christ and c.
    *Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 431, St Amand, t a s in Matth., s m in Luc.
    *Jouarre Meaux, Grand seminaire, 28, fol. 95v–99r, 160r–166r, 210r–214r, ct, I think later.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 259, Nord-Eastern France (Franco-Saxon), 850–875, t c in Matth., Marc., Luc., and Ioh.
    Gannat, Trier or Eastern France, 850–875, fol. 49r–54r, C T for Christ, R S in Matth. and Ioh.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 323, Palace School of Charles the Bald, c t.

12. Breton Gospel books[69]
    *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 85, Brittany, c t l s in Matth., Luc., and Ioh.
    Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 8, end ninth century
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 258, Brittany, 866–900, fol. 50r–52r, fol. 168r, c l a in Matth., Marc., Luc., and Ioh.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 264, Brittany, 875–900, fol. 55r, fol. 127r–129r, l c in Luc., fol. 169–172v, t v in Ioh.
    Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct D II 1.
    Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Lat 26, Brittany, t c l f in Matth., Marc., and Luc.
    New York, Public Library, Ms. 115 Harkness, Landevennnec, ninth century, ex. al c +.
    Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 960, dated 909.
    *Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 24, Brittany, C t r.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9386, Chartres, 866–900, c h l, I think later.

13. South German and Swiss Gospel books
    Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 92, Southern Germany, 800–825, c s.
    *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22021, Beneditkbeuren, 820–840, l c a in Matth., Marc., Luc., and Ioh.
    *Cologne, Dombibliothek, 56, Freising, 850–875, c l and a for apostles in Matth., Marc., and Luc.
    *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14222, St Emmeram, 825–850, c t in Matth., Marc., Luc., and Ioh.
    *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss 61, Wissembourg, c t m.
    *St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Csg 53, Gospel lectionary copied by Sintram, ca. 895, s c l in lection from Matth.

69 These manuscripts are discussed by Lemoine 2011, an article I have not located in Britain.

14. Carolingian manuscripts with other features distinguishing the Passion narratives
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17227, Tours, Cross monograms in text at start and end of lections, fol. 15v for pater noster s and note.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 257, Franco-Saxon, 850–875, Gold for words of Christ.
    *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 271, Southern France, 850/900, has Tironian notes for Christus and Evangelista in Matth. and Ioh.

The importance of these indications is revealed by the presence of these letters beside the neumes in St Gall and Laon manuscripts and also in manuscripts of the Old High German versified Gospel epic by Otfrid (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2687). C and the p for *pressus* "ut aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum saecularium vocum deleret."[70]

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Sarit Shalev-Eyni

16 Aural-Visual and Performing Aspects of Illuminated Manuscripts for Liturgical and Ritual Use

Ite von Holloway, an early fourteenth-century lay sister from St Katharinental, tells of a nativity vision she experienced on Christmas Eve: “She saw our Lady as she gave birth to our Lord and laid the child in the manger and she saw Joseph, the ass and the ox by the manger and this vision gave her great joy.”[1] Another nun from Unterlinden, Gertrud von Rheinfelden, described how this vision affected her perception of the choir space: “Suddenly she began to see the most beautiful bed placed in the middle of the choir [...] in which was resting alone a woman in labor and her face shone with so much beauty and so much brilliance, that from the splendor emanating from her the entire choir was miraculously bright. She fondled her child in her lap [...].”[2]

Although these texts are usually discussed in the context of mysticism, it is clear that such visions were the direct influence of images,[3] as testified by the inclusion of the main components of the traditional Western iconography of the Nativity: Mary, the bed, Joseph, the manger, the ass and the ox, and at that period, also the fondling of the baby on his mother’s lap. Such images are present within the Church in various visual forms. They often also illuminate the Nativity section in illuminated prayer books used by the conductors of the service. In one example, the initial panel of the first responsory for *Matins*, “Hodie nobis caelorum rex,” in a contemporary Cistercian antiphonary from the Rhineland, Mary is depicted fondling Christ; the manger is designed as a table altar, alluding to the ritual meaning of the scene (fig. 16.1).[4] Looking at an image visualizing the event of Nativity while participating in the service commemorating that same event would not only have had the potential to stimulate visions among nuns with mystical tendencies, it would also have had the power to revive the event in the liturgical space in the mind of the believer.

The active role of illuminated manuscripts intended for the public liturgy was especially dramatic. Their elaborate initials adorned the book with special splendor, and at the same time indicated the beginning of a new liturgical event. The scenes illuminating the main initials for the central feasts not only illustrated the content of the liturgical text or chant to which they were attached, they also referred to the essence of each liturgical occasion, and served as a gate through which the conductors of the ritual of the book could enter into the sacred realm of a specific event. During the service, the book and its user were united in the performance of the ritual, an experience which included reading, gesturing, and chanting, especially in the case of prayer books containing the notation for the chants of the public service. In these cases, the book was a multi-dimensional vehicle whose different textual, aural and visual aspects activated the ritual space. While the textual and aural dimensions formed the obligatory components of the service, the visual aspect was an additional factor in the creation of the dramatic atmosphere, through its revival of the biblical event that the service celebrated. This article aims to reveal the active role of thirteenth and fourteenth-century illuminated manuscripts used for conducting services in the liturgical realm. As I shall show, these books combined the biblical and the liturgical spheres, creating a multi-dimensional aural-visual experience within the prayer hall. The phenomenon was shared by different religious groups living in the same geo-cultural area, including also the Ashkenazi (German-Jewish) minority. This paper will pay special attention to the latter group, and compare it with Christian communities of the same time.

1 German text and English translation: Drage Hale 1999, 222 and no. 45.

2 German text and English translation: Drage Hale 1999, 223 and no. 46.

3 Drage Hale 1999, 222.

4 The manuscript consists of 33 quires of 8 folios each (except for quire XIX), and includes the chants for the feasts of the *Temporale* (another lost volume may have included those for the *Sanctorale*). The selection of the responsories (as well as of other components) clearly points to its Cistercian origin.

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Fig. 16.1: Nativity, Initial panel, first responsory for Matins, "Hodie nobis caelorum rex," Cistercian antiphonary, ca. 1300. Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, Ms. Yah. Var. 15, fol. 35v.

1 The antiphonary and the gradual: aural-visual aspects

Graduals and antiphonaries contain the notation for the chants of the Mass and Office respectively.[5] Both include only those components of the liturgy that are proper for the specific event. The chants are arranged according to the cycle of the liturgical year. At the core of the cycle are the feasts of the *Temporale* that commemorate the historical sequence of the biblical events telling of the birth, life, death and resurrection of Christ. The different liturgical events form sections, visually distinguished from one another by the use of a hierarchical system of initials designed in different sizes and levels of elaboration. The most sumptuous ones appear close to the beginning of the service for each special event.[6]

The decorative program of the above-mentioned Cistercian antiphonary focuses on the first responsory for *Matins*, the first morning hour of the divine Office, of each liturgical event. Each of these is graced with an initial panel, often including a scene representing the relevant historical event: the Annunciation for Advent (fol. 1r), the Nativity for Christmas (fol. 35v, fig. 16.1), the Resurrection for Holy Saturday (fol. 152r), the Three Women at the Sepulcher (fol. 159r) for Easter etc. Other biblical events, based on Old Testament narratives, serve as typological references around which additional, less central, events are formed. Among these are Joseph's bloodstained garment presented to Jacob and the Burning Bush, for the third and fourth Sundays of Lent respectively (fol. 108v and 116r). In some other initial panels, both the performance and the performers, and even the book itself, play roles as artistic subjects of the illuminated page. A typical example is the initial panel of the Invitatories, collected together near the end of the same manuscript (fol. 254r). Here monks are depicted singing during the Office, while standing in front of the antiphonary lying on the pulpit. Contemporary liturgical performances are represented in the center of the sacred page within the initial panels, gaining a status similar to that of the Biblical narratives throughout the manuscript.

In some other liturgical manuscripts, the biblical narrative and the contemporary liturgical realms were united, not only in the mind of the users of the liturgical illuminated book during the Office, but in the image itself. An extraordinary example is the Nativity scene in the initial panel for the Introit of the third and most central Mass for Christmas day, "Puer natus est nobis," in the Cistercian Gradual of Gisela of the convent of Marienbrunn at Rulle (fig. 16.2).[7] Here the Virgin reclines on her bed, stretching out her hands while the baby Christ is handed to her by Joseph. An altar-like manger as well as the ox and ass emerging out of a stable are arranged behind. On the lower part, below the Virgin's bed, the nuns of Rulle gather to sing the Christmas hymn "Grates nunc omnes reddamus Domino Deo"; one of them pointing to the words inscribed in red ink on the small book in front of them. On the upper part of the initial, angels floating on clouds hold a scroll with the Christmas exultation of the heavenly

5 For the books of chant for Mass and Office, see Palazzo 1998, 69–82 and 134–144.

6 For the structures and writing programs of graduals and antiphonaries, see Hughes 1982, 124–156 and 161–197. For the decorative program of some illuminated examples, see Calkins 1983, 193–206, 234–242 and appendices 301 and 304.

7 For a thorough study of the manuscript, see Oliver 2007.

Fig. 16.2: Nativity, initial panel, Introit of the third Mass for Christmas day, "Puer natus est nobis," Rulle Gradual, 1300 or shortly before. Osnabrück, Diözesanarchiv, Inv. Ma 101, fol. 13v.

host, "Gloria in excelsis Deo" (Luc. 2,14).[8] Along the three outer margins, within roundels incorporated in continuous scrolls emerging from the initial, additional angels (two playing musical instruments) and other figures are depicted. Each of them holds a banderole with liturgical texts designated for Christmas, including inter alia two Gospel readings for Christmas, an antiphon for the second *Vespers* on Christmas night, an antiphon sung at *Lauds* and a lesson for *Matins* on Christmas day.[9] Most of these texts are based on biblical verses which, according to Judith Oliver, were filtered through the liturgy.[10] While the singing nuns are restricted to this specific image, the banderoles with the incipits of liturgical chants and readings are typical of most of the initial panels of this Gradual.[11] The result is an aural-visual combination linking the biblical narrative and the liturgical service, which is produced both in the image and within the prayer hall.

2 The *mahzor*: celebrating the biblical event in the Ashkenazi prayer hall

The role of the illuminated prayer book in the conducting of the service and activating the ritual space finds parallels in other medieval communities; among these are minority Ashkenazi communities, which were usually located in urban centers. The synagogue was a modest building whose inner space was arranged to include two focal points—one at the center of the hall and one on the side facing Jerusalem. This spatial concept differed from the local Christian format, which usually included one focal point at the eastern end.[12] Moreover, the language of prayer was Hebrew and the music was rooted in different aesthetic values that originated outside of Western Europe. Moreover, the Jews rejected the local method of notation and only the texts were written down.[13] Despite these differences, some prominent similarities are discernible. The Ashkenazi service too was conducted using large public prayer books, which were structured according to similar values and logic. As in the Latin books, the illumination emphasized the structure of the book and the liturgy to which it was subordinated according to a similar system of hierarchical rules. Since there are no capital letters in Hebrew, the initial panels were replaced by initial word panels, the most elaborate ones being given to the *yozzer*, the first morning *piyyut* (liturgical hymn, pl. *pyyutim*) of each event (figs. 16.3–16.4).[14]

Similar to the Christian calendar, the great feasts of the Jewish year also commemorate biblical events, though these are based, of course, exclusively on the Old Testament. One of the two main feasts of medieval Ashkenaz was *Shavuot* (the Jewish Pentecost), celebrating the Receiving of the Law.[15] The prayers for this Feast in the *mahzor* (the Ashkenazi prayer book for special events) usually open with an initial word panel for the first liturgical hymn of the morning prayer "The Lord nurtured me,"[16] spoken by the Torah who is telling about her heavenly existence before she was delivered to Israel. The illumination, often spreading across a full page, combines the Revelation at Sinai and the Giving of the Law, stressing the perpetual commitment of the people of Israel to the Law.[17] In an example from a *mahzor* of around 1290 (today in Dresden) the gilded initial word of the liturgical hymn is displayed in the middle of the page (fig. 16.3).[18] On the upper left side, Moses is bending next to Mount Sinai. He is receiving the tablets from the Lord's hand, which emerges from the lower part of a mandorla filled with Sun, Moon and stars and surrounded by several bands representing the heavens.[19] On the opposite side, Moses is

8 Oliver 2007, 109.

9 For the Latin texts and their translations, see Oliver 2007, 109–110.

10 Oliver 2007, 81–91.

11 Oliver 2007, especially 83–90. See also Oliver 2015.

12 For the differences between the Christian and Ashkenazi prayer halls and their implications, see Shalev-Eyni, 2015. For the Ashkenazi synagogue in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Krautheimer 1927, 79–139, 145–152; Wischnitzer 1964, 45–56; Böcher 1960.

13 HaCohen 2011, 19–34.

14 Shalev-Eyni 2010, 10–12.

15 On the transformation of *Shavuot* from an agricultural feast to a festival commemorating the Receiving of the Law, see Weinfeld 1990, 34–44.

16 אדון אימנני. Davidson 1970, I, 24, no. 484.

17 For different examples, see Sed-Rajna 1983, 25–27 and figs. 37–40.

18 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. A46a, fol. 202v. For the manuscript, see Sed-Rajna 1983, 15–16, 67–68. For the connection between the Dresden Mahzor and the Wroclaw Mahzor (Wroclaw, State and University Library, Ms. Or. I. 1), including the possibility that they were two volumes of the same book, see Sed-Rajna 1983, 15–16, 67–68. For the close relationship between the special scribal work of the Dresden Mahzor and a few other *mahzorim*, one of which was made in Esslingen, see also Cohen/Schrijver 1991, 55–82. It is reasonable to assume that the Dresden Mahzor was produced in the same region.

19 The supernatural character of the event depicted in the Dresden Mahzor is stressed by the inclusion of the edge of the mandorla surrounded by stripes representing the heavens at the upper part of the miniature. It is worth noting that the figure of Christ in a complete mandorla, giving the tablets to the kneeling Moses, is seen in a late eleventh-century fresco from Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe. The flanking angels blowing the curved trumpets in the Dresden Mahzor also have a parallel in the fresco. The illuminator of the Hebrew example reduced the mandorla to an edge, eliminated the figure of Christ, and replaced

Fig. 16.3: Revelation at Sinai/Giving of the Law, initial word panel, first yozzer (morning piyyut), "The Lord nurtured me," Dresden Mahzor, South Germany, ca. 1290. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. A46a, fol. 202v.

depicted again, here in the act of transmitting the Law to Joshua, who is bending at his foot. Two angels are shown blowing the trumpet, one on each side, adding an aural dimension to the miniature and visualizing the horn's sound mentioned in the verses: "And when the voice of the horn waxed louder and louder […]." (Ex. 19,16).[20] On the lower part, along the axis, the "altar of the covenant" (Ex. 24,4–8) is depicted, flanked by the Israelites who raise their hands and look toward the heavenly spectacle. Here also, as in the Christian case, such a vivid image could well have ignited the imagination of the users of the book

him by the Lord's hand, the luminaries, the stars and the stripes representing the heavens. In the Dresden Mahzor, the revelation of the divinity that shows the heavens resting on the mountain is based on a Jewish midrashic interpretation of the verse: "And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mountain." (Ex. 19,20). Is it possible, ask the rabbis, that the Lord himself went down? And they answer: "This teaches that the Holy One Blessed Be He, inclined the lower heaven and the upper heaven onto the top of the mountain, and the glory of God came down"; *Mekhilta* 1988, vol. 2, 62 (*Bahodesh*, Ch. 4,11f). See also *Mekhilta* 1988, 93–94 (Ch. 9,33a–g). The celestial mandorla in the Dresden Mahzor, with the hand of the Lord, visually represents the descending of the heavens onto the mountain.

20 The Vulgate uses the word *bucina* which means both a shepherd's horn like the original *shofar*, but also a crooked trumpet, like that in the Dresden Mahzor. The design of the horn as a curved trumpet is therefore most probably the influence of Christian art.

Fig. 16.4: Revelation at Sinai/Giving of the Law, initial word panel, first yozzer (morning piyyut), "The Lord nurtured me," Worms Mahzor, 1272. Jerusalem, National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 4° 781/1, fol. 111r.

during the service and recalled the biblical event that the service was celebrating inside the prayer hall. The large dimensions of both the image and the book enhanced the dramatic effect.

In the Ashkenazi context as well, such a visual stimulation could have included the aural-liturgical dimension. An example is a *mahzor* produced in 1272, probably in Würzburg, and which, sometime later, reached the old synagogue of Worms, where it was preserved for many generations till *Kristallnacht* (figs. 16.4–16.5).[21] As in the Dresden Mahzor, so too in the Worms Mahzor, the first morning hymn, "The Lord nurtured me" is illuminated, here also framed by an architectonic gate, whose tympanum surrounds the initial word. The scene is depicted above the arch that serves as a mountain-like area. The upper part was unfortunately cropped by a later binder, but most of the components can be reconstructed. Moses is the second figure on the left, kneeling to receive the tablets and holding a banderole inscribed "and [Moses] went up unto [God]" (Ex. 29,3). Ten other people accompany him, each of them holding a banderole with one of the Ten Commandments:[22] four are represented together with him on the mountain, four others are arranged along the two towers flanking the gate, and another two are shown below the arch (fig. 16.4).[23] The visualization of the spoken Commandments in the form of the banderoles gives a special meaning to the verses: "And God spoke all these words [= the Ten Commandments] [...] all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings [...]" (Ex. 20,1–14).

The aural dimension provided by the banderoles intensified the tangible aspect of the biblical event being celebrated in the prayer hall, but it may also have carried a liturgical aspect already inherent in the image. The illumination combines the Giving of the Law together with the Revelation at Sinai, when the people heard the Ten Commandments directly from the Lord's mouth. The uniqueness of the Commandments in that event was that they were spoken by the Lord, in his own voice. If so, why did the designer choose to represent the Commandments being spoken by ten ordinary people with beards and Jewish pointed hats, instead of showing them emerging from heaven? This may lead us back to the prayer hall of the synagogue where the Commandments are recited by men, not by God. Like in the Rulle Gradual, here too the banderoles may connect the biblical narrative to the liturgical event and its aural dimension.

During the morning service for the first day of *Shavuot*, the Ten Commandments were read as part of the public reading of the Torah (the Hebrew Pentateuch) in the synagogue. This took place, as usual, upon the *bimah*, which was situated at the center of the hall. But in medieval Ashkenaz, the way the Commandments were read was unique to this occasion. While throughout the year the Torah portions were read according to the usual system of the cantillation-signs indicating the ritual chanting of

Fig. 16.5: Detail from fig. 16.4.

21 Jerusalem, National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 4° 781/1, fol. 111r. For the manuscript, see the contributions of Beit-Arié, Fleischer, Narkiss, Cohen-Mushlin, Eldar et alia in the commentary volume to the facsimile, Beit-Arié (ed.) 1985. The manuscript, dated 1272, is the first of two volumes. The second volume was lost and replaced by another Ashkenazi manuscript of a different origin but from around the same time. The town of Würzburg is mentioned in some of the original notes throughout the first volume. See Beit-Arié (ed.) 1985.

22 The faces of the figures are adorned with birds' beaks. This feature is part of a general Ashkenazi phenomenon, avoiding the representation of the full human face. In some cases the faces were hidden (see e.g. the Dresden Mahzor, fig. 16.3), left blank (see e.g. fig. 16.6) or replaced by the head of an animal or a bird (see e.g. figs. 16.6–16.7). The phenomenon as a whole has not been fully studied yet. For different aspects and interpretations, see e.g. Ameisenowa 1949, 21–45; Narkiss 1983, 49–62; Mellinkoff 1999, 35–42; Epstein 2010, 45–128.

23 See Narkiss 1985, 87.

the readings, on this occasion, the Ten Commandments were read according to another system, known as "upper cantillation." This method enables the breaking of the verses into small fragments, each including one individual commandment, even if it consists of only two words, or, on the contrary, the rebuilding of especially long verses if the length of a specific commandment required this. This unusual division also involved musical changes.[24]

The dynamics of the aural dimension of the image are represented not only by the inclusion of the spoken banderoles with the Commandments but also by their arrangement; the viewer follows the figures according to the biblical order of the Ten Commandments, as written on those banderoles. The spoken words move from up to down and jump from right to left and vice versa till their conclusion at the lower margin of the page (fig. 16.4). The first four commandments are spoken by figures on the upper part of the page, who participate in the heavenly event alongside Moses (the first is held by the extreme left figure, whose banderole is inscribed "I am [the Lord thy God]"). To find the next six commandments, the eye has to go down to the upper figure on the right tower ("Honor thy father and thy mother") (figs 16.4–16.5), then jump to the opposite, left, tower ("Thou shalt not murder"), going further down to the lower figure on the same turret ("Thou shalt not commit adultery") and then jumping again to the lower figure on the right tower ("Thou shalt not steal"). The last two spoken commandments emerge from the lower margin of the page, where the two last figures face each other at the bottom of the illuminated frame (from right to left, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" and "Thou shalt not covet"). With this arrangement, the sounds visualized by the inscribed banderoles move across the illuminated page and then spread into the prayer hall, where they merge with the voices of the actual liturgical service.

Reading the Commandments as ten separate entities was part of a wider custom practiced only on the feast of *Shavuot*. The special ritual reading of each commandment was followed by two additional components. First an Aramaic *piyyut* (liturgical hymn) related to this specific commandment was recited or sung, and then the commandment itself was translated into Aramaic. This tripartite format was repeated ten times

Fig. 16.6: Sacrifice of Isaac, opening panel illustrating the Aramaic piyyut for the fifth commandment, "Isaac said to his father Abraham," Tiny Mahzor, ca. 1300. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. Mic. 8972, fol. 121r.

for each commandment.[25] The verses of the Aramaic *piyyutim* preceding the translation of each commandment expanded the narrative dimension of the reading of the Commandments beyond the event of the Revelation at Sinai. Each of these *piyyutim* was related to a specific commandment by elaborating on a related ritual or biblical event. In a late thirteenth-century small Ashkenazi prayer book, possibly from Franconia, each of these hymns was accompanied by a relevant miniature.[26] One example is the *piyyut* for the fifth commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother" (Ex. 20,12). The hymn "Isaac said to his father Abraham"[27] describes the obedience

24 For the "upper cantillation" and its use for the reading of the Ten Commandments, see Shiloah 1990, 331–342. The use of the special cantillation for the reading of the Commandments on *Shavuot* is first mentioned around 1240 by the French scholar Hezekiah ben Manoah (known as the *Hizkuni*) in his commentary on the book of Exodus, 20. See Schewel (ed.) 1982, 359, no. 14.

25 For the tripartite structure and the selection of *piyyutim*, see Frenkel 2000, 28–34 (Hebrew).

26 Neither the date nor the place of production is indicated in the manuscript. The possible localization in Franconia is based on stylistic parallels. For the manuscript, its localization, and the miniatures accompanying the Aramaic *piyyutim*, see Narkiss 1990, 419–440.

27 אמר יצחק לאברהם אבוהי. Davidson 1970, I, 265, no. 5812.

Fig. 16.7: Initial word panel, the opening prayer for the Day of Atonement, "Kol Nidrei," single leaf of a mahzor, ca. 1300. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. Fragm. S.P. II. 252.

of the son who, although being aware of the fatal consequences, encourages his father to fulfill his mission.[28] The accompanying miniature depicts the traditional scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 16.6).[29] Abraham stands in the center raising the knife to slaughter his son, who lies upon the altar. A crowned angel hovers above, touching the knife to prevent the act; the ram caught in the thicket is shown on the right. Two inscriptions within the miniature are based on the pertinent biblical verses: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him," and "and behold [...] a ram caught in the thicket by his horns" (Gen. 22,12–13).[30] A third inscription, surrounding the left part of the angel, is a quotation from the end of the Aramaic *piyyut*, in which God promises Isaac that He will redeem him: "God told him: Fear not, [my] kid. I will redeem you." Here again, the quotation of the liturgical verse within the miniature integrates the biblical scene with the special ceremonial reading and chanting of the Commandments within the prayer hall.

3 A book within a book: transition between the public and private domains

As in the Christian ritual books, so in the Ashkenazi domain, the prayer book itself was also a subject for illumination, as one can see for example in the illustration for the opening prayer "Kol Nidrei" for the Day of Atonement in a single leaf of an early fourteenth-century *mahzor* of

28 For the full Aramaic text of the *piyyut*, see Frenkel 2000, 467–470.
29 For the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Ashkenazi medieval illumination, see Gutmann 1987, 67–89; Sabar 2009, 9–28.
30 Narkiss 1990, 433.

the Upper Rhine region (fig. 16.7).[31] Here the cantor, who conducts the prayers in the Ashkenazi service, is seen standing in front of the lectern, which holds an open prayer book. The initial words of the ritual text, “Kol Nidrei,” are written both in the ritual book itself (in display script) and on the image of the book depicted on the lectern in the miniature (in tiny letters). The image alludes to the reading of the ritual text aloud by the cantor, to the manner of its recitation and to the melody which was associated with it. The double presence, of the liturgical experience in the prayer hall and the illuminated manuscript, blurred the limits between the book and its user, and between both of them and the liturgical space.[32]

A similar image of a book within a book takes us out of the public synagogue and into the private domain and the ritual ceremony of the *seder*, held on the eve of Passover and involving the reading of the haggadah text. In the Bird’s Head Haggadah, produced around 1300 in the Middle or Upper Rhine region,[33] many of the illustrations dispersed along the margins depict the owners of the haggadah and other individuals performing different ritual acts related to the *seder* ceremony. Here also, some of these illustrations include the ritual open book with the incipit of the text passages, written in tiny letters. An example is the illustration to the opening formula of the Passover ceremony: “This is the bread of affliction.” The elaborate initial word panel “This” is found in the upper part of the main text (fig. 16.8). A couple seated on either side of the *seder* table is depicted along the lower margin of the same page. The husband holds an open haggadah, on which the initial words “This is the bread” of the same passage are written. Like in the single leaf of a *mahzor* (fig. 16.7), here too the initial words appear twice: in the text of the ritual book itself and in the small image included in the book. In both examples, the image is designed as a replica of the ritual experience and space in which the particular book is used. The image of the single leaf of a *mahzor* displays the public ritual domain of the synagogue, while that of the haggadah represents the private space in which the *seder* is celebrated.

And yet, a blurring of this dichotomy between the public and private realms is seen in four exceptional illustrations in the same haggadah, illustrating the *Hallel*, the section of praise appearing at the end of the meal. This section consists of Psalms 115–118, Psalm 136 which is also called *Hallel Gadol*, and the concluding song of praise “The Blessing of the Song.” The four images, extremely similar to one another, depict the cantor of the synagogue, standing at the lectern, on which an open *mahzor* lies, inscribed with the opening words of Psalm 118 (fol. 32r), verse 25 of the same passage (fol. 33v), the prayer “O God, in omnipotence” from the Blessing of the Song (fol. 38v), and the end of the final part, “God of thanksgivings” (fol. 40r, fig. 16.9).

Why was the public motif of the cantor and his lectern depicted in a haggadah, a ritual book for private use at home? Both the Psalms of Praise and the Blessing of the Song are shared by the *seder* ceremony and the public prayer in the synagogue. These passages were read at home once a year during the *seder*, while Psalms 115–118, which constitute the special *Hallel* prayer, were recited in the synagogue on most holidays, and the Blessing of the Song was recited every Sabbath morning. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the illuminator associated these passages with their frequent recitation in synagogue. Moreover, like the image of the cantor in the illustration for the prayers for the Day of Atonement on the previously discussed single *mahzor* leaf and that of the husband seated at the *seder* table in the marginal illustration of “This is the bread” in the Bird’s Head Haggadah (figs. 16.8–16.9), the ritual scene also represents the act of the recitation of the words inscribed on the tiny book in the illustration, and the performance of the tune that was part of the recitation. It is possible that these specific passages were endowed with special tunes that were sung by the cantor

31 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. Fragm. S.P. II. 252. For the image, see Metzger 1982, fig. 90. For the *Wappen* decorating the miniature in a local context, see Wild and Böhmer 1995/96, 1–20. For the Ashkenazi cantor and its image, see Kogman-Appel 2012, 91–92.

32 For the analysis of the miniature in the context of the inner space of the Ashkenazi synagogue, see Shalev-Eyni 2015.

33 Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57. For the manuscript, see Spitzer (ed.) 1967; Epstein 2010, 45–128. See also, Cohen 2012, 521–539. The style of the figures depicted against the bare parchment and designed in unified contrasting colors has parallels in Christian secular manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, especially the Weingartner Liederhandschrift, considered to have been produced in Konstanz (Constance) during the second decade of the fourteenth century (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB XIII 1). For the manuscript, see Irtenkauf/Halbach/Kroos 1969; Saurma-Jeltsch 1988, 302–349 (no. J 15); Kessler 1997, 70–96, 217–252 (no. KE 25). Although the human heads in the haggadah are replaced by birds’ heads, in both manuscripts they are large in proportion to the narrow shoulders and they share similar wavy blond hair. The palette consists of contrasting colors, the garments are colored in uniform shades outlined in black; simple black curving lines indicate the folds. The similarity between these two manuscripts indicates that the Bird’s Head Haggadah might also have been illuminated in an urban workshop located in the Upper Rhine region. As Narkiss noted, the scribe of the Bird’s Head Haggadah was someone named Menahem, who indicated his name within the text in a peculiar way, paralleled in the Leipzig Mahzor (Narkiss 1964, 87); the latter, recently attributed by Kogeman-Appel to Worms (Kogman-Appel 2012), was written by the same hand. For a possible localization in Mainz, see Jaffé 1967, 49–57.

Fig. 16.8: A couple seated to the seder table, marginal illustration to the opening formula of the Passover ceremony, "This is the bread of affliction," Bird's Head Haggadah, ca. 1300. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57, fol. 7r.

on Sabbaths and Feasts, and therefore were well known to the Ashkenazi readers of that time. These tunes, which were part of the public prayers, were also used by the celebrants of the *seder*, who sang the same Psalms and passages of praise at home.[34] The images of the cantor in the book used in the private *seder* ceremony connected the private and public ritual domains, and blurred the difference between them; in this way, the individuals celebrating the *seder* at home could have identified themselves with the community and its communal ritual domain.

34 See Shalev-Eyni 2015.

4 Conclusion

The Christian and Jewish liturgies were different from one another in many aspects. The voices emerging from churches and synagogues expressed different vocal esthetics. But both liturgies shared a yearly cycle, based on the biblical events that form the foundations of each religion: in Christianity, the *Temporale*, the events commemorating the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and in Judaism, those that celebrate the formation of the People of Israel in their exodus from Egypt and wanderings in the desert of Sinai. Both religions made use of additional biblical events which broadened the narrative associations of the

Fig. 16.9: The cantor of the synagogue, standing at the lectern, on which an open mahzor lies, inscribed with the opening words "God of thanksgivings," Bird's Head Haggadah, ca. 1300. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57, fol. 40r.

liturgy. The biblical narratives were the axis around which the cultural memory of the religious community was crystallized, with various layers of meanings and nuances. Both the Latin and Hebrew illuminated prayer books used to conduct the service were based on the yearly cycle and played similar roles as activators of the verbal and aural aspects of the service. The narratives commemorated by the feast and those attached to it were not only reflected in the recited texts and chants included in the book, they were also visually present in the form of illuminations stimulating the tangible expression of the narratives in the prayer hall and their integration with the liturgical experience. The aural dimension of the images was based on quotations from the liturgy, which were written in banderoles incorporated within those images. They turned the visual expression into an aural-visual event in which the biblical narrative and the liturgical present were already integrated in the illumination. The result empowered the dramatic dimension of the public ritual and intensified the sensorial involvement of the users of the books in the ceremonies. When such images were depicted in ritual books intended for use at home, their aural-visual dimension had the ability to carry the public experience into the private ritual domain, allowing the individuals and families celebrating that ritual to identify with the whole community and its public liturgical space.

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Eyal Poleg

Epilogue

The articles in this volume present a dazzling array of objects, phenomena and analyses. They follow sacred scriptures in Islam, Christianity and Judaism, and range across centuries and geographical locations, from India to Britain and from biblical times to early Modernity. The methodological span is equally striking, joining together historians of art and architecture, book and religion, in a multifaceted exploration of clothing sacred scripture in pre-modern societies. In this short Epilogue I will follow strands and patterns among such a plethora of information, to look at the materialization of sacred scripture both synchronically and diachronically.

The definitions of sacred scripture adopted by the different authors vary significantly and follow its materiality, contents, ritual positioning or human interaction. However, looking at what is not mentioned, a strong commonality emerges. For the modern reader, the lack of one type of book is deafeningly evident. There is not a single Bible to be found. None of the sixteen articles centers on the Bible as a book, and most do not even mention one in passing. While the exploration of Islamic scriptures focuses on the Qur'an, the Bible is absent from the chapters on the Jewish and Christian examples. For us, living at a time when the sanctity of Bibles is taken for granted, such a past dissimilarity merits further investigation. In part, this is due to the history of the Bible as a book. Only with the rise of the late medieval Bible in the 1230s did a single-volume Bible become the norm. Bibles in the early and high Middle Ages, the period explored in most articles, were large and multivolume objects, whose price confined them to well-supplied libraries. However, as other parts of the Bible are equally invisible in this volume, and late medieval Bibles do not make an appearance even in the articles exploring the later Middle Ages, such an omission necessitates a new definition of sacred books. This corroborates my own survey of late medieval and early modern Bibles, which likewise suggests that Bibles were not seen as sacred objects in the Middle Ages; they were not deemed necessary for the performance of the liturgy, nor were they found in most churches prior to the Reformation.

Whereas the lack of Bibles is ever-present, Gospel books take a prominent role in half of the book's articles. This suggests a different sensitivity, in which Christians saw such books as the quintessential sacred book. As the conveyors of the gist of the Christian message, it was the Gospels, in biblical or liturgical order, which were adorned with precious bindings, processed in churches and deployed in complex rituals. This view persevered across time and space, with the sanctity of Gospel books evident in sixth-century Byzantium, as it was in fifteenth-century Germany.

As a whole, the articles reveal a subtle transformation, which took place in the later Middle Ages, one that impacted on the sanctity of books, as well as on society at large. As presented by Ivanovici, sixth-century lavish Gospel books were intrinsically linked to the body of the bishop; the playfulness of eleventh-century textile pages was employed in monastic milieu (Bücheler); and the evidence for other Gospel books likewise suggests use in well-endowed churches. Another type of book, employed liturgically and talismanically, emerged in the later Middle Ages. The rise of lay literacy and of an urban middle class was intrinsically linked to the proliferation of books of hours, which became the most popular book of the later Middle Ages.[1] The unique (and at once playful) specimen explored by Tumanov, or the way these books were emulated in sixteenth-century amulets (Ebenhöch and Tammen)[2], reveal not only the sanctity of such books, but also how ritual was gradually relocated from clergy to the laity, and—in parts—from churches to the private sphere. A moment of transition is evident in an illumination analyzed by Shalev-Eyni, in which the private ritual is presented in its communal guise, a thirteenth-century amalgamation of the two spheres.

Changes to the nature of books could be ascribed to the deployment of new technologies. The rise of print, preceded by the thirteenth-century mass production of manuscripts in lay scriptoria, enabled the dissemination of books across social classes and contributed to changes in patterns of sanctity. These transformations also led to the dissemination of Bibles and a massive reduction in their prices, enabling parish churches to acquire such Bibles in the sixteenth century, and gradually bringing the Bible into Reformers' homes and ushering in its modern patterns of sanctity. Technological innovations also underpin other moments in the clothing of sacred scripture, from the adoption of the codex by early Christian communities,

1 Duffy 2011; Reinburg 2012.

2 For an interesting Islamic parallel, see Coffey 2009.

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through novel means of navigating the book and architectural changes in Byzantine churches, and to the metalwork which enabled the creation of the miniature books explored by Ebenhöch and Tammen.

Change should not be overestimated, nor did the new render the old obsolete. Gospel books were used throughout the Middle Ages in complex rituals, and their use contributed to their impressive survival rate. I have argued elsewhere that antiquity was a key component in the sanctity of Gospel books in the later Middle Ages.[3] The Precious Gospel Book from Hildesheim, as demonstrated by Toussaint, was preserved and modified over its long life, enhancing its affinity to an important local saint through material alterations, and hence augmenting its value and sanctity to the local community. At times the transformations of sacred scriptures took a more aggressive form. The iconoclasm presented by Flood was directed at sacred elements in the Damascus Mosque, while Byzantine bindings were pillaged by Western Christians. Some were forcibly appropriated but still venerated, as is demonstrated by Nelson's exploration of how Venetian service books were made to fit ancient Byzantine bindings.

The ways in which sacred scripture took material form demonstrate differences, similarities and influences across Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Each religion had its own sacred books, whose nature impacted on its materiality and use. Christians embraced the form of the codex for their sacred books, equating the novelty of the message with that of the medium. Jews employed codices for their Bibles, but their most sacred book—the Torah—was preserved in the form of a scroll. Such a material distinction constituted a sacred boundary, as is evident in legal injunctions (or *halachot*) regarding the two types of objects. This distinction did not necessitate lavish bindings, as was necessary for Christians, for whom all books were codices. Nevertheless, scrolls were still put in lavish cases, which, as explored by Rainer, were displayed in complex rituals in Christian environments. The depiction of such Jewish ritual in a Christian chronicle reveals a level of cross-knowledge, evident also in the scribal practices underpinning the books explored by Shalev-Eyni.

A boundary between two religious communities is indicated in the study of Nelson, which juxtaposes Byzantine Gospel bindings with the lack of such bindings for Qur'ans. In part, this could be attributed to the aniconism explored by Flood, as well as to different attitudes towards precious metals. In part, this reflects key differences in the understanding of sanctity between the two religions. The Qur'an was the quintessential word of God. Written in Arabic, its words, as well as its writing, were sacred and could not be altered (reflecting, in some ways, the sanctity of the *Torah*). The Gospel book, on the other hand, was not. The words of the Prophets and Evangelists were often modified in translation, albeit divine; glossaries and prefaces, sermons and differing translations made Christians aware of the fact that their Bibles were removed from their original strata. Their sanctity was first and foremost grounded in an idea, not in a text. Readability was of secondary value for medieval Gospel books. Those encased in book-shrines or *Cumdach* (as presented by Brown), represented Christ but had a very limited practical use. Addenda to Gospel books, as explored by Reudenbach, discouraged their use, as did the minute size of early modern book-amulets. Nevertheless, one should not hasten to adopt a binary opposition of readability and symbolic use. Ganz's survey of accents in Gospel books demonstrates how these were used—as books to be read from—in rituals. The positioning of these marks within the Passion narrative links the reading of such lavish books with the most important rituals of the liturgical year, matching the material and spiritual value of the books.

Christians were faced with another difficulty by the very nature of their sacred scripture. The multiplicity of the Christian message is evident in the Gospels, which reiterate the same narrative four times, at times with important divergences. This has impacted their materiality, evident in image and text. The Eusebian Canons, commonly prefacing early Gospel books, enabled one to compare episodes across different Gospels, and became a harmonizing tool. As demonstrated by Reudenbach, the practicalities of copying (and links with marginal annotations) made them a symbolic manifestation of the Gospels' unity more than a practical device. Their iconography, explored by Bawden, served a similar function by bringing together the four Evangelists into a single unity. Such unity was presented through the body of Christ, typologically seen as the Gospel book. This was evident in Church councils, where Gospel books were placed on a throne, presiding over the council; in theological treatises, such as Pseudo-Alcuin's *Liber de divinis officiis*, which described it as: "sanctum Evangelium, quod intelligitur Christus" ("the sacred Gospel, that is understood as Christ");[4] or in the iconography of its binding.

3 Poleg 2013.

4 Pseudo-Alcuinus, *Liber de divinis officiis*, cap. 14 (ed. Migne 1863, 1201B).

Toussaint explores an extreme Christian manifestation for the link between body and book. Incorporating relics into the binding of Gospel books enhanced the affinity between the book, the body of the Church and the body of Christ, while at the same time increasing their sacral and monetary value. Such a custom was utterly foreign to Jews and Muslims, the latter explicitly rejecting Jewish and Christian lavishness. The link between scriptures and bodies, however, as well as the unease with their extreme material form, was common across boundaries of faith. Islamic legalists, explored by Flood, rejected lavish ornamentations, equating them with overly lavish dress and body ornamentation. They re-imposed a gender boundary by forbidding men from having golden copies of the Qur'an, which, like jewelry, were allowed to women. Golden Gospel books, which were embraced by the Byzantine court and church, incurred the wrath of Jerome. In a quote reverberating through several articles in this volume, he equated them with dress and juxtapose their lavishness with the suffering of Christ. The material evidence, and such purist voices, reveal how widespread was the phenomenon of adorning sacred scripture, which emanated from a very human desire for the physical manifestation of sanctity.

How should one dress sacred scripture? With what? For Christian communities, the answer appears to be taken from Psalm 103, 2 "Amictus lumine sicut vestimento" ("And art clothed with light as with a garment"). This followed Christ's depiction as the Light of the World in the Gospel of John, as well as the theology of light and theophany. The link between materiality and theology permeated every aspect of Gospel books, their materiality and use. They were written in silver ink to enhance their luminosity (Bücheler) and the palette of colors was created to present the materialized Word (Bawden). The link between gold, light and sanctity underpins Ivanovici's article, in which this is seen as the rationale for precious bindings, church architecture and even the use of incense to materialize light in Byzantium. As demonstrated by Tumanov, light served not only to celebrate theophany, but was depicted in a way that linked humans and the divine, a role that could be assigned to sacred scripture at large.

Such use of sacred scripture, which extends beyond the mere readability of its books, stands at the core of this book. As its name suggests, it merges two innovative and little explored fields of investigation: sanctity and materiality. Each of these fields is only emerging in the study of the Bible, a field which has long stood in the shadow of textual analyses. The present volume, with its breadth of topics and wide span leaves much scope for further investigation. It also demonstrates the potential and merits of a comparative and *longue durée* analysis of the ways in which sacred scripture took form.

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