

## AN OTTONIAN SACRAMENTARY IN OXFORD

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A reconsideration of Oxford's most important Ottonian illuminated manuscript seems appropriate in a volume dedicated to Henry Mayr-Harting, whose ground-breaking contextual study of Ottonian illuminated manuscripts reminded the scholarly world that Ottonian books were made by and for real people in particular religious and political situations, people who may even have gone so far on occasion as to talk to one another.<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 319, a sacramentary,<sup>2</sup> was first described in detail in the early twentieth century,<sup>3</sup> and was subjected to close examination in the mid-1960s by two liturgical scholars, who reached markedly different conclusions as to its origins (pls. 8–10, 12, 14, 16, and 18).<sup>4</sup> Since then considerable progress has been made by palaeographers and art historians in the study of Ottonian manuscript production, much of which has implications for our understanding of the Oxford sacramentary. The aim of this essay is briefly to reconsider the question of its place of origin and early travels, and to look more closely than has been done hitherto at the full-page miniatures it contains. Inevitably this will involve studying the relationship between our manuscript and others to which its decoration is closely linked; at the same time, it is important to consider the contents of the Oxford manuscript in their own right, rather than merely as links in a textual and iconographic chain.

Early in its life, as we shall see, Canon. Liturg. 319 was taken to Aquileia. As well as giving it a place in the larger story of the influx of Ottonian manuscripts to Italy, this explains why Oxford was to become its eventual resting-place. That manuscripts with an Italian provenance rank second only to those from the British Isles in the Bodleian Library's collections of illuminated manuscripts<sup>5</sup> is due very largely to the library's purchase in 1817 of a majority of the

<sup>1</sup> H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols. (London, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, vol. IV (Collections Received During the First Half of the 19th Century)* (Oxford, 1897), no. 19408.

<sup>3</sup> C. Foligno, *Di alcuni Codici Liturgici di Provenienza Friulana nella Biblioteca Bodleiana di Oxford* (Cividade del Friuli, 1914), 6–7 (first published in the *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi*, 9 (1913)).

<sup>4</sup> D. H. Turner, 'The "Reichenau" Sacramentaries at Zürich and Oxford', *Revue Bénédictine*, 75 (1965), 240–76; R. Bauerreiss, 'Ein altbayerisches Sakramentar des XI. Jahrhunderts in Oxford (Canon. Lit. 319)', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens*, 76 (1965), 85–95.

<sup>5</sup> As may be appreciated from O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966–73). Canon. Liturg. 319 is vol. I, no. 25.

manuscripts which had been collected by Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–c.1805), a Jesuit who endured two suppressions of his Order and the loss of his first collection before retiring to Venice and building up a second.<sup>6</sup> The present red leather binding of the manuscript, with its characteristic decorative endpapers, was in all likelihood made for Canonici.<sup>7</sup> The circumstances in which it left Aquileia are not known; the only published reference to it before it entered Canonici's possession is one of 1748, which was copied on to the flyleaves of the book (fols. iii recto–v recto).<sup>8</sup>

The contents of Canon. Liturg. 319 may be summarized as follows:<sup>9</sup>

A. 1. (fols. iv–15r). Prefatory gradual (*Breviarium antiphonalis missarum*) and sanctoral, including provisions for the feasts of St Benedict and St Pelagius, and a series of Alleluias *per circulum anni*, ending with those of the common.

2. (fols. 15v–24r). Calendar, entitled *martyrologium per circulum anni*.

3. (fol. 24r). *Oratio sancti Ambrosii ante missam*, followed by other prayers.

4. (fols. 24v–27r). *Ordo missae*.

5. (fols. 27v–29r). Votive masses (added later in the eleventh century).

B. 1. (fols. 29v–36r). Introduction and Canon of the Mass.

2. (fols. 36r–161v). Masses of the temporal and sanctoral combined, with the service for baptism on Holy Saturday (fol. 85r), but omitting the Sundays after Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the season of Advent.<sup>10</sup> The first part of the Exultet (fols. 79v–80r) is provided with neums.

3. (fols. 161v–164r). Common of saints.

<sup>6</sup> I. Merolle, *L'Abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua Biblioteca. I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle biblioteche Fiorentine* (Rome/Florence, 1958).

<sup>7</sup> For the Canonici bindings, see J. B. Mitchell, 'Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts From Two Eighteenth-Century Venetian Collections', *Bodleian Library Record*, 8:3 (1969), 125–35. The damage to the outer corners of the last few leaves (fols. 260–5) was probably caused by metal fittings from a previous binding. No similar marks are to be seen on fol. 266, which must therefore have been placed in its present position only when the manuscript was rebound. There is similar damage at the front of the manuscript (fols. 1–3), with the addition of a fifth mark in the middle of the page, presumably representing a central boss.

<sup>8</sup> The note (not in Canonici's hand) refers to L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1748), I, col. 70: 'Sunt et alii in Italia vetustissimi Codices ejusdem Gregorianae Liturgiae. An ex iis aliquem adservaret insignis Aquilejensis Patriarchalis Ecclesia, a Cl. V. Dominico Berroli, ejusdem Ecclesiae Canonico, sum percontatus. Retulit ille, haberi illic elegantissimum Codicem, cujus aetas spectare videtur ad Saeculum Christi Nonum, aut Decimum. En ejus titulum: *In Christi nomine incipit Liber Sacramentorum de circulo anni, a sancto Gregorio Papa Romano editum, qualiter Missa Romana celebratur. Hoc est in primis Introitus* etc.' The title in the manuscript actually reads (fol. 29v): *In nomine domini incipit Liber Sacramentorum de circulo anni expositus a sancto Gregorio Papa Romano. editus ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi scriptus. qualiter missa romana celebratur. Hoc est in primis introitus*.

<sup>9</sup> See the descriptions in Turner, 'Reichenau Sacramentaries', 256–60, and S. J. P. van Dijk, 'Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library', I: 'Mass Books', unpublished typescript (Oxford, 1957), 12.

<sup>10</sup> Turner lists the saints' days which appear (excluding those normally found in the *Hadrianum* and supplement) on p. 260.

4. (fols. 164r–165r). Mass *in dedicatione aecclesiae*.
5. (fols. 165r–167r). Masses for the Sundays after Easter.
6. (fol. 167r). Mass for the Sunday after Ascension.
7. (fols. 167r–175v). Masses for the twenty-four Sundays after the octave of Pentecost.
8. (fols. 175v–178v). Masses for Advent.
9. (fols. 178v–245v). Votive Masses for each day of the week; *orationes pro pec-catis* (fol. 181r), *cottidianae* (fol. 185r), *matutinales* (fol. 188v), *uespertinales* (fol. 189r); further votive masses (fol. 192r), several with the epistle, gospel, and the opening words of the parts to be sung by the choir (with musical cues), and including one *pro salute uiuorum uel mortuorum* (fol. 207v), mentioning those *quorum corpora in hoc monasterio requiescunt*, and another *in monasterio* (fol. 208v).
10. (fols. 245v–263v). Masses for the Dead and (fol. 257r) *obsequium circa morientes*.
11. (fols. 263v–265r). Added (eleventh-century) material in space originally left blank: rubrics are included, but the spaces left for initials have not been filled.
12. (fol. 266). A leaf from another German sacramentary of the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>11</sup>

The basis of the sacramentary is the *Hadrianum* and supplement: that is, the text, supposedly composed by Gregory the Great, sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne; and the Carolingian additions which expanded the festive sacramentary sent from Rome into a book suitable for the daily liturgical needs of churches throughout the Carolingian empire.<sup>12</sup> Derek Turner, who had previously contributed a liturgical chapter to C. R. Dodwell's reconsideration of the place of Reichenau in the history of Ottonian manuscript illumination,<sup>13</sup> compared the sacramentary of Canon. Liturg. 319 to three other sacramentaries from the abbey of Reichenau on Lake Constance, the abbey to which the illumination of this section of the manuscript had been attributed.<sup>14</sup> He concluded that it had no material of local significance in common with them. The calendar, which he argued did not originally belong with the sacramentary, was another matter. A *terminus post quem* for the calendar is given by the presence of St Adalbert (23 April), who died in 997. In the calendar Turner identified

<sup>11</sup> Brief physical details of the MS are given in the appendix.

<sup>12</sup> É. Bourque, *Étude sur les Sacramentaires romains*, part II, vol. II (Vatican City, 1958), 267, no. 210; K. Gamber, *Sakramentartypen. Versuch einer Gruppierung der Handschriften und Fragmente bis zur Jahrtausendwende* (Beuron, 1958), 144.

<sup>13</sup> C. R. Dodwell and D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered: A Re-assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London, 1965).

<sup>14</sup> Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS. Rheinau 71; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 18005; and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. B.R. 231.

several entries which spoke of Reichenau,<sup>15</sup> as well as other Insular monastic saints whose presence could be explained by the influence of Reichenau's neighbour St Gallen. However, the calendar omits the dedication feast of Reichenau on 16 August. Instead it has a *Dedicatio ecclesiae sanctae Mariae* on 29 March, and a *Dedicatio sancti Nicolai* on 17 December. Turner could locate no documented monastic chapel or church dedicated to St Nicholas at this date in the region of Reichenau.<sup>16</sup> And although several monastic houses in the diocese of Constance honoured the Virgin Mary as their principal patron, he could find no other evidence to link Canon. Liturg. 319 to any of them. Although there are two calendars from St Gallen which have a Marian dedication on the same day, the Oxford calendar lacks all the major St Gallen dedication feasts.<sup>17</sup>

Turner noted, but could not explain, the presence of one original obit in the calendar, *Heinricus marchio* on 23 June. This must be margrave Henry I von Babenberg of Austria, who died in or after 1018 (giving an even more useful *terminus post quem*), and was buried at Melk, at that time the seat of the Austrian rulers but not yet a house of Benedictines. The Oxford manuscript has no other obvious connection with Melk. To Romuald Bauerreiss, whose article appeared shortly after that of Turner, which it criticized in certain respects, this entry provided the springboard for a very different analysis of the calendar.<sup>18</sup> Bauerreiss was himself a Benedictine monk in Munich, and his article was unambiguously entitled 'Ein altbayerisches Sakramentar'. Contrary to Turner, he believed that the calendar and the sacramentary in Canon. Liturg. 319 had always belonged together, and had been made not in the area of Lake Constance but in Bavaria or upper Austria—though he too was unable to link the two dedications to any particular foundation.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from the obit of *Heinricus marchio*, almost all the evidence brought into play by Bauerreiss belongs not to the original calendar but to its additions. These include the obits of six patriarchs of Aquileia,<sup>20</sup> of the mother (Bilihilt or

<sup>15</sup> For instance SS Pirmin, Pimenius, Senesius and Theopontus, Valens, Genesius, Fortunata and her brothers, and Januarius and his companions.

<sup>16</sup> K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch in Abendlande. Eine kultgeographisch-volkskundliche Untersuchung*, 2nd edn. (Düsseldorf, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> E. Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen. Aus XXI Handschriften. Neuntes bis elftes Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Beuron, 1948–51).

<sup>18</sup> The calendar is printed by Bauerreiss on pp. 86–90.

<sup>19</sup> A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1984), no. 270, follows Bauerreiss in believing that the manuscript was originally made in Upper Austria, and suggests that the obit of *Heinricus marchio* is an addition in the original hand, presumably because it is placed towards the right-hand edge of the line. He therefore dates the manuscript to the period 997–1018. The obit is certainly in the original hand; I am inclined not to agree with this interpretation of its placing, especially as the original scribe of a manuscript made for export would presumably not have been in a position to add an obit once the manuscript had gone to its intended destination.

<sup>20</sup> They are, in chronological order of their patriarchates: John on 19 July, Poppo on 28 September, Eberhard on 13 November, Gotebold on 27 December, Rabinger on 18 February, and Sigehard on 12 August. See the entries in *Necrologium Aquileiense*, ed. C. Scalon (Udine, 1982).

Pilihild) and brother (Friedrich) of the latest of the six, Sigehard;<sup>21</sup> of the emperors Henry II and Henry III;<sup>22</sup> of the counts Otto and Sirus;<sup>23</sup> of an abbess Reginlinda;<sup>24</sup> and of the nun Hadauich.<sup>25</sup> There are also added entries for several saints venerated at Aquileia.<sup>26</sup> Turner and Bauerreiss agreed in considering Sigehard as the most likely source of the additions: the anniversary of his consecration as patriarch (15 June 1068) is in the same hand as many of the other additions, but his obit (12 August 1077) is in a different hand.<sup>27</sup> Sigehard came from a south-east Bavarian noble family; Bilihilt and Reginlinda are found in necrologies and confraternity books from Seckau, Salzburg, Seeon, and Mondsee.<sup>28</sup> Turner continued (rightly, it seems to me) to regard the original entries in the calendar as distinct from the additions, though he could not account for the calendar's transfer to Aquileia. Bauerreiss, dismissing the Reichenau and St Gallen saints in the calendar as insignificant, and seeming to ignore the absence of the liturgical features in the sacramentary which would have been necessary to support his thesis, argued that the whole manuscript must have had its origins somewhere close to the Sigeharding *Stammesgebiet*, such as Mondsee.

In trying to build a picture of the origins and first destination of Canon. Liturg. 319, it is not only the liturgical evidence of its contents which can be put to use. Since Turner and Bauerreiss wrote, there have been major advances in the palaeographical study of Ottonian centres of manuscript production. Hartmut Hoffmann has identified six scribes in the Oxford manuscript.<sup>29</sup> He argues that each of the two main sections of the book, the calendar and sacramentary, was written by a single scribe in the first quarter of the eleventh century: hand A wrote the original text of fols. 1v–27v, line 14; hand D wrote the original text of fols. 31r–263v, line 7 (pl. 8). Hoffmann places both these main scribes at Reichenau. Hand A is also found on fols. 1r–131v of London, British Library, Arundel 390, a manuscript of the chronicle of Regino of Prüm; hand D can be identified with the first scribe of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,

<sup>21</sup> On 23 October and 29 August respectively.

<sup>22</sup> On 20 July and 5 October respectively.

<sup>23</sup> On 22 August and 21 July respectively.

<sup>24</sup> She is described as an abbess on 4 February, but as a nun on 3 May; the latter entry is explicitly an obit. If these are not two different women, it is possible that the first reference might be to the date of her installation as abbess.

<sup>25</sup> On 28 September, probably the *monaca nostra* who appears in the necrology of S. Maria di Aquileia: see C. Scalón, 'Fonti e ricerche per la storia', in *Il Friuli dagli Ottoni agli Hohenstaufen* (Udine, 1985), 162.

<sup>26</sup> Hermagoras and Fortunatus on 12 July; Felix and Fortunatus on 14 August; Thecla, Erasma, and Dorothea on 25 September.

<sup>27</sup> The belief that another of the patriarchs, Eberhard, had been a canon of Reichenau, and was thus the most likely means by which the book could have travelled, seems to have rested on a confusion between *Augustanus* and *Augiensis*, the adjectival form of Reichenau. Eberhard was a canon of Augsburg; Reichenau had no canons. See F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, V, 2nd edn. (Venice, 1720), col. 56.

<sup>28</sup> C. Scalón, *Produzione e Fruizione del Libro nel Basso Medioevo. Il caso Friuli* (Padua, 1995), 4–5.

<sup>29</sup> H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1986), I, 334, 335–6, 416–8, 420; II, Ill. 162–3, 247–8.

Clm. 23338, an illustrated gospel lectionary.<sup>30</sup> Hands B, C, and E were responsible for the additions on fols. 27v, line 16<sup>31</sup>–28v, line 17; fols. 28v, line 18–29r; and fols. 263v, line 9<sup>32</sup>–265v respectively. According to Hoffmann, these three scribes are all localizable to Freising in the second quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>33</sup> Crucially, this palaeographical analysis yokes calendar and sacramentary more firmly to each other, each containing Reichenau script (albeit by different hands) with later Freising additions, one of whom (hand C) crossed over from the end of the quire containing the calendar to the first leaf of the new quire containing the beginning of the sacramentary. This hand is also to be found inserting corrections in the text of the sacramentary, for example at fol. 202r.

Thus a picture begins to emerge of a manuscript produced at Reichenau but intended for use elsewhere. Liturgically speaking, Freising, where the additions seem to have been made, is not a possible first destination for the manuscript. Is there any other plausible first destination that could yield a satisfactory explanation for the manuscript's liturgical features? It is worth reconsidering the case for Murbach in Alsace, with which Reichenau entered into a confraternity in 828.<sup>34</sup> Murbach was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St Michael, St Peter and St Paul, and St Leger (or Leodegarius), bishop of Autun.<sup>35</sup> Canon. Liturg. 319 has a Mass for St Leger in the sanctoral. It is clearly important, as a proper preface is provided along with the collect, secret, and postcommunion. However, the content of this Mass differs in some respects from that found in the eleventh-century missal from Murbach, now Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS. 443–4.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the Oxford manuscript lacks other local feasts found in

<sup>30</sup> Although (as we shall see) the illumination of this MS is also related to Canon. Liturg. 319, it does not appear to have been executed by the same artist. See A. S. Korteweg, 'Das Evangelistar Clm 23338 und seine Stellung innerhalb der Reichenauer *Schulhandschriften*', in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mutherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Bierbrauer, P. Klein, and W. Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 125–44.

<sup>31</sup> Line 15 is a rubric. <sup>32</sup> Line 8 is a rubric.

<sup>33</sup> He compares hand C to hand U of London, British Library, Harley 2728 (Lucan), and hand E to hand A of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Savigny 2 (*Collectio duodecim partium*).

<sup>34</sup> M. Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Archives de l'Église d'Alsace, 27–9, NS 11–13 (1960–3)), cols. 885–97.

<sup>35</sup> Other houses dedicated to St Leger included Masmünster in Alsace (for which see Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen*, cols. 801–7), and Lucerne (a subject of Murbach) in the diocese of Constance.

<sup>36</sup> J.-B. Pitra, *Histoire de Saint Léger* (Paris, 1846), 510–11; V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, I (Paris, 1924), 131–3, nos. 54–5. This (perhaps 'southern') version of the Mass is the one found in books from Switzerland, the earliest being Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 30: ed. A. Hänggi and A. Schönherr, *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense* (Fribourg, 1970), 194–5, nos. 885–9. The Oxford elements which differ from the Colmar missal follow another (perhaps 'northern') version of the Mass for St Leger, found in the *Missale Gothicum*, generally thought to be from Autun and to date from the first half of the 8th century: *Missale Gothicum. Das galikanische Sakramentar (cod. Vatican. Regin. Lat. 317) des VII.–VIII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, 2 vols: facsimile and commentary (Augsburg, 1929), II, 130–1, nos. 425–31. I am indebted to Nicholas Orchard of the Courtauld Institute, University of London, not only for detailed instruction in the historical development of the Mass for St Leger, but also for much other patient explanation of matters liturgical.

the Colmar missal: Walburga, Boniface, Germanus and Remigius, Gall, and Januarius. The only other local feasts it does contain are for St Amarinus, abbot of Doroang in the Vosges, who was venerated in Alsace; St Alban of Mainz; and St Verena, a hermitess near Solothurn and later near Zurzach in the Aargau. Our volume is unlikely, then, to be a copy of a Murbach book made at Reichenau for Murbach; but might it possibly be an adaptation, made at Reichenau for Murbach, of an exemplar from somewhere else? It is unclear what measure of similarity we are entitled to look for in such a case; the production of a liturgical book for another monastic house may well have been a textually complicated procedure, if no single model had been provided. This may go some way to explaining the relative paucity of local feasts in the sanctoral.

It seems, therefore, that Canon. Liturg. 319 was originally made at Reichenau, certainly after 997 and probably after 1018, for use at another house; exactly which house will remain obscure until the liturgical evidence of the sacramentary can be convincingly linked to the two dedication feasts in the calendar.<sup>37</sup> For reasons unknown it was fairly soon taken to Freising, and from Freising to Aquileia, which it seems to have reached before 1077. The fact that Canon. Liturg. 319 demonstrably reached Aquileia in the eleventh century is itself of considerable cultural interest. At least two other richly illuminated Ottonian manuscripts, a sacramentary and a gospel book, both from Fulda, are known to have done the same, and are now in Udine.<sup>38</sup> Most of the patriarchs of Aquileia up to the thirteenth century were themselves German. The Fulda Gospels were used as an oath book when new bishops of the province swore allegiance to the patriarch. Whilst Italy is often seen as a rich storehouse of artistic models, it is clear that objects and books of artistic value could also travel from Germany to Italy, and not only via the traffic of rulers and churchmen to and from Rome. Most of the Ottonian manuscripts which reached Italy had not originally been produced for Italian destinations. They were given as diplomatic or fraternal gifts, or as a means of liturgical incorporation by reforming centres, or as tokens of Ottonian liturgico-political colonization.<sup>39</sup>

So far in the discussion of the circumstances in which Canon. Liturg. 319 might have been produced, no account has been taken of its decoration. There

<sup>37</sup> These feasts do not appear in the two surveys by M. Barth: 'Aus dem liturgischen Leben der Abtei Murbach', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 73 (1953), 59–87; and 'Mittelalterliche Kalendare und Litaneien des Elsass', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 86 (1966), 352–443.

<sup>38</sup> Udine, Archivio Capitolare, MS 1 (sacramentary) and MS 2 (gospels). In neither case was Aquileia the first destination of the manuscript. See W. Böhne, 'Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Udine', *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Kirchengeschichte*, 43 (1991), 327–62; E. Palazzo, *Les Sacramentaires de Fulda. Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne* (Münster, 1994), 206–10, 230–1. The Egbert Psalter now in Cividale (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. 136) reached Aquileia only in the thirteenth century: F. J. Ronig, 'Der Psalter des Trierer Erzbischofs Egbert in Cividale', in *Egbert, Erzbischof von Trier 977–993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag*, ed. F. J. Ronig, 2 vols. (Trier, 1993), 163–8.

<sup>39</sup> I. Siede, *Zur Rezeption ottonischer Buchmalerei in Italien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (St Ottilien, 1997).

is little difficulty in identifying the group of illustrated manuscripts to which the main illumination of the sacramentary belongs, though its exact relationship to the other members deserves attention. The leading members of this group (known as the 'Liuthar group' after the scribe of the Aachen Gospels) mostly have imperial connections: the Aachen Gospels themselves of c.996, the Munich Gospels of Otto III of c.998–1001, the Bamberg Apocalypse, and the 'Pericopes Book' of Henry II of c.1007–12.<sup>40</sup> The later examples, of which Canon. Liturg. 319 is one, and which are sometimes referred to as *Schulwerke*, all have stylistic and iconographical links to the core Liuthar group and to each other, but were evidently made for a variety of different contexts.<sup>41</sup> Their dating, both absolutely and relatively, is very largely a matter of conjecture: they are generally assigned to the period c.1020–40, with a further group of related manuscripts, known as the Bernulphus group, assigned to c.1040–75.<sup>42</sup> It will only be possible to judge the originality of the illumination in the Oxford sacramentary if we are aware of the traditions to which it conforms or from which it can be seen to depart.

As well as its miniatures, Canon. Liturg. 319 also contains five full-page initials or monograms, and ten smaller, three-, four-, or five-line decorated initials (pls. 8 and 9).<sup>43</sup> Once again, these are of the same distinctive type as those found in the other Liuthar group manuscripts.<sup>44</sup> The initials, which are framed and set against a purple ground, are of gold, with bright red, blue, and green infill. Gold branchwork, with a consistent repertoire of knobs and terminals, grows out of the initial forms, and is connected to the frame, sometimes by elaborate knotting devices. The frames themselves contain decorative panels of acanthus or

<sup>40</sup> Respectively, Aachen Cathedral Treasury (E. G. Grimme, *Das Evangeliar Kaiser Ottos III. im Domschatz zu Aachen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1984)); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453 (F. Dressler, F. Mutherich, and H. Beumann, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III.*, 2 vols.: facsimile and commentary (Frankfurt am Main, 1978)); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. 140 (A. Fauser, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (Wiesbaden, 1958)); and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452 (H. Fillitz, R. Kahsnitz, and U. Kuder, *Zierde für ewige Zeit. Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.* (exhibition catalogue, Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1984)).

<sup>41</sup> Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximiliansmuseum, Cod. 15a (gospel lectionary); Cologne, Dombibliothek, Col. Metr. 12 (gospel lectionary of Hillinus); Cologne, Dombibliothek, Col. Metr. 218 (Limburg Gospels); Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. 12 (gospels); Hildesheim, Dombibliothek (Bibliotheca Beverina), Hs. 688 (orationale); Lille, Bibliothèque des Facultés catholiques, s.n. (gospel lectionary); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4454 (gospel lectionary); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23338 (gospel lectionary); Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. IV,4 (gospel lectionary); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 18005 (sacramentary); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 573 (*Vita sancti Uodalrici*); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 84, 5 Aug. 2<sup>o</sup> (gospel lectionary).

<sup>42</sup> A. S. Korteweg, 'Der Bernulphuscodex in Utrecht und eine Gruppe verwandter spätreichenauer Handschriften', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 53 (1985), 35–76.

<sup>43</sup> Details of the initials are given in the appendix.

<sup>44</sup> There is nothing to prove that the same artist was responsible for both the miniatures and the initials; but it is worth observing the degree of decorative co-ordination between the two, for instance in the columns, capitals, and acanthus-filled arches which frame both the miniature of the Women at the Tomb on fol. 95v and the full-page initial on the other side of the opening at fol. 96r.

utrumque in p[ro]p[ri]a q[ui]a p[ro]p[ri]a

AN CEL PHAM Q[ui] IN STITUENS NOS  
LENTELLECENDUMSINGULAMBRE  
BICONPINCENSNECACTORITAE  
FACTEREIDE MELETCTPERPICI  
ENDIOPEISPLENITUDEMEON  
NECARETDENIQUAHOIPUTASSE  
SIBIPOSTIDEMPOLLICENDICILIC  
UTSACERDOTIOREPROBUSHABE  
RETURSED TANTUMCONSENTIENS  
FIDEIPRIEDESTINATIPOTUTE  
LECTIOUTNECSIENOPEREUER  
BIPERKDERETQUODPRIUSMERO  
EKATINCENEXENALMALEXANDRIE  
EPISCOPUSFATICAUSPERSINGU  
LAPUSSCIRETEUXCELINSEDE  
TADISPONERETETDISCIPLINX  
INSELEGISAGNOSCERETETDIURX  
INCAINCE<sup>dem</sup>Q[ui]NTELLEGERENAL  
RANQUALEINNOSPRIUMUAREQUI  
TUDENIEMQUISITAOLOMUSAC  
NOSCHIBENTESMERCEDEMEOR  
TATIONISQUOVILOQAIPLANTAT  
ETQAIQICANTUNUSANTQUIA  
TEMINCREMENTAMDATDEST

EXPL. PROLOQVS

IN ETITULI SECUNDUM  
MARCU

I De IOHANNNE BAPTISTA ET TUC

TU ET ABITU eius de bapt

II PETRU MET CETEROS SEQUI

IUBETHOMINEM ABSPUINMO DO  
EPIPIUS OCKU MPETU AFEBU  
B LIBERAT ET ALIOS MALTASCU  
RATIA COBU MALPHEISEQUITUR ET  
ETIUDALIS DICIT NON ESSE OPUS  
SANIS MEDICAM

III DISCIPULI UELLONT SPICIAS

MAIU MAIU DALMAVENTE MSA  
NATIDUODECIAPOSTOLONA  
ELECTIO DEHELZERUBPRIN  
CIPEDEMONIORUM

III MATREM ET PATRES PER

NI TPARYBOLAO SEQUIANTIS  
DIETNAUICARTEMPESTA  
TEM SED ET DOXA OMNILE  
CIONE MAIUS OMNE EXPELLIT

V ARCHISYNAGOGI PLERUMQ[ue]

TUALMSUSCITAT PROPHETA  
IN PATRIBUS IN ECHONORCES  
SED ICITQ[ui]D UODECIANDISCIPI  
LOS PRACMITTIT CUM PRAC  
CEPTIS DECAPITE IOHANNIS

VI RECESSI POSTOLIA DIBI

DE QUINQ[ue] P[ro]ph[et]is ET DUOB[us]  
P[ro]ph[et]is QUINQ[ue] MILIA IRON

Quintus 2 p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a Lib[er]

ille homo quid dicit  
turbis  
latum pecit etum  
XUOCUBAS MROS  
ET DIXIT MIHI  
MADEADUM TATORIU  
SILOLCE ET LABA  
ETABI ET LAM  
ETUIDI  
ET DIXERUNT EI  
UBI EST ILLE  
AIT NESCI  
LOD'UNTEUM AD PHA  
RISAEOS QUI CLECUS  
FUERAT  
ERAT AUTEM SABBA  
QUAM DOKUTUM PE  
CITIBS  
ETAPERUIT OCULOSE  
ITERUM EKGOINTE  
ROGABANTEUM PHA  
RISAEI  
QUOMODO CUIDISSET  
ILLE AUTEM DIXIT EIS  
LATUM POSUIT MIHI  
SUPER OCULOS  
ET LAM ET IN DEO  
DICEBANT ERGO EX

NON EST HIC QUIA DICO  
QUIAS AB EGO NON CUI  
TU DICTUM EST  
ALIUD DICIT  
QUIA MODO PROTESTHO  
MORFECEATON HABEA  
SIGNA FACERE  
ET AD HIS MAERATIBUS  
DICUNT ERGO CRESCON  
ITERUM  
TU QUID DICIS DEO QUI  
IAPENIT OCCULOS TUOS  
ILLE AUTEM DIXIT QUIA  
PROPEL EST  
NON CREDIDERUNT ER  
GO IUDAEI DE ILLO QUON  
IAM CECUS FUSET ET NUN  
DISET  
DONEC QUOCUERUNT  
PARENTES EUS QUI  
VIDERAT  
ET IN TERRA QUERUNT  
EOS DICENTES  
HIC EST FILIUS VESTER  
QUEM VOS DICITIS QUON  
IAM CECUS NATUS EST  
QUOMODO ERGO VIDE  
VIDET

## RESPONDERUNTERS

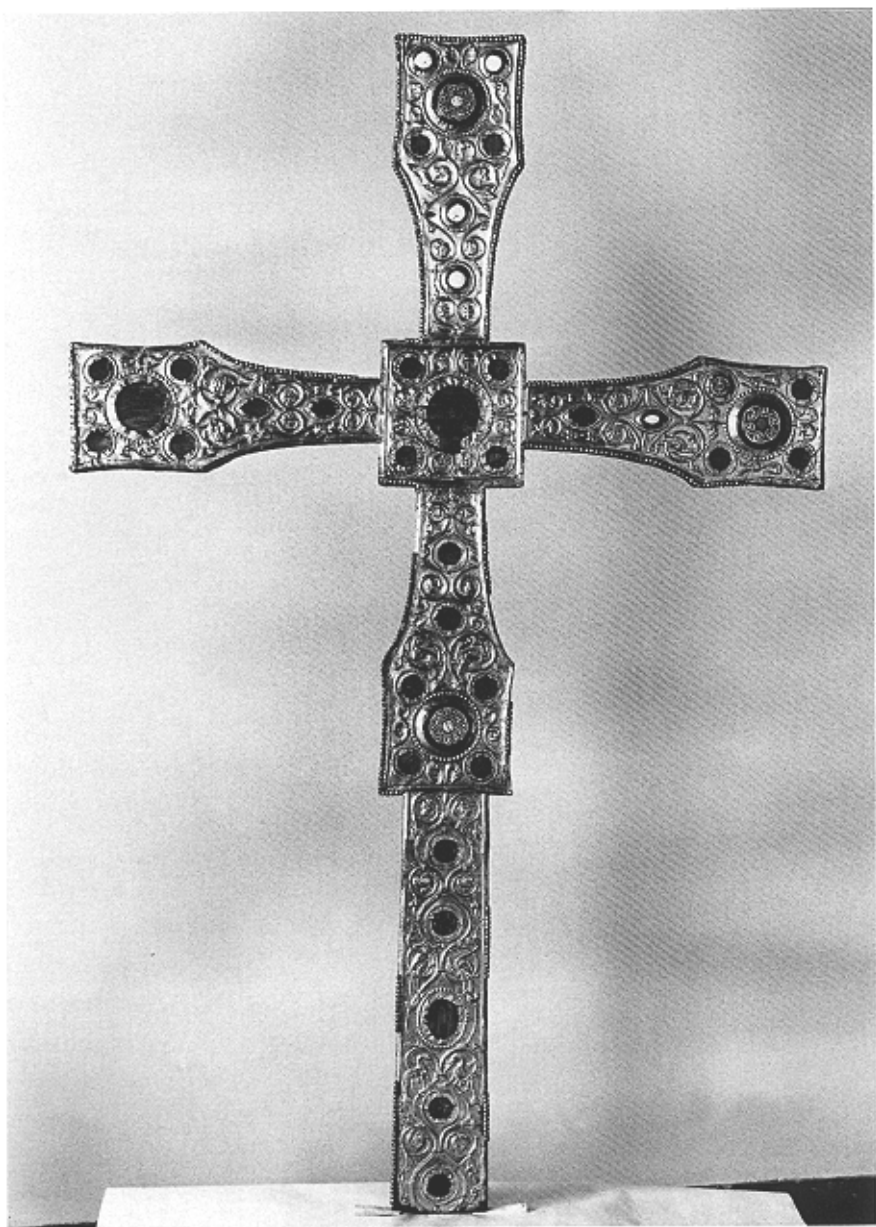


3. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, fol. 95<sup>r</sup>. The Lindisfarne Gospels: Incipit to Mark. Page size: c.340 x 250 mm. See ch. 4.



7 Eadfrid byscop Lindisfarne nennyr ecclesie  
 he ðis boc awrit ætferma gode 7 rē  
 cyð berhte 7 allum ðe m halgum. <sup>son. one. lica</sup> ða. ðe <sup>we</sup>  
 in eolonde sint. 7 Eðilwald Lindisfarne eolondige  
 hit sta gidyde 7 sibelde swa he wól eudg.  
 7 billfrid se oncere he symiodade ða  
 gihpino ðade utun on sint 7 hit gi  
 hmunade mid golde 7 mid simmum 7c  
 mid wylfne of syðdes fæconleasfeh.  
 7 Aldred þæt indignus 7 myrrerum? <sup>.. d. p. n. d.</sup>  
 mid soder fælcym 7 rē cyð berhtes <sup>natur</sup>  
 hit of sloepade on englice. 7 hine gihamadi: uocon <sup>aloned</sup>  
 mid ðe m dnum dæly. anatheyr dæl <sup>bona</sup>  
 gode 7 rē cyð berhtes. ananc dæl <sup>filus</sup>  
 ðe m birc. 7 lycas dæl ðe m hionode <sup>Loque</sup>  
 7 æhtona fæolpnes mid so mlade.  
 7 rē ioh dæl þæt hine fæolpne 7 fæowen ona  
 fæolpnes mid gode 7 rē cyð berhtes. þæt he  
 hæbbe onðron ðe m soder milre on heorn.  
 fæel 7 ribb on eorðo fæowen 7 syððing  
 widdom 7 rē. æro ðe m fæowen 7 rē cyð berhtes eaynma.  
 + Eadfrid. oedilwald. billfrid. Aldred.  
 hoc ewangē dō 7 cyð berhta consenxerit.  
 t on nax fæowen.

5. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, fol. 259<sup>r</sup> (detail).  
 The Lindisfarne Gospels: colophon. See ch. 4.



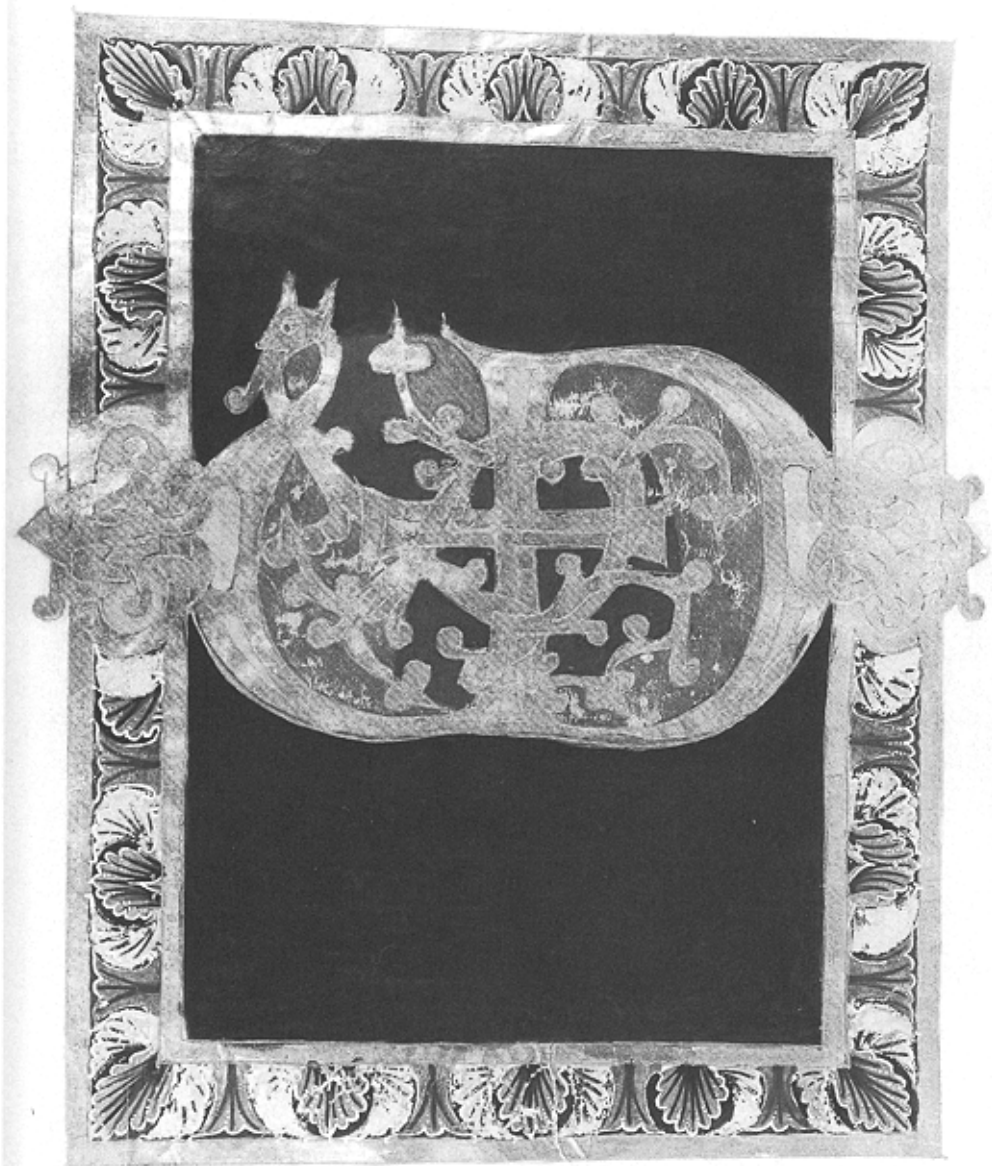
6. The Rupertus Cross (Bischofshofen Parish Church; Salzburg Diocesan Museum).  
Height: 158 cm. Width: 94 cm. See ch. 6.



7a-b The Alfred Jewel (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1836.371). Length: 62 mm.  
See ch. 9.

**G**ENERANDO A NOBIS  
dñe huius est diei festiuitas.  
inqua scā dī genitrix mor-  
tem subitū temporalem. nec tamen  
mortis nexibus deprimi potuit. quae  
filium tuum de se genuit incarnatū  
cuius intercessione q̄s. ut mortem e-  
uadere possimus animarum. ꝥ eund.

**P**AMULORUM TUO-  
rum q̄s dñe delictis igno-  
scet. et qui placere de actibus nr̄is  
non ualemus. genitricis filii tui  
dñi dī nostri intercessione saluem.  
ꝥ eund dñm nr̄m. *SUBORATIO*  
**S**ub ueniat dñe plebi tuae dī genitri-  
cis oratio. quam et si per conditione ear-



9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>. Sacramentary: *vere dignum* monogram  
See ch. 13.



10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 31<sup>v</sup>. Sacramentary: *Tē igitur* Crucifixion.  
See ch. 13.

ut admitti iubeas deprecamur supplici  
 confessione dicentes.

21



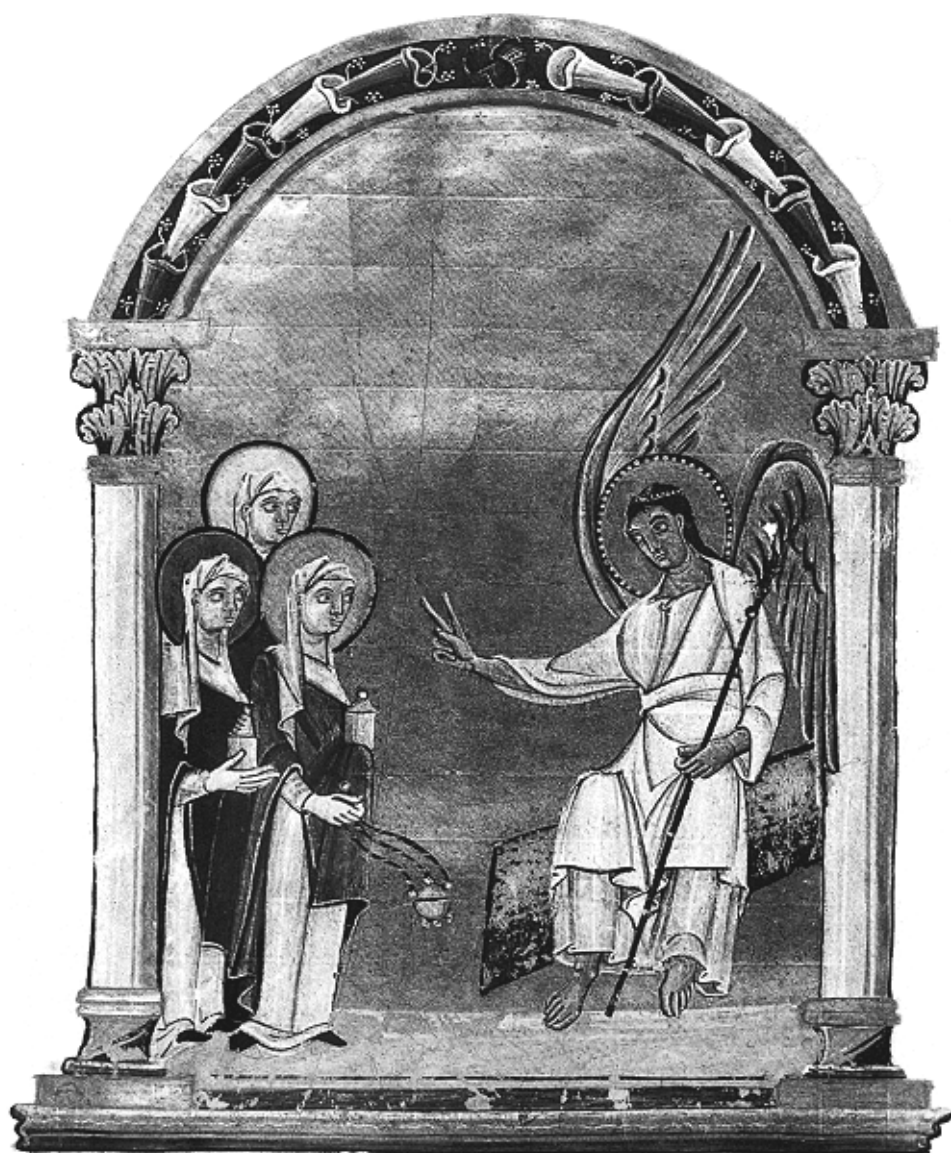
11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 18005, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>. Sacramentary:  
*Tu igitur* Crucifixion. Page size: c.230 x 185 mm. See ch. 13.



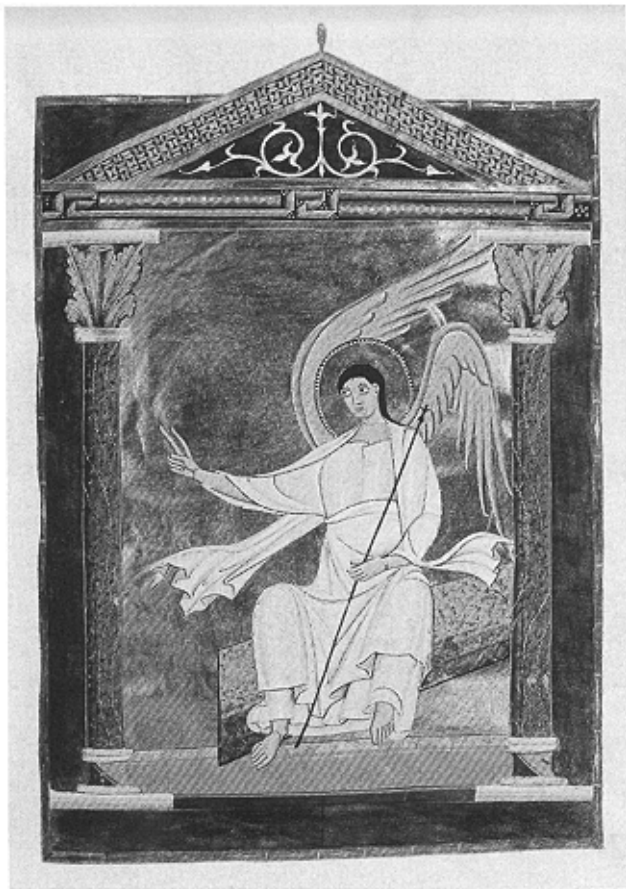
12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>. Sacramentary:  
Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds. See ch. 13.



13. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452, fols 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>. Pericopes Book of Henry II:  
Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds. Page size: c.423 x 315mm. See ch. 13.



14. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>. Sacramentary:  
Holy Women at the Tomb. See ch. 13.



15. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452, fols. 116<sup>v</sup>–117<sup>r</sup>. Pericopes Book of Henry II: Holy Women at the Tomb. See ch. 13.



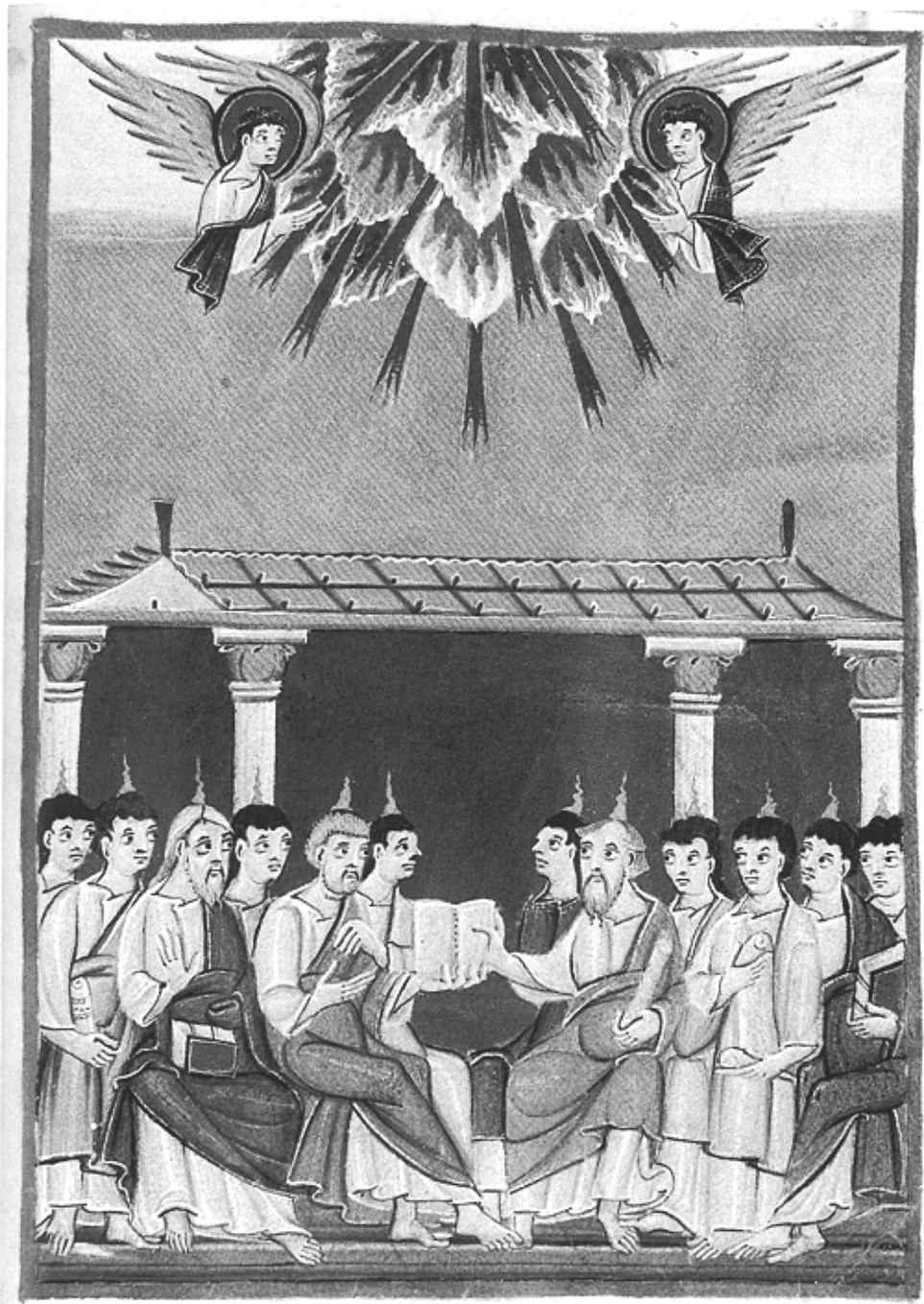
16. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 110<sup>v</sup>.  
Sacramentary: Ascension. See ch. 13.



17. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 18005, fol. 89v.  
Sacramentary: Ascension. See ch. 13.



18. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 115<sup>v</sup>.  
Sacramentary: Pentecost. See ch. 13.



19. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 84,5 Aug 2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 61<sup>r</sup>.  
Gospel lectionary: Pentecost. Page size: 278 x 185 mm. See ch. 13.











geometric and ribbon motifs. The combination of dynamism and stability in these letters marks them out as a high point in the development of initial ornament.<sup>45</sup> But scholars have identified in the later manuscripts a gradual subsidence of energy and invention.<sup>46</sup> The initials have a tendency to become more compact, more isolated spatially; the networks by which they are linked to the frame become simpler, or disappear altogether. In this respect it is striking that one initial in Canon. Liturg. 319, that on fol. 111r opposite the miniature of the Ascension, is different from the others, being linked to the frame not by a knot but by a single tendril.

The production of the Liuthar group of manuscripts has for a long time been attributed to Reichenau. This assessment has not gone unchallenged, notably by Dodwell and Turner.<sup>47</sup> Dodwell found no mention of manuscript illumination in the encomium of Abbot Witigowo's artistic achievements, no notable illuminated manuscripts surviving from the remains of the abbey library, and no proof that the surviving wall paintings at Reichenau were carried out by Reichenau monks rather than by itinerant secular artists. He found reason, on the other hand, to think that the 'Reichenau' style of decorated initial was produced elsewhere, and that the inscription identifying the makers of the famous Codex Egberti<sup>48</sup> as Reichenau monks should be taken to imply that they were working away from home. Having also adduced plentiful evidence for the cultural, religious, and artistic importance of Trier, Dodwell suggested that many of the manuscripts traditionally attributed to Reichenau had in fact been produced at Trier, albeit sometimes by members of the Reichenau community.

Though the relationship between Reichenau and Trier was clearly complex and close, as the career of the artist known as the Gregory Master makes clear, these conclusions have not found general acceptance.<sup>49</sup> Critics have pointed to the difficulties of arguments from silence with respect to the praise of manuscript production; to the loss of the Reichenau treasury, where illuminated liturgical books might have been kept; to the wall paintings which would seem to identify Reichenau as an artistic centre; to the relationship between Reichenau and the Ottonian court; to a continuity of development that argues for a living tradition within a single centre, rather than for the copying of inert

<sup>45</sup> H. Jantzen, 'Das Wort als Bild in der frühmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940), 507–13; A. J. Schardt, *Das Initial: Phantasie und Buchstabenmalerei des frühen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1938).

<sup>46</sup> See e.g. D. Miner, 'A Late Reichenau Evangeliary in the Walters Gallery Library', *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 168–85.

<sup>47</sup> Bauerreiss had also contributed an article on this question, before he came to write specifically about Canon. Liturg. 319: 'Gab es eine Reichenauer Malschule um die Jahrtausendwende?', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens*, 68 (1957), 40–72.

<sup>48</sup> Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 24, before 985; ed. H. Schiel, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, 2 vols.: facsimile and commentary (Basle, 1960). The origin of the Codex Egberti was of central importance to Dodwell, since he argued that the (in his view mistaken) attribution of most of the members of the Liuthar group to Reichenau relied mainly upon their iconographic dependence on that manuscript.

<sup>49</sup> A useful summary is provided by Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 202–9.

models; and finally to the fact that the identification of monks as members of the Reichenau community might be taken as a sign not that they were working away from home, but that their products were consciously intended for presentation elsewhere. This latter observation finds support in the palaeographical observations of Hartmut Hoffmann. More than half the manuscripts identified in his catalogue of books containing Reichenau script are liturgical, but many of them, to judge from their contents and later history, were made for use elsewhere.<sup>50</sup>

Liturgical evidence for connections with Reichenau, though bound to be sparse in a group which consists mostly of gospel books and lectionaries, is not entirely lacking in manuscripts of especial relevance to the Oxford sacramentary. One member of the Liuthar group, not yet mentioned, contains indubitable liturgical evidence of a Reichenau origin. This is a troper, now Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lit. 5, closely datable to the years 1000–2, and containing a series of Reichenau saints in its sequences. Once at Bamberg, a prayer to St George referring to Reichenau was altered to reflect its new situation. The Masses for Reichenau saints in the sacramentary now in Paris, as well as the Reichenau saints in the litany, suggest that it was made at the island monastery, but the Trier saints in the calendar imply that it was made for export to Trier—just as the Oxford sacramentary was made at Reichenau for export.<sup>51</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting also argues for the specifically Reichenau connections of the particular variant of the prayer *Veneranda* (the normal Ottonian collect for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary) found not only in members of the Liuthar group and followers, Canon. Liturg. 319 (pl. 8) among them, but also in manuscripts of the earlier ‘Anno’ and ‘Ruodpreht’ groups.<sup>52</sup>

The earliest Reichenau manuscripts, the members of the Anno group, contain depictions of the evangelists and of Christ in Majesty, as well as dedication images; but they do not in general contain New Testament illustrations. These only begin to appear in numbers in the manuscripts of the Ruodpreht group,<sup>53</sup> something of immense significance in the history of biblical illustration in medieval Europe.<sup>54</sup> Another highly important development of Ottonian book

<sup>50</sup> *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 303–7 (analysis of script), 307–51 (catalogue of manuscripts).

<sup>51</sup> F. Avril and C. Rabel, *Bibliothèque nationale de France. Manuscrits enluminés d'origine germanique. Tome I: X<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1995), no. 83, with earlier literature.

<sup>52</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 208–9.

<sup>53</sup> The phases of development at Reichenau are named after the scribes or artists whose names appear in dedication pictures. Thus Anno is associated with the Gero codex (Darmstadt, Landes- und Stadtbibliothek, MS 1948) and the phase of c.965–75, and Ruodpreht with the Egbert Psalter (Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, cod. 136) and the MSS of c.975–95.

<sup>54</sup> Its ramifications are beyond the scope of the present study, as is the question of the influence of a hypothetical late antique illustrated gospel lectionary on the development of Ottonian New Testament cycles, as propounded in A. Weis, ‘Die spätantike Lektionar-Illustration im Skriptorium der Reichenau’, in *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. H. Maurer (Sigmaringen, 1974), 311–62. Hugo Buchthal speculated on the possible influence of a set of feast pic-

illumination—basic to the scenes we shall be examining—is the verticality of the compositions, which mostly fill an entire page of a book whose height exceeds its width. The importance of this development was articulated by Otto Demus, who identified it as an aspect of the influence of Byzantium.<sup>55</sup>

The Liuthar manuscripts (in which term I mean to include the so-called *Schulwerke*) include a variety of types of book. Though the iconography of an individual scene may well reappear in different kinds of book (say a gospel lectionary and a sacramentary) without much alteration, the cycle of illustrations as a whole in the Oxford sacramentary should properly be compared with the same kind of liturgical book. From the Carolingian period onwards, two points in the canon of the Mass—the beginning of the preface, and the beginning of the canon itself—formed the principal (and sometimes the only) sites for decoration in a sacramentary or missal.<sup>56</sup> Canon. Liturg. 319 follows the Carolingian practice of placing the canon at the beginning of the book; but later in the eleventh century it was usually moved to the middle, before the Easter Mass, the most important feast in the Church calendar. The only other sacramentary in the same group is the one in Paris already mentioned, which contains eight miniatures, as opposed to Oxford's five: the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin are the additional three. Their degree of decoration and illustration marks out the Oxford and Paris sacramentaries as relatively luxurious productions.<sup>57</sup>

Thus the Crucifixion, not the Nativity, is the first full-page miniature to be found in Canon. Liturg. 319. Fol. 30v (pl. 9) contains a full-page VD monogram (*Vere dignum*, the beginning of the preface); the Crucifixion appears on fol. 31v (pl. 10).<sup>58</sup> The opening words of the canon, *(T)e igitur*, are written in gold capitals; the letter T forms the cross of the Crucifixion, linking Christ on the cross to the sacrifice of the Mass. The Greek *tau* had been understood since early Christian times as a symbol of the cross (though the T in this manuscript is not in the *tau* form); the earliest surviving example of this pictorial transformation of the *Te igitur* initial into a crucifix occurs in the Gellone sacramentary of the late eighth century.<sup>59</sup>

tures from a Byzantine lectionary: 'Byzantium and Reichenau', in *Byzantine Art, An European Art: Lectures*, ed. M. Chatzidakis (Athens, 1966), 45–60.

<sup>55</sup> *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 90–4.

<sup>56</sup> R. Suntrup, 'Te igitur-Initialen und Kanonbilder in mittelalterlichen Sakramentarhandschriften', in *Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. C. Meier and U. Ruberg (Wiesbaden, 1980), 278–382; O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, trans. K. Davenport (London, 1986), 36, 42.

<sup>57</sup> Of the later eleventh-century sacramentaries in the Reichenau tradition, one has the same selection of scenes as the Oxford MS (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Smith-Lesouëf 3); one has the same selection as the Paris sacramentary (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 1084); and two (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 113 and 114) have only the Crucifixion.

<sup>58</sup> Both are reproduced in colour in Pächt, *Book Illumination*, col. pls. XVI (fol. 30v) and XVII (fol. 31v).

<sup>59</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 12048, fol. 143v.

Reichenau gospel books and gospel lectionaries present the Crucifixion as a narrative scene, with other figures such as Longinus and Stephaton around the cross. Sometimes the page is also divided in two, and another scene, usually Christ before Caiaphas, is paired with it. This narrative emphasis inevitably makes the focus on the Crucifixion less intense. But in Reichenau sacramentaries, where as we have seen the image lies at the beginning of the canon, the heart of the liturgical re-creation of the sacrifice, Christ is presented on the cross alone, or attended only by the Virgin Mary and St John. In Canon. Liturg. 319, as in the Paris sacramentary (pl. 11), Christ is shown alive, with his eyes open, clean-shaven (as in most of the Reichenau representations), straight in posture, and clothed in a long tunic and pallium—though not in the *collobium*, the full-length tunic of purple silk with gold embroidery worn by the Byzantine emperors, which Christ wears in the Codex Egberti (fol. 83v) and the Pericopes Book of Henry II (fol. 107v). None of the possible symbols of divinity and eternity—the hand of God, angels, the sun and moon—are shown, though in Paris, attached to the frame, are eight crowned bust figures of uncertain significance, which have sometimes been identified as the beatitudes. The isolated figure of the crucified continued to appear later in the century in sacramentaries and missals from Reichenau and elsewhere, as seen for instance in the two missals from Einsiedeln and in the sacramentary now in Bologna.<sup>60</sup>

Henry Mayr-Harting has explored the variety of Ottonian depictions of the Crucifixion, and related them to the absorption of the ideal of humility into the Ottonian ideology of rule.<sup>61</sup> The Crucifixion could be represented as the culminating triumph of Christ or as the climax of his suffering. The most triumphalist Ottonian depiction is the Uta Codex from Regensburg,<sup>62</sup> where Christ is arrayed in a golden crown, wearing clothes of imperial purple and a stole indicative of his sacral kingship, whilst he rests his feet on a *suppedaneum*. To his right are the personifications of the sun, grace, and the church; to his left, the corresponding figures represent the moon, the law, and synagogue. Life and death are at the base of the cross. At the other pole, manuscripts from Cologne consistently emphasize the suffering humanity of Jesus. In the gospel book from Cologne now in Giessen,<sup>63</sup> his eyes are closed; he is clothed not in a long tunic but only in a loincloth; blood flows from his wounded hands and side. In the wooden Gero Crucifix in Cologne Cathedral Christ's body is also slightly twisted to the side; but as Henry Mayr-Harting observes, the suffering is

<sup>60</sup> All three are illustrated in W. Vogler, *Das goldene Buch von Pfäfers (Liber aureus). Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Fabariensis 2 des Stiftsarchivs Pfäfers im Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen. Kommentar* (Graz, 1993), Ill. 16, 22, 40.

<sup>61</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 126–39.

<sup>62</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13601, fol. 3v: Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, pl. XVIII.

<sup>63</sup> Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 660, fol. 188r: Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, fig. 81.

restrained, noble, and serenely accepted, not abject or expressionistic. The Crucifixions depicted in manuscripts from Reichenau (which in the 920s had acquired a double relic of the Holy Cross and the Holy Blood) are usually somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, not triumphal in spirit but still preserving the divine dignity. The exception is the extraordinary image in the Aachen Gospels (p. 468), where Christ is shown dead on the cross, his body twisted and his head slumped; the spear pierces his side whilst the legs of the thieves are broken.

The most common method of depicting the Nativity in the Liuthar group and its followers is to place the scene in the top half of the page, with the Annunciation to the Shepherds below. This is the Byzantine pattern, adopted already in the Codex Egberti (fol. 13r). At Reichenau there were two different ways of representing the angelic element in the Annunciation to the Shepherds. In some cases, including Canon. Liturg. 319 (fol. 38v, pl. 12)<sup>64</sup> and the gospel lectionary now in Wolfenbüttel (fol. 63v), three half-figure angels are shown immediately below the crib. In others, such as the Paris sacramentary (fol. 27v), the news is given by one large angel standing on a hill, whilst the half-figure angels fly down towards the Nativity from the top of the page. These two types could be combined, as in Munich Clm. 23338 (fol. 1v), where there are two half-length angels below the crib, the third having been transposed into the single larger angel who announces the news. It is immediately clear that the two sacramentaries in the group, though they share some particular features, are not consistently closer to each other in iconographical detail than they are to the gospel books or lectionaries of the same group. By far the most impressive visualization is to be found in the Pericopes Book of Henry II, where the Annunciation to the Shepherds is on the left-hand side of an opening, with the Nativity opposite (pl. 13). The portrayal of the angel of the Annunciation, with its towering size, its high position, its windswept garments, the huge spread of its wings, and its domineering glance, is with justice described by Henry Mayr-Harting as the apogee of angelic power in Ottonian art.<sup>65</sup> He goes on to relate the stress on majesty, rule, and hierarchy in this manuscript, which was commissioned by Henry II from Reichenau for his new cathedral church at Bamberg, to the ruler's own influence and the ritual which had formed part of his struggle to assert his claim to the throne against determined opposition. Despite the numerous motifs Canon. Liturg. 319 shares with its grander forebear (such as the gesture of the shepherd on the left who holds up his hand in recognition of the news), its world is by comparison positively domestic.

Whilst in Byzantium the Resurrection of Christ was represented by the scene of the Harrowing of Hell or Descent into Limbo, at Reichenau the

<sup>64</sup> The miniature in MS. Canon. Liturg. 319 occurs at the opening of the Mass for Christmas Day.

<sup>65</sup> *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 187; II, 120; *Perceptions of Angels in History. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered in the University of Oxford on 14 November 1997* (Oxford, 1998), 10–11 and fig. 1.

Resurrection is consistently represented by the scene of the holy women approaching the angel sitting on the empty tomb. In Canon. Liturg. 319 the scene takes place under an arch supported by columns with acanthus capitals (fol. 95v, pl. 14).<sup>66</sup> The distinctive trumpet-shaped flowers, each emerging from the last, which decorate the arch, form part of the Reichenau decorative repertoire: compare, for instance, the decorated arch above St John the Evangelist in the Wolfenbüttel lectionary (fol. 4v). Below the arch, the three women stare from the left towards the angel on the right, who sits on the coffin lid, none of the rest of the tomb being visible. Two of the women hold jars of ointment, and the foremost swings a censer. The angel, who is distinctly larger in scale, is seated almost frontally, but turns his head towards the women, and blesses them with his right hand; in his left he holds a staff.

The text in Matthew's Gospel (28.1–7) mentions only two women, but the three of the version in Mark's Gospel (16.1–8) is most common in Ottonian art, and even a version with four is known, perhaps licensed by the other women mentioned in Luke 24.10. The basic composition is common to almost all the representations of the scene from Reichenau,<sup>67</sup> and the discrepancies between the Oxford version and those found elsewhere are mostly minor.<sup>68</sup> In its tight composition, and in the omission of most of the usual stage props—the built-up tomb, the winding-sheet, the sleeping guards—the Oxford sacramentary seems to follow the Pericopes of Henry II. But there the angel confronts the three women from the monumentally dignified distance of a separate page, as the scene is spread across an opening (pl. 15), in an extreme example of that book's daring use of statuesque figures and expansive gestures against spacious gold backgrounds. The gold grounds of Ottonian art, which derived from Byzantium and which put paid to the last vestiges of the late antique atmospheric sky, lend its miniatures qualities of spacelessness and timelessness, giving the actions of the characters a ritual significance. Yet the figures in Canon. Liturg. 319, in their smaller size and darting animation, seem to breathe a less refined air, even when (as here) that air is golden.

In the depiction of the Ascension the Reichenau manuscripts again adopt variants of three main types.<sup>69</sup> First there is the late antique version found in the

<sup>66</sup> The miniature occurs at the opening of the Mass for Easter Sunday. It is reproduced in colour in A. G. and W. O. Hassall, *Treasures from the Bodleian Library* (London, 1976), pl. 5.

<sup>67</sup> Many are reproduced in P. Bloch, 'Das Reichenauer Einzelblatt mit dem Frauen am Grabe im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt', *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein*, 3 (1963), 24–43.

<sup>68</sup> The first Mary sometimes turns her head, as in the Bernulphus Codex in Utrecht (fol. 113v); the angel may sit more sideways-on, as in the Bamberg Troper (fol. 82r); an architectural setting may be included, into which, as in the Hildesheim orationale (fol. 56v), the sleeping guards are sometimes incorporated; and usually the sarcophagus proper is shown, at an angle to the diagonally slanting lid, whilst in the Oxford scene the lid appears to float.

<sup>69</sup> As classified by U. Nilgen, 'Das Himmelfahrtsbild im Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.', in *Sancta Treveris. Beiträge zu Kirchenbau und bildender Kunst im alten Erzbistum Trier. Festschrift für Franz J. Ronig zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. M. Embach, C. Gerhardt, W. Schmid, A. Schommers, and H.-W. Stork (Trier, 1999), 467–90.

Codex Egberti (fol. 101v), in which Christ is viewed in profile within a mandorla, stepping up to take the hand of God which emerges from a cloud. In the second type, which derives from Byzantium and is seen already in the Poussay Pericopes of the late tenth century,<sup>70</sup> Christ stands frontally in the mandorla, often holding a cross or cross staff in one hand and a book in the other. The cross staff may derive from the tradition of Christ trampling the beasts in illustration of Psalm 90—though Nilgen speculates also on the possible importance of monumental apse compositions of Christ in Majesty to this type. Finally, Christ can also be shown frontally not in a mandorla but as if standing on a cloud, as first found in the Pericopes of Henry II (fol. 131r); in such renderings he often blesses with one hand and holds a cross staff in the other. In some versions of this type, such as that in the Augsburg lectionary, rays are shown emanating from the cloud. The artist of Canon. Liturg. 319, obviously aware of both these traditions and perhaps bewildered by the choice, chose to try to combine these possibilities by placing Christ on a cloud but still enclosing him within an oval mandorla (fol. 110v, pl. 16).<sup>71</sup> Christ's contrapposto stance, which in the Oxford version affects only his feet, is in any case common to both types. The half-angels in the sky on either side of Christ, who gesture towards him, are not found in the Codex Egberti or in the Poussay Pericopes; but once they had appeared in the Pericopes of Henry II, they became a standard element of the scene, whatever other choices an artist had made (pl. 17). In Canon. Liturg. 319, as in many other cases, they appear as if leaning over the garden wall of heaven, an effect caused partly by the colour differentiation of the earthly and heavenly spheres (the background is gold below, but pink above).

The basic disposition of the human and angelic witnesses below, divided into two halves by the *terra undulata*, is common to all these Ascension scenes. The Virgin Mary is not present in the biblical account, but had for long been present, sometimes even central, in Byzantine depictions. In general the variations in the depiction of the witnesses in the Reichenau manuscripts, such as the presence or absence of the tree in the middle, and the number of disciples, do not correspond to the different ways of presenting Christ. Mayr-Harting has observed a particular variant, which is found in the Oxford sacramentary, by which one of the angels on the ground puts his arm around the shoulder of St Peter. He suggests that it is a motif transposed from scenes in which a patron saint ushers a pope or ruler into the presence of Christ.<sup>72</sup> This is another detail that is found in some of the manuscripts but not in others. Thus the artists of these miniatures did not simply adopt one of several 'packages' on offer, complete in all its details; rather, they adopted a basic type, and then seem to have gathered ideas for the details of each scene from the various previous versions.

<sup>70</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 10514, fol. 66v.

<sup>71</sup> The miniature occurs at the opening of the Mass for Ascension Day.

<sup>72</sup> *Ottonian Book Illumination*, I, 22.

This kind of variation would presumably not have been possible if these manuscripts had been copied in different places, each from a single exemplar. Instead the relationships between them are complex: the consistent affiliation of all the scenes in a manuscript to a single earlier model can be observed only very occasionally. Since it is unrealistic to imagine that all the different versions remained in one place—we have seen that books were made at Reichenau as gifts, or to satisfy outside commissions—the art historian is thrown back, in attempting to speculate on the scriptorium practices that made such transmission possible, on to that vital but strangely elusive stage prop of his trade, the model book.<sup>73</sup>

The final miniature is of Pentecost (fol. 115v, pl. 18).<sup>74</sup> The apostles are seated in a single row, following the usual Reichenau composition.<sup>75</sup> They have haloes, but no tongues of fire licking their heads,<sup>76</sup> and the rays of the Spirit descend from Heaven above. Sometimes, as in the Bamberg Apocalypse (fol. 73r) and the Paris sacramentary (fol. 94v), the haloed dove is shown flying down from the arc of Heaven from which the rays emanate (they are not shown actually emanating from the dove). But at the centre of the emanation in the Oxford scene is the blessing hand of God in front of a golden cross, supported on each side by the half-figure of an angel; the ends of the cross are three-pronged, like the rays of the spirit themselves. Some versions show only the hand; elsewhere, as in the Wolfenbüttel lectionary (pl. 19), the angels appear without a hand.

These differences are no doubt capable of theological interpretation; but it would seem unlikely that the variations represent any conscious desire on the part of artists or patrons to make subtle statements about the mode of descent of the Spirit. They are of a quite different order from the telling detail found in the Paris sacramentary of the bowl of bread below the seated apostles, obviously an echo of the bowl of bread in front of the apostles in the Codex Egberti (fol. 103r), where it is actually labelled *communis vita*. This is a clear reference to the sharing of goods in common by the apostles, whence derives the monastic ideal of the common life; Mayr-Harting points to the emphasis on this theme in the Gorze monastic reform and the part played in that movement by Archbishop Egbert in Trier.<sup>77</sup> What then of the object which extends from Peter to Paul in the centre of the row of Apostles in Canon. Liturg. 319? Is it a cloth spread over their knees, a reference to the long linen cloths described by ritual orders to be spread over the altar, and thus a signifier of monastic eucharistic devotion?<sup>78</sup> This seems plausible by comparison with the scenes of Christ

<sup>73</sup> R. W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam, 1995).

<sup>74</sup> The miniature occurs at the beginning of the Mass for Pentecost.

<sup>75</sup> Although there are examples, e.g. Munich Clm. 23338 (fol. 104v), of the apostles arranged in four groups of three in each lobe of a quatrefoil frame, with the dove of the Holy Spirit in the centre.

<sup>76</sup> On the whole haloes and fire were considered to be alternatives: the combination of the two is rare.

<sup>77</sup> *Ottoman Book Illumination*, I, 84; II, 79–80.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 80, 236, n. 74.

preaching to the seated apostles in the Codex Egberti.<sup>79</sup> Or is the Oxford object in fact a scroll, an artist's variation on the book held by Peter and Paul in some other versions, such as the Bamberg Apocalypse and the Wolfenbüttel lectionary, designed to show that the emanation of the spirit is in harmony with the spread of the gospel? Such an identification is supported by the fact that in the Oxford miniature one apostle to the left holds a rolled-up scroll, one behind Peter has a closed book, and a third on the extreme right is holding an open book. It is unlikely that every variation should be expected to carry the same weight of interpretation.

Comparisons with other closely related manuscripts may seem to run the risk of reducing the appreciation of this individual book. In fact the opposite is surely the case: just as individuals can better be understood in the context of their families and friendships, so the true assessment of a book's character is possible only by a full understanding of its near relations. The leading members of the Liuthar group of manuscripts are mostly linked to imperial commissions, and their imagery has been interpreted as having quite direct connections to the concerns of their illustrious patrons. It may be that certain fashions were inaugurated in conscious homage to the prestige of these books produced for rulers—or for rulers to give away. But any consideration of those 'royal' books must also take into account that in many cases very similar images were considered suitable for a variety of other (mainly ecclesiastical) audiences. If we are correct to see Reichenau as a centre of fine book production and decoration over what, for any one scriptorium, must be counted a comparatively long period of time, then we should think not only in terms of imperial fashions, but also of the ability of the one centre to 'colonize' a variety of patrons and recipients by the dispersal of manuscripts—manuscripts whose decoration and illustration, whatever the variations of detail, remain strikingly unified. Canon. Liturg. 319 must always have been a special book; but its owners would probably have seen others like it, and would have recognized and approved of the similarity of this book to them.

## APPENDIX

### *Physical Details of MS. Canon. Liturg. 319*

*Material:* parchment, the hair side (on the outside of the quire) occasionally very mottled, but never rough.

*Measurements:* 240–5 × 175–80 mm.

*Number of leaves:* 6 paper + 2 modern parchment + 266 + 2 modern parchment + 2 paper, foliated viii + 270 (there are two fol. 42s, but no fol. 197).

<sup>79</sup> e.g. on fol. 29r.

*Ruling:* in hard point; section A of the text has 22 ruled lines for 22 lines of text, the order in 2 columns, the calendar in one, ruled space 155-60 × 110-20 mm. Section B of the text has 17 ruled lines for 17 lines of text, single column, ruled space 155-60 × 100 mm (110 including the left-hand margin ruled for initials).

*Collation:* I-III<sup>8</sup> (fols. 1-24), IV<sup>4</sup> (fols. 25-8), V-VI<sup>8</sup> (fols. 29-43, two leaves foliated 42 in error), VII<sup>6</sup> (fols. 44-9), VIII<sup>12</sup> (fols. 50-61), IX<sup>4</sup> (fols. 62-5), X<sup>12</sup> (fols. 66-77), XI<sup>2</sup> (fols. 78-9), XII<sup>12</sup> (fols. 80-91), XIII<sup>4</sup> (fols. 92-5), XIV<sup>12</sup> (fols. 96-107), XV<sup>4</sup> (fols. 108-11), XVI<sup>12</sup> (fols. 112-23), XVII<sup>4</sup> (fols. 124-7), XVIII<sup>12</sup> (fols. 128-39), XIX<sup>4</sup> (fols. 140-43), XX<sup>12</sup> (fols. 144-55), XXI<sup>4</sup> (fols. 156-9), XXII<sup>12</sup> (fols. 160-71), XXIII<sup>4</sup> (fols. 172-5), XXIV<sup>12</sup> (fols. 176-87), XXV<sup>4</sup> (fols. 188-91), XXVI<sup>12</sup> (fols. 192-204, misfoliation results in a single leaf numbered 197-8), XXVII<sup>4</sup> (fols. 205-8), XXVIII<sup>12</sup> (fols. 209-20), XXIX<sup>4</sup> (fols. 221-4), XXX<sup>12</sup> (fols. 225-36), XXXI<sup>6</sup> (fols. 237-42), XXXII-XXXIII<sup>8</sup> (fols. 243-58), XXXIV<sup>8-1+1</sup> (fols. 259-66, one leaf cancelled after fol. 265, fol. 266 attached to a stub). No quire signatures or catchwords.

*Initials and rubrication:* Five full-page initials or monograms: fols. 30v (the *Vere dignum* monogram), 39r (*Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus*), 96r (*Deus qui hodierna die*), 111r (*Concede quaesumus*), and 116r (*Deus qui hodierna die*). Each except the first faces a full-page miniature. Fols. 29v-30r written in gold capitals. Eleven 3-, 4-, or 5-line decorated initials (with the feasts whose texts they begin): fols. 44r (Epiphany), 123v (Nativity of St John the Baptist), 126v (Sts Peter and Paul), 138r (Assumption of the Virgin and its vigil), 142v (Nativity of the Virgin), 150r (Michael), 155v (All Saints), 165v (first Sunday after Easter), 167r (first Sunday after the octave of Pentecost), 192r (Trinity Sunday). 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4-line plain gold initials throughout; rubricated, with preparatory notes giving the text of the rubrics still visible in the margins.