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Visualizing Mary:
Innovation and Exegesis in Ottonian Manuscript Illumination

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Visualizing Mary:
Innovation and Exegesis in Ottonian Manuscript Illumination

by

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This study explores several of the key factors that led to the visual amplification of Mary in western Europe during the early Middle Ages, with the art of the Ottonian Empire as its focus. Although the twelfth century has long been recognized as a high point for Marian imagery, the brief but rich period of artistic production during the Ottonian Empire (919-1024) yielded a range of images crucial for understanding the growing role of the Virgin in art and devotion.

The approach for this work is necessarily thematic; the seeming randomness of Ottonian images of the Virgin has resulted in their exclusion from broad surveys organized by iconographic type or medium. While images of the Virgin in the Ottonian Empire do not form large groups of visually cohesive images, Ottonian manuscript illumination offers an intriguing view into the process by which Marian devotion coalesced in the west. The period has been thought to represent a lacuna for Marian

exegesis – between the Carolingian period and the twelfth century there were no new theological texts written on the Virgin in this region. There was, however, an intensification of interest in Mary in the liturgy, and as I demonstrate, an attempt to formulate exegesis through images. In studying the odd occurrences – the lone tenth-century image of a Virgin in a Pentecost scene, or the earliest crowned Virgin outside of Italy – this study locates these works within their liturgical and political environment through considerations of patronage and use.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

The twelfth century has traditionally been designated as the period when Marian imagery reached a high point in the visual arts of the west, with central and southern France recognized as the center of such production. While the twelfth century certainly represents an apex of Marian imagery, with the Virgin Majesty appearing on Romanesque tympana and as freestanding wooden sculptures in churches, this study shall focus on an earlier period of experimentation that accompanied Mary's entry to the visual culture of western Europe. As I shall demonstrate here, it is in Ottonian Germany that the first pronounced blossoming of interest in the Virgin appeared in the visual arts of the north. At this time there was no clear model for Mary's appearance in western medieval art north of such centers as Rome, which had early on been influenced by the Byzantine artistic tradition and had later developed its own Marian cult. Prior to the Ottonian period, representations of the Virgin in this region were few. In manuscript painting they were primarily relegated to small initial letters while in the liturgical arts and wall painting Mary usually appeared as one element in a larger Christological program. The heightened interest in Mary during the Ottonian period gave rise to experimental images rather than iconographic consistency; lone image types often appeared once and were not repeated. Nevertheless, when considered together these seemingly random images show how monastic artists used images to formulate the evolving role of the Virgin as an ecclesiastical and imperial symbol in Ottonian art.

This study examines the major themes expressed in these new western images of Mary. Most striking for this period are the new Marian types that appear in illuminated manuscripts. Though Carolingian survivals are limited, textual accounts document the appearance of Mary in monumental wall painting and sculpture as early as the eighth

century. The inclusion of Mary's image in the highly visible space of the church at this time likely reflected the increase in altars dedicated to the Virgin and the rites associated with them, which amplified her symbolic presence through the liturgy.[1] Only in the late ninth century however, does the increased focus on the Virgin spill over into the illuminations of liturgical manuscripts. There is a curious discrepancy between representations of Mary in the monumental art that formed the stage setting for the liturgy and her relative absence in the books placed on the altars. This study briefly addresses the differing emphases of Carolingian and Ottonian illumination programs as a possible factor for their varied treatment of Mary and gives particular attention to the dedication image, the site within the book that most clearly displayed the Virgin's new prominence during the Ottonian period.

From its inception, this brief but important period of artistic production has garnered much scholarly attention in Germany. Ottonian manuscripts comprise a relatively recent field of study, beginning only at the end of the nineteenth century when Wilhelm Vöge published his dissertation on the Liuthar group—a group of Reichenau manuscripts from around the year 1000.[2] Within several decades, discussions of this culture were shaped by a strong political bent;[3] from the mid-twentieth century discussions of these manuscripts and the culture that produced them have particularly

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[1] Eric Palazzo, "Marie et l'élaboration d'un espace ecclésial au haut Moyen Âge," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge dans la société médievale*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (Paris, 1996), 313–325.

[2] Wilhelm Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichte der Malerei in Deutschland im 10 und 11 Jahrhundert (Trier, 1891).

[3] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des Romischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des Karolingischen Reiches biz zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig, 1929).

emphasized imperial themes.[4] A notable shift has occurred in recent years with the series of ambitious museum exhibitions that have explored such topics as contact between the Ottonian Empire and neighboring societies, dynastic foundations, and the role of women in Ottonian society. *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* has served as a particular model for my work.[5] With Bernward and his episcopacy as its focal point, the exhibition and catalogue treated a range of related topics, including the relationship between episcopal and imperial rule, papal history in this period, religious reform, and intersections between the Ottonians, the Byzantine Empire and the Slavs. This social historical approach is essential for the further development of a history of Marian devotion in Ottonian art and culture.

While several case studies exploring the emergence of Mary in Ottonian art have emphasized the influence of imperial patronage,[6] the patron groups responsible for these

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[4] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Denkmale deutscher Kaiser und Könige* (Munich 1962); and the posthumous *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. Florentine Mütherich (Munich, 1983); Robert Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary: A Study in Political Theology," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 34 no. 1 (1971): 1–20; Peter Klein, "Ottonische Herscherbilder um das Jahr 1000," in *Kunst in Hauptwerken: Von der Akropolis zu Goya*, ed. Jörg Traeger (Regensberg, 1988), 59–81; Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert., eds., *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen*, Vorträge und Forschungen 46 (Sigmaringen, 1998); Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images: Politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil,* European Unversity Studies Series 28, History of Art 388 (Bern, 2002).

[5] Michael Brandt, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993)

[6] Patrick Corbet, "Les impératrices ottoniennes et le modèle marial: Autour de l'ivoire du chateau Sforza de Milan," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge*, 109–131; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, vol. 1 (London, 1991), 139–156; Henry Mayr-Harting, "The Idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West, 800–1200," in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 39, The Ecclesiastical History Society (Woodbridge, 2004), 86–111. On pages 90–91 Mayr-Harting narrows his earlier argument somewhat to point specifically to Otto III as the greatest proponent of the growing Marian devotion in the tenth century.

images were themselves defined by a complex blend of political and religious factors. When examining Ottonian culture it is often difficult to separate ecclesiastical from imperial. The monasteries and cathedral scriptoria functioned as the primary centers of art production in the empire and were in many cases administrated by members of the imperial family. Otto the Great revived Charlemagne's title of Emperor of the West in 962 but did not rule from an established capital. Ottonian rulers were primarily itinerant; they maintained control by constant travel throughout the empire and by their physical, ceremonial presence at the palaces and monasteries where they held court.

The degree to which we can speak of imperial influence on artistic commissions is not always clear, even in those works that contain images of the emperor. The Gospel Book of Otto III was probably made at the island monastery of Reichenau, or at least by monastic artists from this center.[7] Its splendid two-page frontispiece of Otto enthroned and receiving tribute, along with its luxurious treasure binding and generous use of gold, suggest the patron's connections to the court, but the court's involvement in its commission remains unknown (Fig. 1).[8] The image that prefaces the coronation *ordo* in the Sacramentary of Bishop Warmund of Ivrea, a book intended for use in Warmund's own see, more clearly represents the motivations of the patron and demonstrates the interdependence of ecclesiastic and imperial rulers (Fig. 58).[9] The image again

[7] Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453; Fridolin Dressler, ed., *Das Evangeliar Ottos III: Clm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Faksimilie-Ausgabe* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978); Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, esp. 157–178; Ulrich Kuder, "Die Ottonen in der ottonischen Buchmalerei: Identifikation und Ikonograpie," in *Herrschaftsrepresentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen, 1998), 193–4. Kuder offers an alternative reading of the image, suggesting that the book was commissioned during the reign of Henry II, but this argument has not found support.

[8] Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453, fols. 23v-24.

[9] Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI, f.160v; Deshman, 1–16; Luigi Magnani, *Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea* (Vatican, 1934); Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée.*

represents Otto III, here showing him being crowned by the Virgin. The inscription expresses Warmund's gratitude, in the form of a blessing from the Virgin, to Otto for his protection, but also represents the emperor in the pose of a supplicant. In a third example of a ruler portrait, in the Gospels of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, Bernward presents his book to Mary, who wears the fleur-de-lis crown of a western queen (Fig. 59).[10] While Bernward, at one time a teacher of the young Otto III, cannot be said to have been unaffected by his contact with the imperial court, his commissions must be considered in the light of his dual role as spiritual and administrative leader of his see, and not only tied to some larger concept of the Ottonian state. This study seeks to examine a range of Marian images as individual case studies that weigh specific information about patron group, gender, and geography against the broader statements that can be made about the role of the art object in this society.

The greatest period of artistic production under this empire corresponds with the reigns of Otto II, Otto III and Henry II, and this study addresses works that for the most part fall in this period. There are certain later examples, however, such as the Gospel Book of Abbess Svanhild of Essen, which will take into consideration the continued legacy of the former Ottonian rulers. While historians of early medieval art have tended to categorize objects according to political dynasties, Ottonian art is more commonly defined by stylistic characteristics that do not correspond to the emperors' dates of rule. While the death of the last Ottonian emperor, Henry II, in 1024 marked the end of the Liudolfing line and the beginning of the Salian dynasty, many aspects of life in the empire remained the same. At the imperial abbey at Essen, for example, abbesses continued to be chosen from members of the Liudolfing house, as they had been since the

[10] Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury, Ms. 18, 16v-17r. c. 1015; Michael Brandt, ed., *Das kostbare Evangeliar des Heiligen Bernward (*München, 1993).

foundation's establishment in the ninth century, until the death of Abbess Theophano, a granddaughter of Otto II, in 1058. Similarly, the nature of artistic output from the German monasteries remained little changed with the advent of the Salian reign.

Most of the works to be considered here were commissioned in Ottonian Germany, the primary section of the Empire lying within the footprint of Charlemagne's former East Frankish kingdom (modern-day Germany). Several important works to be discussed were commissioned in Lombardy, however (in the north of present-day Italy). Beginning with the coronation of Otto I as king of the former Lombard kingdom in 951, the empire achieved a degree of political power and influence that extended as far as Rome, where the papacy came under German control that was to last for nearly a century. The northern Italian works, including manuscripts commissioned by the bishop Warmund of Ivrea and the Milan ivory of Otto II and his family,[11] require special consideration because the western Mediterranean had developed a rich tradition of Marian imagery dating to the sixth century. The cult of the Virgin in the west is generally regarded as a late adoption of many of the ceremonial and hymnological developments in Byzantium, but proper due needs to be given to Rome, where Byzantine Mariology and imperial imagery were adapted by artists to fit specifically western needs.[12] It is in Rome that we find the earliest Maria Regina images, with the sixth-century fresco of a Maria Regina in Santa Maria Antiqua, the eighth-century images of Mary as queen in the the Oratory of John VII and the church of Santa Susanna. Representations of Byzantine empresses with the *prependoulia*-draped crowns served as models for the emerging image type in which

[11] Milan, Castle Sforza, c. 980; Goldschmidt vol. 2, cat, no. 2; Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, eds., *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausend. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin,* vol. 2 (Cologne, 1991), 255.

[12] Bissera Pentcheva*, Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), 21–3.

the Virgin appeared either holding the Christ Child or as an orant and wearing a crown. With the Roman examples of monumental wall painting and mosaic—particularly images of the Maria Regina—we can, to some degree, hypothesize what the Ottonians were drawing on for artistic sources. The Ottonian Empire's holdings in and connections with the kingdom of Lombardy and frequent military forays further south (nearly as far as Byzantine Apulia) created a political and cultural conduit for the transmission of Marian imagery to the north.

No comprehensive study of images of the Virgin specific to the Ottonian period exists, most likely because the widespread interest in the Virgin at this time was not yet marked by iconographic uniformity. While it is true that one can not speak of a universal Marian "cult" like that of later periods, this thesis seeks to identify the cultural motivations that gave rise to an early and widespread attempt to amplify Mary's presence in the visual arts of the north under the Ottonians. Mary Clayton's 1990 book providing a wide-ranging examination of the liturgical, devotional, and artistic aspects of the cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England presents a model for this treatment of the Ottonian material.[13] Unlike Clayton's work, which treated the representations of the Virgin in art as just one among the many channels through which the cult could be explored, my study attempts to explore these issues using art objects as the primary starting point.[14] In a 1996 compendium of essays dealing with the general theme of the cult of the Virgin in the Middle Ages, two of the roughly twenty essays deal with topics in Ottonian art,

[13] Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge, 1990).

[14] Although Anglo-Saxon England gave rise to several innovative images of the Virgin that were later to become types, much of its imagery remained specific to this region. While there was certainly iconographic borrowing, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, the major influences for the development of the Virgin's image in Ottonian art appear to have come from the south and east, rather than the west.

demonstrating a recent shift in the scholarship toward an exploration of the origins, rather than the later highpoint, of the Marian image cult in the West.[15] It is worth noting that much of this recent work on the topic has been undertaken by textual and religious scholars (Clayton, Mayr-Harting, Corbet and Russo) rather than art historians. As an art historian who publishes on liturgy as well as art, Eric Palazzo's work provides an excellent model for the synthetic approach this material requires. While the lack of aesthetic uniformity makes a broad survey of Marian images difficult, the success of these scholars in using an interdisciplinary approach in these case studies invites more of the same.

Ottonian Mariology

Much of the scholarship that deals with Marian themes in the art and writing of the Ottonian period has focused on specific patron groups to address the rising interest in Mary. These studies address the overarching question of why a marked interest in the Virgin becomes apparent in western art at this time, and further, seek to identify the party to whom this interest might be ascribed. The result is that the Virgin has often been placed within the province of a particular identity group—male or female, imperial or ecclesiastic.

Patrick Corbet explores the connections between women's patronage and interest in the Virgin during the reign of Otto II and his Byzantine bride, Theophano. Corbet examines these links by focusing specifically on the commissions that can be related to the Ottonian empresses. In his study, Corbet relies upon such sources as church foundations under the Ottonians, dynastic vitae, and works of art to demonstrate that

[15] Corbet, "Les impératrices ottoniennes," 109–131; Daniel Russo, "Les Representations mariales dans l'art de l'Occident: Les Majestes ottoniennes," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge,* 223–231.

increased attention given to the Mother of God in Ottonian culture coincided with the coming of Theophano to the West in 972.[16] He argues that, although the Virgin's cult was not absent from imperial religion during the reign of Henry I and Otto I, there are no documents from this early phase of Ottonian rule that assign an essential role to Mary.[17] He further suggests that the arrival of the Byzantine bride and her attendants in Germany brought not only new material objects but a general acceptance of and interest in the Theotokos as a central cult figure.

This argument for Byzantine models can be supported on an artistic level by Rainer Kahsnitz's study in which he treated dormition images in manuscripts of the Reichenau school.[18] His study focuses on the eastern sources of this iconography, using the Byzantine ivories of the Dormition ("the falling asleep") found on the covers of a Gospel book and evangelary from Reichenau to discuss how Ottonian artists incorporated this motif into their manuscript programs.[19]

While Byzantine influence and dynastic patronage did contribute to the increased visibility of the Virgin in the visual arts, Corbet's study illustrates only one aspect of the story. A holistic approach to the material requires an examination of the motivating

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[16] Corbet, "Les impératrices ottoniennes." As evidence of this shift, Corbet demonstrated that the number of Marian donations during the reigns of Henry I and Otto I was smaller than during the reign of Otto II, and stated that it is with the dedication of Marian foundations at Memleben (by Otto II and Theophanu) and Quedlinburg (by Abbess Mathilda, daughter of Otto and Adelaide) that the Virgin assumed the role of dynastic patron.

[17] Ibid., 113

[18] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio: Byzantinisches und Antikes in den Minaiaturen der Liuthargruppe," *Florilegium in Honorum Carl Nordenfalk Octogenarii Contextum,* Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, n.s. 9 (Stockholm, 1987), 91–122.

[19] Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 84.5, Aug. fol.; Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio," 99; Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts,* vol. 2 (Berlin, 1930–34), cat. no. 176 .

forces, liturgical as well as dynastic, that contributed to these commissions. Eric Palazzo offers a rich overview of the elaboration of Mary's role in the liturgy between the eighth and eleventh centuries.[20] Palazzo discusses the rise, from the eighth century, in numbers of Marian altars and the increasingly personal, physical language applied to the Virgin in the liturgy. He also cites textual references to no-longer extant monumental works that establish the presence of Marian imagery in northern churches as early as the middle of the tenth century. For the most part, Palazzo discusses examples of monumental fresco and sculpture—again, all larger works, accessible to groups and forming the stage setting for the performative elements of the liturgy. He introduces one manuscript example that demonstrates the way that the responses uttered during the liturgy were echoed in the tituli of a mid-eleventh century missal, an argument that once again ties the appearance of Mary in the visual arts to the liturgy.[21]

Rosamond McKitterick touches upon the links between imperial patronage and images of the Virgin in an article treating the increase in representations of women in Ottonian book illumination. McKitterick suggests that the Virgin figured into a larger trend in art that provided powerful women with images with which they could identify.[22] While it is true that many female patrons during this period did choose to represent the Virgin in their commissions, this assignation of the Virgin as a symbol for women neglects to take into account the way in which Marian imagery was used by male rulers,

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[20] Eric Palazzo, "Marie et l'élaboration d'un espace ecclésial au haut Moyen Âge" in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge,* 313–325.

[21] Ibid, 319–320. Palazzo discusses the image of the Virgin before Christ appearing in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 610 fol. 25v.

[22] Rosamond McKitterick, "Women in the Ottonian Church: an Iconographic Perspective," in *Women in the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society (Oxford, 1990): 79-100, 88.

both imperial and ecclesiastic. Christina Nielsen, in her study of Ottonian patronage, offers a more thoughtful exploration of the significance the Virgin held for Ottonian abbesses, arguing that in the face of Christomimetic images, it was the royal women who were more likely to demonstrate a relationship to the Virgin through their commissions.[23] While Nielsen demonstrates how several powerful Marian images commissioned for the convent of Essen reinforce the role of Mary in women's devotion, the prominence of the Virgin in commissions by Archbishop Bernward of Hildesheim and Emperors Otto III and Henry II make it clear that the Virgin was not the province of just one gender or group.

Henry Mayr-Harting addressed the use of Marian imagery by the Ottonian emperors and their use of the theme of the Assumption and Dormition of the Virgin. He demonstrated that the emperors used the Virgin's apotheosis in heaven as a parallel to their earthly rule.[24] His recent essay on the theme of Mary's assumption identifies Otto III as the greatest proponent of Marian devotion in the tenth century and further argues that Otto could be seen as a representative of a larger trend.[25] In a discussion of a Gospel lectionary possibly illuminated at the monastery of Seeon (Fig. 67), Stefan Weinfurter and Gude Suckale-Redlefsen both call attention to Henry II's use of Mary's image, which is here paired with that of the emperor, to strengthen the association of the emperor with Christ.[26]

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[23] Christina Nielsen, "*Hoc Opus Eximium*: Artistic Patronage in the Ottonian Empire," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2002), 123.

[24] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 139–156.

[25] Mayr-Harting, "The Idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West," 86–111, 90.

Much of the focus on Mary as an imperial symbol can be seen to build on Ernst Kantorowicz's seminal work, which demonstrated how rulers in the tenth through the twelfth centuries attempted to establish themselves as Christ's representatives on earth, governing with a divinely ordained authority.[27] Although Kantorowicz first used the Aachen Gospels (Fig. 2)[28] to demonstrate the iconography of Christ-centered kingship, it was Robert Deshman who more fully explored the retroactive influence exerted by the Christ maiestas images on ruler portraits by the end of the tenth century.[29] He clearly demonstrated the way that imagery typically reserved for the Christ maiestas—often shown seated on a rainbow or a globe evocative of the world and enclosed in a mandorla—was applied to images of earthly rulers in dedication images and seals. His study remains the definitive work on this theme in the visual arts and provides the cornerstone for scholars who have expanded his discussion of Christomimesis to establish the connections between imperial patronage and images of Mary's assumption.

Although Deshman focused on the theme of Christomimesis, subsequent scholars have applied this argument to the Virgin: male rulers sought to identify not only with Christ, but also with the Virgin in her role as Queen of Heaven. In varying forms, a

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[26] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, fols. 7v-8. Stefan Weinfurter, "Kaiser Heinrich II: Bayerische Traditionen und Europäischer Glanz," in *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024*, eds., Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Evamaria Brockhoff (Stuttgart, 2002), 22–23. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, "Heinrich II: Förderte den Kult der Gottesmutter auf besondere Weise," in *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024*, cat. no. 113, 273–274.

[27] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

[28] Aachen Minster, fol. 16, c. 996; Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit,* cat. no. 107, 204–205; W. Messerer, "Zum Kaiserbildes Aachener Ottonencodex" (Ph.D. diss., Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1959).

[29] Robert Deshman, "Christus Rex et Magi Reges: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche studien* 10 (1976): 367–405.

"Virgin Majesty" type emerged in Ottonian art. Mary began to be shown enthroned, and in several instances crowned, both as a solitary figure and with the Christ child. In some instances the Virgin appeared much as she did in scenes of the Adoration of the Magi but, increasingly during this period, she was excerpted from biblical narrative. Daniel Russo examines the emergence of the Ottonian Majesty type and its adoption by the emperor Henry II and the later Salian emperor Henry III. In a discussion of enthroned Virgin-Majesty figures that appear both in dedication pages and in Magi scenes, Russo claims that the Ottonians created a new and original type that blended older elements of the traditional Theotokos figure with the contemporary aurum coronarium figure of the emperor receiving homage from the provinces, examples of which are seen in the Gospels of Otto III (Fig. 1), the Chantilly leaf[30] and the Bamberg Josephus.[31] Russo argues that the new Virgin Majesty figure was modeled after images of the king and sketches an iconographic trajectory in which the Virgin was transformed from a receiver of royalty in the Adoration of the Magi to royalty herself.[32] It is perhaps more accurate to discuss both the crowned Virgins and emperor portraits as having evolved from the

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[30] Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 14v; Schramm, *Deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 82–83, 203–204. For Carl Nordenfalk's argument that this image represents Otto II, see Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's 'Registrum Gregorii,'" in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein, and Willibald Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 87–96.

[31] Bamberg, Statsbibliotek, Ms. class. 79; Hans Fischer, *Mittelalterliche Miniaturen aus der Staatlichen Bibliothek Bamberg*, vol. 1 (Bamberg, 1929), 2; Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's "Registrum Gregorii.'"

[32] Russo, "Les Representations mariales," 224. Russo's study began with narrative images in which crowned magi appeared before the Virgin in adoration scenes, proceeded with the freeing of the Virgin-Majesty from the immediate narrative of the Adoration scene and concluded with dedication images such as the Speier Gospel image of the Virgin enthroned between Henry III and his queen Agnes. Deshman, "Kingship and Christology," 380. Deshman had earlier treated demonstrated the links between the development of the Magi-kings and ruler iconography in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon art.

common model of the Christ maiestas images. While a subtle difference, it emphasizes that images of the crowned Virgin were not modeled after images of earthly authority so much as they were used as embodiments of a higher, eternal, authority by ecclesiastical patrons. The theme of alternate, heavenly, authority has bearing on the appearance of the queenly Virgin in Ottonian manuscripts.

In the extensive body of scholarship that deals with the artistic patronage of Ottonian bishops and abbesses, Marian devotion has not been overlooked, but discussions of Mary as recipient in their dedication images remain slanted toward exegetical rather than political interpretations. In treatments of those images associated with ecclesiatical patronage, Mary is usually discussed in terms of piety rather than authority, interpretations that perhaps reflect our expectations of monks as adherents of the contemplative life. This is especially striking when compared to those arguments concerning the emperors' use of Mary's image to enhance their own legitimacy. It is useful to remember that the powerful ecclesiastics who were commissioning these manuscripts and devotional objects were also administrators and rulers in their own right. The monasteries in the Ottonian Empire were like small cities with the right to mint their own coins, levy taxes, and maintain armies.[33] When we further consider that several of the more "authoritative" Virgins appeared in objects commissioned by Ottonian ecclesiastics—crowned Virgins in manuscripts for Essen, Hildesheim, and Regensburg—the necessity of questioning this ecclesiastical/imperial divide becomes apparent.

The Gospel Book of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (Fig. 59) contains the earliest surviving image of a Virgin wearing the same western fleur-de-lis crown seen

[33] John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993); Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London, 1991).

first in the portrait of the Carolingian Emperor Charles the Bald in the Codex Aureus of Saint Emmeram (Fig 3).[34] In the dormition scene in the earlier Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold (Fig. 35),[35] the hand of God extends a similar crown to the Virgin, but the image in Bernward's Gospels is the first instance in which she appears crowned and enthroned. Noting the rarity of images of the crowned Virgin in art of the north, Rainer Kahsnitz briefly treats the appearance of the queenly Virgin in the dedication pages of Bernward's Gospel book.[36] No study has yet to explore fully Bernward's use of the Virgin Majesty figure as an expression of his own episcopal authority however.

On the broader topic of Bernward's use of Marian imagery, Adam Cohen and Ann Derbes discuss the contrast of Mary and Eve in Bernward's Gospel Book and monumental bronze doors as a program that was as political as it was exegetical.[37] While Ernst Guldan and William Tronzo had earlier treated the program as exegesis,[38] Cohen and Derbes suggest that the negative representations of Eve on the bronze doors and in the dedication page of the Bernward Gospels were motivated by the contemporary reform movement and even more specifically by the conflict between Bernward and Abbess

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[34]Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 5v; G. Leidinger, ed., *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbiblitohek in München*, 6 vols. (Munich, 1921–25).

[35] London, British Library, Add. Ms 49598, fol. 102v; Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 9 (Princeton, 1995).

[36] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Inhalt und Aufbau der Handschrift: Die Bilder," in *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des Heiligen Bernward*, ed. Michael Brandt (Munich, 1993), 27–30.

[37] Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," *Gesta* 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38.

[38] Ernst Guldan, *Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz-Koln, 1966), 16. For more on this program, see William Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors: An Iconographic Source and Its Implications," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 4 (1983): 357–366.

Sophia of Gandersheim.[39] What is particularly constructive about this approach is that it offers a nuanced interpretation of Ottonian Mariology. The Virgin does not function merely as a model of piety for imperial men or women or as compassionate figure with whom abbesses could identify. Cohen and Derbes present Bernward's use of the Marian imagery in a more pointed sense than those formerly discussed. The image of the Virgin was used in a program carrying an admonitory message: Mary, when contrasted with Eve, was offered as an example that a specific group of women should aspire to emulate.

The general scholarly divide that exists between discussions of imperial and ecclesiastical dedication images is not restricted to those works containing an image of the Virgin. Such studies have tended to maintain a division between secular and ecclesiastic in their discussions of ruler portraits. Percy Ernst Schramm's definitive work, Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige, as the title suggests, restricts itself to imperial/royal rulers.[40] An early study by Joachim Prochno provided an exception with an overview of dedication images that included both religious and secular rulers.[41] The recent spate of exhibitions devoted to the patronage of Otto I, Henry II and Bernward of Hildesheim have attempted a more inclusive approach, using these individuals as a locus for a broad range of issues that tie together imperial and ecclesiastical patronage.[42] For

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[39] Cohen and Derbes, 29–31.

[40] Schramm, *Der deutschen Kaiser und Könige*.

[41] Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei, 800–1100*, Die Entwicklung des menschlichen Bildnisses, ed. Walter Goetz, vol. 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929).

[42] *Berward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien*; *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024*, Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2002, Bamberg, July 9-October 20 2002, exhibition catalogue ed. Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Evamaria Brockhoff (Stuttgart, 2002); *Otto Der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa,* Kulturhistorischen Museum Magdeburg, August 27-December 2, 2001, exhibition catalogue, 2 vols., ed. Matthias Puhle (Mainz, 2001).

example, in the ambitious 1993 exhibition dedicated to Bernward of Hildesheim "and the time of the Ottonians," scholars contributed several essays dealing with issues of imperial and episcopal contact.[43] Christina Nielsen's dissertation bridges the prevailing episcopal/monastic-imperial divide and offers a thoughtful discussion of the difficulty in separating sacred from secular in Ottonian society.[44] The wealth of Ottonian dedication imagery, however, still invites a more comprehensive treatment of the material. Mary's flexibilty as as a symbol for ecclesiastical and imperial rule has been overlooked in studies that claim her for one group over the other.

A Marian theme that has received a great deal of attention from religious and textual scholars as well as art historians is that of the Virgin's death and assumption into heaven.[45] While an account of the Virgin's death and assumption was not included in the official canon of New Testament works, an active textual tradition of this story existed from the Early Middle Ages. The Transitus Mariae (the passing of Mary) first appeared in the fifth century and related the story of the Virgin's final days, death and assumption. Labeled apocrypha in the sixth-century papal decree, the Decretum Gelasianum, the texts nevertheless proliferated throughout the Middle Ages. The monastery library at

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[43] *Berward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien,* esp. the section titled *Magistri et Confratres*, with essays by Heinrich Dormeier, "Kaiser und Bischofherrschaft in Italien: Leo von Vercelli," 103–112 and Rudolf Pokorny, "Reichsbischof, Kirchenrcht und Diözesanverwaltung um das Jahr 1000," 113–119.

[44] Nielsen, "*Hoc Opus Eximium.*"

[45] Olav Sinding, *Mariae Tod und Himmelfahrt: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der frühmittelalterlichen Denkmäler* (Christiania, 1903); Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909); Mayr-Harting, "Assumption of Mary."

Reichenau had a copy from at least the ninth century and also had a tenth-century Latin translation of four discussions of the dormition by Greek authors.[46]

Textual and religious historians have devoted much attention to the Transitus manuscripts in recent years[47] while earlier scholars contributed several important studies dealing with this theme in doctrine and the liturgy.48 Simon Claude Mimouni suggests that the Transitus accounts can be more accurately discussed as hagiography than apocrypha, a distinction that would seem to emphasize the kind of widespread influence they exerted in medieval religious life; despite their exclusion from the canonical Gospels theses accounts of sacred history had a powerful currency in the Middle Ages.[49] Christa Schaffer and Klaus Gamber explored the way the Transitus imagery filtered into the arts

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[46] Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Codex Augiensis CCXXIX and Codex Auguiensis LXXX; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 143; Martin Jugie, *La Mort et L'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge: Etude historico-doctrinale,* Studi e Testi 114 (Rome, 1944); Antoine Wenger, *L'Assomption de la t.s. vierge dans la tradition Byzantine du Ve au Xe siècle: Études et documents*, Archives de L'Orient Chrétien 5 (Paris, 1955), 140.

[47] Wenger, *L'Assomption de la t.s. vierge ;* Simon Claude Mimouni, *Dormition et Assomption de Marie: Histoire des Traditions Anciennes,* Théologie Historique 98, Collection Fondee par Jean Danielou, Dirigée par Charles Kannengiesser (Paris, 1995); Simon Claude Mimouni, "Les Transitus Mariae sont-ils vraiment des apocryphes?" *Studia Patristica* 25 (Louvain, 1993), 122–8; S.C. Mimouni, "Genèse et évolution des traditions anciennes sur le sort final de Marie: Étude de la tradition litteraire copte,'" *Marianum* 42 (1991): 69–143; Martin Jugie, *La Mort et L'Assomption*; Mary Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England,* Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 26 (Cambridge, 1998).

[48] Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident a la mère du sauveur: Des origines à saint Anselme* (Paris, 1962); Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London, 1963); Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit*, Erfurter Theologische Studien 5 (Leipzig, 1959); Eric Palazzo and Ann-Katrin Johansson, "Jalons liturgiques pour une histoire du culte de la Vierge dans l'Occident latin (V-XI siecles)," in *Marie: Le Culte de la Vierge*; Joseph Szövérffy, *Marianische Motivik der Hymnen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Marianischen Lyrik im Mittelalter,* Medieval Classics: Texts and Studies 18 (Leyden, 1985).

[49] Mimouni , "Les Transitus Mariae," 128.

and liturgy, respectively.[50] Kahsnitz and Mayr-Harting have addressed the topic of images of the Virgin's death and assumption, discussing the eastern sources for the images and the meaning they would have held for imperial patrons.[51]

Despite the established body of research on the general theme of Mary as a type for the Church in early medieval art and writings,[52] relatively little of the scholarship dealing with Ottonian art has addressed the theme of Mary's associations with Ecclesia. Ernst Guldan discusses the bronze doors and Gospel dedication image of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim to demonstrate how, in a system of parallel and antithesis, the Ottonians represented Mary as the second Eve. As the antithesis to Eve, she was seen as a personification of Ecclesia, the bride of Christ and temple of God.[53]

Adam Cohen offers a thorough analysis of the ways in which exegesis informed the images in the Uta Codex and other Ottonian manuscripts.[54] His discussion of the Ecclesia figure in the Uta Codex's Crucifixion scene focuses on this figure's symbiotic

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[50] Christa Schaffer, *Koimesis. Der Heimgang Mariens. Das Entschlafungsbild in seiner Abhängigkeit von Legende und Theologie. Mit einem Anhang über die Geschichte des Festes von Klaus Gamber*, Studia Patristica et Liturgica, Quae edidit Instiutum Liturgicum Ratisbonense, Fasc. 15 (Regensburg, 1985); Michel van Esbroeck, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge. Etudes historiques sur les traditions orientales* (Aldershot, 1995).

[51] Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormito-assumptio;" Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 139–156; Mayr-Harting, "The Idea of the Assumption," 86–111.

[52] Hervé Coathalem, *Le Parallélisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Eglise dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Analecta Gregoriana 74 (Rome, 1954); Klaus Gamber, *Maria-Ecclesia: Die Gottesmutter im theologischen Verständnis und in den Bildern der frühen Kirche,* Beiheft zu den Studia patristica et liturgica 19, Eikona 4 (Regensburg, 1987); Alois Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria: Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche* (Freiburg, 1954); Marie-Louise Thérel, *Les Symboles de L'Ecclesia dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du III au VI siècle* (Rome, 1973).

[53] Guldan, 16; Tronzo, 357–366; Cohen and Derbes, 19.

[54] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13601; Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-century Germany* (University Park, PA, β2000).

relationship with Synagoga. The strong textual element threading through the illuminations of this manuscript sets them apart from many other Ottonian manuscript illuminations, where the fact that images of the Virgin are being used exegetically is made even more striking by the lack of supporting inscriptions.

Iconographic surveys have identified the figure wearing a pearl-draped crown in the Petershausen Sacramentary as a Mary-Ecclesia (Fig. 68), but the originality of this image calls for a deeper exploration of its meaning.[55] While the appearance of Mary and Ecclesia in close proximity to one another in ivories and manuscripts has been duly noted, the appearance of the newly merged figure of Mary-Ecclesia has not been adequately discussed as a wholly new iconographic type.

Carolingian Mariology

As the Virgin was already very much present in liturgical texts preceding this period, it should be stressed that the increased visibility of the Virgin in the arts of the Ottonian Empire did not reflect a sudden popularization of the figure of Mary in the liturgy. The four great Marian feasts were all instituted under the Carolingians, and the individualized figure of Mary was already being developed in ninth-century sermons and homilies.

Because Mary remained, however, largely absent in the art of the Carolingian Empire, it is necessary to examine first her earlier neglect in order to understand the

[55] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 40v; Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, 53, fig. 247. This image is placed in the category of "Ecclesia as Bride of Christ" where her association with Mary is made clear. Gertrude Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 4 (Gütersloh, 1986), 98, also discusses this image in the context of associations of Mary and Ecclesia as the Bride.

relative prominence of the Virgin in the visual arts during the Ottonian period. Understandably, this discussion is shaped by artistic survivals. As with the Ottonians, the largest body of works that remains from the Carolingian period consists of illuminated manuscripts. The Carolingian manuscripts differ significantly from those of the Ottonians in their content and illustrative programs. C.R. Dodwell made the general observation that while the Carolingians were interested in producing complete texts of the Bible, the Ottonians' output consisted primarily of elaborate liturgical books.[56] Scholars of early medieval art have long noted that Carolingian manuscript illuminators focused their programs more heavily on Old Testament subjects, perhaps in an attempt to associate their culture with that of the Israelites, while the Ottonian manuscripts emphasized Christological themes.[57] The emphasis on Old Testament subject matter created a body of imagery in which the historical Virgin of the Gospels had no specific role.

Additionally, the Carolingian Empire faced two political crises, both of which had an impact upon the visual arts. The Adoptionist heresy and Charlemagne's efforts to suppress it helped to create a religious environment in which emphasis was placed on

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[56] Charles Reginald Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven, 1993), 126.

[57] Ibid.; Mayr-Harting *Ottonian Manuscript Illumination,* vol. 1, 60. For a general historical discussion of these associations, see Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?: Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Cambridge, 2000), 114–161.

Christ's divinity, rather than on his human aspect,[58] with the result that there was little desire or need to represent Mary, the human mother of Jesus. The second factor to influence the approach to images during Charlemagne's reign was controversy surrounding the role of the image in the Byzantine Empire. In response to successive waves of condemnation and defense of holy images in the east (between 726 and 843), western theologians formulated their own theory concerning the veneration of images, articulated most forcefully in the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* (the *Libri Carolini),* a response to the Byzantine 787 Second Council of Nicea that was drafted in Charlemagne's court between 791 and 793.[59] The strident tone of the *Opus Caroli Regis* initially led scholars to interpret the Carolingian attitude toward the image as one marked by suspicion, softened only by the didactic utility of the image.[60] Later scholarship has revised this view of Carolingian image theory, interpreting the *Opus Caroli Regis* as an expression of the western opposition to the Byzantine Empire's attitudes toward the image rather than as a general expression of the role of art in contemporary Carolingian

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[58] For more on Adoptionism and the Carolingian's emphasis on Christ's divinity, see Henry Mayr-Harting, "Charlemagne as a Patron of Art," in *The Church and the Arts: Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford, 1995), 51; Celia Chazelle, "Matter, spirit and image in the *Libri Carolini*," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 21 (1986): 176–7; Matthias T. Kloft, "Der spanische Adoptianismus," in *794, Karl der Grosse in Frankfurt am Main: ein König bei der Arbeit*, ed. Joahnnes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1994); John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993).

[59] MGH LL 3/2, suppl. Ed. Hubert Bastgen (Hannover, 1924); Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni, "La questione politico-religiosa dei Libri Carolini," in *La legittimà del culto delle icone: Orientale e occidente riaffermano insieme la fed cristiana*, ed. Giovanni Distante, Atti del III Convegno Storico Interecclesiale, 11–13 May 1987 (Bari, 1989).

[60] Ann Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini," *Speculum* 32 (1957).

culture.[61] While the Carolingians under Charlemagne stated their rejection of the Byzantine approach to the material art object rather than reacting to a particular kind of art object, the relative absence of freestanding panel paintings in the west outside of Rome does suggest a western, or rather northern, reaction to certain kinds of images.[62] The presence of this document demonstrates that the iconoclastic debate mobilized Charlemagne's court—in writing the *Opus Caroli Regis* Theodulf of Orleans and others articulated their differences from eastern theologians and artists. It is extremely likely that artistic decisions during this period were similarly shaped by the controversy and the wish of western artists and patrons to distance themselves from the perceived decadence of Byzantine image use.[63] The general reticence surrounding the figure of Mary in art of the north could also be a byproduct of this controversy. As the cult of the Virgin had become such an integral part of Byzantine culture, and iconic images of Mary one of the hallmarks of the Byzantine state,[64] this controversy may well have contributed to a

[61] Ibid.; Hans Liebeschutz, "Western Christian thought from Boethius to Anselm," in *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge 1967), 567–86.

[62] V. H. Elbern, "Die 'Libri Carolini' und die liturgische Kunst um 800: Zur 1200. Jahrfeir des 2. Konzils von Nikaia 787," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 54–55 (1986–87): 15–32; Mayr-Harting, "Charlemagne as a Patron of Art," 48. For a discussion of the ways that not only the idea of art, but the material objects themselves shifted meaning between cultures, see Leslie Brubaker, "The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 175–195.

[63] For a discussion of reactions to Byzantine iconoclasm in Italy, see Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Agnellus of Ravenna and Iconoclasm: Theology and Politics in a Ninth-Century Historical Text," *Speculum* 71, no. 3 (July, 1996): 559–576.

general downplaying of her image in the visual arts of the West. The emphasis in Carolingian Gospel books on the Heavenly Jerusalem and holy *place* may well have provided a way to neatly sidestep the issues of idolatry raised in Byzantium over the role of iconic images.

The relatively low profile of the Virgin in the visual arts of the Carolingian Empire becomes particularly noticeable when compared to the degree of attention Mary received in ninth-century religious writings, particularly under Charles the Bald. In theological texts, letters, and treatises, the Carolingians demonstrated a growing interest in the Virgin as an individualized figure rather than simply as an element in a larger Christological equation. This shift was also evident in the new liturgy of the period—the first specifically Marian hymn, *Ave stella maris*, was composed in the 800s, and a large number of hymns and homilies devoted to the Virgin were written under the patronage of Charles the Bald.[65] In his study of the cult of the Virgin under this emperor, Dominique Iogna-Prat points to the anonymous text *Trinumbium Annae*, believed to have been

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[64] Bissera Pentcheva, "Icons *and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa, 2006); Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Mother of God in Public," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan, 2000), 325–337. Weyl Carr outlines several ninth- and tenth-century developments in iconography of the Virgin that demonstrate a link between the image of Mary and that of city and state in Byzantium. In a discussion of the use of the Virgin's image by Byzantine military leaders the author writes that while the defensive role of the Mother of God in battle was an established tradition, what was specific to the Byzantine's use of this image was "its symbolic locus: it had come to reside in a painted image" (Weyl Carr, 332). For more on the cult of the Virgin in Byzantine art see Maria Vassilaki, *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2005).

[65] Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerzeit* (Leipzig, 1959); Joseph Szövérffy, *Marianische Motivik der Hymnen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Marianischen Lyrik im Mittelalter* (Leyden, 1985); Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Le culte de la Vierge sous le règne de Charles le Chauve," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge.*

written by Haimo of Auxerre, and the sermon *Legimus,* to demonstrate the kinds of textual attention that Mary received during this period.[66] The *Trinumbium Annae* described the three marriages of Mary's mother Ann that resulted in the birth of two half-sisters also named Mary, who gave birth to John the Evangelist and James the Minor. *Legimus* was attributed to a chancellor of Louis the Pious, Helisachar (833–840), and was concerned with establishing the Virgin's rank in heaven. The text placed the Virgin seventh, after the patriarchs, prophets, Saint John the Baptist, the twelve apostles, the martyrs, and the confessors.[67]

Significantly, there was one area in which images of Mary did appear with some frequency in the visual arts under the Carolingians: in the ivory plaques that appeared in liturgical contexts. Functioning either as book covers or as parts of reliquaries or altar frontals, these images would have been visible on the altar during the Mass. Not tied to canonical texts in the same way that Gospel illuminations were, the ivory plaques that appeared in liturgical settings reflected the amplification of the role of the Virgin in the Carolingian rite. A surviving example traditionally associated with Ada Group shows Mary enthroned on the ivory cover that once adorned the ninth-century Lorsch Gospels (Fig. 4).[68] On the plaque that adorned the front cover, Mary is represented in the manner

[66] Iogna Prat, "Le culte de la Vierge," 74.

[67] Ibid., 73. In an eleventh-century English manuscript, the sermon appears again, with a modified ranking; the Virgin is now described as first among the assembled group.

of a Byzantine *Hodegetria*, between John the Baptist and Zacharias. These prophets were seen as prefigurations of Christ, who appeared on the back cover, flanked by archangels and trampling beasts beneath his feet (Fig 5).[69] This work's function as the precious container for the Gospels—a type of book most important for its symbolic impact as a visible expression of the Word during the Mass—demonstrates how the earliest images of Mary to appear in western churches did so in controlled contexts in which they would be mediated by the performance of the liturgy. On the cover of the Gospel book, the centralized, enthroned figure of the Virgin had a symbolic meaning (Mary as the container of the Word/Christ) that was undoubtedly heightened as the book was held aloft during services and processions.

Another example, more definitively a product of the Ada group, will be discussed at greater length in this study, but presents an important reminder of the way religious arts reflect politcal as well as ecclesiastic concerns (Fig. 94). The ivory plaque displaying a militaristic Virgin,veiled and partially armoured, has been interpreted as an image of the Virgin as defender of the faith, and it appeared during the very period when

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[68] Ulrike Koenen, "Spätantikes Vorbild—karolingische 'Kopie,' Die Elfenbeintafeln des Lorscher Evangeliars," *Boreas* 26 (2003): 99–115; B. Reudenbach, "Die Lorscher Elfenbeintafeln: Zur Aufnahme spätantiker Herrscher-ikonographie in karolingischer Kunst," in *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichted Alteuropos. Festschrift für K. Hauck zur 75 Geburtstag* (1994), 403–416; M.H. Longhurst and C.R. Morey, "The Covers of the Lorsch Gospels," *Speculum* 3 (1928): 64–74. Koenen argues that the plaque with the Virgin Hodegetria is actually a late-antique work that was reused for the Carolingian book cover. Its reuse during the Carolingian period nevertheless demonstrates the use of Mary's image in Christological programs with multiple figures during this time.

[69] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro, Pal. Lat. 50. Hermann Schefers, *Das Lorscher Evangeliar: Eine Zimelie der Buchkunst des Abendländischen Frühmittelalters. Arbeiten der Hessischen Historischen Kommission, N.F. 18 (Darmstadt, 2000).*

Charlemagne was dealing with attacks on the faith in the form of Adoptionism.[70] This large image was most likely not intended to serve as a book cover. Suzanne Lewis suggested, on the basis that its size and deep carving were more appropriate for a work that would have been viewed from some distance, that the plaque would have originally been attached to the inner door of the Palace Chapel at Aachen where a relic of the Virgin was housed.[71] Although this particular combination of iconographic elements was not used again in the ensuing centuries, it represents, along with the re-purposed Lorsch Gospels plaque and other ninth-century ivories, the first steps toward the insertion of Mary into the visual culture of the north.

One of the difficulties in the attempt to sketch a broad history of the entry of the Virgin into the arts of the west is that the factors that proscribed certain kinds of early medieval imagery were not part of one overarching theory of images; reactions to certain kinds of images were often determined by medium, as with western reactions to Byzantine panel painting, and context, as with images of Christ during the Adoptionist controversy. The general reticence with which the Virgin was treated in Carolingian art, while likely stemming from the prevailing lack of emphasis on Christ's human nature, was most evident in manuscript illumination. This medium, perhaps because of its dependence on canonical texts, appears to have been more conservative than the ivories that decorated altar frontals in incorporating liturgical innovations in Mariology.

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[70] Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. Number 17.190.49; Suzanne Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans' at Charlemagne's Court," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11 (1980): 71–93.

[71] Ibid., 92.

The generally limited role of Mary in Carolingian art would therefore seem to indicate not so much that the cult of Mary began to flourish only later during the Ottonian period, as it would suggest a change in conditions that surrounded the commissioning of art. With the emphasis on the New Testament Christ—his works and miracles—and the production of illustrated service books for the mass, the liturgical and artistic environment that emerged under the Ottonians was one in which there were more opportunities for including images of the Virgin. The presence of the Virgin in ivories throughout the Carolingian period demonstrates a continuity—in this medium—of the exegetical use of Mary in art from the Carolingian through the Ottonian periods.

The increased role of the Virgin in Ottonian art, however, is not something that can be attributed simply to the increase in books being created for the liturgy. Ottonian artists and patrons demonstrated a markedly different approach to the relationship between text and image; in their manuscripts, the Ottonians broke from a strict textual dependence. Deviating from canonical textual sources, they used images in what at times became an almost independent means of relating a narrative. While Ottonian artists and patrons built upon the earlier exegetical use of the Virgin seen in Carolingian art, they also expanded on the historical figure of the Virgin. Where the Carolingians had emphasized the sanctity of the mother of God, the Ottonians displayed an interest in elaborating on the human mother of Christ. This interest is documented by the *Transitus* manuscripts that were found in Ottonian libraries and by striking innovations in the iconography of the Virgin.

Chapter Overview

The following discussion is necessarily grouped around several case studies, in which are presented examples of the innovative image types and scenes included in Ottonian manuscript programs. The necessity for case studies stems from the generally fragmented nature of Ottonian art and culture. Unlike their Byzantine contemporaries, this empire did not rule from an establised capital. This system of governance was based on a court and administrators who constantly circulated throughout their territories.[72] In contrast, the princes and bishops who served the emperor were more restricted in their movements: they could not travel beyond their borders without incurring heavy expense, unless their travels were subsidized by the Emperor.[73] Because the Ottonian state did not function as a monolithic entity, its artistic output can be best framed as case studies. By applying questions of patronage and use to the individual case studies, we may gain a clearer sense of how the figure of Mary emerged in the arts of the north.

If we consider the Ottonian period as one of iconographic experimentation that preceded a homogenized Marian image cult in the twelfth century, we can unite the focused case studies in order to contruct a broader story of the origins of Marian devotion in this region. This is particularly important when one considers not only the degree to which the imperial and ecclesiastic groups were intertwined, but also the role of the

[72] Karl Leyser, "Ottonian Government," *The English Historical Review* 96, no. 381 (Oct. 1981): 725. Unlike the Carolingian system, characterized by the centralized administrative machinery established under Charlemagne, the Ottonian administration was fluid. About 15 *capellani*, members of the court chapel, served at a given time in the courts of Otto III and Henry II, but they were not together at one time.

[73] Leyser, 747.

ecclesiastical rulers as patrons. Timothy Reuter, in a discussion of the mutual dependence and competition that existed between the emperors and the monasteries, wrote that the itinerant rulers who had "spread their butter" between a number of royal palaces was hard put to match the material show of such ecclesiastics as Bruno of Cologne, Egbert of Trier, or Bernward of Hildesheim.[74] Furthermore, the role of the monasteries in the Ottonian system of rule was such that religious leaders like Witigowo of Reichenau and Mathilda of Essen were in many ways as concerned with the political, worldly aspects of rule as the Emperor.

A comprehensive survey of Marian themes among these patronage groups is not possible, because in certain cases we do not know the specific patron of a manuscript or object but can only ascribe it to a monastery or abbey or to male or female use. In so doing, however, we can explore those qualities that were specific to male and female patron groups as well as imperial and ecclesiastic ones. Although Marian imagery during this period lacks visual cohesion, it can nevertheless communicate much about the meaning that Mary held for tenth- and eleventh-century viewers.

My first chapter examines an expansion through images of the "historical" Mary—the human mother of Jesus who appears so seldom in the Gospels. From the early Christian period the figure of Mary was elaborated in the apocrypha, with a considerable body of texts being devoted specifically to those events surrounding her death and assumption into heaven. During this period however, images of the human mother of Christ make their way into illuminated manuscripts—Gospels as well as

[74] Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c.900–1056* (London, 1991), 252.

service books. This chapter explores the ways in which Ottonian artists began to expand upon the existing narrative of the Virgin's life through images, thus creating a visual vita for the Virgin. The images discussed here include representations of the Virgin in an early Pentecost scene, at the wedding at Cana, and in dormition scenes. The unifying thread for these images is their hagiographic function; Ottonian artists used images to "write" between the lines of canonical texts that do not elaborate on the Virgin's role and, further, to illustrate those extra-canonical texts that do individualize the figure of Mary.

My second chapter deals with the use of the Virgin's image by rulers in the Ottonian Empire and questions the underlying assumptions about the Virgin as a gendered symbol. While it is true that in the Ottonian period the earliest images of the queenly Virgin were found in commissions for the women's convent at Essen, I will demonstrate that in a relatively short time the Virgin was adopted as a symbol of authority for male ecclesiastics as well as for the emperors themselves. In this chapter I further examine the way in which the Virgin's image was used by ecclesiastical rulers who, with images of the queenly Virgin, emphasized the need for heavenly intercession. Studies dealing with the medieval cult of the Virgin in Rome have attempted to incorporate the political aspect of the use of the Virgin's image by male ecclesiastics but Ottonian images of Mary have not been treated in a similarly broad overview of this

topic.[75] This lacuna is not specific to the topic of Marian imagery. Despite a wealth of research on Ottonian *Herrschaftbilder*, scholars have focused on imperial rather than ecclesiastical rulers and their commissions.[76] Although individuals have approached this topic through case studies on specific bishops or abbesses and their patronage, ecclesiastic rulers have been left out of the general studies on ruler images. In my survey of the broader theme of Marian imagery, I will examine the works produced by these two branches of rulership as part of an integrated system.

Chapter Three explores the way in which Ottonian artists used images to actively shape an exegetical rather than historical understanding of the Virgin. In the gradual pairing and then merging of the figures of the Virgin and Ecclesia, artists during this period developed a specific iconography for Mary-Ecclesia. The figures of Mary and Ecclesia gradually become visually associated with one another in manuscripts from Fulda and Bamberg, and a first merged Mary-Ecclesia figure appears in a manuscript from the monastery at Petershausen.

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[75] Robert Deshman, "Servants of the Mother of God," *Word & Image* 5, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1989): 39. Deshman writes "association between her royalty and her intercession is fundamental, for in the Latin West the pious desire for her intercession was a major motive for declaring her regina." Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina, Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (Tübingen, 1981): 1–33; Mary Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe,* ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, UK, 1997), 173–203.

[76] Althoff and Schubert, *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*; Klein, "Ottonische Herrscherbilder;" Schramm, *Deutschen Kaiser und Könige*; Joachim Wieder, "Au sujet des portraits d'empereur dans l'enluminure ottonienne," in *Internationaler Bibliophilen-Kongress 1975 in der Schweiz: Akten und Referate* (Zürich, 1981), 23–63. Wieder does bridge the gap between imperial and ecclesiastical when he makes the point that the former studies had neglected to consider the mediating role of the popes in these official images of legitimization. Peter Klein, "Die Apokalypse Otto III und das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 56/57 (1988–1989): 5–52.

In approaching this problem through a diverse group of works, this study examines patterns of patronage and function to determine the various motivations and proscriptions that dictated the aspects of Mary considered appropriate for representation. Seen through this lens, these experiments in Marian imagery—although sometimes short-lived—sharpen our understanding of the establishment of Mary's role in the visual arts of the West while at the same time presenting a broader exploration of the relationships between viewer, object, and ceremony in Ottonian society.

Chapter 1

Visual Hagiograpy and the Prüm Troper

The first signs of a visual amplification of the figure of Mary appear in the tenth century as Ottonian artists began to use images to augment Mary's occasionally ambiguous participation in the events recorded in the Gospels. Previously restricted to subsidiary roles in the visual arts—as, for example, one figure among many in Crucifixion scenes or the Cana miracle—Mary assumes new prominence in images of the sacred history recorded in the Gospels and apocrypha. Textual evidence provides examples of Marian imagery in monumental wall painting and sculpture from the eighth and ninth centuries, while a number of ivory plaques survive from the Carolingian period. One of the great innovations of Ottonian Mariology lies in the degree to which artists and patrons invoked the Virgin's presence in the liturgical books that graced their churches' altars. Almost completely absent from manuscript illumination in the region during the preceding centuries, the Virgin became increasingly visible in Ottonian service books, in hagiographic images that elaborated on the historical Mary while at the same time confirming her place in the ritual. Where earlier exegetes had celebrated the Virgin as queen of heaven and defined her rank there, Ottonian manuscript images explored the human Mary, mother of Jesus described in the Gospels.

This chapter examines the expansion of images of the Virgin in Ottonian manuscripts, which built up a visual *vita* for her during the period when new saints were being established in the north through the writing of hagiographic *vitae* and the discovery

or translation of new relics.[1] As my primary case study, I examine a service book from the monastery at Prüm, which possesses a program of illuminations particularly rich in representations of the Virgin. As I shall demonstrate, the book has several key images of Mary that shaped the illuminations for the festal cycle of the liturgical year into a hagiographic narrative. In so doing, the monks at Prüm visualized Mary's presence in the liturgy and helped to define her role as a cult figure for their institution.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, northwest Europe witnessed not only liturgical innovation but also historical invention. Far from the sites of Early Christianity, the inhabitants of this region created pilgrimage points and shrines in order to bring the holy figures from this period closer to home.[2] During the Carolingian period saints' bodies were transported from Rome to imbue monasteries in the north with greater sanctity; Münstereifel, a dependency of the monastery at Prüm, for example, received the bodies of Saints Chrysanthus and Daria in 844.[3] Hagiographic literature establishes the sanctity of an individual through episodic accounts that demonstrate the parallels between the life

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[1] Barbara Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints:Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge and New York, 1994), 9; Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

[2] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), esp. Chapter 5, 86–105; Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75, no. 2 (April 2000): 389–434; Julia M. H. Smith, "Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia," in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian Wes: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 28 (Leiden, 2000), 318–339.

[3] Smith, 326–329.

of the saint and that of Christ or his immediate followers.[4] In many cases new hagiographic *vitae*, or copies of older narratives, were commissioned to validate a particular relic cult. Pope Sergius II had authorized one such copy to accompany the relics of Chrysanthus and Daria from Rome to Prüm. After several months in their new home, the relics were again moved, this time from the primary monastery at Prüm to its new dependency of Münstereifel. In an act designed to legitimize the monastery's newly established relic cult, the abbot Marcward commissioned a written account of the relics' journey, reinstallation, and the subsequent miracles they performed.[5] From an inventory of 1003, we know that the monastery at Prüm also possessed a Marian relic.[6]

In her study treating the evolution of devotion to Mary and Christ between 800 and 1200, Rachel Fulton discusses the medieval concern with historical realities, by which Fulton refers to the people, events, and even relationships recorded in the Bible and apocrypha. As one example Fulton discusses how in the twelfth century the Old Testament Song of Songs came to be interpreted "'historically' as a conversation between

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[4] Cynthia J. Hahn, "Picturing the Text: Narrative in the Life of the Saints," *Art History* 8, no. 1. (March 1990): 1–33, esp. 7; Cynthia J. Hahn, "Absent No Longer: The Sign and the Saint in Late-Medieval Pictorial Hagiography," in *Hagiographie und Kunst, Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*, ed. Gottfried Kerscher (Berlin, 1993); Cynthia J. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of the Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001).

[5] Smith, 328.

[6] Auguste Digot, "Inventaire du trésor de l'abbaye de Prüm," *Bulletin Monumentale* 15 (1849): 289–300.

Mary and her beloved son."[7] Fulton's terminology is particularly useful when looking at the artistic output of the tenth and eleventh centuries. I suggest that the appearance of Mary in Ottonian service books also constitutes a preoccupation with historical realities. At a time when Marian veneration in the north was still in the process of being institutionalized, patrons turned to the evangelical past in order to establish a preliminary hagiographic narrative for Mary. This was being accomplished not through new writings, but primarily through innovative images illustrating the life of the human mother of Christ.

My study does not attempt to argue for a coherent Marian image cult—the interest in the Virgin as subject in the visual arts was not as concentrated or as sustained as it was to become in the twelfth century. Nor does this chapter claim for the Ottonians the western genesis of a more widespread cult of the Virgin. Such scholars as Dominique Iogna-Prat and Eric Palazzo have demonstrated through a study of exegesis, liturgy and imperial donations that the formation of the northern cult of the Virgin began already during the Carolingian era.[8] Rather, the interest in Mary that had begun to develop in this region under the Carolingians gradually coalesced and during the Ottonian period

[7] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*, (New York, 2002), 197. The realities of the evangelical past provided a framework for the affective mimesis practiced by the twelfth-century devotee. Fulton (198) focuses on the twelfth century as the period when a concern with the past allowed the faithful to identify more closely with the reciprocal love between God and humankind. Millennial anxieties, following in the wake of the predicted end of the world, ultimately contributed to an environment where the Latin faithful turned inward. Instead of focusing on the now-empty sites of Christ's former incarnation, they turned inward to access his continuing presence in Christian memory. Thus the blossoming of Marian devotion that takes place at this time is a reflection of a move inward, with historical realities strengthening medieval devotees' personal connection to Christ and the Virgin.

[8] Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Le culte de la Vierge sous le règne de Charles le Chauve," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge dans la société médiévale*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazo and D. Russo (Paris, 1996), 65–107; Eric Palazzo, "Marie et l'élaboration d'un espace ecclésial au haut moyen âge," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge*, 313–325.

became evident in the visual arts. By drawing together representations of the historical mother of Jesus, this study explores how these disparate images and motifs can contribute to our understanding of the process by which the figure of the Mary made its way into the arts of this region.

While the discipline of art history has tended to focus on trends—such as the proliferation of the *sedes sapientiae* sculptures or images of Christ in Judgment on tympanums in the twelfth century—this chapter focuses on the seemingly arbitrary images that have resisted the formal, art-historical modes of categorization. Some of the manuscript images examined here were to become types, while others were to be discarded and taken up again only in later centuries. Despite their failure to form substantial iconographic categories, these hagiographic images demonstrate an important experimental phase in the development of Marian imagery.

Through an examination of the Prüm Troper's treatment of the Virgin, I will demonstrate the way that images in Ottonian liturgical books embedded Mary in the cracks in the Gospel narrative, adding her to scenes where her presence is not made explicit by the text. One of the images this chapter explores is a representation of the Virgin included in a Pentecost scene. Mary's presence did not become a standard component of the scene until later in the Middle Ages. This odd image, when studied in conjunction with other seemingly random representations of the Virgin in Ottonian manuscript illumination, and more particularly with the other images contributing to this particular book's program, demonstrates an attempt to visually "write" Mary into sacred history. Scenes that initially appear to be illustrative of their accompanying text are in fact additive, augmenting the narrative, historical accounts of Christ's works and miracles in the texts of the Gospels and apocrypha.

The Prüm Pentecost

The manuscript known as the Prüm Troper, from the Ottonian monastery at Prüm, contains a rare image of the Virgin seated among the apostles at Pentecost (Fig. 6).[9] The only such Pentecost image from the tenth century, this work has been dismissed in the scholarship as an artistic oddity, an early example of an image type that was not to become common until the Gothic period. The Prüm Troper was actually a troper-gradual: a gradual contained the proper and ordinary of the mass, which were sung, and a troper contained the tropes, sequences, and prosulae which expanded each mass.[10] The Prüm Troper is one of only four known illustrated tropers from this period.[11] As a book intended to expand upon the liturgy, which increasingly came to incorporate extra-canonical material, a troper provided the possibility for a more expansive illustrative

[9] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 49; Stephan Beissel, "Miniaturen aus Prüm," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 19, no.1 (1906): cols. 11–22; Claudia Höhl, *Ottonische Buchmalerei in Prüm*, European University Studies Series 28, History of Art 252 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996); Janet Teresa Marquardt, "Illustrations of Troper Texts: The Painted Miniatures in the Prüm Troper-Gradual, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin Ms. 9448" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1986); Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, "A Book of Songs placed on the Altar of the Saviour giving praise to the Virgin Mary and Homage to the Emperor," in *Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium organized by the Royal Academy of History, Literature and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm 1981*, ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm, 1983), 125–153.

[10] For the structure of the Prüm manuscript and the structure of tropers in general, see Ritva Jonsson, "The Liturgical Function of the Tropes," in *Research on Tropes*, 99–123.

[11] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 5, Reichenau, 1001–02; London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. xiv, England, c. 1000; Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1169, Autun, 1050; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9449, Prüm, late tenth century; Gerd Bauer, "Abendländische Grundlagen und byzantinische Einflüsse in den Zentren der westlichen Buchmalerei," *Kunst im Zeitalter der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. Anton von Euw (Köln, 1993), 155–176; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, vol. 2 (London, 1991), 151–55, 205; Elizabeth Teviotdale, "The Cotton Troper (London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. xiv, ff. 1–36): A Study of an Illustrated English Troper of the Eleventh Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991); Walter Cahn, "Three Eleventh-Century Manuscripts from Nevers," in *Etudes d'art médiéval offertes à Louis Grodecki* (Paris, 1981), 63–78.

schema than did Gospel or pericope books, and yet the desire to represent Mary in this book would seem to outstrip simple opportunity. The first half of the manuscript, or the temporale, is dedicated to the primary feasts of the liturgical year. When the Pentecost image is studied in the context of other images of the Virgin in this section, its hagiographic as well as liturgical aspect becomes apparent.

In the image on folio 49, between the texts for the vigil and the high mass for the Pentecost feast, the Virgin is shown seated with the apostles in an architectural structure. The towers on either side and the gabled roof topped by a cross suggest a church space. Mary sits in the uppermost zone of the two-tiered composition, surrounded by the apostles who hold books and gesture animatedly.

The Pentecost feast celebrates the descent of the Holy Spirit recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (2:1–13). According to Acts 1:14, the Virgin was staying with the Apostles, certain other holy women, and Christ's brothers in Jerusalem after the Ascension of Christ. She was among the one hundred and twenty followers of Christ present there for the election of Matthias, who replaced Judas Iscariot as the new twelfth apostle. Acts 2 begins "When the day of Pentecost had come, they were all together in one place." The language in this passage is unclear and could indicate either the twelve apostles or the group of one hundred and twenty faithful mentioned in Acts 1:15. The descent of the Holy Spirit upon the group was heralded by "a sound like the rush of a violent wind" and tongues of flame that appeared above the heads of the faithful. All began to speak in different languages and miraculously were able to understand one another.

The iconography of Ottonian Pentecost scenes followed a generally uniform pattern: twelve apostles seated in an architectural setting, sometimes with tongues or lines

of flame illustrating the emanation of the Holy Spirit.[12] This format was fairly consistent among the various centers of Ottonian illumination, as demonstrated by the Cologne Sacramentary of St. Gereon (Fig. 7)[13] where twelve apostles are shown with the dove and radiating lines of flame, and the Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden (Fig. 8),[14] where the twelve apostles are again shown, with directional lines showing the descent of the Holy Spirit and tongues of flame above their heads. There are exceptions to this iconography: the late tenth-century Codex Egberti from Trier (Fig. 9)[15] represents twelve apostles in the upper register with nine onlookers below, while a Fulda sacramentary of 997–1014 (Fig. 10)[16] shows seventeen haloed figures. For the most part, however, twelve remained the standard number of apostles for the scene. In no other contemporary Ottonian Pentecost did the group of apostles include Mary.

There are only two extant precedents for a Virgin included in a Pentecost scene: in the Syriac Rabbula Gospels of 586 (Fig. 11) and in the Carolingian San Paolo Bible,

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[12] Stephan Seeliger, "Die Ikonographie des Pfingstwunders unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Buchmalerei des Mittelalters" (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1956).

[13] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 817, fol. 77, c. 1000; Peter Bloch, *Das Sakramentar von St. Gereon* (Munich, 1963).

[14] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. fol. 2, fol.158v. 1022–1036; Christian Rietschel, *Der Festkreis: Bilder aus dem Mindener Sakramentar* (Berlin, 1971).

[15] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 103; Hubert Schiel, ed., *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Basel, 1960).

[16] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 1, fol. 84v; Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forchungen 77 (Münster, 1994).

(Fig. 12).[17] These works from disparate cultures and centuries bear little resemblance to one another. The artist of the Rabbula Gospels Pentecost, apparently lacking an established format for the representation of this moment, seems to have borrowed the composition from the lower register of the same manuscript's Ascension scene, on folio 13v.[18] Here, the Virgin stands facing outward, flanked by the apostles. The Carolingian San Paolo Bible is essentially a western adaptation of the circular Pentecost composition common in Byzantine examples, but includes a figure of Mary in the center.[19]

Otto Pächt pointed out that, in the case of the San Paolo and the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels, the representation of the Pentecost appears in close proximity to an image of the Ascension. He suggested that this pairing reflected the fact that the feast of the Ascension was initially celebrated on the eve of the Pentecost feast.[20] The pairing of

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[17] Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Codex Plutarch I, 56, fol. 14v, and Rome, Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 292v; C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, eds., *The Rabbula Gospels: Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript PLUT. I, 56 in the Medicaean-Laurentian Library*, (Olten and Lausanne, 1959); J. E. Gaehde, "Studies on the pictorial sources of the Bible of San Paolo," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971): 351–384 and 9 (1975): 359–389; H. Schade, "Untersuchung zu der karolingischen Bilderbibel zu St. Paul vor der Mauern in Rom," (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1954); Peter Low, "The City Refigured: A Pentecostal Jerusalem in the San Paolo Bible," *Jewish Art* 23–24 (1997/98): 265–274.

[18] André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza—Bobbio)* (Paris, 1958), 2.

[19] Nicolas Ozoline, "La pentecôte du Paris, Grec. 510: Un témoinage sur l'église de Constantinople au IXe siècle," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 63, nos. 1–4 (1987): 245–255; André Grabar, "Le schéma iconographique de la pentecôte," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1928), reprinted in *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen age*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1968), 615–627. Grabar explains that in Byzantine art the apostles were generally arranged in a semicircular arc, below which could be seen representations of "the people" mentioned in Acts 1. He offers as an example Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. gr. 510, a late ninth-century Byzantine manuscript that shows the apostles seated in an arc above and two groups figures meant to represent the people of Acts 1 on either side of the composition below.

[20] Otto Pächt, *The Saint Albans Psalter* (London, 1960), 68, note 2. Pächt cites A. Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus I* (1911), 60 f., for the observation on the juxtaposition of Ascension and Pentecost feasts.

these two events can also be seen in the blended Ascension/Pentecost iconography found in a sixth-century pilgrim's ampulla now in Monza (Fig. 13).[21] This image type shows critical elements of both the Ascension and Pentecost scenes. The Virgin stands at the center of the assembled apostles with Christ rising to heaven above her, while the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, hurtles downward toward the orant Mary. While the proximity of feasts in the sixth-century liturgical calendar likely led to the juxtaposition and even blending of their corresponding images in these Syriac works, there is no evidence that this blended image manifested itself in arts of the north, or even that eastern Pentecost models shaped the Prüm imagery. Compositionally, the Prüm Pentecost resembles western models, while the inclusion of Mary reflected her growing prominence in the Latin Church in the north.

Peter Low has suggested that the figure of Mary in the San Paolo Bible functions as a personification of Ecclesia.[22] His argument for the Mary-Ecclesia in the San Paolo Bible is convincing: Mary, who is shown seated in the center of the circle of apostles, gazes forward and lacks the tongue of flame seen above the heads of the apostles. Compositional dissimilarities suggest that this interpretation of Mary as Ecclesia does not apply to the image in the Prüm Troper.[23] The Virgin in the Prüm Pentecost sits among

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[21] Monza, Treasury of Saint John of Monza, Ampulla 10; Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, 59. André Grabar has remarked on the juxtaposition of these scenes in the Rabbula Gospels and possibly in a combined Ascension/Pentecost image in a sixth-century Syriac pilgrim ampulla from Monza. The pilgrim's ampulla, believed to have been part of the treasury of Saint John of Monza since the seventh century, contains an image of the Ascension on its obverse. It includes an unusual reference to the Holy Spirit: a dove speeds from the ascendant Christ's mandorla toward the Virgin as she stands among the apostles.

[22] Low, 270.

[23] Gertrude Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Gütersloh, 1986): 11–38, 24, explained the Prüm image as an expression of exegesis, suggesting that the pairing of Peter and Mary is meant to evoke the idea of Ecclesia.

the apostles, speaking animatedly with them as she gestures with her hands. She has not been separated spatially or iconographically from the group, leading one to surmise that the artist indeed intended to represent the historical Mary who, as specified in Acts 1:14, was present with the apostles just prior to (and by implication, during) the decent of the Holy Spirit.

Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf has suggested that the image appears to illustrate the biblical text describing the events just prior to the descent of the Holy Spirit, rather than the manuscript's accompanying trope, which makes reference to the tongues of flame mentioned in Acts 2.[24] She hypothesizes that the illumination refers to the events of Acts 1, where Mary is said to have waited with the apostles, before the election of Matthias and before the emanation of the Holy Spirit. Rossholm Lagerlöf's argument, which attempts to take the Pentecost out of this scene, as it were, rather than allow the Virgin into it, seems overly complicated. While a certain amount of creative invention could be expected of an illuminator, it is not entirely logical that the artist who set out to execute an image to accompany the specific text for the Pentecost feast would have chosen to illustrate a distinct moment before the Pentecost.

Rossholm Lagerlöf's suggestion that the image represents the events just preceding Pentecost, and therefore before the election of the new twelfth apostle, was partly based on the odd numbering of apostles in the scene. There are eleven, rather than twelve apostles present. The numbering does not seem to be random, and in fact follows a consistent pattern throughout this book. Narrative scenes that do not include the Virgin contain the exact number of apostles specified by the Gospels. Eleven apostles surround Christ in the Doubting Thomas scene, and eleven accompany him in the Entry into

[24] Rossholm Lagerlöf, "A Book of Songs," in *Research on Tropes*, 125-178, 140.

Jerusalem scene. Like the Pentecost image's numbering, that of the Ascension on folio 45v is strange (Fig. 14); despite the fact that many Ottonian Ascensions include twelve apostles (a symbolic representation of the full group), or the more textually accurate eleven apostles (Christ rose to heaven just before the election of Matthias) the troper's scene shows only ten. In both of these images, the apostolic group lacks one member, leaving the Virgin to complete the group. The random numbering could quite simply be attributed to the disparate models that the troper's illuminator may have seen and incorporated into a unique composition for the use of Prüm. The decision to numerically complete the apostolic group with an image of Mary, however, would seem to strengthen her standing as a symbolic apostle.

One or several Metz models may have served as a source of inspiration for the Prüm manuscript's imagery.[25] The Drogo Sacramentary, a Carolingian manuscript from Metz, contains a similar Ascension image with the Virgin flanked by five apostles on each side (Fig. 15)[26] while a Metz ivory contains an Ascension scene in which the ascendant Christ, like that in the Prüm Troper, looks up to his left, toward the hand of God, while extending his arms outward to either side.[27] While elements of the Prüm

[25] Janet Theresa Marquardt, "Ascension Sundays in Tropers: The Innovative Scenes in the Prüm and Canterbury Tropers and Their Relationship to the Accompanying Texts," *Essays in Medieval Studies*, Proceedings of the Illiniois Medieval Association 6 (1989), 68–78. Claudia Höhl, 183–184, criticizes Janet Marquardt's emphasis on the Metz Drogo Sacramentary and Egbert Codex as definitive sources for the Ascension scene iconography.

[26] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 9428, fol. 71v; Wilhelm Reinhold, Walter Koehler, and Florentine Mütherich, *Drogo-Sakramentar: manuscript latin 9428, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris: Vollst. Faks.-Ausg. im Originalformat*, Codices selecti phototypice impressi 49, 49* (Graz, 1974). Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve: Catalogue de l'exposition présentée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France sur le site Richelieu, dans la Galerie Mazarine, du 20 mars au 24 juin 2007* (Paris: 2007), 194–199, cat. no. 53.

[27] Coburg, Museum Veste Coburg, Ivory Go I, 87; Höhl,185–186, pl. 34. The ivory is one among the many additional analogous examples provided by Höhl.

Troper's iconography resonate with that of the Drogo Sacramentary, the troper's Pentecost scene bears little compositional resemblance to that in the earlier sacramentary; the composition of the Drogo Pentecost scene reflects its arrangement within the historiated initial D (Fig. 16).[28] The similarity of the Prüm Pentecost's compositional structure to that of other contemporary manuscripts suggests that its illuminator also drew from Ottonian sources. The analogies between the Prüm Pentecost and a Reichenau manuscript, the Poussay Pericopes (Fig. 17),[29] provide an example of the kind of manuscript that might have served as a model for the troper's composition. The Poussay Pericopes, too, has been linked to the Drogo Sacramentary.[30] The correspondence between the Poussay and Prüm Pentecosts is most striking in its two-level composition in which the apostles sit six on the upper level and six below. When the two images are studied side by side, it seems clear that the Virgin in the Prüm Pentecost took the place occupied by of one of the twelve apostles in a similar model. In all likelihood the troper's model for the Pentecost contained twelve apostles; the Prüm artist then transposed a figure of the Virgin directly over an apostle in this image.

The illuminator's adaptation of models to craft a new Marian Pentecost demonstrates the individualized manner in which Mary was introduced to Ottonian illumination. Rather than creating a unique iconography for Mary's inclusion in the

[28] Sacramentary Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 78. For a discussion of the Drogo Pentecost see Elizabeth Leesti, "The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo sacramentary," *Gesta* 28, no. 2 (1989): 205–216.

[29] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, fol. 69v; S. Collin Roset, "L'évangéliare de Poussay," *Pays Lorrain Nancy* 64 (1983): 77–90.

[30] Irmgard Siede, "Zu Karolingischen und Italienischen Bildvorlagen für Die Kreuzigungsminiatur des Poussay Evangelistars, Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10514," in *Sancta Treveris: Beiträge zu Kirchenbau und Bildender Kunst im Alten Erzbistum Trier: Festschrift für Franz J. Ronig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Trier, 1999), 631–647.

Pentecost scene, as did the artist of the San Paolo Bible, the Prüm artist held to a standard format for representing this scene. Eleven figures are represented in a composition clearly understood as the Pentecost. The absence of flames is not extraordinary—these elements are also absent in other Pentecost images, such as that in the Codex Egberti. The true innovation that took place in this work was the decision on the part of the monastic artist or patron to physically replace an apostle with Mary in the composition. Unlike the San Paolo Bible Pentecost, where Mary remains symbolically present but physically separated from the apostolic group, the Prüm image represents two aspects of Mary. The image expresses, on one hand, the literal presence of the human mother and follower of Christ at the critical event that marked the beginning of the apostles' ministry. In placing the Virgin among the followers who will receive the Holy Spirit, the image also emphasizes the symbolic aspect of Mary, as one who had already received the Holy Spirit and who could therefore be understood as a symbol of the living church.

The Inclusion of Mary in Gospel Scenes

This is not the only such example of Ottonian artists pictorially inserting Mary into scenes where her presence was not specified by biblical texts. In the Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden, dating between 1022 and 1036, an image of Christ's resurrection demonstrates yet again how Mary's often ambiguous presence in Gospel accounts was clarified by medieval artists (Fig. 18).[31] Folio 132v contains an image of Christ's empty tomb, including the sleeping soldiers at the bottom of the composition, the angel who

[31] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. fol.2, fol. 132v; Ruth Meyer, "Die Miniaturen im Sakramentar des Bischofs Sigebert von Minden," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, ed. Frieda Dettweiler, Herbert Köllner and Peter Anself Riedl (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), 181–200.

announces Christ's resurrection to one side, and significantly, *four* women who have come to the tomb to embalm the body of Christ on the other side. The "Marys" at the tomb had become a standard element in the iconography by the Ottonian period. Ottonian representations typically included two or three women with jars of ointment and incense in hand, following Gospel descriptions that differed slightly, but which indicated that a number of women went to the tomb for this purpose.[32]

In the west, from at least the Carolingian period, the story of three Marys at the tomb had gained widespread acceptance, but this group was not initially believed to have included the mother of Christ. An anonymous late ninth-century homily for Easter names the three women at the tomb as Mary Magdalen, Mary Jacobi, and Mary Salome.[33] The author wrote further that the three women were sisters. In the *Trinubium Annae*, the author named the companions of the Magdalene at the tomb as Mary Alpheus and Mary Zebedee, the sisters of Mary, the mother of Christ.[34] In the eastern traditions, the Virgin was included in this group of holy women at a much earlier date. By the sixth century in

[32] Mark 16 begins "When the Sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought spices so that they might go and anoint him." Matthew 28 begins "After the Sabbath, as the first day of the week was dawning, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the tomb." The "other Mary" had been mentioned in the earlier account of Jesus' death. Matthew 27:56 reported that among those present were "Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. See Peter Bloch, "Das Reichenauer Einzelblatt mit dem Frauen am Grab im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt," *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 3 (1963): 24–43. See for example the Prüm Troper, fol. 32, where three women appear. Two women are shown in a sacramentary from Cologne, Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 817, fol 60 and the Poussay Pericopes, Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10514, fol. 50v.

[33] Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. B.M. 628, fol.72v-73v. 870–880; Iogna-Prat, 74.

[34] Iogna-Prat, 74.

the East, the absence of official doctrine on the subject contributed to the inclusion of the Virgin among the group of holy women at the tomb.[35]

The image of an unprecedented fourth woman at the tomb in Sigebert's manuscript could be explained as an attempt to demonstrate Luke's mention of "the other women" who had accompanied Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary, the mother of James, to the tomb.[36] While the number could in fact be random and intended merely as an evocation of a group of women at the tomb, the four figures are all haloed, suggesting that each had special status. It seems more likely that this image represents a desire to include the Virgin—as a fourth Mary—in the group at the tomb. Like the Pentecost image in the Prüm Troper, this illumination expands upon the historical Virgin through images.

Sigebert's manuscript contains another image that demonstrates a particular interest in Mary, in the third and culminating picture accompanying the Canon of the Mass. Following images of the Crucifixion and the Agnus Dei, the third illumination in the cycle, on folio 9, shows Sigebert celebrating mass (Fig. 19). He makes the sign of benediction, while across the altar the veiled figure of Ecclesia holds a cross-topped banner and extends a chalice to him. Behind Sigebert stands a cleric, while behind Ecclesia the veiled and haloed Virgin stands with her hand raised in acclamation. Ruth Meyer and Henry Mayr-Harting have both pointed out the unusual choice of this image to illustrate the Canon of the Mass. Throughout the early Middle Ages the figures of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech, whose sacrifices were named in the prayer *Supra quae*,

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[35] Euthymios Tsigaridas, "The Mother of God in Wall-Paintings," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan, 2000), 125–137, 132–133.

[36] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 92 (other women: Luke 24:10).

were more commonly used for images of the celebration of the Mass.[37] While Mary appears in association with Ecclesia here, and in fact has been explained as a type for the Church,[38] her inclusion in this unusual composition effectively visualizes her presence in the liturgy, much like the fourth figure at the tomb may have been an attempt to give form to her presence in sacred history. Like the Prüm Troper then, this manuscript's attempt to elaborate on Mary's historical role in biblical events accompanied images that gave form to the ritual presence of the Virgin in Church ceremony.

More insight to the odd insertion of Mary to the Prüm Pentecost scene can be gleaned through an assessment of the kind of imagery that the manuscript's illuminators developed to amplify the Virgin's presence elsewhere in the book. By situating the Pentecost image's unique iconography within the context of the manuscript's larger pictorial program, it becomes apparent that a number of the troper's images work to expand the *vita* of Mary visually. The insistence on including her in the Pentecost image in particular, and more generally in the troper's illustrative program, demonstrates an evolving hagiographic approach toward a figure whose presence had primarily been asserted in the performance of the liturgy.

As a program, the images in this manuscript display a pronounced interest in portraying the Virgin whenever possible. For certain narrative scenes with the Virgin, such as the Journey to Bethlehem (Fig. 20),[39] the inclusion of Mary corresponds in a

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[37] Meyer, "Die Miniaturen im Sakramentar," 188. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 92.

[38] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 42 and 92.

[39] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 4v.

straightforward way to the appropriate text. The illumination appears in conjunction with the third Christmas mass, on a register directly above the Nativity.

The emphasis on the Virgin in the troper continues with the image of the Presentation in the Temple accompanying the feast of the Purification on February 2 (Fig. 21).[40] This scene and the Virgin's role in it are standard for Ottonian art. Although in the Gospel of Luke Mary is mentioned specifically only as the passive recipient of Simeon's prophecy, most Ottonian scenes showed the Virgin in an active role, presenting the child to the prophet.[41] While the Prüm Presentation image utilizes a standard iconography, the image does diverge slightly from other Ottonian representations through its marked compositional stress on the figure of the Virgin. She appears wholly in the foreground with Simeon, extending the Christ child. This represents a departure from the usual linear composition with Joseph and Mary on one side of an altar, Simeon and often the prophetess Anna on the other, and Christ held in the center. While we can perhaps attribute the trimming of additional figures to the compressed format imposed by the book's oblong shape, the visual emphasis is nevertheless more strongly on Mary than in other contemporary representations of the scene.

The Virgin appears again in the Prüm Troper's representation of the Wedding at Cana (Fig. 22).[42] Like the Pentecost image, the Cana miracle drew upon a canonical text

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[40] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 28.

[41] Luke 2:34. Simeon addresses his prophecy that "this child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel..." to Mary. Dorothy Schorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *Art Bulletin* 28, no. 1 (March 1946): 17–32. Mary is present in the earliest known representation of this scene, in the fifth-century mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The iconographic form for this scene, with Joseph, Mary, Christ and Simeon grouped around an altar, had been established in the West by the eighth or ninth century (Ibid., 20). The first examples of the later iconographic type in which Simeon, in the presence of Mary and Joseph, holds the Child alone appeared in Western art in the tenth or eleventh centuries.

[42] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 26v.

and yet the scene—with or without Mary—did not become common in manuscripts until the Ottonian period. The Cana miracle appears only in the Gospel of John (2:1–11) and is one of the few scenes in the Gospels after the childhood of Christ in which Mary figured prominently. When Jesus and his disciples, accompanied by Mary, attended a wedding at Cana, she approached her son to tell him that the wine was gone. Jesus then asked the servants to fill six stone jars with water and to take them to the chief steward. Upon tasting the liquid, the steward found that it had been transformed into wine. From the Late Antique period, the Cana story was read in many dioceses on the second Sunday after the Epiphany.[43]

In Ottonian manuscripts, the Wedding at Cana appeared with great frequency. The scene appears in three sacramentaries from Fulda (Figs. 23–25),[44] a sacramentary from Ivrea (Fig. 26),[45] the Prüm Troper, and in the Codex Egberti (Fig. 27),[46] a pericopes book of 977–993 containing a larger cycle of the life of Christ than any previous extant work. In the Fulda examples, the Virgin figures prominently in the composition: in each

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[43] Walter Kuhn, *Die Ikonographie der Hochzeit zu Kana von den Anfängen bis zum XIV. Jahrhundert* (Inaug.-Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1955), 72; Stephen Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches*, Ergänzungshefte zu den Stimmen aus Maria Laach 96 (Freiburg im Breigau, 1907), 62; Gertrude Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1 (Gütersloh, 1986), 162.

[44]Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 1, fol.30; Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. 231, fol. 19; Udine, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. 1, fol. 18v; Eric Palazzo, *Les Sacramentaires de Fulda: Étude sur l'iconographie et la Liturgie à l'Époque Ottonienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forchungen 77 (Münster, 1994).

[45] Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI, fol. 27; Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images: Politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil*, European Unversity Studies Series 28, History of Art, vol. 388 (Bern, 2002).

[46] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 20v; Gunther Franz and Frans J. Ronig, *Codex Egberti: Teilfaksimile-Ausgabe des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, 2 vols. (Baden, 1983); Hubert Schiel, ed., *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier* (Basel, 1960).

of the images she is seated next to Christ at the table and turns to him to speak. In the Trier manuscript, the Virgin occupies the central role in the image. Standing between the servants and Christ, she gestures toward him as he extends a hand to perform the miracle.

The fact of the Virgin's presence, although recorded in the Gospel of John, is an element of the story that received varying treatment in Early Christian and Medieval art. The Virgin was excluded from the scene much of the time in Early Christian art, possibly because the primary impetus to represent the scene stemmed from its associations as a wine miracle with the Last Supper.[47] Mary was not an essential figure when all that was necessary to convey the scene's eucharistic connections was an image of Christ and the wine vessels.

In Carolingian art, the Virgin appears with some frequency in the scene, although it appears that the primary medium for Cana representations was ivory. In two book covers from the Metz school, dating to the end of the ninth century and circa 900 respectively, the miracle at Cana is represented with the Virgin shown at Christ's side (Figs. 28–29).[48] There is only one extant Carolingian manuscript to contain an image of the Cana miracle; the Gospel book given by Emperor Louis the Pious and his wife Judith to the church of Saint Médard of Soissons in 827.[49] Appearing as a marginal image in

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[47] Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, 165. Schiller writes that early feast scenes in the catacomb paintings are allusions to the eucharistic feast or to the heavenly feasts where the blessed will be "fed to eternity."

[48] Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Nr. 31; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Theol. fol. 65; Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1914), cat. nos. 81 and 82.

[49] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 180v. Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve: catalogue de l'exposition présentée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France sur le site Richelieu, dans la Galerie Mazarine, du 20 mars au 24 juin 2007* (Paris: 2007), 97–100, cat. no. 10; Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination: Carolingian Period* (New York, 1928); Edouard Fleury, *Les manuscripts à miniatures de la bibliothèque de Soissons* (Paris, 1865).

the upper left spandrels above the evangelist portrait of Saint John on fol. 180v, the scene is represented by the tiny figures of Christ and the Virgin with six water jugs (Fig. 30). A like-sized miniature on the right represents the Last Supper.[50] These two images taken together represent the beginning of Christ's works and their fulfillment through the Eucharist.[51] Despite Carolingian writers' efforts to amplify the role of Mary in sermons and homilies, it would appear that in manuscript painting the Virgin's image was still most strongly used to support sacramental rather than historical themes. Evidence within the book suggests a close text/image relationship. While John's account of the Cana miracle was read for the Sunday following the Feast of the Epiphany, Robert Walker has convincingly argued that these paired images refer even more specifically to the Priscillian Prologue of Saint Jerome that appears in this manuscript.[52] This image therefore demonstrates a kind of specific text/image analogy from which Ottonian manuscript illuminators would later diverge.

While Mary's inclusion in the scene is not unique to the Prüm Troper, the Cana miracle is an important story for the evolving hagiography of Mary. This Gospel account documents a moment when the human mother of Christ was not simply present, but a witness and even catalyst for his miracles. The inclusion of the Virgin in such scenes as the Cana miracle and the Pentecost inserts Mary into the historical record of the evangelical past even while marking her ceremonial presence in the present as she is being invoked in the liturgy.

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[50] Robert Walker, "Illustrations to the Priscillian Prologues in the Gospel Manuscripts of the Carolingian Ada School," *The Art Bulletin* 30, no. 1 (1948): 4.

[51] Kuhn, 56.

[52] Walker, "Illustrations to the Priscillian Prologues."

Hagiographic Order in the Prüm Troper

In order to examine the Prüm Troper as both a liturgical tool and as a hagiographic document, the order of images must be addressed. The first picture in which Mary appears is the double-registered image for the Annunciation and Visitation (Fig. 31). Now appearing on folio 1v, it is the one illumination for which there are no clearly corresponding texts. Several of the book's illuminations are out of order in the current binding, as can be seen when matched with their proper texts and their order in the church calendar. Because the book was rebound shortly after it was brought to Paris between 1802 and 1804, the original placement of this folio in the manuscript is uncertain. The feasts these two particular scenes would accompany do not fall together—the Annunciation is celebrated on March 25 and the Visitation July 2—and it is generally agreed that this illumination would have accompanied one of the Christmas masses.[53] The liturgical traditions for the week before Christmas in the west had from an early period displayed an emphasis on Marian themes. Before the feast of the Annunciation was introduced to the Roman calendar in the late seventh century, the Annunciation pericope was read on Ember Wednesday, the Wednesday before Christmas.[54] The placement of these images together was also seen in ninth-century ivories.[55] The juxtaposition of these scenes in earlier liturgical arts and ceremony emphasizes the path

[53] Marquardt, "Illustrations of Troper Texts," 36–38; Rossholm-Lagerlöf, 125–178; Höhl, 132.

[54] Fassler 393–4. For the Gallican sources, for example, see B. Capelle, "La messe gallicane de l'Assomption: Son rayonnement, ses sources," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, Bibliotheca Ephermerides liturgicae 22–23 (Rome, 1949), 35–39.

[55] See for example Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 1, cat. no. 95.

by which the cult of Mary came to prominence in the west; before Mary was given dedicated feast days in the Roman calendar, her place in the liturgical drama was intended to enhance christological themes during Advent. The illuminations here both assert her dependence on a liturgical framework even while establishing a coherent narrative for her life. The manuscript's texts begin with the first Christmas mass, so while the exact placement of the Annunciation/Visitation folio remains uncertain, it does seem likely that it appeared as the first image.

In opening with the Annunciation, the narrative thus begins with the first significant moment in which the Virgin appears in the canonical texts. Of necessity, her hagiographic narrative expressed through these images follows the order of the liturgical year in the order of the troper's texts for the accompanying feasts. However, the addition of two uncommon images at the end of the temporale section imposes a rough chronological order on the feast scenes, so that the series of images also reads as a visual *vita* for Mary. Having begun with the earliest significant moment in Mary's story, the program culminates with images of her dormition, on fol. 60v (Fig. 32) and of the Virgin enthroned on a heavenly orb, on fol. 62v (Fig. 33).[56] This follows the pattern of hagiographic narratives in which the saints mirror Christ's experience through death/martyrdom and heavenly reward.

The Prüm Dormition resembles Byzantine models with some significant innovations. Mary lies on a bed, surrounded by the figures of the apostles and Christ, who hands her soul up to a waiting angel. Mary's soul is represented (twice) as a small figure in the Byzantine manner. Her soul appears a second time at the top of the composition, where the hand of God reaches from above. In an element that gives unusal

[56] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 62v.

emphasis to her death (rather than her "passing" or "falling asleep"—doctrinal concepts stressed in the written accounts of this incident) the Virign is shrouded, not robed.

Although preceded by other kinds of Marian images in the west, the dormition and assumption of the Virgin was the first specific narrative about Mary to be developed by Ottonian artists into a pictorial tradition.[57] This scene was taken directly from Byzantine models. In Byzantine dormition scenes, Mary was shown lying on a bed and surrounded by grieving apostles. Behind her, Christ was usually shown handing the Virgin's soul, pictured as a small bust-length figure, to angels who hovered above. In western adaptations of the scene, as seen in the Pericopes of Henry II, the Virgin's soul also took the form of a clipeate bust in a medallion, which was born upward by angels (Fig. 34).[58] The first northern images of the death of the Virgin appeared in Anglo-Saxon England in the Benedictional of Aethelwold, dating to 971–984 (Fig. 35), and then later in the Missal of Archbishop Robert of Jumieges.[59] These images are visually so different from the Byzantine representations that it would seem that the Anglo-Saxon artists

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[57] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio: Byzantinisches und Antikes in den Minaiaturen der Liuthargruppe," in *Florilegium in Honorum Carl Nordenfalk Octogenarii Contextum*, Nationalmuseums Skriftserie NS 9 (Stockholm, 1987), 91–122, 97.

[58] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm. 4452, f. 161v; Hermann Fillitz, Rainer Kahsnitz, Ulrich Kuder and Karl Dachs, *Zierde für ewige Zeit: Das Pericopenbuch Heinrichs II* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994); Georg Leidinger, ed., *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München: Heft 5, Das Pericopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II, Cod. Lat. 4452* (Munich, 1918).

[59] London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fol. 102v; Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 369, fol. 54v; Henry A. Wildson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (London, 1896)*;* Louis Grodecki, Floreintine Mütherich, Jean Taralon, Francis Wormald, ed., *Le siècle de l'an mil, 950–1050* (Paris, 1973), 235–239.

developed this imagery from textual, rather than visual sources borrowed from the east.[60] In so doing they crafted a unique imagery quite distinct from the Ottonian tradition.

In Saxony prior to the Ottonian period, however, there was no established tradition for representing this scene.[61] This imagery, found in a number of manuscripts from Reichenau, provides a clear and convincing example of artistic borrowing from Byzantium. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon examples, Ottonian artists adopted a visual model from Byzantine sources, with only slight modifications.[62] Rainer Kahsnitz hypothesized that the sources for this iconography at Reichenau were the Byzantine ivories on the covers of the Munich Gospels of Otto III (Fig. 36)[63] and an evangelary now in Wolfenbuttel.[64] Kahsnitz bases his argument on the premise that the book covers were assembled at Reichenau and that the manuscript illuminators were familiar with the ivories. In this way he is able to trace the slight western innovations of the iconography, such as the representation of the Virgin as a clipeate bust. For the most part however, the

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[60] Mary Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 26 (Cambridge, 1998), 161-167.

[61] Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio," 97.

[62] Adolf Weis, "Die spätantike Lektionar-Illustration im Skriptorium der Reichenau," in *Die Abtei Reichena: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen, 1974), 311–362.

[63] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453., Fridolin Dressler ed., *Das Evangeliar Ottos III Clm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Faksimilie—Ausgabe. Begleitband, Transkription, Übersetzung der Evangelian* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978).
Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. Florentine Mütherich (Munich, 1983), 205, cat. no. 110.

[64] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 84.5 Aug. fol.; Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormito-assumptio," 97. Kahsnitz writes that other than these images there are two other eighth-century images of the Assumption without representations of the death scene, but both are problematic and poorly documented. One is an image on cloth from the treasury of the Cathedral at Sens and the other a possibly Roman enkolpion from Schloss Golochow.

Ottonian iconography for this scene deviates only slightly from Byzantine examples. In contrast to other narrative scenes where Ottonian artists developed new iconography in the effort to elaborate upon the historical Mary, in this instance, when presented with an established eastern textual tradition and a standardized pictorial tradition, Ottonian artists adopted the motif essentially *in toto* from Byzantine sources.

Of the approximately forty Reichenau illuminated manuscripts from the Ottonian period, seven have representations of the death of the Virgin and her assumption into heaven.[65] Three appear in luxury Gospel books: the Aachen Gospels of Otto III, the Munich Gospels of Otto III, and the Limburg Gospels,[66] and four appear in sacramentaries. The appearance of this image type in Gospel books is particularly significant as it demonstrates a desire to illustrate the life of the Virgin that supersedes direct textual justification. Because the incident draws from apocryphal sources, it did not have accompanying text in a Gospel book. Kahsnitz writes that the scene appeared for the first time in Reichenau art in a troper-sequentiar of 1001 (Fig. 37), [67] but acknowledges the Prüm Troper's earlier dormition scene. Without countering Kahsnitz's argument for the presence of Byzantine ivories at Reichenau as a source for the number of dormition images that occur around 1001, the Prüm example demonstrates the diffusion of various image traditions throughout the empire. It also demonstrates the

[65] Kahsnitz, "Koimesis, Dormitio, Assumptio," 91.

[66] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, Aachen Domschatz, Aachen Gospels, Köln, Dombibliothek, Cod. 218.

[67] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms lit 5, fol 121v; Peter Klein, "Zu einigen Reichenauer Handschriften Heinrichs II. für Bamberg," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 120 (1984): 417–422; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 30, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1986), 311–312.

degree to which the monks at Prüm drew from a variety of image types and sources to create a program that reflected the specific interests of their institution.

The Assumption's non-canonical sources distinguish this from other narrative themes prevalent in Ottonian art for which Gospel accounts served as the source. Ideas about the death of the Virgin during the Ottonian period were informed by the circulation of such apocryphal texts as the *Transitus* (Latin for "passing"), which focused more intensively on Mary than any of the brief references to her in the canonical Gospels. The *Transitus* related the details of the last days and death of the Virgin and was attributed to Saint John the Evangelist. The *Transitus* appears to have been written in the late fifth century, most likely following the establishment of the Virgin's feast day, and it existed in multiple versions, among them Syriac, Coptic, and Greek. It is through Greek Byzantine models that the text made its way into the west.

The presence of this text in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany, and contemporary sermons on it, attest to the interest in amplifying the history of the Virgin and in thereby creating an individualized hagiographic narrative for her. Reichenau's library had the earliest Latin translation of the *Transitus* in the West as well as a compilation of Greek homilies on the Dormition translated into Latin.[68] While Reichenau's illuminators may have derived inspiration from the artistic models for the Dormition scenes in Byzantine ivories, they were also acquiring textual, hagiographic narratives that enhanced Mary's presence in sacred history. The presence of these

[68] Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek Augiensis CCXXXIX; Antoine Wenger, *L'Assomption de la t.s. vierge dans la tradition byzantine du Ve au Xe siècle. Études et documents*, Archives de L'Orient Chrétien 5 (Paris, 1955), 17–95, (texts) 245–256. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 142; Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Augiensis LXXX, several by Andrew of Crete, four by Cosmas Vestitor and one by an anonymous homilist. Wenger, 140–201 on the texts by Cosmas, and 313–33 on the texts by John.

primary texts in Ottonian libraries attests an interest in enriching not only the spectrum of Marian image types but also the history behind them. While the August 15 feast of the Assumption of the Virgin provided an impetus for representing this scene in the service books, libraries also possessed the hagiographic texts for this critical element of Mary's *vita*.

The Prüm Troper's program of illuminations reflects the manner in which the liturgy motivated hagiographic innovations. The Dormition-Assumption image type was derived from Byzantine sources around the year 1000, but the theme of Mary's dormition had an even earlier presence in the West with liturgical activity. The feast of the Assumption had been celebrated in Rome since c. 650, and like the death days of other martyrs and saints, the feast marking Mary's death and assumption into heaven eventually became the primary feast associated with her.[69] Liturgical calendars document the presence of this theme in western church ceremony; in a Carolingian calendar from Corbie dating before 826, the feast of the Assumption of Mary was included, as were the feasts of the Purification and Nativity of Mary.[70] The sudden surge in production of this image type in Reichenau around 1000 has led to speculation about the meaning of this imagery in this specific context.

Ottonian approaches to rulership had a clear impact on the development of this type. Henry Mayr-Harting has discussed how the assumption of Mary and her rule in heaven functioned as an analogy for the apotheosis of earthly emperors and was used to bolster Ottonian rulers' ideology of rule.[71] As the producer of much of this imagery,

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[69] Hilda C.Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York, 1963), 143.

[70] Iogna-Prat, 81.

[71] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination,* vol. 1, 140.

Reichenau was an institution that had long had imperial associations. While this may well account for the situation at Reichenau, it does not provide a universal understanding of this imagery throughout the empire. When the Assumption/Dormition image is considered in light of its placement in a small manuscript likely produced at Prüm, it is effectively removed from the imperial narrative. We need to question instead how this image would have contributed to this particular manuscript and its institution.

With the emphasis on her death through this image, Mary would seem to have been honored in much the same manner as other saints who were celebrated on their death days. It is worth noting that when the primary Marian feast—August 15—was introduced to the Roman liturgy in the sixth century by the Syriac Pope Sergius I, it was to commemorate the death of the Virgin—the feast was changed to celebrate her Assumption a century later.[72] The initial feast followed the tradition of celebrating saints' feasts on their death days. The early treatment of Mary in the liturgy thus approximated that of other saints.

One element of the Prüm Assumption scene's iconography demonstrates a striking departure from Byzantine models. At the uppermost part of the composition, where Mary is raised up to heaven, the hand of God that is lowered from above can be seen to hold a crown, which it places on the Virgin's head.[73] This image completes a crucial element of the hagiographic *vita*—the narrative is not entirely linear, and may consist of discrete episodes that treat the human life of the saint. What is critical for the

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[72] Simon Claude Mimouni, *Dormition et Assomption de Marie: Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Théologie Historique 98 (Paris, 1995), 258.

[73] The earliest extant coronation of the Virgin image appears in a dormition scene in the Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold, London British Library MS. Add. 49598; Deshman, *Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 124–138.

story is that these elements convey the way in which the life of the saint paralleled that of Christ. The death or martyrdom of the saint parallels the sacrifice of Christ on the cross while the reward for the saint's suffering is a place in heaven. In the tenth-century *vitae* of Saints Kilian and Margaret, Saint Margaret appears in the preface to her life (Fig. 44).[74] She stands on one side of the Virgin in Majesty, ready to receive a martyr's crown extended by Mary as a reward for her earthly suffering. In the troper Assumption, the Virgin is the recipient rather than the conveyor of the martyr's crown. Pictorially, this image accomplishes one of the essential elements of the saint's *vita*, helping bring the cycle in the troper to a close.

The final image of Mary in the Prüm manuscript, on folio 62v, accompanies the trope for the Nativity of Mary and shows the Virgin as an orans, seated on a globe and surrounded by a starry firmament (Fig. 33).[75] In the west, the orant pose can be seen also in the later dedication images in the Svanhild Gospels (Fig. 42) and the Prayerbook of Arnulf of Milan.[76] The troper's *Virgo orans*, like the dormition illumination that precedes it, could also refer to Byzantine models, namely, the Virgin in Paradise from scenes of the Last Judgement.[77] The pose emphasized the Virgin's role as intercessor in

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[74] Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Ms. I 189, fol. 11v; Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, Orationes: Vollständige Faksimilie-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*; with commentary volume by Cynthia Hahn with Hans Immel (Graz, 1988).
[75] Fol. 62v.

[76] Manchester, John Rylands Library Ms. no. 110, fol. 17; Rainer Kahsnitz, "The Gospel Book of the Abbess Svanhild of Essen in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53 (1970): 13–80; London, British Library, Egerton 3763; D. H. Turner, "The Prayer Book of Archbishop Arnulph II of Milan," *Revue Benedictine* 70 (1960): 360–392; Odilo Heiming, O.S.B., "Ein Benediktinisch Ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts (BM Egerton 3763)," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8, no. 2 (1964): 325–435.

[77] Holger Klein, "The so-called Byzantine Diptych in the Winchester Psalter, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C. IV*," *Gesta* 37, no. 1 (1998): 26–43. For Klein's discussion of Byzantine precedents, see 31–33 and n. 64.

Paradise. In the Prüm manuscript, however, Mary lacks the attendant angels and throne seen in Byzantine examples and more closely resembles a Christ in Majesty like that seen in a contemporary gospel lectionary from Trier (Fig. 38).[78] Placed just before the Gospel of John, the Christ figure is shown seated on a spherical throne, silhouetted against a mandorla.[79]

The Gospel reading for the Feast of Mary's Nativity was Matthew 1:1–18, the genealogy of Christ, which concludes with the words "Jacob was the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary. Mary gave birth to Jesus, who is called the Messiah."[80] The iconography for western representations of this scene did not include images of Mary's infancy during this period. This image emphasizes her royal aspect. While the reading for this feast evokes contemporary discussions of Mary's royal Davidic lineage, the troper's accompanying image does not express royalty in similar manner to other Ottonian Majesties (discussed at greater length in Chapter Two). Mary lacks a crown and formal throne. Instead, the stars and globe suggest her reign in heaven following her earthly demise.

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[78] Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Ms. 701/81, fol. 127 (Trier, last quarter of the tenth century); von Euw, ed., *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu.* (Cologne, 1991), cat. no. 40. See Höhl, 306, for additional examples of the Virgin and Child enthroned on the spherical throne. This Christ in Majesty, like the Prüm Majesty, is shown with a double throne; his feet rest on a smaller sphere, representing the earth.

[79] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. 4˚2 a and b (Cologne, around 1000); Von Euw, ed., *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, cat. no. 4. The Gundold Gospels' Christ Majestas, enthroned on a globe provides yet another example of this type, although here Christ rests his feet on a footstool.

[80] Fassler, 39; According to Fassler this became the established Gospel reading for the Nativity of Mary in the north in the ninth century. Earlier, in Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople, the Gospel reading for this feast was Luke's account of the Visitation. The Gospel reading reflects the evolving theme of Mary's royalty in the west: with the genealogy of Christ exegetes blended the idea of Christ's royal descent with that the of Mary's Davidic lineage.

The Virgin's costume is curious. Unlike other images of the enthroned "Virgin Majesty" during the Ottonian period, she is shown here with neither the crown nor the Christ Child, but as a holy woman wearing a white cloak that also acts as a veil.[81] Rainer Kahsnitz has noted that this costume calls to mind the pluvial worn by ecclesiastics and pointed out that copes of this kind were worn by canonesses during the Divine Office recited in the choir.[82] The Virgin can be seen wearing a similar white veil over purple robes in the enamel dedication plaque on the Mathilda Cross, a golden cross dating to the second half of the eleventh century (Fig. 48).[83] The abbess Mathilda, who kneels at her feet, is dressed entirely in the white robes of a canoness. While the Prüm image does not illustrate a moment in the life of the historical mother of Christ, the *aspect* of the Virgin expressed in this image is of the human woman and a monastic. By representing her in the guise of a holy woman, the image serves, in a small way, to further remove Mary from a chrisotological narrative and enhance her status as an individualized holy figure. As the final Marian image in the temporale, this image provides the culminating moment of apotheosis that is a standard element in hagiographic narratives.[84]

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[81] A similarly garbed figure appears on fol. 83. Forming the initial Q a figure holding a palm in one hand and a cloth with her left also wears the white cope. She is a personification of the melody title for the hymn, "Quid tu ploras virgo mater Formosa."

[82] Kahsnitz, "The Gospel Book of Abbess Svanhild of Essen," 379; Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breigau, 1907). Kahsnitz's interpretation of this costume is that Mary is meant to function as the embodiment of the abbey at Prüm, but analogies with the Essen Mathilda Cross suggest that the costume correspondence made a more direct connection between the Virigin and Ottonian monastics.

[83] Jutta Frings and Jan Gerchow, *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus Mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Ruhrlandmuseum:Die frühen Kloster und Stifte, 500–1200. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: die Zeit der Orden 1200–1500; eine Ausstellung der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, in Kooperation mit dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen ermöglicht durch die Kunststiftung NRW* (Munich, 2005), cat. no. 153.

[84] Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 59–60.

Conclusions

It is very likely the comparative increase in the number of illuminated service books that provided the Ottonian illuminators with the opportunity to expand upon pictorial cycles of Christ's life and, additionally, to give pictorial form to the Virgin, who had already received increased attention in Carolingian liturgy. The illustrated service books for the mass allowed Ottonian artists to give expression to the established liturgical interest in the Virgin. Following the increased "visibility" of the Virgin in Church ceremony, artists and patrons began to give form to the nearly invisible Mary of the Gospels.

The Dormition image type more than any other demonstrates the kind of visual hagiography that began to coalesce during this period. Images began to reflect the liturgical interest in Mary, and even more strikingly, images began to overtake their accompanying texts as scenes from apocryphal works started to appear in Gospel books. While such images could be seen as logical inclusions in sacramentaries or tropers, the use of these images in three of the extant luxury Gospel books of the period demonstrate how the Dormition image began to function independently from textual or liturgical sources. The prevalence of this image type in Ottonian manuscripts reflects the changing role of the Virgin. Of the many feasts that could have been chosen to emphasize her sanctity—most notably the Annunciation—the emphasis on Mary's death denotes a shift away from her first and primary role as the Mother of God and demonstrates a more general treatment in art of the Virgin as saint. With this evolution came the need for the development of a visual *vita* for Mary. The choice to include the Virgin in such other narrative scenes as the Pentecost and the Women at the Tomb, and increasingly in the

Cana images, reflects a larger trend in Ottonian art where the blossoming of Marian veneration in the West was accompanied by the beginnings of a codification, in images, of the Virgin's story.

The Virgin was a co-patron of the church at Prüm as well as the focus of an important relic cult there and the troper itself was dedicated to the Virgin.[85] The Rylands library has a gospel lectionary from Prüm, made about thirty years later.[86] Its illuminations clearly borrowed from the troper, stylistically and iconographically. It, too, was dedicated to the Virgin by its patron, the Abbott Ruotpertus. In the lectionary's Pentecost scene, the number of apostles is the same but the figures are now shown with flames over their heads. Significantly, the artist included the Virgin in this composition. The visual analogies between these two scenes and the deliberate decision to include the Virgin in the later book indicate how Mary's image was used to express aspects of the local Marian cult at Prüm.

In addition to expanding Mary's *vita*, manuscript images also gave the Virgin a tangible presence during the liturgy. While the increased number of Marian images and innovative types amplified the Virgin's presence within the manuscript, however, they did so in a format that was not easily accessible. These illuminations, unlike the earliest manifestations of northern Marian imagery on altar frontals, would have been seen only by an audience of a few—the priests and deacons who officiated and the members of the elite who were allowed proximity to the altar. When considered in this light, these

[85] Höhl, 194. Claudia Höhl briefly suggests that this emphasis on the Virgin at Prüm may have led the artists to break with visual tradition and place the Virgin in the Pentecost scene.

[86] Manchester, John Rylands Library Ms. 7, fol. 90; Rosy Schilling, "Das Ruotpertus-Evangelistar aus Prüm, in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, ed. Karl Hermann Usener and Frieda Dettweiler (Marburg, 1967).

images had a function similar to that of relics. The inclusion of the images added sanctity to the book and invoked the presence of Mary, but in a contained and often closed context. Gude Suckale Redlefsen compared the jeweled treasure bindings found on many of the service books of this period to reliquaries.[87] We might expand this analogy to consider the entire book as a container, holding images both related to the liturgy and to Mary's general sanctity. Earlier eighth- and ninth-century innovations in the liturgy first made Mary present in the churches of the north and were echoed in monumental wall painting and sculpture. The same period also witnessed an increase in subsidiary altars dedicated to the Virgin. With Ottonian manuscript programs, the Virgin became immediately and ritually activated in such a space when the book was opened to reveal her image. In this medium, Ottonian images of Mary also interiorized her presence, in contrast to Carolingian wall paintings and ivories that provided a constant and visible backdrop for the performance of the liturgy. Later, in the twelfth century, non-specific saints' relics were often placed within sculptures of the Virgin Majesty, infusing them with sanctity and authority.[88] The earliest Marian narrative imagery in northern manuscripts may have functioned in a similar manner, imbuing the object and the ceremony with a ritual presence that was ultimately as significant as the narrative function of the individual images within.

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[87] Gude Suckale Redlefsen, review of *Ottonian Book Illumination: A Historical Study* by Henry Mayr Harting, *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 3 (Sept. 1993): 524–527, 524.

[88] Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

Chapter 2

Intercession and Authority: Images of Mary in Dedication Pages

In addition to the elaboration of Mary's role in sacred history, one of the significant innovations of Ottonian art was the prominent place given to her in the physical book: it is during this period the Virgin Majesty first began to appear in the dedication pages of manuscripts. Her appearance is similar to that in scenes of the Adoration of the Magi, where a seated Mary turns to receive gifts on behalf of her son; the Virgin Majesties in Ottonian dedication pages, however, have been excerpted from biblical narrative. Where she had once turned to accept the gifts of the magi, the Virgin now acknowledges the acts of contemporary, living donors. These images were furthermore placed in the symbolic locus of the manuscript that not only expressed the act of donation, but also, through the choice of imagery and material, served to define the donor's status within the community. Even as the dedication page displayed Mary outside the context of a specific biblical narrative, it served to create a new one. When depicting both the patron and the symbolic recipient of the gift, it shaped a moment of personal interaction in which the two figures share the same space and time.

The images of the Virgin Majesty were characterized by iconographic idiosyncrasy. Mary was at times shown seated on a cathedra-like chair with the Christ child on her lap, much as she appeared in Magi scenes. This type can be seen in the frontispiece of an Einsiedeln manuscript from the second half of the tenth century, in which the Virgin and Christ extend their hands to receive the book.[1] In other instances

[1] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibkothek, Ms. 151, fol. 1v; Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetia: Denkmäler schwiezerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, vol. 5 (Geneva, 1938–78), 176; Ernest T. DeWald, "The Art of the Scriptorium at Einsiedeln," *The Art Bulletin* 7, no. 3 (March, 1925): 79–90.

the Virgin Majesty was clearly modeled on a figure of Christ, as in the Prüm Troper's image of Mary seated alone on a heavenly globe.[2] These images do not cohere iconographically—what distinguishes them is their placement in dedication pages, the space in manuscripts that had traditionally been reserved for images of Christ or the ruler.[3]

The Virgin Majesty in Dedication Images

The initial choice of the Virgin as recipient in these dedication contexts was shaped, in many cases, by the intended placement of the manuscripts in Marian institutions. Before dismissing this use of the Virgin Majesty in dedication images as a natural decision for an institution dedicated to Mary, it is useful to remember that such an image was completely new to this region and was not found in dedication pages elsewhere in the north. The Carolingian emphasis on the divine nature of Christ and Old Testament themes contributed to the relative lack of attention given to Mary in the visual arts in this region prior to the Ottonian period. The highly developed cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England, to be discussed at greater length in this study, gave rise to innovative images of the Virgin. Although this neighboring northern-european culture also subscribed to the importance of Mary in the Church, the Virgin did not achieve

[2] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 62v.

[3] See for example the Gospel Book from Saint Gall, c. 900, with a scribe kneeling below an image of the enthroned Christ: Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek Hs. 17, fol. 12; Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei, 800–1100, Die Entwicklung des menschlichen Bildnisses*, ed. Walter Goetz, vol. 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), 19–20; and the ninth-century Egmond Gospels, in which the donors kneel, and recline, before a saint, who blesses them while gesturing to the figure of Christ in a mandorla above: The Hague, Royal Library cod. 76 F I, fol. 215 (Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-De Rooy, "The Miniatures of the Egmond Gospels," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 5, no. 3/4, 167, fig. 28.)

visual autonomy in the dedication pages of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The Virgin Majesty figure and its use in the dedication page was an innovation stemming from a convergence of influences and motivations specific to the Ottonian Empire.

In dedication pages, the Virgin Majesty functioned as more than merely an embodiment of the institutions for which the manuscripts were commissioned. With increasing frequency during this period, the image of the Virgin signified authority. Ecclesiastic rulers demonstrated their access to God through the intercessory figure of the Virgin, and in so doing underscored the importance of their own intercessory role. Imperial patrons established parallels between her place in heaven and their rule on earth.[4]

In Ottonian society, one's stated relationship with God, as articulated in the dedication page, served to define the position of the ruler pictured (imperial or ecclesiastical) within his or her community. In the face of a predominantly political interpretation of dedication images, Hagen Keller argued against understanding ruler images in liturgical manuscripts as attempts to legitimize the ruler's position in the eyes of a large public audience. He maintained that such images expressed a relationship among the ruler, the liturgy, and God.[5] The restricted audience for these images in no way limited their broad symbolic function, however. The simple act of dedication was,

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[4] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, vol. 1 (London, 1991), 139–156.

[5] Hagen Keller, "Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation: Zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmäler," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien: Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 19, ed. Karl Hauck (Berlin, 1985), 290–311; Joachim Wollasch, "Kaiser und Könige als Brüder der Mönche: Zum Herrscherbild in liturgischen Handschriften, 9–11 Jh.," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984): 1–20.

in itself, a status-defining act.[6] The medieval donor had to possess a certain degree of wealth or power to be in the position to make a gift. If the donor figure pictured was the scribe or illuminator, the image could reflect the standing of the institution, as well as the technical skills of the craftsman responsible for the book's execution. Even as it established the donor's relationship with God, the dedication page was a format that allowed multiple meanings to be expressed simultaneously.

While there was no tradition of the Virgin Majesty in Carolingian manuscript illumination, records of gold and silver relief sculptures attest to the presence of this type in the north at this time. Many of the earliest examples of the Virgin Majesty in the west were intended to appear on or as a part of the altar. Examples include a silver retable of the Virgin at Luxeuil, a gold altar with a Virgin in Majesty at Reims, and a gold altar frontal at Metz.[7] It is significant that in its earliest incarnation this image type was deemed appropriate when displayed on the altar, where the image was mediated by the liturgy. Gary Vikan and Adam Cohen have both associated the medieval devotee's act of donation to the Virgin with the presentation of the gifts by the three Magi.[8] The member of the clergy who physically approached the altar and the figure of the Virgin Majesty during the offertory of the mass placed himself in the role of the Magi and reenacted

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[6] Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen, 2003). For a discussion of gift exchange in late medieval France, see Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 598–625, esp. 616.

[7] Ilene Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, (Princeton, 1972), 66.

[8] Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy, and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany* (University Park, 2000), 44–46; Gary Vikan, "Pilgrimage in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, Illinois Byzantine Studies 1 (Urbana and Chicago, 1990), 97–107.

sacred history. In manuscripts, dedication pages simultaneously capture the act of donation recorded in the Gospels and ceremonially reenacted in the liturgy, even while they commemorate the literal gift of the book.

In the context of dedication pages, the Virgin Majesty was a flexible image capable of expressing the authority of varied patron groups—imperial and monastic, male and female. When examining the use of these images in the Ottonian Empire, it is apparent that in a short period of time the figure of Mary achieved a visual autonomy and currency not previously seen in this region. When attempting to identify the meaning that the Virgin Majesty as dedicatee held for different audiences, one cannot make a hard distinction between imperial and monastic. This empire can be characterized by a blurring of the lines between such categories—the Ottonian monasteries were often imperial institutions staffed with members of the ruling family, and books commissioned by and dedicated to the rulers were made in monastic scriptoria.

One of the earliest Ottonian dedication images to employ a Virgin Majesty appears in a manuscript relating the life and deeds of the Reichenau Abbot Witigowo, who ruled from 985 to 997 (Fig. 39).[9] This visually complex image, in which Mary appears with the community of Reichenau, has received little attention in the literature, likely because scholarship has privileged higher-end ecclesiastical or imperial images. This illumination bears little resemblance to the luxurious commissions usually associated with Reichenau.[10] In an effort to justify this discrepancy, Joachim Prochno

[9] Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 205, fol. 72; Alfred Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, vol. 1, *Die Pergamenthandschriften* (Leipzig 1906, reprinted Wiesbaden 1970), 466–469; C. R. Dodwell and D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered: A Re-Assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London, 1965); Prochno, 27.

[10] Ibid. In his study of Ottonian dedication images, Prochno remarks on the creation of "such a primitively worked manuscript" in roughly the same time period as the Aachen Gospels of Otto III, and two decades after the Egbert Codex. Dodwell dismissed the work's quality as "simply parochial" (Dodwell and Turner, 5).

speculated that the image was created by the author, who, though a monk at Reichenau, was not himself an illuminator employed in the scriptorium. We can more definitively state that the quality and execution of this manuscript support the textual and iconographic evidence indicating the book was created for the use of Reichenau rather than for export. As such, this image provides insight to the intellectual culture of the monastery through a commission created specifically for the monks at Reichenau. It allows us to see how a Reichenau patron used an image of the Virgin Majesty to articulate his act of donation and his place in the larger monastic community.

The page introducing the abbot Witigowo's encomium in the *Gesta Witigowonis*, a manuscript of about 994,[11] shows Witigowo standing to the Virgin's right, while Purchard, the author of the work, kneels before her. Inscriptions threaded through the work identify the major figures. In this image, the Virgin appears seated with the Christ child on her lap and gestures toward Saint Pirmin, the eighth-century founder of the monastic community of Reichenau.

In this image, the Virgin closely resembles a figure from scenes of the Adoration of the Magi, as in the Pericopes of Henry II, made in Reichenau some two decades later (Fig. 40).[12] She is shown seated on a cathedra. Whereas the Virgin in Adoration scenes was generally shown beneath a canopy, making reference to Mary as symbolic temple, in Purchard's image she is seated under an arch over which can be seen representations of buildings meant to evoke the monastic community of Reichenau as a whole. The Virgin is oriented toward the right, rather than the left as is usual in Adoration scenes. Here, she

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[11] Prochno, 27.

[12] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, fol. 18, 1002–1014, perhaps 1007–1012; Georg Leidinger, *Das Perikopenbuch Kaiser Heinrichs II (Cod. lat. 4452)*, Miniaturen aus handschriften der Kgl. hof- und staatsbibliothek in München 5 (Munich, 1914); Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol.1, pl.109.

turns to greet St. Pirmin, while the Christ child on her lap blesses Witigowo, who stands on her other side.

The central placement of the Virgin in this composition can be explained by the importance of Mary for Reichenau, where the oldest church was dedicated to the Virgin. Begun in the mid-ninth century by Abbot Heito, the church was expanded under the rule of Witigowo in an ambitious building campaign. Another reference to this church appears in the foreground of the dedication page, where the author Purchard kneels and extends his arms to *Augia*, the personification of Reichenau. The structure that *Augia* holds on her shoulders is most likely meant to represent the church of St. Mary.[13]

Although a dedication image of sorts, in that the illumination establishes the author of the book and his regard for the monastery of Reichenau and its holy figures, the image does not expressly communicate an act of donation. The Virgin sits in the center of the composition, but Purchard, who does not hold his book, extends his arms to the smaller scale personification of Reichenau, rather than Mary. Mary makes a gesture of speech or acceptance as she turns to the haloed figure of St. Pirmin. Pirmin makes a similar gesture, indicating that he is engaged in dialogue with her. The community of Reichenau is evoked by the diminutive figures in monks' robes who stand to Pirmin's

[13] Dodwell and Turner, 2–3. The addition to this church was one of Witigowo's many contributions to the monastery. The large community on Reichenau had several churches; Saint Georg at Oberzell is believed to have received its large program of wall paintings under Witigowo. Purchard also lists the relics and reliquaries collected by the abbot. Dodwell uses this manuscript—one of the few that can be proven to have been in the possession of Reichenau at the time the monastery was supposedly producing luxury manuscripts—as a keystone in his argument against Reichenau's generally accepted role as the leading producer of illuminated manuscripts in the empire. He bases his argument both on the low quality of the miniature and the fact that in Purchart's poem, the monk does not include manuscript illumination in the lists of Witigowo's accomplishments as leader of the community at Reichenau. A large-scale architectural commission may have been privileged, however, in the eyes of Purchard and his contemporaries, as a loftier and longer lasting contribution to the community than the wall paintings and possible manuscript illumination commissioned under Witigowo.

side, looking upward at the Virgin. On Mary's other side, the living abbot of the monastery, Witigowo, raises a hand in acclamation and is in turn blessed by Christ. The act of dedication is thus expressed through the author Purchard's gesture to *Augia*, while Mary's role as intercessor in heaven is communicated through her communication with Saint Pirmin in the afterlife.

As spiritual leader of his community, Abbot Witigowo receives the blessing of Christ. The connection between the two figures may have been intended as an acknowledgement of Christ's former ministry on earth and Witigowo's standing as spiritual leader of his monastery. Witigowo's position in the scene is crucial for an understanding of this manuscript. He is a member of the community—albeit an honored figure placed in close proximity to the Virgin—rather than a donor figure. In imperial monasteries some individuals could keep their own material goods and so could presumably commission or purchase the necessary materials for such a work as this manuscript. The hypothesis that this manuscript was executed by Purchard may have merit when we consider that if the book was an institutional commission, Witigowo would have been depicted in the donor position.

Witigowo's placement on the page is curious—not only is he removed from the site of donation but he is also removed from the sphere of the other living monks. When we look at the organization of the figures, we can see that the figures of *Augia*, Purchard, and the assembled monks stand on an area of bare parchment, outside of the framed area that contains the two Reichenau abbots, present and past, with the Virgin and Christ. Witigowo and Pirmin stand on and against the red ground that also surrounds Mary. The Virgin's throne bridges the two spaces—the chair projects forward into the blank area of parchment where the community of Reichenau is represented but Mary's figure is highlighted by the red ground. Witigowo's position may allude to the future place in

heaven secured for him by his exemplary life. Despite the fact that the Virgin Majesty does not serve as the book's dedicatee, this image thus demonstrates her function as intercessor in heaven and as mediator between the heavenly and earthly realms.

An eleventh-century Einsiedeln manuscript contains a dedication image whose Virgin Majesty bears a striking resemblance to that in the Reichenau work. This image expresses the act of donation in a more straightforward manner, however. Like the image in Witigowo's *vita*, the dedication image in Gregory's *Moralia on Job* was also created for a non-liturgical manuscript in an institution possessing a church dedicated to the Virgin (Fig. 41).[14] In this manuscript the Virgin more closely resembles the type in Adoration scenes, with both Christ and the Virgin oriented in the same direction to receive gifts. Anne Korteweg has shown that this figure was adapted from a Reichenau Adoration scene.[15] Seated under a canopy with the Christ child on her lap, Mary extends a hand to a cleric who offers her his book. A tonsured monk standing behind the donor figure raises his hands in acclamation. The cleric who extends the book to the Virgin may also be St. Gregory, the former pope and author of the sixth-century commentary on the Old Testament Book of Job,[16] although his lack of halo argues against this interpretation. The figures could alternately be interpreted as scribe and illuminator, or abbot and monk.[17]

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[14] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 151, fol. 1v; Bruckner, 176; DeWald, 79–90.

[15] Anne Korteweg, "De Bernulphuscodex in het Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent te Utrecht en verwante handschriften" (Ph.D. diss., Amsterdam, 1979), 108–109.

[16] Gabriel Meier, ed. *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis O. S. B. servantur* (Einsiedeln, 1899), 126.

[17] Prochno, cat. no. 24

The image is a simple line drawing in ink, without color. Like the Reichenau illumination, the Einsiedeln work was placed in a non-liturgical text meant to be read and viewed by monks. This work, however, is a presentation image as well as an expression of dedication. The book's patrons inserted themselves into the format of an adoration scene, and in adopting the role of the Magi created an image that underscores the Virgin's intercessory role.[18] Just as the Virgin in Adoration scenes lifts a hand to acknowledge gifts presented to Christ, here she accepts the gift of the book on his behalf. The images in both the encomium to Witigowo and the *Moralia on Job* demonstrate not only the new role of the Virgin as recipient figure in the dedication pages of books, but also the appeal she had for a specifically monastic group.

In both of these examples, Mary's role as mother is emphasized through the inclusion of the Christ child. In an examination of Mary's introduction to the symbolic space of the dedication page, it is worth questioning the multiple associations that motherhood may have conveyed in the Ottonian Empire. Caroline Walker Bynum, in a study of Marian imagery in the twelfth-century, has explored the connections between motherhood and authority for Cistercian abbots. In a discussion of the historical motherhood of the Virgin and the allegorical motherhood of Christ, Bynum suggests that male monastics' increased identification with the feminine voice arose from the needs of twelfth-century Cistercian abbots. Wielding a great deal of administrative power, they used the symbolic imagery of motherhood to assume a mantle of piety and humility before God. This argument provides a useful model in its examination of the links between motherhood and the practical aspects of monastic rule. In Ottonian manuscripts, some of the earliest examples of the Virgin Majesty dedication page appear in

[18] For a discussion of this image as mimesis, see Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 44–45.

commissions for male monastics. The maternal aspect of the Virgin was visible in the iconography of these images, which paired Mary with the Christ child. Unlike the Cistercian abbots discussed by Bynum, however, the Ottonian ecclesiastics who used this imagery were creating images not only of piety but also of authority.

In Ottonian culture, where Christomimesis was practiced by the Emperor in text, art, and ceremony,[19] images of Christ in Majesty had reciprocal associations with those of the Emperor. The Virgin provided a symbol of divine power that was distinct from such associations. Furthermore, for monastic artists, the Virgin provided a model with connotations of heavenly authority and exemplary qualities, virginity among them, which would have made her an ideal image for the ecclesiastical ruler.[20] Much of the rhetoric surrounding Mary's reign in heaven concerned her role as intercessor on behalf of humanity.[21] In the dedication pages of manuscripts, Mary not only represents the act of intercession but also emphasizes the need for the intercessor. In this sense, the Virgin served as a powerful symbol for ecclesiastic leaders, the earthly intercessors who mediated between every level of Ottonian society and God.

Intercession appears to have been the key element expressed in dedication imagery; Mary is the intermediary through whom donors present their books to Christ and a powerful figure who will relay their prayers. This is seen most clearly in the

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[19] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957); Robert Deshman, "Christus Rex et Magi Reges: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 367–405.

[20] Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 47–48. Cohen discusses the appropriateness of Mary as a symbol for the abbess and community of nuns at Niedermünster. The Uta Codex's dedication image is woven throughout with titles such as *domina* and *virgo virginum*, which would have held particular significance for the community of nuns and the Uta, the *domina abbastissa*, at Niedermünster.

[21] See Dominique Iogna-Prat's discussion of Heilisacher's sermon, *Legimus*. Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Le culte de la Vierge sous le règne de Charles le Chauve," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge dans la société médiévale*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (Paris, 1996).

dedication image for the Gospels of Svanhild of Essen, dating to around 1075 (Fig. 42).[22] Here the Virgin appears as a standing orans, flanked by the kneeling Abbess Svanhild and the *praeposita*, Brigida. Mary stands on a rose-colored hillock and is framed by a church structure. The diminutive donor figures do not hold books but lift their hands to the Virgin, symbolically commending themselves and their institution to her. The Virgin's connection to the heavenly realm is underscored by the blue rectangle behind her; the donor figures below have access to her feet and the earth on which she stands but are separated from the main part of Mary's body by this framing device. Mary wears red shoes, an attribute often seen in Byzantine representations of the imperial family and the Mother of God. In this book, Mary's connection to Christ is underscored with subtle details; in the following image on folio 17v, Christ appears seated on a rainbow within a mandorla. Like the Virgin, he too wears pointed red shoes dotted with gold, a reminder of their shared royal status.

The Prüm Troper's image for the Nativity of the Virgin makes this clear by expressing Mary's reign in heaven and role as intercessor (Fig. 33). Although the Prüm image appears not in a dedication scene but as the final image in a hagiographic narrative, she is nonetheless a majesty figure. The figure blends two types of intercessor/ruler figures; her rule is communicated by visual analogies with Christ in the Ascension scene, both set against a starry background, and with Christ in Majesty types in other manuscripts. Her rule in heaven is further justified by her role as intercessor with Christ, demonstrated here through her posture as an orant.

[22] Manchester, John Rylands Library Ms. no. 110; Rainer Kahsnitz, "The Gospel Book of the Abbess Svanhild of Essen in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53 (1970/1): 122–166.

While the Virgin's role as intercessor justified her reign in heaven, images of the orant/intercessor Virgin tended to portray Mary wearing the veil; the Svanhild and Prüm Virgin orans figures both lack the regalia of heavenly ruler. The Prüm Troper does, however, contain an image of the Virgin with a crown—in the narrative scene of the dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 32). In this image, the second of the two small figures representing the Virgin's soul is extended upward to heaven, where a hand reaches down to place a crown on her head. This image type is a western embellishment of the Byzantine model, in which the Virgin's soul is transported to heaven but is not crowned. The initial appearance of the crowned Virgin in a narrative image, rather than the iconic imagery of the dedication page, underscores its association with heavenly rule. In the fictive space of the dedication page, the Virgin occupies the same space and time as the donor. The Prüm Troper's narrative context for the act of investiture—occurring after Mary's death—makes it clear that the Virgin's reign is heavenly, not earthly.

The Prüm Troper's dormition scene dates to the late tenth-century, but an even earlier example of a dormition/investiture scene can be found in Anglo-Saxon England. The Benedictional of Aethelwold,[23] a manuscript from Winchester, features the Virgin prominently throughout the book, in a number of innovative images that include a scene of the death and coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 35). Like the later Prüm image, she is presented lying on her deathbed. Also similar to the Prüm image, the hand of God extends a crown to the Virgin. The apostles gather in the register below the Virgin, while the several handmaids who attend to the Virgin allow a relatively unimpeded space between the hand extending the crown and the figure of the Virgin. The Prüm Troper's inclusion of the crown in this scene deviates from both Byzantine artistic models and

[23] London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, c. 963–84; Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 9 (Princeton, 1995).

Anglo-Saxon interpretations and is unique among Ottonian representations of the scene.[24]

Anglo-Saxon Images of the Virgin: A Comparison

The innovative nature of the Ottonian majesty images is made clear when they are compared to further examples of Marian imagery from Anglo-Saxon England, where the majesty figure did not appear as a recipient in manuscripts at this time. In addition to having a dedicated Marian cult, England appears to have been the earliest site for a widespread transmission of eastern Marian doctrine into the west.[25] The four principal feasts of the Virgin—the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, and the Nativity of Mary—had been introduced to England as early as the seventh and eighth centuries and were firmly in place there by the end of the tenth century.[26] Anglo-Saxon art included examples of Marian images almost as varied as those in Ottonian art. These images range from stone relief sculpture with scenes from the apocryphal account of the death of the Virgin to such manuscripts as the New Minster Charter.[27] This latter is a

[24] For of a discussion of Reichenau dormition iconography and Byzantine models see Rainer Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio: Byzantinisches und Antikes in den Minaiaturen der Liuthargruppe," in *Florilegium in Honorum Carl Nordenfalk Octogenarii Contextum*, Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, n.s. 9 (Stockholm, 1987), 91–122.

[25] Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge, 1990), 30–40.

[26] Ibid. *The Old English Martyrology* is a late ninth-century text documenting the celebration of the feasts of the Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity of Mary in England. A ninth-century liturgical calendar in Oxford documents all four feasts, and all four are also mentioned in the *Old English Menologium*, of c. 965–1000.

[27] Wirksworth slab (between 650 and 850); Clayton, pl. III; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, fol. 2v; Simon Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII* (Copenhagen, 1996).

unique composition in which the Virgin and Saint Peter flank King Edgar as he offers his charter to Christ (Fig. 43).[28]

In Anglo-Saxon illumination the Virgin, while featured prominently, appears as an actor in a larger ensemble. In the New Minster Charter, Mary and Peter function as intercessory figures together below Christ. Robert Deshman described this grouping as an "insular *deesis*," a western adaptation of the Byzantine *deesis*, where the Virgin and John the Baptist flank Christ, and he suggested that a similar image served as a dedication page for the Benedictional of Aethelworld.[29] Deshman hypothesized that the now-missing front section of the manuscript contained an image similar to the New Minster Charter's insular *deesis*.[30]

These examples are meant to emphasize that the inclusion of images of the Virgin Majesty as the solitary recipient in Ottonian dedication pages should not be dismissed as an automatic choice based on her status as patron. The Virgin's prominence in Ottonian manuscripts was the result of a deliberate decision made by Ottonian abbots and abbesses. In Ottonian dedication imagery, the Virgin, while still understood to be an intercessory figure, was given a visual autonomy not seen in Anglo-Saxon examples.

The Anglo-Saxon adaptation of the *deesis* motif raises, once again, the question of artistic appropriation and the influence of the Byzantine cult of the Virgin on Western images. The *deesis*, with images of the Virgin and John the Baptist on either side of Christ, was a common theme in Middle Byzantine art. A comparison of Ottonian majesties with nearly-contemporary Anglo-Saxon images of the Virgin demonstrates the

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[28] London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, fol. 2v.

[29] Deshman, *Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 112–3; Clayton, 160 (quoting Deshman letter dated February 1988).

[30] Ibid.

degree to which Ottonian artists deviated from eastern models in crafting an innovative and authoritative Marian imagery for the dedication pages of their manuscripts. The New Minster Charter's image of the Virgin and Peter standing below Christ, while a western composition, bears a closer resemblance to an established Byzantine image type than does, for example, the crowned, Christ-like Mary in the Ottonian *vitae* of Kilian and Margaret (Fig. 44).[31] The introduction of the solitary Virgin Majesty to the dedication pages of manuscripts did not occur in earlier Carolingian art, or contemporary Anglo-Saxon examples. It is in Ottonian Germany that this figure becomes a specific symbol for ecclesiastic rulers.

One of the most striking additions to the Ottonian Virgin Majesties is the addition of the crown to her regalia in dedication images. The frontally enthroned and crowned *Maria Regina* appeared in Rome as early as the sixth century and became a papal symbol in the eighth and ninth centuries, but the representation of Mary as queen was not adopted by Carolingian patrons north of the Alps. Only in Ottonian manuscripts, and in one notable example in sculpture, did the crown become an attribute of the Virgin Majesty. A thorough examination of the meaning this attribute held for Ottonian patrons must ultimately incorporate the crowned *Maria Regina* of Rome, which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Three. Here, the discussion will focus more closely on Ottonian images and their incorporation of elements that not only communicated Mary's rulership in heaven but that also resonated with this particular empire's concept of rule.

[31] Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Ms. I 189, fol. 11v; Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, Orationes:[Vollständige Faksimilie-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover* (Graz 1988).

Crowns and Crowning: The Golden Virgin of Essen

The so-called Golden Madonna of Essen is a sculpture probably created around 980 for the imperial convent at Essen (Fig. 45).[32] Initially created with one element of imperial regalia, the orb, a crown came to be added to its iconography at an early date, demonstrating the power of this symbol and its applicability to Mary in the Ottonian Empire. It is generally believed that the sculpture was made for Essen during the tenure of Abbess Mathilda (973–1011), based on stylistic similarities to the Mathilda and Otto cross, a golden crucifix that can be firmly dated by its dedicatory enamel to the years 973–982.[33] The Golden Virgin is quite different from the *sedes sapientiae* type first documented as appearing in Clermont-Ferrand in 946 and known at Hildesheim around 1000 (Figs. 46, 47).[34] These works follow the Throne of Wisdom model of frontal composition, with the Virgin seated stiffly holding the Christ child on her lap, both facing

[32] Essen Domschatz, c. 980; Frank Fehrenbach, *Die Goldene Madonna Im Essener Münster: Der Körper der Königin* (Essen, 1996); Leonhard Küppers, "Die goldene Madonna in Essen," in *Die Gottesmutter: Marienbild in Rheinland und in Westfalen*, ed. L. Küppers, vol. 1, 43–50; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira—Globus—Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II. Ein Beitrag zum "Nachleben" der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1958).

[33] Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800–1200* (Baltimore, 1972), 99, ill. 93. Mathilda became abbess in 973 and her cousin, the Duke Otto, died in 982.

[34] Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale 145, fol. 130v; Ilene Forsyth, "Magi and Majesty: A Study of Romanesque Sculpture and Liturgical Drama," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 3 (Sept., 1968): 218. The French sculpture is first documented in a marginal drawing in the late tenth-/early eleventh-century Gregory of Tours manuscript describing a cult statue created under the patronage of Bishop Stephen II of Clermont Ferrand (937–84). Although the marginal drawing shows this work from a 3/4 view, the figures themselves appear to be aligned in a pose that more closely resembles the frontal orientation of the sedes sapientiae type than that of the Essen Virgin. Forsyth has suggested that this drawing was likely a loose interpretation of the scupture's actual appearance, as the textual description in the manuscript deviates from the drawing somewhat, particularly in its conflation of front and side views. On the Hildesheim and Paderborn Virgins, see Ilene Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom*.

directly ahead. In comparison, the Essen Virgin twists to one side, holding Christ with one arm and extending an orb outward with the other.

The orb that the Essen Virgin holds is the *Reichsapfel*, a symbol that constituted a part of the regalia of Ottonian kings and served as a reference to divine kingship.[35] The orb appears in contemporary images of Christ and the emperor; it can be seen in the portraits of Otto III in both the Gospels of Otto III in Munich and in the Aachen Otto Gospels (Figs. 1–2).[36] In the case of the Essen Virgin, created during the tenure of Abbess Mathilda, a cousin of Otto III, the Virgin's action should also be considered in the context of Ottonian women's political status. The role of the mother in Ottonian society as a transmitter of authority and property is crucial to understanding images of the Virgin's motherhood. This was a rare period in history when queens were crowned not only as consorts but as co-regents.[37] After the death of her husband, Otto II, in 983 Empress Theophanu ruled as regent for the young Otto III until she died in 991, at which

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[35] Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom*, 118. The relatively naturalistic rendering of the Virgin's pose—fluid and human, rather than hieratic and throne-like—appears to anticipate examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which the Virgin supports the Child on her hip and extends an apple to him. This unusual attribute, when discussed as an apple, has been interpreted as a reference to Mary's role as the second Eve. In fact, the apple does not enter into the iconography of the Virgin until later centuries. Forsyth points out that this interpretation of the orb as an apple is prompted by the human gesture of the child's gilded silver hand, added in the sixteenth century. The original gesture would most likely have been one of benedicition. Küppers, 50; Lasko, 104; Fehrenbach, 36–39. Küppers and Lasko call the orb that she holds an apple. Forsyth (118) identified the sphere as the divine orb of kingship while Fehrenbach supports the divine kingship interpretation.

[36] Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453, fol. 24; Fridolin Dressler, ed., *Das Evangeliar Ottos III Clm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Faksimilie—Ausgabe. Begleitband, Transkription,Übersetzung der Evangelien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978); Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 157–178; Aachen Minster, fol. 16, c.996; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, ed. Florentine Mütherich (Munich, 1983), 204–205, cat. no. 107.

[37] Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens: sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale, sainteté féminine autour de l'an mil* (Sigmaringen, 1986), 258.

point Adelheid, the mother of Otto II, stepped in to serve as regent. Ottonian women held financial, as well as political power; inheritance rights in Ottonian society could be transmitted through the female line as well as the male.[38] Just as the Mother of God achieved her status as Queen of Heaven through her relationship to Christ, the women of the Ottonian house derived their administrative power through their relationships to the Ottonian emperors and could convey financial power to their offspring.[39]

Whether ruling as regent or abbess, Ottonian women wielded an unprecedented degree of authority in the Empire. Between the years 919 and 1024 approximately thirty-six religious communities for noblewomen were established in Ottonian Germany.[40] This boom in women's monastic communities—which was not seen in France—has been attributed to the unique position held by women in the Germanic family structure.[41] Unlike the Carolingians, the Capetians, and the Salians, in the Ottonian Liudolfing dynasty a woman became a permanent member of the primary family unit by marrying into it. In the dynastic *vita*e—many of which were written or commissioned by Ottonian noblewomen—motherhood appears as the fundamental dimension of Saxon femininity.[42] The uniquely powerful status of women in the Ottonian family structure is echoed in a poem by Hrotswit of Gandersheim on the Virgin in which she refers to Mary as "Holy progenitor of the king."[43] If Mary is mother of the king, she is herself like a queen. For

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[38] Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society, Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), 60.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., 63.

[41] Corbet, 266.

[42] Corbet, 262.

[43] Paul de Winterfeld, ed., *Hrotsvitha Opera*, MGH Scriptores rerum Germ. in usum scholarum (Berlin, 1965).

the Ottonian patroness, motherhood was not a passive or primarily emotional construct, but a powerful and political relationship. In extending the orb to the Christ child on her lap, the Essen Virgin is not merely a symbolic throne or seat of wisdom, but an active conveyor of birthright.[44]

The twisted pose and down-turned gaze of the sculpture in some ways places the object within the realm of narrative rather than iconic monument. While Mary extends the orb outward, the figure's eyes actually look down to where the viewer would have been kneeling at the altar. With this line-of-sight connection, the viewer is included in the kind of intercessory scene found in such Ottonian dedication images as that on the enamel in the contemporary Essen Mathilda-Madonna cross (Fig. 48).[45] In the small enamel placed beneath the feet of the crucified Christ on the front of the processional cross, Abbess Mathilda appears in the white robes of a canoness, kneeling at the feet of a seated Virgin and Child.[46] Such images are clear expressions of the donor's request for the Virgin's intercession. The unique pose of the Golden Virgin, which creates the impression of eye contact between kneeling viewer and sculpture, allows for not only the

[44] In her description of this work, Ilene Forsyth describes the figure's pose as one in which she extends the orb to the viewer, and not the child. If one considers Essen's status as a *Reichstift*, staffed and visited by members of the imperial family, the role of the Virgin as conveyer of birthright still holds—instead of extending the orb to her son, she extends it to representatives of the Empire.

[45] Jutta Frings and Jan Gerchow, *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus Mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Ruhrlandmuseum: Die frühen Kloster und Stifte, 500–1200: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: die Zeit der Orden 1200–1500. Eine Ausstellung der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, in Kooperation mit dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen ermöglicht durch die Kunststiftung NRW* (Munich, 2005), cat. no. 153; Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 101, ill. 94.

[46] While the Child is shown seated slightly to one side of the Virgin's lap, the frontal arrangement of mother and Child does not closely resemble the open composition of the golden sculpture.

representation of, but also the physical participation in, the act of donation and prayers for intercession.

Although the Golden Virgin was initially conceived as a veiled rather than crowned figure, it took on an even more overtly royal iconography than that indicated by the orb in the figure's hand. From perhaps as early as the eleventh century, this sculpture was ritually crowned in ceremonies at the abbey. A *Liber ordinaris* from the fourteenth century documents the processions that took place on the important feasts. One of the most elaborate took place on the Marian feast of the Purification and Presentation in the Temple on February 2. On the morning of the procession, the keeper of the Essen treasury would give the sculpture to the youngest canoness, who would then carry the work to the market church of St. Gertrudis, and then on to the church of St. John, where the work was ritually crowned.[47] The crown used in these ceremonies still remains in the Essen treasury. It is believed to have been that worn by the three-year old Otto III in his coronation at the abbey in 983 and shortly thereafter given to the community at Essen (Fig. 49).[48] Although the fourteenth-century *Liber ordinaris* provides the first firm documentation of the crowning ceremony, physical alterations, probably dating to the

[47] Franz Arens, ed., *Der Liber ordinaris der Essener Stiftskirche und seine Bedeutung für die Liturgie: Geschichte und Topographie des ehemaligen Stiftes Essen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Stadt und Stift Essen 21 (Paderborn, 1908), 34.

[48] Hermann Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (Düsseldorf, 1957). Though there remains no firm documentation for this hypothesis, originally proposed by Schnitzler, it has been generally accepted as probable.

second half of the eleventh century, suggest that the crown was retrofitted for these ceremonies shortly after it was given to the abbey.[49]

The historiography of this work has been shaped by a focus on its formal qualities rather than its ritual use; studies on the Essen Virgin almost never reproduce it in its crowned state. While many questions still remain for this work, which does not have the benefit of inscriptions or external documentation, a general date during Mathilda's abbacy between 971 and 1011 is widely accepted. Sometime during the approximately one hundred years between the gift of the crown to the abbey and the decorative embellishments to the object noted by Hermann Fillitz, the crown was sized to fit the head of the sculpture. Whether or not the processions described in the fourteenth-century documents came at this same early date, the crown was added to the sculpture's iconography during the Ottonian period. The composite crowned Virgin should be seen as a powerful statement about role of the Virgin in the devotional life of the canonesses at Essen—having been given or having initially commissioned a veiled figure, they augmented the work's queenly status by crowning it themselves. As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, with a discussion of a crowned Mary-Ecclesia commissioned for the male monastery at Petershausen, the crowned Virgin was not the province of exclusively female patronage.[50] In the Essen Virgin, however, we do have a clear example of the importance that the crowned Virgin held for a specifically female patron group.

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[49] Fehrenbach, 50. Fehrenbach writes that in 1993 Hermann Fillitz examined the small crown and found that it had been altered at some point in the latter half of the eleventh century. Fehrenbach also points out that the reduction of the crown's diameter could have been accomplished at an earlier time than the addition of the gold filigree palmettes and large stones. He writes that around 1000 Essen was the only *Reichstift* that was a Marian institution; with its noble community, and the interest in images of the crowned Virgin in book illumination, he believes it likely that the crowning ceremony came into being within a decade of the gift of the crown to the monastery.

[50] See Chapter Three, "A Merged Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary" for a discussion of this work.

The Crowned Virgin Majesty in Manuscripts

The earliest Ottonian dedication image of the crowned Virgin appears in the *Lives of Saints Kilian and Margaret*, a Fulda manuscript dating about 975 (Fig. 44).[51] This is actually a combined investiture/dedication image. The book lacks its primary dedication page, which may have depicted a Christ in Majesty.[52] The two-part format of the manuscript allowed for a second type of this image, however. The preface to the Life of Saint Margaret begins with an image of the Virgin seated on a throne, enclosed in a mandorla, and wearing a crown. She awards martyrs' crowns to Saints Margaret and Regina, who stand to either side, commending themselves to her. The text's scribe, a tonsured monk seated at a writing desk, is shown in the register below. At first glance this very odd image of Mary would appear to be a representation of Christ in Majesty. The Virgin's traditional veil and cloak have been replaced with a diadem, and she wears the masculine attire of tunic with cloak draped over the left shoulder.[53] The costume of tunic with left-draped cloak was standard for images of Christ in Majesty from the Carolingian through the Ottonian periods, as can be seen in a ninth-century ivory from the Ada group (Fig. 50)[54] and an image of Christ in Majesty in a late tenth-century

[51] Hannover, Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Ms. I 189, fol. 11v; Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, Commentary volume.

[52] Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, 101.

[53] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Svanhild of Essen." Kahsnitz designates this as the "male fashion" resembling the classical *pallium*. He cites the costume study by Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient: Nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907).

[54] Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, vol.1, cat. no. 23.

sacramentary also from Fulda (Fig. 51).[55] That this figure is indeed meant to represent Mary is made clear by the Greek titulus *Maria Theotokos*; vertical tituli identify Margaret and Regina on either side of her. The text surrounding the image of the scribe in the lower register reads "In Christ's name begins the life and suffering of the most holy virgin of Christ, Margaret. After the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and his glorious Ascension into Heaven to God, the All Mighty Father."[56]

A crowned Mary appeared in at least one other manuscript from Fulda. A lost Fulda manuscript with the *vitae* of the saints Cosmas and Damian contained similar dedication images; the sixteenth-century drawing documenting the image of Mary shows her enthroned within a mandorla, wearing a diadem, and holding a cross staff (Fig. 52).[57] While the costume and title of the Virgin are similar to those in the image of Mary with Margaret and Regina, the Virgin here acts as recipient of the donor's gift, rather than as crowner of saints. The manuscript has been attributed to Fulda on the basis of its iconographic ties to other works of that scriptorium but was clearly made for the women's abbey at Essen. Under the mandorla, the donor kneels and offers her book to the Virgin above. She is identified by the titulus as Hadwig, who served as abbess at Essen from 947 to 971. Another woman labeled as Thiotera stands behind her, while on

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[55] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10077, fol. 11v; Rainer Kahsnitz, *Der Werdener Psalter in Berlin, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 358; eine Untersuchung zu Problemen mittelalterlicher Psalterillustration*, Beiträge zu den Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern im Rheinland 24 (Düsseldorf, 1979), 283.

[56] Fol. 11v: "In Christi nomine incipit vita vel passio Sanctissimae Virginis//, " Fol. 12: "Christi Margaretae. Post resurrectionem domini nostri Iesu Christi et gloriosae ascensionis eius in caelum ad deum patrem omnipotentem."

[57] Herman Schnitzler, "Ein frühottonisches Fuldaer Kunstwerk des Essener Münsterschatzes," in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedkunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, ed. Karl Herrmann Usener and Frieda Dettweiler (Marburg, 1967), 115–118; Theodore Rensing, "Zwei Ottonische Kunstwerke des Essener Münsterschatzes," *Westfalen* 40 (Münster, 1962): 44-58.

a hillock above the kneeling abbess stands Saint Pinossa, whose relics were brought to the abbey during Hadwig's rule. In this image the saint acts as an intercessor figure, commending Hadwig to the care of the *Theotokos*. As in the manuscript with the lives of Margaret and Kilian, the Virgin is identified as God-bearer by the Greek inscription.

As two of the earliest images of the Virgin as queen, the unusual representations of the Virgin in these images raise pressing questions as to their patrons and intended meaning. It is unclear whether the now-lost Essen manuscript was commissioned by Abbess Hadwig herself—the fact that she is shown with a halo may indicate that the original manuscript was commissioned shortly after she died.[58] Whether Hadwig herself commissioned the book, the presence of the manuscript in the Essen library suggests it was made for a woman in the community there. While the other Fulda manuscript lacks a named donor, it was either owned by an Ottonian noblewoman or, since private book ownership was not common during this period, commissioned for one of the imperial convents.[59] The prayers at the end of the manuscript indicate that the book was intended for private reading rather than liturgical use.[60] It would appear that these first images of the Virgin as crowned majesty figure appear in books commissioned by or for women. Furthermore, they were intended to be used outside the liturgical setting of the Mass where prayers and hymns had since the Carolingian period reinforced the image of the Virgin as Queen of Heaven.

The appearance of the crowned "God-bearer" images at this time, like the Essen Virgin, can be seen as having a direct relationship to the active role of women in the

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[58] Rainer Kahsnitz, "Abbess Svanhild of Essen," 145–146; Kahsnitz, *Der Werdener Psalter in Berlin*, 38.

[59] Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, 133–146, esp. 135.

[60] Ibid., 141.

Ottonian court and church. With the clear connections between motherhood and rule in this society, one might expect both elements to be expressed through the imagery of books created for women. The two Fulda images are most interesting, however, for their *lack* of maternal imagery or resemblance to known images of Mary as mother. In both images, the enthroned Theotokos figure appears without the Christ child; it is only through the accompanying inscriptions that these figures are identified as God-bearer. This is particularly puzzling in the case of the *vita* of Saints Kilian and Margaret, where a prayer at the back of the manuscript addresses the Virgin specifically as "mother without example."[61] These figures do not resemble Byzantine models of the Virgin in Majesty in which she appears veiled and dressed in women's robes (Fig. 53).[62] Nor do their crowns and dress resemble those of the Roman images of Maria as queen, such as that seen in the sixth-century fresco of Santa Maria Antiqua (Fig. 54),[63] or contemporary queens, as seen in the image of Empress Theophanu in the ivory plaque in Paris (Fig. 55).[64] That these

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[61] On fol. 37: "Oratio ad sanctam Mariam: Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo mater et virgo Maria, quam Dominus ita mente et corpore inviolatam custodivit,...." Hahn writes that this and two of the other four prayers written at the end of the book have been copied for a woman, with the feminine forms (Hahn, *Passio Kiliani*, 30–31). Cf. Christina Nielsen, "*Hoc Opus Eximium*: Artistic Patronage in the Ottonian Empire" (PhD. diss., University of Chicago, 2002), 116: "Of singular merit, mother without example and Virgin Mary, whom the Lord has so guarded as inviolate in mind and body that you might exist worthy as someone to whose body the son of God might join his body for our redemption. I beseech you most merciful Mistress (Domina) through whom the whole world has been saved, intercede on our behalf and you will be praised as the most pure, most complete…I, on account of my iniquities, worthy of nothing else than to serve as eternal suppliant."

[62] Mosaic of the Virgin and Child, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, tenth century; Ioli Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became *Meter Theou*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 165–172, Fig. 10; Bissera Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), p. 26, fig. 21.

[63] Per Jonas Nordhagen, *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (London, 1990).

[64] Paris, Museé de l'Hôtel de Cluny; Michael Brandt, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993), cat no. II-24, 64–67.

images derived their iconography from contemporary images of Christ can be made clear when one considers such contemporary works as the Paris ivory, which probably originated in Milan. In this image, Christ stands with his hands extended to place crowns on the heads of Otto II and Theophanu. It would appear that in the search for a visual language to express the growing role of the Virgin, Fulda artists, perhaps acting on a directive to represent the Virgin as God-bearer and queen, modeled this figure after Christ in Majesty. This approach is similar to that taken in the Prüm Troper, where the Virgin in the scene for the Nativity of the Virgin is seated on a heavenly globe. In the *Vita Kiliani*, Mary is shown as a powerful Christ-like figure, wearing male costume rather than her traditional veils.

This iconography was not to continue in subsequent Ottonian commissions. In later works in which the Virgin appears as a queen, she is shown wearing a crown over a veil and women's robes. These anomalous, early images represent attempts to formulate a new role for the Virgin in the visual arts in the West. Without documentation for these commissions, the relationship between the Fulda scriptorium and the women for whom these books were intended remains unclear. Fulda was a monastery of male monks creating books for the use of a women's institution in Essen. The new iconography demonstrates, if not the active participation of female patrons, at the very least the deliberate consideration of women as book owners. In considering how these commissions were tailored for the use of women, the importance of the Virgin Majesty for a patron group that was experiencing greater autonomy than at any time previously must be recognized.

The Petershausen Mary-Ecclesia, to be discussed more fully in Chapter Three, should be briefly mentioned in the context of the crowned *Theotokos* figures in the Fulda

vitae (Fig. 68).[65] Dating between 970 and 980, this crowned figure is roughly contemporary with the Fulda *Theotokos* images. The figure's unique royal iconography provides yet another example of the varied and experimental approaches to the figure of the Virgin in the arts at this time. While the hypothesis has been offered that the Petershausen image was intended to pay tribute to Princess Theophanu, who passed through Reichenau on the way north from Rome in 972,[66] the manuscript was not intended for a female audience. The embellishment of the image of Mary, however—here with entirely new iconography meant to convey exegetical parallels with Ecclesia—shows the degree to which artists during these decades were actively experimenting with the image of the Virgin in the dedication pages of manuscripts.

One of the dominant narratives that continues to surface in the discussions of the cult of the Virgin in Ottonian Germany is the influence of the Empress Theophanu. The crowned Virgin Majesty figures in particular have generated discussions of the links between the general figure of the Virgin enthroned and the Ottonian queens.[67] Several scholars have tried to demonstrate that Theophanu's entry to the West was a catalyst for the emphasis of the cult of the Virgin in the imperial circle.[68] As a member of the

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[65] Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 40v; Anton von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu* (Cologne, 1991), cat. no. 32, 122-124.

[66] Anton von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex und die Künstlerisch Verwandten Reichenauer Prachthandschriften," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin,* vol. 2, ed. Anton von Euw (Cologne, 1991), 191-225, 215-219.

[67] Daniel Russo, "Les Representations mariales dans l'art de l'Occident: Essai sur la formation d'une tradition iconographique," 173-291, in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge,* esp. "Les Majestés ottoniennes," 223–231; Rosamund McKitterick, "Women in the Ottonian Church: An Iconographic Perspective," in *Women in the Church,* ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods, Studies in Church History 27 (Oxford, 1990), 88.

[68] Corbet, "Les impératrices ottoniennes," 109–131; Anton von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," in *Kaiserin Theophanu,* vol. 1, ed. Anton von Euw, 191–225, esp. 215–219.

Byzantine nobility, Theophanu would certainly have been raised in a religious environment where Marian veneration played a prominent role in both liturgy and artistic commissions. Two commissions, created around the time of the empress's 972 marriage to Otto II in Rome, represent Theophanu in proximity to the Virgin. The Sforza ivory tablet (Fig. 56)[69] and San Ambrogio altar ciborium (Fig. 57),[70] two commissions originally from Milan, in Lombardy, have both been invoked in the argument for the Mary's significance for Ottonian empresses.

Compositionally, these works would seem to strengthen an argument for the Virgin as a patron saint for imperial women. The ivory tablet, inscribed *Otto Imperator*, shows the crowned figures of Otto II and Theophanu kneeling at the feet of a Christ Majestas. Behind Otto stands Saint Maurice, the soldier saint to whom Otto I had dedicated his foundation at Magdeburg. On the other side, behind Theophanu, stands the veiled figure of the Virgin, labeled Saint Maria. Theophanu holds the young Otto III in her arms. Crowned, he seems to spring directly from her breast; while the label Theotokos is not present in the inscription, the connection between the God-bearer and King-bearer is made clear through the composition.[71] Iconographically however, this

[69] Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 2, cat. no. 2.

[70] Cynthia Hahn, "Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 167–187.

[71] Corbet writes that the "distinction and parallelism between masculine and feminine recalls the opposing scenes of the San Ambrogio ciborium." Although the attribution of these figures has generated much debate, Corbet proposes the crowned figures on the south side of the ciborium as Otto I and Otto II bending before the nimbed Saint Ambrose. On the north side, two women—one crowned and the other veiled—are shown in identical poses at the sides of a veiled and nimbed Virgin. He suggests that the crowned figure is Empress Adelaide but writes that the difficulty in identifying the other woman as Theophanu lies in her lack of crown. Schramm justified the iconography, writing that if this work were commissioned in 971 or early in 972, Theophanu had not yet married Otto II (Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser*, 186–190, note 86).

object does not demonstrate overt ties to a Byzantine visual tradition, which might link the commission specifically to Theophanu.

While these objects do indeed demonstrate the emphasis on Mary among imperial commissions and objects intended for an imperial audience, they ultimately constitute only one element of a larger story. We cannot assign the Virgin to one patron group to the exclusion of all others when this society was characterized by the close interaction of imperial and monastic groups. Another commission from the Ottonian-controled kingdom of Lombardy, a sacramentary for Bishop Warmund of Ivrea, has an image in which Mary gives the emperor the symbols of his rule. [72] It is notable, however, that this image appears in a monastic, rather than imperial commission.

The Virgin in the Sacramentary of Warmund of Ivrea

Bishop Warmund commended his book to Mary, the patron of his cathedral, with the dedication inscription: "Bishop Warmund gives you this book as yours, O Virgin Mary. Grant him life eternal."[73] The manuscript's most arresting and authoritative image of the Virgin appears not as a dedication page, but before the mass for the coronation of a king (Fig. 58).[74] The illustration accompanying the mass for kings shows the Virgin crowning Emperor Otto, who bows before her. Otto is shown as the supplicant through his bent head, outstretched hands, and accompanying inscriptions. An inscription running

[72] Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI; Robert Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary," 1–16; Luigi Magnani, *Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea* (Vatican, 1934); Pierre Alain Mariaux, *Warmond d'Ivrée et ses images: Politique et création iconographique autour de l'an mil,* European Unversity Studies Series 28, History of Art 388 (Bern, 2002).

[73] Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI , fol. 11v; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Manuscript Illumination,* vol. 2, 87-88.

[74] Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI, fol. 160v.

around the image's frame reads "I reward you, Otto, with the gift of a crown for your good defense of Bishop Warmund."[75] There is some debate as to which Otto the inscription means. Although Pierre-Alain Mariaux has suggested that the emperor shown is Otto I,[76] the emperor is generally believed to be Otto III, who sided with Warmund in a dispute against Arduin of Ivrea, a local nobleman, during his reign.[77] The image and inscriptions make it clear that the emperor is being rewarded for his service to the church and specifically to Warmund.

This image gives form to the Emperor's God-given right to rule; the Ottonian emperors were seen as Christ's representatives on earth. At the same time this image also stresses the need for the intercessory figure of the Virgin, the figure who will invest the ruler with the symbols of his authority. In dealing with this image, Mariaux once again led the discussion of Mary back to topics related to imperial women's power. He suggested that the image echoes an important element of the political structure of Ottonian society—the idea of *consortium regni.* In Ottonian society women held places of importance within society, as abbesses in the imperial institutions, as regents, in the case of Theophanu and Adelaide, and in the ordo for the coronation of Ottonian empresses, as "consortium regni."[78] While it is certainly valid to consider the impact of the political status held by Ottonian women when examining symbolic aspects of the Virgin's image in the empire, we also need to consider this particular image in the more narrow sense of Warmund's own needs. Furthermore, Warmund's interests should not

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[75] "Pro bene defenso Warmundo presule facto munere te dono caesar diadematis Otto."

[76] Mariaux, 59–94, esp. 94. This reading pushes the date of the manuscript to c. 972.

[77] Deshman, "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary," 1; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Manuscript Illumination*, vol. 2, 88.

[78] Mariaux, 223; Corbet, 259 ; Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 60.

necessarily be interpreted as working in opposition to those of the emperor. Mariaux suggested that by showing the emperor being invested by the Virgin, the image served to "temper something of the mimetic ardor of the emperor."[79] The argument suggests that in an artistic climate where Christomimesis gave rise to synthetic images of the emperor and Christ, those ecclesiatical leaders seeking an alternate form of authority found it in the figure of the Virgin. In fact, we do not need to see this image as something that tempers the image of the emperor—rather, it adds a layer of meaning that strengthens Warmund's role in his society. As spiritual leaders, Ottonian bishops provided intercession with God, the highest authority, while as political figures they provided the emperor with troops for his campaigns and housing on his itinerary through the empire. The emperors held much of the wealth in this society and, further, had the ability to facilitate the travel of their subjects through the empire, an activity that could otherwise incur heavy costs.[80] This aspect of mutual dependence defined the relationship between imperial and ecclesiastical leaders in the empire and can be seen in Warmund's coronation image. In this image the Virgin functions not just an intercessor figure but as a reminder of the need for intercession, on earth as well as in heaven. As such, she serves an an ideal image for even male bishops, the earthly intercessors in the Ottonian empire.

The Virgin as Queen and the Patronage of Bernward of Hildesheim

In the book of another male ecclesiastic and bishop, we find an image that conveys a similarly authoritative Virgin, who serves as a reminder of the need for

[79] Mariaux, 225.

[80] Karl Leyser, "Ottonian Government," *The English Historical Review* 96, no. 381 (Oct. 1981): 721–753.

intercession. The Gospel book of Bernward of Hildesheim contains an image of the Virgin as heavenly queen; she is seated with the Christ child and flanked by angels, who place a western-style crown over her veils (Fig. 59).[81] The Virgin is seated on an unseen throne, suggested by the columns on either side, and she holds the Christ child on her lap. The representation of the Virgin in the act of being crowned appears as a frontispiece, adjacent to the dedication page that opens with an image of Bernward stepping forward to offer his gift to the altar in a church structure (Fig. 60).[82] An inscription fills the length of the golden frame around the image of the bishop, reading: "This gospel book the love of virginity offers to you, Holy Mary, with a devout mind. Bishop Bernward is hardly worthy of his singular title, adorned as he is in the pontifical vestments of his great office."[83]

It is worth noting that although images of the crowned Virgin proliferated in Italy, the theme of the coronation of the Virgin was unique to the north; it did not have a Roman precedent. This is an active coronation scene, like that in the Prüm Troper or the Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold, where the hand of God extends a crown to the dying Virgin in the presence of the apostles. This image removes the act of coronation from a biblical/apocryphal narrative, however. Instead of the apostles, it is Bishop Bernward who witnesses this event from the facing page, where he stands in front of his altar. In the slightly later Uta Codex, a Gospel lectionary of 1025, the Virgin,

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[81] Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury Ms. 18, 16v., c. 1015; Michael Brandt, ed., *Das Kostbare Evangeliar des Heiligen Bernward* (München, 1993), 5–6.

[82] Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury Ms. 18, 17.

[83] "Hoc evangelicv(m) devota m(en)te libellvm virginitatis amor p(rae)stat tibi S(an)cta Maria praesvl Bernvvard(us) vix solo nomine dignvs ornatvs vix solo nomine dignvs ornatvs tanti vestitv pontificali."

already crowned, is seated with Christ in her lap (Fig. 61).[84] The two Ottonian images in which the Virgin wears the western style crown of contemporary rulers differ slightly in their treatment of the proximity of donor to the Virgin. While Uta is shown on the same page with the Virgin, she is separated from her, enclosed within a medallion at the center of the composition. Like Bernward then, Uta offers her gift to the Virgin while remaining separated from her.[85] These compositions, like that of the Svanhild Gospels, in which the donor figures are separated from the Virgin by the blue rectangle that highlights her figure, symbolically communicated the co-existence of earthly and heavenly spheres. In all of these examples, the donor figures bridge the space between these two zones with sight (they have the ability to behold the Virgin in her heavenly sphere), with their acts of donation, and with prayer. As witness to the coronation of the Virgin, Bernward is able to participate in a moment in sacred history and is at the same time able to present his gift to a figure whose authority is second only to that of Christ.

An inscription in Bernward's Gospel book identifies the work as a gift for St. Michael's monastery, where the crypt contained an altar dedicated to the Virgin. It is most likely this altar that is shown on folio 16, on which Bernward will place his manuscript. The page's composition echoes the inscription's mixture of the bishop's humility before God and an awareness of his own position of importance within the church. While Bernward's vestments are rendered with gold and richly patterned colors, he is shown standing at the bottom of the two steps leading up to the altar, well below the level of the Virgin on the facing page. The inscriptions and iconography of the page with the Virgin express a synthesized theme linking Mary and Eve that would have echoed the

[84] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13601, fol. 2; Cohen, *Uta Codex*, pl. 3.

[85] Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 47.

program of St. Michael's bronze doors.[86] To either side of the composition is a door. At the left side of the image, the door is inscribed "The door of Paradise is closed by the first Eve for Eternity" and on the right, an open door bears the words "Now through the holy act of Mary is entirely opened."[87]

While the inscriptions surrounding the Virgin explain elements of the page's iconography, such as the doors and the bust portraits of Mary and Eve added to the columns on either side of the Virgin, they address the royal iconography only obliquely. The inscription in the arch over the Virgin's head reads "Ave Stella Maris," referring to the hymn by that name. This title was often applied to the Virgin. In the missal now in the Arsenal library[88] an inscription accompanying the image of the Virgin as intercessor refers to her as "Golden star of the sea, bloom of a kingly flower."[89] Hrotsvit of Gandersheim referred to Mary as "Holy progenitor of the king, bright star of the sea" in one of her poems.[90] The connection of this form of address to rulership is made even clearer in Hrotsvit's play *Abraham*. Abraham explains to his adopted child, Mary, the meaning of her name: "Mary, my child, means 'star of the sea'—that star which rules the world and all the peoples in the world."[91]

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[86] Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," *Gesta* 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38; William Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors: An Iconographic Source and Its Implications," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 4 (1983): 357–366.

[87] "Porta paradisi primeva(m) clavsa per aevam nvnc est per S(an)c(t)am cvntis patefacta Maria(m)."

[88] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 610, fol. 25v; von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000,* cat. no. 33.

[89] "Aurea stella maris regalis virgula floris
Supplicat hic genito virgo Maria suo.
Ut clemens famulis gratissima dona salutis.
Dignetur ferre matris honore suae."

[90] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination,* vol. 1, 141.

[91] Hrotsvitha, and Larissa Bonfante, *The Plays of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim* (New York, 1979), *Abraham*, scene II.

The discourse surrounding the Virgin's assumption into heaven illustrates her use as a model for male rulers and most likely contributed to the royal iconography seen in the Bernward Gospels. Ninth and tenth-century homilies and sermons document the intensification of interest in the Virgin's assumption into Heaven and her subsequent royal status there. The theme of the Virgin's rule in heaven, which had been treated in Roman and Byzantine exegesis, was taken up by the Ottonian emperors, and especially by Otto III, as an analogy of their own earthly authority.[92] The subject of the Virgin's reign in Heaven had a long history in Byzantine and papal history, which Otto III, in particular, adopted in order to enhance his own rule. A poem written for the procession of the Assumption in Rome in August 1000 calls upon the Virgin to be kind to her people and "to spare your Otto III who offers you what he has with a devout heart; let every man rejoice that Otto III reigns, let every man rejoice in his rule."[93] In the monasteries the imagery of the Virgin's Assumption appears to be almost exclusively the province of Reichenau artists;[94] as an imperial foundation, Reichenau's manuscripts have long been interpreted through the lens of imperial influence. However, it is at the monasteries of Prüm and Hildesheim where we find the earliest Ottonian examples of the crowned Virgin. In the Hildesheim dedication page we can see how this iconography, which

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[92] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination* vol. 1, 139–156; Mayr-Harting, "The Idea of the Assumption," in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 39, The Ecclesiastical History Society (Woodbridge, 2004): 86–111, 91.

[93] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 140–141; Cf. K. Strecker and G. Silagi, eds., *Die Lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters: Die Ottonenzeit*, MGH Poetae 5 (Leipsig/Munich, 1937–79), 466–68.

[94] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 145; Kahsnitz, "Koimesis-dormitio-assumptio," 91–122. An important exception is, of course, the Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 60v.

expressed the idea of Mary's rule in heaven, lent authority to male bishops who functioned as intercessors on earth.

The specific sources for this iconography seem clear; the western fleur-de-lis crown worn by the Virgin does not appear in earlier Roman images of the Maria Regina, but in Carolingian and Ottonian ruler portraits.[95] A Saxon aristocrat by birth, Bernward was closely associated with the court and the artistic commissions associated with it. At the request of the Empress Theophano, he became one of the two primary teachers of her seven-year old son, Otto III, and in 987 he became a member of the Imperial Chapel and Chancellery.

The more compelling question is not the secular source of this iconography but why Bernward chose to incorporate the crown into his image of the Virgin and how the crown enhanced the act of dedication. In attempting to interpret Bernward's use of the queenly Virgin in his gospel book, the manuscripts of Egbert of Trier provide a useful counterpoint. Egbert ruled as archbishop of the diocese of Trier from 977 to 993. Unlike Bernward, whose commissions have tended to be regarded as expressions of piety or exegesis,[96] the literature concerning Egbert of Trier has tended to focus on his artistic and architectural commissions as they related to his political maneuverings.[97] Egbert has

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[95] See for example, the Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald and the Speier Gospels: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 5v; and Madrid, Escorial, Cod. Vitrinas 17, fol. 3; Georg Leidinger, ed., *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbiblitohek in München*, 6 vols. (Munich, 1921–25); Arnold Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1933); Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 232–233.

[96] An exception is provided by Cohen and Derbes who examine the bronze doors of Hildesheim in light of the events surrounding the *Gandersheimstreit.* Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," 19–38.

[97] Thomas Head, "Art and artifice in Ottonian Trier," *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (1997): 65–82; Carl Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's 'Registrum Gregorii,'" in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein, and Willibald Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 87–106.

been largely represented as a patron for whom the art object was an instrument that could be used to imbue his reign with a sense of legitimacy, in contrast to Bernward, a theologian whose commissions are usually discussed in terms of exegetical meaning. Bernward paired Adam with Christ and Eve with Mary in commissions such as the bronze doors, the Bernward Gospels, and even his own deathbed procession in order to make statements that were both moralizing and reflective of his own piety.[98]

One of Egbert's earliest and most artistically significant commissions, the *Registrum Gregorii* (983–987), demonstrates the potential of the dedication page as political statement. The manuscript of the letters of Saint Gregory originally consisted of two thousand leaves. A portrait of Otto II was added to the book after its initial production, with verse inscriptions that serve as a eulogy for the recently deceased emperor and emphasize the archbishop's close relationship to the former emperor.[99] The unusual addition of an emperor portrait to a book that was neither a commission of nor a gift for the emperor demonstrates Egbert's desire to call attention to his imperial connections. Carl Nordenfalk suggested that the book's placement in the treasury of Egbert's cathedral of St. Peter also provided a symbolic link to Otto II's burial place at St. Peter's in Rome and this reinforced the book's function as a memorial to the emperor.[100] The commemorative aspect of this commission has added resonance when

[98] Otto Karl Werckmeister, paper given for session "Abbeys and Cathedral Towns: Papers in Honor of Jane Welch Williams I," Kalamazoo, 1999. Werckmeister paralleled Bernward's deathbed procession from the cathedral to St. Michael's monastery church to Adam's expulsion from paradise. He used an unpublished eleventh-century manuscript from Wolfenbüttel as evidence for Bernward's request that he be dressed in simple monk's robes and carried to the monastery outside the city walls.

[99] Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 14 b; Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's 'Registrum Gregorii,'" 90. In the poem, Egbert mentions that he was made the godfather to one of the Emperor's children and that he had always been a welcome guest at court.

[100] Nordenfalk, "Archbishop Egbert's 'Registrum Gregorii,'" 90.

one considers the political upheaval that followed Otto's death. Despite the fact that Otto III was immediately consecrated following the death of his father, Egbert backed the competitor, Henry the Quarrelsome, in his bid for the throne. This book provides evidence for the archbishop's blending of commemorative and political aspects; he used the image of the emperor to assert his former ties to secular authority at a time when he was closely embroiled in the succession controversy.

In the Egbert Psalter (c. 984), Egbert, like Bernward, presents his manuscript to the patron of his cathedral (Fig. 62, bottom).[101] Saint Peter, considered to be the first pope of the Roman church, is shown seated on a cathedra, holding a cross staff and extending his hand to Egbert, who appears on the facing page. Egbert bends forward to humbly offer the gift of his book. The psalter possesses a double dedication format; preceding the images of Egbert and Peter is another opening showing Egbert seated on the cathedra, and a monk Ruodpreht—presumably the scribe—presenting the manuscript to Egbert (Fig. 62, top).[102] The double page dedication allowed Egbert to represent himself both as leader of his see and as pious supplicant to a higher authority.[103] Whereas Bernward offered his book to the Virgin, a heavenly queen, Egbert

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[101] Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archaeologico, Ms. CXXXVI, fols. 118v-19; Arthur Haseloff, "Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier," in *Festschrift der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen zu Trier* (Trier, 1901); Claudio Barberi, *Psalterium Egberti: Facsimile del ms. CXXXVI del Museo archeologico nazionale di cividale del Friuli* (Cividale del Friuli, 2000).

[102] Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archaeologico, Ms. CXXXVI, fols. 16v-17.

[103] Head, "Art and Artifice." In light of the visual genealogy of Trier's former bishops seen in the following pages, this has been seen as a not altogether unnuanced image of piety. Head has discussed the book's program as a statement of Trier's ancient lineage, starting with Saint Peter, and ending with Egbert. Eucharius, Valerius and Maternus are the first three bishops to appear in the psalter after Peter, and their presence mirrors their appearance in the enamels of a golden staff reliquary also commissioned by Egbert. The iconographic links between a devotional book created for the bishop's private use, and a public liturgical object demonstrate the degree to which Egbert's program was just that; he made a conscious attempt to reiterate his claims for Trier through his varied commissions.

presented his manuscript to Saint Peter. While Peter, like the Virgin, functioned as an intercessory figure, as the symbolic first pope of the church, he also carried associations of a specifically temporal authority.

In the frontispiece for the Codex Egberti, a book of pericopes dating after 984,[104] Egbert is shown as the recipient, rather than donor figure, and is represented in the tradition of the emperor portraits (Fig. 63).[105] He is shown enthroned and flanked by two smaller monks, Keraldus and Herribert, who present the book to him. They are identified as "Augigenses" or Reichenau monks. On the opposite page an inscription reads "Oh, Egbert, on taking this book full of divine teaching, fare thee well. And do thou, O

[104] Carl Nordenfalk, "The Chronology of the Registrum Master," *Kunsthistorische Forschungen: Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg, 1972), 62–76. This date is based on a chronology established by Nordenfalk of the works of the Gregory Master. Nordenfalk places the Saint-Chapelle Gospels around 984 and writes that the Codex followed perhaps a few years after. Nordenfalk is of the opinion that the Codex Egberti was illuminated at Reichenau, however, and questions why its stylistic impact was not seen on the Reichenau school until a decade later with the Gospels of Otto III in Aachen and Munich.

[105] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 2; Hubert Schiel, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier: Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe unter dem Patronat der Stadt Trier* (Trier, 1960); Franz Ronig, *Codex Egberti: Teilfaksimile-Ausgabe des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1983); Gunther Franz and Franz Ronig, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier: Entstehung und Geschichte der Handschrift* (Wiesbaden, 1984).

fortunate Reichenau, rejoice for evermore in the honor which the prelate pays thee."[106] This manuscript has been interpreted on the basis of its dedicatory inscription as a Reichenau commission for the use of Trier,[107] but Egbert's precise role—as commanditaire or destinataire of the book—is more difficult to determine.

The issue of agency is a perennial problem when seeking to interpret Ottonian dedication pages. It is difficult to make general observations about representations of ecclesiastics in their books when it is unclear as to whether these were honorific images presented to the subjects as gifts or whether the images were shaped by the subjects themselves.[108] Ultimately we must content ourselves with the idea that these bishops were at least the "consumers" of these works and, as such, the images in these

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[106] "Hunc Egberte librum diuino dogmate plenum suscipiendo uale; nec don in secula gaude Augia fausta tibi quem defert praesul honori." The inscription and the presence of the Reichenau monks in the image have led to questions regarding Egbert's role in its commission and as an extension of this, the agency of the Trier scriptorium in general. The Egbert Psalter and the Codex Egberti are very different in style. The hands of Reichenau artists suspected in the Egbert Psalter could suggest the presence of Reichenau manuscripts serving as models in Trier or the actual presence of Reichenau monks in Egbert's city. In *Reichenau Reconsidered* Dodwell and Turner have argued that the monks Keraldus and Herribert would not have been identified as *Augigenses* if they were at Reichenau at that time; only when monks were away from their home would they be so designated. I find this argument only moderately tenable. As the dedication pages demonstrate, at the time of the manuscript's creation the scribes and illuminators knew that the book itself, if not the monks, would leave Reichenau, making such a designation appropriate. The honor that the prelate (Egbert) paid Reichenau could have been the request of two of its scribes to work on the codex in one of Trier's scriptoria. Ultimately, what is important is that despite its point of origin, the Codex Egberti, like the psalter, demonstrates that while Egbert's manuscript commissions were used to make general statements about his see and his city, they were also geared specifically toward his personal use.

[107] Mayr Harting vol. 2, 81. Nordenfalk, "Chronology," 68. Nordenfalk mentions that H. Schiel gives a summary of this debate in *Der Codex Egberti* and argues for the book's illumination in Trier.

[108] Bishop Sigebert of Minden provides yet another example. It is unclear as to whether Sigebert's books were made at Saint Gall or Minden, whether Sigebert acquired books from the scriptorium in the south, or had artists from Saint Gall creating books for him in Minden. Eight of his manuscripts were made by this St. Gall/Minden group. As the consumer, the bishop was, presumably, on some level involved with the shaping of these images.

manuscripts were tailored to their needs. Thanks to the *vita* written by his former teacher Thangmar, Bernward is one of the few patrons we can discuss with confidence as an individual who actively shaped the appearance of his commissions. Thangmar relates that Bernward's early education included instruction in metal craft as well as book illumination.[109] While none of the remaining Hildesheim works can be attributed to his hand, the quality and sophisticated iconographic programs of the works produced under his patronage speak to his early training and his active participation as patron of these works.

As an object of Bernward's piety, the one to whom the book is dedicated and who stretches out a hand to receive it, the queenly Virgin in the Bernward Gospels is a powerful mediator between the human and divine. While the illuminations' inscriptions most directly address the Virgin's role as mother of God, her iconography carries additional associations of rulership and power. For Bernward, the Virgin presented a flexible expressive vehicle. The redemptive Virgin of the inscriptions provided him with the religious ideal of purity and humility, while the royal iconography reflected Bernward's own position as ruler of his bishopric. Unlike the monk Liuthar, who presented his Gospel book to an earthly ruler, Otto III, or Egbert of Trier and Sigebert of Minden, who were represented enthroned on their cathedrae as recipients of their manuscripts, Bernward presented his Gospel book to a higher authority—one whose role was that of intercessor, rather than supreme ruler or former pope. In so doing, he represented himself both as a pious servant and as a powerful ecclesiastic.

[109] Francis Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 3 vols. (Notre Dame, 1942–52), 6, 12–13.

It is worth noting the difference between the dedication image in the Gospel book and that appearing in the Bernward Bible, also dating to 1015 (Fig. 64).[110] Illuminated Bibles were rare in Ottonian culture, where the largest output consisted of liturgical manuscripts. This luxuriously decorated Bible was therefore more likely meant for viewership by privileged individuals, unlike the Gospel book, which would have been used in the Mass. The image in the Bible resembles Byzantine models of the standing Virgin as intercessor—like the Virgin in the Bible of Leo Sakellarios (Fig. 65).[111] Bernward is shown as a humble monk presenting his book to the veiled Virgin.[112] Bernward stands, robed in a simple monk's habit quite unlike the colorful episcopal robes shown in the Gospel image. The Virgin's role as intercessor is made clear by her gesture:

[110] Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms. 61, fol. 1; Ulrich Kuder, "Ottonische Buchmalerei und Bernwardnische Handschriftenproduktion," in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien*, ed. Michael Brandt, vol. 1 (Hildesheim, 1993), 191–200; Carola Jäggi, "Stifter, Schreiber oder Heiliger? Überlegungen zum Dedikationsbild der Bernward-Bibel," *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, ed. Hans-Rudolf Meier, Carola Jäggi, and Philippe Büttner (Berlin, 1995).

[111] Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Reg. Graec. 1, fol. 2v; Jean Ebersolt, *La miniature Byzantine* (Paris, 1962), pl. 27.

[112] See Jäggi for a recapitulation of the alternative reading of the robed figure.

she accepts the book with one hand and gestures to the upper register, where above her head the hand of God makes the gesture of benediction.[113]

Together the dedication pages present two very different representations of Bernward's piety, which may be interpreted as the outer and inner lives of the bishop. The traditionally veiled figure interacts with the humble ecclesiastic, stripped of his robes of office, and provides a private line of communication to God. The Virgin's only action here is to function as a conduit for Bernward's prayers and gift. The liturgical and therefore "public" Gospel book, meant for display on an altar, contained an image of the regal intercessor who wears the crown of earthly rulers. The crowned Virgin thus demonstrated both the God-given authority of Bernward's rule and the need to defer to the ultimate heavenly authority of Christ.

Conclusions

The Ottonian period began with artistic innovation and experimentation and fairly quickly developed a synthesized, if not standardized iconography for the Virgin. In the earliest examples of the Virgin Majesty in Ottonian art, it is possible to see a division between the way this image is used for female and male patrons. The evidence from the

[113] Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms. 61, fol.1; Ulrich Kuder, in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien,* vol. 2 (Hildesheim, 1993), cat. no. VII-29, 568; Carola Jäggi, "Stifter, Schreiber oder Heiliger?" The male figure has alternately been interpreted as Bernward, John the Evangelist, Moses or Jerome, while arguments have been made for the female figure as Ecclesia or Mary, I agree with Ulrich Kuder and Carola Jäggi's interpretation of the figures as Bernward and Mary. The simply veiled figure bears no attribute that would lead to a reading as Ecclesia. The oddest element in the image is the curtained screen that separates her from Bernward. Jäggi (68) suggested that this screen was a specific allusion to one of Bernward's artistic or architectural commissions, perhaps the Marian altar that Bernward dedicated in the crypt of Saint Michael in 1015, the *sedes sapientiae* sculpture of the Virgin in Hildesheim Cathedral, or even the chapel that Bernward devoted to Christ, Mary, and St. Michael. The large cross that hangs between the two figures further suggests that the figures stand within a church space, strengthening Jäggi's hypothesis.

Fulda vitae images of the crowned Virgin suggest that at an early point, around 975, artists worked to create an image of the crowned Virgin Majesty for female patrons. These figures' masculine costumes suggest that they were modeled on contemporary Christ figures to which inscriptions identifying the figure as Theotokos were added; in its earliest incarnations, northern figures of the crowned Virgin adopted aspects of Christ's appearance. While iconographically distinct from contemporary images of queens, these figures did reflect the increased autonomy of women in the Ottonian political structure.

The dedication image in Purchard's encomium for Abbot Witigowo of Reichenau, of around 994, shows another type of Virgin Majesty, modeled after the Mary seen in Adoration scenes, seated with the Christ child on her lap. The similarity of this image to the Golden Virgin of Essen of c. 980, whose iconography differs slightly in the form of the orb that she holds, demonstrates that there was not a firm division between image types commissioned for male or female patrons. However, the fact that the Golden Virgin was soon after ritually crowned in ceremonies at Essen does indicate that this early period in Ottonian art was characterized by experimentation and led to images reflecting the needs of specific patron groups.

The later majesty figures discussed in this chapter, the crowned Virgins of the Bernward Gospels and the Uta Codex, demonstrate the move toward a standardization of images of the Virgin. While the inscriptions in the Uta Codex of c. 1025 are appropriate for female readership, the iconography is very close to that of the Bernward Gospels of c. 1015. The crowned Virgin provides yet another example of a Marian type that was to develop more fully in the twelfth century but that during this period reflected the wishes of individual patrons rather than a widespread trend.

The new iconographic type of Virgin Majesty appearing in Ottonian dedication images fits into a tradition of ruler images in contemporary manuscripts.[114] The frontally enthroned Speyer Virgin presents a compelling visual parallel to the emperor image in the Gospels of Otto III in Munich and as such would seem to support the argument that the Virgin Majesty was derived from images of earthly rule (Fig. 66).[115] Rather than being flanked by nobles and ecclesiastics, as Otto was, the Virgin sits between the Emperor Henry III and his queen Agnes. Henry's humble posture, as he steps forward to offer the Virgin his book, echoes that of the provinces who pay homage to Otto III (Fig. 1).[116] Once again, however, we need to be wary of interpreting the newly authoritative Virgin Majesty as an outcropping of imperial rulership. Placing the Virgin in the province of one group to the exclusion of the other provides only a partial explanation of the relationship between ruler and intercessor figure. This chapter has demonstrated that images of the Virgin Majesty drew from an array of secular and holy figures for sources. The brief period of Ottonian rule witnessed wide-ranging iconographic experimentation that gave rise to images of the Virgin in Majesty. The Speyer Virgin was commissioned by an Emperor of the new Salian dynasty but was very much a product of Ottonian Mariology. Created between 1043 and 1046, it represents a culmination of the iconographic developments of the preceding century. To explain the emergence of the earlier Virgin Majesty figures by saying that they were modeled after images of the ruler, either male or female, would be to cut out an essential aspect of the intertwined nature of this type and the flexibility of donation imagery. In an evangelary

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[114] Russo, 223–231.

[115] Madrid, Escorial, Cod. Vitrinas 17, fol. 3; Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch;* Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige,* 232–233.

[116] Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453, fols. 23v-24.

for Seeon, Henry II adopted a two-page dedication program similar to that in the Bernward Gospels; Henry was represented on one page, presenting his book to the Virgin on the facing folio (Fig. 67).[117] He thus relinquished the powerful right side of the dedication page, often occupied by Christ or the ruler, and occupied the left side most commonly reserved for monastic donors.

While these images demonstrate the impossibility of neatly assigning specific iconographic types to particular patron groups—ecclesiastic vs. imperial, female vs. male—they do indicate that in specific cases, the evolving image of the Virgin Majesty was used by medieval patrons as an expression of devotion and authority. Considered together, these examples allow certain generalizations about the development of this type. In its earliest occurrences in Ottonian art, the Virgin Majesty was an image that provided an alternate to the Christ figure as the primary recipient in dedication pages. Even when the Majesty figures came to incorporate earthly regalia, they evoked the presence of an ultimate heavenly authority. In the context of monastic commissions, these images underscored the need for intermediary figures to mediate between the earthly and heavenly realms and their spheres of power. A short time later, this image was adopted by the emperors; like the popes in early medieval Roman commissions, they expressed their authority as well as piety by positioning themselves as reflections of the Virgin and supplicants for her intercessory power.

[117] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 95, fols. 7v-8; Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds., *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024*, exh. cat (Stuttgart, 2002); Stefan Weinfurter, "Kaiser Heinrich II: Bayerische Traditionen und Europäischer Glanz," in *Kaiser Heinrich II*, 22–23; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, "Heinrich II: Förderte den Kult der Gottesmutter auf besondere Weise," in *Kaiser Heinrich II*, 273–274, cat. no. 113.

Chapter 3

Image as Exegesis:

A Merged Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary

As with hagiographic images of the "historical" Virgin, discussed in Chapter One, which were used to insert Mary into scenes where her presence was not specifically mandated by canonical texts, the synthesized Mary-Ecclesia figure that emerges around the year 1000 demonstrates a similar, independent use of images to promulgate Marian exegesis. While the interpretation of the Virgin as a type for the Church was not actively developed in Ottonian theological writings, the innovative pictorial pairing of the Virgin and the female personification of the church in sacramentaries, pericopes, and Bibles during this period suggests that images were working to actively shape doctrine. In Ottonian manuscript illumination, images begin to make explicit parallels between the Virgin and the powerful female personification of the church.

In a recent essay on the intersection of oral and literate traditions in the tenth century, Patrick Geary points out the fluid and reciprocal relationship between orality and literacy and considers traditions that may have been oral but became textualized.[1] One of the innovations of Ottonian art is the degree to which liturgical and exegetical traditions were to become pictorialized. The following discussion focuses on a rare image of a combined Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary as an expression of visual

[1] Patrick Geary, "Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (Cambridge, 2002), 111–122.

exegesis (Fig. 68).[2] The image expresses exegetical concepts that had a textual tradition from the fourth century and that were present in church ceremony from the ninth century: Mary as bride of Christ and as a type for the Church.

The crowned female figure at the beginning of the Petershausen Sacramentary has a stern and somewhat unsettling appearance. The odd figure displays iconographic elements of both the Virgin and Ecclesia, but at the same time resembles representations of neither. Separated from the page by the gold patterned circle that surrounds her, she, and the similarly highlighted Christ Majestas on the facing page, once served as the opening images for the sacramentary (Fig. 69).[3] Her skin tinged with a slight greenish cast, she sits on a low seat, angled toward the Christ Majestas image opposite. She wears a rose-colored tunic and a light blue mantle resembling examples of patterned Byzantine silks. Her elaborate necklace and large earrings, which give the appearance of the prependoulia of Byzantine crowns, resemble the regalia of earlier Roman depictions of the Maria Regina but do not adhere to the iconography used for images of the Virgin in the north. She holds a book in one hand and a cross staff, typically associated with Ecclesia, in the other.

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[2] Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 40v; Adolf von Oechelhaeuser, *Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1887); Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 30, I (Stuttgart, 1986), 320; Anton von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex und die künstlerisch verwandten Reichenauer Prachthandschriften," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, ed. Anton von Euw (Cologne, 1991), 191–225; Anton von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu.* (Cologne, 1991), cat. no. 32, 122–124.

[3] An earlier calendar was added to the front of the sacramentary. The female figure is now on fol. 40v and the Christ *Majestas* is on fol. 41.

The Crowned Figure in the Petershausen Sacramentary: A Brief Historiography

The crowned figure was initially identified as an image of Saint Helena, finder of the true cross, but has subsequently been discussed almost in passing as either a Mary or an Ecclesia.[4] These discussions emphasize her regalia and its associations with imperial portraiture, rather than her identity. The focus on the figure's costume and possible models (whether art objects or living persons) in the contemporary court reflects one, or perhaps two, of the dominant narratives in Ottonian studies. The field of Ottonian art history has been shaped by an emphasis on political ideology, with particular concern for such issuses as imperial influence or consumption. A recurring question is the degree to which this young empire adopted the cultural trappings of its neighbors, particularly Byzantium. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the most thorough discussion of the Petershausen Sacramentary to-date has focused on its connections to the imperial Reichstift at Reichenau and the manuscript's representation of Mary as a Byzantine empress.[5]

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[4] Louis Grodecki et al., *Le siècle de l'an mil* (Paris, 1973), 118–125; Volker Himmelein, "De ornamentis ecclesiae—Zur Ausstattung von Kirche und Kloster," in *1000 Jahre Petershausen: Beiträge zu Kunst und Geschichte der Benediktinerabtei Petershausen in Konstanz*, ed. Annelis Schwarzmann and Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke (Karlsruhe, 1984), 107; Rosamund McKitterick, "Women in the Ottonian Church: An Iconographic Perspective," in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods, Studies in Church History 27 (Oxford, 1990), 88; Ludwig Schuba, "Reichenauer Texttradition im Petershausener Sacramentar," *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 12 (1978): 119; Adolf von Oechelhäuser, *Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg 1887), 4–55, 34. For a discussion of the work as Helena, see von Oechelhaeuser. Oechelhaeuser concludes, however, that the figure must be Ecclesia, an opinion echoed by Himmelein. Goldschmidt, Von Euw and McKitterick all identify the figure as Mary: Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination* , vol. 2, *Ottonian Period* (New York: 1928), cat. no. 19; Anton von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 215–219.

[5] Ibid.

The manuscript was created at Reichenau between 970 and 980.[6] In nineteenth-century scholarship it is referred to as the "Heidelberg Sacramentary," in reference to the modern university that absorbed Petershausen's library when the monastery was dissolved in the early nineteenth century. While this de-emphasis of the manuscript's home institution was corrected fairly early in the literature (in 1925 DeWald refers to it as the Petershausen Sacramentary) the manuscript's status as a commission for the monastery at Petershausen has not been adequately explored. Rather, the manuscript continues to be discussed as a Reichenau production.[7] The emphasis on Reichenau, one of the greatest scriptoria of the empire, and the analogies between this manuscript, the Gero Codex (another Reichenau work by the same scribe), and the Carolingian Lorsch Gospels as a potential model have overshadowed discussions of this book's striking dissimilarity to its precursors (Figs. 70–71).[8] Its unique double-paged opening represents a definitive departure from both the Gero and the Lorsch examples, which each contain only a single Christ Majestas image, and yet only twice in the past century have the two images been reproduced together (Fig. 72).[9]

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[6] Hoffmann, 320. The sacramentary has been dated on the basis of its paleographic relationship to the Gero Codex and the Egbert Psalter, among other manuscripts.

[7] Hoffmann, 320. He identifies the primary hand as that of the Reichenau scribe Anno.

[8] Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 1948, fol. 5v; Alba Julia, Documentara Batthayneum, fol. 18v (second half is Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 50); Adolf Schmidt, *Die Miniaturen des Gerokodex: Ein Reichenauer Evangelistar des 10. Jahrhunderts, Handschrift 1948 der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt*, Bilderhandschriften der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt (Leipzig, 1924); Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols. (London, 1991), vol. 1, 25–35; von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 119–225, esp. 215–219; von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, 122.

[9] Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, cat. no. 19, Marie-Louise Thérel, *à l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église*, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris, 1984), pl. 146.

The identity of the crowned and enthroned woman in the Petershausen Sacramentary has been widely debated; the figure has been alternately identified as Ecclesia, on the basis of her staff topped with a cross, and as the Virgin in the raiment of a Byzantine princess. Anton von Euw, who interprets this figure as an imperial Virgin, has suggested that the figure's crown and necklace were intended to evoke elements of contemporary Byzantine imperial attire and may have even been inspired by the appearance of Otto II's Byzantine bride, Theophanu.[10] The Petershausen figure's imperial regalia is more overtly Byzantine than that of any other Ottonian image of the Virgin and is furthermore consistent with representations of Byzantine empresses from the sixth century and later—von Euw points to the mosaic of Empress Theodora in San Vitale in Ravenna,[11] as well as ivory images where the empress wears the pearl-draped crown (Fig. 73).[12]

Theophanu married Otto II in Rome in 972 and stopped with him and their court at the monasteries at St. Gall and Reichenau on the journey north.[13] The hypothesis that this figure's iconography is intended to pay tribute to the new Byzantine princess is appealing; the number of conferences and books dedicated to Theophanu in the last two

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[10] von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 215. This Marian interpretation was also supported by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, who refers to the Petershausen figure as "the Virgin Mary as an imperial personage." Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "The Art of Byzantium and its Relation to Germany," in *The Empress Theophano* in *Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, ed. Adalbert Davids (Cambridge, 1995), 211–230, 214.

[11] F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna: Haupstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1976); Irina Andreescu-Treadgold and Warren Treadgold, "Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. *Vita*le," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (Dec. 1997): 708–723.

[12] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ivory relief of an Empress, Constantinople, around 500; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1952), cat. no. 52.

[13] von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 219.

decades demonstrate the intense interest engendered by this figure.[14] A reviewer of the 1991 Kaiserin Theophanu exhibition made the eloquent analogy that "the figure of the empress Theophanu is for some medievalists as haunting as, for many mid-century filmgoers, that of Greta Garbo . . . the glamour comes partly from the enigma."[15] While it is tempting to imagine that the artist of the Petershausen Sacramentary came into contact with the living empress, and possibly even saw ivories or other images transported by her retinue from Constantinople, such a hypothesis deflects attention from how the needs of the institution at Petershausen and the wealth of imagery there, and accessible to its founding patron, may have contributed to the creation of this image type.

Petershausen

Bishop Gebhard of Constance established the monastery at Petershausen sometime before 983.[16] If Empress Theophanu has been awarded a leading role in Ottonian art historical studies, Gebhard has yet to be cast. Unlike contemporary ecclesiastics like Bishop Bernward of Hildeshiem or Egbert of Trier, Gebhard does not factor into the story of his institution's artistic comissions. This is perhaps not surprising given the almost-total lack of extant art work from the time of the monastery's

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[14] von Euw, *Kaiserin Theophanu*, vol. 2; McKitterick, "Ottonian Intellectual Culture in the Tenth Century and the Role of Theophanu," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): 53–74; Adelbert Davids, *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium* (Cambridge, 1994).

[15] Bernice M. Kaczynski, review of Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, eds., *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*. *Speculum* 69, no. 2 (April 1994): 579–581, 579.

[16] Helmut Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz: zum Selbstverständnis geistichen: Fürstentums im 10. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra 12 (Göttingen, 1973), 64. In the Petershausen chronicle, the author writes that the 992 dedication of the church occured in the tenth year after the construction began; *1000 Jahre Petershausen*, 139.

establishment. While many of Bernward and Egbert's luxurious commissions still exist today, only one object, the sacramentary, remains from the time that Gebhard founded his monastery. Furthermore, Petershausen's once richly-decorated church was destroyed in the twelfth century. From textual accounts, we know that the Ottonian church contained a panel painting of Mary over the choir.[17] As a dedication image, the illumination of the synthesized Mary-Ecclesia ultimately would have possessed a powerful site-specificity when placed on the altar of the new church at Petershausen. It is likely, however, that the manuscript predated the church structure, which was not consecrated until 992.

Discussions of the manuscript's dating, patronage, and use have been complicated by the "assembled" quality of the manuscript.[18] The manuscript consists of a calendar dating around 900[19] and the sacramentary dating between 970 and 980.[20] The enthroned

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[17] *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis*, ed. Otto Feger, *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen*, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 3, Liber 1 (1956): 24. "super chorum vero in tabula singulari imaginem sante Dei genitricis Marie auro et optimis coloribus depingi fecit, et per circuitum eius imagines duodecim apostolorum in modum crucis." For a possible visual analogy for this lost work, see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23338, fol. 104v. An illumination for a pericope book depicts the Pentecost scene with the apostles arranged in a cruciform shape around the dove at center. It is possible that the Petershausen panel, like the Prüm Troper, represented a Pentecost scene with the Virgin. For a discussion of the Reichenau pericope book, see Anne S. Korteweg, "Das Evangelistar Clm. 23338 und seine Stellung innerhalb der Reichenauer 'Schulhandschriften,'" in *Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein, and Willibald Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 125–144, pl. 4.

[18] Ernest T. DeWald, "The Art of the Scriptorium at Einsiedeln," *The Art Bulletin* 7, no. 3 (March, 1925): 79–90.

[19] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 207. Mayr-Harting cites Ludwig Schuba, who in a letter to Mayr-Harting dated the main hand to around 900.

[20] Hoffmann, 320. The Calendar is fol. 2r-7v of the present manuscript. The sacramentary occupies fols. 39–266 of the manuscript. Hoffmann writes that "Hand E," responsible for fols. 45v-105v (the section including the *Majestas* images), is that of the Reichenau scribe Anno, scribe of the Gero Codex.

majestas figures, now on folios 40v and 41 of the manuscript, would originally have served as the prefatory images for the sacramentary, a book of prayers said by the priest during the Mass.[21] The strong visual relationship of these images to a slightly earlier commission points to a Reichenau provenance. The Christ Majestas image was either modeled after, or shared a common model with that of the Gero Codex, a Reichenau pericopes book executed between 965 and 969 (Fig. 70).[22] The Gero Codex and the Petershausen Sacramentary were written by the same scribe, Anno, and it is presumed that the sacramentary's illuminator was also a Reichenau artist. The Petershausen Christ differs only slightly in iconography from the Gero Christ: it lacks the symbols of the four evangelists in the ring that surrounds the figure in the earlier illumination. Both the Petershausen and the Gero images bear close resemblance to the Christ figure in the Carolingian Lorsch Gospels of 815 (Fig. 71).[23] Neither of these earlier majestas images, however, was paired with a Virgin in Majesty—crowned or otherwise.

There are discrepencies between calendar and sacramentary that complicate our understanding of the manuscript's intended use. The calendar was clearly created for the

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[21] von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, 122. Hoffmann, 320.

[22] Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 1948, fol. 5v; Schmidt, *Die Miniaturen des Gerokodex*; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 25–35; von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 215; von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, 122.

[23] Alba Julia, Documentara Batthayneum, fol. 18v; Wilhelm Koehler, "Die Tradition der Adagruppe und die Anfänge des Ottonischen Stiles in der Buchmalerei," in *Festschrift zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen, 31. Oktober 1926*, ed. Wilhelm Worringer, Heribert Reiners, and Leopold Seligmann (Bonn, 1926), 255–272; C. R. Dodwell and D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered: A Re-Assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London, 1965). The nature of these relationships has produced some debate. While Adolf Schmidt (1928) remarked upon the resemblance of the two manuscripts, Turner went beyond the claim that the Gero Codex and Lorsch Gospels were derived from common antecedents, and concluded that both the Gero Codex and Petershausen Sacramentary must have been illuminated at Lorsch (Dodwell and Turner, 51–70).

use of Reichenau.[24] The calendar contains reference to a Reichenau saint, Pelagius: for August 28 the names "Ermetis, Augustini, et Palgii"are listed. The sacramentary, which has been described as "liturgically neutral," lacks prayers to Pelagius for that day—a fact that would seem to argue against a Reichenau provenance—but the rubric on that folio does mention all three saints listed in the calendar.[25] Both sections, then, were probably created at Reichenau and the differences between calendar and sacramentary likely reflect two different periods of Reichenau manuscript production.[26] The manuscript bears the stamp of the library at the monastery at Petershausen and likely entered the monastery shortly after its establishment in 983.[27] While Reichenau's possession of a major scriptorium has been called into question, the monastery continues to be widely

[24] DeWald, 88. DeWald suggests that the manuscript was originally assembled for the occasion of the church's dedication in 992 and hypothesizes that alternately, the manuscript could have been assembled at Einsiedeln, based on the Ensiedeln hand in the latter part of the manuscript.

[25] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination,* vol. 1, 207.

[26] Ibid.

[27] *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis,* in *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen,* ed. Otto Feger, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 3 (Lindau, 1956): 624–683. Ludwig Schuba, 139, argues against the 983 date for the foundation of the monastery. He claims that the two diplomata recording the founding dates as 983 and 1003 are probable forgeries of the twelfth century. He uses a date of 985 for the foundation, citing Manfred Krebs, "Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Klosters Petershausen," in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrhein* (1935), 463–543.

recognized as a major center of Ottonian book production and transmission.[28] With the proponderance of evidence supporting the idea that Reichenau produced numerous, highly sophisticated manuscripts for dissemination throughout the empire, however, the question that remains is the degree of control that patrons would have had over their commissioned manuscripts. More specifically, how might the unusual double Majestas composition have reflected concerns or interests specific to Gebhard and his fledgling institution?

Before establishing his monastery, Gebhard sent a monk, Rupert, to the newly reformed monastery at Einsiedeln to receive instruction. Under Gebhard's direction, Rupert and eleven other monks (replicating the apostolic number) followed their leader Periger from Einsiedeln to found a new institution at Petershausen. Petershausen's initial church, actually a chapel, was dedicated to Saint Michael, but it appears that from its inception, Gebhard consciously modeled his foundation on the so-called Leonine city, in Rome, which contained the papal complex that housed the church and tomb of Saint Peter. A 1099 document names Gebhard's institution "Petri husa."[29] By situating his monastery across the Rhine from Constance, Gebhard mirrored the separation of the

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[28] Dodwell and Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered*; Mayr-Harting, "The Reichenau Problem" in *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 203–209; Hoffmann**,** 303–307; Janet Backhouse, "Reichenau Illumination: Facts and Fictions," review of *Reichenau Reconsidered: A Re-Assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* by Dodwell and Turner, *Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 767 (Feb. 1967): 98–100. While Dodwell and Turner questioned whether Reichenau housed a centralized scriptorium, based on the lack of significant manuscripts that survive from the monastery itself Backhouse, Hoffmann and Mayr-Harting have countered his arguments. The unfortunate disappearance of Reichenau's treasury explains why no significant illuminated manuscripts survive from the monastery itself. Instead, the manuscripts that remain are those which can be linked to the institution through paleography and stylistic analysis.

[29] P. Gebhard Spahr, "Zur Geschichte der Benediktinerabtei Petershausen 983–1802," in *1000 Jahre Petershausen*, 9.

Leonine city (on the western bank of the Tiber) from the rest of Rome.[30] The consecration of the church at Petershausen, in 992, to the saint and former pope Gregory the Great appears to have come about only after an initial identification with Peter, the symbolic first pope and founder of the Church. Following the consecration, according to the chronicler, Gebhard made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he obtained a relic of Saint Gregory. Although this voyage would have antedated the creation of the sacramentary by over a decade, it supports discussions of Gebhard's interest in and symbolic appropriation of elements specific to the papal city. Just as Old Saint Peter's contained the tomb of the symbolic first pope, Gebhard's institution also came to possess the relic of a powerful pope and saint.

One must wonder, if Gebhard's placement of the monastery across the river from Constance was intended to mirror the sacro-political topography of Rome, whether he borrowed other elements from the visual culture of the papacy. The statements conveyed by the synthesized Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary become much clearer when we consider this image in relation to its probable donor/recipient. The strikingly unique iconography and its broader implications for Ottonian visual exegesis can only be understood only in the context of contemporary images of Mary and Ecclesia, both in the north and in Italy.

Arguments for Mary and for Ecclesia

The composition of Christ and Mary facing each other is unique among sacramentary illuminations. While later, in the twelfth century, the Virgin came to

[30] Maurer, 68.

absorb attributes formerly reserved for the personification of the church (such as the chalice),[31] around the year 1000 exegetical associations of Mary with Ecclesia were made primarily by pairing, rather than merging the two figures. The Petershausen figure's very ambiguity, which has so frustrated attempts to make a firm identification, supports the interpretation of this figure as an amalgam. The figure's iconography and placement in the book further suggest that it is indeed a conflation of the two and, as such, is a synthesized Mary-Ecclesia figure.

The arguments for the female majesty figure as a representation of the Virgin are based largely on its juxtaposition with an image of Christ Majestas on the facing page and the exegetical idea of the Virgin as intercessor. The seated female figure holds a book, a less rarefied symbol than the curious (possibly imperial) elements of her costume, which could strengthen a Marian interpretation. While the book was a flexible attribute, used in fifth-century Italian images of Ecclesia, in Ottonian art this element is one that can be linked more frequently with the Virgin. The book in the hands of the Virgin symbolizes the incarnate word of God. An analagous Mary/Intercessor figure appears in yet another Reichenau manuscript, also from the circle of Anno.[32] The roughly contemporary missal fragment, dating between 960 and 980, now in the Arsenal Library

[31] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 379, fol. 6v*; Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, comp. Meta Harrsen and George K. Boyce, intr. Bernard Berenson (New York, 1953), 5–6; C. B. Strehlke, "An Umbrian Missal, Pierpont Morgan MS 379," *Esercizi* 4 (1981): 28–32. See for example the late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century missal for the use of Spoleto. In the crucifixion scene accompanying the canon of the mass, the Virgin and St. John stand in their traditional positions on either side of the cross, with the Virgin holding a chalice—Ecclesia's attribute—to catch the blood flowing from Christ's side.

[32] von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, 125. An analysis of the hands identifies the book as being a product of the circle of Anno.

in Paris, provides a possible key to the Petershausen figure's identity (Fig. 74).[33] The Arsenal fragment contains the final part of a missal. The group of texts for the sung and spoken parts of the votive masses are followed by an image of the Virgin standing beside an enthroned Christ. Each figure holds a book and lifts a hand in acclamation. Mary's identity and role as an intercessor are clearly defined by the accompanying titulus, in which the Virgin asks her son to honor his mother and show mercy toward his servants.[34] The tituli are taken directly from the liturgy, thus providing an example of the way that Ottonian illumination could give visual form to church ritual.[35]

The theme of Virgin as intercessor was introduced to the liturgy in the north as early as the ninth century, and possibly even earlier. As the Bride of Christ, Mary would be an appropriate figure to accompany a Christ Majestas. Mary was identified as the Bride of Christ for the first time in the fourth century by the eastern exegetes Epiphanius of Salamis and Ephrem of Syria.[36] This metaphor was taken up in the sixth century by

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[33] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 610 fol. 25v; von Euw, *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, cat. no. 33; Neal Rasmussen and Eric Palazzo, "Messes privées, livre liturgique et architecture: A propos du ms. Paris, Arsenal 610 et de l'église abbatiale de Reichenau-Mitterzell," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 72, no. 1 (January, 1988): 77–87.

[34] Ibid.
"Aurea stella maris regalis virgula floris
Supplicat hic genito virgo Maria suo.
Ut clemens famulis gratissima dona salutis.
Dignetur ferre matris honore suae."

[35] Eric Palazzo, "Marie et l'élaboration d'un espace ecclésial au haut moyen âge," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge dans la société médiévale*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (Paris, 1996), 319–320.

[36] Alois Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria*: *Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche*, Paradosis, Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literature und Theologie 5 (Freiburg, 1951), 137–154; Hervé Coathalem, *Le parallelisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Eglise dans las tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siecle*, Analecta Gregoriana 74 (Rome, 1954), esp. Chapter 2, "Le Parallesime Marie—Eglise jusqu'à Bede le Venerable," 31–56.

the Syrian poet Romanos in his hymn Akathistos, which was composed either for the Byzantine feast of the Annunciation or for the earlier feast of the Commemoration of Mary. The Akathistos was translated into Latin and came into use in the West no later than the ninth century,[37] although a Gallo-Germanic prayer made reference to Mary as the bride of Christ as early as the seventh century.[38]

The shared scriptorium and the inclusion of the iconography of the book link the Petershausen and Arsenal manuscript images and may be seen as evidence for reading the Petershausen figure as an image of the Virgin who, either as intercessor or spouse, takes her place at Christ's side. While Mary occasionally appears with a book in northern examples, however, this element is not so consistently included in representations of her as to be an exclusively Marian attribute.[39]

As a symbol laden with allegorical associations, the book is equally appropriate for either Mary or Ecclesia. The Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden offers an example of this flexibility. The Virgin in the manuscript's crucifixion scene is shown holding a book as she stands beneath the cross, but is matched on the other side of the cross by John the Evangelist, who holds a scroll—presumably his gospel (Fig. 75).[40] Ruth Meyer

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[37] Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London, 1963), 129; G.G. Meersemann, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* (Freiburg, 1958).

[38] Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 15–17. Beissel cites Liturgia gallicana 211 ff, for a discussion of the prayer appearing in a late-seventh century manuscript from Autun.

[39] See for example the Annunciation scene in the Anglo Saxon Benedictional of Aethelwold, London, British Library, Add. 49598, fol. 5v.

[40] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Fol.2, fol. 3v; Ruth Meyer, "Die Miniaturen im Sakramentar des Bischofs Sigebert von Minden," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, ed. Frieda Dettweiler, Herbert Köllner, and Peter Anself Riedl (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), 181–200.

has interpreted these elements as visual markers of the historical reality (through the record of the Gospels) of Christ's triumph over death.[41] In Sigebert's sacramentary, the historical reality of the Bible is further emphasized in the illuminations of the Ascension and of Pentecost, in which the apostles are all shown holding books.[42] This motif is also seen in the Pentecost scene in the Prüm Troper, where all of the apostles—but not the Virgin—hold books, as a symbol of the Word and their impending mission to preach.[43]

The book appears as a symbol of Ecclesia in a fifth-century church. Mosaics on the inside of the façade of Santa Sabina, in Rome, include two personifications of the Church. The figures are labeled Ecclesia ex Circumcisione and Ecclesia ex Gentibus, in reference to the two groups out of which the early Church emerged (Fig. 76).[44] Each figure appears as a veiled woman wearing a mantle bordered with crosses, who holds her right hand in blessing and extends a book with her left. Despite its early use as an attribute for Ecclesia however, in Ottonian art this figure is most commonly shown with a cross staff and chalice.

The Petershausen figure's cross staff, seen in contemporary Ottonian representations of Ecclesia, the lack of the Christ child, and the exotic regalia all support an identification of the figure as a personification of the Church. In several sacramentaries from Fulda, the Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden and in the Bamberg Commentaries, Ecclesia is identifiable by her cross staff, chalice, or sometimes both.[45]

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[41] Meyer, 187.

[42] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Fol.2, fols. 148, 158.

[43] Ms. lat. 9448, fol.49.

[44] *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. S. Herder (1968), s. v. "Ekklesia," 565. The mosaics date between 422 and 432.

[45] See for example Figs. 19 and 81.

An understanding of the Petershausen figure's mixed attributes and this image's meaning when paired with the Christ Majestas requires a broad examination of the visual models of both the Virgin and Ecclesia for this innovative image.

Contemporary Images of the Virgin Majesty

In order to discuss the possibility of a Marian interpretation of the Petershausen figure, one must address its place within the tradition of crowned images of the Virgin in this region. In Ottonian art the Virgin is almost always veiled and simply dressed, as is appropriate for narrative scenes from the life of Christ. Even non-narrative images preserve the motherly, human aspect of the Virgin. The Prüm Troper, discussed earlier, is roughly contemporary with the Petershausen Sacramentary and contains an odd image of an orant Virgin in majesty (Fig. 19).[46] In the image for the Nativity of the Virgin, Mary sits enthroned in Heaven. Her hands are raised in the orant pose, indicating her willingness to intercede with Christ on behalf of the faithful. In a device somewhat like that utilized by the Petershausen Sacramentary's illuminator, Mary is linked to Christ through similar background framing devices; in the troper's Ascension scene, on folio 45v, Christ's mandorla encompasses stars shining against a blue background, as does the circle surrounding the Virgin on folio 62v. Here, the starry backgrounds establish their separation from the earthly realm and allude to their reign in Heaven. Despite the fact that the Virgin is enthroned on a globe against a starry firmament, she is shown not in royal garb, but in humble robe and veil.[47] Her royalty was implied through the reading

[46] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 9448, fol. 62v.

[47] Rainer Kahsnitz, "The Gospel Book of the Abbess Svanhild of Essen in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53 (1970): 379.

that the image accompanied—the genealogy of Christ and his descent from King David—as well as by her seat on a globe in the heavens, a position occupied by Christ in Carolingian examples.[48]

In contrast, what is most striking about the Petershausen image is the figure's imperial regalia. The only extant example of an Ottonian crowned Virgin that is contemporary with the Petershausen image appears in the Fulda vitae manuscript of saints Kilian and Margaret, of circa 970 (Fig. 49).[49] In the title page for the life of Margaret, the Virgin appears without veil or the Christ child. She is enthroned, distinguished by a mandorla, and wears a diadem, identical copies of which she places on the heads of the saints Margaret and Regina on either side of her. The masculine Theotokos Maria, or "God-bearer Mary" in this image bears no resemblance to the Italian Maria Regina images with which the Petershausen figure has been compared.

Documentation exists for an earlier Maria Regina illumination that has been lost and in which Mary was both crowned and held the cross staff. The 1597 drawing of a dedication page from the vitae of Saints Cosmas and Damian—a Fulda commission from around 970—shows the Virgin enthroned without the Christ child (Fig. 52).[50] She wore a flat, disk-shaped crown, raised her left hand in benediction and held a cross staff with her right. While an inscription, like that in the Kilian and Margaret manuscript, identified her

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[48] See for example the San Paolo Bible. Rome, Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le mura. fol. 307v.

[49] Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I. 189. Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, Orationes: Ms. I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover,* Codices collecti phototype impressi 83 (Graz, 1988).

[50] Hermann Schnitzler, "Ein frühottonisches Fuldaer Kunstwerk des Essener Münsterschatzes," in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965,* ed. Frieda Dettweiler (Marburg, 1967), 115–118.

as the theotokos, the cross staff could suggest, even here, a possible blurring of the iconographic distinctions between Mary and Ecclesia. In overall appearance however, neither of the two Fulda Virgins resemble the Petershausen figure. They both wear the pallium draped over the shoulder in the masculine style and were it not for the theotokos inscriptions, would (at first) seem to most closely resemble images of Christ in Majesty.

Slightly later examples from the Bernward Gospels of 1015 and the Uta Codex of 1025 show crowned Virgins. In both of these images, however, Mary appears in simple robes, not imperial garb. Perhaps most significant, in each image the Virgin holds the Christ child—an element lacking in the Petershausen majesty figure.

Ottonian Images of Ecclesia

Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries Ecclesia figures appeared almost exclusively in large, multi-figured assemblages, in Ottonian crucifixion scenes, apocalypse images, and dedication pages. The profusion of these images, along with new iconographic traits being given to both Mary and Ecclesia in art, makes it at times difficult to distinguish between the two figures.

The earliest Ottonian manuscript images of Ecclesia appear in a group of late tenth-century sacramentaries from Fulda. Three sacramentaries, now in Bamberg, Göttingen, and Udine, as well as a book of pericopes now in Aschaffenburg, all contain images of Ecclesia in the illustrations for the feasts of All Saints and Agnus Dei (Figs. 77–80).[51] In one such illustration in the Bamberg Sacramentary,[52] the assembled body of

[51] Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forchungen 77 (Münster, 1994).

[52] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 1, fol. 165 v. ibid 73–76.

the risen church gather around and under a medallion containing the apocalyptic lamb. Standing directly under the lamb, the robed and nimbed figure of Ecclesia holds a staff topped by a cross and extends a chalice upward to catch the blood flowing from the lamb's side.

This image, associated both with the feast of All Saints and the feast of Agnus Dei, was a popular one in the Fulda books, which display little variation in the format of this scene. In a smaller, half-page image in the Göttigen Sacramentary[53] and in the full-page Udine image,[54] Ecclesia is represented with the cross-staff, veil, and halo. The Aschaffenburg manuscript also contains an apocalyptic lamb accompanied by an Ecclesia figure holding the chalice and cross-staff.[55] Ecclesia's prominence in the composition and the choice of the apocalyptic lamb for the frontispiece of a book of readings for the Mass demonstrate the importance of both this theme and the use of the personification of the Church in images from Fulda. The group of Ecclesia figures that emerge in Fulda share a uniform iconography of cup, banner, and proximity to the apocalyptic lamb.

One possible deviation from this standard representation of Ecclesia appears in the Udine manuscript: standing directly below Ecclesia there is a mysterious figure seen from behind. She appears to be female and stands in the orant position, with hands outstretched to the assembled members of the church. While this figure has been interpreted as Terra, Mayr-Harting has noted that her headgear is consistent with contemporary Ecclesia figures.[56] He suggests that this figure represents the earthly

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[53] Göttigen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231, fol. 66v. ibid 73–76.

[54] Udine, Archivo Capitolare, ms. 1, fol. 6v. ibid 73–76.

[55] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 148, pl. IX.

[56] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 42.

Church while the figure above her represents the heavenly Church. The headdress to which Mayr-Harting refers is a small golden cap that could be meant to resemble the militaristic helm worn by Ecclesia in the Bamberg Commentaries, a Reichenau manuscript of c. 1000 (Fig. 81),[57] and in the later Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden (Fig. 19).[58]

The Fulda books included the Virgin among the ranks of the faithful, but did not explicitly express the Virgin's role as a type for the Church. In the Bamberg Commentaries, we find the Virgin shown with Ecclesia in an image that carries both exegetical and apocalyptic overtones (Fig. 82).[59] The two figures of the Virgin and Ecclesia are placed in proximity to and interacting with one another. They appear together in the Procession of the Baptized to Heaven, an illustration for the Psalm 84. The procession, in a long spiraling curve, follows Ecclesia, who leads the group toward the image of the crucified Christ at the top right corner. Ecclesia holds the cross-staff and turns her head away from Christ to extend the chalice to the woman closest to her in the line of the faithful. While initially identified only generally as the "first of the sanctified women," Mayr-Harting suggests that this figure is the Virgin, based on her association with the three women at the tomb, who stand behind her.[60] He recognizes the

[57] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. 22, fol. 4v.

[58] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. fol. 2, fol. 9.

[59] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. 22, fol. 4v. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol.2, 31–45, pl. 2. Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg* (Bamberg, 1887–1912).

[60] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 42. Mayr-Harting writes that the association of Mary with three women at the tomb, on other side, may be suggested by Acts of the Apostles (1:14) "these (the apostles) all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus."

discrepancy between text and image in interpreting this figure as Mary. The glosses for this manuscript are abridgements of Alcuin's, which are in turn abridgements of Bede's commentary on the Song of Songs. While Ambrosius had interpreted the Bride in the Song of Songs as Mary, this parallel was not used by Bede or Alcuin and this parallel was only developed later in the twelfth-century exegesis of Rupert of Deutz.[61] In Bede's commentary, he instead interpreted the Bride as the Church.[62] It seems likely that this figure, placed in close proximity to the three Marys, was indeed meant to represent the Virgin. The action of Ecclesia handing the chalice, with all of its sacramental associations, to the Virgin provides an excellent example of the way that images were working independently of theological texts, likely in response to the growing importance of Mary in the liturgy and homilies. As demonstrated in Chapter One, with the image of the Virgin in the Pentecost scene in the Prüm Troper, the insertion of the Virgin into textual contexts where she was not specifically mentioned was a recurring trend in Ottonian art.

In the slightly later image in the Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden (1022–36), the Virgin once again appears with Ecclesia, in an image for the Canon of the Mass. In this illumination, Bishop Sigebert presides at mass (Fig. 19).[63] A cleric stands behind Sigebert while across the altar stand the figures of the Virgin and Ecclesia, who is recognizable by her militaristic helm, chalice and staff.[64] Through the visual pairing with

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[61] From 850 to about 1050 there was in fact no new interpretation of the book at all.

[62] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 42.

[63] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. Fol. 2, fol. 9.

[64] An inscription around the image reads "Take, Sigebert, the gifts of eternal life through which the mother of graces gently refreshes you."

Ecclesia who stands at her side across the altar from Sigebert, Mary can be seen as "the mother of graces" and as a type for the Church. The Virgin is shown to be a type for the Church through a combination of inscriptions and her association with the personification of Ecclesia.[65]

Italian Models

Geographically, Petershausen was located in the southern reaches of the Ottonian Empire, in greater proximity to Rome than many of the northern territories. Gebhard's efforts to symbolically link his institution to the papal city demonstrate his attempt to imbue Petershausen with the legitimacy of the early christian sites of Rome and the Leonine city. With such a demonstrated interest in the papal city, we can not restrict a study of Mary/Ecclesia imagery in the Petershausen Sacramentary to solely northern examples as the Lorsch Gospels and the Gero Codex. Beyond Gebhard's interest in emulating aspects of the papal city, the Ottonian court had strong ties to Italy. While the Petershausen Sacramentary's illuminator may well have modeled the crowned female figure after Theophanu, it is also conceivable that he was directly exposed to the Italian tradition of the cult of the Virgin, in which panel paintings and mosaics stressed her royal aspect. Gude Suckale-Redlefsen draws attention to the often-overlooked point that Ottonian art, while produced in monastic scriptoria, can be considered as court art, likely produced by scribes and illuminators attached to the Court Chapel. She further suggests that future research be devoted to the role of the Court Chapel in the commission and

[65] Meyer, 188; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 92. Meyer and Mayr-Harting have both pointed out the unusual choice of this theme for an illustration of the canon of Mass.

dissemination of artworks throughout the Empire.[66] Little attention has been devoted, however, to the time spent by the court in Italy. Rather than examining the Petershausen Sacramentary as a tribute to an eastern princess, it would perhaps be more productive to focus on the regular entry of the court into Italian territories and the objects and monuments its members might have seen.

The 972 marriage of Otto II and Theopanu marked neither the first nor the primary contact between the Ottonian and Byzantine Empires; Italy had already served as a channel for Byzantinizing themes into Ottonian art. The Ottonians' presence in Italy began with the reign of Otto I, who was crowned as king of the former Carolingian kingdom of Lombardy in Pavia in 951, before being crowned as Emperor by the Pope in Rome in 962. Otto II was crowned as Emperor and married Theophanu in Rome, and their son Otto III established a palace in the city during his reign (998–1001). The Ottonian emperors were very much present in Italy and would have been exposed to imperial imagery in church decoration there.

Italian Models: Maria Regina

The Petershausen figure bears a striking resemblance to the queenly Virgins in found in monumental frescoes and mosaic in Rome. The Maria Regina type, while new to the north during the Ottonian period, was known in Rome as early as the sixth century, possibly even earlier, with a fresco of the crowned Virgin in the church of Santa Maria

[66] Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, review of *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study, vols. 1 and 2,* by Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Art Bulletin* 75 no. 3 (September 1993): 527.

Antiqua.[67] Although this image was no longer visible by the tenth century,[68] the Byzantine panel painting of the crowned Madonna della Clemenza (displayed in Santa Maria in Trastevere from the seventh or eighth century) provides an example of the image type of which the Ottonian court was most likely aware (Fig. 54).[69] Both of these works were associated with Greek patrons and demonstrate Rome's mixed Greek and Latin influences and the ways that imperializing themes made their way into art of the west.[70] More particularly, they demonstrate a kind of Marian iconography that would have been known to the Ottonian court and any artists associated with it. The importance

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[67] John Osborne, "Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. A. Eastmond and L. James (Aldershot, 2003), 135–156. Von Euw, "Der Darmstädter Gero-Codex," 125. Von Euw has also referred to the regina figure in Santa Maria Maggiore as a possible precursor of the Petershausen figure as a Mary. While this figure remains somewhat contested as Mary, it attests to the presence of Maria Regina iconography in Rome as early as the fifth century. The gold-robed woman shown four times on the mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore is often identified as an early Maria Regina. The mosaic dates to 432–440 and shows a diademed figure presenting the Christ child shows a crowned Virgin in an annunciation scene. Susanne Spain, "'The Promised Blessing': The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (Dec. 1979): 518–540. Susanne Spain has argued against the figure as a Maria Regina, identifying the woman instead as Sarah, and writing that the emergence of the Maria Regina type occurred only in the sixth century. Spain cites Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City finds its Symbol," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 79–108. Cameron claims that the imperialized Virgin type appeared in the Latin West only in the sixth-century following the imagery in the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus. Regardless, this iconography was present by the tenth century when the Ottonian court was present in Rome.

[68] Osborne, "Images of the Mother of God," 140. The fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua would not have been visible after 575 because of subsequent renovations.

[69] C. Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere* (Rome, 1961). Maria Andaloro, "La datazione della tavola di S. Maria in Trastevere," *Rivista dell'istituto Nazionale D'archeologia E Storia dell'arte* 19–20 (1972–3): 139–215.

[70] Spain, 530. The icon in S. Maria in Trastevere was associated with John VII, pope between 705 and 707 and son of the Byzantine curopalates in Rome. Spain cites Krautheimer for the church's Greek connections: Richard Krautheimer, "S. Maria Antiqua," *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae* 2 (Vatican City, 1962), 263, 266–68.

of Rome for the Ottonians and its possible influence on the changing iconography of the Virgin in Ottonian art cannot be overlooked.[71] It is in Italy that we find an established tradition of the crowned empresses and imperial Virgins.

In a recent work dealing with images of the Mother of God in Byzantium, Bissera Pentcheva argued that the Maria Regina imagery likely originated in Constantinople. Pentcheva's argument is based primarily on the evidence that the concept of Mary as queen was present in the exegetical writings of Andrew of Crete and others; as physical evidence she points out that the Santa Maria Antiqua Virgin likely dates to the period when the now-church was a Byzantine guardroom leading to the imperial palace on the Palatine. [72] In his earlier work, John Osborne offered the additional example of an early Maria Regina mosaic in a chapel at Durrës in Albania, lending support to a Byzantine genesis for this imagery.[73]

What is critical for this argument is not the origins of the imagery, but its established use in the eighth and ninth centuries. By the ninth century the theme of the Maria Regina was omnipresent in the city—as seen in the mosaics in the oratory of John

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[71] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renovatio*, 2 vols., Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, (Leipzig, 1929).

[72] Bissera Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), 21–3. Pentcheva distinguishes the costume of the Maria Regina in Santa Maria Antiqua from that seen in the later papal commissions; in the eighth-century Roman examples, the Maria Regina wears the dalmatica, unlike the earlier sixth-century Maria Antiqua example where she wears the loros.

[73] The identity of the figure in the sixth-century mosaic is not uncontested. For a discussion of the Albanian work, see Osborne in *Icon and Word*, 148, n.26. As an aside to his discussion of the fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua, Osborne (140) offers the possibility that this image type could have reflected an imperial position against the Arianism of the Ostrogoths. He also points out that in Rome there are no known examples of this type in the seventh century. I suggest that the civic context in which the earliest securely identified Maria Regina appears, and furthermore, its distance from the capitol of Contantinople, bears further consideration for early meaning of the Maria Regina imagery.

VII (Figs. 84–85),[74] as well as frescos in San Clemente, San Lorenzo *fuori le mura*, and Santa Susanna.[75] Outside of Rome, Mary is crowned in a monumental wall cycle in the church of Santa Maria in Insula, in Volturno, painted between 824–42.

In this period the images of the crowned Virgin, often shown with a kneeling donor at her feet, became a clear symbol for the papacy.[76] This is demonstrated most clearly in the now-lost mosaic program from the oratory of Pope John VII (705–707), in Old Saint Peter's. The dedication ceremony for the oratorory was held on March 31, 706. In the central panel of the cycle, John VII was represented kneeling and presenting a model of his church to the Virgin, who wore a Byzantine-style crown with *prependoulia* (Figs. 84, 85).[77] With the Maria Regina, the papacy fashioned an image that expressed

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[74] Reproduction drawing of lost mosaic: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barbarini lat. 2732, fols. 76v-77; Ann Karin Van Dijk, "The Oratory of Pope John VII (705–07) in Old Saint Peter's" (Ph.D. diss, Johns Hopkins University, 1995); Robert Deshman, "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 33–70, 37. Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Mosaics of John VII (A.D. 705–707)*, Acta ad archeologia et artium historiam pertinentia 2 (1965).

[75] John Osborne, "Early Medieval Painting in San Clemente, Rome: The Madonna and Child in the Niche," *Gesta* 20, no. 2 (1981), 299–310, Osborne "Images of the Mother of God," 135–156, pl. 10.3, 10.5; Ursula Nilgen, "Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in Santa Susanna, Rom: Ein Römisches Thema mit Variationen," in *Bedeutung in den Bildern, Festschrift für Jörg Traeger zum, 60 Geburtstag* (Regensburg, 2002), 231–245.

[76] Hans Belting, "Papal Artistic Commissions as Definitions of the Medieval Church in Rome," in *Light on the Eternal City: Observations and Discoveries in the Art and Architecture of Rome*, Papers in Art History from the Pensylvania State University 2, eds. H. Hager and S.S. Munshower (University Park, PA, 1987), 13–30; Thomas Noble, "Topography, Celebration and Power: the Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. M. de Jong and F. Theuws (Leiden, 2001), 45–91; Mary Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, UK, 1997), 173–203.

[77] The excerpted mosaic panel of the Virgin, now in the church of San Marco in Florence, is reproduced in Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 128, pl. 76; alt. cit, Nordhagen, cat. no. 1, see esp. 121–166.

an allegiance to heavenly authority, rather than that of the Byzantine emperors.[78] The creation of a symbol that both legitimizes the position of the ruler and at the same time leaves his authority on earth essentially unchallenged is one that was to have bearing on the emergence of the crowned Virgin in Ottonian art.

Italian Images of Ecclesia

In looking to Italy for possible sources of the Petershausen figure's imperial imagery, one must also take into consideration a third category of exemplar: in addition to the crowned Virgins of the north and the Roman Maria Reginae, we find the imperial Mater Ecclesia in southern Italian exultet rolls. The prominence of this figure in Italian art provides a link to another tradition of crowned female figures in early Medieval art, and in so doing offers another distinct model to which the Petershausen figure may refer.

Initially, the Italian figures of Ecclesia had a humble appearance—she often appeared as a veiled woman. In one of the earliest extant images of Ecclesia, she appears on a panel of the fifth-century carved wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome (Fig. 86).[79]

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[78] Gerhart Ladner, "Die Bildnisse der Östlichen Päpste des 7. und 8. Jahrhundert in Römischen Mosaiken und Wandgemälden," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 6 (1940). It was first suggested by Ladner that the use of a Maria Regina in this donor image likely had political overtones; the attempt of a weak pope to show himself as politically autonomous. Robert Deshman, "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 33–70. Deshman (39) writes that this argument is convincing, but argues for a more nuanced reading of what it conveyed to the eighth-century patron to portray oneself as a servant of Mary. He quotes Ildefonse of Toledo in a seventh-century treatise, "that which is devoted to the mother rebounds to the Son; …the honour which is brought in servitude to the queen passes over to the king." According to Deshman, the "association between [the Virgin's] royalty and her intercession is fundamental, for in the Latin West the pious desire for her intercession was a major motive for declaring her regina." Noble, "Topography, celebration and power" (66) supports the argument for alternate authority.

[79] Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom*, Bilderhefte des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom 7 (Tübingen, 1980).

In the upper register, Christ appears in a circular madorla, raising his right hand in benediction and holding an unfurled rotulus in his left. The alpha and omega and the four symbols of the evangelists identify him as the apocalyptic Christ of Revelations 1:7. On the lower register of the panel the saints Peter and Paul hold a circle inscribed with a cross over the head of the woman who stands between them, raising her arms and turning her head to behold the vision above.[80] Through the female personification of Ecclesia, Early Christian artists gave form to biblical exegesis.[81] In this image Ecclesia is the bride of the Lamb referred to in the Apocalypse, as indicated by the Alpha and Omega on either side of Christ.

The female personification of Ecclesia became a well-established figure in the visual arts in Italy throughout the Middle Ages, but only in the tenth century did the royal

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[80] This figure has been identified as Ecclesia based on the connection between Ecclesia and the two apostles Peter and Paul in other Roman monuments and in St. Sabina itself. On the inside of the facade, two personifications of the Church once appeared in the company of the apostles Peter and Paul. Although much of the mosaic has been altered, leaving only the two personifications of the church, an eighteenth-century drawing shows that the original composition included St. Peter standing before the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione and St. Paul standing in front of an Ecclesia ex Gentibus. The mosaics of Peter and Paul were documented in a drawing by Giovanni Ciampini. Giovanni Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta* 1 (Rome, 1747), pl. 48. Marie-Louise Thérel, *A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques*, CNRS (Paris, 1984), 111; Marie-Louise Thérel, *Les symboles de l'Ecclesia dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Rome, 1973). In her earlier work, Thérel writes that the proximity of this figure to the historical event of the Ascension image above with her placement between Peter and Paul—where she functions as a representative of the assembled church—makes this a blended symbol of Mary-Ecclesia (131). Paul Maser, "Parusie Christi oder Triumph der Gottesmutter? Anmerkungen zu einem Relief der Tür von Santa Sabina in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 77 nos. 1–2 (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1982): 30–51. Maser interprets the figure as an image of the Virgin and discusses its connections to the dogma of the Theotokos.

[81] Müller; Klaus Gamber, *Maria—Ecclesia: Die Gottesmutter im theologischen Verständnis und den Bildern der frühen Kirche*, Beiheft zu den Studia patristica et liturgica 19, Eikona 4 (Regensburg, 1987); Thérel, *Les symboles de l'Ecclesia.*

Mater Ecclesia appear in illuminated rotuli. A tenth-century exultet roll from Volturno shows the figure of Ecclesia seated on a church structure.[82] (Fig. 87) Shown in the orant position, her crown protrudes from a square halo within a larger round halo. The tradition of crowned Ecclesia figures continues into the late eleventh century, with the Barberini Exultet, a liturgical roll from Montecassino. Accompanying the readings for the Easter vigil, an image of a crowned Mater Ecclesia stands in the center of a church structure, one hand on either side of the arch that frames her (Fig. 88).[83] In smaller arches to her sides stand two groups labeled clerus and populus. The exultet images of the crowned Mater Ecclesia resemble early images of the Virgin as queen. Ursula Nilgen notes the influence that early Italian images of Maria Regina must have had on such figures as the Barbarini Ecclesia, who appears crowned and richly robed in Byzantine ceremonial garb.[84] The Italian exultet images of Ecclesia could have derived their royal iconography from eighth-century images of the Virgin in Majesty such as that in the oratory of John VII, or they may have just as easily taken this imagery directly from imperial Roman and Byzantine ruler images. Whatever the source, images such as those in the Volturno and Barbarini Exultets demonstrate that by the tenth century the crown had become an attribute also clearly associated with Ecclesia.

The image of Ecclesia, like that of the Virgin, evolved from a simple female figure, identified either by label or by her association with specific apostles, to the

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[82] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. lat. 9820; Herbert Douteil and Felix Vongrey, eds., *Exultet-Rolle: Vollstandig Faksimile Ausgabe in Originalgrösse des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 9820 d. Biblioteca apostolica vaticana* (Graz, 1975).

[83] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barbarini lat. 592; Lucinia Speciale, *Die Exultetrolle: Codex Barberini Latinus 592*, commentary by Guglielmo Cavallo, Codices e Vaticanis selectis 76 (Zürich, 1988).

[84] Nilgen, 22.

representation of the imperial Church, shown crowned and in an architectural context. Both types were appropriate for use by popes and church leaders, and both reflected contemporary concerns; the Early Christian Ecclesia figures in St. Sabina, shown with Peter and Paul, represent the recruited peoples who unite to form the Christian Church,[85] while the later exultet roll images represent the established authority of that institution. The presence of the model of the queenly Ecclesia and its prevalence in tenth-century Italian exultet illuminations prevent us from deducing that the Petershausen figure, if derived from Italian models, must fall into the tradition of the crowned Maria Regina.

Northern Parallels between the Virgin and Ecclesia

The seamless fusion of attributes in the Petershausen figure distinguishes it from all other northern images of Mary and Ecclesia. In Carolingian art, the relationship between the Virgin and Ecclesia was most strongly expressed by pairing the two figures, usually in crucifixion scenes. During the Carolingian period the figure of Ecclesia appeared in the west primarily in crucifixion scenes and only rarely elsewhere. In what is most likely the earliest Carolingian example in either medium, an initial illumination in the Drogo Sacramentary (c. 850), Ecclesia appears as a robed figure with a staff and halo, who stands at the side of the cross and extends her chalice to catch the blood that flows

[85] This split form—with two personifications representing the Church in art—also appears in the early fifth-century apse mosaic of St. Pudenziana. In the St. Pudenziana image, Peter and Paul sit among the apostles, on either side of a Christ in Majesty. Behind Peter and Paul stand veiled female figures who hold laurel crowns. These are allegories of the two churches—*Ecclesia ex Circumcisione* crowns Peter, while *Ecclesia ex Gentibus* crowns Paul. This refers to Galatians 2.8, where Paul stated that he had been instructed to carry the Gospel to the gentiles, just as Peter had been entrusted to carry the Gospel to the Jews.

from the wound in Christ's side (Fig. 89).[86] The robed figure of the Virgin stands behind her, to the side of the composition. The figure of Ecclesia standing beside the cross with her chalice became a standard convention in Carolingian ivory plaques. In an example from the Liuthar group dating about 870, the events surrounding Christ's crucifixion and resurrection are shown on several registers with angels and personifications of the sun and moon above and the earth and sea below (Fig. 90).[87] Ecclesia stands beside the cross, extending her chalice to catch the blood flowing from Christ's side. The Virgin is present behind and slightly above Ecclesia, at the head of a group of mourning women.

In later ivories from the Metz school Ecclesia is usually paired more immediately with the Virgin as they both stand to the right of Christ. In a ninth- or tenth-century Metz ivory, Ecclesia stands at the base of the cross to Christ's right with Mary behind her, while on the other side a nearly identical figure holding a banner turns away from the cross, looking over her shoulder at Christ as she walks toward John. (Fig. 92).[88]

During this period images expressing the concept of Ecclesia in manuscript illumination did so primarily through architectural representations featuring the Heavenly

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[86] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 9428, fol. 43v; *Drogo-Sakramentar: manuscrit latin 9428, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, Facsimile, 2 vols. (Graz, 1974).

[87] Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser, I, VIIII.—XI. Jahrhundert* , 2 vols. (Berlin 1916–1926, reprinted 1972–5), vol. 1, cat. no. 41.

[88] Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 1, cat. no. 85.

Jerusalem, rather than the human personification of the earthly Church.[89] The human personification of Ecclesia is absent from the images of the Adoration of the Lamb in such Carolingian manuscripts as the Gospels of Saint Médard of Soissons, in which the apocalyptic lamb stands at the apex of an architectural structure representing the Heavenly Jerusalem of Revelations (Fig. 91).[90]

Several examples outside of crucifixion scenes provide instances of the association of Mary with Ecclesia in Carolingian art. Two Carolingian images, an ivory plaque of a Virgo Militans from Aachen (Fig. 94)[91] and the Virgin from the San Paolo Bible's Pentecost scene (Fig. 12), have been discussed convincingly as types for the Church. The Virgo Militans, an ivory plaque from the Ada Group, is without parallel in its striking iconography. The large ivory (22 x 14.5 cm) shows the Virgin seated on an imperial throne and wearing vaguely militaristic garb, her sleeves armoured greaves. In her right hand she holds a cross staff and in her left two spindles. The spindle was often included in Byzantine images of the Annunciation, but this odd combination of elements can not be attributed to one specific model or type. The Virgin in the Carolingian ivory carries a cross staff that most clearly associates her with Ecclesia, but because she is

[89] Peter Low, "The city refigured: a Pentecostal Jerusalem in the San Paolo Bible," *Jewish Art* 23–24 (1997/98). The Gellone Sacramentary contains a strange image of Mary that resembles Ecclesia, but was clearly meant to represent the Virgin: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12048, fol. 1v; Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris: 2007), 78–83, cat. no. 7. The figure prefacing the Christmas Mass on folio 1v is labeled as "S(an)c(t)a Maria" although her militaristic garb, cross staff and censer bear a closer representation to contemporary images of Ecclesia. Marriane Besseyre (78) suggests that the costumes worn by Mary and the similarly-garbed Saint Agatha, on fol.17v, are meant to resemble the ephod worn by the Levitic priest. In this guise, Mary may have been understood as a "servant of the temple."

[90] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 1v; Florentine Mütherich and Joachim Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (London, 1977), 39.

[91] Metropolitan Museum of Art (accession number 17.190.49).

dressed in the traditional veil and robes and holding a spindle—an attribute common to Mary in Byzantine Annunciation scenes—this figure is still clearly identifiable as the Virgin.[92] The Virgin in the San Paolo Bible lacks iconographic elements specific to Ecclesia. Shown as a veiled figure seated among the assembled apostles, it is the absence of the tongue of flame marking the other figures that sets her apart—Mary is here shown as a symbol of the Church rather than a figure who was historically present at the scene.[93]

In western exegesis, the initial evidence for a textual parallel between the Virgin and Ecclesia stemmed most directly from commentaries on the Apocalypse. The first of these was by the Carolingian exegete, Ambrosius Autpertus, around 775. Ambrosius interpreted the "woman enveloped by the sun" in Revelations 12 as the Virgin, and was the first to declare that the Virgin was a type for the church, specifying that the Virgin also holds the office of the Church.[94] These analogies were echoed in Haimo of Auxerre's commentary of 840—Haimo's primary source was Ambrosius' work—and somewhat obliquely in an anonymous Anglo-Saxon commentary dating to c. 1000.[95] This line of exegesis in which both the Virgin and Ecclesia were associated with the

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[92] Suzanne Lewis, "A Byzantine 'Virgo Militans' at Charlemagne's Court," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11 (Los Angeles, 1980): 71–93.

[93] Low, 270. See discussion of this image in Chapter One of this dissertation.

[94] R. Weber, *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, vol. 1, Expositions in Apocalypsin Libri I-V, (CCCM, XXVII) (Turnhout, 1975), 443–453. Also in Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Le culte de la Vierge sous le règne de Charles le Chauve," in *Marie: Le culte de la Vièrge*, 411: "…Et quia plerumque genus inuenitur in specie, ipsa beata ac pia Virgo hoc in loco personam gerit Ecclesiae, quae nouos cotidie populos parit, ex quibus generale mediatoris corpus formatur. Non autem mirum, si illa typum Ecclesiae praetendat, in cuius beato utero capiti suo eadem Ecclesia uniri meruit. Nam et in sequenti lectione aliqua narrantur, quae iuxta litteram beatae Virgini specialiter congruere non possunt, sed electorum Ecclesiae secundum mysticam narrationem generaliter conueniunt…."

[95]Iogna-Prat, 418. The Anglo-Saxon author, rather than declaring Mary a type for the Church, offers alternative interpretations in which such lines as "apertum est templum Dei" could be read as either the body of Mary, after the birth of Christ, or as the open Church.

woman of the Apocalypse was not widespread, however. The limited context—crucifixion imagery—in which Ecclesia and Mary appear together in art of the Carolingian period demonstrates the generally restricted treatment of the Virgin in exegesis and images at this point. Additionally, while the number of ivory plaques from the Metz school featuring Ecclesia figures beside the cross attests to the popularity of this theme, the figure of Ecclesia remained for the most part limited to the ivory plaques covering manuscripts rather than being represented in the illuminations within.

Ottonian ivory carvings retained the imagery seen in Carolingian works of the same medium. In ivory plaques that once adorned book covers and altars, Ecclesia and the Virgin maintain their distinct identities, although, as in their Carolingian predecessors, their placement to the right of Christ often paired them visually. An Ottonian ivory panel commissioned by Bishop Adalbero of Metz between 984 and 1005 exhibits a composition similar to that of the earlier Carolingian Metz ivory (Fig. 90).[96] The Virgin and St. John stand on either side of the cross, flanking the smaller figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga. Ecclesia stands with a chalice next to the Virgin, and Synagoga, veiled and with a banner, looks back at Christ as she walks away from the cross.

The true innovation of the Petershausen image then, is the creation of a single, iconic image of the two figures in manuscript art. No longer restricted to the narrative Crucifixion scenes, the single Mary-Ecclesia figure conveys, in one image, concepts that artists had formerly expressed through an entire assemblage.

[96] Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 1, cat. no. 85.

Parallel and Antithesis: Mary, Ecclesia, and Eve

An exploration of the relationship between the Virgin and Ecclesia—their pairing and ultimately, their fusion in the Ottonian art—is not possible without also considering the figure of Eve. In writing and the visual arts, the Virgin is triangulated by discussions of Ecclesia and Eve. Ernst Guldan has described this system as one of parallel and antithesis—the Virgin was likened to Ecclesia and contrasted with Eve.[97] One of Guldan's prime examples was Bishop Bernward's doors of 1015, where Old Testament scenes featuring Eve prominently in the Fall were contrasted with New Testament scenes from the life of the Virgin (Fig. 93).[98] Bernward of Hildesheim has long been regarded as an innovative patron, who revived the Marian aspect of earlier exegesis and gave expression to it in the visual arts.[99]

This oppositional aspect is present both in the bronze doors and in the dedication pages for Bernward's Gospel book, also of 1015 (Fig. 59).[100] The dedicatory image of the enthroned Virgin to whom Bernward presents his book is woven through with inscriptions that underscore the antithetical natures of Mary and Eve. In this image, the Virgin is flanked by two angels, each standing beside a column topped by a medallion bearing the bust of a woman labeled Eva, on the right, and Maria, on the left. Bernward's

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[97] Ernst Guldan, *Eva und Maria: Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz-Koln, 1966), 13-20.

[98] Ernst Guldan, *Eva und Maria, 13-20;* Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 4 (1983): 357–366. Fig. 93 shows a detail with the Adoration of the Magi, and in the background, the contrasting scene of Eve nursing.

[99] Guldan, *Eva und Maria*, 366.

[100] Michael Brandt, ed., *Das kostbare Evangeliar des Heiligen Bernward* (Hildesheim, 1993); Michael Brandt, ed., *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonien,* 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993); Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," Gesta 40, no. 1 (2001): 19–38, 31-32.

pairing of these medallions of Eve and Mary, with the accompanying texts—"The door of Paradise is closed by the first Eve for Eternity," and "Now through the holy act of Mary is entirely opened"—has been widely regarded as the earliest attempt in Ottonian art to translate Marian exegesis into the visual arts. While Bernward is certainly the Ottonian patron whose commissions reveal perhaps the most notable and personal interest in the Virgin, his was not the first northern manuscript to take up the line of exegesis in which Mary is contrasted against Eve.[101]

The crucifixion scene of the Fulda sacramentary in Göttingen, an image created at least forty years earlier than Bernward's Gospels, utilizes the same system of parallel and antithesis in its iconography (Fig. 95).[102] The crucified Christ is flanked by figures on two registers; above, Stephaton and Longinus stand with spear and sponge while next to them the two thieves hang limply on their crosses. Four more figures occupy the lower edge of the composition, where they emerge from box-like structures that probably represent tombs and create a temporal distinction separating them from the moment of the crucifixion. Rising out of the boxes on either side of the cross are the nude figures of Adam and Eve. The inclusion of these figures in crucifixion scenes was a convention used in earlier ivories, but what is unusual is the addition of two more figures on either side of Adam and Eve. Behind Adam, the figure of a man gestures toward Christ, while behind Eve a woman raises her hands in acclamation. Eric Palazzo has identified the figures as Mary and John, the standard accompanying figures in Ottonian crucifixion

[101] Paul Dutton and Herbert Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, 1997), 66. The typological pairing can be seen in the First Bible of Charles the Bald, a Carolingian manuscript in which Eve is represented as Mary on the Genesis page, wearing the Byzantine maphorion and holding a child.

[102] Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms theol. 23, fol. 84v.

scenes.[103] This image thus presents us with an example of the Mary-Eve parallel that is not only earlier than those found in Bernward's works, but also demonstrates a more widespread use of Mary-Eve exegesis in the Ottonian visual arts. Unlike the image in Bernward's manuscript, where texts play a crucial role, this parallel between Mary and Eve is made solely through the visual iconography. Just as Mary and Ecclesia had been placed side by side in earlier crucifixion ivories, in the Göttingen manuscript the figures of Mary and John have been switched from their usual positions next to the cross. This appears to have been done specifically to establish the parallels between Adam and Christ and Mary and Eve. Christ, the new Adam, looks down to his left on the figure of the first man, while Mary has been switched to the unusual position on Christ's left in order to be paired visually with Eve, strengthening the Virgin's role as the second, redemptive Eve.

The poetry of Ephrem of Syria, the first exegete to introduce the concept of Mary as Bride of Christ, demonstrates the fluidity of identity and symbol in written exegesis, particularly in regard to Mary and Eve. In several of his works Ephrem likened Mary to an eye receiving the light of God. Ephrem introduced this analogy in the context of a hymn in which he referred to the moment of Christ's conception, when Mary received the word, as her second birth:

> The eye is cleansed by the sun, through union with it.
> It conquers by its weapon, it becomes clear through its light
> And shining through its splendour and beautiful through its adornment.
> Mary is like the eye: The Light came to dwell in her
> Purified her spirit, her considerations,

[103] Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*, 57.

Her thought, and purified her virginity.[104]

In Hymn 37, in the Cycle of the Church, Ephrem again uses this imagery, this time to contrast Eve and Mary: "Mary and Eve in their symbols resemble a body, one of whose eyes is blind and darkened, while the other is clear and bright, providing light for the whole."

Ephrem's exegesis may perhaps provide an additional a clue for one of the more puzzling aspects of the Petershausen figure's iconography. The folds of the robe worn by the crowned figure gather at her breast in a curious lozenge-shaped design that resembles an eye. There is no precedent for this design in the Carolingian or Ottonian visual arts. While it is beyond the scope of this project to trace Ephrem's influence on western exegesis, and so this analogy remains purely speculative, the radiant lozenge at the center of the figure's robe is so intriguing as to encourage further research on the diffusion of Ephrem and other eastern hymnographers and their presence in Ottonian libraries.[105]

The Petershausen Mary-Ecclesia

Having established the iconographic traditions and exegetical treatments of Mary and Ecclesia in the west, we can return to the Petershausen figure and examine the unique way in which exegesis is expressed here through images. The Petershausen image, and

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[104] Graef, *Doctrine and Devotion*, 58; Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye. The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem*, Cistercian Studies Series 124 (Kalamazoo, 1992), 71–72.

[105] Jane Stevenson, "Ephraim the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 1, no. 2 (July 1998). She hypothesizes that some of Ephrem's works came to Canterburgy with seventh-century missionaries of Byzantine origin. She offers as evidence the knowledge of his exegesis reflected in the glosses in several Canterbury manuscripts.

its accompanying Christ Majestas, was created around 970–80. While Mary's reign in heaven was an established liturgical tradition during this period, there are just three extant images of a Virgin as queen in Ottonian book illumination. Later images of the Maria Regina in Bernward's Gospels of 1015 and the Uta Codex of 1025 (Fig. 61) differ from the female figure in the Petershausen Sacramentary in regalia and inscriptions. In the Bernward Gospels, Mary's queenship is made clear by the fleur-de-lis crown worn over her veil, the insignia often found in Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon ruler portraits. In the Uta Codex, the Virgin is also veiled and crowned. The role of both of these figures is further clarified by the tituli. In Bernward's image an inscription refers to her as "The Virgin, mother of God," alluding to the status that justified her reign in heaven. In the Uta Codex an inscription identifies her as "mistress of the world," while a titulus quoting the Song of Songs refers to Mary as the Queen of Heaven. In both instances she holds the Christ Child on her lap and does not hold the cross-staff. The earlier crowned Theotokos image in the vitae of Kilian and Margaret, like the Petershausen figure, does not hold the Christ child but her identity as the mother of God is made clear through the "God-bearer" (Theotokos) inscription.

In the illumination in the Bernward Gospels, the crowned Virgin has an added layer of meaning through the inscriptions that refer to her as the "spirit of the resurrected Temple." The inscriptions referring to the Virgin as the house of God and as the mother of God imbue this image with a synthesized Mary-Ecclesia identity. Unlike the earlier Petershausen image however, texts, not images alone, articulate this dual role.

I suggest that the female majestas figure in the Petershausen Sacramentary represents an early attempt to express, in an entirely new way, the Marian interpretation of Ecclesia, which Bernward later accomplished through a combination of text and image. Like contemporary images that placed Mary and Ecclesia—or Mary and Eve—in

close proximity, the same kind of rhetoric was employed to pair the bride of Christ and the mother of God and this synthesized figure, in turn, with Christ. In the Petershausen image, however, the artist relied solely on the iconography and the placement of these images on the page facing the Christ Majestas to represent a merged Mary/Ecclesia figure.

Von Euw's discussion of this image as a product of cultural appropriation certainly has merit, in terms of its incorporation of Byzantine or more likely Roman imperial regalia. Christ is represented in the traditional manner of manuscript dedication images: even without the symbols of the evangelists, the frontally enthroned figure was recognizable as the logos incarnate. The pairing of Mary-Ecclesia with Christ in a two-page composition also synthesizes the exegetical understanding of Mary as bride. The new iconography of Mary-Ecclesia reflects the attempts of Ottonian artists to incorporate complex exegesis, formerly expressed in texts, into images.

The Mary-Ecclesia type did not persist. In a late twelfth-century illumination from Passau, an image accompanying the pericope for the dedication to the church shows an enthroned Ecclesia figure (Fig. 96).[106] She is shown as an imposing crowned figure, dressed in a jeweled robe and holding a cross staff and a burning oil lamp. With her masculine coif and headdress that evokes the towers of the church structure appearing in the spandrels above her, she bears little resemblance to the Petershausen Mary-Ecclesia. The figure possesses an androgynous quality that in many ways harkens back to the militaristic helmeted Ecclesia figures in the Minden sacramentary and the Aschaffenberg

[106] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16002, fol. 39v; Elizabeth Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 3 (Wiesbaden, 1998), cat. no. 206.

pericopes. The imperial Ecclesia came to have a distinct iconography that no longer allows her to be mistaken for an image of the Virgin.

During this period, the vita of the Virgin was being expanded through the circulation of apocryphal accounts of her life and death. Previously, Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon writers had emphasized her royalty in homilies written for the feast of the Assumption, and the increased number of sermons from the Ottonian period bears witness to the ongoing debate over the nature of Mary's Assumption.[107] While the Ottonian Empire might seem to represent a fallow period for the promulgation of Marian doctrine, theologians of this era were in fact expressing it in devotional, liturgical contexts and through images. It is at this time that the theological concept of Mary-Ecclesia, which was not being actively developed in written exegesis, made its way into manuscripts in the form of visual images. The question, then, is why does this first image of a Mary Ecclesia appear in Ottonian art at this time?

The sixth-century hymn Quem Terra, Pontus, Aethera, composed by Venantius Fortunatus, provides an example of the way that this highly ceremonial culture gave new visual expression to established ideas. This hymn, which became the hymn performed for Matins and Lauds on Marian feast days, refers to the Virgin as the second Eve, as window and portal to Heaven, and as queen. These were all themes that fed Ottonian imagery—and in the case of the Virgin's status as queen, well before the concept was formalized by the introduction of the Salve Regina hymn into the Divine Office in the twelfth century. One must keep the reciprocal relationship between art and ceremony in mind when looking at such images as the Petershausen Mary-Ecclesia. Although placed

[107] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 139; Henri Barré, *La Croyance a l'Assomption corporelle en Occident de 750 à 1150 environ*, Études Mariales 7 (1949); Leo Scheffczyk, *Das Mariengeheimnis in Frömmigkeit und Lehre der Karolingerziet*, Erfurter Theologische Studien 5 (Leipzig, 1959), 431–461.

at the beginning of a sacramentary, the image is as related to the general liturgical environment as it is to its specific texts. The frontispiece images were likely created specifically for the newly-established foundation at Petershausen. Gebhard's interest in Rome and the outward symbols of papal authority may well have contributed to this figure's regal appearance. In Rome, the crowned Virgin was an established papal symbol, while the shared attributes with Ecclesia would have imbued the Petershausen figure with even more significance for placement in its new church. As discussed in Chapter One, the increased images of the Virgin in Ottonian art attest to the interest in Mary as a "historical" figure. Such images as the Procession of the Baptized in the Bamberg Commentaries attest to the interest in pairing the Virgin and Ecclesia in manuscript illumination, but with the Petershausen amalgam, where for the first time the Virgin is represented as the Church, we have an entirely new kind of image. The idea of Mary-Ecclesia, later represented in the Bernward Gospels through inscriptions providing excerpts from the liturgy—"Hail the spirit of the resurrected temple"—is here given an entirely new pictorial form.

Conclusion

The preceding study has explored the art of the Ottonian Empire as one of the critical points of entry for images of Mary into the visual culture of the north. Organized around focused case studies, this work examined manuscript illumination as a medium in which the Virgin became newly prominent. In narrative scenes and dedication pages, patrons used Mary's image to express exegesis as well as aspects of their own earthly authority. Ottonian art does not offer the large, visually cohesive groups of objects that one finds in studies of twelfth-century art, a recognized high point for Marian art in the west. The Ottonian period is nevertheless fascinating despite, and perhaps because of, this lack of cohesion. My study serves a reminder that it is not only the high points that are worthy of study. For Mariology, the Ottonian period was an important phase of experimentation and innovation. It is only at this time that the image of Mary, so powerful in the east, came to prominence in western art north of Italy. Seeking to strengthen Mary's visual presence in a medium that, in the west, did not have an established tradition of Marian imagery, Ottonian artists experimented with a variety of forms. Representations of the dynamic Virgin in the Prüm troper's Pentecost scene or the stern Theotokos in the Passio Kiliani—images in which the Virgin appears as a symbolic apostle and as an authoritative Christ-figure—provide just two examples of the artistic innovations of this period.

The images examined here vary in quality. Moving the emphasis away from masterworks of illumination from the great scriptoria, this work gives such works as the Prüm troper and the dedication image from the Gesta Witigowo the attention called for by these manuscripts' complex images. The Prüm Troper provides a particularly useful example of how images of the Virgin in service books might have multiple layers of

meaning. The images of Mary in the pages of this book enhanced the liturgical function of the object while at the same time crafting a hagiographic narrative for the Virgin. Through images, Ottonian artists expanded upon the history of the Virgin, who received relatively little individualized attention in the canonical Gospels. The troper's innovative images of the Virgin at the Pentecost, with her soul crowned by God and finally shown seated on a heavenly orb, all worked together to craft a hagiographic vita in which the major events of Mary's life and reign in heaven were modeled after those of Christ. Building on previous studies, which located the manuscript's general program of illuminations within the tradition of Carolingian and Ottonian manuscript painting, I have argued that the hagiographic images in this manuscript worked specifically as a program intended to enhance the Marian cult at Prüm.

While my study of hagiographic images of Mary is organized around the structure and iconography of the Prüm Troper, my approach has a broader bearing on Ottonian images of the Virgin. By examining Marian imagery through the lens of hagiography, themes relating to the development of an even more expansive visual vita for Mary may come into focus. For example we might also examine such innovative images as the marriage of the Virgin, as seen in the Gospels of Otto III and the Bernulphus Codex.[1] Cynthia Hahn's work has demonstrated that manuscript illumination does not simply

[1] Gospels of Otto III, Reichenau, c. 1000, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 28r; Florentine Mütherich and Karl Dachs, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III: Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Munich, 2001); Bernulfus Gospels, Reichenau, c. 1040–50, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, ABM ms. 3, fol. 7v; Anna Sophia Korteweg, *De Bernulphuscodex in het Rijkusmuseum Het Catharijneconvent te Utrecht en verwante handschriften* (Ph.D. diss., Amsterdam, 1979).

illustrate accompanying text, but can itself function as hagiographic document.[2] Mary's inclusion in the pages of Ottonian manuscripts does not demonstrate an automatic response to the texts they accompany; in future studies of this material there is a need to look more closely at the visual elaboration of the figure of Mary. My work on the Prüm Troper also demonstrates the need for a programmatic approach to the imagery within these manuscripts. Where possible, manuscript illumination should be examined within the broader context of the manuscript and its liturgical and/or physical environment.

Using this approach, I examined the crowned Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary in light of its intended institution rather than in relation to its formal and scribal relationship to the Gero Codex, also from Reichenau. The work of Anton Von Euw and others provided the essential groundwork for a discussion of this manuscript by placing it in the context of the center where it was created and in the framework of a group of related manuscripts. My work examines this manuscript in its institutional framework. Bishop Gebhard of Constance modeled Petershausen after the Leonine city outside of Rome, a connection that gives new significance to the visual analogies between the crowned figure in the Petershausen Sacramentary and the Roman images of the Maria Regina. Otto Karl Werckmeister's examination of Bernward of Hildesheim's creation of ecclesiastic enviroments meant to symbolize paradise and the wilderness of the world outside and his discussion of Bernward's commissions in the context of these

[2] Cynthia J. Hahn, "Picturing the Text: Narrative in the Life of the Saints," *Art History* 8, no. 1. (March 1990): 1-33, esp. 7; Cynthia J. Hahn, "Absent No Longer: The Sign and the Saint in Late-Medieval Pictorial Hagiography," in *Hagiographie und Kunst, Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*, ed. Gottfried Kerscher (Berlin, 1993); Cynthia J. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of the Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001).

symbolic enviroments offers a parallel example and underscores the need to consider Ottonian manuscript illumination as one part of a larger program of art and ceremony.[3]

The Petershausen Sacramentary also provides an example of the conscious cultural appropriation practiced by Ottonian patrons. Far from the cult sites of Rome and Jerusalem, Ottonian ecclesiastics consciously fashioned a sacro-political landscape through their foundations in the north. This had begun already in the Carolingian period, as demonstrated by the example of the relics of Chrysanthus and Daria, which were brought to Prüm in the ninth century. Annika Fischer's forthcoming dissertation explores Ottonian copies of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which will provide further context for the constructed environments in which Ottonian manuscript art would have been viewed.[4]

One of the themes continually revisited in discussions of Marian devotion in the north is that of cultural borrowing. Scholars still look to Byzantium, the earliest source of much of the primary exegesis and liturgy, for the visual sources of much of the Marian imagery developed at this time. The role of Theophanu continues to loom large. The contribution of Byzantine models was not inconsiderable. Certain institutions like Essen show particularly strong evidence of contact with Byzantium – Greek names appear in the monastery's necrology, and the orant Virgin, a Byzantine type, appears in the Svanhild Gospels wearing imperial red shoes. At Reichenau, we can not overlook the wealth of Dormition imagery that was clearly derived from Byzantine models.

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[3] Otto Karl Werckmeister, paper given for the session "Abbeys and Cathedral Towns: Papers in Honor of Jane Welch Williams I," Kalamazoo, 1999.

[4] Annika E. Fisher, "Sacred Absence: Copies of the Holy Sepulchre in Ottonian Germany," chapter in "Representations of Presence and Absence: The Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ in the Ottonian Empire," Ph.D. dissertation in progress, University of Chicago.

What I have emphasized in my study of the Petershausen Sacramentary, however, is the need to look to other neighboring cultures, such as Rome or Anglo-Saxon England. Rome, in particular, was a conduit for the introduction of Byzantine themes and Marian exegesis into the north. As such, it was in many ways a crucible for the transformation of eastern imagery into an entirely new visual vocabulary, as for example the Maria Regina, a figure that first appeared in a Byzantine secular structure and later became a papal symbol. Anglo-Saxon England provides a particularly useful foil for discussions of northern adaptations of eastern themes. The site of a highly developed Marian cult, it gave rise to images such as the insular deesis further demonstrating the varied visual manifestations of Marian devotion in the north. To be sure, we cannot discuss northern innovations without a clear sense of the source material from which Ottonian artists drew. We can, however, while keeping the fragmented nature of the Ottonian Empire in mind, address this issue with a focus on cultural interactions and adaptations, rather than western adoption of eastern themes. Ultimately, the development of a visual Mariology in Ottonian manuscript illumination is most striking for its experimental quality and its originality. While the iconography of Dormition images was taken almost unchanged from Byzantine models, for the most part images of Mary did not cohere into large groups of visually similar objects. The contribution of Ottonian patrons to Marian exegesis lay in their spirit of invention—these images were created in a region that had no preexisting visual tradition of Marian devotion in place. Through the medium of manuscript illumination, Mary became symbolically present and individualized in a manner previously unseen in this area.

During this period, the Virgin was given a newly prominent position within the physical space of the book. In Ottonian manuscripts, the Virgin Majesty, an enthroned and at times crowned figure, appeared in dedication pages and served as the recipient of

both the book and the prayers of the donor. This space in the book had formerly been reserved for images of Christ or the earthly ruler. In introducing Mary to the role of recipient, Ottonian patrons created layered narratives: the Virgin Majesty was shown enthroned as the queen of heaven, a concept previously expressed in the north through written exegesis and the liturgy but not in images. Where the donor appeared, presenting the book to the Virgin, the earthly and heavenly figures entered the same space and time.

Despite the assertions of such scholars as Rosamund Mckitterick, who found the newly authoritative Virgins in manuscript dedication pages as symbols particularly appropriate for imperial women,[5] I have demonstrated that the Virgin Majesty was not a gendered symbol. It was rather a flexible figure that could hold meaning for both male and female patrons. Mary's place in heaven was awarded to her because of her sanctity. Her power in heaven was understood to derive from her role as intercessor with Christ. Her role as intercessor on behalf of mankind justified the authoritative appearance of the newly crowned Virgin Majesties in the north, in books for male as well as female ecclesiastics. The earthly authority of monastic patrons rested on their own role as intercessors; they mediated between the earthly and divine realms. The newly crowned images of the Virgin Majesty appearing in the pages of manuscripts signified not only authority but also served as reminders to the viewers of these books of the need for intercession in general.

In some cases, as at Essen, Mary did become an important figure for a specifically female institution. The theme of Mary's motherhood very likely had special significance for this imperial women's foundation. When discussing the meaning that motherhood

[5] Rosamund McKitterick, "Women in the Ottonian Church: An Iconographic Perspective," in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Woods, Studies in Church History 27 (Oxford, 1990): 79-100, 88

held for Ottonian abbesses and nuns however, we must be careful not to adopt Caroline Walker Bynum's emotive model of the meaning that motherhood held for twelfth-century Cistercians.[6] As these case studies demonstrated, motherhood held associations of power and birthright among the Ottonians. Some of the most masculine, Christ-like images of Mary appear in the pages of books for women. Essen, an institution staffed by women related to the imperial family, possessed an early manuscript image of a crowned Virgin Majesty, as well as the Essen Virgin, a sculpture that was ritually crowned in ceremonies at the monastery.

The Ottonian period is often discussed as a fallow period in Marian exegesis. While this was not a period that gave rise to great innovation in written exegesis, the elite members of this highly ceremonial culture expressed exegetical concepts through strikingly original images, such as the image of Mary-Ecclesia in the Petershausen Sacramentary. While parallels between Mary and the Church, and contrasts between Mary and Eve, have long been part of the discourse in the commissions of Bernward of Hildesheim, the Petershausen amalgam is discussed here for the first time as a unique blending of exegetical ideas into one iconic figure. Ottonian exegesis may not have introduced new metaphors, but Ottonian patrons invented new visual forms to express familiar theological ideas.

The various, and in many cases, simultaneous understandings of Mary as a symbol for the Church, as a queen of heaven, and as a historical holy woman, ultimately shift our understanding of the illuminations for Ottonian liturgical manuscripts. As illuminations for service books, images of the Virgin illustrated their accompanying

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[6] Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (Berkeley, 1982), 158.

feasts and at the same time established Mary's role as an individualized holy figure. When open on the altar, such manuscripts amplified the Virgin's presence in the church. Already invoked through the liturgy, Mary took on a newly tangible aspect. Ottonian images of Mary, which were not bound by the restrictions of an established artistic tradition, comprise an unprecedented body of rich experimentation and visual innovation. By considering just how patrons visualized Mary as they used her image to express exegesis and their own authority, we gain a clearer sense of the essential role of images in the ceremonial culture of Ottonian Germany.

Figures

Figure 1. Otto Receiving Tribute, Munich Gospels of Otto III, Munich Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4453, fols. 23v-24

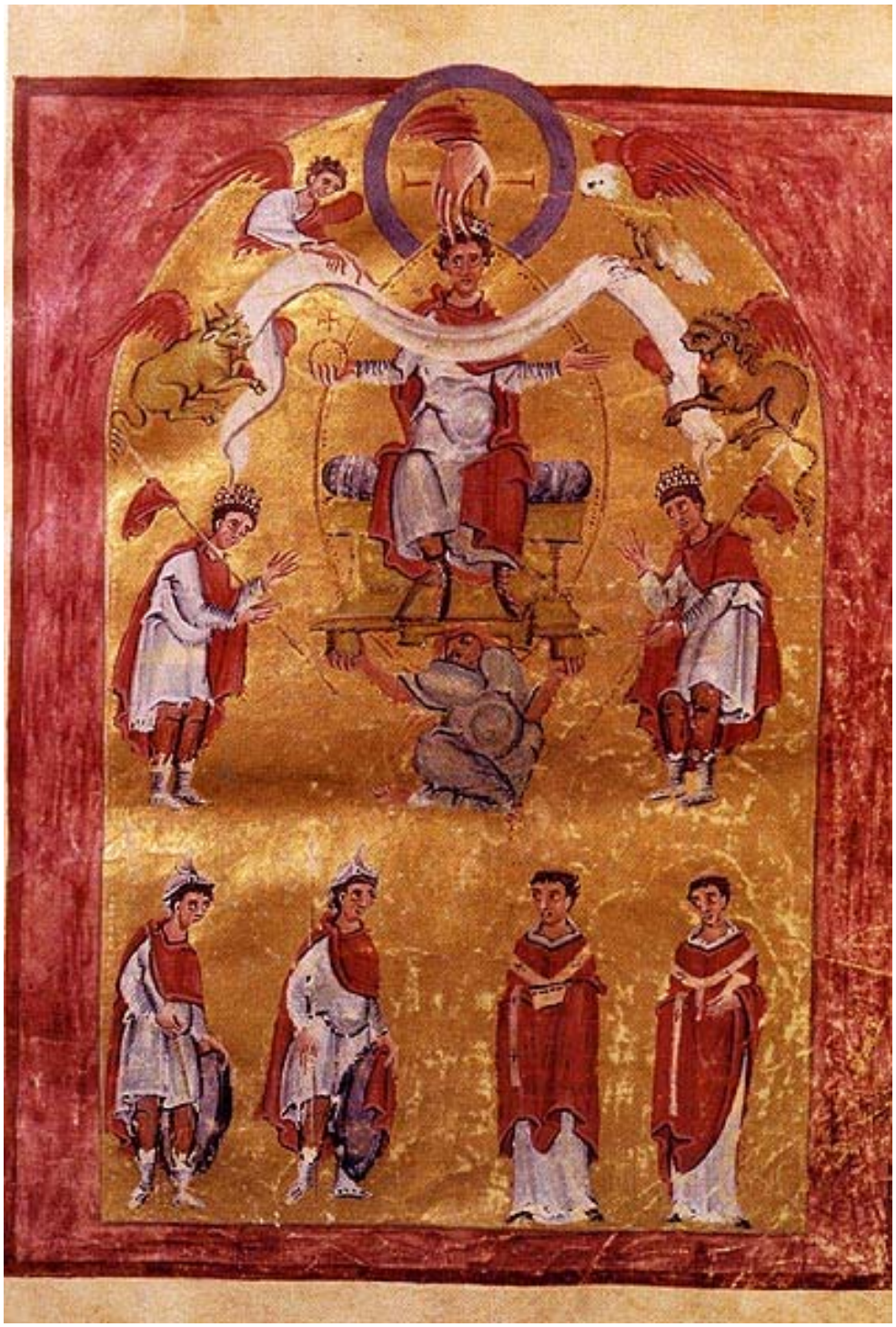

Figure 2. Otto Crowned by the Hand of God, Aachen Gospels, Aachen Minster, fol. 16, c.996

Figure 3. Charles the Bald enthroned, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 5v.

Figure 4. The Virgin Enthroned, ivory plaque, London Victoria and Albert Museum

Figure 5. Christ Triumphant, ivory plaque, Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano

Figure 6. Pentecost, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol.49

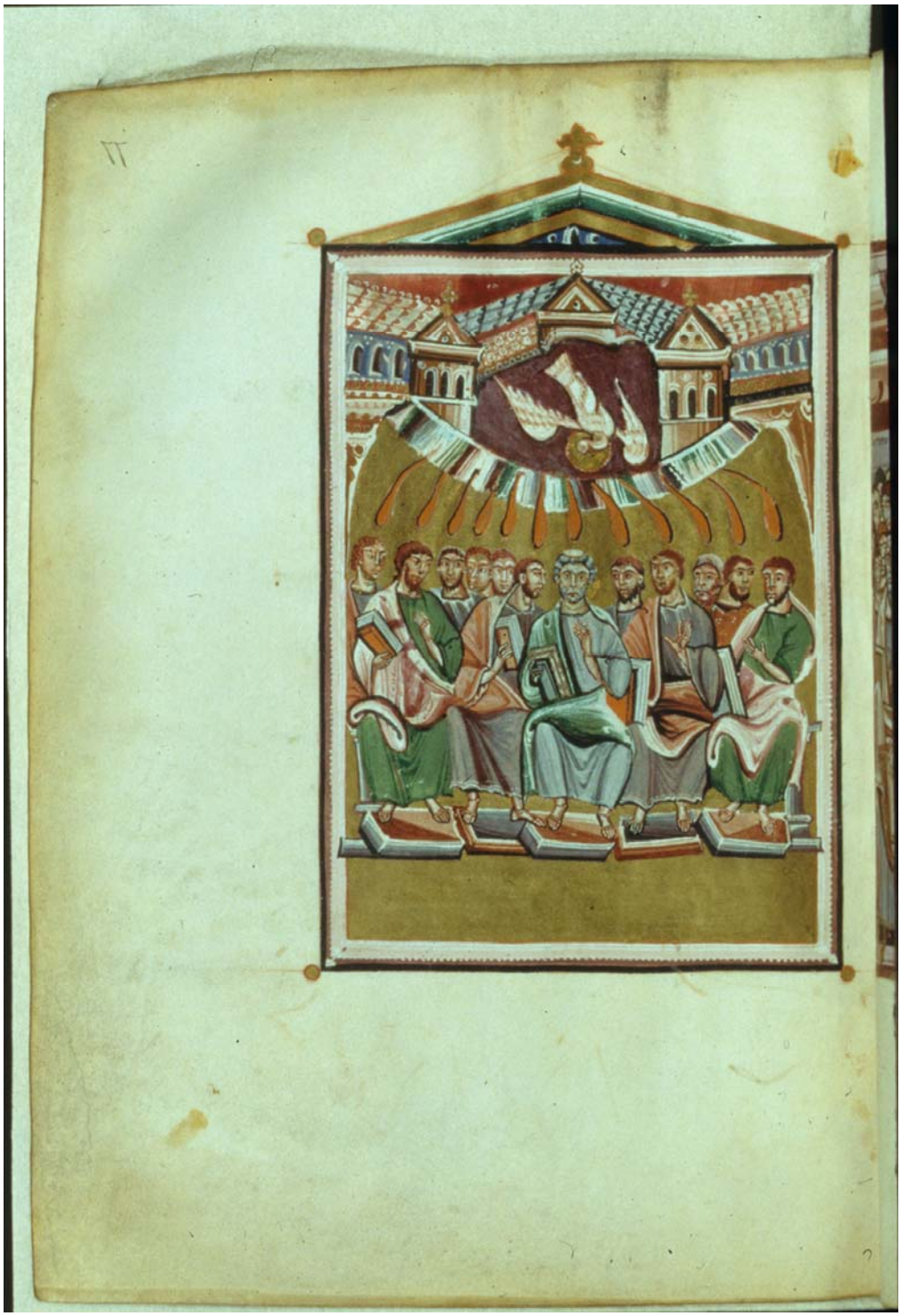

Figure 7. Pentecost, Cologne Sacramentary of Saint Gereon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 817, fol. 77

Figure 8. Pentecost, Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 2, fol.158v

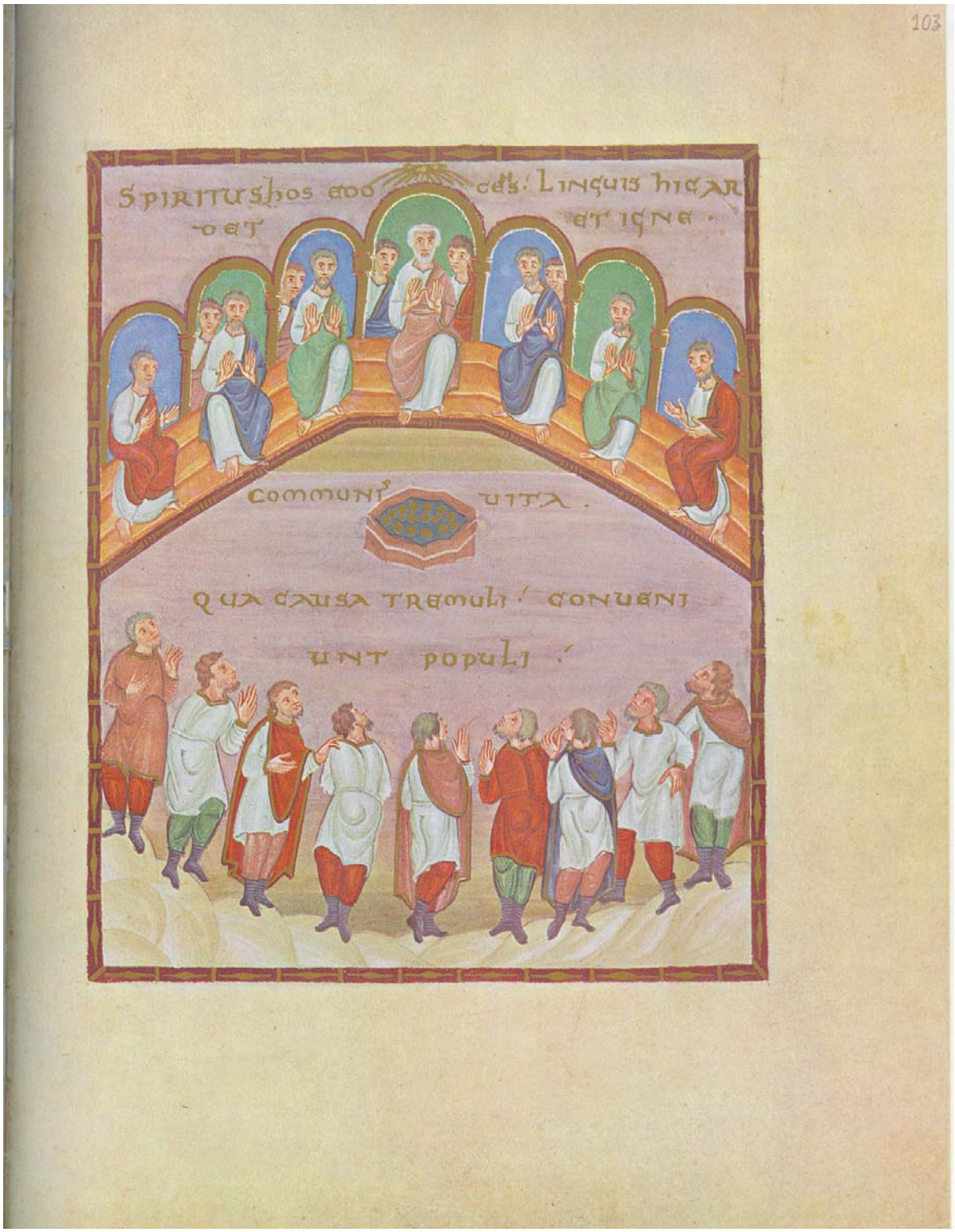

Figure 9. Pentecost, Codex Egberti, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 103

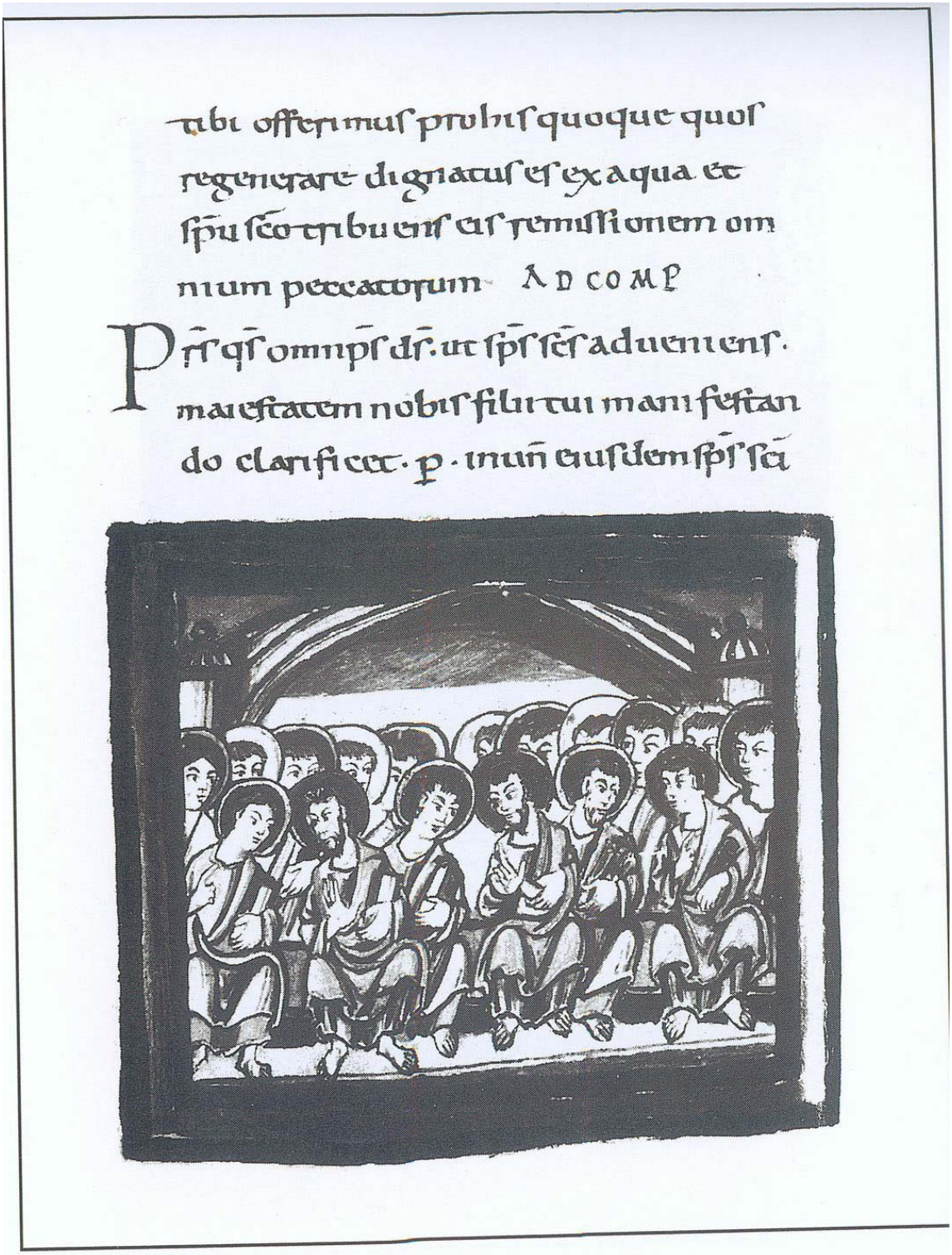

Figure 10. Pentecost, Sacramentary, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 1, fol. 84v

Figure 11. Pentecost, Rabbula Gospels, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Codex Plutarch I, 56, fol. 14v

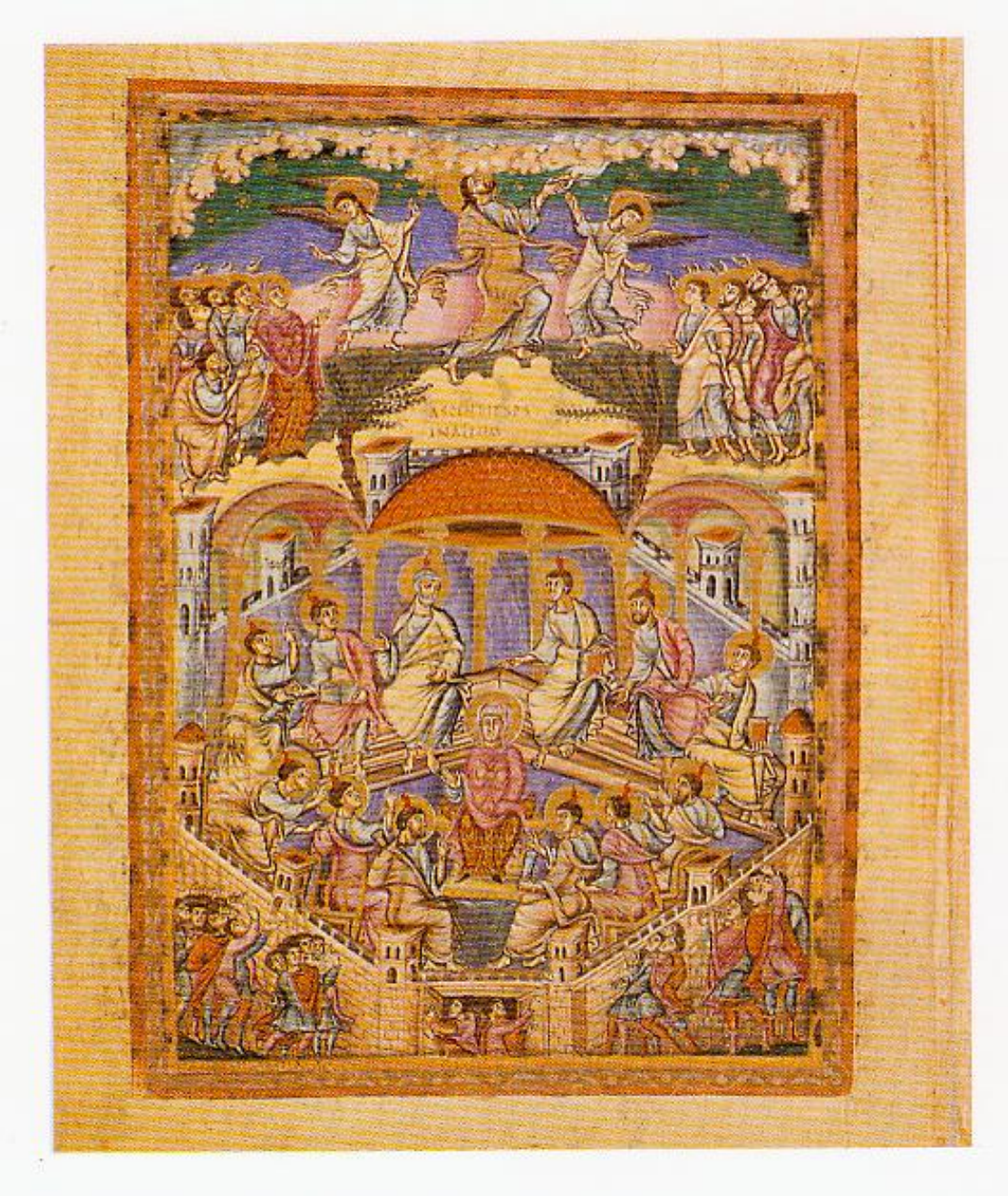

Figure 12. Pentecost, San Paolo Bible, Rome, Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 292v

Figure 13. Combined Ascension and Pentecost, Ampulla 10, Monza, Treasury of Saint John of Monza

Figure 14. Ascension, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 45v

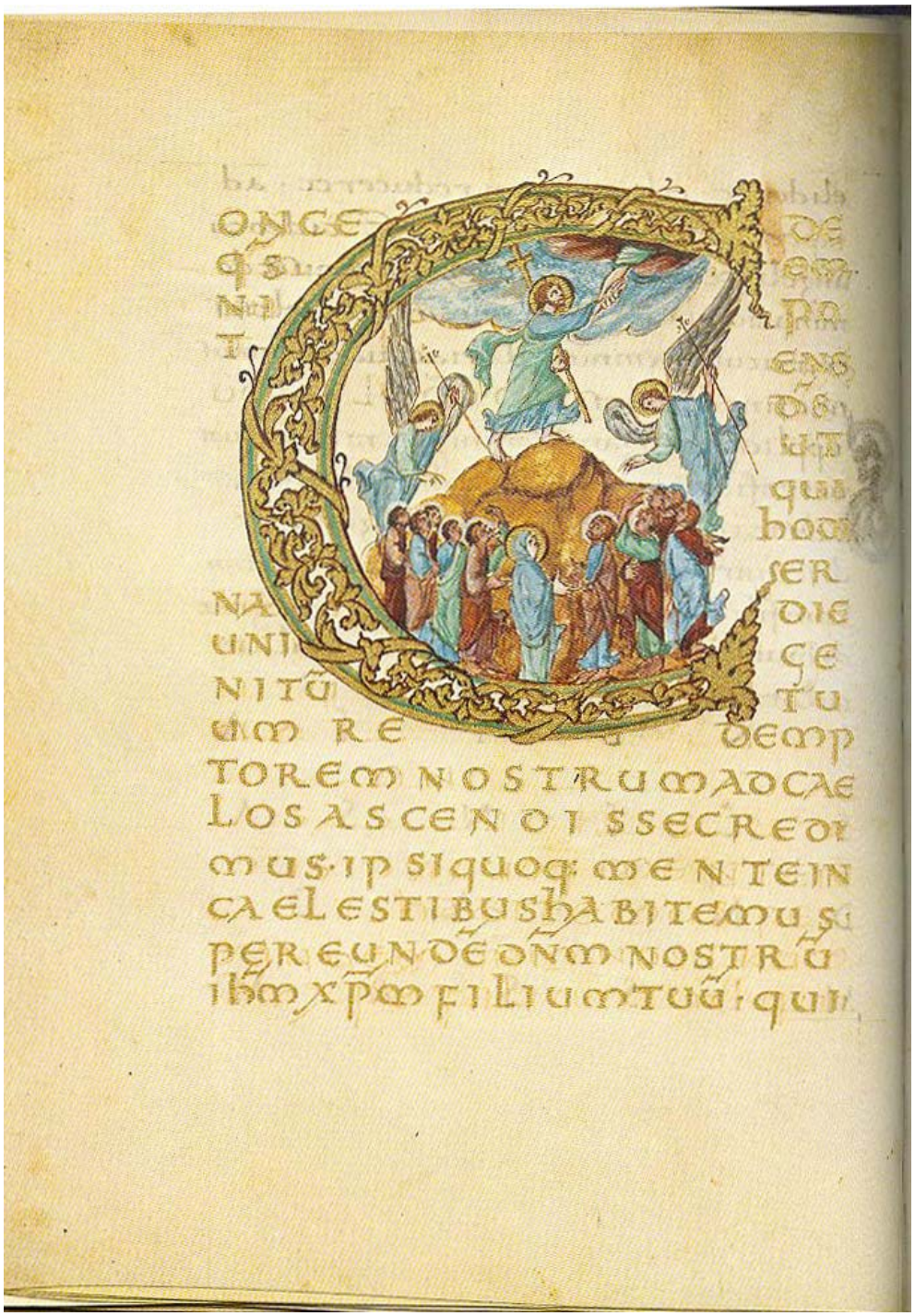

Figure 15. Ascension, Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 71v

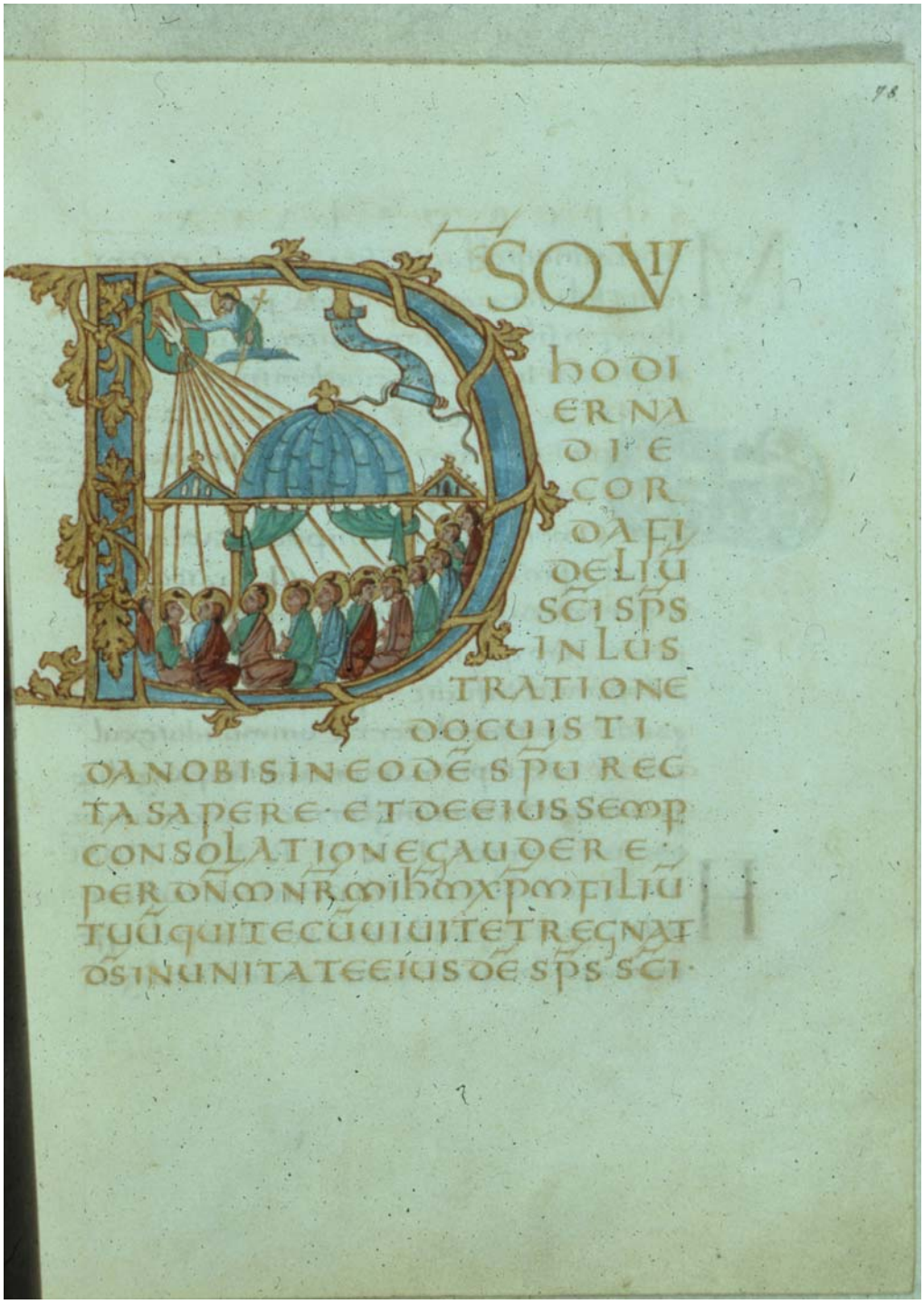

Figure 16. Pentecost, Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 78

Figure 17. Pentecost, Poussay Pericopes, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 10514, fol. 69v

Figure 18. Women at the Tomb, Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Fol.2, fol. 132v

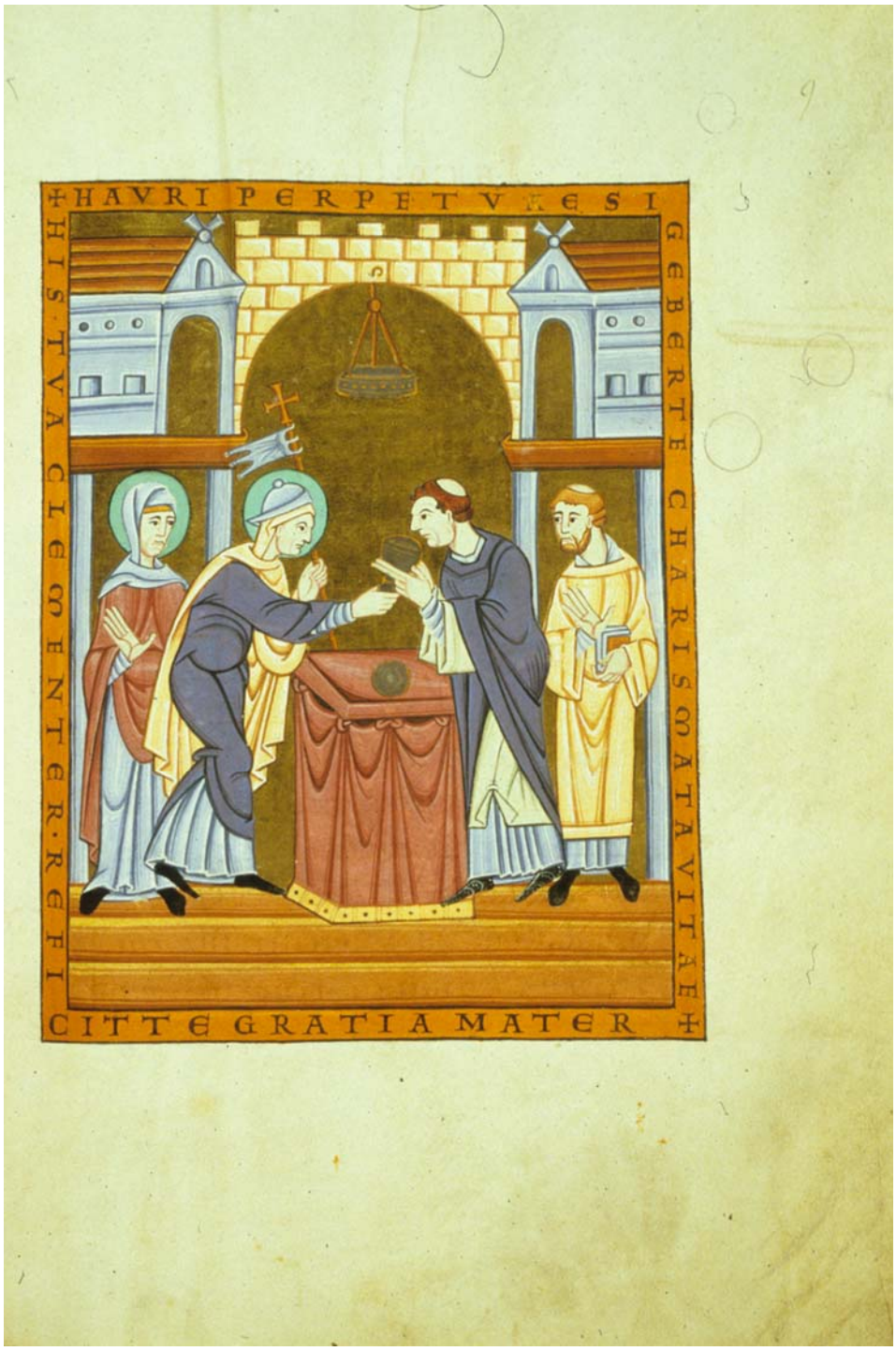

Figure 19. Sigebert celebrating Mass, Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. lat. fol.2, fol. 9

Figure 20. Journey to Bethlehem, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 4v

Figure 21. Presentation in the Temple, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 28

Figure 22. Wedding at Cana, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 26v

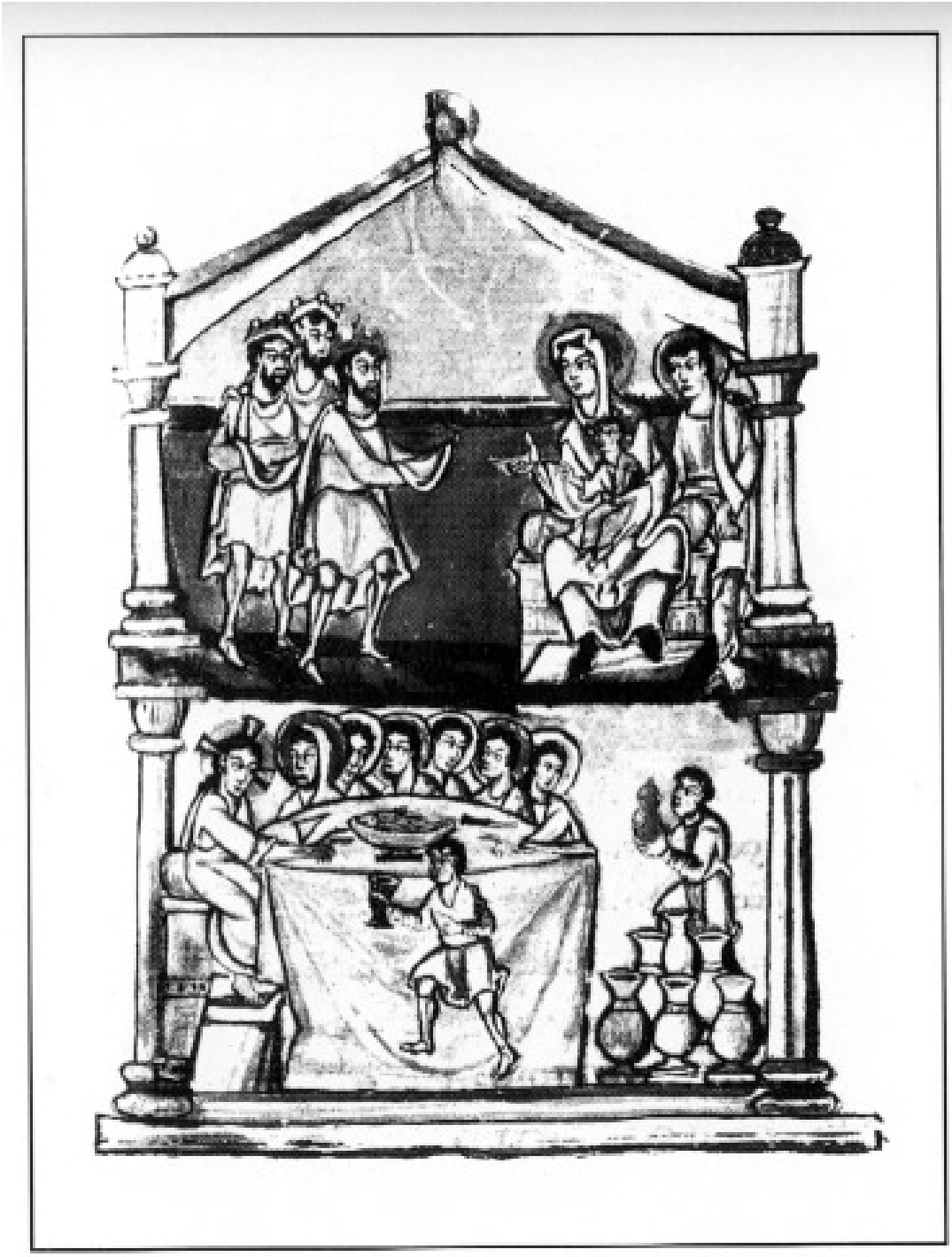

Figure 23. Wedding at Cana, Sacramentary, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 1, fol. 30

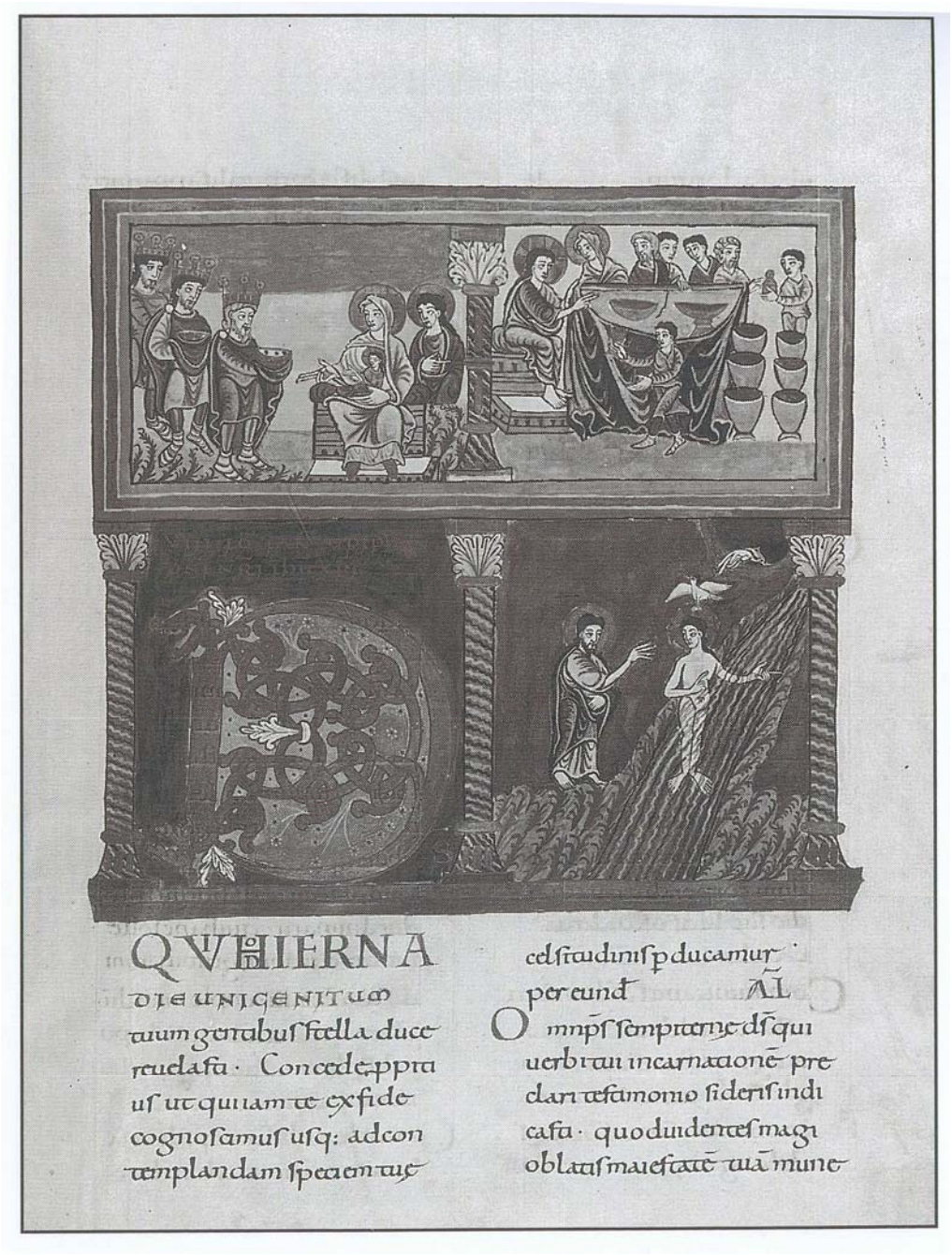

Figure 24. Wedding at Cana, Sacramentary, Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. 231, fol. 19

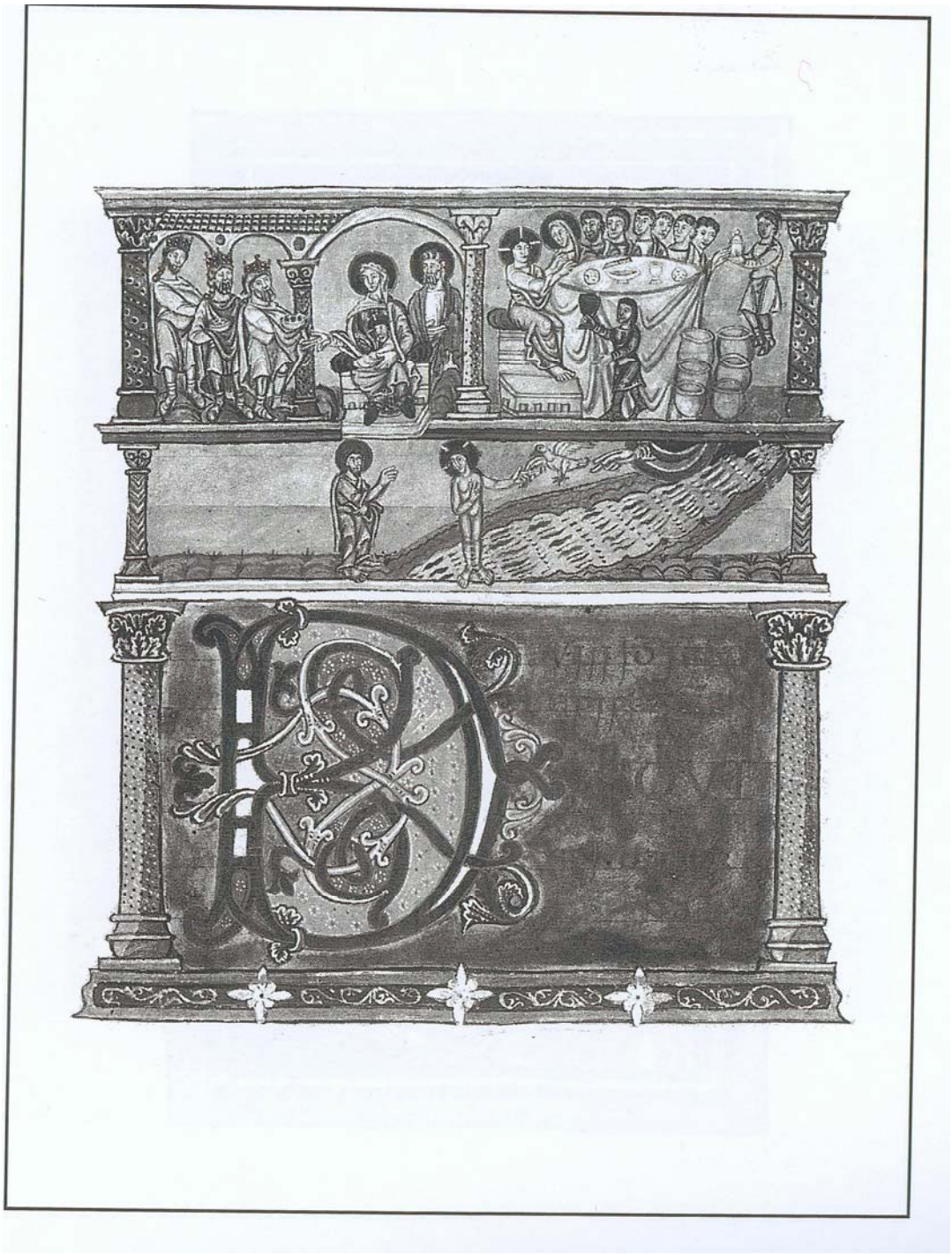

Figure 25. Wedding at Cana, Sacramentary, Udine, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. 1, fol. 18v

Figure 26. Wedding at Cana, Sacramentary, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI, fol. 27

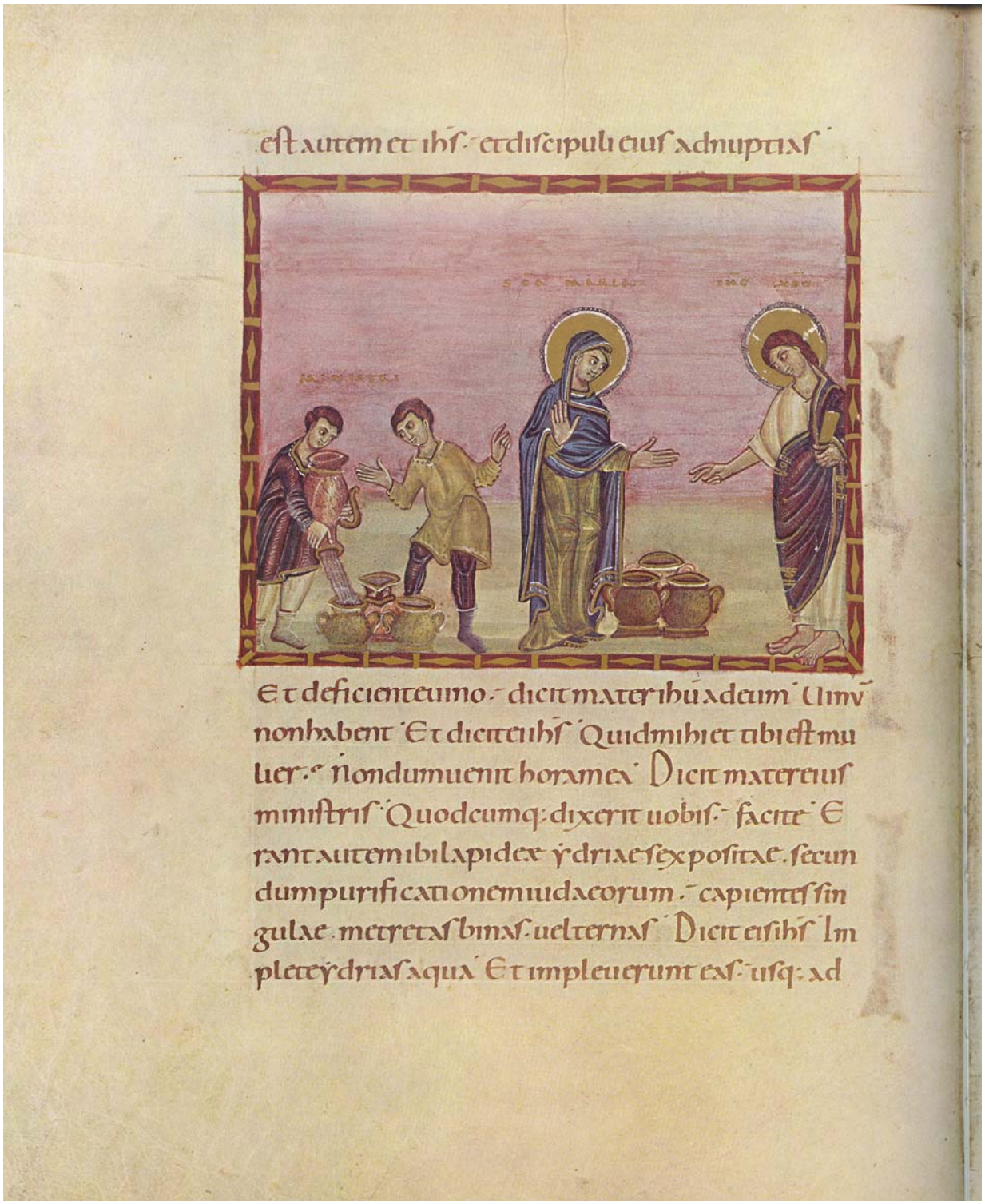

Figure 27. Wedding at Cana, Codex Egberti, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol 20v

Figure 28. Wedding at Cana, ivory plaque, Metz School, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Nr. 31

Figure 29. Wedding at Cana, ivory plaque, Metz School, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Theol. fol. 65

Figure 30. Saint John the Evangelist with Cana Scene, Gospel Book of Saint Médard of Soissons Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 180v90

Figure 31. Annunciation and Visitation, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 1v

Figure 32. Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 60v

Figure 33. Virgin Majesty for Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, Prüm Troper, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9448, fol. 62v

Figure 34. Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin, Pericopes of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, fol. 161v

Figure 35. Dormition of the Virgin, the Benedictional of Aethelwold, London, British Library, Add. Ms. 49598, fol. 102v

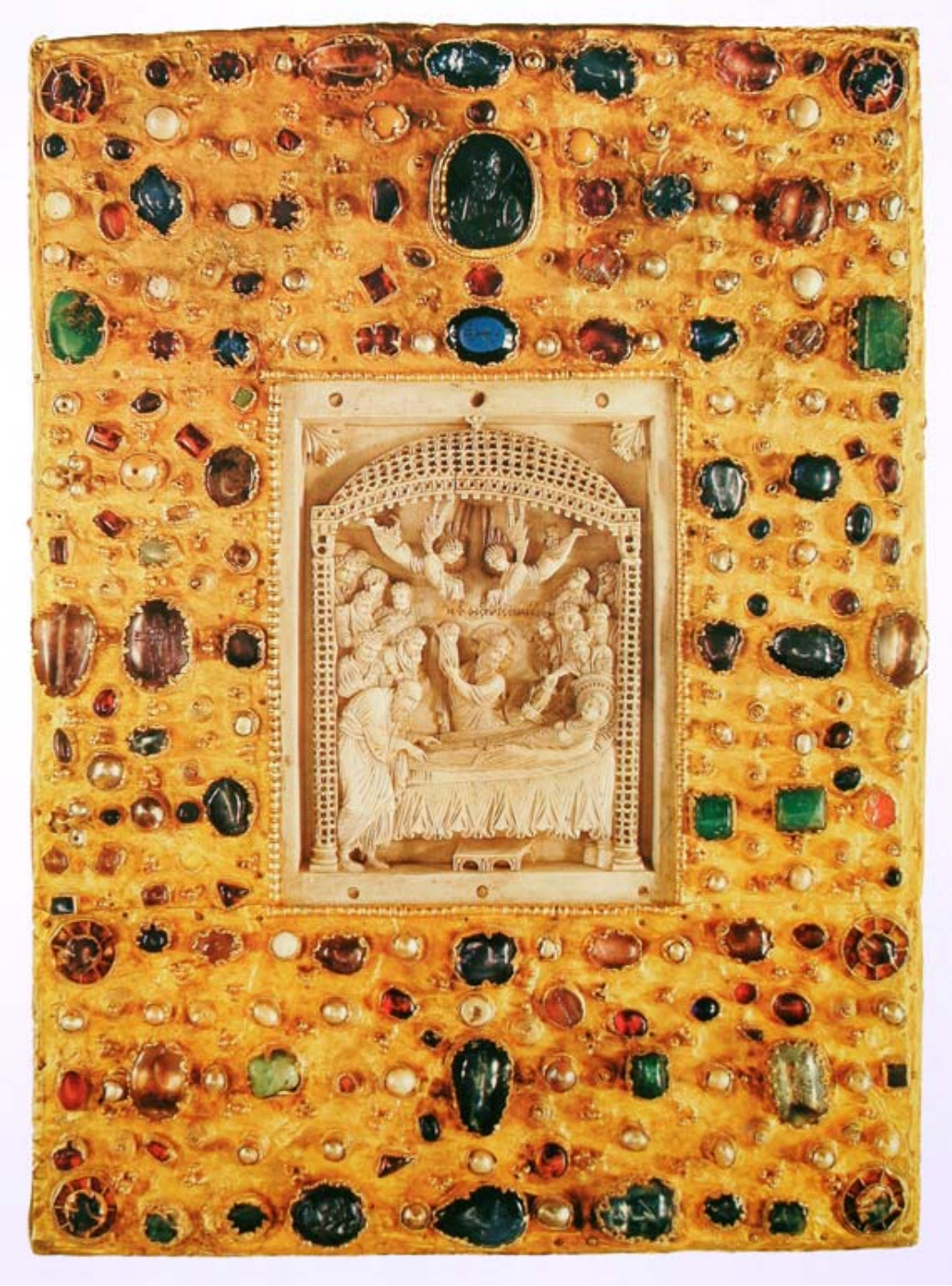

Figure 36. Dormition and Assumption, ivory plaque on the cover of Munich Gospels of Otto III, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453

Figure 37. Dormition and Assumption, Reichenau Troper and Sequentiar, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms Lit. 5, fol. 121v

Figure 38. Christ in Majesty, Gospels, Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Ms. 701/81, fol 127

Figure 39. The Virgin with Abbot Witigowo and Saint Pirmin, *Gesta Witigowonis*, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 205, fol. 72

Figure 40. Virgin from the Adoration of the Magi, Pericopes of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, fol. 18

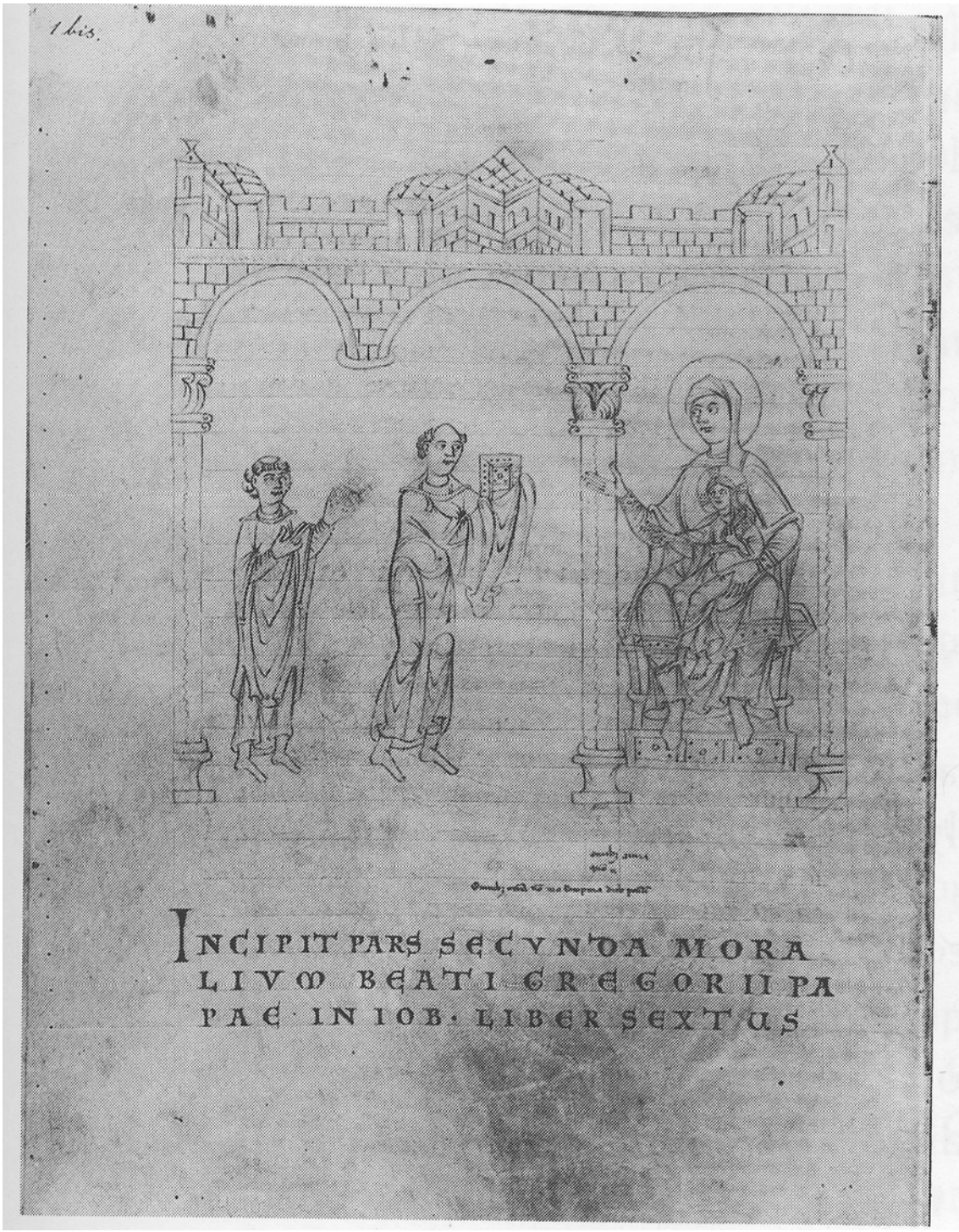

Figure 41. Virgin in Majesty with Monastic Donor, Gregory's *Moralia on Job*, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 151, fol. 1v

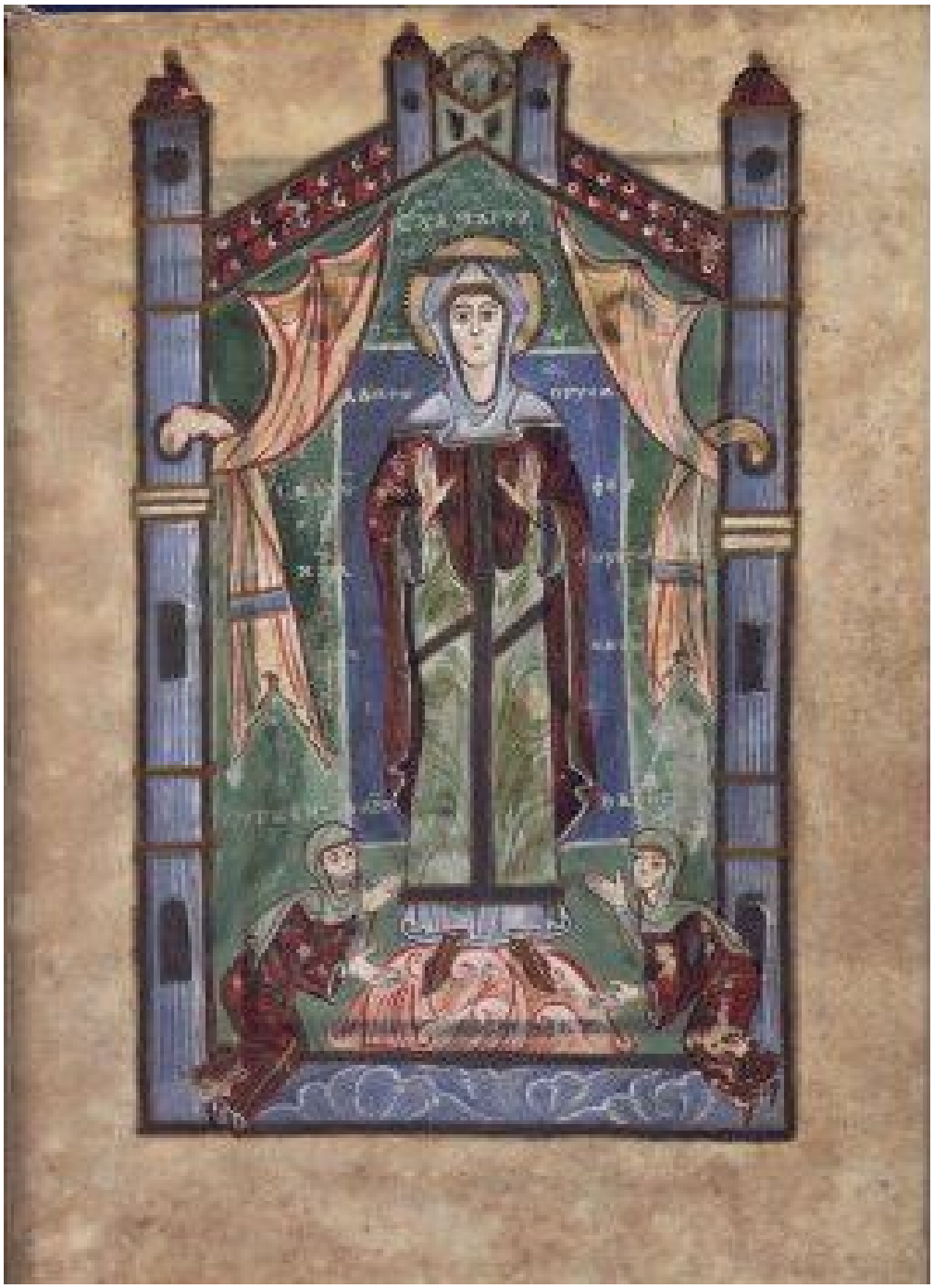

Figure 42. The Virgin with Svanhild and Brigida, Gospels of Abbess Svanhild of Essen, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. no. 110, fol. 17

Figure 43. King Edgar Dedicating his Book to Christ, New Minster Charter, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, fol. 2v

Figure 44. Saints Margaret and Regina being Crowned by the Virgin Majesty, *Lives of Kilian and Margaret*, Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Ms. I 189, fol. 11v

Figure 45. Golden Virgin of Essen, Essen, Domschatz

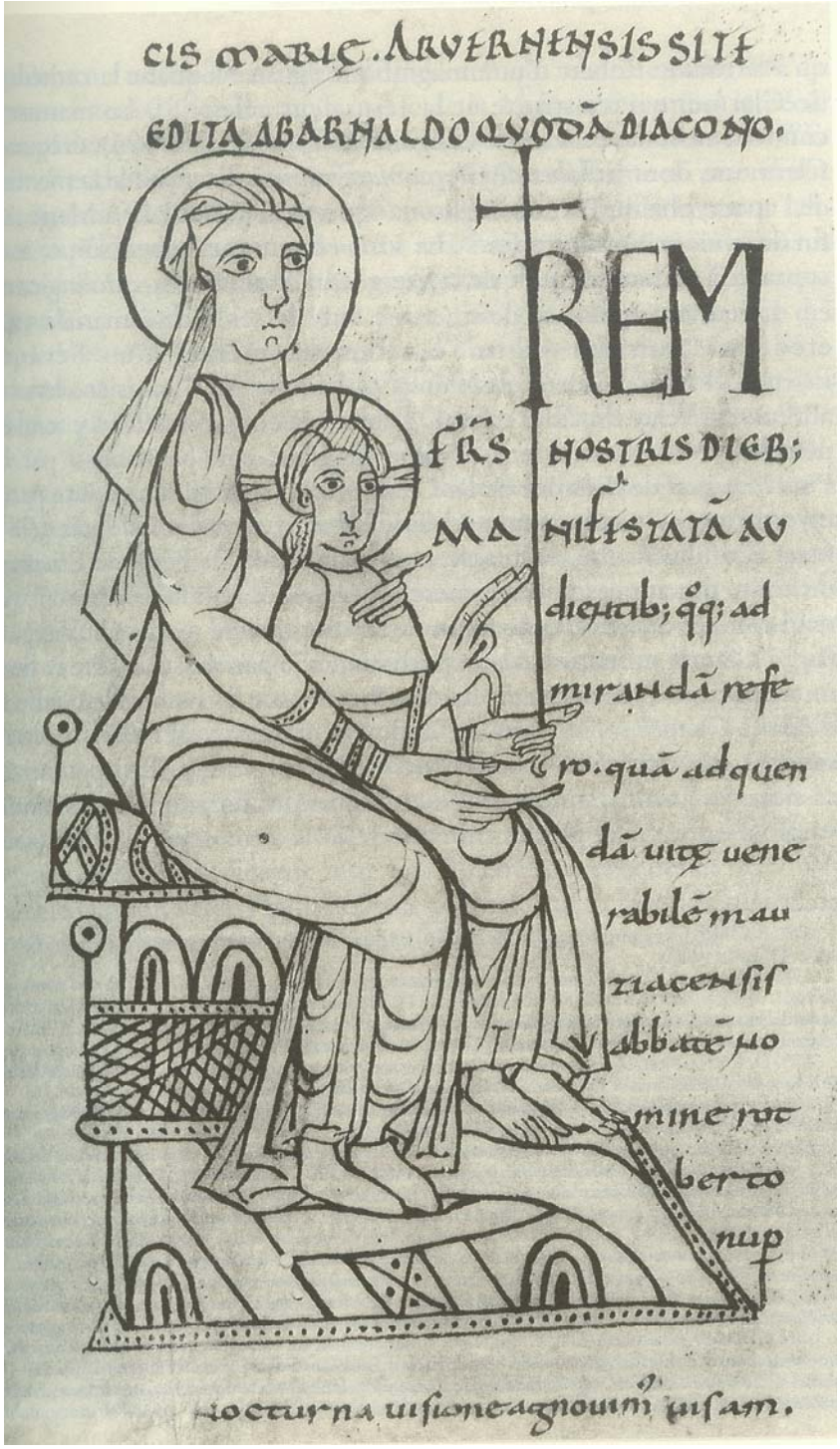

Figure 46. Drawing of the now-lost Golden Virgin of Clermont Ferrand, 946

Figure 47. Hildesheim Virgin, Hildesheim, Domschatz

Figure 48. Abbess Mathilda before the Virgin, detail, Mathilda-Madonna Cross, Essen, Domschatz

Figure 49. Crown, Essen, Domschatz

23. BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH-MUSEUM

Figure 50. Christ in Majesty, ivory plaque, Ada school, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Nr. 39a

Figure 51. Christ in Majesty, Sacramentary, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10077, fol. 11v

Figure 52. Virgin in Majesty with Saints Hadwig and Pinnossa, drawing of now-lost work

Figure 53. Virgin and Child, mosaic, Hagia Sophia, Constantiople

Figure 54. Maria Regina, fresco, Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua

Figure 55. Otto and Theophanu Crowned by Christ, ivory plaque, Paris, Musée de l'Hôtel de Cluny

Figure 56. Otto and Theopanu kneeling before Christ, ivory plaque, Milan, Chateau Sforza

Figure 57. The Virgin flanked by Adelaide and Theophanu, altar ciborium, Milan, San Ambrogio

Figure 58. The Virgin Crowning Otto, Warmund Sacramentary, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LXXXVI, f.160v

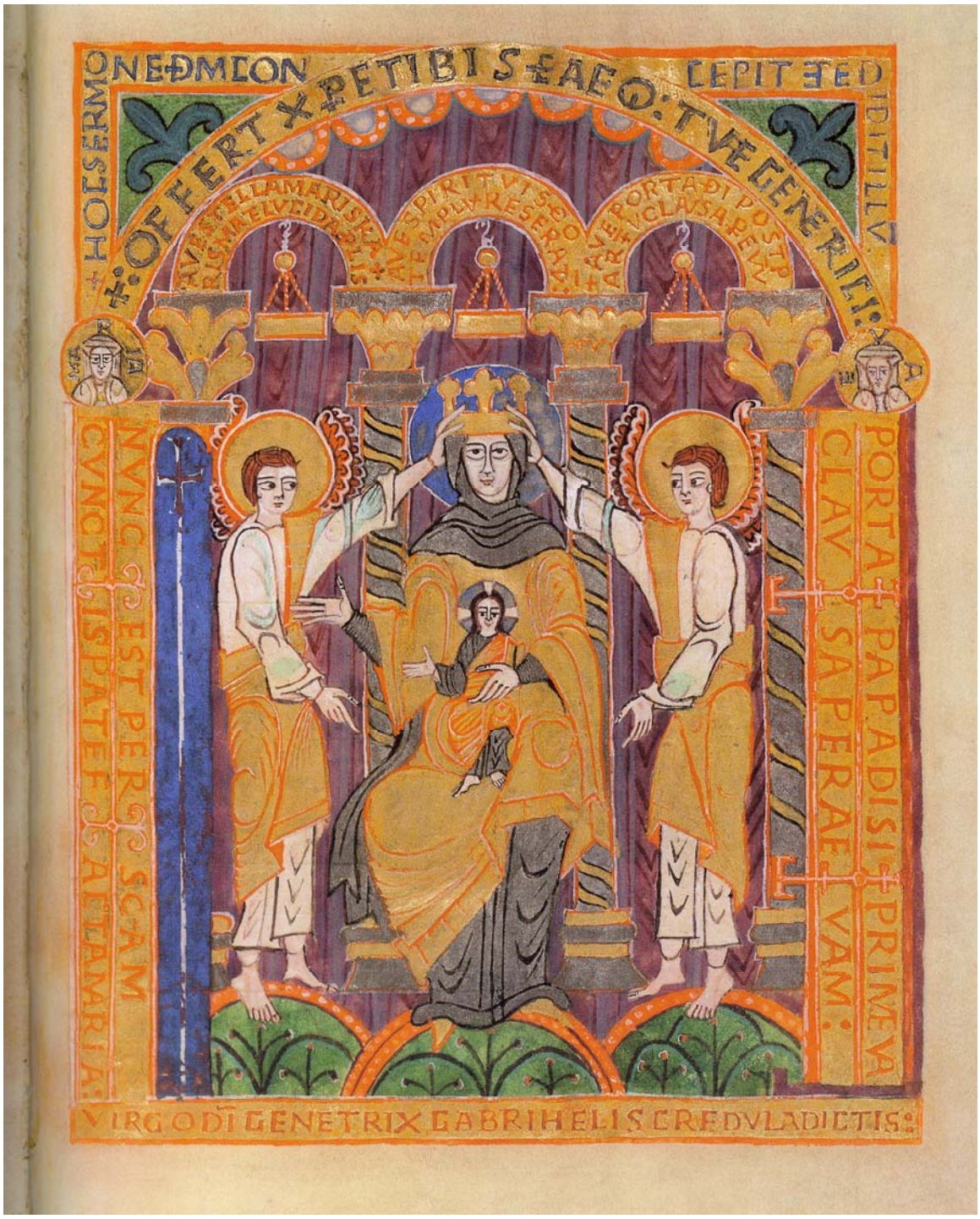

Figure 59. The Virgin Enthroned, Gospels of Bernward of Hildesheim, Hildesheim Domschatz, Ms. 18, fol. 17

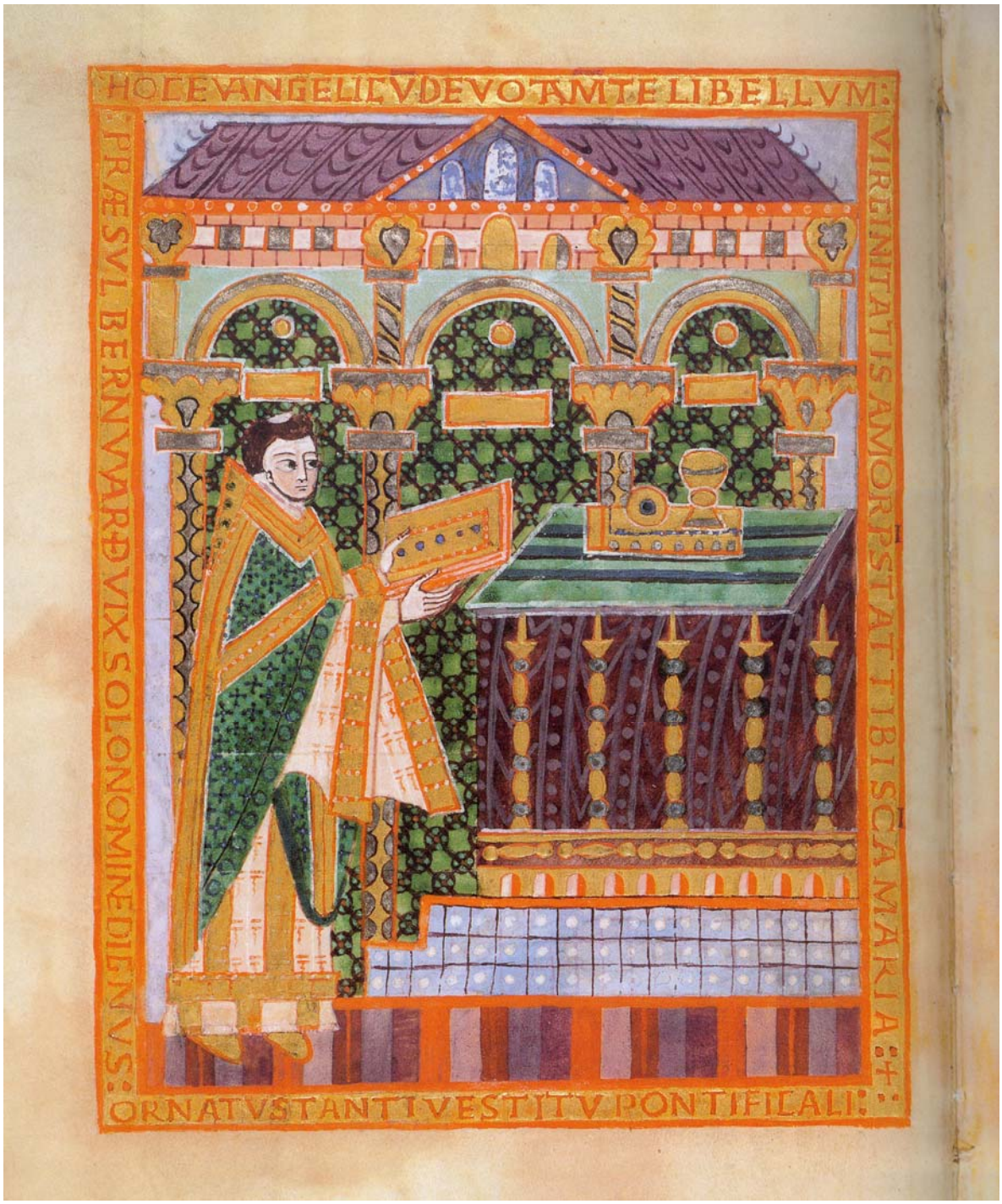

Figure 60. Bernward Offering his Book to the Virgin, Gospels Bernward of Hildesheim, Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 18, fol. 16v

Figure 61. Uta Dedicating her Book to the Virgin, Uta Codex, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13601, fol. 2

Figure 62. Presentation Scenes, Egbert Psalter, Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archaeologico, Ms. CXXXVI, fols. 16v-17, 118v-19

Figure 63. Egbert Enthroned, Codex Egberti, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 2

Figure 64. Bernward Offering his Book to the Virgin, Bernward Bible, Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms. 61, fol.1

Figure 65. Leo Presenting his Book to the Virgin, Bible of Leo Sakellarios, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Reg. Graec. 1, fol. 2v

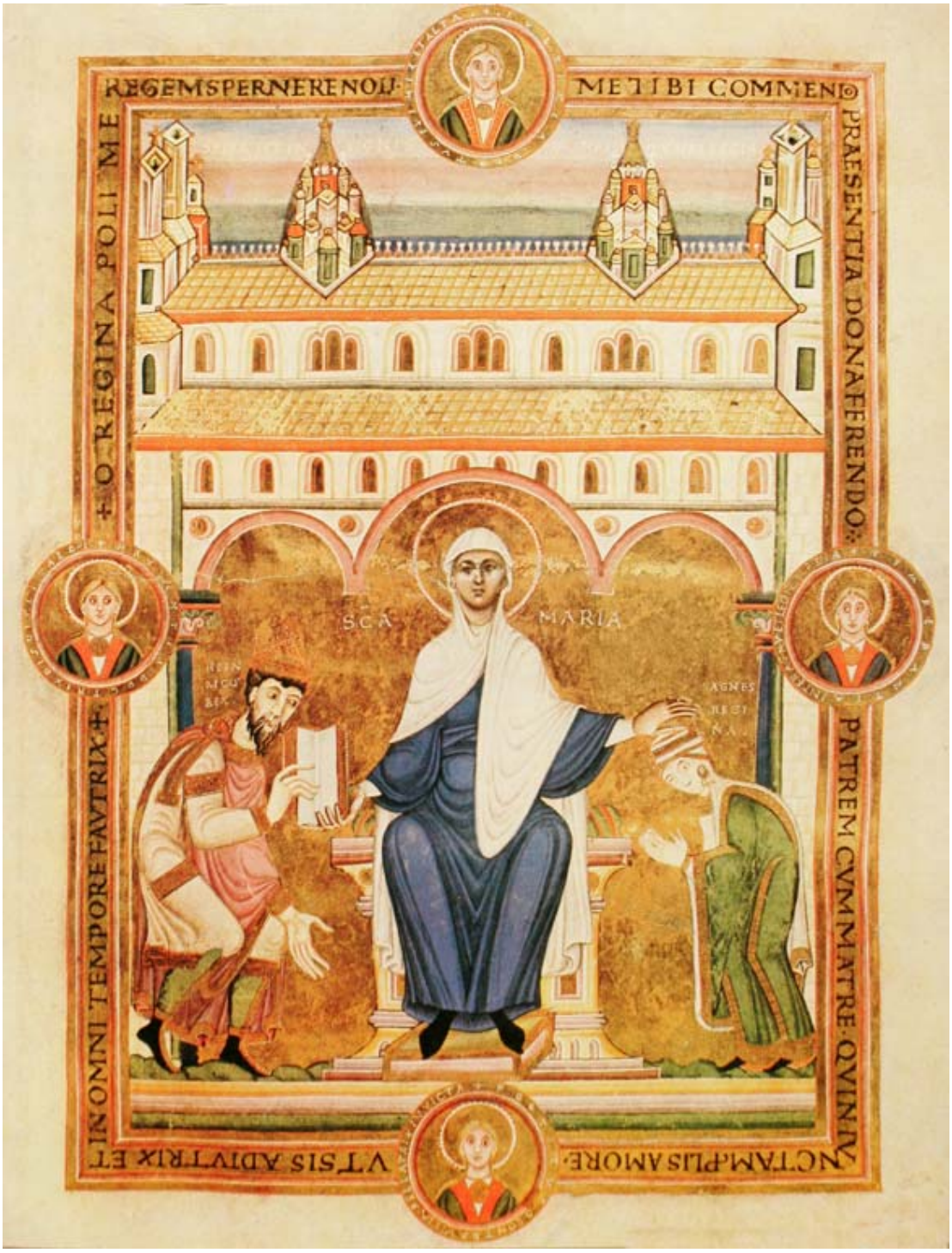

Figure 66. Virgin Crowning Henry III, Speyer Gospels, Madrid, Escorial, Cod. Vitrinas 17, fol. 3

Figure 67. Virgin and Henry II, Seeon Evangelary, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. 95, fols. 7v-8

Figure 68. Mary-Ecclesia, Petershausen Sacramentary, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 40v

Figure 69. Christ in Majesty, Petershausen Sacramentary, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fol. 41

Figure 70. Christ in Majesty, Gero Codex, Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 1948, fol. 5v

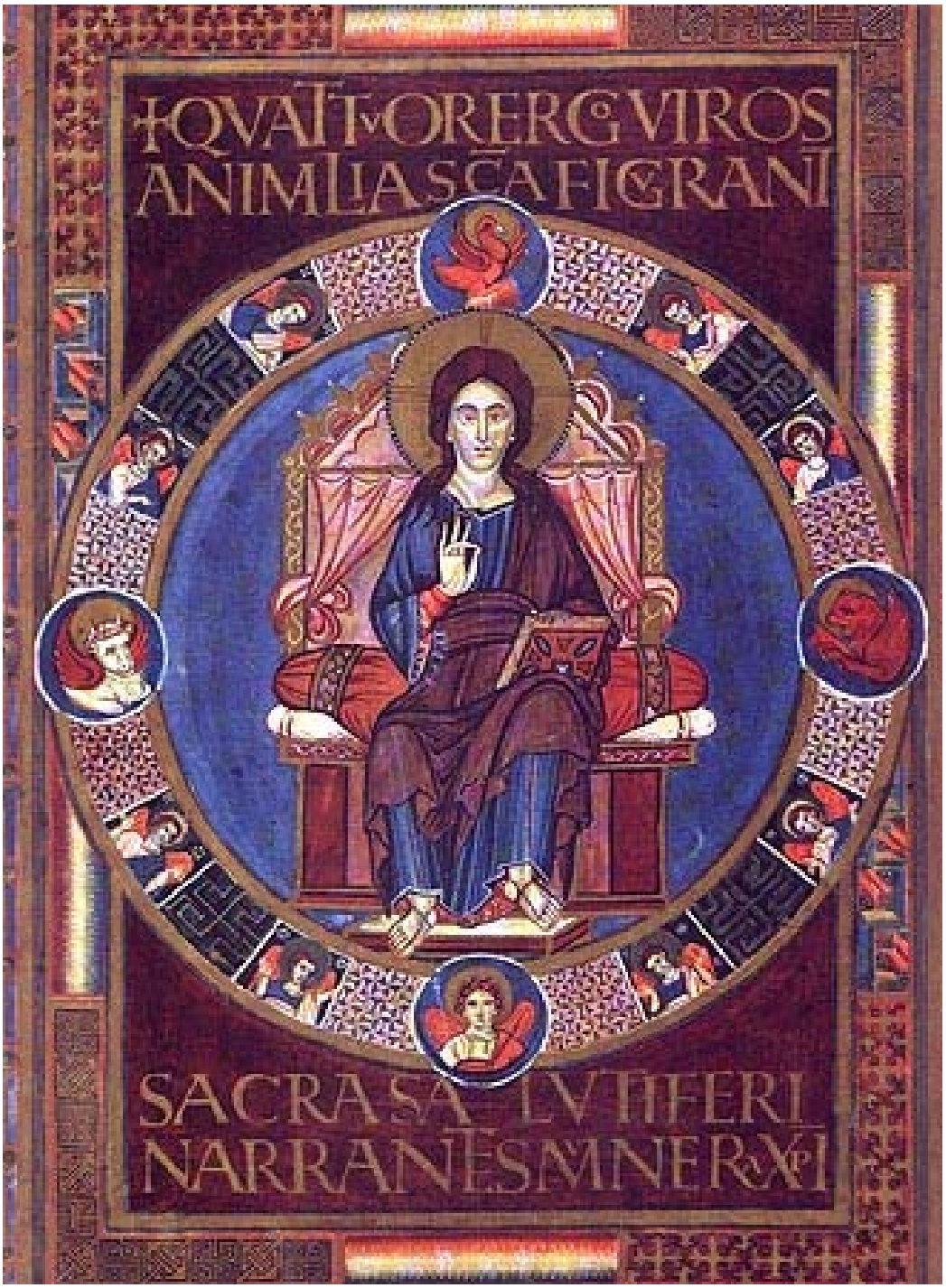

Figure 71. Christ in Majesty, Lorsch Gospels, Alba Julia, Documentara Batthayneum, fol. 18v

Figure 72. Mary-Ecclesia and Christ Enthroned, Petershausen Sacramentary, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, fols. 40v-41

Figure 73. Byzantine Empress, ivory, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 74. Virgin before Christ, Missal, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 610, fol. 25v

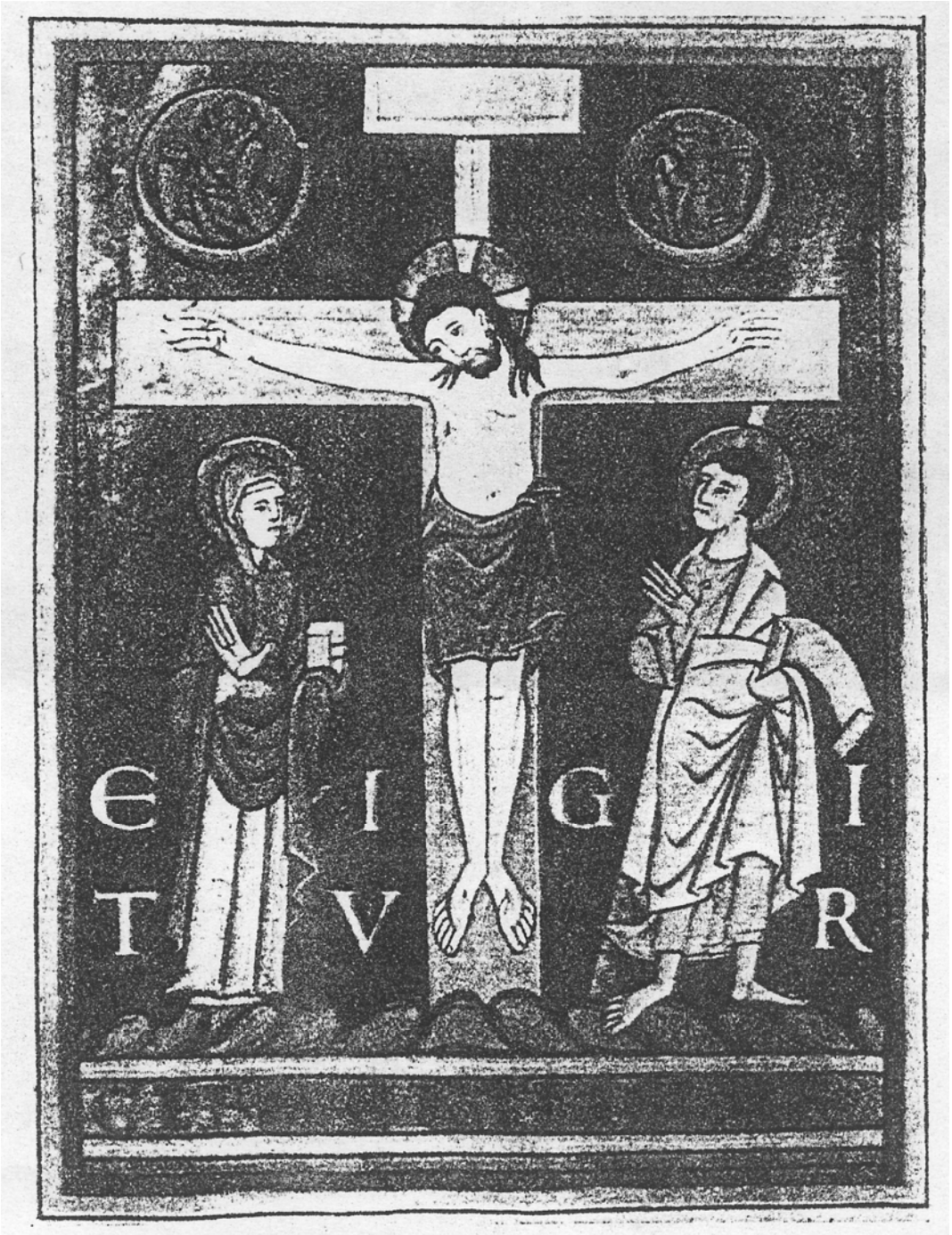

Figure 75. Crucifixion, Sacramentary of Sigebert of Minden, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. Lat. fol.2, fol. 3v

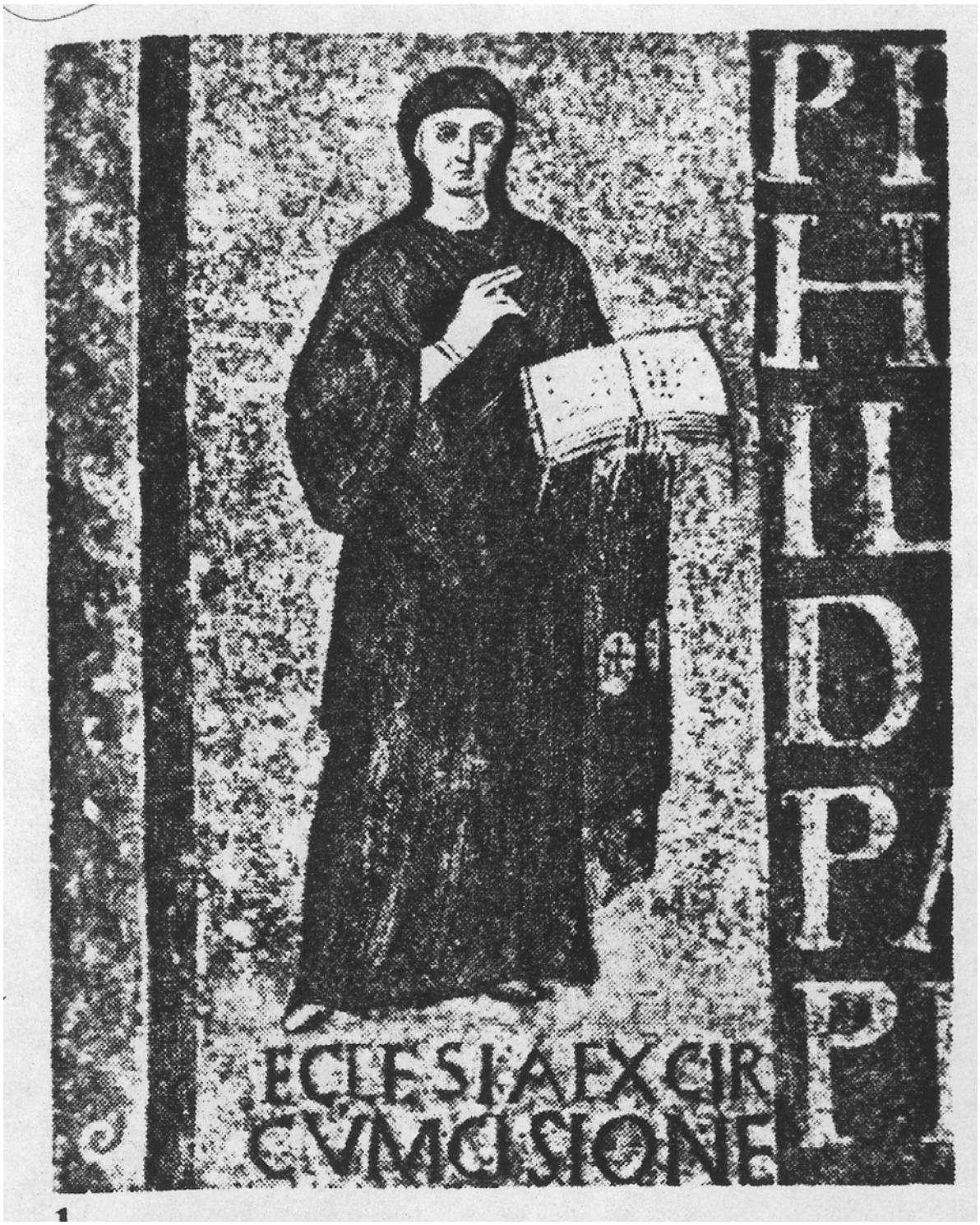

Figure 76. Detail of *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione*, mosaic, Rome, Santa Sabina

Figure 77. Ecclesia in the Illustration for All Saints, Sacramentary, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 1, fol. 165 v

Figure 78. Ecclesia in the Illustration for All Saints, Sacramentary, Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 231, fol. 66v

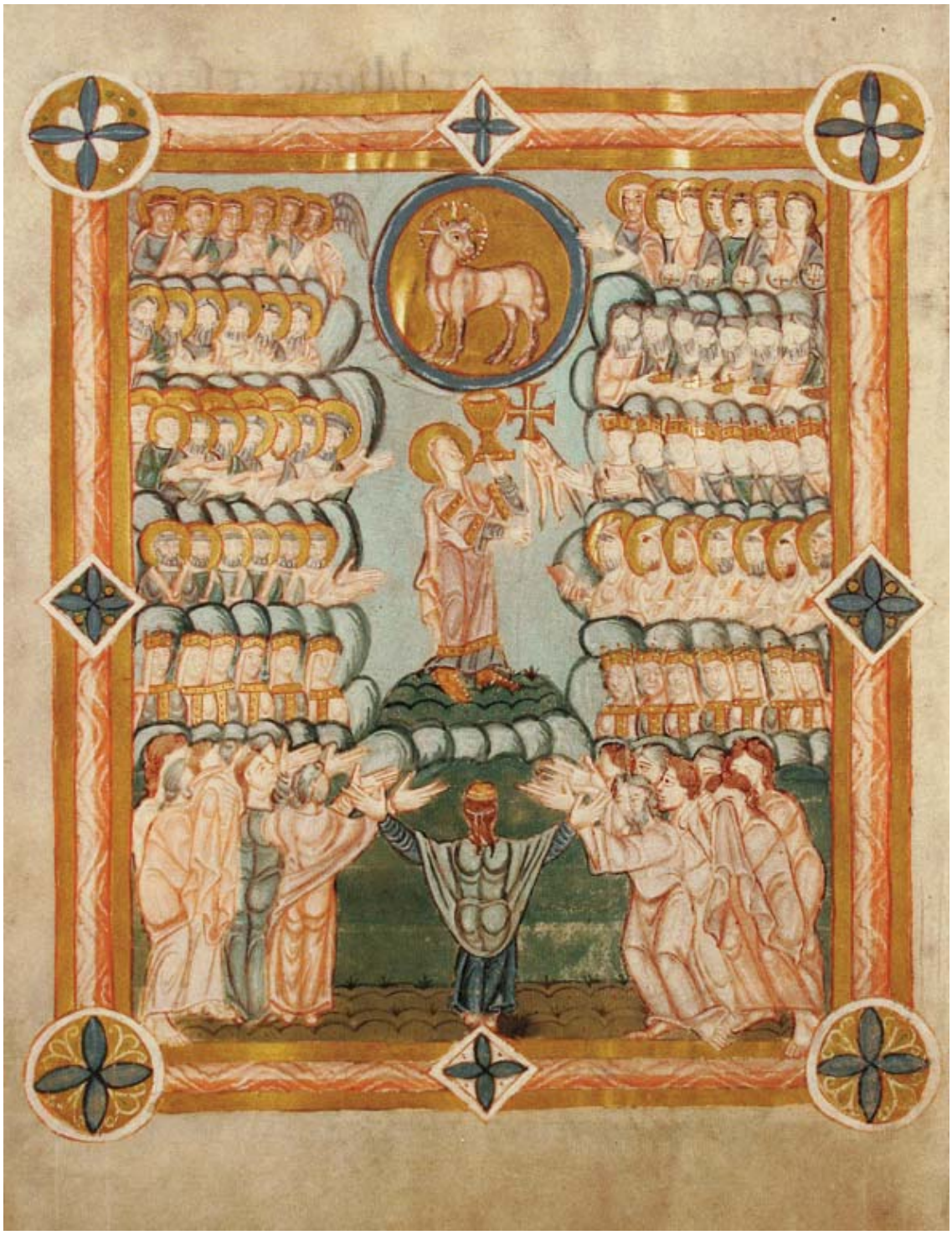

Figure 79. Ecclesia in the Illustration for All Saints, Sacramentary, Udine, Archivo Capitolare, Ms. 1, fol. 6v

Figure 80. Ecclesia and the Apocalyptic Lamb, pericopes book, Aschaffenburg, Hoffbibliothek Ms. 2, fol. 1v

Figure 81. Ecclesia, Procession of the Baptized to Heaven, detail, Bamberg Commentaries, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Bibl. 22, fol. 4v

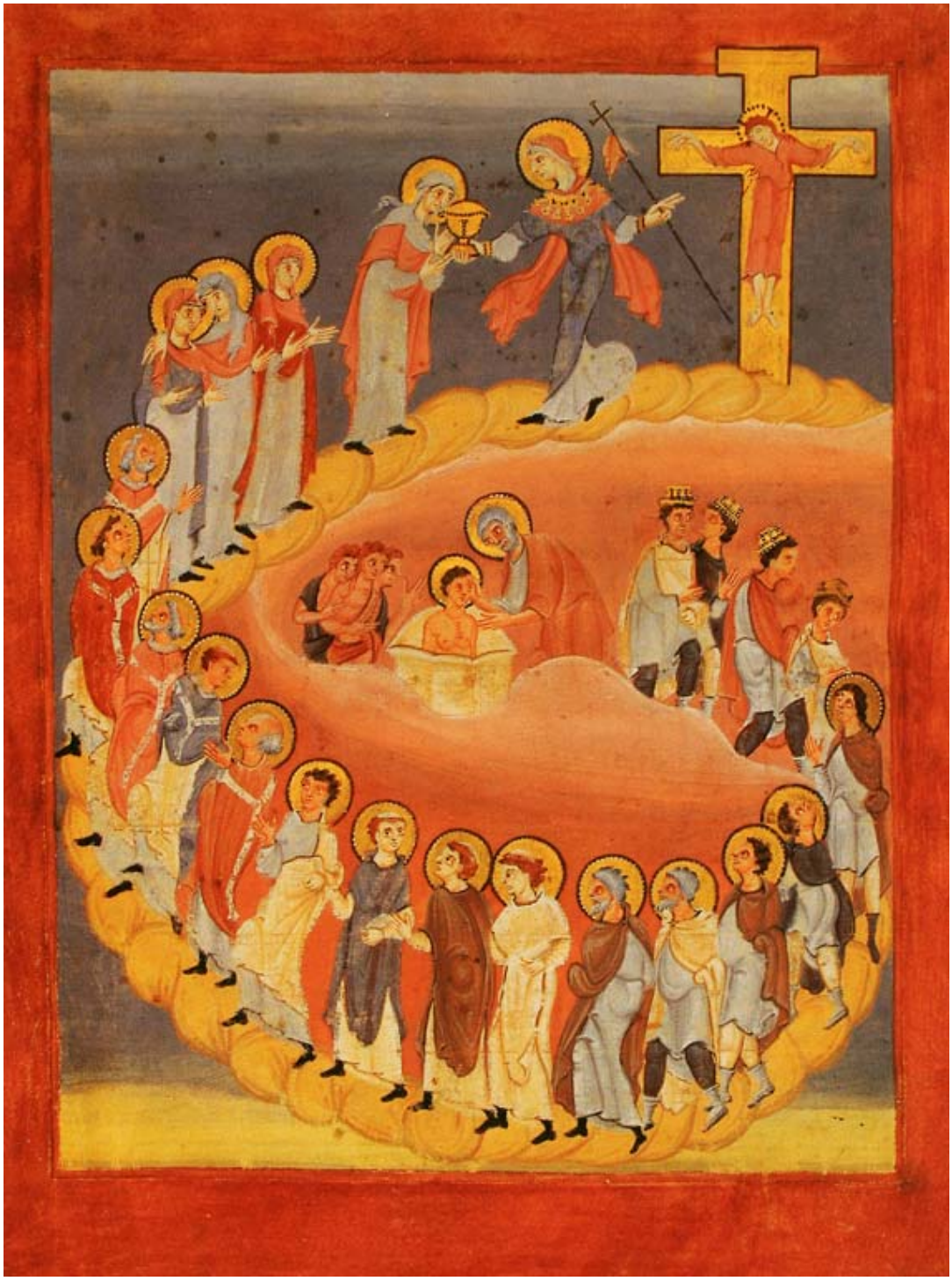

Figure 82. Procession of the Baptized to Heaven, Bamberg Commentaries, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Bibl. 22, fol. 4v

Figure 83. Madonna della Clemenza, painting on panel, Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere

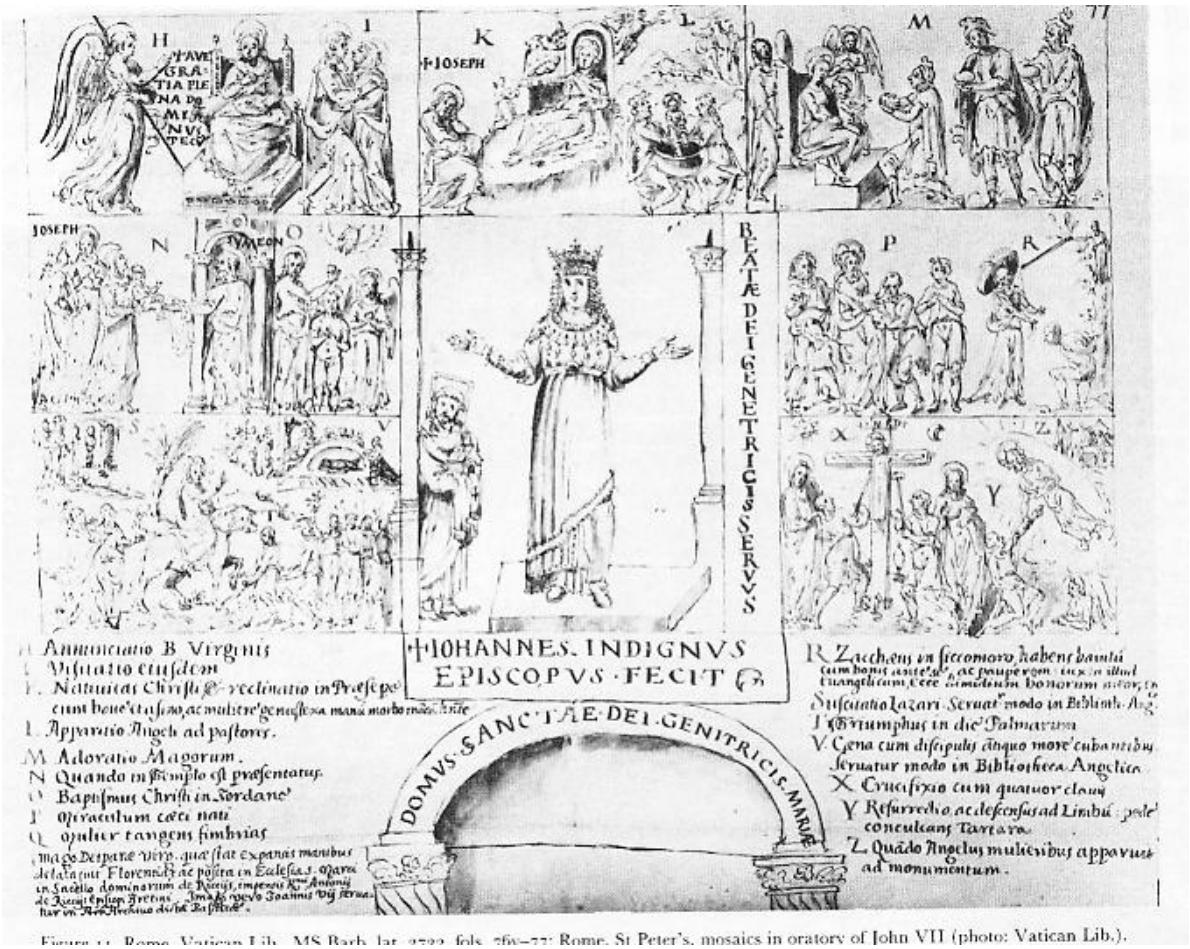

Figure 11. Rome, Vatican Lib., MS Barb. lat. 2732, fols. 76v–77; Rome, St Peter's, mosaics in oratory of John VII (photo: Vatican Lib.).

Figure 84. Pope John VII before the Virgin as Queen, mosaics in the oratory of John VII, reproduction drawing, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Barbarini lat. 2732, fols. 76v-77

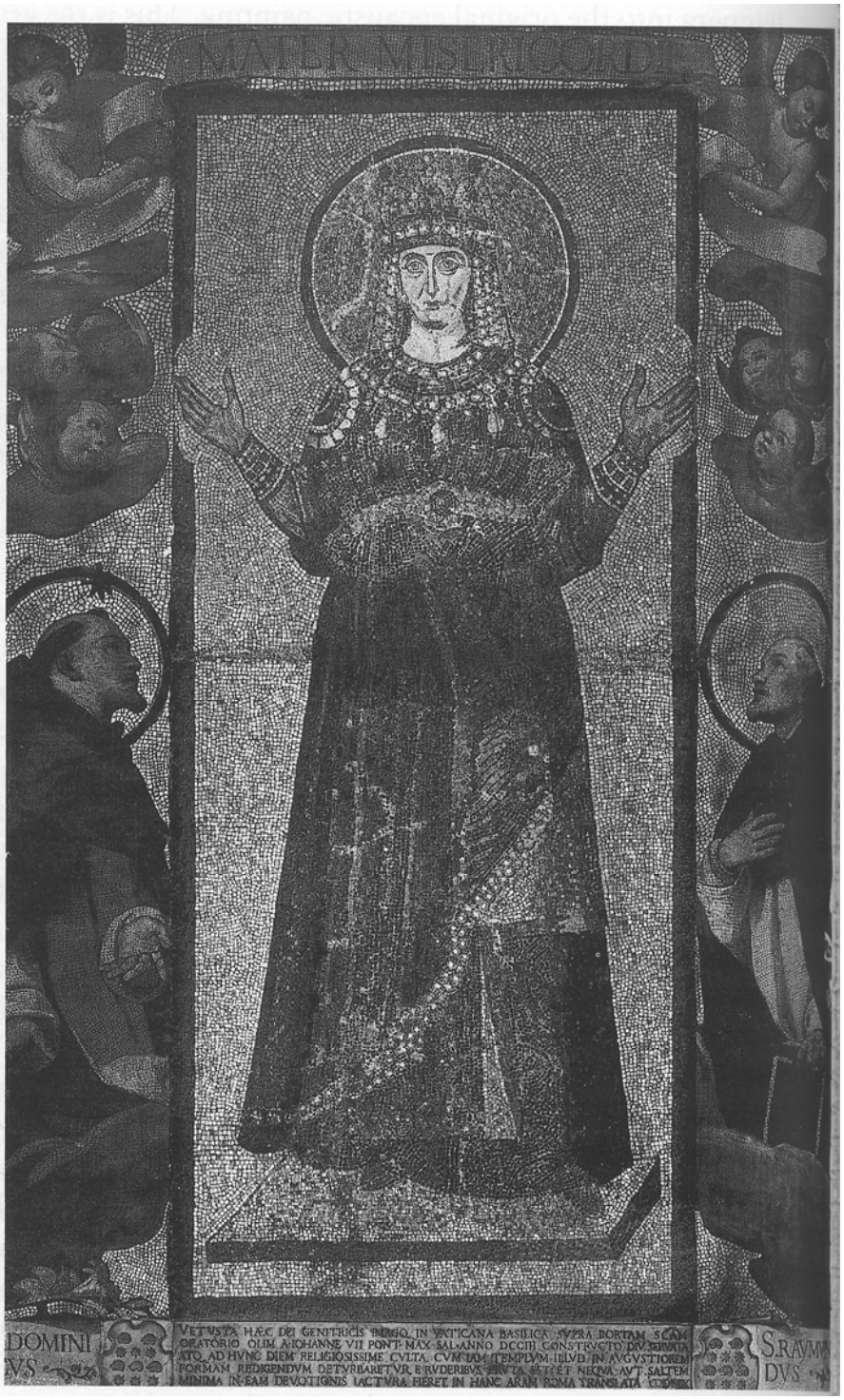

Figure 85. The Virgin as Queen, surviving mosaic fragment from the oratory of John VII, detail, Florence, San Marco

Figure 86. Ecclesia, wooden doors, detail, Rome, Santa Sabina

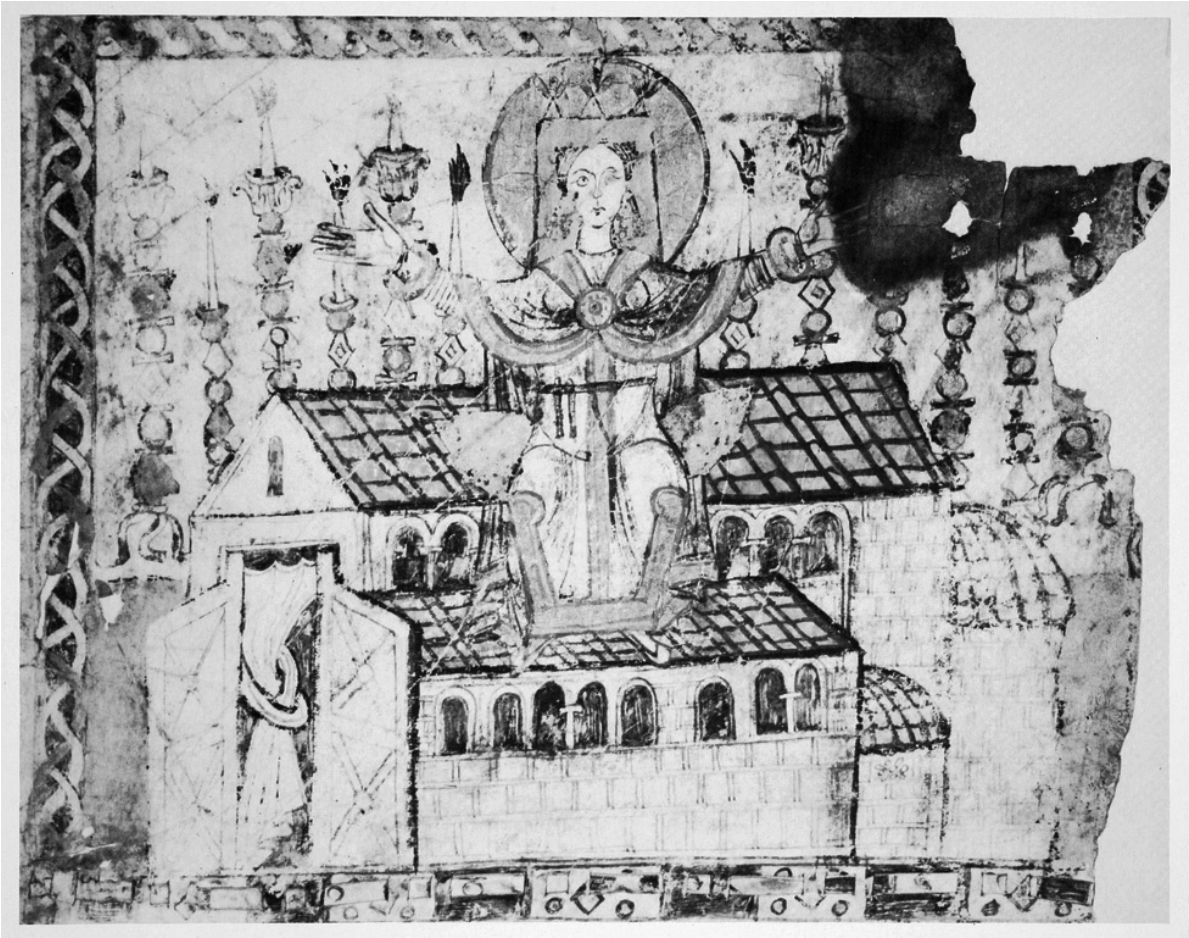

Figure 87. Ecclesia Seated on a Church Structure, Exultet Roll, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. lat. 9820

Figure 88. Mater Ecclesia, Barberini Exultet, Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Barbarini lat. 592

Figure 89. Crucifixion with Ecclesia, Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 43v

Figure 90. Crucifixion with Ecclesia, ivory, Metz school, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

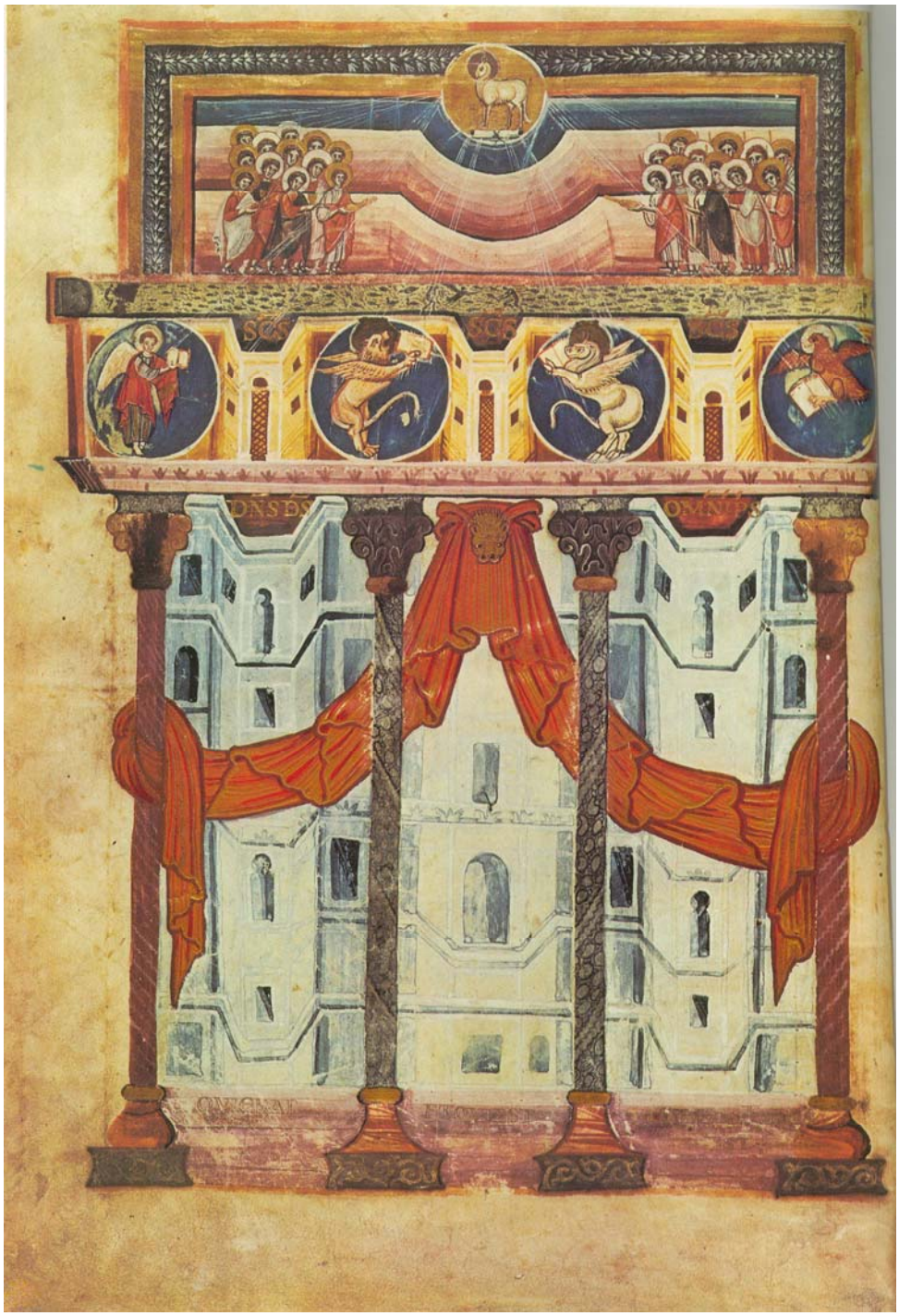

Figure 91. Heavenly Jerusalem, Gospels of Saint Médard of Soissons, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 1v

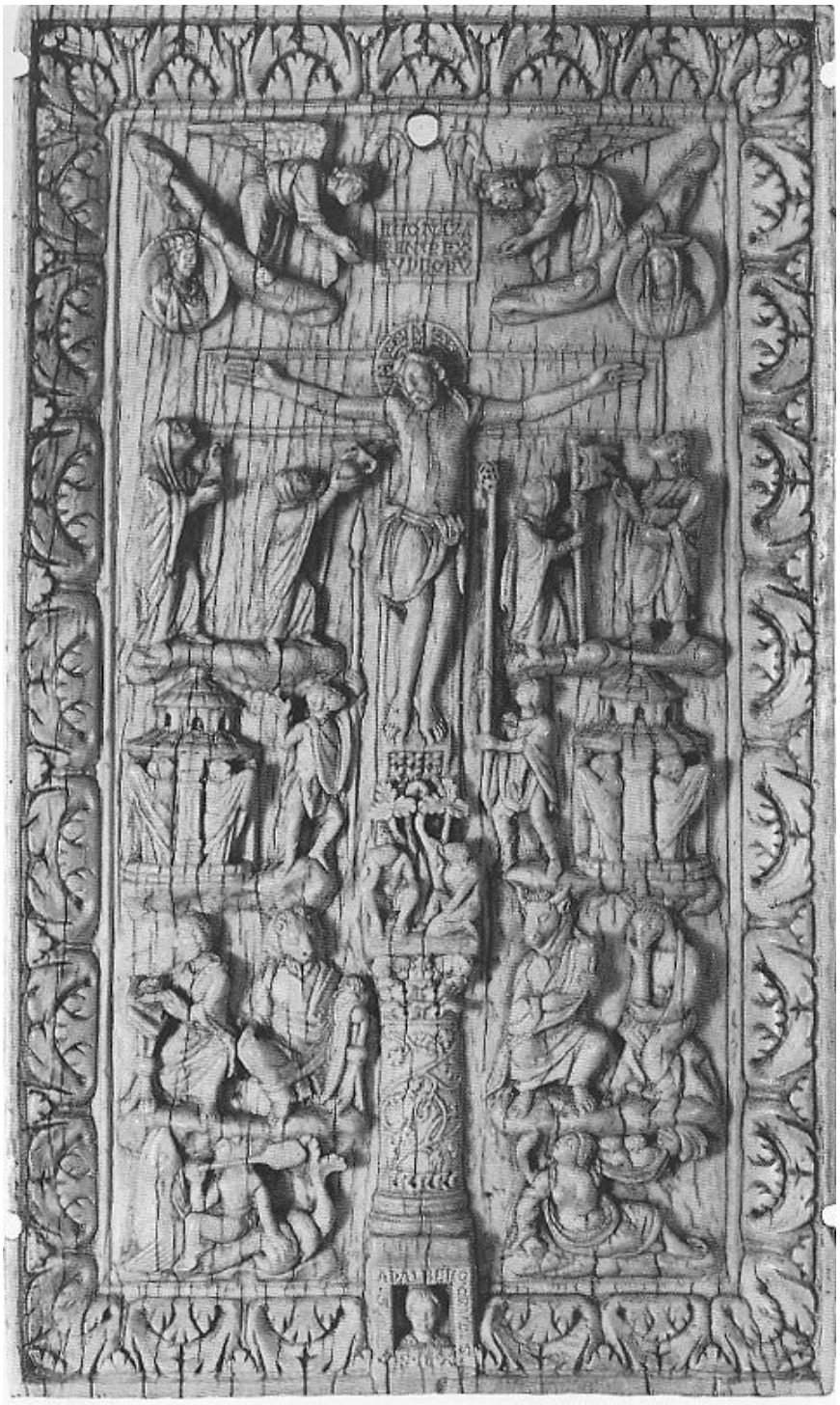

Figure 92. Crucifixion, ivory of Bishop Adalbero of Metz, Metz, La Cour d'Or, Musée de Metz, Inv. Nr. 3550

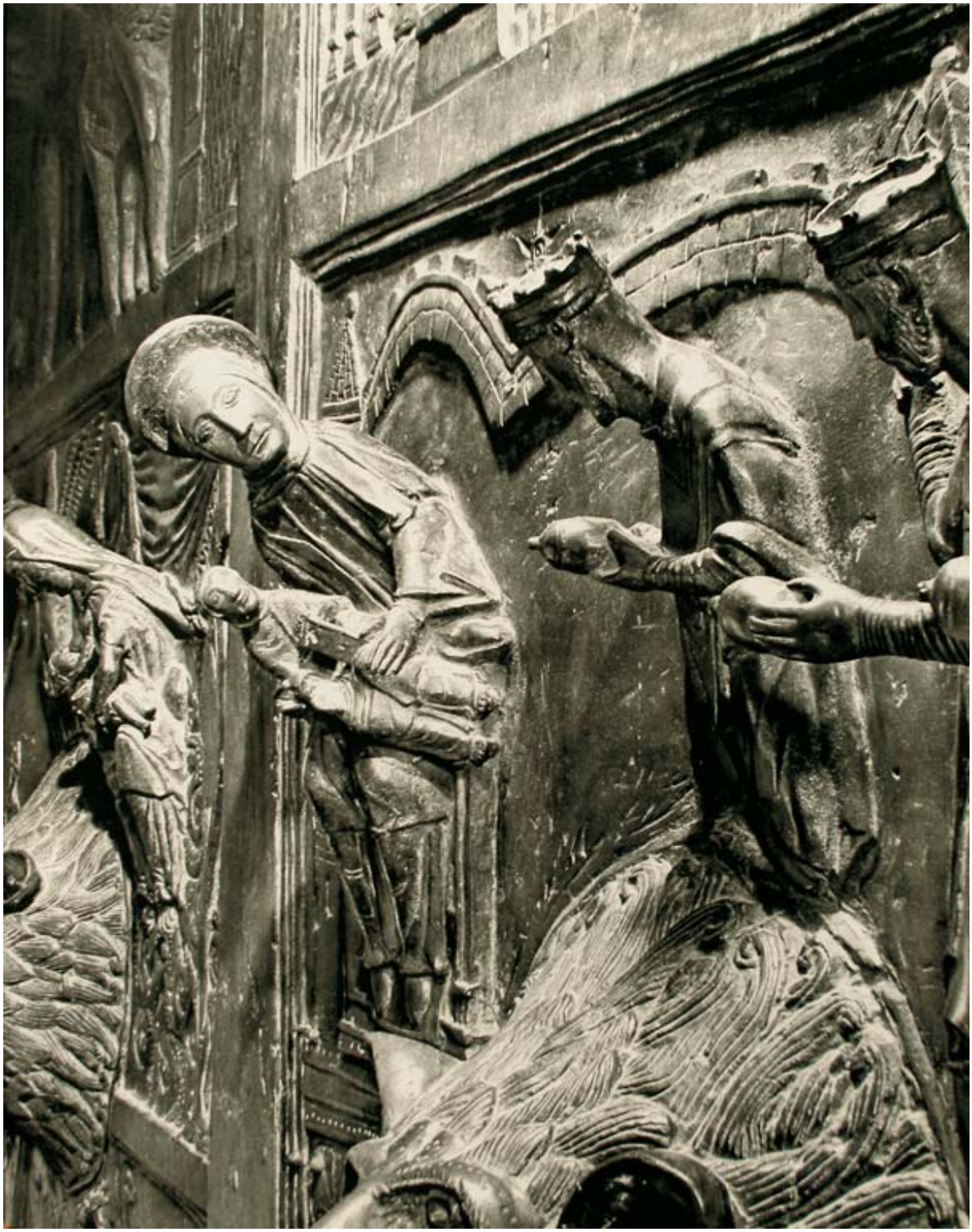

Figure 93. Bernward’s Doors, bronze, Hildesheim, Saint Michael’s Church

Figure 94. Virgo Militans, ivory, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.49

Figure 95. Crucifixion, Sacramentary, Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 231, fol. 84v

Figure 96. Ecclesia, Pericopes, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16002, fol. 39v

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VITA

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As co-curator of the exhibition "Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai" Collins spent her first several years at the Getty implementing the various aspects of this project; she contributed to and co-edited the accompanying catalogue and co-produced a short film for the show. She also curated an exhibition from the Getty's permanent collection titled "Seeking Illumination: Monastic Manuscripts 800-1200" (2003) and is planning two other exhibitions from the permanent collection, one exploring the focus on the physicality of Christ in medieval devotion and another designed specifically for children.

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