Faith on Parchment: Approaches to sensorial perception
in two Ottonian illuminated manuscripts from St Gall

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[...] *The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it.*
John 1:5

[...] *And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory,*
as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.
John 1:14

The Gospels are full of evocative literary references to visuality and physical matter as agents of sacredness. In recent decades, the medieval art historical discourse, particularly in English-speaking scholarship, has eventually conceded importance to these issues, inescapable composite elements of a broader and more accurate study of past forms of art and their original reception in a specific historical context.[1] The analysis of materiality, in particular, as an anthropological approach to medieval material culture, has been adapted from other fields of research.[2] The comprehensive work of Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, has been pivotal in this regard, focusing the study of matter on the religious frame of the European Middle Ages.[3] In artistic terms, sculpture in general and reliquaries in particular, had traditionally enjoyed a middle-ground approach that required the study of their material components and sensorial agency, halfway be-

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[1] ADEN KUMLER, CHRISTOPHER R. LAKEY, *Res et significatio*: The material sense of things in the Middle Ages, in: Gesta 51/1 (2012) p. 1–17.
[2] DANIEL MILLER, "An introduction", in: DANIEL MILLER (Ed.), Materiality, 2005, p. 1–50. See also, for contemporary artistic practices: PETRA LANGE-BERNDT (Ed.), Materiality, 2015.
[3] CAROLINE WALKER-BYNUM, Christian Materiality: An essay on religion in late medieval Europe, 2011, p. 25–31, 37–44.

tween the aesthetics of the forms and the perception of their materials.[4] Moreover, metalwork has been recently enjoying fascinating breakthroughs.[5] With little exception, however, the study of the materiality of illuminated manuscripts has never left the better-documented sphere of the last centuries of the medieval millennium, and hence the necessity for a case study at an earlier date.[6] The study of visuality in medieval art, on the other hand, possesses an older history for which early German-speaking scholarship shall be given credit.[7] The Middle Ages were a period of highly condensed Christian symbolism. The analysis of artistic materials and the reconstruction of sensorial perception do not only provide with a better, logical picture of medieval life and manners, but also offer the modern reader a glimpse into the established and all-pervasive system of beliefs of the time. Monastic contexts, strongholds of learning through the Early and High Middle Ages in particular, are a well suitable environment for an analysis. The learned communities that once thrived in these institutions produced large numbers of illuminated manuscripts, mostly with a liturgical purpose. Their members' widespread (although not uniform) literacy, religious study and subsequent everyday practice, resulted in a familiarity with the aforementioned Christian symbolism that is today, amidst the lack of primary sources, the main path of research. Yet, it is clear that in these chronological frames where documentation is meagre, the art historian continuously struggles with the intentional and the circumstantial, between meaningful symbolic messages and the randomness of the artist's mind. This text aims to introduce and highlight the problems associated with studies on early medieval artistic materiality and sensorial perception in the manuscript illumination of the Latin West, far from the wealth of first-hand records of Byzantium, and the much larger and varied range of literatures from the Late Middle Ages.[8]

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[4] CYNTHIA HAHN, The Spectacle of the Charismatic Body: Patrons, artists, and body-part reliquaries, in: MARTINA BAGNOLI, HOLGER KLEIN, GRIFFITH MANN, JAMES ROBINSON (Eds.), Treasures of Heaven: Saints, relics and devotion in Medieval Europe, 2011, p. 163–172.

[5] ITTAI WEINRYB, Living matter: Materiality, maker and ornament in the Middle Ages, in: Gesta 52/2 (2013) p. 113–132. See also: ITTAI WEINRYB, The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages, 2016, p. 55–76.

[6] HERBERT L. KESSLER, Image and Object: Christ's dual nature and the crisis of Early Medieval art, in: JENNIFER R. DAVIS, MICHAEL MCCORMICK (Eds.), The long morning of Medieval Europe, 2008, p. 291–320. For non-illuminated manuscripts, see: HENRIKE LÄHNEMANN, The materiality of medieval manuscripts, in: Oxford German Studies 45/2 (2016) p. 121–141.

[7] WOLFGANG KEMP, Kunstwerk und Betrachter: Der Rezeptionästhetische Ansatz, in: HANS BELTING et al (Eds.), Kunstgeschichte. Eine Einführung, 1986, p. 203–221.

[8] For Byzantium, see: ROLAND BETANCOURT, Tempted to touch: Tactility, ritual and mediation in Byzantine visuality, in: Speculum 91/3 (2016) p. 660–689. The present work will be updated

The Abbey of St Gall is certainly a well-documented historical setting for this case study. In the ninth century, the now Swiss institution became one of the leading communities to participate and benefit from the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance".[9] The members of the St Gall scriptorium copied then a vast number of manuscripts, including liturgical treatises and Classical works of literature. Moreover, the lavish illumination of different typologies of texts represented one of the most evident indications of the cultural splendour attained by the Alpine abbey, particularly in the last decades of the ninth century.[10] However, in the first quarter of the tenth century, the invasions of the Magyars, predecessors of the modern Hungarians, disrupted regional life in the eastern remnants of the formerly almighty Carolingian kingdom, bringing to an end the prosperity of several monastic communities, including Corvey and Fulda in the 910's, and St Gall in 926.[11] The members of the community fled before the imminent Magyar threat and took refuge in the safer island-monastery of Reichenau in Lake Constance, barely thirty miles away from St Gall.[12] Once the Hungarian tide receded, the monks returned to their home. In 937, a fire broke out and destroyed large parts of the complex,

in 2018 with photographical material illustrating experiments concerning visual perception and involving the manuscripts themselves.

[9] DIETER GEUENICH, Mönche und Konvent von St. Gallen in der Karolingerzeit, in: Alemannisches Jahrbuch (2001/2002) p. 39–62; and especially, for the political context surrounding the abbey in the ninth century, see p. 46–48. RUPERT SCHAAB, Mönch in St Gallen. Zur inneren Geschichte eines frühmittelalterlichen Klosters (Vorträge und Forschungen. Sonderband 47) 2003. Several cultural histories of the institution have been written, largely focused on the Carolingian period. See JOHANNES DUFT, ANTON GÖSSI, WERNER VOGLER, Die Abtei St Gallen, 1983. JOHANNES DUFT, Die Abtei St. Gallen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze in überarbeiteter Fassung 1, 1990. PETER OCHSENBEIN (ed.), Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter. Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, 1999. HANS-PETER MARTI, Klosterkultur und Aufklärung in der Fürstabtei St. Gallen, 2003. The seminal contribution in any other language other than German remains JAMES CLARK, The abbey of Saint Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art, 1926.

[10] CHRISTOPH EGGENBERGER, St. Gall: a center of late Carolingian book illumination, in: JAMES KING (Ed.), Sangallensia in Washington. The arts and letters in medieval and baroque St. Gall viewed from the late twentieth century, 1993, p. 81–94. See also ANTON VON EUW, Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts 1, 2008. ADOLF MERTON, Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen, 1923.

[11] KARL SCHMUKI, Der Einfall der Ungarn in Sankt Gallen im Jahre 926 in den Handschriftenschätzen der Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen, in: CSIHAK GYÖRGY, WERNER VOGLER (Eds.), Die Ungarn und die Abtei Sankt Gallen, 1999, p. 28–38. ERNST TREMP, Heribald von St. Gallen und die Ungarn, in: DOROTHÉE WALZ (Ed.), Scripturus vitam. Lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart: Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag, 2002, p. 435–441.

[12] See WERNER VOGLER, Engilbert, in: ELSANNE GILOMEN-SCHENKEL (Ed.), Helvetia Sacra 3.1, 1986, p. 1283. This abbot (925–933), who led the community in exile to avoid the Magyar threat, shall not be confused with his early Carolingian namesake (840–841). WALTER BERSCHIN, Eremus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter. Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft, 2005.

including the abbey's church.[13] This tragic event further delayed the community's recovery, while other monastic institutions started to perceive improvement by the mid-tenth century with the consolidation of Otto I on the throne of the former *Francia Orientalis*.[14] It took until the 970's, before sources attested a significant improvement in the situation of St Gall. A newly remodelled abbey church was inaugurated. Perhaps as a consequence of this, St Gall received a visit from Emperor Otto II in 972, his wife, the former Byzantine princess Theophanu, and his heir, the future Otto III.[15] The young prince, in particular, remarked the collection of manuscripts that the monks owned and asked for new manuscripts that the abbey's scriptorium was then copying. This event marks a certain *terminus post quem* for the re-start of manuscript activities at St Gall in the High Middle Ages. For the next century, St Gall entered what it has been denominated its "Silbernes Zeitalter" – a much-missed but arguably less remarkable period of cultural splendour and renewed influence in the monastic network of Ottonian and Salian Germany.[16] Yet, the illumination of manuscripts of this period unquestionably matches the quantity and quality of the late ninth-century "Goldenes Zeitalter" production.[17] Two of the earliest examples of full-page decorations are a gradual-sacramentary, the Codex Sangallensis 339 (CS339), and an antiphonary, the celebrated Hartker Antiphonary (Codices Sangallenses 390 and 391).[18] Although the latter presents a developed Christological cycle, both manuscripts have in common the depiction of a Crucifixion image to illustrate different sections of their respective liturgical contents.

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[13] CLARK, The abbey of St Gall as (like note 1) p. 11–12.

[14] JOHN J. GALLAGHER, Church and state in Germany under Otto I (936–973), 1938. DAVID BACHRACH, Exercise of royal power in early medieval Europe: the case of Otto the Great, 936–73, in: Early Medieval Europe 17/4 (2009) p. 389–419. MATTHIAS BECHER, Otto der Große: Kaiser und Reich. Eine Biographie, 2012, p. 9–28.

[15] ALFONS ZETTLER, St. Gallen als Bischofs- und als Königskloster, in: Alemannisches Jahrbuch (2001/2002) p. 23–38 (here p. 35–38).

[16] The only piece of research that has partially introduced the history of the period is ANTON VON EUW, W. VOGLER, Die Abtei St Gallen im 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert, in: Montfort. Vierteljahresschrift für Geschichte, Heimat- und Volkskunde Vorarlbergs 44 (1992) p. 111–118.

[17] JESÚS RODRÍGUEZ VIEJO, Manuscript illumination at St Gall, c. 975–1075. Tradition, innovation and exchange, PhD Thesis in History of Art, University of Edinburgh (2015–).

[18] VON EUW, St. Galler Buchkunst (like note 2) p. 217–219. GUSTAV SCHERRER, Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen, 1875, p. 119. An introduction to the decoration of the Hartker Antiphonary is found in VON EUW, St. Galler Buchkunst (like note 2), p. 499–502. See also SCHERRER, Verzeichnis (like above) p. 133. The digitised version of the Codex Sangallensis 339 can be found on: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/thumbs/csg/0339 The Hartker Antiphonary, is found, instead, on: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/thumbs/csg/0390 and http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/thumbs/csg/0391 (5.5.2017).

The Crucifixion of the Codex Sangallensis 339 acts as the decorated frontispiece to the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, as the Cross becomes the "T" of the expression *Te igitur*, the beginning of the prayer that inaugurates the Roman Canon (Fig. 1). In contrast, the Crucifixion of the Hartker Antiphonary represents an accompanying illustration to a specific antiphon recited in the Liturgy of the Hours during Easter Friday (Fig. 2). Both images were primarily conceived by way of drawing over the neutral, uncoloured background of the parchment's surface. The artist of the Codex Sangallensis 339 decorated with gold leaf parts of the page, and the artist of the Hartker Antiphonary opted instead for a subtle range of tonalities applied as a "colour outline" to the profile. These liturgical manuscripts played a specific role in the regular services held at the abbey church of St Gall around the year 1000. Understood as a case study, the separate analysis of several of the constituent elements of these images depicted on the parchment can shed light on the different perceptions that the imagery provoked amongst an original audience. On the other hand, intrinsic qualities of the medium, the parchment, also possessed meaningful connotations in the eyes of the medieval learned fellowship of individuals that the pious congregation of St Gall conformed. Illuminated manuscripts, as portative objects with a defined primary textual role, were an integral part of the much-searched symbolism and complex play of senses that the Christian liturgy, and in particular the Eucharist, gradually became throughout the Early Middle Ages.[19]

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[19] ELIZABETH SAXON, Art and the Eucharist: Early Christian to ca. 800, in: IAN CHRISTOPHER LEVY, GARY MACY, KRISTEN VAN AUSDALL (Eds.), A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, 2012, p. 93–159 (here p. 123–139). JAMES G. CLARK, The Benedictines in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 91–102.

Fig. 1. Crucifixion-*Te igitur*, Codex Sangallensis 339, fol. 95v (St Gall, c. 980-1000);
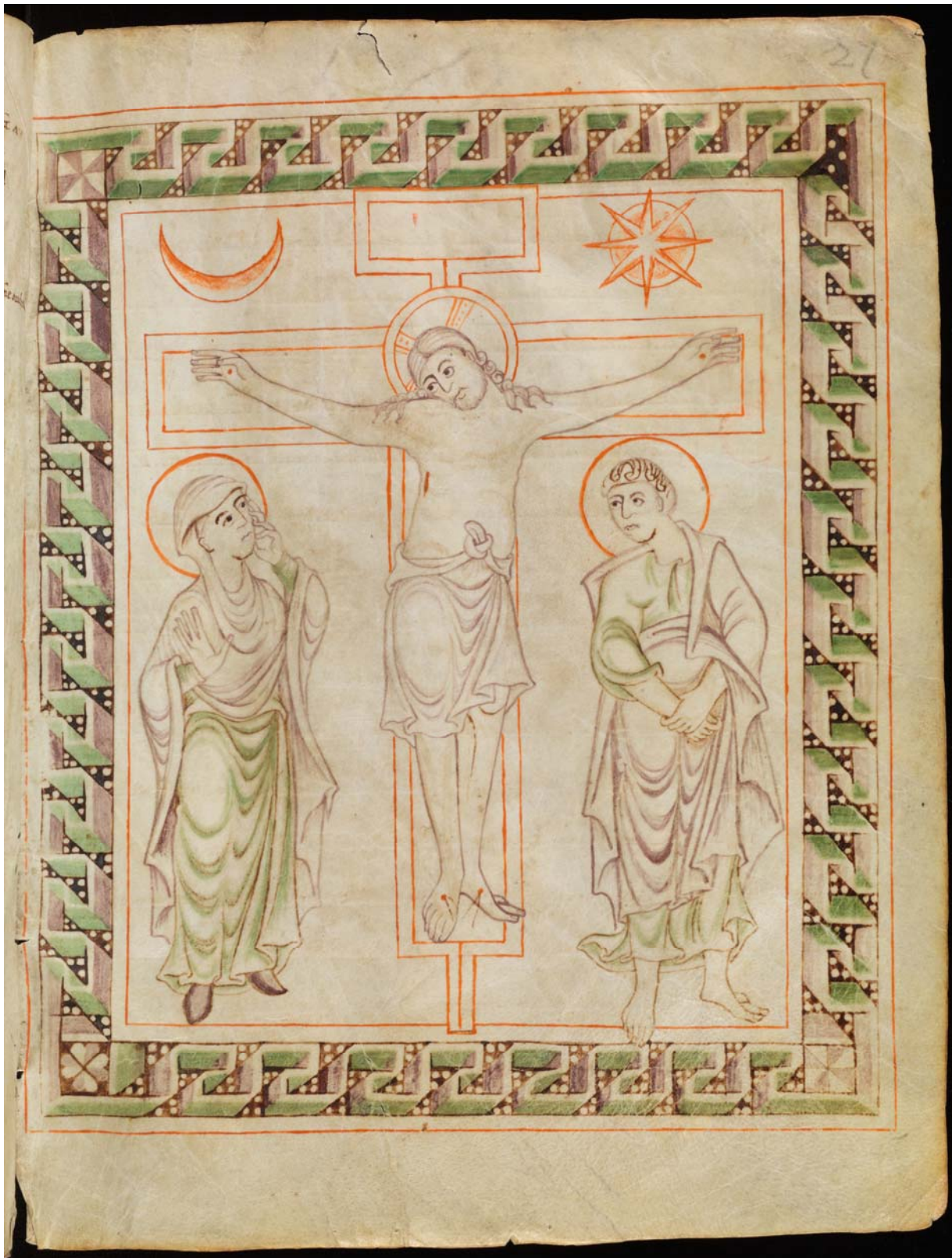Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0339/191.

Fig. 2. Crucifixion, Codex Sangallensis 391 (Hartker Antiphonary II), fol. 14r (St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0391/27.

Gold, candlelights and the blurred vision

In general terms, the use of golden mosaics, defines the perception of Byzantine art in the Eastern Mediterranean, and to a lesser extent, of the early Medieval Latin West as well. The Italian peninsula, since early Christian times, accounts for the largest number of these decorations. Golden tesserae conform extensive backgrounds created for the depiction of a certain theophany. Monumental mosaics on the apses of churches of longitudinal plan in Rome and Ravenna in particular, and later in Sicily, acted as the focal point of the viewer's attention.[20] These compositions displayed isolated figures depicting Christ, the enthroned Mother of God, or particular saints, surrounded by a sea of glittering golden tesserae. The apse mosaic of Sant'Agnese, created around the year 625, is an especially remarkable example (Fig. 3).[21] The figure of the venerated local Roman martyr, who was believed to have been buried in the small network of catacombs that runs beneath the building, was depicted in between the image of Pope Honorious (625–638), patron of the church's enlargement and decoration, and the second portrait of an unknown pontiff of controversial meaning in recent scholarship.[22] The scale of the depictions within the apse's dome is, in any case, relatively small, and concedes a large share of relevance to the seemingly static golden background that impregnates the gaze of the viewer located in the aisles and that embraces the portraits. Yet, if light and movement are unavoidably considered, the perception from the floor of both golden surface and figuration is substantially altered.

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[20] Beat Brenk, The apse, the image and the icon. An historical perspective of the apse as a space for images, 2010, p. 83–107. See also Jean-Michel Spieser, The representation of Christ in the apses of Early Christian Churches, in: Gesta 37/1 (1998) p. 63–73.

[21] Erik Thunø, The apse mosaic in early medieval Rome: time, network and repetition, 2015, p. 24–27 (Pl. VI, Fig. 2, 11, 12). See also Barbara Baert, More than an image. St Agnes of Rome: Virginity and visual memory, in: J. Leemans (Ed.), More than a memory. The discourse of martyrdom and the construction of identity in the history of Christianity, 2005, p. 139–168 (here p. 145–149). For the architecture, see Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, 1986, p. 268–269 (Fig. 233).

[22] Manuela Gianandrea, Il *doppio papa* nelle decorazioni absidiali del Medioevo romano, in: Rosa Alcoy, Dominique Allios, Maria Alessandra Bilotta, M. Gianandrea (Eds.), Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet, Paris, 2012, p. 637–643.

Fig. 3. Apse mosaic of St Agnese, Rome (c. 650). Photo: Wikipedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apse_mosaic_-_Sant%27Agnese_fuori_le_mura_-_Rome_2016_(3).jpg.

Due to the inherent characteristics of the basilical structure, these apse mosaics were dimly lit, as there was no source of light besides the natural light entering the apertures in the second level of the walls.[23] The presence of large candleholders, as portable objects of considerable dimensions to be placed by the walls and beneath the depictions, thus acquired a logical sense.[24] Conveniently located, the reflection produced by candlelights created a halo of blinding light focused on the figure of St Agnes, as modern systems of "musealised" illumination tend to imitate (Fig. 4). In the same manner as a pious local churchgoer or foreign traveller in seventh-century Rome, the modern visitor would approach the altar to obtain a closer look of the saint's portrait. Her face, in the centre of the composition, was partially veiled by the light from the reflection of the candlights as a result of the extensive presence of golden tesserae around St Agnes' figure. These interactions naturally occurred both during the liturgical services regularly held inside St Agnes and, in a more ir-

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[23] THUNØ, The apse mosaic in (like note 13) p. 65–66. See also BRENK, The apse, the image (like note 12) p. 86–88, 92–94.

[24] THUNØ, The apse mosaic in (like note 13) p. 99–103. MARKUS L. RAUTMAN, Daily life in the Byzantine Empire, 2006, p. 245–246.

regular but constant manner, when the local population entered the building, seeking a silent moment of prayer or meditation.

Fig. 4. Apse mosaic of St Agnese with artificial illumination from below, seen from the central aisle. Photo: Wikipedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apse_interior_and_arch_-_Sant%27Agnese_fuori_le_mura_-_Rome_2016.jpg (detail).

The celebration of a vigil several times a year, or the visits paid to the church in a dark evening of the winter, were therefore exclusively illuminated by

candleholders of considerable dimensions and small candlelights scattered across the ground floor. With certainty, some of them were also found behind the altar, by the wall of the apse, lightening the mysterious presence of St Agnes that chaired the gatherings of the local congregation. Her presence thus acquired a heavenly connotation, illuminated through light and gold, but also untouched, raised several meters above the masses of local population that visited the building.

The same basic principles of visual perception of gilded surfaces can be applied to illuminated manuscripts containing full-page depictions of symbolic importance, and therefore susceptible to be privately or publically venerated, such as the Christ in Majesty, the Mother of God, or the Crucifixion.[25] Yet, unlike mosaics, manuscripts are portable objects. First and foremost, a distinction between "static" and "dynamic" contexts must be established. The former are difficult to explore. Few testimonies have come down from this period describing the static nature of an illuminated manuscript. The monumental early ninth-century Danila Bible, produced in the Kingdom of Asturias, in northern Spain, is believed to have symbolically chaired over an altar, a council of northern Spanish bishops summoned by King Alfonso II in 820.[26] In Carolingian St Gall, an inscription in a manuscript catalogue tells us that a copy of the Gospels was permanently deposed over the altar of the abbey church.[27] On the other hand, a second context for the reception of a manuscript's visual content is the more dynamic parades in which manuscripts and other liturgical objects, such as portative crosses, are known to have been involved. These include the "offertory procession" of the Mass, the celebration of the *Exaltatio Crucis*, or other outdoors public celebrations, such as the Palm Sunday procession or the parade of a certain relic. The Pontificale Romano-Germanicum, a compilation of liturgical treatises collected at Mainz around the year 1000, recommended the use of Gospel books for the performance of the "offertory procession" that inaugurated the Eucharistic service.[28] Indoor celebrations are of particular relevance to this research, since the manuscripts that serve as case studies were produced and

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[25] GARY VIKAN, Sacred image, sacred power, in: EVA R. HOFFMANN (Ed.), Late Antique and Medieval art of the Mediterranean world, 2007, p. 135–146 (here p. 139–140).

[26] PAOLO CHERUBINI, La Bibbia di Danila: un monumento trionfale per Alfonso II di Asturie, Scrittura e civiltà 23 (1999) p. 75–131.

[27] PAUL J. G. LEHMANN, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz 1. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur, 1918, p. 89.

[28] HENRY PARKES, The making of liturgy in the Ottonian church. Books, music and ritual in Mainz, 950–1050, 2015, p. 185–211. See also CYRILLE VOGEL, Le pontifical Romano-germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte 1, 1963, p. 351.

certainly used in the abbey church of St Gall during the Mass and the Liturgy of the Hours that the monks performed.

The Codex Sangallensis 339 is a combination of a calendar, a gradual and a sacramentary produced at St Gall in the last quarter of the tenth century.[29] The manuscript measures 34 x 17.5 cm on average, displaying on its folio 95v a solitary depiction of the Christ on the cross. The representation of the wooden structure acts as the missing "T" marking the beginning of the *Te igitur* prayer that inaugurated the Canon of the Mass in the Roman tradition.[30] The remaining letters that head the text are displayed on both sides and below the crucified Christ in a bright red tonality accompanied by the delicate application of gold leaf. This specific *mise-en-page* in a sacramentary, combining figuration with textual elements from the prayer, ultimately stemmed from early Carolingian models, such as the Gellone Sacramentary.[31] In St Gall itself, a similar composition appeared around the year 900 – the Crucifixion of the Codex Mogontinus, now at Mainz Cathedral.[32] Other examples were later produced in nearby Reichenau around the year 1000, displaying this quintessential Carolingian composition.[33]

The agonising Christ of the CS339 was drawn with a black profile, all over the now yellowish background of the parchment's vellum. Although the representation of Christ in a *Te igitur* page was fairly common since the ninth century, the absence of colour to depict the dying Christ, and, therefore, the use of the parchment beneath, is extremely unusual. From the late eighth-century Gellone Sacramentary, right through to the celebrated Metz Sacramentary, or St Gall's own Codex Mogontinus in the ninth and early tenth centuries respectively, until the year 1000 and the creation of several Crucifixions-*Te*

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[29] See note 10.

[30] RUDOLF SUNTRUP, Te igitur-initialen und Kanonbilder in Mittelalterlichen Sakramentar Handschriften, in: CHRISTEL MEIER, UWE RUBERG (Eds.), Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, 1980, p. 278–382. This first prayer of the Canon reads *Te igitur, clementissime pater, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus, ac petimus, uti accepta habeas, et benedicas, hœc dona, hœc munera, hœc sacrifica illibata.* See ENRICO MAZZA (trans. by M. J. O'Connell), The celebration of the Eucharist. The origin of the rite and the development of its interpretation, 1999, p. 55–56, 59–60.

[31] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 12048. CELIA CHAZELLE, The crucified God in the Carolingian era. Theology and art of Christ's Passion, 2001, p. 81–99 (Fig. 7).

[32] Mainz, Seminarbibliothek, Hs. 1. KLAUS GAMBER, Codices liturgici latini antiquiores 2, 1968, p. 346 (n. 737). MERTON, Buchmalerei (like note 2) p. 89–90.

[33] One is the Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 319, fol. 31v. The second gradual-sacramentary with a Crucifixion-*Te igitur* from Reichenau c. 1000 is the Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Cod. Rh. 75, fol. 12v. LEO C. MOHLBERG, Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 1952, p. 192. See also note 22.

igitur in Reichenau or faraway Cologne, the colouration of Christ in a distinctive and realistic flesh tonality is predominant.[34] As will be discussed later, this "dissolution" of Christ onto the parchment implied a certain symbolism for the viewer that stood at close distance, such as the Mass officiant and his assistants. It is the cross and the frame, however, that represent the most relevant elements of this Crucifixion page at this stage of the analysis. A bichromatic alternance between a bright red tonality and layers of gold leaf was reached in the frame, all in order to "delimitate" the figuration within. As the writing of the letters imply, the red derived from the rubrication of the abbey's scriptorium. It forms a vegetal frieze that runs through the four rectangular sides of the frame. In the corners, two different plant-like motifs are displayed matching diagonally, in gold leaf over red. The actual frame is organised in four rectangular golden bars. The Cross is even simpler and is made of a wide gilded profile. In the interior, over the parchment, the body of Christ was drawn with a very thin line, whereas only his facial traits and his *Perizonium*, with a larger density of pigments, are easily perceptible.

Even in the daylight of mid-summer, the celebration of the Mass in the interior of the basilical abbey church of St Gall occurred in relative darkness.[35] The building, reconstructed in the third quarter of the tenth century, presented a similar aspect to that of St Agnese in Rome. One central aisle guided the visitor from the main door to the altar, being this central aisle a wider corridor flanked by two smaller lateral aisles. Light only penetrated through the small apertures in the second level that was built over the arcades. Little is known about the illumination of the central apse, which was also decorated with frescos.[36] These lighting conditions made *a priori* the reading of a manuscript's content in the altar area difficult. The presence and use of lamps and candlelights was, therefore, a necessity. Candleholders were useful in some areas, such as the lateral aisles. Smaller objects, perhaps individual candlelights or an oil lamp, helped in the task that the officiant and his assistants performed at the altar.[37] With a candle burning in front of the open

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[34] A range of Ottonian Crucifixion images can be found in Charles R. Dodwell, The pictorial arts of the West, 800–1200, 1993, p. 149–155 (Figs. 140–142, 143). See also Henry Mayr-Harting, Ottonian book illumination. An historical study 1, 1990, p. 126–139 (Figs. 42, 78, 81, 82, 84; Pl. XII, XII, XVIII).

[35] Thunø, The apse mosaic in (like note 13), p. 108–114. Theodora Antonakaki, Lighting and spacial structure in religious architecture: a comparative study of a Byzantine church and an early Ottoman mosque in the city of Thessaloniki, in: Proceedings of the 6th International Space Syntax Symposium, 2007, p. 1–14 (n. 57).

[36] Clark, The abbey of St Gall as (like note 1) p. 154–158.

[37] Thunø, The apse mosaic (like note 13) p. 64. See also Otto Böcher, "Licht und Feuer", in: Theologische Realenzyklopädie 21 (1991) p. 83–119.

manuscript, the gold leaf of the frame and cross glittered. This "static context" of the manuscript's use resulted in a shining geometrical form that framed the Christ on the Cross. However, in a dimmed light, only his facial portrait and, to a lesser extent, his *Perizonium*, were visible. Both elements appear within the equally glittering Cross, which in this manner was transformed into a symbol-container for the viewer – a Crucifixion that effectively becomes a framed crucifix in a context of relative darkness and with a powerful literary symbolism in such an environment, as John 1:5 reminds. A perfectly conceivable light condition at that time transformed for the audience the iconography of the Crucifixion of the Codex Sangallensis 339 into a blurred picture of the imagery. This may be the case of the officiant's assistants, who witnessed the beginning of the Canon of the Mass on both sides of the celebrant. From a certain distance, and in the presence of a dimmed illumination, the Crucifixion of the Codex Sangallensis 339 became a golden cross within a frame that focalised the viewer's eye on this symbol. Within the cross itself, only the suffering portrait of Christ was perceptible at close distance, his body unavoidably melting with the parchment's surface beneath. Normal light effects simplified the message of the manuscript's decoration, from a figurative scene to a glittering symbol.

One of the two only visible elements of the figuration was the head of Christ (Fig. 5). In St Agnes, the reflection of a source of light beneath the mosaic produces an aureole that obscures the portrait of the saint. In St Gall, the light and gold transformed the Crucifixion into a crucifix of which only examination at closer distance would have revealed more details. The detailed rendering of the traits of Christ's facial portrait were perhaps conceived in response to the natural will of the artist, who intended to create a convincingly realistic depiction of the crucified character. Yet, the light conditions previously described transformed the head of Christ into one of the two only minimally visible parts of the representation. This separate element of Christ's physical depiction offers comparisons with the enormous level of veneration that single representations of the allegedly preserved impressions of the head of the dead Christ on the linen cloth of his entombment reached in Medieval Europe, and whose tradition firstly appeared in the Christian East in the Early Middle Ages.[38]

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[38] MARK GUSCIN, The tradition of the Image of Edessa, 2016, p. 165–211. STEVEN RUNCIMAN, Some remarks on the Image of Edessa, in: The Cambridge Historical Journal 3/3 (1931) p. 238–252.

Fig. 5. Crucifixion-*Te igitur* (detail), Codex Sangallensis 339, fol. 95v (St Gall, c. 980). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg.

In the Latin West, before the late medieval controversial stories surrounding the Turin Shroud or the Oviedo Sudarium, the Uronica Panel (ie. Veronica), or "Lateran Image", enjoyed high levels of popular veneration in Rome. Believed to have been created by St Luke himself, modern studies have, however, concluded that it was likely created in the sixth century. Throughout its history, the panel was carried out in an annual procession through its streets.[39] On the other hand, it is worth adding that the second most visible element of the Crucifixion is Christ's *Perizonium*. As other relics related to the episode of Christ's Crucifixion, the loincloth was the principal remnant of Christ's entombment after his resurrection and its alleged preservation stirred debate in the world of medieval relics. "Holy Garments" progressively appeared in Argenteuil, Trier, and Aachen after the time of the first Crusades.[40] In the art of manuscript illumination at St Gall, the *Perizonium* appears constantly depicted within the empty tomb of Christ in the depictions of the Women at the Tomb that decorate several eleventh-century sacramentaries. The alleged remains of Christ's facial traits preserved on linen and his loincloth were pivotal to medieval relic cults and, intentionally or not, these remnants of Christ's existence are the only visible elements of the scene depicted in the Codex Sangallensis 339 once a source of light shone on the frame and the Cross.

From the seminal writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to the eloquent description of the agency of stained glass composed by Abbot Suger of St Denis or the later theology of Thomas Aquinas, light has been at the core of aesthetic perception in the Early Middle Ages. The late fifth-, early sixth-century Eastern Christian scholar defined God's presence as "the cause of the harmony and splendour in all things flashing forth upon them all, like light, the beautifying communications of its originating ray".[41] The writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius proved very popular in the West and had a major influence on later figures, such as Abbot Suger (1081–1155), of the Parisian abbey

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[39] DEBRA J. BIRCH, Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and change, 1998, p. 114–115. HANS BELTING (trans. by E. Jephcott), Likeness and Presence. A history of the image before the era of Art, 1994, p. 541–544.

[40] JOE NICKELL, Relics of the Christ, Lexington, p. 103-106.

[41] LAURENCE J. JAMES, Pseudo-Dionysius' Metaphysics of Darkness and Chartres Cathedral, in: Essays in Medieval Studies 2 (1985) p. 182–206 (here p. 184). See also JELENA BOGDANOVIC, Rethinking the Dionysian legacy in medieval architecture: East and West, in: FILIP IVANOVIC (Ed.), Dionysius the Areopagite between Orthodoxy and Heresy, 2011, p. 109–134 (p. 115–118). A more comprehensive account on the subject is found in WILLIAM RIORDAN, Divine light. Theology of Denys the Areopagite, 2008.

and royal pantheon of St Denis.[42] The celebrated stained glasses installed during Suger's tenure in the abbey church are commemorated in his *De administratione*, and their symbolic meaning described as: "[...] The noble work is bright, but, being nobly bright, the work should brighten the minds, allowing them to travel through the lights. To the true light, where Christ is the true door. The golden door defines how it is imminent in these things. The dull mind rises to the truth through material things, and it is resurrected from its former submersion when the light is seen".[43] Suger's work was composed over a century after the creation of the Codex Sangallensis 339, but it is relevant insofar as permits to approach the consideration that the agency of light once possessed in medieval minds.

Western illuminated manuscripts with substantial quantities of gilding have somewhat been forgotten by modern scholars in terms of visual reception, a condition otherwise unavoidable in the arts of Byzantium. A candlelight reflected on the gilding of the Crucifixion in the Codex Sangallensis 339 transformed the glittering gold into the most evident visible element of Christ divinity, continuously highlighted by the writings of early Christian scholarship.[44] This was not, however, a simple symbolic association of colours, but also a visual effect that altered the viewer's eye, particularly in the aforementioned conditions of dimmed light. It created a new stimulus, a new image that appeared in sight. This perceptual experience was recently re-enacted by a team of psychologists at the University of Bamberg.[45] When facing a (non-religious) depiction in the light of a candle and in conditions of semi-darkness, a large share of the participants in the experiment acknowledged a certain impression of mysticism, even supranaturality, which the object acquired.[46] The Bamberg team referred to several masterpieces of Ottonian manuscript illumination, like the homonymous Apocalypse produced at Reichenau at the turn of the eleventh century, where the scenes of the Christological cycle are surrounded by backgrounds with an extensive use of gilding. In the case of the Codex Sangallensis 339 in particular, the role of gold is not only comple-

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[42] BOGDANOVIC, Rethinking the Dionysian (like note 32) p. 116. LINDA GRANT, Abbot Suger of St Denis: Church and State in early twelfth-century France, 1998, p. 32–36. ERWIN PANOFSKY, GERDA PANOFSKY-SOERGEL (trans. and ed.), Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St Denis and its art treasures, 1979.

[43] PANOFSKY, PANOFSKY-SOERGEL, Abbot Suger (like note 33) p. 46–49.

[44] JOHN GAGE, Colour and Culture. Practice and meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction, 1993, p. 58–61. GERVASE MATHEW, Byzantine aesthetics, 1963, p. 88–90.

[45] CLAUS-CHRISTIAN CARBON, PIA DEININGER, Golden perception. Simulating perceptual habits of the past, in: i-Perception 4 (2013) p. 468–476.

[46] CARBON, DEININGEN, Golden perception (like note 36) p. 472–474.

mentary to the perception of the figuration, but also possesses its own agency. Through the reflection of the light of nearby candlelights, the frame and cross of this Crucifixion-*Te igitur* acted, therefore, as co-joint visual devices that, in logical light conditions, separated them from the vanishing body of Christ, barely visible at a certain distance.

Flesh and Codex: seeing and touching the human Christ on parchment

The figuration of the Codex Sangallensis 339, unlike the characters displayed in the mosaic of St Agnese, is not surrounded by a glittering sea of gold, but by the wrinkled texture of the now yellowish brown parchment. The same is true of the second Crucifixion scene analysed here – the depiction of a crucified Christ, accompanied by the Virgin and St John and representations of *Sol* and *Luna* in the Hartker Antiphonary.[47] This framed full-page scene appears on folio 14r of the Codex Sangallensis 391, the second of the volumes into which the antiphonary was divided in the Late Middle Ages. The two volumes measure on average 22 x 16.5 cm. The powerful imagery illustrates the series of antiphons that were recited at St Gall in the different services of the Liturgy of the Hours that were held during Easter, on Good Friday to be precise.[48] Four other scenes are displayed on the Codex Sangallensis 390, the first volume of the book and that, therefore, preceded the Crucifixion. These are a donation scene with a portrait of St Gall and the manuscript's author, Hartker (Fig. 6); an author portrait of St Gregory at work (Fig. 7), the Last Supper (Fig. 8) and the Washing of the Feet (Fig. 9). A scene of the Women at the Tomb appears in the Codex Sangallensis 391, after the Crucifixion (Fig. 10).

All Christological scenes are primarily related to the content of the antiphons, whereas the first two images were certainly intended as a double, four-page frontispiece. The donation scene with Hartker and St Gall will be later discussed. Perhaps the most interesting technical feature of the Hartker Antiphonary's decoration is the painting technique, or rather, the drawing

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[47] See note 10.

[48] RICHARD L. CROCKER, An introduction to Gregorian chant, 2000, p. 128–147 (here p. 144–145). DAVID HILEY, Western Plainchant. A handbook, 1995, p. 303–308. GIUSEPPE MARIA TOMASI (Ed.), Responsoralia et antiphonaria romanae a St Gregorio Magno disposita 1, 1686. DANIEL SAULNIER, Des variantes musicales dans la tradition manuscrite des antiennes du repertoire romano-franc. Description, typologie, perspectives, in: Études grégoriennes 37 (2010) p. 5–59 (here p. 7).

technique.[49] The St Gall artist primarily used thin brushstrokes of red and black to create the profiles of both the figuration and decorative motifs in the frame (and a myriad of initials elsewhere in the manuscript). In the donation scene with Hartker and St Gall, the isolated line dominates the compositions. At times, the profiles were shaded and extended inwards in order to recreate the folds of clothing, such as the portrait of the seated St Gregory. It is, however, the Crucifixion that immediately attracts the attention of the art historian. The frame is composed of meander frieze, clearly intending to offer a three-dimensional impression to the viewer. The enchained pattern of geometric forms, through a sophisticated play of shades and lights, seem to virtually deepen into the page, creating an otherwise non-existent third dimension.

Yet, this outstanding frame, and that finds parallels in the contemporary manuscript production of Reichenau, primarily served as a delimitation of the scene that both attracted the moving eye and presented the figuration within.[50]

The crucified Christ, as well as St John and the Virgin, were firstly drawn with the a now paled dark line, and later minimally coloured with an "outline" of the same colour, plus a diffused green pigment.[51] The use of this precise technique and the presence of this second colour unequivocally recall the popularity that the art of drawing reached in Late Anglo-Saxon England (c. 975–1066).[52] Masterpieces of the period, such as the Ælfwine Prayerbook,

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[49] MELANIE HOLCOMB, Strokes of genius: the draftsman's art in the Middle Ages, in: MELANIE HOLCOMB (Ed.), Pen and parchment. Drawing in the Middle Ages, 2010, p. 3–34 (here p. 3–26). MICHAEL W. EVANS, Medieval drawings, 1969. p. 7–10. Carolingian St Gall produced the decorated Book of Maccabees I now in Leiden. See DODWELL, The pictorial arts (like note 26), p. 82–83. Holcomb, Book of Maccabees 1, in Pen and parchment (like above) p. 46–47. As belonging to the same period are dated two fragmentary drawings now in Basel (UB, 26), depicting the Nativity and the Women at the Tomb. Of difficult chronology, but likely dating from the late ninth century is a *Maiestas Domini* in a St Gall manuscript now at Zürich (Zentralbibliothek, C 80) and believed to be a reproduction of the decoration of the dome of Aachen Cathedral. In the late eleventh century, the scriptorium of St Gall will decorate a copy of Prudentius' *Carmina* with drawings as well – the modern Codex Sangallensis 135.

[50] The Reichenau sacramentary Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX b, produced in the last quarter of the tenth century as well, displays an identical frame in fol. 43r – an exquisitely illuminated *Vere et dignum* page. For the wall decorations of St Georg im Oberzell on the island of Reichenau itself, whose episodes are framed by meander friezes as well, see DODWELL, The pictorial arts (like note 26) p. 128–130.

[51] HOLCOMB, Strokes of genius (like note 40) p. 15–16. JONATHAN J. G. ALEXANDER, Some aesthetic principles in the use of colour in Anglo-Saxon England, in: Anglo-Saxon England 4 (1975) p. 145–154 (here p. 149–150).

[52] CATHERINE E. KARKOV, The Art of Anglo-Saxon England, 2011, p. 88–89. DODWELL, The pictorial arts (like note 26), p. 99–100. See also DAVID M. WILSON, Anglo-Saxon art from the seventh century to the Norman conquest, London, 1984, p. 179–190.

Fig. 6. Donation scene with Hartker and St Gall, Codex Sangallensis 390
(Hartker Antiphonary I), fol. 6r (St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg,
http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0390/11.

Fig. 7. St Gregory and an assistant, Codex Sangallensis 390 (Hartker Antiphonary I), fol. 7r (St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0390/13.

Fig. 8. The Last Supper, Codex Sangallensis 390 (Hartker Antiphonary I), fol. 92r
(St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg,
http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0390/183.

Fig. 9. The Washing of the Feet, Codex Sangallensis 390 (Hartker Antiphonary I), fol. 93v
(St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg,
http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0390/186.

Fig. 10. The Women at the Tomb, Codex Sangallensis 391 (Hartker Antiphonary II), fol. 17r
(St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg,
http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0391/33.

made at Winchester, present similar technical solutions to those of the St Gall antiphonary's Crucifixion page.[53] Drawing was not uncommon in the art of the Ottonian Empire, but the presence of a green "colour outline" in the Alps permits to further hypothesise about how the interactions between St Gall, as the chief institution of Insular origin on the European mainland (together with Bobbio) and the art of the contemporary British Isles, developed at the turn of the eleventh century.[54] Be that as it may, the decoration of antiphonaries is extremely rare in this period, and only the approximately contemporary Mozarabic Antiphonary of León, which contains a more extensive cycle of scenes of smaller dimensions, seems to have been conceived in the same spirit.[55] As the chief book of the Liturgy of the Hours, the St Gall scriptorium seemingly conceived a lot of importance to the decoration of this manuscript. It is equally worth remarking the presence of rubrication's red, found in this scene in lesser quantity than in any of the other five images. In this Crucifixion scene, the characters' halos, *Sol* and *Luna*, and more remarkably perhaps, the actual cross, were designed through a thin red profile.

It is the otherwise intensive agency of the all-pervasive background that, together with the meanders' frame, that dominate at first sight the antiphonary's scene. The background is a now darkened parchment and over which the subtle lines of the figuration's profiles were drawn. As in the case of the Codex Sangallensis 339, the dramatic Crucifixion scene of the Hartker Antiphonary favoured drawing over colour. Only the relatively pale green of the "colour outline" is perceived. On the other hand, the grey of Christ's *Perizonium* and the Virgin and St John's tunics visually merge with the parchment's background. The red of *Sol* and *Luna*, the character's halos and the profile of the cross itself are, instead, more easily perceived in good light conditions. Since no gilding at all was applied to the antiphonary's decoration, a study of the importance of light becomes here less relevant. Yet, the modern

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[53] CATHERINE E. KARKOV, Text as image in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, in: HUGH MAGENNIS, JONATHAN WILCOX (Eds.), The power of words. Anglo-Saxon Studies presented to Donald G. Scragg on his seventieth birthday, 2006, p. 95–114. DEREK H. TURNER, Prayer book of Ælfwine, in: JANET BACKHOUSE, DEREK H. TURNER, LESLIE WEBSTER (Eds.), The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon art, 966–1066, 1984, p. 75. BEATE GÜNZEL (Ed.), Ælfwine's prayer-book (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi–xxvii) 1993.

[54] CLARK, The abbey of St Gall (like note 1) p. 63–65. MARTIN J. RYAN, Conquest, Reform and the making of England, in: NICHOLAS J. HIGHAM, M. J. RYAN (Eds.), The Anglo-Saxon world, 2013, p. 311–322 (here p. 313). See more extensively GERALD DUNNING, Trade relations between England and the Continent in the late Anglo-Saxon period, in: DONALD B. HARDEN (Ed.), Dark Age Britain, 1956, pp. 218–233.

[55] LOUIS BROU, Le joyau des antiphonaires latins: le manuscrit 8 des Archives de la Cathédrale de León, in: Archivos Leoneses 8/5 (1954) p. 7–114.

observer needs to conceive similar contexts of indoors visibility (dim lighting, presence of candlelights). The antiphonary was used during the Liturgy of the Hours that occurred eight times a day, including the winter months with very limited external sunlight.

Together with the realism of the meander frame, it is the "non-depiction" of the flesh of the crucified Christ, a discreet but paramount element to understand the creation and reception of this meaningful imagery in the reputed Alpine institution of theological learning that St Gall became again around the year 1000. The now dirty surface of the parchment's skin, with a constant but chronologically unclear rubbing of fingers against the surface, does not conceal the fact that a few tenuous lines were originally drawn to imitate the preliminary definition of Christ's complexion (Fig. 11). Now almost invisible, a single horizontal line was drawn to demarcate the pectoral and abdominal musculature, with shorter vertical lines further down, on the ribcage and abdomen. There is therefore an attempt by the artist to depict, almost invisibly, the contours of the semi-naked Christ. Yet, the parchment beneath, as in the case of the CS339's scene, acts effectively as Christ's skin. The rarity of this aesthetic choice is an indication of the artist's apparent intention – the creation of a symbolically complex imagery that appealed to the senses of the viewer and that established a multi-dimensional bond between the individual, the scene and its theological meaning in the mind of the pious individual.
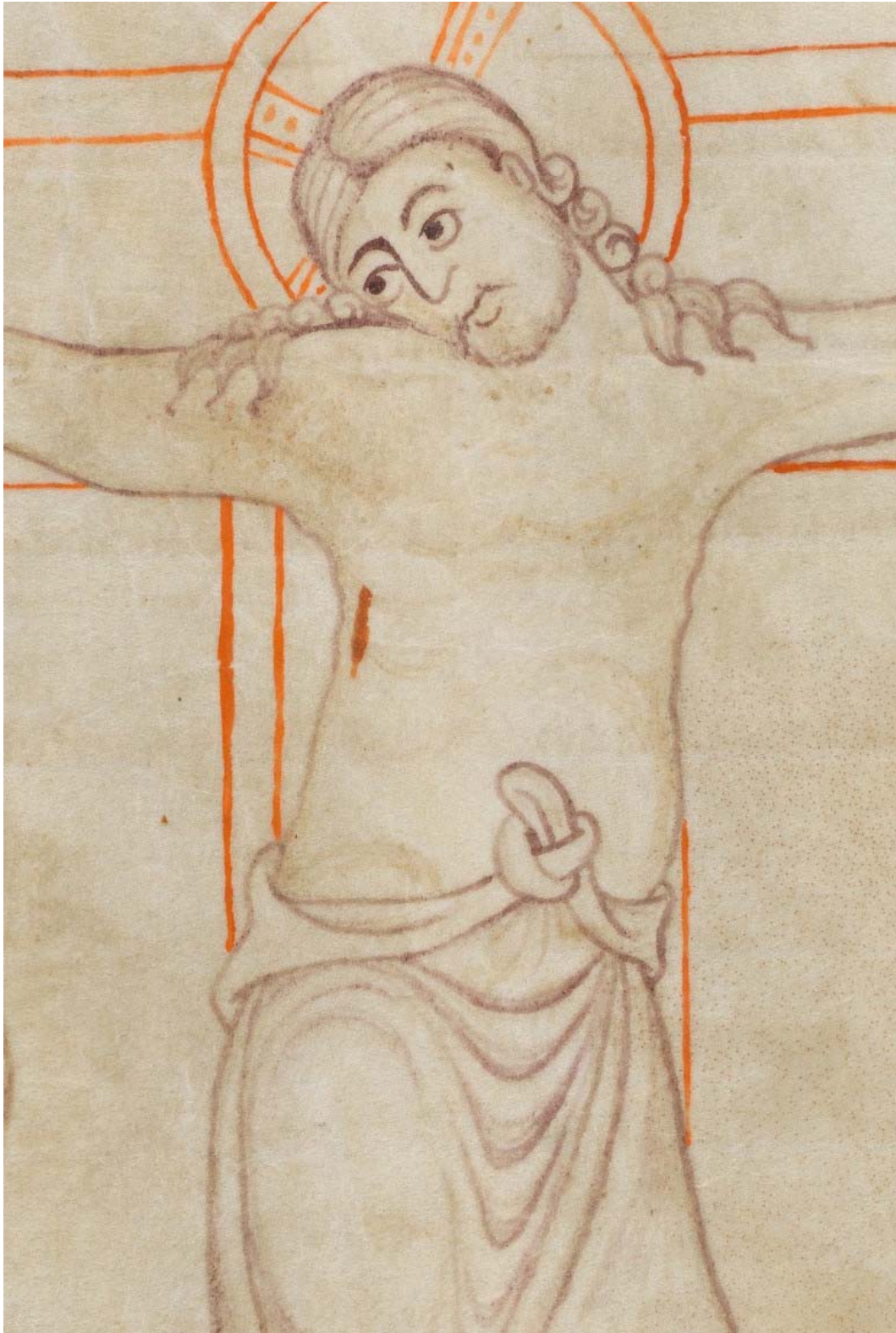
Fig. 11. Crucifixion (detail), Codex Sangallensis 391 (Hartker Antiphonary II), fol. 14r
(St Gall, c. 1000). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg.

Herbert Kessler, talking about the reproduction in parchment of the Xanten Antependium (a now lost altar decoration of St Victor Cathedral in this town of Rhineland), acknowledged that animal skin, such as the vellum, stood for Christ's mortality in a symbolic manner, as the external, touchable remnant of what had once been flesh.[56] The symbolic relationship between flesh and sacrifice ultimately stemmed from the Old Testament and the continuous episodes in which animal sacrifices were requested and performed.[57] In the New Testament, some documents allude to the same association, this time naturally related to Christ's sacrifice for humanity and associated to each other with a clear redemptive purpose.[58] St John's Romans 8:3, in particular, presents such a reasoning.[59] It is worth reminding that these epistles were often read in public, and their symbolism reminded to the assembly. In later Patristic thinking, Tertullian in particular, stressed the association between flesh and the bread of the Communion by referring to the sacrifice of Christ.[60]

The literature and discussion on the nature of religious Christian art, and the approaches that the audience should adopt, flourished in the West in the wake of the Byzantine Iconoclasm (730–787, 814–842).[61] The so-called *Libri Carolini*, as the intended reaction of Charlemagne to the alleged conclusions of the Second Nicea Council, condemned the idolatry of images but also their destruction as the only response to the former.[62] Their value as aesthetic objects, didactic means (especially for the illiterate, but also for novices) and visual re-enactment of historical facts were, instead, underlined by the directives likely composed by Bishop Theodulf of Orleans under Aachen's auspi-

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[56] HERBERT L. KESSLER, Image and object. Christ's dual nature and the crisis of early medieval art, in: JENNIFER R. DAVIS, MICHAEL MCCORMICK (Eds.), The long morning of Medieval Europe: New directions in Early Medieval Studies, 2008, p. 291–320 (here p. 292).

[57] CHARLES S. ALLISON, The significance of blood sacrifice in the Old Testament, in: African Research Review 10/1 (2016) p. 46–60. GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, Sacrifice in the Old Testament. Its theory and practice, 1926.

[58] RUDOLF BULTMANN, Theology of the New Testament 1, 1951, p. 232–239.

[59] The epistle of St Paul reads (NIV): "[...] For what the law was powerless to do because it was weakened by the flesh, God did by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh to be a sin offering. And so he condemned sin in the flesh". See other examples in BULTMANN, Theology (like note 50) p. 233–235.

[60] MAZZA, The celebration (like note 22) p. 117–121. See also EDWARD J. KILMARTIN, The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology, 2004, p. 8–10.

[61] CHAZELLE, The crucified God (like note 23) p. 39–52. THOMAS X. NOBLE, Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians, 2014, p. 158–180. The Adoptionism heresy in Iberia, although secondary, also influenced the composition of the *Opus Caroli*. See CHAZELLE, The crucified God (like note 23) p. 52–69.

[62] NOBLE, Images (like note 53) p. 170–171, 182–183, 186–190. CHAZELLE, The crucified God (like note 23) p. 69–74.

ces.[63] The latter is particularly interesting at this stage, since the typology of the manuscript, an antiphonary, implied an obligatory handling and showcasing on Good Friday every year. The Crucifixion and the mortal death of Christ were then commemorated during the Liturgy of the Hours, when the antiphons of the previous page were chanted. The vellum beneath the scene, for the officiant as well as for those that stood near the manuscript before or after the service, became the tangible skin of the dying Christ, an approachable texture that denoted the human nature of God's Son, so profusely highlighted by Church Fathers, like Iraneus, or early Carolingian scholarship, such as Pascasius Radpertus.[64] The relationship between Christ's "flesh" and Eucharistic thought throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages is unavoidable. Yet, it is the nature of the manuscript and its likely audience/context that need to be contextualised first in order to shed light on the reception of the iconography. This establishes a clear difference with the representation of the CS339, where the Crucifixion marks the beginning of the Canon of the Mass and whose climax is therefore the Communion that occurred later. The skin of Christ is there also the manuscript's vellum, but in a clear reference to the bread that will be later ingested and that the congregation faithfully believed to be the body of Christ. Both depictions, however, provided to the viewer with a paramount didactic tool – an illustration of Christ's death and that represented the end of his human nature.[65] It is equally necessary to highlight that both depictions of the dying Christ present the bleeding stigmata in red. Blood in the CS339 was related to the wine later drunk during the Communion. In the case of the Hartker Antiphonary, the halos, *Sol* and *Luna*, as well as more remarkably, the cross, were also drawn in red. This red, which likely stemmed from the scriptorium's rubrication, is difficult to relate to the blood of the Communion, but probably stressed the visual importance of the divinity of all characters (through the halos), the symbolic extension of the scene's message (the world, through *Sol* and *Luna*) and the object upon which the sacrifice was performed – the Cross. The latter,

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[63] NOBLE, Images (like note 53) p. 161–165. ANN FREEMAN, Theodulf of Orleans and the Libri Carolini, in Speculum 32/4 (1957) p. 663–705.

[64] KESSLER, Image and object (like note 48) p. 294–295. CHAZELLE, The crucified God (like note 23) p. 209–215. For Iraneus, see MAZZA, The celebration (like note 22) p. 111–114. For Radpertus, see instead: CHAZELLE, The crucified God (like note 23) p. 115–215; and MAZZA, The celebration (like note 22) p. 183–187.

[65] CELIA CHAZELLE, Pictures books and the illiterate Pope Gregory's I letters to serenus of Marseilles, in: Word and Image 6 (1990) p. 138–153. HERBERT L. KESSLER, Diction in the Bibles of the Illiterate, in: HERBERT L. KESSLER (Ed.),Old St Peter's and Church decoration in medieval Italy, 2002, p. 125–141.

through its delicate profile, becomes a symbol on its own in the eyes of the viewer, in the same manner that the gilded cross of the CS339 glittered.

A further level of contact between manuscript and individual, this time purely physical, is denoted by the extensive touching to which the page was seemingly subject. As previously indicated, the nature and chronology of this wear is impossible to be deciphered without the adequate technology. It is clear, however, that readers and handlers of the manuscript, throughout the years, touched the scene with a devotional aim.[66] It is worth considering that, at first sight, the upper parts of both Christ's portrait and the Virgin Mary are nowadays the dirtiest parts of the page. St John is, instead, relatively better preserved. By touching these two figures, the viewer intended to feel the texture of the portraits with which he felt the closest of associations. This was a tactile experience perhaps intended as a further degree of contact between the individual and the redemptive figure depicted. In the case of the Codex Sangallensis 339's scene, the signs of wear are more visible in the lower part of the crucified Christ. This intense and constant rubbing of unprecise chronology was perhaps motivated by the reading of the Gospel of St Luke. The Evangelist describes, in fact, the moment in which a "sinful woman", later identified with Mary Magdalene, kissed and anointed Christ's feet with perfume.[67] Officiants, in a certain moment of the manuscript's history, perhaps kissed the lower parts of the Crucifixion, all in order to imitate the pious reaction of the Jerusalemite woman. The same may be *a priori* true of the antiphonary's page. In any case, the parchment that acts as the background to the figuration in both scenes represented not only a symbolic association between the animal's vellum and Christ's flesh, but also a natural skin, with a unique texture and powerful agency over the pious and learned clergymen. This is, as Kessler remarked discussing the inscription in the *Maiestas Domini* of the Codex Aureus of St Emmeran (c. 880), a *pagina praesens*, an embellished parchment surface that attracts not only the eye and the hand of the object's handler (by way of visual and physical elements in both the material and the depiction), but also the observer's mind, through an evident symbol-

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[66] KATHRYN M. RUDY, Dirty books: Quantifying patterns of use in medieval manuscripts using a densitometer, in: Journal of Historians of Netherlandish art 2 (2010) p. 1–26. By the same author, see also Kissing images, unfurling rolls, measuring wounds, sewing badges and carrying talismans. Considering some Harley manuscripts through the physical rituals they reveal, in Electronic British Library Journal 5 (2011) p. 1–56.

[67] Luke 7:38.

ism that did not escape the knowledge of the skilfull theologians that the abbey of St Gall hosted and trained.[68]

A multi-sensorial *Umwelt*: art, liturgy and identity at St Gall, c. 1000

The abbey of St Gall in the last quarter of the tenth century and the early years of the new millennium provides the modern scholar with a sufficiently researched historical and religious environment that today permits, to a considerable extent, the restoration of liturgical practices and contexts with a satisfactory certainty. It is in this rich world of sensorial interplay between objects, audiences and ambiances that the two illuminated liturgical manuscripts analysed above have been set. Although brief references to the architectural context of St Gall's abbey church had already been made, a further reconstruction of the regular services that were once held in the church of the Alpine institution is required. The relative wealth of documentation on other artistic initiatives that occurred in the space of roughly three decades at St Gall will also serve to better contextualise the manuscripts' figuration and the use of the objects.

As previously introduced, the visit to St Gall in 972 of Otto II, Empress Theophanu and the future Otto III, marked a documented *terminus post quem* for the resuming of manuscript copying activities in the abbey, after the meaningful request of the young heir to the then Abbot Notker (971–975).[69] In addition, according to Ekkehard IV, the 970's also witnessed the completion of the reconstruction works of the outer walls of the monastery and, more importantly perhaps, the consecration of the equally newly rebuilt church abbey.[70] Due to the seventeenth-century enlargement and renewal, nothing from the original building has come down from this period. However, a resemblance to the Carolingian monastery, and that in an idealised manner was

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[68] Kessler, Image and object (like note 48) p. 299.
[69] Hans F. Haefele, Ekkehard IV. Casus Sancti Galli = St. Galler Klostergeschichten (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 10) 1980, p. 278–283.
[70] Raphael Sennhauser, Stadt- und Landmauern. Bd. 2: Stadtmauern in der Schweiz, 1996, p. 213–216. Ervin Poeschel, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons St. Gallen 2: Die Stadt St. Gallen, 1957, p. 70–92.
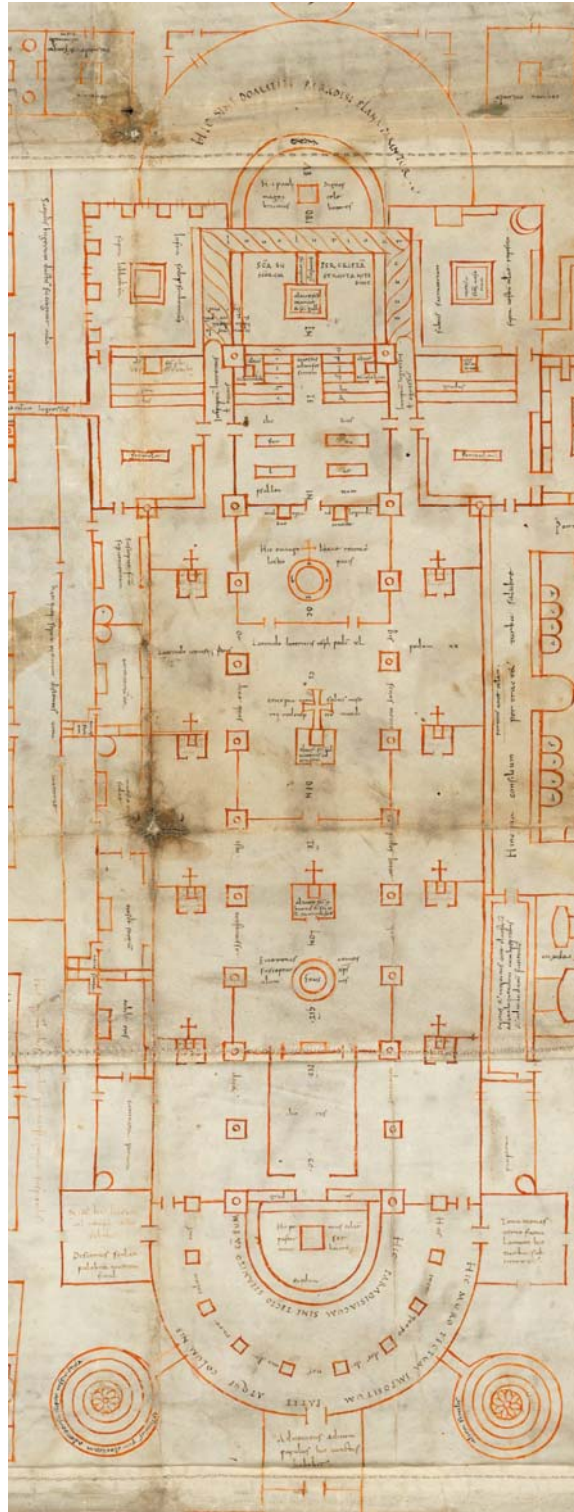
Fig. 12. Plant of St Gall (detail), Codex Sangallensis 1092, fol. 1r
(Reichenau?, early 9th century). Photo: e-Codices/Université de Fribourg,
http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/1092/recto (detail).

portrayed in the well-known, Reichenau-made plan of St Gall, is more than plausible (Fig. 12).[71]

This was a classic basilical plan divided in three aisles, with a quintessentially Carolingian two-tower *Westwerk* at the front, a marked transept and a semi-circular central apse at the rear.[72] Often neglected by modern scholarship were the two fresco decorations that were realised in both the ninth and tenth centuries, the latter after the reconstruction of the church around the year 975. James Clark, in his comprehensive study of St Gall's history focused on the Carolingian era, attempted a recreation of the internal aspect of the ninth-century church.[73] The frescos would have been displayed above the arcades, forming rectangular spaces containing a Christological cycle. The main reason for this reasoning, at least, in the case of the later redecoration, is the documented presence of Reichenau monk-artists at St Gall in the late 970's.[74] According to Ekkehard, Abbot Ymmo (976–984) called to the Lake Constance for help in order to decorate the walls of the newly rebuilt structure. The cycle would have borne resemblance to the preserved frescos of St George in Oberzell, a church on the island of Reichenau itself and decorated around the year 1000.[75] The frescos in both St Gall and Reichenau possessed a pre-eminent decorative and didactic function. Although their analysis remains outside the scope of this research, it is however important to highlight the fact that the decorations of the Codex Sangallensis 339 and the Hartker Antiphonary found monumental counterparts on the walls of the building that hosted the regular liturgical services, for the enjoyment of both the community, the local population, and visitors that entered the building. During particular stages of the liturgy, such as the homilies, the officiant may have referred to the role of Christ and his actions in the scenes depicted above the arcades that run along the central aisle.[76] The decoration of both the church walls and these two manuscripts certainly responded, in a more general manner, to Benedictine

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[71] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1092. See WALTER W. HORN, ERNST BORN, The plan of St Gall. A study of architectüre, economy and life in a paradigmatic Carolingian monastery, 1979.

[72] KENNETH J. CONANT, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200, 1993, p. 43–68 (here p. 56–59).

[73] CLARK, The abbey of St Gal (like note 1) p. 154–155.

[74] ERNST DÜMMLER, Sanktgallische Denkmaler aus der Karolingischer Zeit, 1859, p. 213. The whole passage can be found in HEIDI LEUPPI (trans. and ed.), Casuum sancti Galli. Continuatio anonyma, 1987, p. 66–76.

[75] See note 42.

[76] ROBIN M. JENSEN, Understanding Early Christian art, 2000, p. 3–6. ROBERT G. GALKINS, Monuments of Medieval art, 1979, p. 10–18.

reformist ideals that from the early tenth century emanated from Cluny.[77] Abbots, as well as bishops and archbishops, invested in liturgical art with a clear will to reach an emotional climax during the services that impressed all sorts of attendants, as well as giving cohesion to entire local communities.[78] In the case of a monastic institution, the Sunday Mass, for instance, reinforced the bonds between the institution and the population that lived in the out-skirts of the complex.[79] The daily Liturgy of the Hours, instead, witnessed a more reduced assembly, mostly (if not exclusively) based on the fellow mem-bers of the monastic community.[80] These daily gatherings normally occurred eight times a day, reinforcing the idea of institutional identity and that, in the case of St Gall, was so severely damaged in the first half of the century due to the Magyar incursion and the Reichenau exile.

In this regard, the figure of the abbey's patron saint, the Irish missionary Gallus, played a fundamental role. Gallus arrived in the Alps in the wake of St Columbanus' *peregrinationes pro Christo* that led to the relentless travel of Irishmen across the Continent, conversions and monastic foundations.[81] Gallus spent several decades living in the area as an anchorite, preaching, and praised by the locals as carrying an existence full of miraculous deeds. A long time after his death (c. 646), a formal institution was set up in the area under St Othmar (719–759).[82] The relics of the patron saint were preserved *in situ*. In the tenth century, Abbot Ulrich I succeeded Ymmo after his death in 984. Under Ulrich probably, the works of an enlargement of the saint's crypt beneath the altar, containing the remains of the missionary saint, were fin-ished.[83] The crypt enjoyed also the existence of altars, six after the completion of the enlargement's works. These spaces perhaps played a central role in the services on the *dies natalis* of the saint, celebrated on the 16th of October. On the other hand, they may have also been places for the occasional private prayers of community members or wealthy local individuals or families. Ulrich equally requested the acquisition of liturgical materials for those

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[77] KASSIUS HALLINGER, Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Ge-gensätzen im Hochmittelalter 1, 1950, p. 187–199.

[78] CLARK, The Benedictines (like note 11) p. 102–105.

[79] CLARK, The Benedictines (like note 11) p. 71–72.

[80] CLARK, The Benedictines (like note 11) p. 92–94.

[81] CLARK, The abbey of St Gall (like note 1) p. 1–3, 20–22. PRÓINSEAS NÍ CHATHÁIN, MICHAEL RICHTER (Eds.), Irland und die Christenheit: Bibel, Studien und Mission, 1987.

[82] OTMAR FUCHS, "Otmar", in: THOMAS BAUTZ (Ed.), Biographisch-Bibliographisch Kirchenlex-ikon 6 (1993) p. 1336–1339.

[83] KATHRYN B. MOORE, The architecture of the Christian Holy Land. Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance, 2017, p. 58. ARNOLD NÜSCHELER, Alle Gotteshäuser der Schweiz bis zum Jahre 1860, 2013, p. 121.

altars, and that might have included chalices, trays or caskets of diverse nature.

Within this context of renewed local identity by way of cult and belief, the representation of St Gall in the Hartker Antiphonary acquires, therefore, a new dimension. The first full-page scene of the Codex Sangallensis 390 is the symbolic donation of the work that the author Hartker bestows upon a representation of the Irish saint (Fig. 6). The hierarchy of colours is clear. The book belongs to St Gall, who, since the impossibility of a real encounter, was perhaps understood as a personification of the community itself. Hartker was no ordinary monk or author. According to Ekkehard, he spent "thirty years" as an anchorite in the outskirts of the abbey complex.[84] Moreover, he is credited with being responsible for the musical notations that both the Codex Sangallensis 339 and the homonym antiphonary contain and that represent some of the earliest and best preserved examples of Gregorian chant ever preserved.[85] How Hartker therefore became an expert in chant composition after joining the community and becoming a hermit for a long period of time is difficult to be completely reasoned out. Perhaps his anachoretism was in reality only partial and this certainly curious member regularly enjoyed the study of the abbey library's collections (including older materials with musical content, such as the early tenth-century Cantatorium).[86] The figure of St Gall that accompanied Hartker's depiction, acting as frontispiece of the manuscript, presided over the Liturgy of the Hours that occurred daily eight times a day, when the community gathered. The antiphons were short chanted prayers inserted at different stages of the regular celebration, especially during important periods such as Easter. The Hartker Antiphonary and its decorative cycle played a role in this liturgical routine, but it also became a true object of veneration for the whole community. Firstly, as described above, the creation of the Crucifixion scene, in particular, favoured a peculiar way of visual and physical interaction between the individual and the icono-

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[84] RUTH STEINER, Hartker Antiphoner and the oral tradition of chant in St Gall, in: Sangallensia in Washington (like note 2) p. 199–212. EUGÈNE CARDINE (Ed.), Antiphonaire de Hartker. Manuscrits de St Gall 390–391, 1978. KEES POUDEROIJEN, IKE DE LOOS, Wer ist Hartker? Die Entstehung des Hartkerischen Antiphonar, in Beiträge zu Gregorianik 47 (2009) p. 67–86.

[85] HARTMUT MÖLLER, Office compositions from St Gall, in: MARGOT E. FASSLER, REBECCA A. BALTZER (Eds.), The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: methodology and source studies, regional developments, hagiography written in honor of professor Ruth Steiner, 2000, p. 237–256.

[86] SUSAN RANKIN, The earliest sources of Nortker's sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Lat. 10587, in: Early Music History 10 (1991) p. 201–233 (here p. 216–217).

graphy. But the antiphonary is also, due to the authorship of Hartker the anchorite and the presence of St Gall's portrait, a well-regarded liturgical instrument. The Hartker Antiphonary alluded to the collective memory of the community. It served to the performance of the daily Liturgy of the Hours and its decoration also appealed to both the community and the individual's single sense of belonging to the group. The patron saint was, therefore, present at the beginning of the manuscript, establishing an unequivocal interplay between object, collective and rite. By displaying a complex sense of materiality, the decorative programme invited aesthetic contemplation.[87]

This individual consideration of art reception opens the door to further hypothesis about the manner in which the medieval observer approached the decorated manuscript privately, besides the public liturgical services of different kind that involved the handling of the books. As previously stated, illuminated manuscripts may have been deposed over altars permanently, and St Gall enjoyed the documented existence of a copy of the Gospels over its.[88] On the other hand, records from the ninth-century abbey also underline the presence of the abbot's *Privatbibliothek*.[89] The modern reader can perhaps identify this concept with a small space full of shelves for the *a priori* exclusive use of the abbey's head. It is worth noting that this ninth-century list also includes liturgical books. In late tenth-, early eleventh-century St Gall, a similar development is not excluded either. Certain iconographies, such as the Crucifixion, were susceptible to be approached privately and individually (in this case, by the abbot of St Gall), as intercessory images and an instrument to help in the prayer, perhaps in his own cell. It is finally worth adding that a fundamental sense of materiality in medieval manuscripts came from often luxurious bindings.[90] Metal structures, often decorated with embedded gems and precious ivory or metal plaques, accompanied binded lavishly decorated books. Since both St Gall manuscripts were dismantled in different periods, it is impossible to ascertain more about the aspect and texture of the original bindings, and therefore, the most immediate sense of materiality that the books potentially offered to their handlers.

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[87] CLARE W. MCPHERSON, Keeping silence: Christian practices for entering stillness, 2002, p. 42–57. EMMA HORNBY, Preliminary thoughts about silence in early Western chant, in: NICKY LOSSEFF, JENNIFER R. DOCTOR (Eds.), Silence, music, silent music, 2007, p. 141–154.

[88] See note 19.

[89] LEHMANN, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge (like note 19) p. 86–89.

[90] ITTAI WEINRYB, Living matter: Materiality, maker and ornament in the Middle Ages, in: Gesta 52/2 (2013) p. 113–132 (here p. 123, Fig. 8). HENRIKE LÄHNEMANN, The materiality of medieval manuscripts, in: Oxford German Studies 45/2 (2016) p. 121–141.

Related to the fundamental context of both manuscripts, particularly in the case of the Hartker Antiphonary, is the importance that music once had at St Gall. The history of Gregorian chant north of the Alps may have been interwoven with the background of the institution. According to Ekkehard IV, Charlemagne requested to Pope Hadrian I a set of musical materials from Rome, in order to establish a defined, common liturgical chanted practice that replaced the old regional Frankish Gallican tradition.[91] The St Gall chronicler narrates that the two Roman emissaries sent by the Pontiff, Petrus and Romanus, stayed at St Gall for an undetermined period of time.[92] There, they allegedly taught music composition and polyphony to the members of the community. Even though, for evident reasons, the veracity of this story is arguable, St Gall was located on the way from the Italian peninsula to the German heartlands, and the institution was beginning then a cultural and religious splendour that was to last more than a century. It is true, in any case, that St Gall enjoyed a particular connotation of prestige in the field of music by the end of the Carolingian period, and that was maintained well afterwards. The hymns of Notker Balbulus († 912) were particularly praised long after his death, and Tuotilo († 915), a skilled ivory carver and teacher at the abbey school, was also credited with the creation of several short pieces of liturgical chants of different nature, such as tropers.[93] The creation of the Codex Sangallensis 339 and, above all, the Hartker Antiphonary, must therefore be understood within this optic. Although seemingly older materials were available, the authorities and senior members of late tenth-century St Gall invested time and effort on creating two new manuscripts with liturgical content for the Eucharist and the Liturgy of the Hours. The initiative is certainly telling about the fundamental importance that polyphonic music played in the life of the community and its daily services. The art of the liturgical manuscript added a new level of visual appreciation to an object that was otherwise handled by the officiant and his assistants in order to lead a choir and the assembly. The performance therefore contributed, through stimulating both voice and hearing, to the climax of the liturgical services,

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[91] SUSAN RANKIN, Carolingian music, in: ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK (Ed.), Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation, 1993, p. 274–292. KENNETH LEVY, Gregorian chant and the Carolingians, 1998, p. 82–108.

[92] CLARK, The abbey of St Gall as (like note 1) p. 165–169.

[93] RANKIN, The earliest sources of Notker's sequences (like note 78) p. 201–204. RICHARD HOPPIN, Medieval music, 1978, p. 155–156. For Tuotilo, see WULF ARLT, Komponieren im Galluskloster um 900. Tuotilos Tropen Hodie cantandus est zur Weihnacht und Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus zum Fest des Iohannes Evangelista, in: Schweizeriches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 15 (1995) p. 41–70.

being either the Mass or the Divine Office eight times a day.[94] The powerful and rehearsed melodies harmonised the gathering in one single polyphonic sound at the time, representing another side of the regular cult that reinforced the sense of belonging and the community identity.

Although less relevant for this research, the modern reader shall not forget about the smells that perfused the interior of churches like that of St Gall.[95] Incense, in particular, certainly dominated the indoors ambiance. Portative thuribles or static holders propagated the characteristic smell of incense that welcomed the attendants and that represented a punctual stimulus that associated the individual with the sacred *locus*. The smell of the stuffed space itself was particularly marked when the visitor descended into the crypt of St Gall under the main altar. The association that emerged between the individual, the sensations and the sanctity of the space and its relics was direct.[96] Other artificial smells, such as fragrances of different sort, were rare but may have permeated the altar areas of larger structures, such as cathedrals. In order to conclude, it is worth reminding that the taste was naturally stimulated during the Eucharist, by the consumption of the bread and wine that the medieval monk and churchgoer faithfully considered the body and blood of Christ, respectively.[97] The Communion unified the assembly, often not only composed of community members, but also of a wide range of local population, as well as extraordinary visitors.

The art of the illuminated liturgical manuscript in St Gall by the end of the tenth century represented the epitome of the cultural and religious recovery that the community experienced through the second half of the century. A restored treasury and the willingness of the institution's direction to acquire a new pair of liturgical books in concomitance with the spirit of artistic patronage of their most celebrated Carolingian predecessors, led to the creation of the Codex Sangallensis 339 and the Hartker Antiphonary. Through the handling and showcasing of these two manuscripts, the celebration of the Mass and the Divine Office, respectively, experienced a further enhancement of the sensorial dimension that the different liturgical services represented in a monastic context such as St Gall's. The Crucifixions scenes of both manu-

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[94] CLARK, The benedictines (like note 11) p. 102–103.

[95] MARTIN ROCH, L'intelligence d'un sens. Odeurs miraculeuses et odorat dans l'Occident du Haut Moyen Âge (Ve–VIIIe siècles), 2009.

[96] PAUL A. BRAZINSKI, ALLEGRA R. P. FRYXELL, The smell of relics: Authenticating saintly bones and the role of scent in the sensory experience of medieval Christian veneration, in: Papers from the History of Archaeology 23/1 (2013) p. 1–15.

[97] MAZZA, The celebration (like note 22) p. 105–106.

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scripts, lacking the *horror vacui* of similar imageries elsewhere in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, presented a series of aesthetic elements that stimulated the individual's perceptions, particularly visual and tactile. Two different dimensions of the visuality and materiality of illuminated liturgical manuscripts that, back then, certainly collided into the much-searched sense of comprehensive, multi-sensorial performance that the different categories of medieval liturgical services represented. Decorated manuscripts offer to the modern specialist, more than any other medium, countless opportunities in terms of restoring the original, formal contexts of handling and reception of their richly illuminated pages. These two Ottonian manuscripts from St Gall represent not only relatively forgotten episodes of the art of the manuscript illumination in the otherwise well-known history of the now Swiss institution, but also an open window to further considerations into the role of art in the liturgy of the period and the reception that meaningful scenes, such as the Crucifixion, once had amongst the excited gathering of pious Christian believers. The modern specialist that deals with the study of art reception in the Early Middle Ages in the Latin West faces the lack of sources and terminology that otherwise abound in *ekphrasis* accounts of the Middle and Late Byzantine Empire. Nor is there a corpus of popular literature of religious themes that enables a less official approach to Christian art, such as the fourteenth- and fifteenth centuries in England and the Low Countries. The interpretation of historical sources and the reading of Early Christian, Carolingian and later exegetical scholarship on rituals and beliefs still represents the only way forward within art historical research.

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