

Transformative Ornament for the Priest in Durandus' Rationale and its Illuminations

On folio 9v of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek's Codex 2765 is a somewhat surprising illuminated initial (*fig. 1*). A rod seems to have been stuck into the outer sides of the D, where its opening narrows towards the top, and from this rod hangs, by means of four black rings, a green curtain. This curtain fills almost the entirety of the picture field, leaving only thin strips of the background color visible on either side. Nothing can be glimpsed beyond it, nor does it serve as the background or cloth of honor for a more important subject; it is itself the subject of the image. (For a very different take on images of curtains, through dynamics of veiling and unveiling, see Herbert Kessler, *Medieval Art as Argument*, in: id., *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia 2000, 53–86; and Jeffrey Hamburger, *Mysticism and Visuality*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, ed. Amy Hollywood/Patricia Beckman, Cambridge 2012, 277–293.)

The initial with the curtain opens chapter 3 “On images and hangings and the ornaments of the church” (“De picturis et cortinis et ornamentis ecclesie”) of book 1, on the church space, of the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of William Durandus of Mende, with the initial D for the sentence “Die gemelte und der chirchen czierung seindt der laien schrifte und lecze”. Because the first part of this chapter concerns images and starts with a citation from Gregory's famous letter legitimating their use in the Western church, one might expect the initial to include an image of an image (Celia M. Chazelle, *Pictures, books, and the illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serenus of*

Marseilles, in: *Word & Image* 5, 1990, 138–153). Instead it depicts more abstract decoration: a textile hanging (the *cortines* or *umbhengen* of the rubric). This choice seems to reflect an interest in decoration, for it is primarily under the heading of decoration that such hangings are discussed in the text.

THE IDEA OF MEDIEVAL ORNAMENT

As Jean-Claude Bonne has pointed out, *ornamentum* in the Middle Ages never had a connotation of the additional or inessential. In Middle Latin, it refers to objects, individually or as a group, through which something is better able to fulfill its function, like the furniture of a house or the arms and armor of a soldier (Les ornements de l'histoire, in: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 51.1, 1996, 37–70; id., *De l'ornemental dans l'art médiéval [VII^e–XII^e siècle]: Le modèle insulaire*, in: *L'Image: Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Jérôme Baschet/Jean-Claude Schmitt, Paris 1996, 207–249). This is the sense in which one should understand the common phrase *ornamenta ecclesiae*, which includes all church furnishings from carpets to patens. (The frequent use of the phrase in modern scholarship owes a lot to the monumental exhibit in Cologne, 1985, of that title; see the three-volume catalogue, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, Cologne 1985.) A figurative version of this same general understanding is the use of *ornamentum* or *ornatus* to refer to virtues, a constant throughout the Middle Ages and one which features in Durandus' discussion of the hangings (Bonne, *Les ornements de l'histoire*, 40).

In Durandus as in other authors, however, *ornamentum* was nonetheless always linked to what we would understand as the ornamental or decorative. The noun *ornamentum* and the verb *ornare*, understood as linked to order, retained a strong aesthetic component. We can thus assume a

certain equivalence between the more obviously functional and the purely decorative *ornamenta*, both allowing the decorated thing to function, and to be recognized, as more fully itself (ibid., 46). So the textile hangings of the church, as shall appear in the following discussion, structure both time and place and allow the church to better symbolically resemble the human soul; in this they are no less functional than candlesticks or liturgical combs.

THE RATIONALE AND THE VIENNA MANUSCRIPT

Though unoriginal in most respects, Durandus' *Rationale* is, by virtue of its ubiquity, an important source for medieval theories of ornament. Within decades of its appearance in 1285, it became the standard textbook for all things liturgical, standing as a summation of previous tradition and as a basis for all further developments (On the *Rationale* and its sources, see most crucially the "Introduction" to the new critical edition: T. M. Thibodeau, *Apparatus Fontium*, in: *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, ed. A. Davril/id., [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 140–140B], Turnhout 1995–2000, vol. 3, 248–269). In Paris and Bologna, it was available through the *pecia* system by the early fourteenth century; at least one such exemplar survives (see Bertrand Guyot, *La tradition manuscrite*, in: *Rationale*, vol. 3, 195–228). The work's eight books cover the church space, the clerical hierarchy, the liturgical vestments, the mass, the office, special texts and usages of the calendar in two books, on the temporal and the sanctoral respectively, and lastly the *computus* for calculating the date of easter. This wide-ranging and user-friendly organization is possibly the *Rationale*'s most important innovation, along with the extensive cross-referencing further facilitating its use (see Roger Reynolds, *Durand comme théologien de la liturgie*, in: *Guillaume Durand [v. 1230–1296]*, ed. Pierre-Marie Gy OP, Paris 1992, 154–170).

One reflection of this text's omnipresence is the fact that it was among the works translated for court use, first in French by order of Charles V (completed 1372), then in Austria for Duke Albrecht III. (by 1385; the translation is edited in

G. H. Buijssen [ed.], *Durandus' Rationale in spät-mittelhochdeutscher Übersetzung: die Bücher I–III nach der Hs. CVP 2765* [Studia theodisca 13], Assen 1974). The French manuscripts constitute their own family, with extensive and distinct illumination program (see Claudia Rabel, *L'illustration du Rationale des divins offices*, in: *Guillaume Durand*, 171–180).

Codex 2765 is the luxurious presentation copy of the latter German translation (titled *Das Racional, das ist die auslegung und sache der Götlichen ampte*), illuminated by the so-called *Hofminiaturenwerkstatt* associated with Albrecht's patronage; it is by a good margin the most extensively illuminated copy of the *Rationale*. (This manuscript has a relatively extensive bibliography, but there is as yet no survey of its iconography. The commentary to the digital facsimile edition does describe the images, but with an eye principally to style and the identification of individual hands: *Rationale divinorum officiorum: Cod. 2765 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* [Vienna 2001], CD-Rom. For more on the workshop, see the entry by Andreas Fingernagel in: *Mitteleuropäische Schulen II. Ca. 1350–1410: Österreich, Deutschland, Schweiz* [Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 11, 1], ed. Fingernagel, Wien 2002, 152–173.)

DURANDUS ON DECORATION

Durandus defines the subject of the initial as "the hangings which are suspended in the church on feast days for decoration" (*cortine in festivitibus extenduntur in ecclesiis propter ornatum*, *Rationale* I.3.39; see the commentary of Kirstin Faupel-Dreves, *Vom richtigen Gebrauch der Bilder im Liturgischen Raum: Mittelalterliche Funktionsbestimmungen bildender Kunst im Rationale Divinorum Officiorum des Durandus von Mende [1230/1–1296]*, Leiden 2000, here 316–318); in the following sentences come a glimpse of what one might call the *Rationale*'s theory of ornament. The phrase, *propter ornatum*, is immediately glossed: "that we may be moved from visible ornament to the invisible" (*ut per visibiles ornatus ad invisibiles moveamur*; *Rationale* I.3.39); in the German

translation, where the phrase does not appear, the glossing purpose clause immediately following simply takes a decorative function for granted (*di umbhenge [...] werdent gesterkchet oder umbhenkchet in den kirchen durch di zeit, daz wir beweget werden durch di sichtleiche czierunge zu den di unsichtig seindt*; Cod. 2765, f. 13v). Such a gloss erases the distinction one might be tempted to make between decoration and signification, a slippage of particular importance in the case of textile hangings. The diverse colors, and implicitly patterns, of these hangings have as their invisible referent the diverse virtues which should adorn a human soul, itself the proper Temple of God (*Que sunt quandoque variis coloribus colorate, ut premissum est, ut ex diversitate colorum ipsorum notetur quod homo qui est Dei templum ornatus esse debet varietate seu diversitate virtutum*; *Rationale* I.3.39).

In this gloss, and in the insistence on the correspondance of the visible and the invisible, Durandus' *Rationale* reflects one of its major sources, the *Mitrале* of Sicard of Cremona. Sicard adds that such textiles decorate the church's interior, not its exterior, as the heavenly Bride, though shining with moral ornament, nonetheless is black on the outside (*Mitrале* I.12, PL 213, c. 44, cited from Faupel-Dreves, *Vom richtigen Gebrauch*, 299). The *invisibilia* are thus understood in two different meanings: on the one hand, as generally the higher truths behind the sensible universe, and on the other specifically as those hidden things which even contradict outward appearances. If in the one interpretation, there is a straightforward relationship of signifier and signified, the other creates a situation in which such a relationship is not available. The role of the hangings, then, might be understood as moving from this more ambiguous situation to the straightforward one by means of a visible interior; the result is a justification of ornament that nonetheless maintains a certain ambivalence.

As one might expect, more difficulties arise when the discussion moves, in Book III of the *Rationale* (titled "De indumentis seu ornamentis sacerdotum atque pontificum et aliorum

ministorum") to what Durandus terms the *ornamenta sacerdotum*, the ornaments of the priests (and bishops and other clerics). The rubric of the Vienna translation for this section does not mention ornament, using instead an older word for garment, "wat": "die Rubriken des dritten Püch von der wat der priester und der anderen dynern des götli" (ÖNB, Cod. 2765, f. 42r; Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1854–1961, s. v. Wât, v. 27, 2561–71). Elsewhere, however, the vestments are referred to as *zyrn*, decorations; for instance in the chapter on the humeral, f. 43v. These brightly colored textile ornaments are treated similarly to those in the church space, which already treat the church as a person, but their positioning on the human body creates additional complexity, reflected in different ways by the illuminations of the Vienna manuscript and the text of Durandus.

THE VIENNA MANUSCRIPT: SAYING MASS

Like the hangings, the *ornamenta sacerdotum* can have a structuring function. This, at least, is how they appear in the illustrations for Book III in the Vienna manuscript. This third book opens with a heavily decorated page, whose four-sided gilded frame contains a dense iconographic and decorative program (Cod. 2765, f. 43v; fig. 2). Most important in relation to the vestments are the two roundels in the bottom margin. On the left is shown the vesting rite of a bishop, and on the right the same bishop's entry and approach towards the altar to say Mass. Durandus insists, in the first chapter, that the vesting of a bishop has to take place with ministers; and while the following chapters discuss the priest first, and the bishop second, the opening chapter is focused on episcopal vesting (*Rationale* III.1, esp. 3). Correspondingly, the bishop is accompanied by the same assistants in both roundels, a deacon and subdeacon in dalmatic and tunicella and two canons, distinguished by their fur capelets or almuces. Both wear surplices, or choral tunics (*chorrekchel* in the German text), and one also a cope (*chappe*), marking them out as peripheral participants. These two vestments, not part of the series worn by the celebrant, are briefly discussed

by Durandus towards the end of the first, introductory chapter of book III. With the inclusion of the cope and surplice the two miniatures take on an exhaustive character, illustrating each of the vestments in the text, in a particular relation to the first chapter. In contrast to the initials opening subsequent chapters, each focused on a single vestment, the roundels show how the different garments, and by extension how the different participants who wear them, relate to each other and to other *ornamenta ecclesiae*.

Key to the functioning of these objects together is a dimension of ornament which Durandus does not address in his text: hierarchies and unities of color and material. Although the dalmatics and the chasuble, for instance, are of the same dark blue color, the chasuble is singled out through two forms of golden ornament: the small circles strewn across the surface conventionally represent a patterned silk weave, while the line running down the front and back represents an orphrey, a decorative band of embroidered or woven decoration sewn on top of this base fabric. In the left roundel, this vertical orphrey centers the chasuble on the body, rebuilding its vertical axis, and correspondingly helps to make the bishop the focus of the composition despite his left-of-center position. In the right, the orphrey leads from the bishop's back upward towards the altar and altarpiece.

The color scheme likewise contributes to a hierarchy: the celebrant alone wears a rectangle of dark blue fabric (or apparel) on his alb, the others sporting pink apparels; meanwhile the green of the bishop's dalmatic picks up the color of the decorative elements on the deacons', as well as that of the canon's cope. This color scheme helps to unify the somewhat busy scene on the left, while on the right it actively contributes to the parallel being established between the earthly liturgy and the divine realm, represented on the retable in the background. This altar, its ground represented in burnished gold, occupies the miniature's vanishing point. On its wings, two candle-bearing angels adore the half-length, iconlike Madonna and Child in the center panel. Closely parallel, the deacons stand on the side edges of the roundel, likewise in

profile, one of them even carrying a candle; their pink apparels find an echo in the angels' pink tunics. This identification of the deacons, as ministers, with angels is a traditional one. In a brief mention of the process of vesting, Durandus also repeats this association: *vestibus induitur a ministris, quia ei, ut vestes induat spirituales, angeli suffragantur; vel quia vicarius est Christi, cui angeli ministrant et omnia servient* (*Rationale* III.1.3). The relationship of the celebrating bishop to the heavenly realm is more complicated, if equally clear. Like the Virgin, he is centered between the ministers. At the same time, the rear view and his placement lower in the picture frame clearly express his hierarchical distance from the heavenly figures, as does the blue of his garments, duller than the bright ultramarine of the Virgin's mantle. This positioning speaks to the ambiguous position of the celebrant during mass, simultaneously representing Christ and coming as a penitent before him. A similar idea is found by Evan Gatti in a series of miniatures preceding an Ottonian *ordo missae*, also depicting pontifical Mass (The *Ordo Missae* of Warmund of Ivrea: A Bishop's 'Two Bodies' and the Image in Between, in: *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sigrid Danielson/id., Turnhout 2014, 181–214).

The miniatures thus utilise formal characteristics of the vestments to make a succinct point about the liturgy and its relationship to heavenly hierarchies. In this, they relate particularly to the opening chapter of book III, which carefully separates the vestments of priests and bishops. The images go beyond the text, however, in relating the liturgical actors and their clothing so explicitly to the church space, something which is generally only implicit in Durandus' text. By contrast, the relationship of the vestments to the underlying body, not strongly thematized in the illuminations, finds expression in the subsequent chapters of the *Rationale*.

DURANDUS: THE ALB

In his discussion of each vestment, Durandus stresses that vestment's formal aspect in its specific relation to the wearing body. An especially clear

case is that of the alb, a long tunic of linen which is the second of the vestments to be put on by a priest and one of the vestments in use by almost all clerics (*Subdiaconus autem utitur amictu, alba, et baltheo, sicut et ostiarius, lector, exorcista et acolitus; Rationale* II.8.5; on the development and cut of the alb, Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Freiburg i. Br. 1907, 61–91). Considerable attention is devoted to its cut, simple though it is. The alb is wide, signifying Christian freedom: *In novo [testamento] vero larga est, propter spiritum adoptionis in libertate, qua nos Christus liberavit (Rationale* III.3.3). This is in contrast to the tighter tunic worn by the high priest in Exodus; the contrast is drawn, in much the same language, by Amalarius of Metz, *Liber Officialis* (in: *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, ed. John Hanssens, Vatican City 1948, v. 2, 247). It covers the whole body, from top to bottom, as the hope of salvation. Durandus here specifies that the hope from grace is represented by the top, from merit by the bottom (*Rationale* III.3.5). The sleeves are tight in order to keep the arms fully covered, and the garment as a whole is thus “appropriately fitted” to the body, with no excess.

The *Rationale* also discusses the alb’s material, principally white linen. The production process of linen, which involves macerating and beating the stems of the linen plant, along with repeated washing and sun-bleaching, is taken as an allegory for a purification process whereby human flesh can become purified and whitened “through good works, masterated with much chastising” (*Rationale* III.3.2; on the subject of linen’s allegorical capacities, see Jörg Richter, *Linteamina: Leinen als Bedeutungsträger*, in: *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe. Textilien im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Böse/Silke Tammen, Frankfurt a. M. 2012, 302–321). The artificial whiteness of linen makes a garment diametrically opposed to (*longissime distans* from) the skins in which Adam and Eve were clad upon their expulsion from Paradise. This opposition signifies renewal in Christ, calling to mind the

whiteness of his garments during the Transfiguration: *Christo convenit alba, que est lineum vestimentum, longissime distans a tunicis pelliceis que de mortuis animalibus fiunt, quibus vestitus Adam est post peccatum, novitatem vite significat, quam Christus et habuit et docuit et tribuit in baptismo, de qua dicit Apostolus, exuite veterem hominem [...]. Nam in transfiguratione [...] vestimenta eius facta sunt alba sicut nix (Rationale* III.3.5). On top of the linen are decorations “in various places and variously worked” whose variety is explicitly linked to beauty through a citation from the psalms, in which a figure is described as “in a golden garment, wrapped in variety” (*Rationale* III.3.3). Moreover Durandus adds that decoration (*aurifrisius*, the latin form of orphrey) on the sleeves recalls a miracle whereas St. Martin, having a second time given away his clothes to a poor man, had his naked arms covered in heavenly splendor “that he might be able to say mass decently” (*missam celebrantis miraculose decenter operuerunt, Rationale* III.3.5, citing Beleh’s *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, chapter 163, CCCM 41a).

Despite the multiplicity of different aspects subject to interpretation, the overall system is in fact coherent. There are, first, scattered references to beauty and aesthetics, located in the garment’s whiteness, and in the variety and implicit preciousness (the gold of *aurifrisius*) of its decoration. Although the mention of *varietas* is somewhat perfunctory, it is a reminder that a coherent idea of beauty informs the whole work, including those sections which discuss human clothing. The notion of appropriateness appears both in the opening statements about the lack of excess, and in the highly specific mention of Saint Martin’s miraculous *torques*, which allowed him to perform *decenter*. The Latin *decenter*, here opposed to *nudus*, corresponds well to modern “decently,” but the etymological connection to *decus*, *decorum*, and *decor* is very much present: Martin receives, not simple covering of his naked arms, but shining golden torques, whose memory remains in the decorated cuffs of ordinary albs. This ornament at the cuffs appears then as appropriate, decent, even necessary beauty, fully covering the body but fitted to it.

Linked to this is the theme, running throughout the entry on the alb, of its artificiality. This comes out most strongly in the opposition between the refined, processed linen and the raw pelts. Twice, Durandus stresses that the artificial whiteness of the linen corresponds to a change from natural sin to supranatural grace, the “renewal of life” (*novitatem vite*) offered by baptism. Because both the breadth and length of the garment are also glossed to stress the transition from the law to grace, the overall meaning of the alb comes through as a garment of transformation and renewal, expressed in the Pauline phrase “*induite hominum novum*” (Eph 4:24; *Rationale* III.3.5). Crucially, this transformative function is inseparable from the alb’s artificial and decorative character.

DURANDUS: THE TONSURE

This image of the alb as an artificial renewal resonates interestingly with another passage of the *Rationale*, in which Durandus discusses a sort of priestly anti-ornament. At the beginning of book II, dedicated to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Durandus turns to a marker shared by all clerics: the tonsure. He distinguishes three aspects of the tonsure: shaving the head, cutting the hair, and the circular form (*capitis abrasio, capillorum detruncatio, et forme circulatio*; *Rationale* II.1.26). The shaving of the head is further separated into aspects: conserving cleanliness (by avoiding the dirt and grease which is trapped in hair), deforming, and laying bare (*munditie conservatio, deformatio et denudatio*; *ibid.*). The middle term is here crucial: tonsure deforms the priest’s head by robbing it of its natural ornament, hair (*deformatio, quia capilli ad ornamentum sunt*; *ibid.*). This deformation, together with the idea of cleanliness, is interpreted as signifying a clean mind with an unostentatious lifestyle (*non formabilem vitam, id est non exquisitum habitum exterius*; *ibid.*; the source is the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dyonisius).

The tonsured priest is here very reminiscent of the church-bride discussed in book I, decorated with hangings or virtues inside, but bare outside. There, it was the hangings’ interior placement

which allowed them to function as signs of invisible beauty. In the case of the tonsure, the aversion to exterior beauty leads to an actual deformation of the priest’s exterior, a removal of the natural ornament of his head. Although this is not explicitly stated, a further parallel can easily be made between the hair-covered skins worn by Adam and Eve and the removed hair, thus making the highly artificial alb a pendant to or compensation for the defacing tonsure. The alb’s decoration, although fitted to the body, is then to some extent opposed to the body’s own. The deformation of the tonsure, however, was strictly limited, as the priestly body was otherwise expected to be intact. By Durandus’ time, missing limbs, hunchbacks, or vision problems barred one from the priesthood without special dispensation, which was infrequently obtained (a few notes to this effect in Sara McDougall, *Bastard Priests: Illegitimacy and Ordination in Medieval Europe*, in: *Speculum* 94.1, Jan. 2019, 138–172, here 145–147). Any defacement beyond the statutory tonsure was a disqualification. More extreme deformations might disqualify one from participating in society at all (see Valentin Groebner, *Ungestalten: Die visuelle Kultur der Gewalt im Mittelalter*, Munich 2003).

Moreover, although the removal of hair is referred to as a deformation in one circumscribed passage, the circular form of the tonsure is understood to have aesthetic qualities itself: the circle is the most beautiful and most simple of forms (*Rationale* II.1.29). Of seven reasons given by the *Rationale* for the tonsure’s form, the first and seventh compare it to a crown (the crown of thorns and a more symbolic crown from the Kingdom of God; *Rationale* II.1.28–30). Something of these aesthetics tone down the idea of deformation, although in no sense is the tonsure itself understood as ornamental.

THE VIENNA MANUSCRIPT: GETTING DRESSED

Between the alb and the tonsure comes the humeral (see Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 21–34). The humeral or amice, a rectangle of white linen tied with two cords, sometimes decorated with silk fabric on the top edge, is the first of all the

Fig. 1 Initial D, chapter „Umbhengen und der chirchen zierung“. Cod. 2765, fol. 9v [Rationale divinatorum officiorum: Cod. 2765 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, CD-ROM, Vienna 2001]



vestments. By Durandus' day, it was put on in two steps: first draped over the head like a hood, where it stayed as the other garments were slowly donned, serving to protect them from direct contact with the priest's skin and hair; then, at the end of the vesting rite, lowered to form a bundled collar around the neck. Vesting prayers which mention the step whereby the humeral is first placed on the head seem to appear in the course of the eleventh century; previously they seem to mention only the shoulders (Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy. Virtue and Power in Medieval Europa, c. 800–1200*, Ithaca 2014, 80sq.). This first step is well-illustrated in the Vienna manuscript of the *Rationale*, in the initial for the corresponding chapter ("Von dem umbral," initial D[es ersten von sechzlay zyern die den pischofen und den priestern gemain sind]; Cod. 2765, f. 43v). The priest has draped the humeral over his head and shoulders, brought the white cords from the corners crosswise across his chest then around his back, pulling them taut meanwhile, and now he is tying them around his waist. Clearly visible underneath is clerical street-garb, a long and long-sleeved tunic of unobtrusive lilac.

In the following miniatures, the humeral remains in place as the other vestments are successively added. In the next initial, the alb has been put on over the humeral, which now takes the appearance of a simple hood (chapter "Von der alben das ander est," initial N[ach dem umbral legt der priester di alm an]; *ibid.*, f. 44r). The priest is

shown pulling at the decorated cuffs of his sleeve, while the body of the alb hangs in loose folds from the shoulders. The fit of vestment to body is therefore clear, and the features of the alb which stand out in the text are highlighted enough in the miniature to provide a reference point for the reader. Nonetheless, the character of the image, in its place in the sequence, is more narrative than descriptive. In the miniatures that follow (f. 44v; *fig. 3*), the priest is always shown half length and three quarters face, the top of his head touching the body of the letter. This repeated composition makes it easy to follow the sequence, working almost like a flipbook. Adding to this narrative character, the priest is each time shown at the very last moment of putting on the garment – tying the cords of the humeral, pulling down the sleeves of the alb, but also adjusting the stole under the belt or the manipule over the wrist (f. 45v; *fig. 4*). This choice allows the miniature to remain narrative and active, while showing the garment as worn. At the same time, the changing colors of the apparels (the decoration on the humeral, dark blue and gold in the opening initial, becomes green then gold in the following two, f. 44r and 44v) make it clear that the sequence represents a repeated event, whose



Fig. 2 First page of the Third Book: Ornamenta sacerdotum. Cod. 2765, fol. 43v (Rationale divinorum officiorum, Vienna 2001)



Fig. 3 Priest wearing the humeral and alb and adjusting the cingulum. Cod. 2765, fol. 44v (*Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Vienna 2001)

essential character remains the same despite surface changes. The facial type of the vesting priest is roughly the same in each miniature, with bulbous eyes and a straight, somewhat large nose. There is little variety in facial types throughout the first four books of the *Rationale*, however, so that the character depicted may be understood as an identical person or a succession of generic priests.

This narrative, but generic character of the images as a cycle sets them somewhat apart from the content of the chapters. It does, however, often



Fig. 4 Adjusting the maniple over the left wrist. Cod. 2765, fol. 45v (*Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Vienna 2001)

suit the first sentence of each chapter, which opens with that vestment's place in the sequence: "Des ersten" for the humeral or "Nach dem unmbra" for the alb, and so forth. Durandus' text is, in contrast, largely analytic, moving to different aspects of each vestment in an atemporal sequence. The *Rationale* does not, however, treat the garments as static, but as draped over a body, and it does discuss the process by which this occurs. Moreover, as the discussion of the alb makes clear, Durandus understands vesting as a transformation, and thus as having a temporal character, even if on a more abstract plane.



Fig. 5 Fully adorned priest with the chasuble. Cod. 2765, fol. 46r (*Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Vienna 2001)

In that sense, the cycle can be seen to synthesize the material from Durandus' individual chapters into a general image of transformation. This process culminates with the initial for the chasuble, the last of the priestly vestments, which differs from the others in showing the end result: the priest, still three-quarters face, simply clasps his hands at rest (chapter "Von der Gazzel," initial A[ber dem wat alle zw dem lestem legt man di gasel an]; f. 46r; fig. 5). The chasuble hangs in loose folds on his body, and the humeral has been brought

down from the shoulders, its apparel settling into a neat collar around the neck, leaving the priestly tonsure visible at the top of the image. Fittingly, the background of this initial is burnished gold, helping it to further stand out and thus close the sequence. The priest is here fully transformed, fully adorned, and the head covering, marking the transformative stage, is gone. Appropriately, the chasuble is colored in the same somewhat purplish, dull blue as the vestments in the page opening book III as a whole. It thus ties back to those images, showing the vestments in action, as the next stage of this process. After the chasuble starts a second sequence of chapters, of vestments or objects specific to the bishop, the initials for which do not build an obviously coherent unit.

CONCLUSION

The illuminations and the text thus operate according to different, but complementary, notions of ornament. While Durandus' text stays vague on the question of beauty, and the placement and nature of decorative elements on the vestments, the illuminations use such decorative elements, and a sophisticated choice of colors, to build up relationships between the different vestments and beyond them to other ornaments in the church space. In this sense, the ornaments in the miniatures function much like the miniatures themselves as ornaments to the text, providing a hierarchical structure enabling a reader to easily find his (or, perhaps, her) place (on the structuring function of ornament in manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, many comments in Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origin of Silent Reading*, Stanford, Calif. 1997, esp. 256–278).

The illuminations, in highlighting a processual and relational character of ornament, highlight a feature of Durandus' text which might otherwise evade the reader. Similar connections between different objects are present in Durandus' work, as when, for instance, the same gloss on the artificial whiteness of linen is applied to the clerical alb and the altar cloth, but they remain implicit (*Rationale* I.2.12). Both image and text portray the vestment as transformative. By virtue of the more-or-less

explicit connection between the *ornamenta sacerdotum* and the *ornamentae ecclesia*, the vesting rite makes the priest into part of a whole, functioning ideally as harmoniously as in the roundel from the opening page. By this harmony, however, the images smooth out the text's anxiety over the relationship between the signified and the signifier. Present in the discussion of church hangings, and in that on the tonsure, is an understanding that outer and inner beauty may be opposed as much as they might coincide. Indeed, in the opposition between tonsure and alb, between natural and artificial ornament, the text's understanding of the *ornamentum sacerdotum* comes into conflict with external beauty.

This conflict becomes even more explicit, over the course of the first chapter of book III. Repeatedly, Durandus exhorts his clerical reader to take care “that he will not bear a sign without embodying what it signifies; that is, wearing a vestment without its virtue, lest he appear to be a whitened sepulcher” (*ut signum sine significato non ferat; ut uestem sine virtute non portet, ne forte similis sit sepulcro de foris dealbato, intus vero omni spurcitia pleno; Rationale* III.1.5). The rhetorical power of two parallel alliterating pairs, *signum/significato* and *vestis/virtus*, serves to draw attention to the potentially problematic ornamental sign. The project of understanding the ornamented human body remains, in Durandus, fundamentally incomplete: he can only exhort his reader to fulfill what ornament promises.

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