LATIN MS. 110 in the John Rylands Library is a Gospel Book, containing the Four Gospels with Prefaces and Capitula. As follows:

fol. 1v. Prefatio Sancti Hieronimi: Beatissimo papae Damaso Hieronimus: Novum opus ... memineris mei papa beatissime.

fol. 3r. Prefatio Eusebii: Eusebius Carpiano. Ammonius ... dixisse repperies.

fol. 3v. Second Preface: Argumentum: Scandum etiam ne quis ... memineris mei beatissime papa.

fol. 5v-11v. Canones Eusebiani.

fol. 13r. Prefatio Sancti Hieronimi in IIII Evangelia: Plures fuisse ... ecclesiasticis viris canendas.

fol. 14v. Prologus in Matheum: Matheus ex Iudea ... non tacere.

fol. 15r. List of Chapters: Incipiunt capitula (28 cap.).

fol. 18v-59v. Incipit Evangelium secundum Matheum: Liber Generationis . . .

fol. 60r. [Prologus:] Marcus Evangelista dei ... prestat deus est.

fol. 60v. List of Chapters: Breviarium (13 cap.).

fol. 63v-83v. Incipit Evangelium secundum Marcum: Initium evangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei . . .

The text ends imperfectly with Mark xiii. 19 on fol. 83v; Mark xiii. 20-xvi. 20 (Passion, etc.) is missing.

fol. 84r. [Prologus in Lucam:] Lucas Syrus ... fasti dientibus prodesset.

1 The first part of this article appeared in the preceding Bulletin. The article was submitted in German. I am greatly indebted to Dr. F. Taylor, Librarian and Keeper of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, for making the translation.
fol. 85r. List of Chapters: Incipiunt capitula (21 cap.).

fol. 91v-139r. Incipit Evangelium secundum Lucam: Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt . . .

fol. 139v. [Argumentum secundum Johannem:] Hic est Johannes Evangelista . . . doctrina servetur.

fol. 140r. List of chapters: Breviarium (13 cap.).

fol. 142r-175r. Incipit Evangelium secundum Johannem: In principio erat verbum.

The text breaks off at the foot of fol. 174v with John xx. 4, resuming at the top of fol. 175r with John xxi. 18; the remaining verses (-24) of the Gospel are on this folio. John xx. 5-xxi. 17 is missing.

fol. 176r-176v. [Comes:] Incipit Breviarium. From Vigilia Natalis Domini to Ebdomada V post Theophaniam.

In this portion there are no movable feasts. The rest of the Comes is missing.

The text of the Gospels is not continuous but written in paragraphs, each beginning with an initial in red. In the numbering of the chapters in the Capitula the manuscript follows in the main Fortunatian, Bishop of Aquilea, who divided the Gospels into 28, 13, 21 and 14 chapters, respectively. Only in the case of John does the Svanhild Gospel Book differ from this in that it has only 13 chapters. There is no parallel to this in Berger’s list. The division of the text of the Gospels themselves into chapters is, as is usual, independent of the division given in the lists of contents.

The Prefaces are the three usual ones, namely: 1. The epistle of Jerome to Pope Damasus concerning the Vulgate translation, “Novum opus”; 2. The epistle to Damasus, ascribed to Jerome, concerning the use of the Tables of Eusebian Canons, “Sciendum etiam”; 3. The interpretation of the Four Gospels, ascribed to Jerome, “Plures Fuisse”. There also appears the so-called fourth Preface, rare but not altogether unusual in manuscripts of the eleventh century: an epistle of Eusebius to Carpian which in the Latin text begins with “Ammonius”.

1 Beissel, op. cit. p. 331; Samuel Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate (Nancy, 1893), pp. 311 ff.

The only surprising feature is that in our Gospel Book the fourth Preface already appears in the second place. According to Beissel and Berger ¹ the usual sequence is "Novum opus", "Sciendum etiam", "Plures fuisse", "Ammonius". Neither has met with the epistle of Eusebius coming in the second place even in the exceptions to the normal sequence known to them. The Gospel Book of Theophanou in Essen contains only the Prefaces "Novum opus" and "Sciendum etiam", and the Gospel Book of Abbot Rudolf of Werden (1106-13)—which comes from near-by Werden and is now in Chantilly (Musée Condé MS. 1143)—only "Novum opus". In the fourteen Cologne Gospel Books of the Ottonian period considerable variations appear.² Only MS. 312 in the Stadtarchiv at Cologne³ has all four Prefaces, with the epistle of Eusebius in the third place. Among the other Gospel Books it appears only once, in Stuttgart MS. bibl. fol. 21.⁴ Unfortunately, with such limited evidence for comparison, one can not draw any general conclusions about the clearly unusual order of the Prefaces in the Svanhild Gospel Book. But this order would seem to have some definite significance. The manuscript begins with the Preface dealing with the Vulgate translation, then follow the two Prefaces on the use of the Canon Tables (firstly the older one of Eusebius, and then the later one by Jerome, followed by the Canon Tables themselves), and only then comes the explanation of the Four Gospels, immediately preceding the beginning of the Gospel text itself. As the order is unusual, it is perhaps worth noting by scholars in this field.

The four prologues of Jerome to the single Gospels are the usual ones.

¹ Beissel, op. cit. p. 331 ; Berger, op. cit. pp. 311 ff. Cf. also Berger, "Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate" in Mémoirs présentés par divers savants à l'Academie des Inscriptioens et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, Ser. 1, vol. xi, pt. 2 (Paris, 1904), pp. 1-78, particularly nos. 195 ff. No conclusions concerning deviations from the usual sequence can be drawn from his extensive list of manuscripts.

² Cf. the evidence in Bloch-Schnitzler.

³ Bloch-Schnitzler, no. II, dating from soon after 996.

⁴ Ibid. no. XIV, dating from c. 1070.
X. Composition of the Manuscript

The Svanhild manuscript measures 22 × 15.5 cm., the space occupied by the text being 15.5/16 × 8 cm. The miniatures and large decorated initials measure 15.5 × 10.3/10.5 cm.; the miniature on the dedication page is larger, reaching a size of 17.5 × 10.5 cm. The writing is single-column with 28 lines to a page. The ruling is dry point, with two double vertical lines in the margin on each side.


In the 24th quire the counterpart of fol. 172, which would have been fol. 177, is missing. Also missing is a double leaf between fols. 174 and 175 in the middle of this quire; on it was the text of John xx. 5–xxi. 17. And so originally the 24th quire, too, consisted of 4 double leaves. Quire 25 is missing; it probably consisted also of 4 double leaves containing the remainder of the text of the Comes, which begins on fol. 176 and was probably completed by fol. 177 and the 4 double leaves.
The gap in the text at the end of Mark (xiii. 20–xvi. c. 20) may be traced to a subsequent loss. That the remainder of this Gospel was deliberately omitted seems improbable in view of the fact that the text ends at the foot of fol. 83v in the middle of a verse. The 12th quire, which consists of one double leaf (=fols. 82 and 83), contains a continuous text and follows on directly from fol. 81v; so this can have been neither a double leaf in the centre of nor any other part of a larger quire. The 12th quire must, in fact, have originally consisted only of this one double leaf. Following fol. 83v there must have been another complete quire, now missing. The break here is probably connected with the change of hand noted by James, for the second scribe begins on fol. 84r with the Preface to Luke. Perhaps this second scribe had already begun his writing before the first scribe had completed his and the latter, afraid of not having sufficient space, inserted a double leaf before what was going to be his last quire.

Apart from this irregularity and the variation at the beginning, determined by the generally accepted practice of keeping the Tables of Canons to a single quire, the manuscript has quires of four double leaves regularly throughout.

The miniatures and decorated pages are on leaves which form parts of quires; only the miniature of Mark and the decorated page belonging to it (fols. 63r and 63v) are on a single leaf attached to an otherwise complete quire. It is not easy to discern any fixed principle in the arrangement of the miniatures within the quires. Normally a blank page precedes the miniatures; then follow the miniature page (recto) with the decorated page on its verso, although fol. 17 has a miniature on both recto and verso. Only in St. John's Gospel do the miniature of the evangelist (fol. 141v) and the decorated initial opening the Gospel (fol. 142r) occur on facing pages. A fixed place within the quire was not adhered to for either the miniatures or the beginning of the Gospels. Only the Gospel of Luke begins on a new quire, but this may perhaps be connected with the change in hand at this point already referred to. In Mark and John there has apparently been no attempt to begin the Gospel on the first folio of a quire.
Apart from the loss of chapters in Mark and John and the removal of considerable portions of the 
Comes at the end, there are no apparent changes of a later date in the composition of the manuscript.

In other respects the manuscript has suffered considerably in the course of time, particularly as regards the text, which is today in many places illegible. When Lord Crawford acquired it in 1895 the text had already suffered from the effects of damp, as its seller informed him. There was apparently some continuing process of deterioration subsequently, leading to text pages becoming fragile and denatured and, on certain folios, lines of writing disappearing. Surprisingly enough, apart from odd places on fol. 17v, the illuminated pages have hardly suffered at all.¹ The present writer cannot be sure whether or not the apparently similar condition of several pages in the Gospel Book of Theophanou and in the Carolingian Gospel Book in the Minster Treasury at Essen, which after the War had to undergo a thorough restoration in the Staatsarchiv at Düsseldorf, may not have been due to biological or chemical processes of a similar nature. If so, the deterioration must have begun far back in time, when the three manuscripts were still in the Treasury of the Church at Essen. A complete restoration of the Svanhild Gospel Book was undertaken in 1963 by Mr. Douglas Cockerell. The manuscript was then bound with new oak boards covered with white pig skin, the previous binding, which is now preserved separately, being considered too heavy for the manuscript.

The previous binding² cannot have been the original one, as is shown by its disproportionate size compared with that of the manuscript—25 × 15.5 cm. against 22 × 15.5 cm. It is both too tall and too narrow for the manuscript; usually a binding is but little larger in height and width than its manuscript. The old binding is covered with red silk. Stuck down on the inner covers (front and back) are leaves from an incunabulum, the second part of the Summa of St. Anthony of Florence, “De contribulasti

¹ The experience of the author, which is, of course, only that of a layman, suggests that this process of deterioration may have had some organic cause. No doubt Mr. Cockerell, who repaired the manuscript in 1963, identified the origin and nature of the process more closely. ² Shown in James, op. cit. ii, pl. 144.
capita draconum in aquis”, the text of which opens with a large coloured initial containing, in gold, a coat of arms, which is blank. Let into the outer front cover is an enamel plaque on which is a gilt bronze relief of Christ, crowned and enthroned, within a mandorla, the rest of which is filled with gilt tendril-work; in the spandrels are the four evangelical symbols. This Majestas Domini can be recognized at first glance as a product of the nineteenth century and one which probably had a Limoges enamel as its model. The gilt stamped metal which covers the outer edges is perhaps medieval and dating from the early thirteenth century. The manner in which it has had to be nailed down indicates that it could not have belonged originally to these oak covers. It could have been taken from another binding or even from another work of art altogether. The whole cover is, in its present condition, a product of the commercial art of the nineteenth century, which so often, and so transparently, produced “old works of art” out of old elements and modern fakes. The history of the binding could, in fact, reflect the eventful history of the manuscript itself in the nineteenth century. The bringing together and creation of a new binding from old and new elements is in line with the removal of part of the comes and the careful elimination of all traces of former ownership.

I have already referred to the original binding in connection with the history of the manuscript when it was in the Abbey at Essen. That it was “auro et gemmis ornatus” is attested by all historians of the baroque period. Whether by “gems” we should understand genuine, engraved antique stones, such as are found in large numbers in Ottonian works of art, or simply precious stones, is uncertain. The binding probably did not have any relief work in the form of figures.

XI. THE SCRIPT

The manuscript is written in two hands, differing only slightly one from the other, in a small and rather dainty script.  

1 Mr. Cockerell has established that this was not English oak but a lighter Austrian oak.  

2 Cf. James, op. cit. ii. pl. 148 (=fol. 139†). The observations which follow are, of course, based on a thorough examination of other pages.
Isolated uncial letters occur amongst the Carolingian miniscules and, chiefly, among the majuscules. As well as the usual "M", there is also one the vertical strokes of which are all turned sharply inwards, the first two to such an extent that they touch at the bottom, forming an "O"; to this, the third, a claw-shaped stroke, is attached. Occasionally one finds an "A" open at the bottom. A broad, open capital "V" frequently has its first stroke swinging well outwards, fully twice the length of the other one. Capital "E" occasionally appears as a wide open "C" in which is a quite small cross-stroke placed very high. Together with the round "Q" there is another one which is pronouncedly oval, being compressed at the top in a variety of ways; its tail never penetrates into the body of the letter.

The general form of the letters is basically round; but a tendency to pointed, broken terminals and a marked contrast between fine and broad strokes is noticeable. The ascenders of "b", "d" and "l" are not clubbed, but broaden at the top to a small triangle inclined to the left, without, however, any forking. Frequently very small hair-strokes are attached, although generally these are lacking. Hair-strokes, however, clearly appear at the extremities of the descenders of the "q", although not of the "p", which also has very long descenders. Surprisingly long and extremely fine hair-strokes occur in the broken terminals of the letters, at the bottom, particularly with "e" and "a", but also in "d", "l" and "i". Almost all letters have these broken terminals, their fine hair-strokes often touching the following letter. The broken terminals themselves are not markedly pointed; this is most accentuated in the case of "i". Elsewhere one sees a transitional stage between curved terminals and broken ones; at the same time, however, the stage at which the broken terminal has any tendency to roundness has for the most part been left behind, even if no particularly sharp angles occur. In the case of "m" and "n" the last strokes only have broken terminals. The descenders of the long "s" and the "p" and the down-stroke of the "r" (which frequently goes below the line, clearly an archaic feature) do not have these broken terminals. On the other hand, the "r" is definitely open at the top. The "h" is claw-shaped, but never taken below the
The shaft of the "d" frequently curves to the left, assuming a shape like that of a Greek "δ"; elsewhere, however, all shafts, including that of "a", are vertical. The "g" is always completely closed; its loop swings markedly to the right, taking on in doing so a rounded shape which is closed by a thin, straight cross-stroke. The loop is frequently somewhat compressed. The "t" regularly develops after "c" a long ascender which bends back over the "c" in a semi-circle so that the two are almost joined in the same way as are "s" and "t"; but the ascender terminates in a point above the "c" without touching it. Apart from "ct" and the usual conjunction of "s" and "t", the "t" never exceeds the height of the line and is closed off by its headstroke which has generally a slight inclination. The "x" is connected with the letter preceding it by a long, looped descender generally taken well below the line.

The stem of the long "s" is often quite slender, becoming thinner lower down, and indeed the whole script, particularly as far as the second hand is concerned, has something delicate and wanting in strength about it. On the other hand, we are dealing with experienced scribes; certain unusually long and vigorously curving downstrokes and the wavy headstroke of the "t" show this as well as the tendency to take the writing above the level of the line. Within almost every single word the bottoms of the letters rise above the line. Interestingly enough their tops do not rise to the same extent, so that the letters to the right become slightly smaller and one gets lateral compression. This is more easily noticeable in the first hand (e.g. fol. 1v) than in the second, although it is not altogether lacking in the latter also. Regularly at the end of words, and also in longer words and in some individual letters, the writer seems to be aware of his tendency to leave the line and, by way of correcting it, writes his next letter separately very low down; but from then on he immediately rises again.

If the writing of the Svanhild Gospel Book is compared with other manuscripts from Essen or the neighbouring Werden, one is struck by the fact that it is more pronouncedly fractured and angular. It already shows the first signs of the beginnings of Gothic script. This is particularly so when it is compared with
the *Gospel Book* of Abbess Theophanou,\(^1\) the script of which is much more distinctively rounded. Broken terminals occur much more rarely than round ones. When downstrokes do not end on the line, as is generally the case, they have only slightly broken terminals. The curved terminals themselves are then as a rule very short. The down stroke of the “a” is not always quite vertical and its loop, in proportion to the downstroke, is smaller and more compressed than in the Svanhild manuscript. The “g” is, in the great majority of cases, not yet completely closed. Its loop similarly swings well backwards, but remains on the whole more strongly rounded, almost circular, and is never, as in the Rylands manuscript, closed by a small cross-stroke running straight across it. The “r” has only very rarely a descender, and even then it is only a small one, although it is open at the top, as in the Rylands manuscript.

There are also many similarities which may be noticed. The same uncial forms appear amongst the majuscules: the open “A”; the wide open “V” with its first stroke swinging outwards; the curved and compressed “Q” the tail of which here, too, does not penetrate into the body of the letter; in some cases, also, the same uncial “M” (fol. 154r) side by side with the other “M”—forms which all appear in the Svanhild manuscript. Also, the broadening of the ascenders at the top is, in principle, similar, even if not so fully developed. The “t” following a “c” has the same ascender, with its tendency to turn back over it; after other words it has no ascender. Its headstroke here, too, is similarly wavy.

Some connection between the two manuscripts appears to be not impossible. There would, however, clearly appear to be a not inconsiderable time-gap between them. The time-gap appears to be even larger in the case of the Essen manuscript which is now Düsseldorf MS. D.3, dated by Jammers\(^2\) in the eleventh century—possibly, however, incorrectly, for more probably it dates from the end of the tenth century.

The same is true for the outstanding achievement of the Werden scriptorium of this time, the *Psalter* which is now Berlin

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\(^1\) Chroust, vol. iii, pt. 24, pls. 9 and 10; Humann, pl. 29.
\(^2\) Jammers, pp. 23-29, pls. 10-14.
MS. theol. lat. fol. 358. In this case a difference in quality is also very noticeable.¹ This Psalter, which has been with some caution dated in the second third of the century and the script of which is of a quite extraordinary beauty, has also the same mixed uncial majuscules as in the two Essen manuscripts. It still exhibits, however, a completely rounded script without any indications of a beginning of Gothic fracture. It is a typical example of the so-called "schrägovaler Stil" as it was developed particularly in the south-German writing schools in the second and third quarters of the century.² In the later Werden manuscripts of the turn of the eleventh/twelfth century, the Vita Sancti Liudgeri and the Gospel Book in Chantilly, the process of increasing Gothicization is undoubtedly further advanced than it is in the Svanhild manuscript.³ In them one can find the letters assuming the shapes of Gothic script—with angular, pointed forms, the first stages of diamond-shaped heads, a distinct forking of ascenders, broken terminals on all shafts, a closing of the "r", and the like.

The Gospel Book of Theophanou, who was Abbess from 1039 to 1058, may be assigned for a variety of reasons rather to the end of her period of rule than to the first half of the century. The two Werden manuscripts previously mentioned belong to the period of about or soon after 1100. As the writing of the Svanhild Gospel Book undoubtedly occupies a place half-way between these two, one can, allowing for all the caution which it is necessary to exercise when considering the script of German manuscripts of the eleventh century, conjecture that it must have been executed during that period for which the few historical facts we have regarding the Abbess have been transmitted to us: that is, in the seventies or eighties of the eleventh century. And

within these years, we are inclined to prefer a later rather than an earlier date.

XII. THE DECORATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The artistic decoration of the Svanhild manuscript is that customarily found in illuminated German Gospel Books of the eleventh century: four miniatures of the Evangelists and four coloured and decorated initial pages within frames at the beginning of the four Gospels.

Included is a Majestas Domini (pl. I), not so frequently met with in the Ottonian period as in Carolingian Gospel Books, but nevertheless not unusual. Preceding the Majestas is the dedication miniature, the "frontispiece", as it were, of the manuscript, showing the Mother of God standing and the patronesses kneeling before her (pl. II), which relegates the miniature of the Majestas to second place. Apart from this, the Majestas Domini stands as a "frontispiece" at the beginning of the entire Gospel Book in the same way as the miniatures of the individual evangelists (as depictions of the authors in the classical manner) stand at the beginning of their respective Gospels. There are five arabesque initials in colour at the beginning of the text of the prefaces of Jerome ("Beatissimo papae", fol. Iv and "Plures fuisse", fol. 13v) and of the Gospels of Mark (fol. 60r), Luke (fol. 84v) and John (fol. 139v). The prologue to Matthew (fol. 14v) does not have any particularly outstanding initial. Thirteen very simple Canon Tables drawn in red and brown (fol. 5v-11v) complete the decoration of the manuscript.

On fol. 17r is the dedication miniature (pl. II): within an architectural framework of turrets, in blue, between curtains drawn in red and white and looped high at the sides, and against a green background in which is a blue centre-panel, stands a very large figure of Mary, facing front. Her hands are raised before her breast, orans, palms forward. Over an ankle-length blue undergarment, with folds marked in white in the manner of the period, she wears a rather shorter green robe, with sleeves, in the form of a tunic, striped and edged with silver. Over this is a cloak of reddish-brown edged with gold, the front of which is parted in the middle

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1 See James, op. cit. pl. 148.
and draped over Her raised fore-arms. It is clear from the double outline of the gold edging that the cloak is open at the front for its whole length. Over Her head and shoulders is a blue and white veil, the edges of which across Her forehead and breast are of gold. It frames Her large, pale face with its ivory-white cheeks lightly tinted with red, large black eyes, and tiny red mouth. Behind Her head is a yellow nimbus with a black border in which are white dots. Red shoes, decorated with numerous white dots, complete Her dress, which is identifiable as ecclesiastical by reason of its dalmatic-type tunic and open cloak. The mound on which She stands is formed of acanthus leaves drawn in red and white, the individual leaves being involuted. To the right and left kneel two small female figures identified by their inscriptions as "Svenehild Abb[atissa]" and "Brig[ilt][a]". Their posture is half-way between western kneeling and eastern prostration and consistent with this is the smallness of their figures, which reach only a little higher than Mary’s feet. Both have their hands stretched out, orans, and both are bowed deeply in adoration before Her. They wear identical clothes: over a sleeved robe, without a girdle and reaching to their feet, they have a green veil marked with white which covers the head and falls well down the back. The style of dress corresponds with that of the Abbess Hitda on the dedication page of the Cologne Gospel Book in the Darmstadt Landesbibliothek (MS. 1640) dating from 1000/1020, in which Hitda is depicted in a long bluish-black robe with a veil falling down the back in an identical manner. One cannot assume that in either case the colour of the robes was that actually to be met with in Essen or in Hitda’s Abbey. Rather is this colouring to be explained on grounds of artistic economy, for the same colours which are used for Mary’s robe and cloak are also used, interchanged, for the other figures. Also, the same dark reddish-brown, which is favoured in this manuscript

1 The final “a” is now missing. In the photograph taken by Haseloff at the end of the nineteenth century also one can only read “Brigt”. The “i” between the “g” and “t” was missing originally.
2 Der Darmstädter Hitda-Codex, ut. sup. pl. 4; Bloch-Schnitzler, pl. ix, where Hitda’s robe appears incorrectly as green; for confirmation of the colour in the manuscript itself I am indebted to Mr. Kurt Hans Staub of the Hessische Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt.
3 Schäfer, op. cit. pp. 121 ff.
and which receives its characteristic colour value from the brown and black markings on it, reappears in the colour used for the roofs. The background of the picture within the architectural frame is of a light but nevertheless intense green, in which, behind the figure of Mary, a blue panel has been set. Across this background, in Greek letters, is the Latin inscription:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CXA} & \quad \text{MAPYA} \\
\text{AD.\Pi\Pi\Pi}_{\omega} & \quad \text{\PiPYUM} \\
\text{NATU} & \quad \text{\PhiEP} \\
\text{NPM} & \quad \text{UYP\Gamma_{\omega}} \\
\PiPE & \quad \text{XATU}
\end{align*}
\]

"Sancta Maria, ad proprium Natum, fer nostrum, Virgo, precatum" ("Holy Mary, to Thine own Son, bring, O Virgin, our prayer").¹ The inscription appears in the manuscript almost exactly in the form in which Leibnitz believed it should be emended in the interests of the sense. We have already encountered Greek inscriptions of this kind on many previous occasions in the milieu of the Abbey of Essen, notably in the Lives of the Saints of the Abbess Hadwig.²

All the available information regarding Abbess Svanhild's connection with the Rylands manuscripts has already been brought together and set out above. Brigida can also be identified. Her name appears in the Essen obituary list on the 23 April. She can be more closely placed from an entry in the oldest obituary list of the Chapter of Xanten, written in an eleventh-century hand.³ There, on the same day, is a reference to "Brigida Astnidensium Preposita".⁴ We have no grounds for doubting that the other person depicted with Svanhild is this Brigid who was "praeposita" of Essen. These two high-ranking members of the Abbey are clearly together responsible for this Gospel Book.

Although neither Svanhild nor Brigida is shown handing the

¹ The use of "Natum" for "Son" is common in the Middle Ages. The use of "precatum" for "preces" does not appear to be attested elsewhere.

² Cf. above.

³ Münster i. W. University Library, MS. 209: Josephus Staender, Chirographorum in Regia Bibliotheca Paulina Monasteriensii Catalogus (Breslau, 1889), no. 209.

⁴ Ribbeck, op. cit. pp. 53, 81 n. 2.
volume to the Holy Virgin, nevertheless Mary Herself is depicted
holding it—already received—in Her hands, and even though the
inscription refers neither to its patronesses nor to its execution,
there cannot be any doubt that Svanhild and Brigida only appear
in the dedication miniature because they were the donors of the
manuscript.¹ They do not, indeed, expressly dedicate the volume
to the Virgin, but in the inscription they ask Her to intercede for
them with Her Son because they have, by means of it, brought
to completion a meritorious work. In which particular manner
they were concerned with the volume—whether, as patrons in
the real sense of the word, they had it written and illuminated by
others at their expense, or whether they personally had a hand in
its production—we do not know. Their high rank as Abbess
and "praeposita" seems rather against their having written it
themselves, even assuming that it was in fact written by one of
the ladies in Essen, a matter which has still to be considered.

The form of composition of the dedication picture is an old
one and in principle known already to antiquity.² It derives from
representations of the barbarians paying homage to the Emperor
and bringing him gifts. Christian art knows it first as the picture
of the founder of a church holding a small model of the building
in his hand to present it to Christ or to the patron Saint as a
symbol of the actual church which he had had built. But depic­tions
of the dedication of a book are known as early as the sixth
century and from that time on there exist innumerable re­presentations of the dedication or presentation of a book to some
person in a high position or to a Saint.³

The dedication miniature of the Svanhild manuscript only
corresponds in a very limited way to the usual form of dedication
picture found in manuscript illumination, for as a rule this depicts
the dedication of the book by showing the writer or patron actu-

¹ Cf. Eva Lachner, "Devotionsbild", in Realexikon der Deutschen Kunst­geschichte, iii (Stuttgart, 1952), cols. 1367-73.
² Prochno, op. cit.; Peter Bloch, "Zum Dedikationsbild im Lob des Kreuzes
des Hrabanus Maurus" in Das Erste Jahrtausend, ed. Victor Elbern, Text vol. i
(Düsseldorf, 1962), 471-94; ibid. "Dedikationsbild", in Lexikon der Christlichen
³ Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. med-graec. 1 (Dioskurides
manuscript), cf. Bloch, op. cit. pp. 474-5, Fig. 5.
ally handing it to the Saint in question or to Christ. Never­
theless, miniatures do in fact exist in which the actual handing
over of the volume is not shown, the patron being depicted in
adoration before the Saint and almost always kneeling at his feet.
Cames\(^1\) has already cited an instance of this—the second dedica­
tion miniature in the Byzantine Bible of Leo the Patrician (Bibl.
Vat., MS. Reg. graec. 1, fol. 3\(^r\)) : there two men, Macar and
Constantine, lie at the feet of St. Nicholas, who is standing.
Examples may also be cited from Ottonian illumination in which
the kneeling patron or writer is depicted without any handing
over of the volume; as far as Cologne illumination is concerned
we may mention the Lectionary of Archbishop Evergerus\(^2\) and
the Gundold Gospel Book,\(^3\) an Echternach manuscript of c. 1020,\(^4\)
the Sacramentary of Bishop Ellenhard of Friesing\(^5\) and a Regens­
burg manuscript of the end of the century.\(^6\) The Echternach
Codex Aureus in the Escorial occupies a half-way position;\(^7\)
here the Emperor Henry III presents to the enthroned Mother
of God, the patron of the Cathedral at Speyer, the Gospel Book
intended for that Cathedral. Mary receives it with Her right
Hand, laying Her left, in an attitude of blessing, on the head of
the Empress Agnes, who reverently approaches Her, bowing
deeply. In the first dedication miniature of this manuscript, on
a facing page, the Emperor Konrad II and the Empress Gisela kneel
at the feet of the enthroned Christ; they do not hold any book.

Apart from manuscript illumination, it is particularly in
products of the goldsmiths' craft that the purely devotional

\(^{1}\) Cames, op. cit. Fig. 97; Miniature della Bibbia cod. Vat. Regina Gr. 1 e del
Salterio cod. Vat. Palat. Gr. 381 (=Collezione Paleografica Vaticana Facs., 1),
Milan, 1905.
\(^{2}\) Cologne, Cathedral Treasury, MS. Col. Metr. 143, fol. 3\(^v\)-4\(^r\) (Cologne,
984-99); Bloch-Schnitzler, pl. II.
\(^{3}\) Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek MS. Bibl. 4\(^o\).2. (Cologne, 1020-40); Bloch­
Schnitzler, pl. 219.
\(^{4}\) Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek cod. 1946, fol. 18\(^v\).
\(^{5}\) Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Lit. 2, fol. 2\(^v\); E. F. Bange, Eine
Bayerische Malerschule des XI und XII Jh. (Munich, 1923), pl. 24, fig. 62.
\(^{6}\) Cracow, Cathedral Library MS. 208, fol. 3\(^r\) (Regensburg, c. 1090[?]);
Prochno, op. cit. no. 96, with plate.
\(^{7}\) Escorial, Cod. Vitr. 17, fol. 3\(^r\) and 2\(^v\), from Speyer Cathedral (Echternach,
1043-5); Albert Boeckler, Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III (Berlin,
1933), pls. 7 and 6.
representation—rather than one showing the dedication of the object concerned—appears to occur more frequently. But both forms, as the Echternach manuscript shows, are interchangeable and do not differ as far as their actual significance is concerned. The nearest parallels to the Svanhild manuscript are, in fact, to be found in goldsmiths' work, and, as far as the composition is concerned, the representations of the donors on the Golden Altar at Basle, stands particularly close to it. This Altar, now in the Musée de Cluny in Paris, has recently, and quite correctly, been associated with the art of Fulda. On it are shown the small figures, bowing deeply, of the Emperor Henry II and the Empress Kunigunde, *orans* and with outstretched arms, at the feet of the standing Christ. The arrangement of the figures is the same as that in the Essen miniature. Nearest of all to the Svanhild manuscript in this respect are the engraved figures on the back of the gilded Herimann Cross in the archiepiscopal Dioezesan-Museum in Cologne: the patrons Archbishop Herimann of Cologne (1036-56) and the Abbess Ida of St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne (between 1027 and 1060)—incidentally, the brother and sister of Theophanou, Abbess of Essen—are shown as tiny figures in a half-kneeling position, as in the Essen manuscript, at the feet of a huge, standing figure of Mary, without the Child, Who, also as in the Essen miniature, holds Her hands *orans* before Her breast. The gift which is being made, the Cross, is likewise not depicted here.

The representation of Mary on the dedication page of the Svanhild manuscript is in many respects unusual. In general, non-narrative depictions of Mary in early art are not frequent and representations of Her standing are even rarer than those in which She is shown enthroned. In so far as they appear at all,

1 Tilmann Buddensieg, "Die Basler Altartafel Heinrichs II", in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xix (Cologne, 1957), 133-92, figs. 79 ff.
they generally follow the Byzantine type of the Hodegetria, such as occurs particularly in the Romanos group of ivories. Mary carries the Child on Her arms, held high up against Her shoulder; She wears a *palla*, the long cloak of a matron in classical times, which is drawn over Her head and which either covers the whole body and falls down to the feet or is partly lifted at the front by Her raised arm. In this form Mary appears on the back-cover of the *Gospel Book* of Bernward at Hildesheim. The same type is also embodied in the single, standing figure of Mary found in early Cologne manuscript illumination.

The Virgin of the Svanhild *Gospel Book* differs from other depictions of Mary in western and particularly Byzantine art in two respects: by reason of Her dress, and as a type of Mary *orans*, an interceding Mary, Who does not bear the Child in Her arms.

The tunic (that is to say, the long, shirt-like robe with ornamental, perpendicular stripes, which was worn over another undergarment), the cloak open at the front, and the short veil are quite unknown to Byzantine art. Singly or even together they are found occasionally in western art, and more frequently the short, loose veil over the head. Thus, the figure of Mary in the dedication miniature in the *Vita Sancti Liudgeri*, which comes from the Abbey of Werden, wears what is apparently a loose, white veil (under a crown). Certain other examples could also

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2 Hildesheim, Domschatz, cod. 18 (Hildesheim, 933-1022); Francis J. Tschan, *Saint Bernard of Hildesheim*, vol. iii (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1952), pl. 106; Franke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachtseinband im frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1965), no. 66, pl. 92.
3 *Gospel Book* from St. Maria Lyskirchen (Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum), Cologne, c. 1020, being a copy of a manuscript which was burned when the Library at Strasbour was destroyed in 1870. Unfortunately only four drawings of this earlier manuscript are extant; Mary is not included amongst them. Cf. Hermann Schnitzler, "Zum Spästitel der ottonischen Kölner Malerei", in *Festschrift Hans Hahnloser* (Basel, 1961), pp. 207-22. On the *Gospel Book* from St. Maria in Lyskirchen see Bloch-Schnitzler, pl. xx.
be cited. The tunic appears particularly in manuscript illustration from Fulda; in a manuscript of the lives of Saints Kilian and Margaret the enthroned Mother of God likewise wears a tunic under her cloak, as do both of the crowned female Saints with her. Mary also wears a tunic under the cloak and a short, white veil in a miniature from Stavelot to be discussed later.

The cloak open at the front, however, is very rare. Typically, Mary, when depicted standing and without the Child, as in Byzantine art, wears a simple, long undergarment and a round cloak, not open at the front, which could only be lifted at the sides when the arms were raised. Generally, too, She wore this cloak drawn over Her head, as, for example, in the dedication miniature in the Gospel Lectionary of King Henry II (1012-14) from the Abbey of Seeon, in which Mary, as the recipient of the volume, steps forward, as it were, to meet the King. Alongside this there is the cloak which, in the male fashion, is thrown over the left shoulder like the classical pallium; this is found particularly in Fulda manuscript illumination. Tunic and open cloak occur occasionally in representations of the Assumption, as in the Tuotila ivory from St. Gall, although there the cloak is flung back. In the very unusual representation of Mary in the Ottonian Antiphonary from the Abbey of Prüm in the Rheinland, which shows Her enthroned on the terrestrial globe and within a star-filled mandorla, She wears a white cloak open at the front

1 Hanover, Niedersächsische Staatsbibliothek, MS. 189, fol. 11v (Fulda, end of tenth century); Das Erste Jahrtausend, ed. Elbern, vol. of plates (Düsseldorf, 1962), pl. 434.
2 See below n. 6, p. 379.
3 Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Bibl. 95, fols. 7v-8v; Percy E. Schramm and Florentine Mutherich, Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser (Munich, 1962), no. 115, with plate.
4 "Vita Stae. Margaretae et Sti. Kiliani", Hanover, MS. 189 (see above n. 1) or also on the dedication page of the missing manuscript of the Essen Abbess Hadwig (cf. Rensing, op. cit.).
5 St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 53 (end of ninth or beginning of tenth century); Goldschmidt, op. cit. i (Berlin, 1914), no. 163a.
and placed over Her head and shoulders like a veil, although this also completely covers Her body.

Just as the tunic is derived from the dalmatic,¹ so the cloak open at the front calls to mind the pluvial worn by ecclesiastics. According to Braun² the pluvial has its origin in the copes of monks and members of religious orders, who wore them as ceremonial robes during Divine Office. The cope (originally a cloak, either open or not, with a cowl, and having its origin in the Roman paenula) was in the eleventh century always open at the front and generally had, apparently, no longer a cowl.³ A cope of this kind, together with a loose, white veil, with gold ornamentation, was worn also by canonesses in early times at Divine Office recited in the choir.⁴ That Mary is here shown wearing a cope and short veil like a canoness, together with the semi-ecclesiastical garment the tunica, seems hardly fortuitous when one considers that in this Gospel Book she is represented at one and the same time as the patron-saint of the church of Essen and the embodiment of the Abbey there.

The painting of Mary orans is well-known in Byzantine art.⁵ In western art it is almost completely unknown. It is to be found (like the open cloak) in depictions of the Assumption and as the obvious way in which to express the Virgin aspiring upwards towards Heaven (the Tuotilo ivory and the Prüm Antiphonary). As a non-narrative representation the depiction in the Collectarium from the Abbey of Stavelot⁶ appears to be the sole example in western manuscript illumination. The picture is divided into two: in the upper half stands Mary, orans, Her hands upraised, without the Child, near Her to right and left being the principal saints of the Abbey; in the lower half may be seen the Abbot of Stavelot with the monks of his Abbey. The Mary

¹ Joseph Braun, Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik (Freiburg i. B., 1907), p. 302.
³ Ibid. p. 318.
⁴ Schäfer, op. cit. pp. 121 ff.
orans from the depiction of the donor on the Herimann cross has already been mentioned.

Immediately on looking at the dedication miniature in the Svanhild manuscript one is struck by the surprising lack of connection between Mary and the two ladies at Her feet. They neither hand Her the volume, nor does Mary turn graciously towards them. Rather does she seem to turn away from them. And yet the inscription states that She is to convey the prayers of the ladies to Her Son. Ought not this, too, to have been represented?—Mary praying to Her Son for those kneeling at Her feet? The art historian is reminded in this connection of one of the most frequent types of dedication picture, in which Christ is not the direct recipient of the volume, the so-called "intercession-type".¹ Here the donor turns in adoration, or with his gift, to Mary or to a Saint, who then commend him to Christ—which in many manuscripts may result in a series of dedication miniatures arranged to follow one another, although generally the whole is brought together in a single picture. In the dedication miniature in the Svanhild manuscript the idea of intercession is given expression in the inscription only. It is conveyed in the picture itself merely in so far as Mary is shown—as a suppliant—interceding. From this it appears significant that She does not turn graciously towards the two ladies, as if answering their prayers, but is Herself praying. It should also be remembered that Mary is seldom shown as the object of adoration in miniatures of the Ottonian period depicting the patron. Clearly we are dealing here with a transitional stage. We should not be far wrong in assuming that ultimately there lies behind the Essen miniature a composition in which above the interceding figure of Mary could be seen the figure of Christ, to Whom She, in prayer, commended the two who were prostrate at Her feet. The concept of intercession in this form is clearly typified in the Byzantine Bible of Leo the Patrician,² in which Mary, standing, with the one

² Bibl. Vat., MS. Reg. graec. 1, fol. 2v (c. 900). On the literature see n. 1, p. 375 above and Jean Ebersolt, La miniature byzantine (Paris and Brussels, 1962), pl. 27.
hand accepts the volume from the kneeling Leo and with the other points to Christ Who is partly visible in Heaven. A greater artist has, in another style and another spirit, depicted there what is also inherent in the Essen miniature. And one suddenly understands why the Essen artist elected to depict the figure of Mary orans, which is so unusual in the West, and particularly why he shows Her without the Child in Her arms, in itself in the highest degree surprising as far as the West is concerned.¹ Even the ecclesiastical garments² and the adoption of a formula which is usual in depictions of the Assumption now become explicable—they were specifically intended to symbolize the turning of Mary to Her Son in Heaven above Her when She interceded with Him for the patronesses at Her feet.

Unfortunately we do not know the intermediary stages between the Byzantine composition and that of Essen. The Herimann Cross, which may have come from the same milieu from which the model for the Essen manuscript came, is already as far removed from the original Byzantine composition as is the Svanhild manuscript.

That the gap was a wide one is shown by the fact that the garments worn by Mary do not show any Byzantine characteristics. The majestic, hierarchic frontality of the figure, which appeared to Clemen to be definitely a Byzantine characteristic of this miniature, is, in fact, not itself alien to Ottonian art, as is shown by the Basle Antependium and the Cross of Herimann. Moreover, in this respect much in the Svanhild manuscript may have been determined by the limited understanding shown by its artist for the human body and its organic movement; but it is precisely that which sets the Essen miniaturist apart from Byzantine art of the tenth and eleventh century. Hardly any stylistic connections with Byzantine art are to be noticed. Such iconographic elements as have their roots in Byzantine art were probably all already established in Ottonian art when the

¹ How unusual this was is shown by the erroneous assumption of all historians of the Baroque period who, in their descriptions, regularly refer to a Child being in Mary’s arms.

² Priestly clothing is, clearly, particularly associated with depictions of Mary orans, as is shown by the decorated, chasuble-like cloak of Mary in the Stavelot Collectarum.
Svanhild manuscript was executed. On the other hand, the influence of the art of Fulda, which was so abundantly represented in Essen, appears to have been not without its influence: compare the position of the hands of the two patronesses in the Svanhild Gospel Book with that of the two crowned saints in the Fulda Vita manuscript in Hanover.

Architectural illustrations of this type were also familiar to the art of the eleventh century; for example, in numerous Echternach manuscripts of the late eleventh century, in which are to be found open-topped, four-cornered towers of the kind which appear at the head of the Svanhild page. And by this time dedication miniatures often already have a larger architectural border. Particularly favoured is the placing of the dedication scene in a church interior, the church being not infrequently assumed to be the monastery or cathedral of the person concerned. Whether or not the Essen illuminator intended to depict the Minster at Essen we do not know, because he has not, as frequently happened, given any indication of this by means of an inscription. Architectural illustrations in pre-Romanesque art are often difficult to interpret. At any rate, in the time of Svanhild the Minster at Essen had a massive west front with two round side-towers; the centre group of three on the roof in the Svanhild miniature could well have been intended for this west front. The large side-towers there with the round windows could likewise have been meant for the round side-towers of the west front and the centre group on the roof for the choir of the church. This can, of course, not be proved, but the frequency with which the patron's own church is depicted in such miniatures favours such an assumption.

On the verso of the same folio (17v) is the miniature of the Majestas Domini (pl. I). With its series of graduated reds and

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1 E.g. St. Bernard's Gospel, Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury, cod. 18, Tschan, op. cit. Pls. 57-58, the Hillinus Gospel Book in the Cologne Cathedral Treasury (Schnitzler, Schatzkammer, i, Pl. 57), or the Echternach Codex Aureus in the Escorial (sup. n. 7, p. 375, and many other examples).


3 In neighbouring Werden the formalized architecture (in itself hardly capable of identification) on the dedication page of the Vita Sancti Liudgeri (see above p. 377, n. 4) is identified as "Werthina" (=Werden).
Abbess Svanhild: Evangelia, 11th cent.

Majestas Domini
Abbess Svanhild: Evangelia, 11th cent.
The Virgin with Svanhild and Brígida
its fine and delicately shaded painting of the face of Our Lord, this is the most beautiful and, in terms of colour values, the richest miniature in the whole manuscript, so much so that one forgets its quite crude and primitive drawing.

A broad border surrounds the miniature. Between the outer gold edging of this border and its inner silver one, both narrow, the background is black, strewn with white dots. Small, gently curving shapes, circular in form, are placed on this black ground, being red on the inside and bright green on the outside and growing paler in colour towards the edges until they become white; in the lower horizontal frame of the border, and here only, these colours are interchanged. At the sides, these plate-like shapes are bent inwards, so that one can see their green undersides, the red inner surface still remaining visible at the top and bottom. The effect of this is to give a feeling of depth. Where these shapes meet at the four corners of the frame, they are sharply cut off. Only in the lower left-hand corner—due to the interchange in colour mentioned above—is a pleasing and harmonious juxtaposition achieved.

The background of the miniature itself is of a bright blue. The edges of the mandorla and of the rainbow on which Our Lord sits are in striking contrast to this: both have an inner edging of silver and an outer one of gold, and from the former develops the coloured aureole of light of the mandorla, passing from a deep but clear red through successive gradations of lighter red to a radiant white. This red is without any admixture of yellow, but is nevertheless bright and clear and, in colour value, cool. At its best it may be described as salmon-pink or as being reminiscent of the colour of flamingos. The different tones of red do not uninterruptedly shade into one another but, in a very characteristic manner, a line of darker red marks the end of each tone, dividing it from the lighter tone next to it. By this means a loss of distinction between the various shades is avoided and a great intensity in the luminosity of the colour achieved. The cross in the gold nimbus of Christ also shares in this gradation of colour from red to white.

On the rainbow Christ sits enthroned wearing a white undergarment with silver clavi and a reddish-brown pallium—the same
reddish-brown we have already encountered on the cloak of Mary, the garments of the patronesses, and the roof in the architectural framework. The deep claret colour here, however, is both given an even darker appearance by reason of the dark-brown and black drawing on it, indicating the folds of the garment, and at the same time relieved by being outlined in orange. The brownish hair of the head and beard of Our Lord contrasts with His white face, the cheeks of which, from the beard outwards, are faintly tinged with red. A strong white light falls on the bridge of the nose, over the eyebrows, and on the ears. This delicate colouring, which can only fully be appreciated in the original, lends to the countenance of Christ an expression of quite singular mildness and gentleness. It bespeaks a tender and gentle aesthetic ideal which is quite foreign to Ottonian art, at least in the major works of its early period, although it may be seen occasionally towards the end of the eleventh century, but rarely so pronouncedly as here.

The four evangelical symbols in white—the Man and the Ox with outlinings in red and the Lion and the Eagle more noticeably grey in colour—surround the mandorla. Both the lower animals (the Lion and Ox) appear to support the mandorla with their wings. All four have their bodies turned outwards, away from the mandorla, but their heads turned round looking at Christ.

This type of Majestas Domini is well known. The evangelical symbols looking backwards in this way are frequently met with in Ottonian illustrations from Cologne and also in various Carolingian schools. But the examples from Cologne generally show a different mandorla, shaped like a figure eight. Further, Christ does not grasp the book resting on his left thigh from above, as in the Essen miniature. Even more rarely, it would seem, does He hold His right hand, raised in blessing, not away from His body but within its outline, in front of the breast. This, too, fits in with the impression of gentleness given by the Essen miniature, contrasting with the vehement gestures in depictions of Christ from Cologne. There are certain similarities between the Essen Christ and that in the Gospel Book of Guntbald dating from 1011,¹ which appear to have affinities with the art of

¹ Hildesheim, Cathedral Treasury, cod. 33, fol. 21⁵; Tschan, op. cit. iii. pl. 18.
Fulda. The nearest parallel, however, is to be found in the major achievement of Werden manuscript illumination, the Psalter which is now Berlin MS. theol. lat. fol. 358, fol. 74v. 1 The evangelical symbols are lacking in this small Majestas miniature, but both the gesture of blessing and the holding of the book on the left knee correspond. The similarities extend even down to details in the modelling of the clothing, such as the way in which the tubular-shaped folds of the undergarment fall away at the sides. Moreover, there is to be seen in the Werden Psalter that preference for the same reddish-brown which is found in the robe of Christ in the Manchester codex, and the same characteristic manner of giving a greater intensity to the red by using brown-, black-, and orange-coloured hues on it. 2 The fine painting of the face and the delicate gradation of colours in the framework of the mandorla do not, it must be admitted, occur to the same extent in the Werden manuscript. In its drawing, too, and in the types of decoration available to it, the Psalter shows itself to be dependent on various other traditions.

In the Manchester Gospel Book the Majestas Domini faces the miniature of the evangelist Matthew (fol. 18r). The broad frame of the latter is quite unrelated to the frame around the Majestas miniature, as if the illuminator of the Svanhild manuscript were not concerned about matters of this kind in the artistic lay-out of his volume. Like the other evangelists, Matthew is shown without his symbol. 3 All the evangelists are depicted as being occupied with the writing of their Gospels, which lie in the form of a book on a tall desk standing near them, to the right. Their thrones are without backs and covered with cushions; steps lead up to them. Coloured nimbi surrounding their heads. Their stiffly-erect bodies are unusually

2 Particularly in the Christ on fol. 64v and also in the picture of David on fol. 1v of the Psalter.
3 Ottonian manuscript illumination from Cologne, too, does not, as a rule, have the evangelical symbols in the miniatures of the evangelists. Cf. Bloch-Schnitzler.
long and narrow; in Matthew and Mark particularly, the legs are exceptionally long. These proportions differentiate them completely from the evangelists depicted in Ottonian manuscript illumination from Cologne. All four miniatures of the evangelists here have, like the Majestas Domini, a broad border which is framed on the outside with an edging in gold and on the inside with one in silver. In between is a variety of ornamental forms designed to give an impression of depth, particularly in the borders framing the first three evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke.

The background of the miniatures of the evangelists is, like that of the dedication miniature, green; this green only provides a framework for an inner oblong panel of bright blue which itself forms the background for the evangelist, as in the case of Mary in the dedication miniature. The figures of the evangelists, however, extend on all sides beyond the edges of this blue panel, although without encroaching on the outer ornamental border. From this it is clear that it would not be correct to regard the green as serving merely as a border for the blue field and consequently to consider the latter as providing the real background of the miniature. Rather does this blue oblong, as an ornamental panel within the body of the miniature, form only part of the general scheme for the background as a whole—a motif which is otherwise not common in the eleventh century, but quite typical in manuscript illumination (as also in the art of the goldsmith) in the twelfth century.\(^1\) The green in the Matthew miniature is of a light and unpleasing shade, quite unlike the dark, intense moss-green in the miniatures of the other evangelists, which is also typical of the manuscript as a whole. It may possibly be only a ground-coat on top of which it was intended to lay a second colour. As far as the application of colour is concerned, the miniature of Matthew seems to be incomplete in other respects also. The evangelist’s *pallium* is,

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\(^1\) Nordenfalk (in André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Die romanische Malerei vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Geneva, 1958), p. 186, cf. plate on p. 191) notes that the opening miniature (fol. 2r) of the Bible from St. Castor in Coblenz, showing the Majestas Domini and probably dating from before 1077, is the oldest example of a miniature with a bluish-green rectangle in the background.
essentially, left white, with only small, red lines to indicate its folds, and the undergarment is tinted light grey. The zig-zag band in the border, which gives a strong impression of depth, is in a bright, fiery red allied with a dirty yellow and white; the ground is filled in with grey. This crude and far from beautiful colouring stands in the greatest contrast to the Majestas miniature and to the other miniatures in the manuscript.

St. Matthew is shown in three-quarters view. Turned towards the right, he has his hands resting on the book, which lies on a desk almost at the height of his face. With his right hand he appears to be writing in the margin of the book and with the knife, in his left hand, he presses downwards on the page. As a type the evangelist Mark (fol. 63r) is very similar to him, save that Mark has his right leg, which is outstretched, crossed over his left, whereas Matthew has both legs parallel to one another and resting on a suppedaneum. Mark grasps with his right hand the desk on which the closed book rests, its cover adorned with precious stones. In his left hand he holds his pen; clearly he has completed his work. His undergarment is grey, his overgarment white. Contrasting with the fine moss-green of the background is the blue panel in the centre and the characteristically warm reddish-brown of the border, on the background of which is placed a lozenge-shaped pattern conveying an impression of depth. The lozenges are light red at the base, where they rest on the background, and white at the top. Within them and in the triangular spaces at the sides of the border are small rosettes of white dots. This miniature, with its light rose-red, warm reddish-brown, moss-green, and blue, repeats the colour-scheme of the Majestas page.

Both evangelists, Matthew and Mark, follow a type which is widespread in Ottonian and Carolingian manuscript illumination. Even the two variations which appear here in the positioning of the legs may be seen in innumerable other instances, as, for example, on the Majestas page of the Gospel Book of the Master of the Registrum Gregorii, from the Sainte Chapelle, although with the pronouncedly bent back which is typical of this Master,
a motif which goes back to the art of Rheims in the ninth century. The numerous Echternach manuscripts of the eleventh century which are dependent on the Gregorian Master also repeat these evangelist types in several instances. In contrast, Luke and John are shown as frontal figures in the Manchester manuscript.

Luke (fol. 91r) is seated on a throne high above white- and rose-coloured steps, which are right in the centre of his miniature. With one hand he holds, to the left, the book on a high desk, and in his right hand is his pen which he dips into an inkwell which, with another inkwell, stands on a small shelf-like desk on the left-hand side of the border. His head, with its characteristic light brown hair, he inclines to one side. He is the only youthful evangelist; the three others are depicted as old men with white hair and long beards. This inclination of the head, which in its gentle sideways movement continues the line of the pallium, evokes again the same mood of quiet gentleness and mildness which we have already met with several times in this manuscript. As regards colour, the miniature is composed entirely of the typical reddish-brown, heightened with black and orange, the moss-green of the border, and the steel-blue of the background. A weaker element in the colour-scheme, but one important for the general impression of softness, is that the steps of the throne are salmon-pink and white. This colouring is continued in the rose and white triangular band which, over light grey leaves, fills the outer border and gives it an impression of depth. The type of frontal evangelist with arms outstretched on each side, one hand holding the book lying on the desk and the other dipping his pen into an inkwell, which likewise stands on a desk on the other side, is rarely encountered in Ottonian art, but it appears in the Ada-group, of the court school of Charlemagne, and its Ottonian copies, such as the Codex Wittekindeus from Fulda.

1 James, op. cit. pl. 147; Heinrich Ehl, Die ottonische Kölner Buchmalerei (Bonn, 1922), fig. 98.
3 (East-) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS. theol. lat. fol. 1, 14v (Fulda, c. 975) : Albert Boeckler, Der Codex Wittekindeus (Leipzig, 1938), pl. xviii. The scribe
The last evangelist, John (fol. 141v), sits, like St. Luke, in the centre of his picture, but, unlike him, does not have his arms outstretched on both sides. His left hand rests on the closed book on a desk near him. His right arm is bent and his head rests on his right hand. This conveys an impression of meditation. Evangelists with their heads supported on their hands are, of course, not rare, although almost always they are shown in profile or in three-quarters view, with only the face turned towards the observer. Frontal figures as such with a supporting arm are very rare. There is, however, an example in the manuscript of the Master of the Registrum Gregorii in the Rylands Library, in one of the small evangelists shown in the corner medallions of the Incipit page to the Gospel of St. John. It occurs in the same place in the Cologne Gospel Book which was copied from the Rylands Manuscript, but it is no longer to be found in later Cologne manuscripts, which otherwise follow this manuscript. The evangelist of the Gregorian Master sits completely facing the front and supports his head, which is inclined to the left, on his hand. His other hand lies idly on his knee, while in the Essen manuscript it is shown reaching out for the book. This could, of course, easily be a variation made by the Essen illuminator, the purpose being to make the figure of St. John conform to that of the other evangelists. The formula of the Gregorian Master is more filled with meaning: the idle hand of the Vita of St. Margaret, already mentioned several times above (see p. 378, follows this type on the dedication page. Cf. Albert Boeckler, "Evangelistenbilder der Ada-Gruppe", in Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, ser. 3, vols. 3-4 (Munich, 1952-53), pp. 121-44 and particularly p. 127, n. 11; E. Rosenbaum, "Evangelist Portraits of the Ada School", in Art Bulletin, xxxviii (1956), 81-90.

1 Ehl, op. cit. fig. 99.
2 On this type see Albert Mathias Friend, jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts", in Art Studies, v (Cambridge, 1927), 115-47, particularly pp. 143 ff.
3 Rylands Latin MS. 98, fol. 153v: Brigitte Nitschke, Die Handschriftengruppe um den Meister des Registrum Gregorii (Recklinghausen, 1966), Fig. 31. On the Master of the Registrum Gregorii see Carl Nordenfalk, "Der Meister des Registrum Gregorii" in Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, ser. 3, i (Munich, 1950), 61-77.
4 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek MS. Bibl. fol. 21, fol. 156v (Cologne, 1050-67); Bloch-Schnitzler, no. XIV, pl. XXI.
resting on the knee is more appropriate to deep meditation (indicated by the head being supported on his other hand) than is the, as it were, dreamy way in which the Essen evangelist is shown reaching out for the book. We presumably have before us in the Essen miniature a variation of the original conception.

The framework around the miniature of St. John does not give any impression of depth, but is filled with large, single leaves which in the vertical frames, top and bottom, are arranged in the form of palmettes. Around all four sides colours of moss-green and pale-red alternate, the pallium of the evangelist and the background of the miniature being also moss-green and contrasting, as before, with the steel-blue panel in the centre. The steps of the throne, as in the case of Luke, are white and rose-red. The whole miniature is dominated by the contrast between the pale-red and the moss-green. The studied delicacy and refinement of these few colours produces an impression of softness of a quite singular character, such as one has not elsewhere encountered in the eleventh century.

The four decorated pages preceding each of the Gospels (fols. 18v, 63v, 91v, 142r) are on purple backgrounds and generally on the versos of the miniatures of the evangelists. Only the “In principio” page of John faces his miniature. And even here it is only the decoration of the border which bears any relation to the miniature, in that both borders are filled with foliage; the actual motifs are different. These four decorated pages have, like the miniatures of the evangelists, a broad framework edged with gold and silver, filled, however, not with patterns designed to give an impression of depth but with foliage, mostly in moss-green or salmon-pink and also, occasionally, in moss-green with purple and orange edging. Only on the “Liber Generationis” page are the same crude green and red found which occur in the miniature of the evangelist to which it belongs. This “Liber Generationis” page and the “Quoniam” page have, against a purple background, a large interlaced, decorated initial in gold filled with silver arabesques on which large, trumpet-shaped white flowers grow. The ground between the arabesques is filled with blue, strewn with white dots. The “L” on the “Liber Generationis” page is laid directly against the purple on a back-
ground of clear green. The two other decorated initials, to
Mark and John, are similar to one another: a narrow, half-blue,
half-green panel is set into the purple background and within
this is the "I", decorated with gold and silver arabesques on
which grow white and red flowers, star-shaped and trumpet-
shaped.

In character with the initials on these decorated pages are the
five small initials at the beginning of the Prefaces and Prologues
to the Gospels, in gold and silver arabesques with large, trumpet-
shaped flowers. The gold and silver are not always sufficiently
differentiated from one another; one gets the impression that the
scriptorium had no experience at all in the use of metals.

The "L" of the "Liber Generationis" page is found also
in Cologne manuscript illumination, filled with more intricate
arabesques; these, however, develop from beneath the hori­
zontal stroke of the "L", while those in the Manchester
volume spring from behind a buckle-shaped ornament in the
centre of the vertical stroke. The typical trumpet-shaped
flowers are also lacking in Cologne illumination, the arabesques
there generally being without flowers. Exact parallels, too, are
lacking for the "Quoniam" page. The marginal bands giving
a strong impression of depth, so typical of the Essen manuscript,
are also not to be found in Cologne manuscript illumination,
although they occur in manuscripts from Lower Saxony of the
end of the eleventh century, such as the Gospel Book which is
now MS. 138 of Trier Cathedral Library. But such motifs are
so widespread that one cannot base any conclusions on them.
The large softly-coloured flowers in the gold and silver ara-
besques also occur on the "Initium" page of Matthew's Gospel
in the Theophanou Gospel Book in Essen and there, too, are
found occasionally both the decoration of the ground with white
dots and the marginal bands giving an impression of depth. But

1 James, op. cit. Pl. 148 (= fol. 139v).
2 Only in the Gerresheim Gospel Book (Bloch-Schnitzler, no. IX, pl. 244)
does it come from the middle of the horizontal stroke; but it is in general
differently formed from that in the Essen manuscript.
3 Cathedral Treasury MS. 64 (Helmarhausen, c. 1100), Kunst und Kultur
im Weserraum, 800-1600 = Cat. of the Exhibition at Corvey, 1966, no. 179.
4 Fol. 11r; Humann, pl. 28.
the themes and structure of the decorated pages in this manuscript are so different from those in the Svanhild Gospel Book and so isolated in German art history that any comparison based on details so incidental cannot safely be carried any further.

The Canon Tables are executed in brown and red pen-drawing without the use of either colouring or gold. Across the tops of the plain, undecorated pillars, which are joined by curved arches, stretch large, semi-circular arches, which span the entire arcing on each page. Sometimes all the pillars on one page are joined together by curved arches which intersect in several places. A large arch, which joins the two outer pillars, spans all the smaller ones. The capitals are formed of leaves and, occasionally, of the heads of men and dogs. A running lion with its head turned, looking backwards, compressed between the weight of the coping and the arch, also serves as a capital. This is an indication that the sources of these Canon Tables lie in Mosan art, where the last-named motif in particular is to be found in Stavelot manuscript illumination of the eleventh century.¹ Similar designs also occur in Echternach.

When all these various features are considered together, one is driven to the conclusion that, stylistically, the Svanhild manuscript is isolated. Exact correspondences elsewhere cannot be found. Apart from the details already mentioned above, there is no connection with the Gospel Book in the Essen Minster Treasury executed for the Abbess Theophanou. On the contrary, this manuscript is entirely indebted to the Mosan “Schichtenfalt-stil”, and of this there is no trace at all in the Svanhild manuscript. Admittedly no one has so far succeeded in explaining the stylistic and other ideas behind the Theophanou manuscript.

The Svanhild codex can not be fitted into Cologne manuscript illumination. As far as any points of contact may be said to exist, they are entirely general in nature, specific correspondences which might indicate a connection with that school being completely lacking. The twenty illuminated manuscripts which

¹ Cf. e.g. the Gospel Book in the Chester Beatty collection, Dublin MS. 17, fols. 8r-15v (c. A.D. 1000) or the Stavelot Bible (London, B.M., Add. MS. 28,107, fols. 138r-141r (before 1097)). Both manuscripts are unpublished.
have survived from the period 984 to 1120\(^1\) maintain, throughout all the stylistic variations which time produced in their iconography and in their basic stylistic features, such a unity during the whole of the eleventh century that no place amongst them can be found for the Svanhild Gospel Book. Manuscripts such as the Gospel Book from Gerresheim near Düsseldorf\(^2\) may, indeed, with their provincial features, hold an exceptional position, so that one may conceive of them as having had their origin in the wider area around Cologne, and perhaps even on the Lower Rhine. Nevertheless, when compared with the Svanhild Gospel Book, all these 'Cologne' manuscripts form a closed circle. The style of the Manchester codex cannot be explained by reference either to the strict tradition of the Cologne school of Ottonian manuscript illumination or to that of any neighbouring school. The same is true as regards artistic work from Cologne in other genres. However similar the iconographic formulae for the depiction of the patrons on the Herimann Cross and on the dedication page of the Svanhild Gospel Book may be, there is no common stylistic correspondence between these two works of art.

As far as the so-called "Romanesque" character of its miniatures is concerned, and the supposed contacts with Cologne manuscripts of the twelfth century—these attributions have undoubtedly been based on misguided impressions taken from the photographs available since the Düsseldorf exhibition of 1904. For these black-and-white reproductions emphasize to a greater degree than is actually the case the graphic elements in the manuscript's style. It is precisely its most typical elements which are conveyed least effectively in the general impression which the photographs produce—namely, the soft, tender and, in places, surprisingly delicately graduated colouring. From the photographs it is the crude, black outline which appears to be the manuscript's most outstanding stylistic feature. This no doubt explains why many writers on Cologne outline drawings of the twelfth century were misled into calling to mind the similarly elongated proportions which are to be found in manuscripts such

\(^{1}\) Bloch-Schnitzler, op. cit.  
\(^{2}\) lb. i, no. IX, pls. xiii-xiv and 236-59.
as the Cologne *Bede* in Leipzig\(^1\) or in associated volumes. Actually, however, these very proportions set the Svanhild codex apart from that Cologne manuscript illumination of the eleventh century with which alone it is possible to compare it. That figures in twelfth-century Cologne manuscripts have similar proportions can only be of interest for the question as to whether the Svanhild codex, or manuscripts (now lost) related to it, themselves exercised any influence on Cologne art of the twelfth century. Even the blue and green backgrounds are known from innumerable miniatures and enamels of the twelfth century and those who only saw the miniatures of the Svanhild codex in plain black-and-white were easily led into thinking that the blue and green colours in them were those which are typical of the twelfth century. In fact, the miniatures in the Manchester codex have nothing whatever of the steely hardness of twelfth-century colouring. The blue is bright and the green a soft, dark moss-green, and the two are frequently accompanied by an equally soft, dark claret-colour. Faced with the miniatures themselves no one would think in terms of twelfth-century manuscript illumination. The present writer, who had known the Svanhild codex for a long time but only from the photographs of it, frankly admits his amazement when he first took the volume in his hands. He had never, from a knowledge based on the photographs alone, thought to have seen colours so different from those he expected or to have received an impression of such artistic quality.

The complete dominance of this dark, but at the same time delicate, colouring associates our manuscript with late productions known definitely to have come from the school of Werden and in particular with the *Vita Sancti Liudgeri*\(^2\) and the *Gospel Book of Abbot Rudolf* (1106-113) in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (MS. 1143).\(^3\) In these manuscripts are found the same


\(^2\) Berlin MS. theol. lat. fol. 323. See above, p. 377, n. 4.

\(^3\) Jacques Meurgey, *Les principaux manuscrits à peinture du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930), pp. 6-8, pls. IV-V; (Henri d’Orléans, Duc d’Aumale), *Musée Condé, Chantilly, Le Cabinet des Livres Manuscrits*, i (Paris, 1900), no. 16;
soft colours, sometimes dark, sometimes light, but always extremely delicate, allied to a relatively rough and undeveloped skill in drawing. In the Gospel Book particularly, the delicacy of the colour contrasts, such as purple and moss-green, or purple and rose with gold, or even moss-green with rose, is carried to its ultimate refinement. At the same time there is certainly not as wide a gap between the quality of the painting and the quality of the drawing as there is in the Svanhild manuscript. The typical manner of treating the reddish-brown by drawing on it details of drapery, etc. in dark-brown and black heightened with orange, as in the Svanhild miniatures, is also found in manuscripts from Werden dating from the middle of the eleventh century. But the Essen Gospel Book cannot have had its origin in Werden. The script is not that of the Werden scriptorium, which was at all times highly professional, nor does the rough style of drawing of the Essen manuscript, often primitive in the extreme, suggest Werden in the period between productions such as the Werden Psalter (Berlin MS. theol. lat. fol. 358)—one of the greatest works of calligraphy of the eleventh century—and the known manuscripts of about 1100.

The colouring in the Svanhild manuscript has so much charm that one should not fail to appreciate with how few colours and with what relatively simple means this result has been achieved. It seems more likely to have been the work of an artist whose own aesthetic tastes were of a gentle and tender nature rather than of one who had acquired a knowledge of the effects to be achieved by selecting and contrasting colours as a result of training and experience. Striking support for this suggestion is lent by such "blunders" as the miniature of Matthew, in which colours which are crude and unpleasant in the extreme have, contrary to what one might have expected, been allowed to pass muster—for one cannot determine whether or not another artist has here been concerned. A certain casualness and lack of artistic economy may be seen, too, in the details of the lay-out of several of the pages.

Victor H. Elbern, "Frühmittelalterliche Bucheinbände aus Essen und Werden und eine Werdener Handschrift in Chantilly" in Das Münster am Hellweg, xix (Essen, 1966), 143-53, figs. 1-5. Cf. also p. 370, n. 3.
The lack of firmness in the writing and the discrepancy shown in the miniatures between graphic quality, on the one hand, and attractiveness of colour, on the other, make it probable that this volume had its origin in a scriptorium which had no firm traditions as far as the decoration of manuscripts was concerned. Moreover, it follows that it cannot be from either Cologne or Lower Saxony. In fact, it does not fit into any of the schools of manuscript illumination so far known. Elements from Fulda and, to a certain extent, Echternach and especially Stavelot, which could have been transmitted as the result of an acquaintance with individual manuscripts from these scriptoria, are also to be found in it. There were Fulda manuscripts in Essen and Mosan elements can still today be recognized in the art of Werden and in the Gospel Book of Theophanou. Influences from Stavelot and Echternach could easily have been transmitted in the same way. There are undoubted links with the art of the neighbouring Abbey of Werden, without the manuscript actually having been executed there. And so one is almost forced into the conclusion that it must have had its origin in Essen itself, for the Abbess and “praeposita” of which it was executed. The tender and intimate mood, and also a certain lack of strength and avoidance of all dramatic contrast in the miniatures, suggest that it would not be erroneous to see in these miniatures the hand of one of the ladies of the Abbey. Others may have been responsible for the covers of gold adorned with precious stones—whether in Essen or outside we cannot know. Although goldsmiths’ work (such as the cover of the Gospel Book of Theophanou and probably also the reliquary-cross donated by her) has survived which was executed within the milieu of the Abbey of Essen.

The splendour which the Abbey of Essen enjoyed in the years around A.D. 1000 and during the first half of the eleventh century, when the leading artists of the Empire worked for the Abbesses of the imperial Ottonian house, had disappeared when Svanhild and Brigida, in the seventies or, still more likely, the eighties of the eleventh century, had their Gospel Book executed. With its unassuming but nevertheless charming qualities, it is like a last echo of earlier times from one of the great art centres of the Middle Ages in Germany.