Status and Identity in Medieval Germany: Sigebert of Minden and his Sacramentary (1022–1036)

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This article explores the decoration, perception, and function of the Sigebert Sacramentary (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 2), one of the largest and most luxurious manuscripts ever created in medieval Central Europe. It was produced at the Abbey of St. Gallen in the 1020s as part of a group of eight liturgical manuscripts. The essay analyzes in particular the ecclesiastical symbolism of the unique scenes in this manuscript and offers a contextualization for its commission by the ambitious bishop Sigebert of Minden (1022–1036).

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Around 1000, almost a century after the collapse of Charlemagne's divided political legacy and the subsequent crisis of the second quarter of the tenth century, the scriptorium of St. Gallen Abbey began to once again produce lavishly decorated manuscripts, as it had done for over a century in between c. 800 and c. 900.[1] This second period of intense artistic activity at St Gallen represents what early German-speaking historiography labeled the *silbernes Zeitalter*, or "Silver Age", of the Alpine abbey. This categorization established a contrast to the *goldenes Zeitalter* that the Carolingian century at St Gallen symbolized in the minds of twentieth-century scholars, and is to

Johannes Fried, "The Frankish kingdoms, 817–911: the East and Middle Kingdoms," in Rosamond McKitterick ed., *The Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. 2, c. 700–900*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2008, 142–68, at 156–68. Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes & Simon McLean, *The Carolingian World*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2011, 419–27. James M. Clark, *The Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1926, 11–2. Hartmut Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen, 920–1360*, S. Hohr Verlag: Zurich 1863, 28–9. Anton von Euw, *Die St Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Verlag am Klosterhof: St Gallen 2008. Beat M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen, vol. 1 (Codices 547–669): Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.–18. Jahrhundert*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 2003. Beat M. von Scarpatetti & Philip Lenz, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen, vol. 2 (Codices 450–546): Liturgica, Libri precum, deutsche Gebetbücher, Spiritualia, Musikhandschriften, 9.–16. Jahrhundert*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 2008.

some extent responsible for the relative shortage of academic interest in the latter era.[2]

This contribution explores the patronage and creation of one of the largest and most complex examples of the art of manuscript illumination at St. Gallen—the Sigebert Sacramentary (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 2). This monumental manuscript for the celebration of Mass (325 folios, each page measuring an average of 29.5 x 22 cm) displays a complex pictorial program of eight full-page scenes, often exhibiting unique iconographic compositions and attributes. This sacramentary was the result of an unparalleled process of luxury manuscript patronage in medieval Central Europe—the eight liturgical books created for the bishop of the northwestern German town of Minden, Sigebert (1022–1036).[3] The St Gallen manuscript in Berlin displays a Crucifixion-*Te Igitur*, a double-page scene featuring the *Agnus Dei* and the Mystic Communion of Bishop Sigebert at an altar, and five Christological episodes (Pics. 1–3). These five Gospel scenes are the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Women at the Tomb, the Ascension, and Pentecost. This St. Gallen sacramentary exhibits complex visual narratives of theological nature and symbolic meanings: the Virgin Mary playing a central role in the cycle and the repeated and intriguing depictions of books within the scenes.
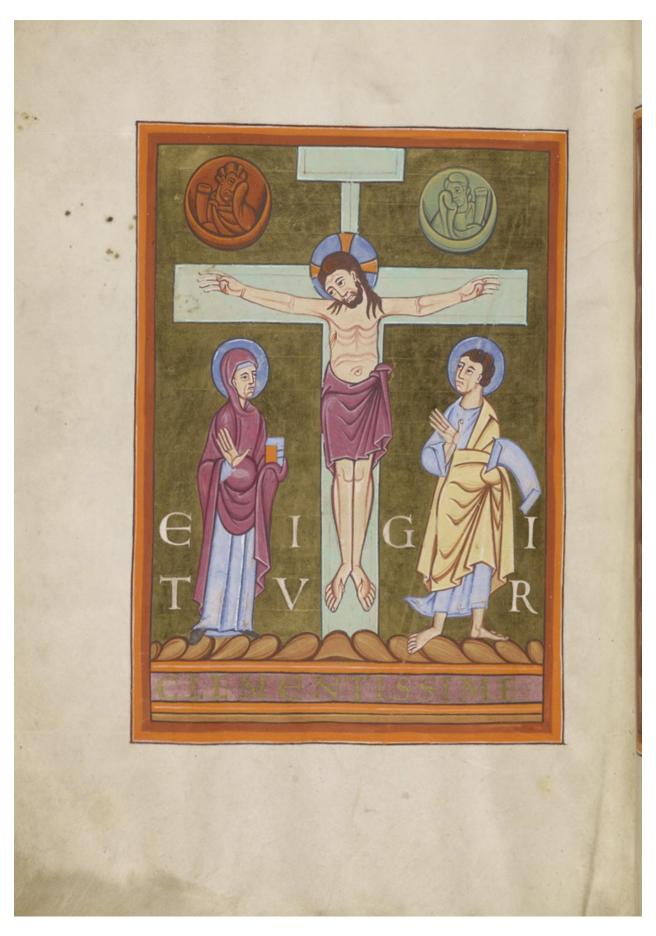
Nevertheless, the decoration of the St. Gallen sacramentary still deserves more attention in academic studies on Ottonian arts and culture.[4] The decoration of the Minden sacramentary was first analyzed by Ruth Meyer in 1967.[5] This contribution, largely descriptive but with some worthwhile comparative points, aimed to present the extensive decorated cycle of the manuscript to a specialist audience for the very first time. However, the origin of the group had not yet been discussed. In 1980, Hartmut Hoffmann was the first author to acknowledge the common origin of all eight

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[2] Michael Buhlmann, "St Gallen, Reichenau, Königtum, Baar und Neudingen im frühen Mittelalter," *Vertex Alemanniae. Schriftenreihe zur südwestdeutschen Geschichte* 68 (2013), 1–53, at 10. Thomas Zotz, "Grundlagen und Zentren der Königsherrschaft im deutschen Südwesten in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit," in Hans U. Nuber, Karl Schmid, Heiko Steuer & Thomas Zotz eds., *Archäologie und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends in Südwestdeutschland*, Jan Thorbecke: Sigmaringen 1990, 275–93, at 279–81. Walter Berschin, "Die Anfänge der literarischen Kultur," in Werner Wunderlich ed., *St. Gallen. Geschichte einer literarischen Kultur. Kloster - Stadt - Kanton - Region, Band 2: Quellen* (Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen: St Gallen 1999, 71–93, at 76–8. For Ekkehard, see Wojtek Jezierski, "*Speculum monasterii*. Ekkehart IV and the making of St Gall's identity in the *Casus Sancti Galli*-tradition (9th–13th centuries)," in Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz & Stephan Müller eds., *Ekkehart IV. von St. Gallen*, De Gruyter: Berlin-Boston 2015, 267–302.

[3] Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften deutscher Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (8.–12. Jahrhundert)*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1991), 141–4. In addition to the Sigebert Sacramentary two more manuscripts originally displayed at least one full-page scene: the Gospel-Pericopes (Berlin, SPK, MS Theol. lat. qu. 3) and the troper-sequentiary (Krakow, Jagiellonian Library, MS Berol. Theo. lat. qu. 11; formerly Berlin, SPK, MS Theo. lat. qu. 11). The five remaining Sigebert manuscripts, which did not display full-page scenes, are: the epistolary Krakow, Jagiellonian Library, MS Berol. Theo. lat. qu. 1; the gradual Berlin, SPK, MS Theo. lat. qu 15; the hymnal Berlin, SPK, MS Theo. lat. oct. 1; and two manuscripts preserved in Wolfenbüttel, the antiphonary (Herzog August Bibliothek, Helm 1008) and the *Ordo Missae* (HAB, Helm 1151). Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, Harvey Miller: London 1999, 91. Mayr-Harting also reports the list given in Hans Eichler ed., *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum, 800-1600*, Aschendorff: Münster 1967, 203–7, https://digital-beta.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN780464478&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&view=overview-toc&DMDID=

[4] Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Hiersemann: Stuttgart 1986, 370.

[5] Ruth Meyer, "Die Miniaturen im Sakramentar des Bischofs Sigebert von Minden," in Frieda Dettweiler, Herbert Köllner & Peter A. Riedl eds., *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für K. H. Usener*, Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars: Marburg 1967, 181–200.

Pic. 1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Theo. lat. fol. 2 (Sigebert Sacramentary),
Crucifixion-*Te igitur*, fol. 3v. St Gall, c. 1025–1030 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

Minden manuscripts and to ascribe them to early eleventh-century St. Gallen. In 1999, Henry Mayr-Harting briefly mentioned the Sigebert Sacramentary in his monumental survey *Ottonian Book Illumination*.[6] In 2007, some of the scenes of the Sigebert Sacramentary were also mentioned in the doctoral thesis of Kristen Collins on Ottonian images of the Virgin Mary.[7] In 2008, Anton von Euw also included the eight Sigebert manuscripts in his catalogue *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Von Euw's work offered paramount textual analysis, particularly of the inscriptions of the Sigebert Sacramentary. Similarly, the several contributions made by liturgist Joanne Pierce on the Minden group have focused on textual contents rather than on their visual elements.[8] An exception to this rule is the recent work of Evan Gatti, whose article "Seeing through Sigebert" has approached the numerous images of the patron of this monumental medieval manuscript.[9] Gatti understands the creation of several portraits of Sigebert, including one in this sacramentary, as constructions of the ideal image of a bishop. We shall revisit some of Gatti's arguments later on, although this essay focuses on the key, unique iconographies of the Sigebert Sacramentary, which also feature one portrait of the bishop.

Important questions remain about the nature of the Sigebert Sacramentary's decoration and the creation of this group of eight liturgical manuscripts produced at St. Gallen. Through detailed visual analysis, this contribution will critically assess the decoration in relation to the book's function as a sacramentary and to the patron's spiritual interests and personal ambitions. This essay will also propose a specific historical setting in order to understand the creation of the Sigebert Sacramentary at this precise moment: the second decade of the eleventh century in Germany was a time of dramatic political change.

Unravelling the Liturgical Image

The first full-page scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary is the Crucifixion-*Te Igitur* that appears on folio 3v (Pic. 1). This first full-page scene of the manuscript, together with the ensuing inscription on the opposite folio (4r), represents the initial prayer of the Canon of the Mass, which commenced with the well-known sentence "Te igitur clementissime Pater […]".[10] In the image the Virgin Mary

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[6] Mayr-Harting 1999, 91–7. Hartmut Möller, "Office compositions from St Gall. Saints Gallus and St Otmar," in Margot E. Fassler & Rebecca A. Baltzer eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000, 237–57, at 237–8. Susan Rankin, "The earliest sources of Notker's sequences: St Gallen Vadiana 317 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Lat. 10587," in Ian Fenlon ed., *Early Music History. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1991, 201–34, at 203.

[7] Kristen Collins, *Visualizing Mary: Innovation and Exegesis in Ottonian Manuscript Illumination* (PhD in Art History, University of Texas at Austin, 2007), 41, 47–8, 110, 129–30, 136–7.

[8] Joanne M. Pierce, "Sigebert *the Beloved*: A Liturgical Perspective on Episcopal Image from Eleventh-Century Minden," in Sigrid Danielson & Evan Gatti eds., *Envisioning the Bishop. Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, Brepols: Turnhout 2014, 249–73. Pierce's article is largely focused on the Minden sacramentary. See also Joanne M. Pierce, "New Research Directions in Medieval Liturgy: The Liturgical Books of Sigebert of Minden," in Gerard Austin ed., *Fountain of Life. In Memory of Niels K. Rasmussen*, The Catholic University of America Press: Washington 1991), 51–67. Joanne M. Pierce, "Early Medieval Prayers Addressed to the Trinity in the Ordo Missae of Sigebert of Minden," *Traditio* 51 (1996), 179–200. For her doctoral dissertation, see Joanne M. Pierce, *Sacerdotal Spirituality at Mass: Text and Study of the Prayerbook of Sigebert of Minden, 1022–1036* (PhD Thesis in Medieval Studies, University of Notre Dame, 1988).

[9] Evan Gatti, "Seeing through Sigebert: An Examination of the Liturgical Portraits of Sigebert of Minden (1022–1036)," *Gesta* 61.2 (2022), 109–51.

[10] Meyer 1967, 181–2.

and St John witness the death of Christ. In her left hand, Mary carries a book with her whilst her right hand is held up and her hooded cloak is painted in the same purple tonality as Christ's loin-cloth. These three characters look at each other in order: Christ looks at his mother, while she looks at John, and the disciple looks at his master. Above the arms of the Cross, two busts represent *Sol* and *Luna* within their respective medallions. The scene is framed and displayed over a gilded back-ground. The Cross acts effectively as the missing "T" of the Canon.[11]

Sacramentaries were the predecessors of the missal.[12] A manuscript such as the Sigebert Sacramentary contained most, if not all, of the passages that were recited by the priest officiating Mass. In the case of this manuscript, the scriptorium would have received directives as to which Minden bishop-led services and local particularities to add to the text. Several varieties of sacra-mentaries existed in the Early Middle Ages, although by the eleventh century, these had gradually merged into a predominant type in Europe: the Gregorian-Gelasian sacramentary.[13] Many reputed scriptoria active during the long Carolingian century concentrated much of their attention on illumi-nated sacramentaries.[14] First documented in the Gellone Sacramentary, associating the Crucifixion with the illuminated "T" likely originated in prefigurative interpretations of the Old Testament. The liturgist Tertullian described the first letter of the Canon rubric, the Greek letter *Tau*, as "having the appearance of the Cross".[15] Tertullian and Origen, another Father of the Church who commented on the shape of the Cross, were widely copied in Carolingian Europe, including at St. Gallen.[16]

Among late tenth- and early eleventh-century Ottonian and early Salian scriptoria, Eric Palazzo studied the scriptorium of Fulda, which manufactured a large number of illuminated sacramen-

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[11] Rudolf Suntrup, "*Te igitur*-initialen und Kanonbilder in mittelalterlichen Sakramentar Handschriften," in Christel Meier & Uwe Ruberg eds., *Text und Bild. Aspekten des Zusammenwirkens zweier Kunst im Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1980, 278–382.

[12] Joanne E. Krochalis & Ann Matter, "Manuscripts of the Liturgy," in Thomas. J. Heffernan & Ann Matter eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Publications of the Medieval Institute: Kalamazoo 2005, 393– 430, at 415–7. Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto 1982, 87–93, 109–10.

[13] Antoine Chavasse, "Le Sacramentaire dit 'Léonien' conservé par le Veronensis LXXXV," *Sacris Erudiri* 27 (1984), 183–85. Jordi Pinell i Pons, "Teologia e liturgia negli scritti di Leone Magno," *Ecclesia Orans* 8 (1991), 137–81. Bernard Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary: A Study in Tradition*, Oxford University Press: Oxford 1976, 6–17. Henry A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae)*, Oxford University Press: Oxford 1984, xvii–lxxvi.
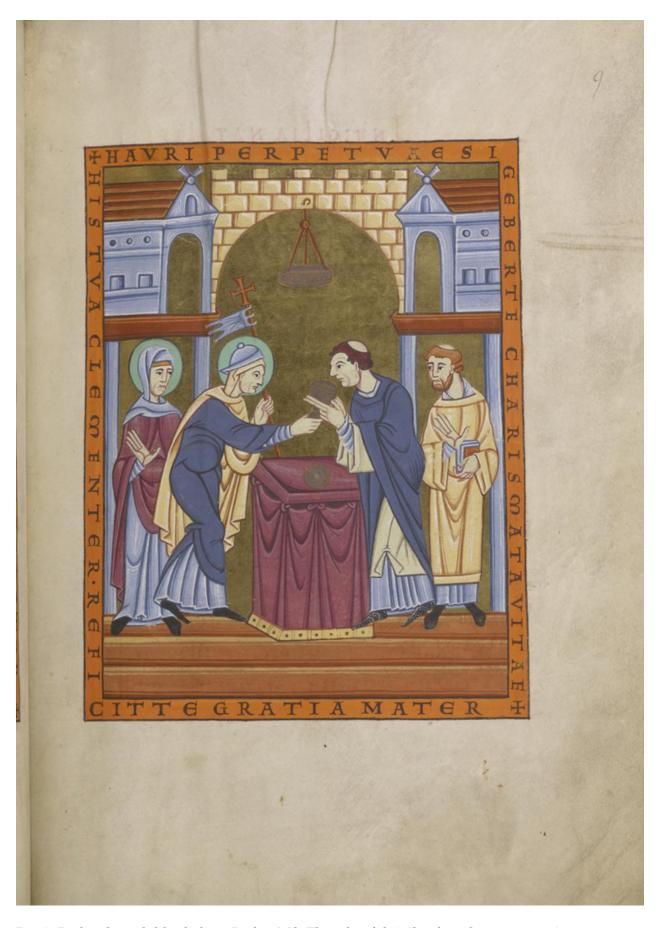
[14] Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2001, 81–99. Ilya Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)*, Brill: Leiden 2008, 252–4. The manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1152, and Mainz, Bischöfliche Priesterseminarbibliothek, MS. 1. See Hoffmann 1986, 159. See also Jean Deshusses, "Chronologie des grand sacramentaries de St Amand," *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977), 230–37; Marie-Pierre Laffitte & Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, BnF: Paris 2007, 53.

[15] Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 3.22, E. Evans ed. (Oxford Early Christian Texts 5), Oxford University Press: Oxford 1972, 239.

[16] Origen, *Selecta in Ezechielem* 13.80, M. Borret ed. (Sources Chrétiennes 232), CERF: Paris 1989, 157. See also Ilya H. Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, Oxford University Press: Oxford 2018, 32. Janet Nelson, "Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian world," in Rosamond McKitterick ed. *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1995), 52–87, at 54–6. Garipzanov 2008, 59–60. See also John J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, Ashgate: Aldershot 1992, 72–97.

Pic. 2. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Theol. lat. fol. 2 (Sigebert Sacramentary), *Agnus Dei* and Tetramorph, fol. 8v. St Gall, c. 1025–1030 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

Pic. 3. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Theo. lat. fol. 2 (Sigebert Sacramentary), Communion of Sigebert with *Ecclesia*, fol. 9r. St Gall, c. 1025–1030 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

taries around the year 1000.[17] In some instances the Crucifixion-*Te Igitur* virtually dominated the decoration of Ottonian illuminated sacramentaries, often acting as the only figurative content in the entire manuscript. In many other manuscripts, chiefly recorded by Palazzo at Fulda and elsewhere around 1000, the Crucifixion was one scene among many in a visual narrative cycle.[18] In the former case a direct visual-textual relationship with the *Te Igitur* therefore represents a quantitative minority among the examples from this period. Besides the Sigebert Sacramentary, the abbey of Reichenau's scriptorium produced two decorated sacramentaries today preserved in Oxford and Zurich.[19] The scriptorium of the Cologne Cathedral also conceptualized similar scenes in the Tyniec Sacramentary and a second manuscript now in Freiburg.[20] St. Gallen itself also witnessed the creation of a decorated sacramentary displaying one of these Crucifixion-*Te Igitur* scenes with a solitary Christ in it circa 1000.[21] This sacramentary is today known as Codex Sangallensis 339. The exegesis and earlier models for this image, therefore, also existed in situ, although the solution was relatively uncommon in Ottonian Europe.

In comparison to these examples, the scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary, however, presents a considerably extended visual narrative. First, the anomalous position of the gilded word *Clementissime*, "most merciful," was carefully conceptualized and arranged on the page by the St. Gallen *artifices*. The Sigebert Sacramentary's *Clementissime* was effectively depicted beneath the rugged ground of the scene, right below the crucified Christ. This arrangement evokes a sense of clear space compartmentalization, alluding to a different physical level beneath Christ, the Cross, and the ground. In the minds of eleventh-century St Gallen and Minden audiences this different level of the scene, where the *Clementissime* is located, likely alluded to a symbolic burial chamber–the space that, in the works of some influential early Christian authors, hosted Adam's remains beneath Mount Golgotha.[22]

The second of the peculiarities in this first scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary is the book that the Virgin Mary solemnly carries on her left arm. Covering her hand with part of the cloak, Mary exhibits an innovative attribute in the visual arts of the Ottonian Empire. Though extraordinary in Continental Europe, the depiction of the Virgin Mary holding a book was not uncommon in the manuscript illumination and ivory carving of Anglo-Saxon England. For example, both the so-called Weingarten Gospels and a Winchester psalter, as well as two, earlier, eighth-century ivory

[17] Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaries de Fulda. Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, Aschendorff: Münster 1994, 10–29.

[18] Palazzo 1994, 55–9.

[19] These Reichenau sacramentaries are the Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Cod Liturg, 319; and the Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 75.

[20] Warsaw, National Library of Poland, Rps Boz. 8. The Freiburg manuscript is the Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 360a.

[21] Von Euw 2008, 217–9. Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses: Halle 1875,, 119.

[22] Anastasia Keshman Wasserman, "The Cross and the Tomb: the Crusader Contribution to the Crucifixion Iconography," in Renana Bartal and Hannah Vorholt eds., *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2015, 13–33.

panels, show the Virgin holding a bound manuscript just like in the Sigebert Sacramentary.[23]

The origins of this attribute may lie in St. Ambrose, an author widely copied and studied at St. Gallen, who wrote a sermon in his *De virginibus ad Marcellinam*. This text was conceived in order to encourage virginal life and the Virgin naturally represented the ultimate model for such a lifestyle, both for women and for men.[24] St. Ambrose added that the Virgin "was very industrious in her study, too". This, according to the Church Father, responded to "the necessity to be both physically and mentally virgin", the latter likely being a reference to the uncorrupted and continuous study of the Gospels.[25] The ninth- and tenth-century scholarship that approached this episode began stressing this imagined presence of a book. The Carolingian author Otfrid of Weissenburg (d. after 871) composed what recent scholarship considers "the earliest surviving description of the Virgin Mary reading in the Annunciation".[26] In it, Otfrid stated that Mary "was with her psalter in her hands".[27] Otfrid's work was likely also known to St. Gallen audiences in particular.[28] The book as a finished, bound item probably came to represent an allegory of the achieved "Word of God" embodied by the Gospels, ready to be transmitted to the world.[29] In a way, a similar idea can be developed regarding John, Christ's disciple and also witness to his death, and the scroll he carries as recording the events that he is witnessing in real time.

Although perhaps less evident, a third detail in this Crucifixion-*Te Igitur* of the Sigebert Sacramentary links this figure of Mary to that of Christ on the Cross. As mentioned earlier, both Christ's loincloth and the Virgin's hooded cloak were colored using purple pigment. Of Roman origin, the use of this colour in the official portraiture of Byzantium and Ottonian Germany possessed vivid connotations of both power and prestige associated with the Imperial rank.[30] Purple

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[23] The Weingarten Gospels are the New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 709. See Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066. A Survey of Manuscript Illuminated in the British Isles, vol. 2*, Harvey Miller: London 1976, 285, 289. The Winchester psalter is the London, British Library, MS Arundel 60. See Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1990, 174–8. The two ivories that display this new attribute of Mary are now in Cambridge and Copenhagen. See John Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England*, Harvey Miller: London, 1972, 126, 144. Barbara C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of Monastic Revival*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1990, 105–6.

[24] Neil Adkin, "Ambrose, De Virginibus 2.2 and the Gnomes of the Council of Nicaea," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 38 (1992), 261–70.

[25] Ambrosius, *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam* 2.2.7, Patrologia Latina 16, Col. 0209a. The text runs: "Virgo erat non solum corpore, sed etiam mente (...) ... legendi studiosior [...]".

[26] Laura S. Miles, "The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation," *Speculum* 89.3 (2014), 632–69.

[27] Miles 2014, 645–6.

[28] The Carolingian author is more famous for the so-called *Evangelienbuch*, a verse version of the Gospel harmony written in a dialect of Old High German. As a matter of fact, the book was dedicated, together with Louis the German (d. 876) and Solomon bishop of Constance (d. 871), to the St Gall Abbot Hartmut (872–883) and to an unidentified St Gall monk called Heribert. See Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written World*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1995, 232. See also Horst D. Schlosser, "Zur Datierung von Otfrids *Evangelienbuch*," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 125.4 (1996), 386–91.

[29] Collins 2007, 130. Miles, 2014, 638–9.

[30] Harold Stirrup, *Colour, Paint and Gold: The Materiality of English Manuscript Illumination in the Twelfth Century* (PhD Thesis in Art History, University of York 2012), 261–7. Charles R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca 1982, 146. See also Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II*, Routledge: London 2017, 64.

also became one of the main colours of a bishop's attire.[31] Amalar of Metz (d. c. 850), describing the clothing of priests in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, wrote that the purple tunic "is only worn by the Pope", because "it means that the highest reasonings [...] are not open to everyone, but to the greater and perfected".[32] Amalar's contemporary, the abbot and archbishop Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) also wrote in his *De Clericorum Institutione* that the garments of this colour used in the Offertory of the Mass recalled the garments of Christ.[33] Rabanus Maurus, commenting on the Book of Exodus and the constructions of the Tabernacle, mentioned that the purple curtains that the Israelite structure should display were chosen because "purple is the colour of blood, and so is the heart's desire to die in Jerusalem for our Lord".[34] In the twelfth century, the *Glossa Ordinaria* described the colour itself (*Purpuraria*) as traditionally worn by queens, sought and used by the Church, especially during the Lenten season (as a sign of penance and mourning), and compared it in turn to "the blood of Christ, which allowed instead to obtain life".[35] These different correlations of purple—theological, liturgical, and political at the same time—were the subject of study and discussion in the works of some of the major Carolingian authors in communities such as St. Gallen. Thereby, these ideas linked the figure of Christ to that of his mother as Ecclesia and the realities of monastic life around 1000 in the Holy Roman Empire.

The Bishop in Parchment

The second and third key scenes of the Sigebert Sacramentary are a depiction of the Agnus Dei surrounded by the symbols of the Four Evangelists on folio 8v and the representation of Bishop Sigebert of Minden receiving Communion from a female character previously identified as *Ecclesia* on folio 9r, seemingly also in the presence of the Virgin Mary and a second male figure, possibly understood as an assistant Minden deacon carrying a book (Pics. 2–4).[36] These two, opposite full-page scenes were placed after the Crucifixion-*Te igitur* discussed earlier and immediately after the end of the *Pater Noster* and the *Agnus Dei* on folio 8r.[37] The depiction of a Lamb of God at the center of a complex, highly symbolic setting and the surreal performance of the Eucharist featuring a mixture of real and allegorical characters, are rare iconographies on their own and a truly unique choice as a double scene for the Sigebert Sacramentary's cycle. The Lamb of God and the symbols of the Four Evangelists on folio 8v followed the homonym *Agnus Dei* that was recited three times

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[31] George Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1999, 122–35. Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, Yale University Press: New Haven 2006, 167–28.

[32] Amalarius Metensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.22 ("De tonica quam sacerdos induit super camisam'), E. Knibbs ed. (*Amalar's On the Liturgy*, vol. 1), Harvard University Press: Cambridge MA, 2014), 468–9.

[33] Rabanus Maurus, *De Clericorum Institutione ad Heistulphum Archiepiscopum Libri Tres* 1.33 ("De ordine missae'), Patrologia Latina 107, Col. 0323d. See also John M. Jeep, *Routledge Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, Routledge: London 2001, 457.

[34] Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Exodum Libri Quatuor* 3.13 ("De factura tabernaculi, hoc est cortinarum decem'), Patrologia Latina 108, Col. 0159a.

[35] *Glossa Ordinaria* 1.16.14, in Patrologia Latina 114, Col. 0459c. This text was formerly abscribed to the ninth-century author Walafrid Strabo.

[36] Meyer 1967, 184–6. More recently, see Gatti 2022, 116–7, 141–4.

[37] Palazzo 1994, 120–1.

while breaking the Host and in the presence of the chalice of wine.[38] The inscription along the frame of the scene, which will be later examined in more detail, seems to refer to this Eucharistic concept of performance. It runs:

> Ecce triumphator mortis / vitae reparator
> agnus mirifici pandit / signacula libri.[39]

The Lamb of God in blue, with seven eyes and seven horns, is located over an altar, bleeding, while it holds a book open.[40] The image appears within a mandorla and against a gilded background. The symbolic representations of the Four Evangelists are depicted in the four corners. The eagle of St. John appears above the *Agnus Dei*. This latter animal symbol carries an open roll, mirroring the portrait of the human Evangelist in the previous Crucifixion-*Te igitur* scene. The remaining figures, however, exhibit bound manuscripts. St. Matthew is represented by the angel in the lower level accompanied by St. Mark as a reddish brown lion to the right, and St. Luke as a red-winged ox to the left.[41]

Mentions of the Lamb of God in commentaries by different Carolingian scholars also seemed to stress the importance of this concept in ninth-century liturgy. The celebrated writer Amalar of Metz explicitly related in his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* the breaking of the Host that accompanied the threefold recitation of the Agnus Dei rubric to the "triform" nature of Christ's body: the pure body conceived in the Virgin's womb, the adult human version of it, and the resurrected body.[42] Bishop Agobard of Lyons (d. 840) in his exhortative Letter to the Clergymen of Lyons on Ecclesiastical Life included numerous references to the Agnus Dei, its bride (Ecclesia), and the Heavenly Jerusalem in his explanation of the Eucharist's symbolism.[43] Perhaps the most intriguing reference to the Lamb of God in the Carolingian era appears in the poetic works of the Bishop of Orleans, the Visigoth Theodulf (d. 821), credited with the writing of most, if not the entirety, of the *Libri Carolini*.[44] In one of his so-called *Carmina*, entitled *Versus in altari*, Theodulf referred to the priest as the shepherd who guides his herd after Christ's death on the Cross, describing the enactment of a sacerdotal meal at an altar and acknowledging the presence of the bleeding *Agnus Dei* as

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[38] Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of its Interpretation*, Liturgical Press: Collegeville 1999, 267.

[39] The inscription can be translated as: "This is who defeated death / Restorer of life / The Lamb open the seals of the marvelous book".

[40] An introduction to the iconography, its sources, and updated bibliographical references are found in John Cherry, "Containers for *Agnus Deis*," in Charles Entwistle ed. *Through a Glass Brightly. Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton*, Oxford University Press: Oxford 2003, 171–83, at 171–2.

[41] Revelation, 21:9.

[42] Emmanuel Falque, *The Wedding Feast of the Lamb: Eros, the Body and the Eucharist*, Fordham University Press: New York 2016, 190–1.

[43] Agobardus Lugdunensis, *Epistola ad clericos et monachos lugdunenses, de modo regiminis ecclesiastici* 1.2, Patrologia Latina 104, Col.0189a–b. Perhaps describing the commitment of the Church (*Ecclesia*) to Christ (Lamb), he describes for instance: "[...] Unus est agnus, qui habet sponsam, de qua dicitur Joanni apostolo: 'Veni, ostendam tibi sponsam, uxorem agni': et ostensa est illi civitas sancta Hierusalem descendens de coelo a Deo, habens claritatem Dei [...]".

[44] Ann Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the *Libri Carolini*," *Speculum* 32.4 (1957), 663–705. As Freeman noted, Bishop Theodulf, himself Iberian, had a personal interest in the Book of Revelation.

Pic. 4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothk zu Berlin, MS. Theo. lat. fol. 2 (Sigebert Sacramentary), Double scene Agnus Dei and Tetramorph with Sigebert's Communion and Ecclesia, fos 8v–9r. St Gall, c. 1025–1030 (Photos: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

witness.[45] The *Agnus Dei* scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary evoked an interest in the Apocalypse, but the symbolism of the Lamb-Christ itself, whose nature was so profusely discussed in the ninth century, was also inherently related to the Eucharist. This Apocalyptic connotation in the image was perhaps symbolically associated with the celebration of and attendance at a Mass service, which gradually prepared the pious individual for the Last Judgement and the afterlife.[46]

The liturgical concepts to which this bleeding Lamb of God referred also appeared embodied in the peculiar representation of the Communion on the opposite page. The Agnus Dei, surrounded by the four symbols of the Evangelists and inside the brickwork walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem beneath it, seems to represent, in Platonic terms, an *eidos* of the actual service that occurred on the opposite page. This heavenly liturgy, profoundly influenced by an awareness of the Apocalypse,

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[45] Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina, LVIII* (*Versus in altari*), Ernst Dümmler ed. (Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevii, 1), Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters: Berlin 1981, 554. The three manuscripts (from Lorsch, Murbach in Alsace, and St Oyan near Geneva) appear listed in Max Manitius, "Geschichtliches aus mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen," in Georg Weitz ed., *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters, vol. XXXII*, Weidmann: Leipzig-Hannover, 1907, 663. See other examples in Palazzo 1994, 73–4.

[46] Oliver A. Pipper, "The Apocalypse of John and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church," *Church History* 20.1 (1951), 10–20, at 12–3. See also Gatti 2022, 142.

was used as an allegorical depiction of Sigebert's Mystic Communion on the right-hand page.[47] A full understanding of the meaning of this *Agnus Dei*, however, is only possible if this symbolism is connected to the narration on the opposite page and to the figure of *Ecclesia* in particular.

The second component of this double-page visual narrative is an equally complex and symbolic scene (Pic. 4). This image shows Bishop Sigebert himself receiving the Eucharistic chalice of wine from a figure identified as *Ecclesia* and in the presence of a second female character bearing a clear resemblance to the Virgin, as well as an assistant behind him. The action occurs inside an architectural setting recalling a church interior, with the two groups of characters separated by an altar. Gold leaf forms the background of the scene. The palette also denotes a clear, perhaps intentional correspondence between characters. The cloak of the Virgin Mary displays the same purple as the altar cloth and, therefore, the clothing of Christ. These details make even clearer that we are discussing an intentional, delicately conceptualized, and highly symbolic pictorial program.

The representation of a bishop-patron in an imagined liturgical service and inside a recognizable physical setting was a rare category of official portraiture in the manuscript illumination of Ottonian and early Salian Germany. Few examples survive.[48] The Gospel Book of Bernward of Hildesheim (c. 1015) shows the churchman in full regalia, celebrating Mass and facing the altar, while holding a manuscript open.[49] A second Hildesheim manuscript, the so-called Bernward Bible, depicts instead the local bishop in different regalia showing the manuscript to the figure of the Virgin Mary, a scene halfway between the donor portrait and the representation of an actual liturgical service.[50] A third example is the Benedictional of Engilmar of Parenzo, executed at St Emmeran's Abbey in Regensburg in the 1030s.[51] The scene, the first full-page illumination of the manuscript, depicts the bishop of this historic Dalmatian see (present-day Poreč) officiating Mass. Engilmar, behind the altar and accompanied by a priest holding a book, appears blessing the congregation that stands in front of him while he reads the respective blessing out of the benedictional, which is being held by a deacon. The lavishly decorated portraits of Bishop Bernward likely represented devotional visions since Hildesheim Cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The scene in the Regensburg manuscript mirrored, instead, true gestures, positions, and procedures that were performed and witnessed at Parenzo Cathedral and elsewhere. In this sense, the scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary is a mixture of the two concepts. The St Gallen image represents a far more complex allegory than the two Hildesheim scenes. This imagined service featuring *Ecclesia* and the second female character bearing resemblance to Mary herself never materialised in real life, but alluded, through a complex and carefully studied symbolism, to the theological importance of the Eucharist and the role of the bishop-officiant in it.

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[47] Karsten Harries, *Art Matters: A Critical Commentary on Heidegger's "The Origin of the Work of Art"*, Springer: New York 2009, 188–90. See also Julian Young, *Heidegger's Philosophy of Art*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2001, 139–40.

[48] Another example other than the ones mentioned is the late eleventh-century Gundekar Pontifical (Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B 4).

[49] Hildesheim, Dom- und Diozesanmuseum, MS. 18. Jennifer Kingsley, *The Bernward Gospels: Art, Memory, and the Episcopate in Medieval Germany*, Penn State University Press: University Park 2014, 9–12.

[50] Hildesheim, Dom- und Diozesanmuseum, MS. DS 61, fol. 1r. Kingsley 2014, 1.

[51] Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig VII 1. Evan A Gatti, "Building the Body of the Church: A Bishop's Blessing in the Benedictional of Engilmar of Parenzo," in Anna Trumbore Jones ed., *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, Ashgate Publishing: Farnham 2007, 92–121.

The twofold role of Mary-*Ecclesia* is thus highly innovative. The identities and dynamics between the characters and the setting have certainly been overlooked in this third scene of the Sigebert Sacramentary. As in the case of the opposite page, the frame of this full-page scene also displays an inscription of a devotional nature. The text reads:

> Hauri perpetuae Sigeberte / charismata vitae
> his tua clementer / reficit te gratia mater.[52]

The exhortation to Bishop Sigebert to drink from the chalice of wine is seemingly made on behalf of someone else. The *Mater* mentioned in this inscription may well be both *Ecclesia* and the second female character, if identified with the Virgin Mary.[53] The main arguments in favor of this latter identification are the identical gesture of this character with her open right arm, compared to the previous Marian portrait at the feet of the Cross, as well as the correlation of colors between these two images and the portrait of Mary in the Nativity scene that follows. One could also argue that a minor change does indeed occur: the female character next to *Ecclesia* shows a head covering in a different color, pale blue, as if she had taken off the hood of her purple cloak. The Virgin at the Crucifixion does indeed show some sort of head garment in this colour beneath her purple cloak.

According to Cunningham, the Southern Italian Abbot Ambrose Autpertus (d. 790) was the first Western scholar to identify *Ecclesia* as a Marian type.[54] The context is none other than his celebrated *Expositiones in Apocalypsim*, in which Ambrosius identified the "Woman clothed in the Sun" (Revelation 12:1–17) as the Virgin Mary.[55] Autpertus continued by stating that "[the Church, as a woman] gives birth to people every day [...]" and that "[...] in terms of womb, head, and body, both the type and *Ecclesia* deserve to be seen as one".[56] This view of Autpertus was later collected and remodeled by the Frankish Haimo of Auxerre (d. ca. 865).[57] In his own commentary on the Book of Revelation, however, Haimo added a veiled reference to Communion. In Chapter XII Haimo affirmed that "[Satan] was defeated in the Church and in Heaven [...]. because of the Blood of the Lamb [...]".[58] The defeat of evil in the Book of Revelation was thus the performance of Communion in the Church and the drinking of Eucharistic wine that represented the blood of the *Agnus*/Christ.

This symbolic view of the Apocalypse and its imagery permeated other influential theological treatises, also dating back to the long Carolingian century. These eschatological elements were also

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[52] Translated as "Swallow, Sigebert, the gift of everlasting life / Through this, for the sake of your Mother, it reinvigorates you mercifully". Von Euw 2008, 248–9.

[53] Gatti 2022, 142.

[54] Claudio Leonardi, "La Vergine Maria in Ambrogio Autperto," in Clelia M. Piastra & Francesco Santi eds., *Maria, l'Apocalisse, e il Medioevo*, SISMEL: Florence 2006, 35–41.

[55] For artistic implications in the region, see Erik Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome*, L'Erma di Bretschneider: Rome 2002, 86–87.

[56] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* 5, Robert Weber ed. (Corpus Christianorum Ambrosius Autpertus Opera 27a), Brepols: Turnhout, 1975, 115.

[57] Dominique Iogna-Prat, "L'oeuvre d'Haymon d'Auxerre," in Dominique Iogna-Prat, Dolette Jeudy & Guy Lobrichon eds., *L'École Carolingienne d'Auxerre de Muretach à Remi, 830–908*, CERF: Paris 1991, 157–79. See also John J. Contreni, "By Lions, Bishops are meant; by Wolves, Priests: History, Exegesis, and the Carolingian Church in Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Ezechiel," *Francia* 29 (2002), 29–56.

[58] Haimonis Halberstatensis Episcopi, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin b. Joannis* 7.12, Patrologia Latina 117, Col. 1088a.

part of the work of the most reputed ninth-century exegete of the Communion ritual, the Corbie Abbot Paschasius Radbertus (d. 865).[59] In his *Expositio in Psalmum XLIV*, this contemporary of Haimo stated that "[...] Christ is the body, as Ecclesia is the flesh [...]". He continued by stating that "the Virgin deserves a dowry, and the bridegroom, being himself virgin and displaying other virtues [...] shall follow the Lamb wherever He goes [...]".[60] The works of Autpertus, Haimo, and Radpertus were copied in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, with some of these commentaries being part of the libraries of Fulda and St. Gallen. Three ninth-century fragments of Autpertus' survive from manuscripts that were copied at Fulda.[61] Moreover, one of the earliest fully preserved copies of Autpertus' *Expositiones im Apocalypsim* north of the Alps was indeed executed at St. Gallen around the year 1000: today Codices Sangallenses 244 and 245.[62]

From Charlemagne's reign until the mid-eleventh century, the cult of the Virgin Mary became increasingly integrated with royal patronage and Marian devotion, architectural dedications, and the cult of her relics. By 805, Charlemagne had dedicated his octagonal Palatine Chapel at Aachen to Mary.[63] Charlemagne also received four important relics from emissaries from Jerusalem: the loincloth of Christ, the cloth John the Baptist wore during his execution and, more importantly, a diaper of Christ and the Virgin's Dormition dress.[64] Later on the city of Regensburg, another center of political power and frequent residence of the itinerant court in Ottonian Germany, was also nominally placed under her protection.[65] The ninth-, tenth-, and early eleventh-century royal cults of Mary, primarily fostered through her relics at the Palatine Chapel in the former Carolingian capital, embodied the growing interest of both the monarchy and the Frankish Church in her figure.

As illustrated in the renowned Codex Aureus of Speyer, the attraction exerted by this Carolingian tradition reached a new zenith under the Salian dynasty that was inaugurated in 1024. Conrad II, son of the count of Speyer, was crowned Holy Roman Emperor that year in Mainz on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, just as his predecessor Henry II had been.[66] Acting on behalf of his son and successor, Conrad arranged for the young Henry III to also be crowned on a Marian feast, this time on the 2nd of February—the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin at the Temple.[67] Moreover, Salian coinage was issued at Speyer bearing the portrait of the Virgin in close association with

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[59] David Appleby, "Beautiful on the Cross, Beautiful in his Torments: The Place of the Body in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus," *Traditio* 60 (2005), 1–46. Thomas D. Stoltz, "Paschasius Radbertus and the Sacrifice of the Mass: A Medieval Antecedent to Augustana XXIV," *Logia* 10 (2001), 9–12.

[60] S. Paschasii Radberti Abbatis Corbeiensis, *Expositio in Psalmum XLIV* 1.3, Patrologia Latina 120, Col. 1000b–c.

[61] Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex restitutus I; Cod. N I 1:3c; and Cod. F III 15e.

[62] Scherrer 1875, 90.

[63] Mayke De Jong, "Charlemagne's Church," in Joanna Story ed., *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2005, 103–36. See also Stuart Airlie, "The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Centre," in Stuart Airlie ed., *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, Ashgate: Farnham 2012, 1–23. See also Garrison Ottonian Imperial Art, 22–4.

[64] Garrison 2017, 93. Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries*, 400–1204, Penn State University Press: University Park 2013, 179–81.

[65] Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2003, 157–8.

[66] Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990–1039: Emperor of the Three Kingdoms*, Penn State University Press: University Park 2006, 46–50.

[67] Wolfram 2006, 154.

Conrad as "pater" and his son, the future Henry III.[68] In this city of the Rhineland, home turf for the Salian dynasty and often frequented by the royal family thereafter, Conrad also decided to build a cathedral-pantheon for himself and his offspring, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[69] In Speyer, as in Aachen two centuries earlier, the Virgin Mary became a physical *Ecclesia* inherently attached to the ruling monarch. At Aachen, the Frankish kings were crowned and relics were buried; synods of the Frankish and German Churches, as well as Imperial Diets, were also held there. At Speyer, the Salian building dedicated to Mary embodied a new era when traditions were nonetheless preserved, with the Marian cult resonating strongly not only as devotional practice but also as political legitimizing force for Conrad II.[70]

Finally, in connection with the Crucifixion-*Te igitur* scene, the palette employed by the St Gallen *artifices* was rich in symbolism. As previously mentioned, the cloak of Mary was colored in exactly the same shade of purple as the altar cloth.[71] The loincloth of Christ in the Sigebert Crucifixion is similarly purple. This colour, as previously described, was not only linked to royalty, but also to the mourning atmosphere and somber tone associated with the Lenten season. Purple, therefore, foreshadowed the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross and the altar. The figure of Mary in the Sacramentary, as at the feet of the Crucifixion previously, perhaps established a new layer of association with the liturgical setting and the meaning of the Communion ritual performed at the altar, both figuratively in the scene and literally in Minden Cathedral by Sigebert.

Sigebert and his sacramentary at Minden, AD 1030

This final section explores the commission of the complex Sigebert Sacramentary and seven other liturgical manuscripts from St. Gallen, as well as the portraiture of Bishop Sigebert and the aforementioned, recurrent depiction of books in their scenes. Subsequently, this research will propose a previously overlooked historical scenario that can justify the creation of this comprehensive group of liturgical manuscripts, the use of the Sigebert Sacramentary and the reception of its decoration in the Minden bishopric, with particular attention to Marian devotion. For Bishop Sigebert, iconography, ritual, and belief became one within his sacramentary—a book embodying not only practical necessities or exuberance but also a career in the Church.

The order of Bishop Sigebert of Minden (1024–1036) to the scriptorium of St Gallen fit well within a series of initiatives of manuscript patronage orchestrated between German bishoprics and often distant but renowned monastic houses in past decades. The examples listed here represent just a few of the most important cases of ecclesiastical patronage that occurred in the late tenth century and involved important scriptoria such as Reichenau. This is the case of the Gero Codex, commissioned by the Archbishop of Cologne Gero (969–976) in the third quarter of the tenth century from

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[68] Berlin, Bode Museum (Münzkabinett), BM-050/18. Bernd Kluge, Deutsche Münzgeschichte von der späten Karolingerzeit bis zum Ende der Salier, Jan Thorbecke: Sigmaringen 1991, 143.

[69] Wolfram 2006, 162–5.

[70] Wolfram 2006, 159.

[71] Amalarius Fortunatus Trevirensis, *De Romano Ordine* 22, Patrologia Latina 105, Col. 1377a–b. The Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 110(463) is a mid-eleventh-century copy of Amalar's *De Romano Ordine*.

the scriptorium of the Lake Constance.[72] Years later, the Archbishop of Trier Egbert (977–993) also commissioned another Gospel book from Reichenau, the celebrated Egbert Codex.[73] In the 1030s, Bishop Engilmar of Parenzo requested a benedictional from Regensburg Abbey, in Bavaria.

One important difference sets Sigebert's request apart from those of other leading late Ottonian and early Salian churchmen—quantity. Mayr-Harting extensively analysed the figure of Egbert and his artistic commissions from Reichenau.[74] Yet, only two books, the Egbert Codex and the Egbert Psalter, are attributed to the Lake Constance scriptorium. Archbishop Gero of Cologne, as well as Engilmar of Parenzo decades later, only requested one luxury manuscript each from Reichenau and Regensburg, respectively. Other high-ranking churchmen discussed by Mayr-Harting apparently tended to conceptualise and manufacture their lavish manuscripts locally. This is the case of Willigis of Mainz, Warmund of Ivrea, and the well-known Bishop of Hildesheim, Bernward.[75] Unlike them, Sigebert of Minden requested from the faraway Abbey of St. Gallen, an ancient Alpine stronghold of religious culture, a total of eight liturgical manuscripts—an unprecedented figure within the documented cases of luxury manuscript patronage in Ottonian Germany. Behind this large number of liturgical manuscripts lay an ambitious German ecclesiastical figure for whom his portraiture and the representations of manuscripts were seemingly paramount.

Many of these luxury illuminated manuscripts created in Ottonian Germany for archbishops and bishops featured at least one portrait of the patron. As mentioned earlier, the portrait in the Mystic Communion of the Sigebert Sacramentary was not the only surviving image of the eleventh--century Minden clergyman. A second depiction of Sigebert, flanked by a deacon and a priest, appears in a now-detached folio of the Pericopes book in Berlin—the MS Berlin, SPK, Theo. lat. qu. 3 (Pic. 5).[76] This scene was the only figurative image in the manuscript. The Pericopes was probably chosen to host Sigebert's portrait because its contents, which featured the word of the Apostles and the foundational texts of the Church, were read during almost every Eucharistic service.[77] A dedicatory inscription, in gilded letters, accompanies the image. The text reads today:

> Nomine sacra tuo / Sigeberte dicatur imago
> quae suffulta suo / presidet officio.[78]

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[72] Mayr-Harting 1999, 25–33. Michael Gosmann, "Macht und Reichtum. Gero – Person und Geschichte," in Michael Gosmann, Peter M. Kleine & Kathrin Ueberholz eds., *Der Gero Codex kehrt zurück. Das gemalte Buch von Wedinghausen*, Stadtarchiv: Arnsberg, 2010, 73–96. Ekkart Sauser, "Gero von Köln," in Thomas Bautz ed., *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 16, Bautz Verlag: Herzberg 1999, 560–1.

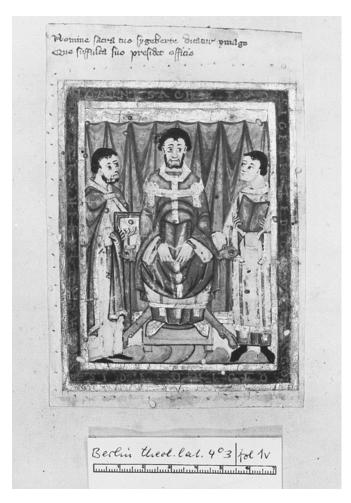[73] Mayr-Harting 1999, 57–60, 82–3. Michael Persch, "Egbert," in Thomas Bautz ed., BBK, vol. 15, 509–10.

[74] Carl Nordenfalk, "The Chronology of the Registrum Master," in Carlo Bertelli, Artur Rosenauer & Gerold Weber eds., *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70 Geburtstag*, Residenz Verlag: Munich 1972, 62–7. Katharina Bierbrauer, "Gregor-Meister," in Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger ed., *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, Artemis: Munich 1989, 1693.

[75] For Willigis, see Mayr-Harting 1999, 84–6, and, for Warmund, 87–9. See also Evan A. Gatti, "In a Space between: Warmund of Ivrea and the Problem of (Italian) Ottonian Art," *Peregrinations* 3.1 (2010), 8–48.

[76] Gatti 2022, 110, 119. See also Mayr-Harting 1999, 95. Pierce 2014, 251–2. A full list of the Pericopes readings can be found in Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, Vol. 1. Typen, Aschendorff: Münster 1935, 95–172.

[77] Parallels of such connotations are found in luxury Carolingian manuscript illumination. See Garipzanov 2008, 247–9.

[78] It can be translated as: "Sigebert, this sacred image is dedicated to your name. It guards over his office as a support". See Pierce 2014, 253.

Pic. 5. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Theol. lat. qu. 3 (Gospel-Pericopes, detached folio), Portrait of Sigebert with assistants, fol. 1r. St Gall, c. 1025–1030 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

This inscription identifies the central figure as Bishop Sigebert, frontally depicted, seated, with his feet resting on a pedestal, while also holding an open manuscript in his hands. Sigebert seems to gaze toward the deacon who holds open another manuscript with both hands. To the observer's left stands the priest who also holds a third manuscript, this time closed. Behind them, a purple curtain was drawn, acting as a background for the scene.[79] The regalia and the palette establish a clear visual hierarchy. Sigebert is almost entirely clothed in purple and gold, while the priest only wears a purple cloak, and the deacon wears mostly white.[80] This attire was not incidental; it reflected carefully performed and highly symbolic pre-established rituals, the bishop thus standing atop of the scene, yet sitting on his cathedra.[81] This image in the Minden Pericopes likely represented Bishop Sigebert celebrating the so-called "High Solemn Mass", the pre-Trentine counterpart to the later Pontifical Mass.[82] The perspective chosen by the artists is not from the aisle of the Minden Cathedral, as a churchgoer witnessing the scene, but right before the hieratic bishop, emphasizing his authoritative presence. All three characters also held a range of Eucharistic manuscripts, open, ready to be read by both priest and, when necessary, by the bishop himself (ie. reading blessings from a benedictional).

In a third and last preserved portrait of Bishop Sigebert books also played an important role. This third image appears in an ivory panel—a fragmented plaque that was later inserted into a new binding for a fifteenth-century illuminated Dutch Book of Hours (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Germ.
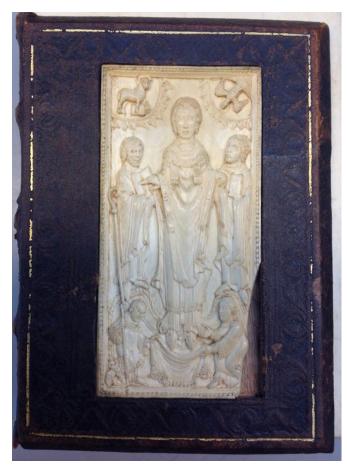
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[79] Recent scholarship has highlighted the connotations of the drawn curtain in exegesis representing the flesh of Christ as suggested in Hebrews 10:19-20. See Kingsley 2014, 26–7. In this case, however, the presence of a curtain was likely simply intended to represent the interior of a contemporary building (ie. Minden Cathedral).

[80] Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the clergy. Virtue and power in medieval Europe, c. 800–1200*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca 2014, 115–40.

[81] Gatti 2022, 130–1. Joanne M. Pierce, "Early Medieval Vesting Prayers in the Ordo Missae of Sigebert of Minden (1022–1036)," in Nathan Mitchell & John F. Baldovin eds., *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith. Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh*, Liturgical Press: Collegeville 1996, 80–105.

[82] For a description and primary sources, see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origins and Development*, Four Courts Press: Dublin 1996, 198–202, at 201.

Quart 42) (Pic. 6).[83] Similar to the Minden Pericopes this ivory panel, which originally formed part of Sigebert's Prayerbook, depicts the bishop in full regalia flanked by two assistants. However, Sigebert was represented on a larger scale. He touches with his right hand the open book held by one of his assistants, while the book of the second assistant is in a similar position but closed. In the upper left of the framed scene appears the *Agnus Dei* on top of an open manuscript, while on the right appears a haloed dove. The bottom of the scene, partially damaged, raises questions of its own. Two more characters, perhaps deacons, on a much smaller scale hold open a cloth beneath the feet of Sigebert. The bishop seems to levitate, barefoot and moving upwards, evoking imagery of the Ascension of Christ or the Assumption of the Virgin. One of these characters also carries the bishop's crozier, while the other carries a thurible. This intriguing image seems to suggest an "apotheosis" of the bishop in view of his ultimate passing and emphasizing his significance as a churchman—the ivory portrait as a relic-like commemorative device of the life of the bishop.

Pic. 6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Germ. quart. 42, Portrait of Sigebert (form. Prayerbook of Sigebert of Minden). Minden/St Gall (?), c. 1025 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)

These two additional portraits of Bishop Sigebert speak to the significance book imagery held in his commissioned liturgical manuscripts to St. Gallen. It is clear that the constant depictions of books in the hands of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the angels, and the Apostles likely carried connotations of continuity and the transmission of a divine message, stretching from Christ to the Church, which Sigebert embodied. Moreover, many of these characters exhibit bound manuscripts that resemble actual medieval Eucharistic books such as the Sigebert Sacramentary itself. Furthermore, some of them are also being used in realistic liturgical settings such as the High Solemn Mass. Additionally, in his three portraits Sigebert positions himself as the central figure in the liturgical ritual, handling or holding books together with his assistants.

The request and creation of these eight luxury manuscripts came at a certain moment of Sigebert's life. Despite the obscurity in the sources surrounding much of his biography some details about his tenure as bishop are known. He was probably a quintessential late Ottonian and early

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[83] Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI.–XIII. Jahrhundert*, B. Cassirer: Berlin 1923-+1926, 145. Pierce 2014, 267–9.

Salian high-ranking clergyman.[84] Son of a prominent Saxon family, Sigebert was a close acquaint-
ance of the two Imperial dynasties that his lifetime spanned. His noble origins favoured training at
an unspecified institution (perhaps at Minden Cathedral's own *schola*) and the connections neces-
sary for a swift rise within the German Church. As a result, King Henry II appointed Sigebert as
bishop of the city of Minden, a former Cologne dependency, in 1022. Minden was located in Ingria,
a region part of the Duchy of Saxony, the stronghold of the Ottonian dynasty of which the childless
Henry II was the last representative. Two years after Sigebert's appointment, a change of dynasty
indeed took place. Conrad, son of the Count of Speyer, won the nomination of most of the German
nobility and the Church. Some members of this circle, however, such as factions of Saxon nobles
and Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne, either stayed neutral or openly refused to endorse Conrad.[85]
Nonetheless, his appointment went forward and Archbishop Aribo crowned Conrad at Mainz in
September 1024. After this, the initial neutrality of Saxon noblemen turned into clear opposition
to the new monarch. Bishop Sigebert, perhaps recognizing an opportunity to mediate between the
divided factions, may have sought to reconcile the positions of his fellow Saxon noblemen and the
new royal house and its supporters.

A small assembly took place at Minden on Christmas Day 1025, bringing together Saxony's
nobility and certain members of the German Church, as well as the newly crowned king Conrad
II and his entourage.[86] During the celebration the Saxon Duke Bernard II eventually pledged his
support for Conrad and his right to rule as German king, effectively stabilising both the duchy
and the kingdom.[87] After the assembly Sigebert, as the host, may have played the role of mediator
between the two parts and the relationship between Sigebert of Minden and Conrad II likely grew
closer from that moment onward. The Minden bishop also participated in two different small coun-
cils of the German Church led by Conrad at Frankfurt in 1027 and in Pöhlde in 1028.[88]

It is highly likely that, as a reward for or a continuation of the role Sigebert played in 1025,
King Conrad II summoned the German bishops and representatives from the most prominent noble
houses on Christmas Day 1030 for an Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) held inside Minden Cathedral.[89]
This advisory gathering, which has often been considered a precursor to the parliament, served to
update the monarch in regional matters and to discuss pressing issues concerning the state of the

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[84] Herbert Beste & Michael Friedrich, "Bischof Sigebert von Minden," *Mitteilungen des Mindener
Geschichtsvereins* 56 (1984), 7–25. Klaus Löffler ed., *Der Bischofskronikon des Mittelalters. H. von Lerbecks
Catalogus episcoporum Mindensium* (Mindener Geschichtsquellen, vol. I), Aschendorff: Münster 1917, 43.
For the relationship between the bishopric and the monarchy, see Kurt Ortmanns, *Das Bistum Minden in
seinen Beziehungen zu König, Papst und Herzog bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Reihe der Forschungen 5),
Schäuble Verlag: Bensberg 1972). For the bishopric's library, see Horst Müller-Asshoff, "Die Mindener
Dombibliothek und die liturgischen Bücher des vormaligen Bistums Minden," in Hans H. Blotevogel,
Gabriele Isenberg, Rainer Kahsnitz & Hans Nordsiek eds., *Zwischen Dom und Rathaus. Beiträge zur Kunst-
und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Minden*, Bruns: Minden: 1977, 85–105. See also Gatti 2022, 118.

[85] Wolfram 2006, 5–6.

[86] Wolfram 2006, 213.

[87] Wolfram 2006, 59.

[88] For the synods of Frankfurt and Pöhlde, see Detlev Jasper ed., *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und
Reichsitaliens, 1023–1049* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, VIII), Deutsches Archiv fur Erforschung des
Mittelalters: Hannover 2010, 102, 119.

[89] Wolfram 2006, 291.

territories.[90] The sessions were accompanied by liturgical ceremonies before and after each gathering, with these services carefully organized and led by Sigebert himself.

The celebration of the Minden Diet on Christmas in 1030 thus establishes a likely *terminus ante quem* for the group of St. Gallen manuscripts and, more importantly, may offer the main reason behind their commission. In this context, it seems plausible that Sigebert requested the group of manuscripts from the Alpine abbey in the aftermath of Conrad's first visit to Minden in 1025. While it is possible that the manuscripts were commissioned before 1025, the prospect of using and showcasing a brand-new set of liturgical materials while co-chairing the sessions of a significant gathering, such as that of the 1030 Diet, makes this timeline far more likely.[91]

Some of the liturgical contents of the Sigebert Sacramentary illuminate the significance of kingship for the Minden churchman, particularly within this context. Folios 277r–278v contain a long and exhortative passage to be recited during the Eucharist that begins with the heading "Pro Rege vel Imperatore". Throughout this homiletic oration, the officiant continuously addresses a "rex noster" in the second person, praising the "protector imperii" and the "stabilitate aecclesiarum".[92] The following passage would have exalted the royal family's presence as part of the gathering. Beginning on folio 278v, this text was recited during an "[Item missa] pro Imperatore coniuge et prole", that is, a Mass for the emperor, his consort, and their offspring.[93] If commissioned for the 1030 Diet, the first of these two passages of the Sigebert Sacramentary was very likely heard inside Minden Cathedral on that day, the praiseful tones of these lines being addressed to the figure of Conrad II himself. If the Diet also included the presence of the former Swabian duchess and then Salian consort, Gisela of Swabia, or the thirteen-year-old heir and future Henry III, the second passage also exalted the royal family's presence in the gathering.

Some textual contents in the Minden group of manuscripts specifically highlighted this ecclesiastical exaltation of kingship. According to the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018), the coronation of Ottonian monarchs and the royal ceremonies of *adventus* ("arrival")—the official visits of kings and the royal family—were normally celebrated by the selected group of clergymen and women, courtiers, and officials by singing the hymn called *Laudes regiae*.[94] The origins of this praise-song are uncertain, although it is believed that in Charlemagne's time the hymn adopted a standardised form that explicitly linked the role of the monarch to the protection granted by Christ, the Virgin Mary, and a myriad of saints whose names were also remembered.[95] For the Minden group of manuscripts, the St. Gallen scriptorium copied the text of the *Laudes* twice—in the troper-

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[90] Sources and further bibliography are found in Peter Moraw, "Hoftag und Reichstag von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis 1806," in Hans-Peter Schneider & Wolfgang Zeh eds., *Parlamentsrecht und Parlamentspraxis*, De Gruyter: Berlin-New York 1999, 3– 23, at 12.

[91] For the liturgy in ninth-century court settings, see Garipzanov 2008, 43–100, at 58–68, 89–100.

[92] Garipzanov, 2008, 73–4.

[93] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, Princeton University Press: Princeton 1957, 68–9.

[94] David Warner ed., *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, Manchester University Press: Manchester 2001, 165.

[95] Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, University of California Press: Berkeley 1946, 3–42. See also Johanna Dale, "Inauguration and Political Liturgy in the Hohenstaufen Empire, 1138-1215," *German Studies* 34.2 (2016), 191–213, at 199–208. Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman Laudes regiae," *Viator* 12 (1981), 37–78.

-sequentiary in Krakow and in the Hymnary-Antiphonary now in Wolfenbüttel.[96] The St. Gallen text thus underscored the symbolic continuation of the extinguished Ottonian dynasty and the new rule of the Salian house.[97]

During the Eucharistic ceremonies that accompanied the discussions that took place in 1030, the monumental Sigebert Sacramentary, due to its size (each page measuring an average of 29,5 x 22 cm) and the centrality of its contents to the Mass rituals, likely played a key role. The manuscript may have remained on the main altar for extended periods of time, whereas other Eucharistic manuscripts, such as the Pericopes or the *Ordo Missae*, were regularly held, moved, and handled by Sigebert's assistants. It is probable that Conrad and Sigebert sat close together near the main altar, following a hierarchical seating arrangement.[98]

After the Imperial Diet Bishop Sigebert likely continued to regularly use his group of liturgical books until his death in 1036. The portrait of the bishop in his sacramentary, depicting him receiving the communion from *Ecclesia*, remained a powerful commemorative device after his passing, especially for his successors to the bishopric and lower strata of the local clergy and population. As Kingsley noted, the idea of *memoria* at that time was not only related to the simple act of remembering, but also to the repeated performance of the ritual.[99] Sigebert's successors would have continued to perform an embellished Eucharist, using eight liturgical books of which two displayed symbolic images of the deceased churchman. Through his diplomatic efforts, Bishop Sigebert became a defining figure that shaped the role of an otherwise minor bishopric in eleventh-century Germany. The request of eight luxury liturgical books from the Abbey of St. Gallen and, in particular, the Sigebert Sacramentary, certainly contributed to his status, likely earning him much admiration during the decisive 1030 Diet in Minden held under his auspices.

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[96] For the hymnary, see Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS. Guelf. Helmst. 1008. Hoffmann 1986, 398.

[97] Wolfram 2006, 322–23.

[98] Kingsley 2014, 29–34.

[99] Kingsley 2014, 11. Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Medieval Culture*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1992.