

Canones: The Art of Harmony

Studies in Manuscript Cultures



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Volume 18

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The Canon Tables of the Four Gospels

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DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-062576-9
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-062584-4
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-062644-5
ISSN 2365-9696
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110625844>



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Library of Congress Control Number: 2020936380

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Alessandro Bausi, Bruno Reudenbach, Hanna Wimmer, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston. The book is published with open access at www.degruyter.com.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Shifting Frames: The Mutable Iconography of Canon Tables

Abstract: In the early Middle Ages canon tables became a visual characteristic and leitmotif of gospel books. When their specific arcade structure was employed in other manuscript contexts in the ninth and tenth centuries, it accordingly referred to the gospels. The framing motif expressed unity in diversity, standing for the testimony and story of the gospels alongside the historical truth of Jesus and the salvation promised to the faithful. The Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, the Folchard Psalter and the Aethelwold Benedictional all embody this direct reference to gospel books. With the turn to lectionaries and missals in the twelfth century, gospel books fell out of fashion and liturgical practice. Some of the few surviving examples also forego the canon tables. Meanwhile, the arcade frames of canon tables reappear, transferred to calendars. Here, they visualize the unity of liturgical time in its relation to core events in the life of Christ, salvation history and the church. The Stammheim Missal, the Claricia Psalter and the Landgrave Psalter demonstrate this shift. The paper thus argues that canon table structure—always visually pleasing—moved from a specific function and meaning in the early medieval period to serve as a more versatile but always semantically loaded vessel in high medieval contexts.

1 Canon tables: Ornament and vessels of meaning

Arches and aediculae are architectural expressions of honour and dignity common in antiquity in the depiction of rulers, officials, or authors.¹ On sarcophagi, they serve to structure and embellish the depicted mythological narrative.² As quasi-architectural ornament and décor, they are in themselves symbolic vessels of meaning without carrying any necessary iconographic connotation. As early as 1958, Günter Bandmann had called for art history to engage with ornament and to establish an iconology of

ornaments that explores their semantic connotation and the life of motifs through time.³

As architectural signifiers of dignity, arcades and aediculae were used to give the Eusebian canon tables a suitably dignified visual presence from a very early date, if not indeed from the very inception of the concept.⁴ Arcades serve as a frame for the synoptic, often matrix-like tables. As early as the sixth century, they were also used to structure the canon tables themselves: On each page, the internal sequence of arches is surmounted and framed by another arch superimposed on the structure. With the ten canons of the lesser sequence arranged on twelve pages or the twelve canons of Nordenfalk's greater sequence arranged on sixteen pages,⁵ page after page of these arcades form an immediate visual cue and leitmotif of gospel books up to the high Middle Ages, often indeed as their only true ornament. This remained true even as the canon tables lost their functional purpose as a finder tool for synoptic parallels, either when the section numbering and canons were lost from the margins of the actual gospels or when scribal errors confused the textual links.⁶ Several factors led to this close and lasting connection between the gospel texts and the Eusebian canon tables, not least the force of St Jerome's support expressed in his explication of the Eusebian canons' structure and concept in his letter to Pope Damasus (†384). Appended to his prefaces to the gospels, this letter gained ubiquitous presence in Western gospels. Another prominent reason lies in the symbolic value of the tables: The formal presentation of the gospel texts by means of abstract numbers, arranged in tables and sorted by sections was visual evidence of theological scholarly rigour in the use of the gospels. With the final,

¹ On the semantics of Roman architectural ornament cf. von Hesberg 2005, 32–62; Delbrück 1929, 11. On authors' portraits, cf. Jaś Elsner in this volume.

² See the great sarcophagus with its mythological scenes of the underworld dating from the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161) kept in Velletri, Museo civico—cf. Kraus 1967, no. 215; von Euw 1989, 146–147.

³ Cf. Bandmann 1958–1959, here 237 and 244 on the top-down transmission of ornament and the role of ornament as a vehicle of order and hierarchy. The ability of ornaments to structure images beyond their narrative formation is discussed in Spies/Beyer 2012, 13–23.

⁴ Nordenfalk 1938, 78, 82, 132 remains the fundamental reference; on the pre-medieval origin of the motif as evidenced by the antique entablature style cf. 195–199, 204–207.

⁵ Nordenfalk 1938, 216–218.

⁶ Reudenbach 2015, 345–357, here 356; also cf. Jochen H. Vennebusch, *Materialisieren – Erschließen – Deuten. Anlagekonzepte, liturgische Lesenutzung und visualisierte Hermeneutik mittelalterlicher Evangelienbücher am Beispiel Reichenauer Codices*, doctoral thesis Universität Hamburg 2019.

complete quality of the canon tables, the four canonical gospels were given a defined structure, defined also in separation from other, ‘apocryphal’ texts. The synoptic nature of the tables draws the eye to the coherence and harmony of the superficially disparate stories, and the quite literally overarching arcade above the section tables reemphasizes their unity in diversity.⁷ The visual motif of the sequence of staggered arches suggests the (divine) order in the gospel’s salvation history.

When this particular type of the arcade sequence is employed for other texts and other types of works, the semantic weight the canon table form carries from its inclusion in the gospels will, this paper argues, remain present. The meaning contained in their form is injected into or superimposed onto the new context. In 2009, Bruno Reudenbach suggested that the canon table motif deliberately used an architectural language with its characteristic forms (bases, columns, capitals) ‘to express the gospels as a space of a unique kind’:⁸ The prologue *Ammenius quidem* (i.e. Eusebius’s *Letter to Carpianus*) speaks of a literal passing-through of the *ordo librorum*. The arcades and colonnades of the canon tables remind Reudenbach of the rhythm of real arcades and colonnades in late Roman basilicas. Their order and regularity, at the same time, suggests the spiritual ordered space of the hereafter, the heavenly Jerusalem. One can see another level of meaning alongside this spatial dimension: time. As will be discussed, the canon table structure becomes a signifier of the age of grace, that is, of salvation history beginning with the gospel narratives that is given an architectural framing in them. This removes and visually delimits this history from secular, linear history, but also offers an opportunity to embed current (liturgical) actions in the here and now into that symbolic salvation history.⁹

This paper will explore the visual decorative structure of the canon tables as a pattern and model that becomes a distinguishing feature of a specific manuscript type, namely gospel books.¹⁰ Beyond the practical use of the canon tables, their architectural visuals and their décor

become the medium for visually linking and semantically loading different elements and contents in a manuscript. Its first part will analyse the links and references created between the canon tables and the Evangelist portraits contained in a selection of gospel books.¹¹ The case of a combination of gospel lectionary and confraternity book in the *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers leads to other classes of manuscripts that use the characteristic structure of double-page arcade sequences to present and highlight other contents: the names of confraternal brothers in the case of Pfäfers, the litany of the saints in the Folchart Psalter, the choirs of saints in the Aethelwold Benedictional, the hymns in the Stammheim Missal, calendars in illuminated psalters, or the community of saints and believers in the Corvey *Liber Vitae*. Since Antiquity, arcades had served to highlight and dignify certain texts or depictions of individuals in manuscripts. One still has to ask which other meaning is given to texts and images when they are placed in the sequences of arches normally reserved for canon tables and which roles the contents highlighted in this manner have in each manuscript.

2 Recurrence of the canon table motif in gospel books

Going by several early, particularly Armenian gospel manuscripts that present the Eusebius prologue as well as the canon tables under arcades, Nordenfalk suggested that the ‘decorative union of prologue and canon tables’ goes back to a Eusebian archetype.¹² The iconography creates a direct link between the canon tables and their explanation and simultaneously sets them apart from the following gospel texts and prefaces and—where included—the rectangular Evangelist portraits.¹³

Early medieval Latin gospel books often include an iconographic link between the canon tables and the Evangelist portraits or the incipits of the gospels, e.g. in a northern French gospel book of the third quarter of the ninth century kept in Cologne (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14)¹⁴ (Fig. 1), in which the

7 Cf. Nordenfalk 1938, 49.

8 Reudenbach 2009, 63; he interprets the recurrence of the canon table arcades in the miniatures of the Aachen Gospels as an expansion of the manuscript’s architectural language that turns the gospel texts into a textual space (ibid. 65).

9 Nordenfalk 1938, 117–121 asks whether Eusebius could have taken the form of tables separated by columns from chronographic compilations or epigraphic lists (*itineraria*).

10 On the semantics of geometric motifs cf. Kühnel 2003, Kitzinger 2017. Gormans 1999, here 65–67 and 86 on the mnemotechnical function and synoptic momentum of medieval pictorial structures, 71–72 on their role in making the invisible, the *ordo mundi*, imaginable, 117–118 on their multiple readings.

11 On the role of ornament as internal visual reference in manuscripts cf. Wittekind 2015.

12 Nordenfalk 1938, 94–96.

13 E.g. in the Ethiopian Garima Gospels, cf. Jaś Elsner in this volume.

14 On this manuscript cf. Plotzek 1998, 332–342 Nr. 74, f. 67v–68r on Mark, fol. 104v–105r on Luke, fol. 160v–161r on John (a leaf with the Crucifixion and the Evangelist portrait was lost from the Gospel of Matthew); <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-32> (last accessed 06/11/2018)

Evangelist portraits and the incipit pages facing them each form double pages with similar arcades. Another visual link is created by the Evangelists' symbols not only appearing in the *clipeus* above each portrait, but also in the capitals of the arcade columns. The similar double-page arcade sequences emphasize not only the equal weighting of each gospel, but also the link with the initial canon tables, reproducing its double arcade structure throughout the entire manuscript (Fig. 2).

A similar approach is used in the gospel book of St. Maria ad Gradus (Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 1001a), in which the Evangelist portraits are linked with the canon tables, whose arches are surmounted by a separate gable.¹⁵ In this case, the Evangelists are depicted enthroned in *aediculus*, flanked by a perspective drawing of the building on one side and a separate tower on the other to fill the space in such a way that each Evangelist sits in a sequence of high arches or rectangular openings. (Fig. 3) The central aediculae in which the Evangelists are enthroned becomes the visual centre, around which the other architectural elements, more irregular in shape and size, are arranged. The variety of these flanking architectures seems to signify the diversity in unity of the gospels, whereas the central, framed Evangelist portrait with its aedicule and gold ground becomes symbolic of the divine order behind all this variety. Visually most closely related to the geometric motif of the canon tables is the depiction of Saint Jerome following immediately after the arcade with Canon X (fols 7v–8r) (Fig. 4). Jerome is enthroned underneath the familiar double arches, in turn surmounted by a gable. This is flanked by two symmetrical wings of the building, opening up in high arches filled in green. Combined with the central double arches, this creates a rhythmic quadruple arcade that is mirrored in the four arches of Canon X. Jerome is given this place of honour as the interpreter of the divine law (as stated plainly in the gold inscription: *interpres divine legis*). The authors' images in this manuscript translate the regular two-dimensional arcade structure of the canon tables into a quasi-real built space, a realistic and irregular architecture. Jerome, whose prologues and letters explain the use of the canon tables and emphasize how the gospels tell the same truth in different ways, becomes the medium for drawing attention to the essential structure of the texts and their salvatory meaning. In the abstract structure of

the concordance, the canon tables represent the gospels in their essence.¹⁶

A different solution was found in the *Liber Viventium* of the Benedictine Abbey of Pfäfers:¹⁷ Dated 820 to 830, the manuscript does not include the full gospels, but rather a selection of 72 lessons for high feasts, beginning with Christmas and Epiphany, followed by Lent, Easter and the Sundays until Holy Thursday, and ending with Pentecost and the readings for the following Sundays and special lessons for the Commune Sanctorum (dedication masses, votive and requiem masses). Unlike other gospel lectionaries, the texts do not follow the usual liturgical year, but are instead sorted by gospel. To von Euw, this unusual order of the *Liber Viventium* represents the 'attempt to create a liturgical tool retaining the type of a full gospel while attaining the properties of an lectionary'¹⁸. While other gospel books contain leaves with the double arches preceding the gospel texts, this manuscript has them following each gospel. As is common in the canon tables, each double page uses the same colour scheme and ornamentation for the arches; only the very first arch of the sequence matches the Evangelist portrait that preceded the gospel selection in colour and pattern (Figs 5, 6). This creates a visual bridge between the Evangelist (and his gospel) and the arcades, not unlike the approach used in the aforementioned northern French gospel book (Fig. 1). However, the arcades in the *Liber Viventium* do not list numbered canon sections, but rather the names of confraternal brothers, sorted by convents and ruling families.¹⁹

In the early Middle Ages, the living and the dead who were to be commemorated in the mass were often recorded on the insides of typically rectangular ivory diptychs.²⁰ The oldest memorial books record the names in a similar manner in single file.²¹ However, the confraternity book of

¹⁶ On the abstract understanding required for the canon tables cf. Crawford in this volume.

¹⁷ For the manuscript cf. von Euw 1989; Jurot/Gamper 2002, 81–83; Kiening 2008, 290–291. Digital scan at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ssg/fab0001> (last accessed 02/10/2018). The gospels follow each Evangelist portrait, Matthew on pp 5–20, Mark pp 53–64, Luke pp 95–110, and John pp 145–164 (cf. von Euw 1989, 14–18, and list of the readings 28–33). Von Euw notes that these always include the beginning and the end of each gospel (23).

¹⁸ Von Euw 1989, 24.

¹⁹ As Greek and Roman numbers are expressed with letters and therefore appear as a type of text, this replacement of numbers with names was more obvious than the modern reader assumes.

²⁰ Von Euw 1989, 211f; Volbach 1955, 50–60; [http://www.rdklabor.de/wiki/Diptychon_\(Elfenbein\)](http://www.rdklabor.de/wiki/Diptychon_(Elfenbein)) (last accessed 02/10/2018).

²¹ E.g. in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham Cathedral (London, British Library, Cotton Domitian MS A. VII, eighth century), the confraternity book of St Peter's in Salzburg of 784 (Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter,

¹⁵ On the manuscript cf. Plotzek 1998, 369–382 Nr. 78; Beuckers 2018. <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-2371> (last accessed 06/11/2019).



Fig. 1: Gospel book, Northern France, c.850. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14, fols 104v-105r: Evangelist Luke and Incipit to Luke. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.



INCIPIT
EVANGELIUM
SECUNDUM
LUCAM

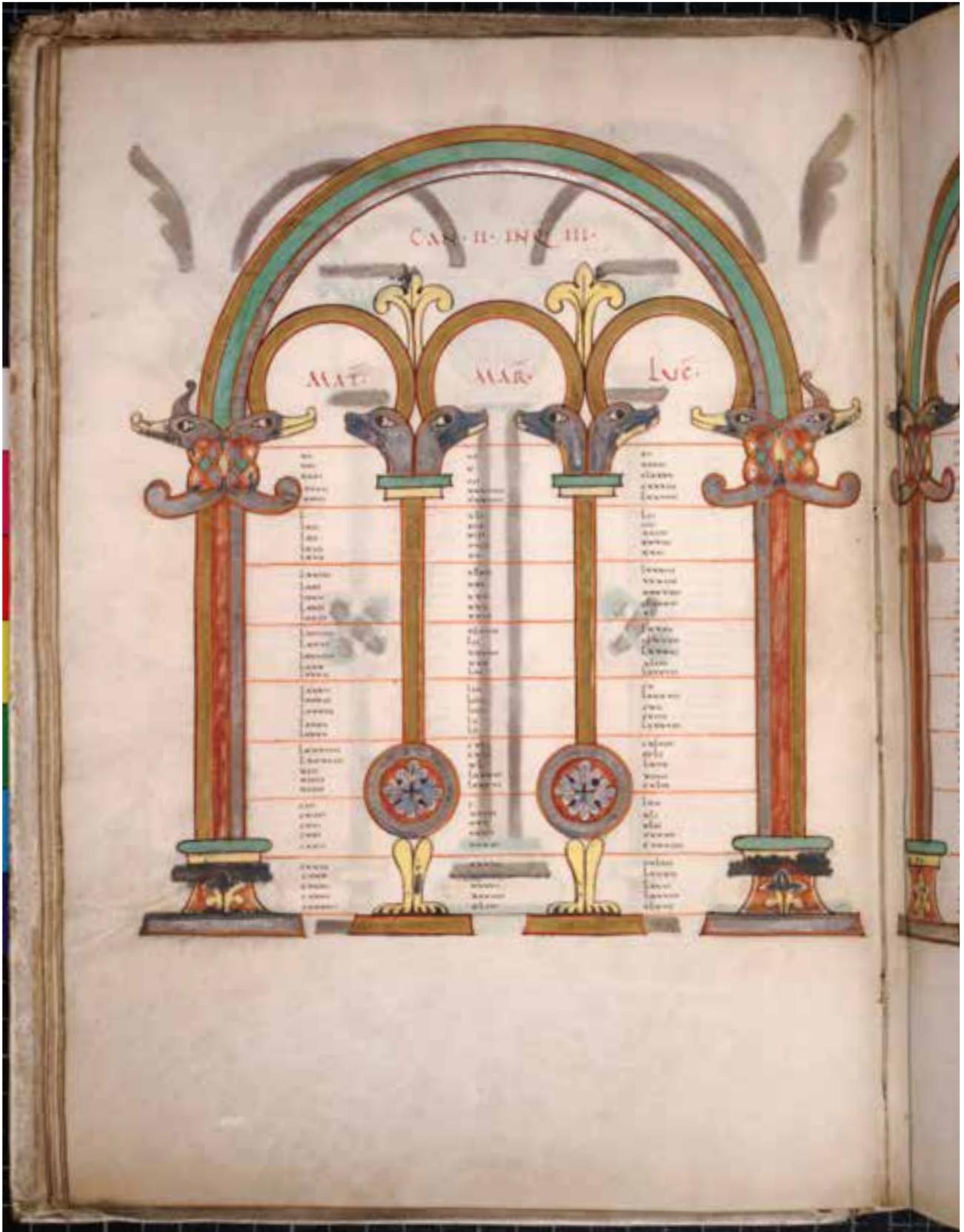
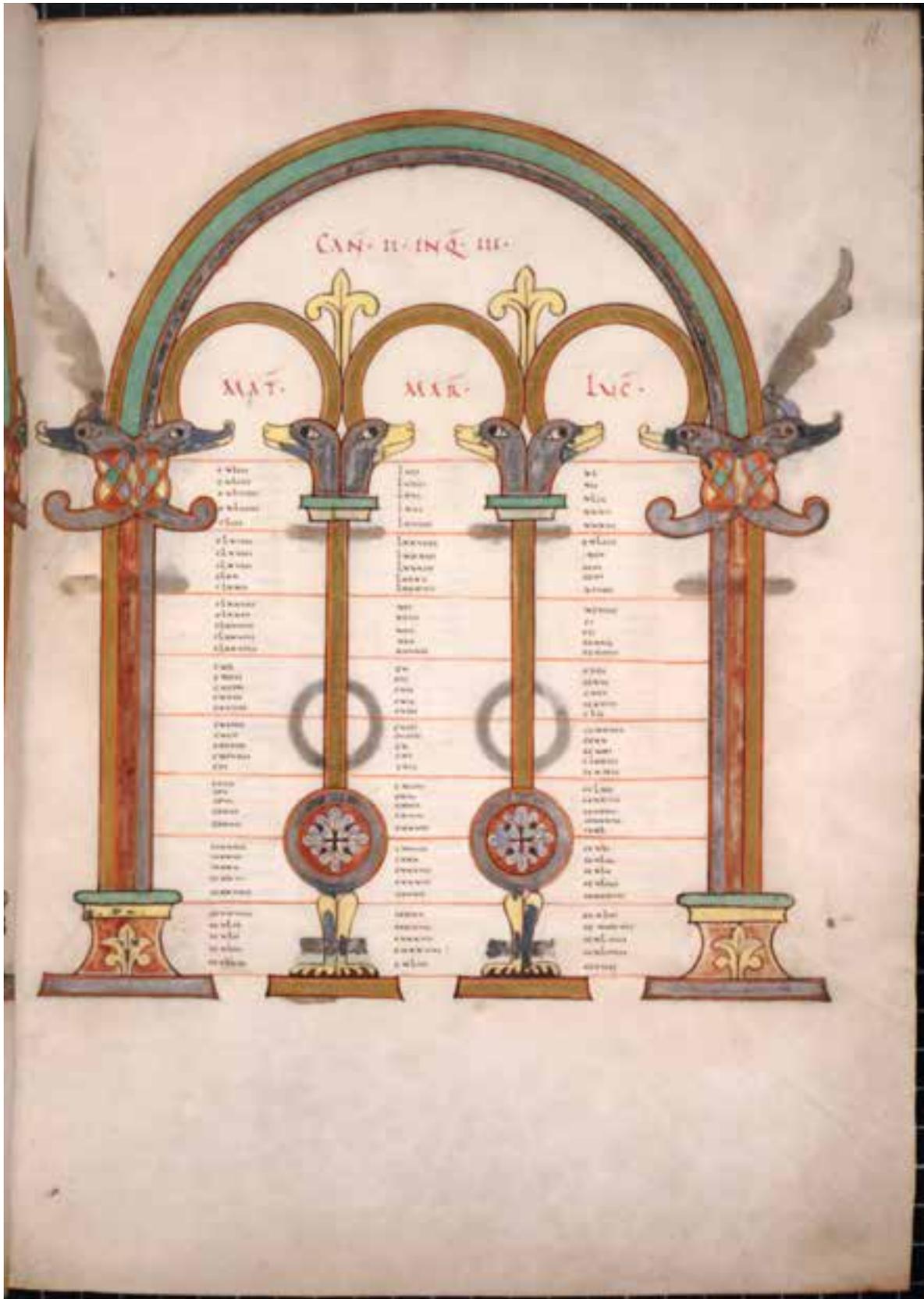


Fig. 2: Gospel book, Northern France, c.850. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14, fols 10v-11r: Canon III.
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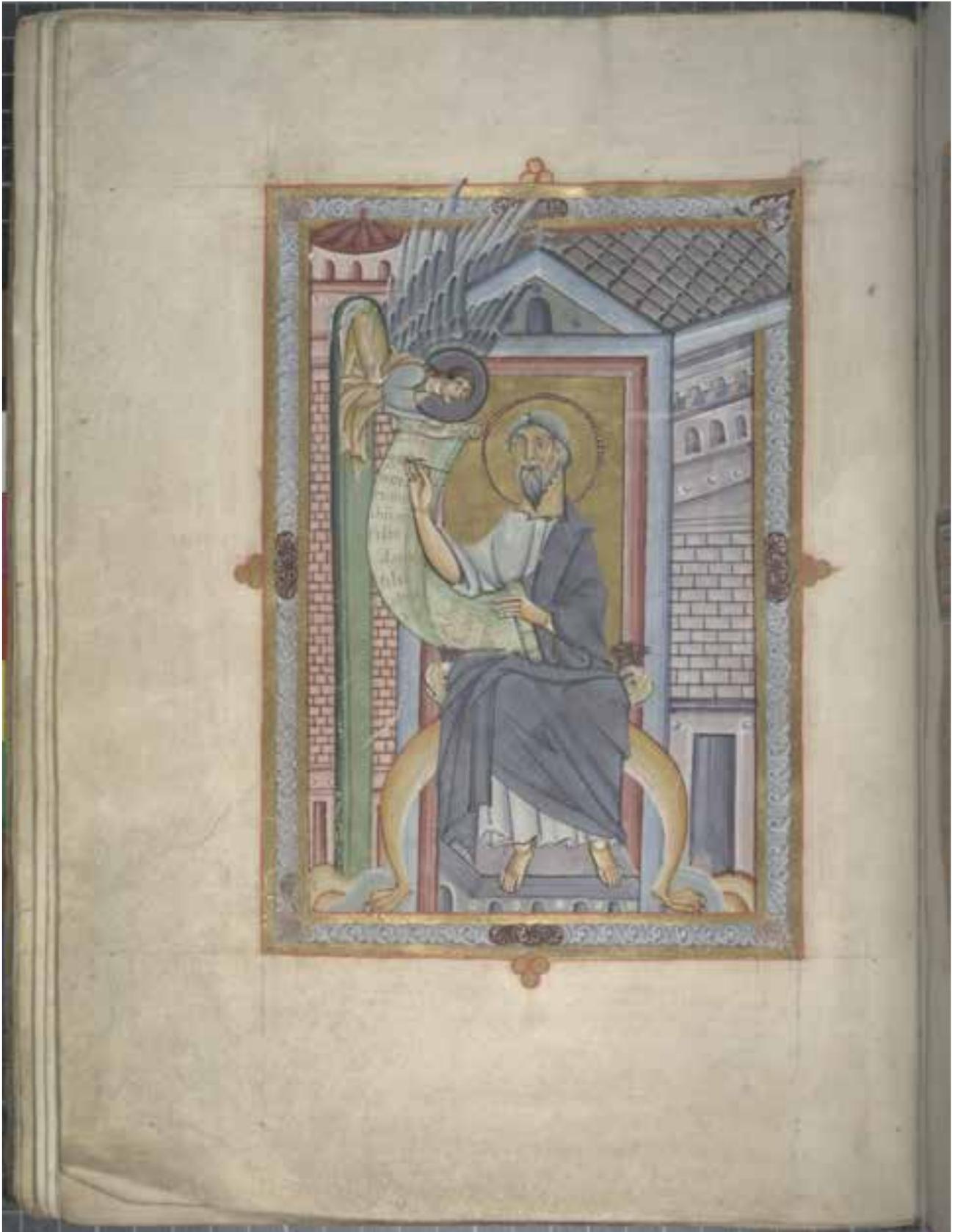


Fig. 3: Gospels from St Mary ad Gradus, Cologne c.1030. Cologne. Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod.1001a, fols 21v-22r: Evangelist Matthew and Incipit to Matthew. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.

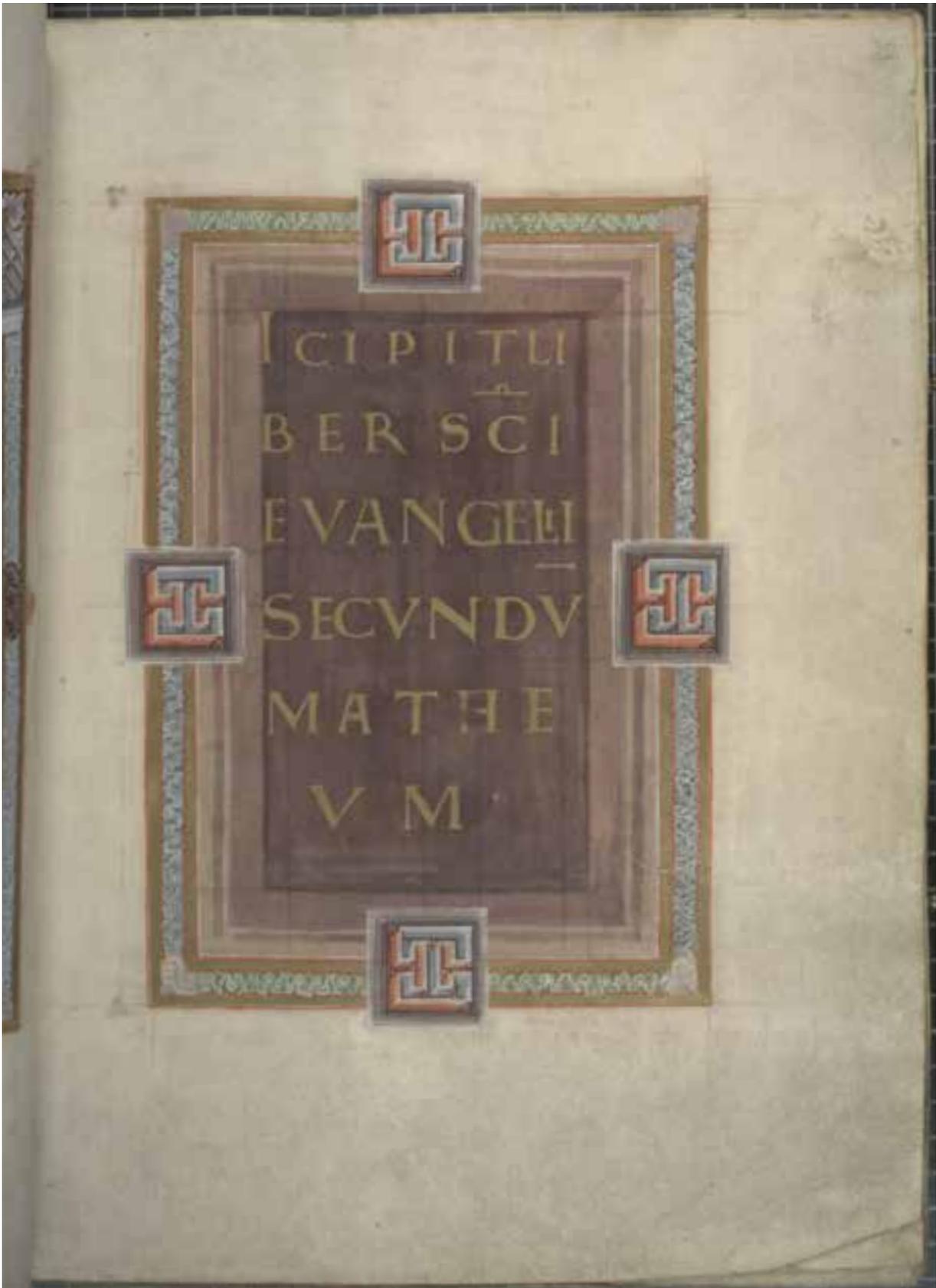




Fig. 4: Gospels from St Mary ad Gradus, Cologne c.1030. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 1001a, fols 7v-8r: Canon X and Hieronymus. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.





Fig. 5: *Liber Viventium Fabariensis*, Pfäfers 820–830 and later additions. St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabr. 1, pp. 4-5, Evangelist Matthew and incipit of Matthew. <https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/ssg/fab0001>

IN NOMINE DOMINI
ET SALVATORIS

NOSTRI IHESU XPI

INCIPIT EVANGELIUM

SECUNDUM MATTHEUM

liber generationis
IESU XPI filii da
uid: filii abrahAM:

Abram genuit isaac
Isaac autem genuit
iacob. Iacob autem ge
nuit iudam & frATRES eius
iudeus autem genuit fee
res et zecur de
athemuer. Fares
autem genuit esrom

Esrom autem genuit arAM
ArAM autem genuit
amiceleb. Amice
leb autem genuit nae
son. Nae son autem ge
nuit seelmon.

Salmon autem genuit bo
oz de ree hab. Booz
autem genuit obed & ruth

Obed autem genuit iesse.
Iesse autem genuit dauid
regem. Dauid cum
rex genuit seelomo
nem ex eze que fuit
uric. Salomon auTEM
genuit isboam.

Roboam autem genuit
abiam. Abiee autem ge
nuit eese. Asee auTEM
genuit iosaphat.

Iosaphat autem genuit
iorcem. Iorcem autem
genuit ozicem. Ozi
as autem genuit ioathAM
ioatham autem genuit
achaz. Achaz autem
genuit ezechiee.

Ezechiee autem genuit
ma neessen. Ma na
ses autem genuit amon.

Amon autem genuit io
siam. Josiee autem genuit
iechomicee & frATRES
eius in areens migra
tione babilonis.

Et post areens migra
tione babilonis. ie
chomicee genuit seela
thiel. Salathiel autem

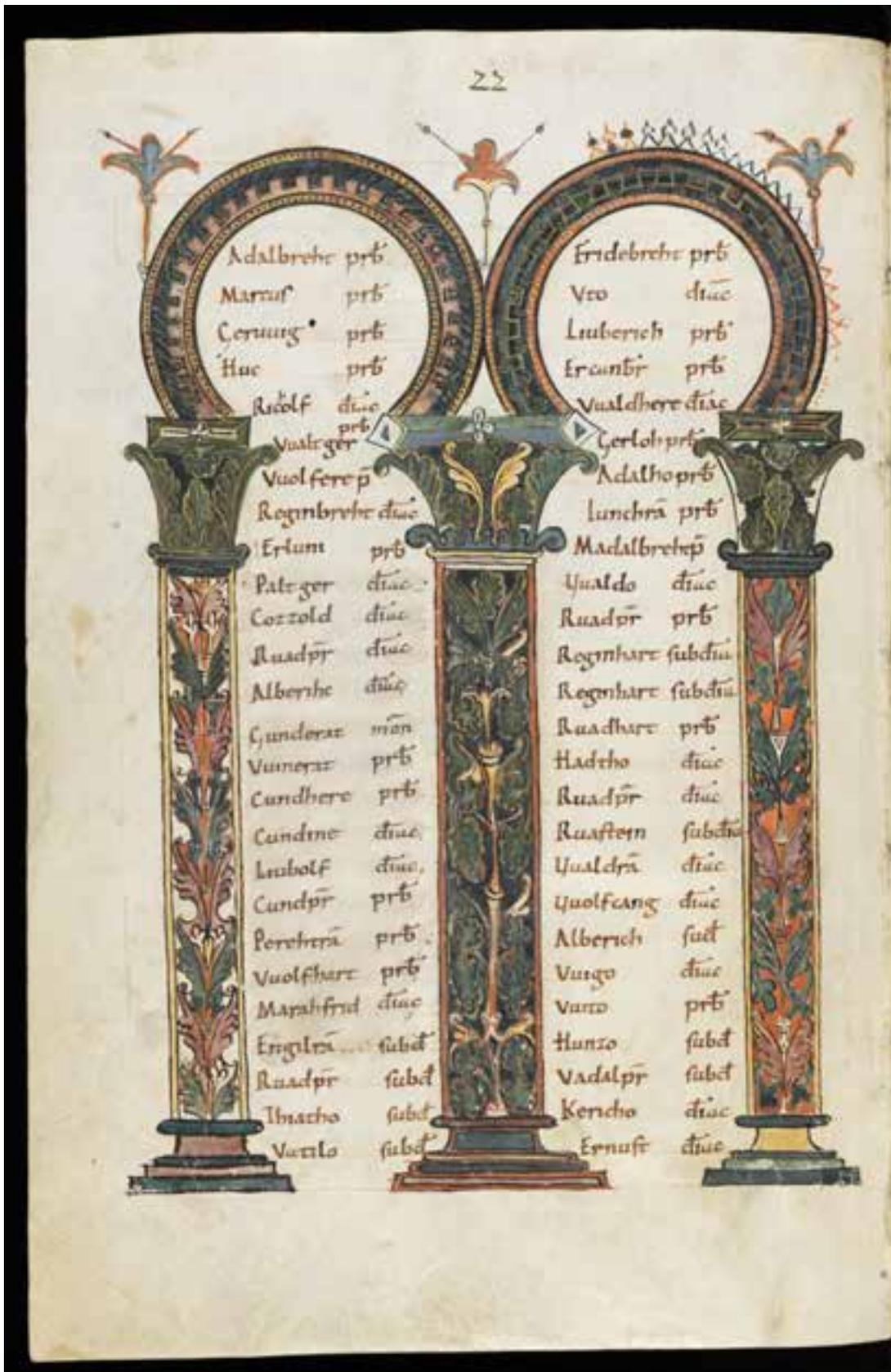
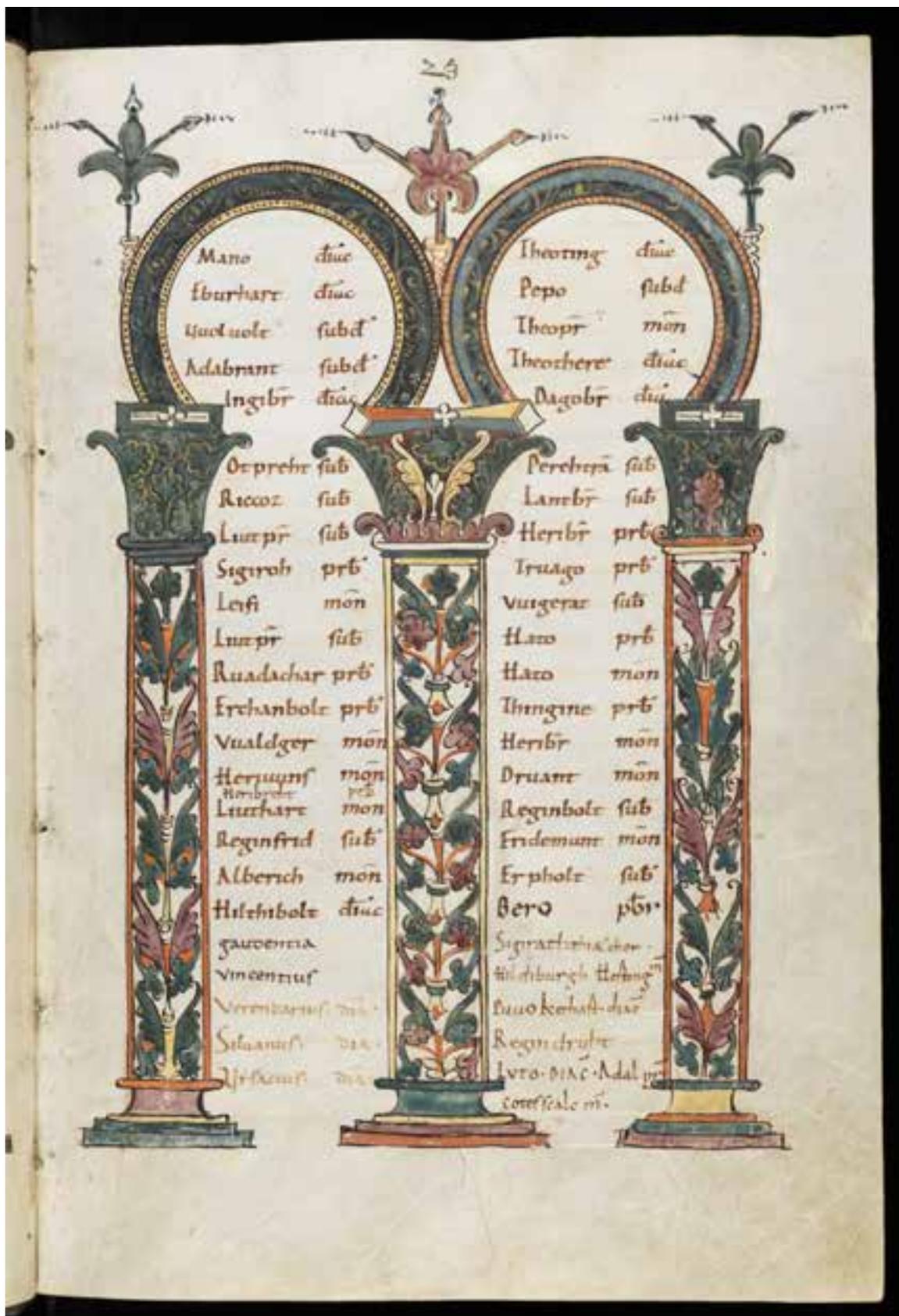


Fig. 6: *Liber Viventium Fabariensis*, Pfäfers 820–830 and later additions. St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabr. 1, pp. 22–23: List of monks from Reichenau abbey. <https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/ssg/fab0001>



St Gall created around 813/814 (St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, C 3 B 55) already began to use columns in a sequence of multi-coloured, double horseshoe arches,²² a form immediately reminiscent of early canon tables. This is not unlike the memorial entries in Pfäfers,²³ but the *Liber Viventium* did not use the double arches simply as honorific ornament. Instead, it injected entire arcade sequences between the four (partial) gospels, which creates an alternating structure of arcades and texts, interweaving them with the gospel. From the outset, several of the arcades were assigned the names of e.g. Carolingian rulers and the bishops of Chur (pp. 24–25), in whose diocese Pfäfers was located.²⁴ Other arcades were used only later to record the names of the abbots and members of confraternal convents or the names of benefactors of Pfäfers. From the late ninth century, lists of relics and treasures were added; in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the arches became home to statutes, vows, or deeds and charters.

Their entry into the gospel book that embodies Christ logos²⁵ allows the living and the dead to be in the immediate presence of Christ. Similarly, the listing of treasures and dominia of the monastery places them under his patronage. The gospel texts read during mass (as evidenced by the revisions entered around 840) recall the works of Christ on Earth and mark the beginning of the age *sub gratia* that continues to the present. As the names

Archiv, Hs. A 1), the Reichenau confraternity book of around 824 (Zurich, Central Library, Rh. Hist. 27), and the *memoriale* of Brescia of around 854 (Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Cod. G VI.7)—a list of Carolingian memorial books is provided in von Euw 1989, 207f.

22 Nordenfalk 1938, 82 sees the Eusebian archetype in the horseshoe arch typical of Syriac gospels. Individual cases of horseshoe arches are found introducing patristic texts in Merovingian manuscripts at Corbie and Luxeuil, as noted by von Euw 1989, 141–144; cf. the Augustinian sermons at Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 99 Weiss., <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/99-weiss/start.htm?image=00012> (last accessed 13/04/2020), or Jerome's Ezekiel commentary in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 11627, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423829s/f12.item> (last accessed 13/04/2020); on the latter cf. Babette Tewes 2011, 49, 70–71.

23 On the St Gall manuscript, cf. von Euw 1989, 215: double horseshoe arcades with integrated columns in the older part (C 3), columns with entablature in the newer part added around 890 (B 55). A similarly structuring and honorific use of arcades was already made in a canonical compendium of the late sixth century (Cologne, Dom Hs. 212) to frame a two-page list of popes at the end of the manuscript (fols 168v–169r). cf. von Euw 1989, 213; Plotzek 1998, 105–110; Ziemann 2014; Digital scan at <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/zoom/184597urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-937> (last accessed 31/10/2019).

24 Cf. the overview in von Euw 1989, 13–18 and 198.

25 Von Euw 1989, 212–213 suggests that the names recorded and commended unto God are likened to the names of the saved in the Book of Life (Ps 68:28f.; Apk 3:5). Gussone 1995; Lentjes 2006; Heinzer 2009.

of the living and the dead are recorded in the place of the Canon sections in the usual arcade motif, they are iconographically made part of salvation history. The architectural motif of the canon tables, originally emphasizing the unity of the four canonical gospels, is given new meanings in this transition: the believers listed in the tables partake in the salvation made possible by Christ. At the same time, the unifying nature of the arrangement under arches reemphasizes the spiritual unity and community of those commemorated in Christ. Giving new lease to the architectural nature of the motif, the arcades and the names sheltered underneath them form the church of Christ.

These examples show the different ways in which the arcade motif transitioned from the abstract depiction of the gospel synopsis to other manuscript contexts and purposes. With this iconographic transition and link, new connections are formed, Evangelist portraits are connected with the canon tables or, as in the case of Pfäfers, the living and the dead joined in Christ and in a community of diverse origin. The arcade structure of the canon tables was particularly useful for this purpose, as its iconography had long held a specific semantic load through its early and regular connection with the gospel book. Arcade sequences could be used to create a visual link between different (textual) elements in a manuscript. One can therefore argue that an ornament specific to a text, as is the case for canon tables in gospel books, has its textual context ingrained. This context is always recalled by the reader, whether intentionally or not. Whether this holds true needs to be tested with other manuscripts that, like the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, use the characteristic sequences of double-page arcades, but for other texts or even other genres.

3 Canon table arcades outside of gospel books

3.1 Early Middle Ages

Sequences of arches as a means for organizing lists and tables were used even in contexts outside of gospel books. This applies in particular to lists of names—deceased or otherwise included in *memoria* (as at Pfäfers)—but also for litanies, calendars, or glossaries.²⁶ This paper will focus specifically on manuscripts that have the typical dichotomy of arcade-framed and unframed parts. They include the

26 Cf. Jakobi-Mirwald 1998, 100.

Folchart Psalter at St Gall (Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 23), created there between 872 and 883.²⁷ The manuscript includes the psalter proper as well as *Cantica* (pp 337–359), the *Credo*, and the *Pater noster* (pp 359–365) and an opening litany of the saints, framed by arches (pp 7–14). This selection suggests that the Psalter was created and used not only for the liturgical hours, but for full mass liturgy. The litany was prayed during processions, baptism, and ordination to the higher orders²⁸ (Fig. 7). Written in gold and silver ink on purple ground, the initial *Kyrie* is followed by an invocation of God and the angels, then continuing through the choirs of saints to end with a plea for protection against enemies, sudden death etc. (p. 12), before concluding the litany with the *Agnus Dei* and *Kyrie* (p. 14). The columns and arches of the arcade sequence are richly ornate and floriated, with (floral) acroteria shooting from the impostas. As such, these double arcades resemble contemporary canon tables, as they also do in the iconography of the contained images.²⁹ The tympana, filled in green, include a sequence of twelve saints or apostles with crosses, codices, or scrolls in hand, interrupted by two Old Testament scenes: David as the Psalmist accompanied by scribes and other composers as the archetype of secular poetry and music (p. 9) and David's translation of the Arc of the Covenant as the precedent for contemporary processions (and as reference to the litany's practical use in the context of such processions) (p. 12).

The uniform framing of the saints called upon in the litany and depicted here in half-length portraits brings these saints into communion with Christ, the merciful judge addressed at the start and the end of the litany. The golden arches call to mind the New Jerusalem,³⁰ the vines and floral acroteria suggest Paradise, offering hope and the promise of salvation to the faithful reader.

The collection of saints underneath a sequence of arches at the start of the Folchart Psalters resembles that of the Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984

²⁷ Von Euw 2008, 394–395, no. 97. According to the entry on pp 26/27, the Psalter was created at the behest of Abbot Hartmut (872–883) by Folchart, of whom documents tell us that he rose from subdeacon to deacon at St Gall and presumably died in 903; <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0023> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

²⁸ Fischer 1961, 1075–1077. For England, cf. Lapidge 1991.

²⁹ Corner acroteria, floral décor and birds belong to the archetype of canon tables suggested by Nordenfalk 1938, 85–86. Cf. Gnisci in this volume on their allusion to Paradise. The *Liber Viventium* only replaces the acroteria with a single dedication scene on p. 12. On the Apostles as motifs for canon tables, cf. Nordenfalk 1963, e.g. in the Trier Gospels, Trier/Echternach um 730 (Trier, Trierer Domschatz, MS 61), <http://www.hss-census-rlp.uni-mainz.de/trier-ds-nr-61> (Christoph Winterer) (last accessed 28/11/2018).

³⁰ Cf. Neuman des Vegvar 1997.

(London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 1r–4r)³¹ (Fig. 8). The main body of this manuscript is again preceded by double pages of architectural imagery under arched or gabled roofs. They shelter representatives of the saints included in the litany of the Folchart Psalter—*confessores*, *virgines*, and *apostoli*³²—to form what Deshman calls a visual litany of the saints. The harmony of the double-page images, in a sequence of gables and arches, is even more reminiscent of canon tables here than in the Folchart Psalter. The central pillars of the architectural structures are here replaced by images of saints, and more saints fill the intercolumnar spaces.³³ The following benedictions are ordered according to the cycle of the liturgical year; the communion of saints thus precedes the cyclical time of the liturgy. A similar link of saintly choirs with the liturgical year can be found at the opening of the early tenth-century Galba Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Galba A.xviii), in which miniatures of saints in adoration frame a metric calendar.³⁴ The circular time of the liturgical year and the actual earthly liturgy are thereby connected to or, indeed, embraced by the eschatological time of God and his saints. As the visual all-saints narrative of the Aethelwold Benedictional deliberately picks up the structure of the canon tables, it adds another dimension of time to the circular time of liturgy: the historical biblical time of the gospel narrative. By including the Virgins and Confessors, the salvation story of the gospels is extended into the age of the church, making it only logical that representations of saints like the first martyr Stephen (fol. 17v) and Swithun (fol. 97v) also appear underneath the arches at the opening of their feasts (Fig. 9). This emphasizes their belonging to the saintly choirs that open the codex. Conversely, as not only saints, but also selected scenes from

³¹ Deshman 1995, 146–157. Deshman points to the link between the opening choirs of saints with the saints' feasts in the benedictional and the simultaneous reference to the great litany which is part of the church dedication liturgy (*dedicatio*) that concludes the manuscript; Deshman suggests the Galba Psalter (London, BL Cotton Galba A.xviii) of the early ninth century and the saints' miniatures added later (fols 2v, 21r) to the opening calendar as the model or stimulus for the Aethelwold Benedictional. The dedicatory poem (fols 4v–5r) names Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester as sponsor, who ordered 'many arches' (*circos multos*) to be included in it; cf. Lowden 2003, 29f.

³² Deshmann 1995, 259 assumes from the binding and a comparison with similar saints' choirs that the first leaves with images of Christ, possibly the prophets and patriarchs, martyrs, and one more page of confessor saints are missing.

³³ Cf. Reudenbach 1984.

³⁴ Deshman 1997; the calendar is decorated with images of the zodiac in medallions, KL initials, and individual figures (fol.13v), more miniatures were added for Psalm 1 (birth of Christ), Ps 51 (lost), and Ps 101 (Ascension); http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_galba_a_xviii (last accessed 28/10/2018).





Fig. 8: Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984. London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 2v–3r: Apostles. From Dешman 1995.

the gospel narrative are shown in the arches for the feasts of Jesus Christ, e.g. the returning Christ for Advent (fol. 9v), the shared framing binds together the biblical narrative, the historical age of the church, and the eschatological narrative of the final days.³⁵

³⁵ Superficially related to the Aethelwold Benedictional is the *Rituale of the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten (Liber Litaniarum et Benedictionum)*, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 240, here fols 55r–156), created under Abbot Meingoz (1180–1200). In this manuscript, however, the entire text is presented under an unbroken sequence of arches. As in the Aethelwold Benedictional, it starts with litanies (fol. 55r–61r), followed by ordination rites for the liturgical year: Candlemas to Purificatio Mariae, Ash Wednesday to the blessing of palms (fol. 70v), the Easter consecration of candles (fol. 76r), baptism and confirmation (fols 88v, 89v–90v). This is followed by several benedictions for livestock, land, and buildings, then a consecration of paraments and altar vessels (fols 125r–127r), the monastic vows (fols 141r–144v), prayers for the sick and the deceased with litany (fol. 156r), and a final list of abbots of Weingarten ending with Meingoz. It lacks the typical double structure of the ornate canon tables and pure text pages of evangeliaries that we find repeated in the Folchart Psalter and Aethelwold Benedictional in new forms. The Weingarten manuscript instead uses the arcades rather as a means of

The model provided by the canon tables is taken up and translated into new contexts in the Aethelwold Benedictional and the Folchart Psalter, where they remain an expression of unity in diversity, albeit now for the diverse communion of saints. At the same time, the structure retains an echo of its origins, representing the testimony and story of the gospels, for the historical truth of Jesus and his church, for the new covenant beginning with Christ, and for the salvation promised to the faithful —brought to life in the miniatures accompanying the feast days.

enhancing the status of the collection of texts and to give a sense of order and completeness to it. On the manuscript cf. Autenrieth/Fiala 1970, on the rituale (fols 55r–158v) 166f. It was later bound with records of Abbot Berthold (1200–1232); cf. http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=1615&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=739cd0ccda72972a7957a69b3cab4f9 (last accessed 28/10/2018).



Fig. 9: Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984. London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 97v–98r: St Swithun. From Deshman 1995.

3.2 High Middle Ages

Since the latter half of the twelfth century, the arcade motif has been taken up as a means for structuring calendars in several manuscripts.³⁶ This can be considered an obvious use, as such calendars often depicted the days of each month on a single page, arranged in several columns for the days of the week (letters a to g), the days of the months in the Julian calendar (using the *calends*, *nones*, and *ides* pattern), and the regular feast days, marked by the names

³⁶ Von Euv 1989, 210 suggests the origin of the lists-under-arches format (in the *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers) to be Roman calendars, specifically the copies of the Roman calendar of 354 (Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2154); cf. Elsner in this volume. As the surviving early medieval calendars do not use this arcade format, but were decorated with zodiacal images, the monthly works, or saints as in the mentioned Galba Psalter (London, BL, Cotton Galba A.xviii), the reintroduction of arcades to structure calendars in the mid-twelfth century does not seem to go back to an antique tradition; cf. Blume 2009, 521–535, here 527f. On illuminated calendars cf. Wittekind 2013.

and titles of the relevant saints.³⁷ This creates a table-like matrix for each month, repeated twelve times with variations, that inherently resembles the structure of the canon tables.³⁸ However, one has to ask about the semantics at work in this transition of a motif so far reserved primarily for the canon tables to a completely new purpose. Does the original meaning as known from the gospel books follow the motif into new contexts? Is it modified or given a new accent?

The Stammheim Missal (Los Angeles, Getty Collection, MS 64), created around 1170–80 for the abbey of St Michael in Hildesheim founded by Bishop Bernward, begins with a twelve-page calendar (fols 3v–9r) (Fig. 10).³⁹

³⁷ On the structure of calendar pages cf. Winterer 2009, 422–429.

³⁸ Von dem Knesebeck 2001, 114 assumes that in the Elisabeth Psalter in Cividale del Friuli (early thirteenth century), the ornamental calendars and their feast day images have symbolic meaning, not unlike canon tables, and that they reflect the promise of salvation in lay psalters.

³⁹ The manuscript is named after its location in the nineteenth century, when it was in the property of the Barons of Fürstenberg;



Fig. 10: Stammheim Missal, Hildesheim c.1170–1180, Los Angeles, Getty Collection, MS 64, fols 7v–8r: Calendar September–October. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



Each month is framed by an arch; the two months on each double page use the same design—January/February have leaves springing from the impost, March/April have cupolaed buildings, September/October crenelated towers. These uniform double pages are immediately reminiscent of the canon table type. The opening calendar includes a chronological overview over the regular feasts during the church year, providing an abstract, graphical frame to help organize the following hymns and prayers for those feast days. In a sense, it serves the same abstractly orientating function as the canon tables did for the gospels, even though it does not suggest the unity and order in the diverse and varied narrative of salvation history, but for the abstract and circular time kept in liturgy. Still, this liturgical time relates to salvation history in its reference to the core events in the life of Christ and, with the saints' feast days, in the life and times of the church.

The miniatures following the Stammheim Missal calendar also relate to the complex chronological structures of salvation history: They depict the six active days of the creation narrative to signify the start of history; they show wisdom personified and the Annunciation to stress the unity of the creator and the incarnate logos; and they refer in inscriptions to the house of the church and the heavenly city (fols 10v–11v). These miniatures are followed by the gradual with the set hymns of the *Proprium de Tempore* and the *Sanctorale* (i.e. the *Introitus*, *Graduale*, *Tractus*, *Offertorium*, and *Communio*) for the feast days of the Christmas and Easter cycles to Pentecost.⁴⁰ These are presented in a single column text with neumes, with each feast introduced by large floral initials. Only the hymns of special solemnity, the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Sanctus* are given in two columns, placed underneath colourful double arches and thus set apart as a group (fols 60v–74v) (Fig. 11). As with the opening calendar, these sets are crowned with similar motifs to become the familiar linked double arcades. This striking arcade framing gives the specific and different songs for the feasts an eye-catching place in the manuscript, both attributing special emphasis to the musical genre as an artistic feat and again underlining the inner unity and order in the variety of songs and tunes.⁴¹ At the same time, the framing of both the calendar and the feast-day hymns creates an iconographic link with the liturgical year. The arcade motif repeats the cyclical

structure of the calendar, which is also the basis for the sequences of the *Proprium* and *Sanctorale*.⁴² The arcades signify the ordered and cyclical time of the (liturgical) year, while keeping alive the gospel narrative that underlies the liturgical cycle. The age of the church is represented from its beginning to the living present.

As the twelfth century closes, the calendars opening many richly illuminated psalters are often presented as a dozen pages with the familiar double-arcade structure. The Claricia Psalter (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 26) made in Augsburg around 1200 has these double arcades (fols 1v–7r) forming a particularly distinct iconographic unity, as the months are accompanied by the Zodiac in the arches (Fig. 12).⁴³ The left arcade lists the days of the month, marked by letters and numbers; the right arcade contains the corresponding fixed feast days and saints' names. An introductory verse refers to the most important salvatory event of each month: the Baptism, Purification of the Virgin, Annunciation, Easter, Exaltation of the Cross etc. The Zodiac included in the iconography recalls the divine cosmological order and the cyclical nature of time. All of this is embedded in the familiar motif of the canon tables, whose (ornamental) iconographic reference to the gospel stories again reinforces the purpose of the introductory verses: Each month relates to a part of gospel history. The arcade motif becomes representative for the gospels, the Age of Grace, the foundation of the church, and the theological message contained, according to medieval exegesis, in the Psalter—the key prayer book of medieval clergy and laity alike.⁴⁴

The Landgrave Psalter of 1210–13 (Stuttgart, WLB, HB II 24) also opens with the double arcade sequence of the calendar (fols 1v–7r) (Fig. 13).⁴⁵ The left-hand arch covers

Teviotdale 2001; Teviotdale 2003, 79–91. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/104673/unknown-maker-stammheim-missal-german-probably-1170s/> (last accessed 25/11/2018).

⁴⁰ On the contents of the manuscript, cf. Teviotdale 2003, 90 Appendix 1.

⁴¹ Cf. Wittekind 2011.

⁴² Praefationes (fols 83–85) and a double-page image of the *Maiestas Domini* and *Crucifixion* (fol. 85v–86r) start the Canon Missae, followed by priestly orations for the liturgical year.

⁴³ I need to thank Dr Lynley Herbert of Baltimore for the mention of the Claricia Psalter. Its double arcades with framing arch have a slight horseshoe shape, the vase-shaped bases are placed on smaller pedestals—the overall effect is one of Syriac canon tables. This is a marked break from the following psalter and its framed miniatures: The opening five full miniatures showing the Annunciation, the birth and baptism of Christ, Mary and the princes of the Apostles; pen-drawn miniatures (Ulrich and Afra, Nicolas, Archangel Michael, and the Madonna and Child) highlight individual sections. On the manuscript cf. Graf 2002, 60f; Mariaux 2013; cf. <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/26205> (last accessed 23/11/2018).

⁴⁴ Auf der Maur 1999, 695f; Häussling 1999, 696–698, *Psalterium* ibid. 703f.

⁴⁵ The form of the calendar's twelve double arcades is unusual, as they rise to meet the marbled middle pillar; their contours are highlighted in red ink. Kroos 1992, on the calendar 92–97, on the litany 125–132, on the following depiction of Paradise (f. 176v) 132–135; Heinzer 2018. Digital

the calendar table with the regular feast days of the year, set against the gold ground. The feasts of the Twelve Apostles are highlighted in red. The right-hand arch depicts the Apostle commemorated in each month, with a halo, holding a banderole or book, sometimes facing the reader, sometimes in semi-profile. The coloured beam above each saint names the Apostle, and the tympanum is occupied by a figure engaged in that month's typical works. This combination of the cosmological organization of the year in twelve months and the symbolic number of twelve Apostles emphasizes how creation and salvation are interwoven.⁴⁶ The labours of the month in the tympana remind the reader of the (working) Christian life, linked directly by their placement and the shared gold ground with the Apostles as religious teachers. The Apostles step out from their arches as though from gates: following the exegesis of Psalm 86:1, they are not just the foundations of the New Jerusalem, but also its gates and the gates of churches on Earth.⁴⁷ The movement in the images, the halos cutting across the beams and the scenes in the tympana, their garbs folding over the arcades' pillars (fols 2r, 6r), and their feet stepping over the front edge of the images seem to make the Apostles come out of the confined space of the image. By artistic means, the role of the Apostles as the preachers of the gospels comes to life, opening the gates to the heavenly Jerusalem that is evoked by the arcade sequence.

The Landgrave Psalter again picks up the arcade motif that opened the manuscript in a modified form in the final litany following the psalter proper and the cantica. This (minor) litany, part of the vesper liturgy, calls on God and his saints for intercession; unlike the calendar's chronological listing of the saints according to their feast days, the litany uses a hierarchical grouping: Christus Salvator and Mary are followed by the Archangels, John the

Baptist, and the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Apostles and Evangelists, in turn followed by the martyrs, the confessors, and blessed virgins. The usual double arcades are placed on gold backgrounds, above which some architectural elements like arches, towers, and cupolas rise. As in the calendar, the actual text for the litany is presented in the spaces between the columns, crowned by half-length figures: the first three pages show the interceding saints to match the text, that is, the Virgin and John the Baptist (fol. 173r), followed by military saints named in the litany, SS. Maurice, George, and Sebastian (fol. 173v), and two virgin martyrs (fol. 174r). As in the Folchart Psalter, the arcades serve to highlight the litany and draw the eye to a selection of the saints being called upon. At the same time, the motif creates a link between the chronological and cyclical sequence of saints' days in the calendar and their hierarchical order in the litany. In the Galba Psalter, this was accomplished merely by framing the calendar with miniatures of the saintly choirs in adoration. The Landgrave Psalter opens the litany with a miniature (fol. 172v) depicting the Throne of Mercy. Fig. 14, framed by a mandorla and the four Evangelists to recall the *Maiestas Domini* miniatures that frequently preceded canon tables in earlier gospel books. While these had focused on motifs of the Pantokrator, the Landgrave Psalter's depiction of the crucified Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit places its emphasis on the sacrificial death of Christ and the salvatory role of the Holy Spirit. The text of the litany moves in the same direction, as its second part recalls the birth, baptism, death, and resurrection of Christ and the coming of the Spirit as a work of mercy, before concluding with the call for justification and mercy in the final days (fol. 174v). Above these final prayers, the images of the saints give way to depictions of the Psalter's patrons, Landgravine Sophia (r. 1196–1238) and Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia (r. 1190–1217) (fol. 174v), shown in supplication to two archbishops holding a clypeus with the Lamb. This again matches the text's prayer to Christ, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Kyrie's* call for mercy (fol. 175r). The final prayer for Landgrave Hermann is crowned by royal relations of the ruling couple (fols 175v–176r) who are thus at least visually included in the prayer.⁴⁸ As in the Folchart Psalter and the Aethelwold Benedictional, the sequence of arcades forms a community of the figures shielded by the arches; the apostles and saints of the former are here replaced by saints, clergy, and lay persons as the *ecclesia* and *Corpus Christi* (Eph 3,15–16) embodied in this visual architecture.

scan at: http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=2905&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=16&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=1d8dc66049d5b58ef54cbe641b6f7179 (last accessed 24/11/2018); description and sources at <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31901448> (last accessed 24/11/2018).

⁴⁶ Meyer/Suntrup 1987, 620–645; the foundational work on the meaning of the number twelve is Hrabanus, *De Universo*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CI, 73.

⁴⁷ Congar 1980, 781–786; see Augustine on Psalm 86:1–2 *Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Iacob; gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei*; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXXVII, here 1110–1106: Christus refers to himself (John 10:9) as the gate (*ianua*) through which the faithful will enter heaven; he embodies the twelve gates of the heavenly city in which the twelve Apostles will sit in judgment with him.

⁴⁸ Named in the tituli as *regina* (Gertrud, r.1203–1213) and *rex vngarie* (Andrew II., r. 1205–1235) and *regina* (Constance, r. 1198–1230, +1240) and *rex boemie* (Otakar I., r.1198–1230).





Fig. 13: Landgrafen-Psalter, Saxonia 1210–13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 24, fols 1v–2r: Calendar January–February. © Württembergische Landesbibliothek.





Fig. 14: Landgrafen-Psalter, Saxonia 1210–13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 24, fols 172v–173r: Trinity–Litany. © Württembergische Landesbibliothek.



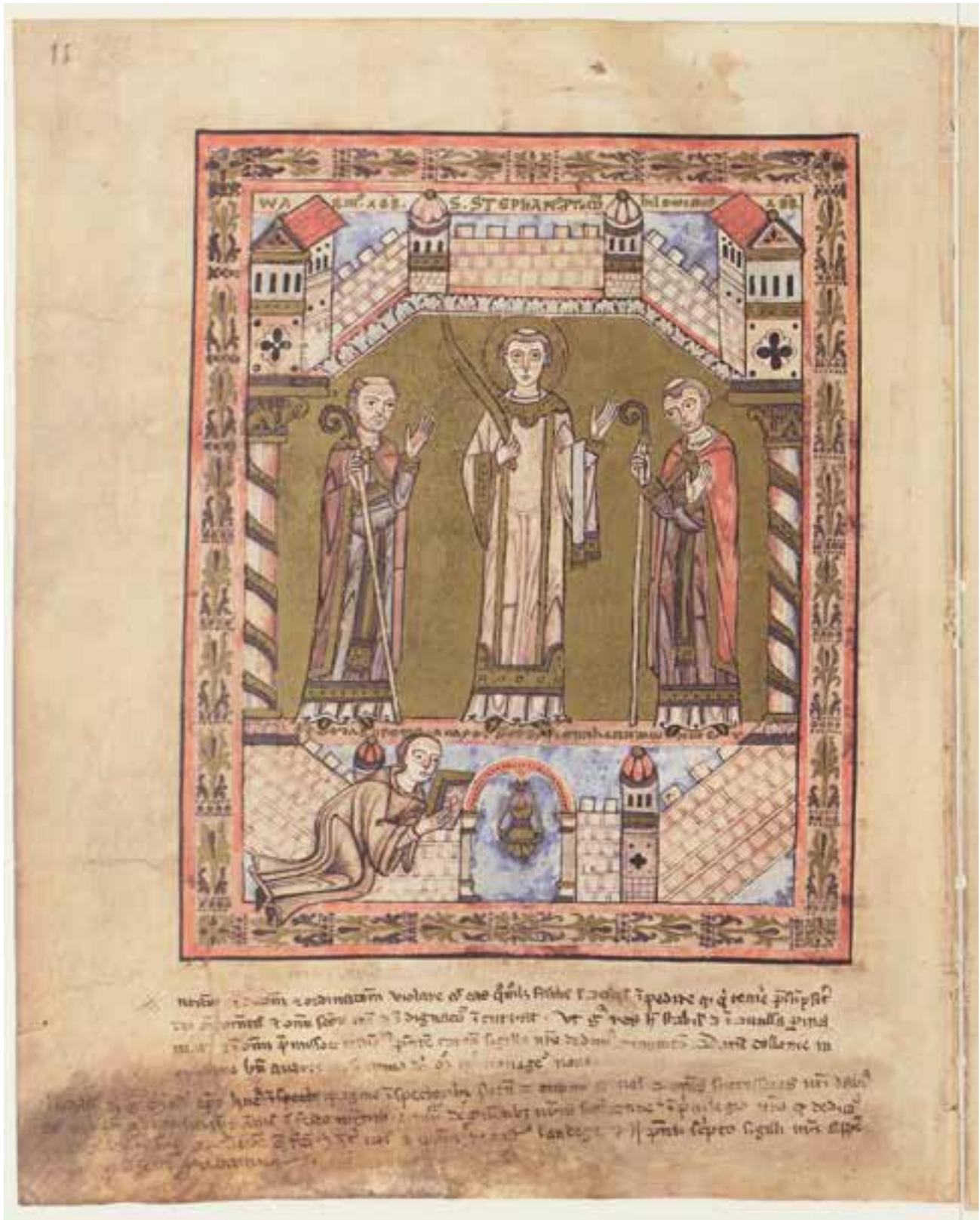


Fig. 15: *Liber Vitae* from Corvey, Corvey/Helmarshausen 1151–1160 and later additions. Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133, pp. 11–12: Dedication image with list of monks from Corvey. From Schmid 1989.

HONRICUS THEODERICUS
 ATHELBERT. FRODO.
 FLINGUS. MECHFRIDUS.
 RANNINGUS. Y'SICO. WI.
 ZELMUS. THAGENHARDUS.
 BRUNO. CONTRADUS. KENH.
 RUS. GODESCALCUS. CONTRAD.
 ABRAHAM. AECO. LIMBER.
 TUS. MEINHARDUS. OTHEL.
 RUS. KENMARUS. THIEDER.
 RUS. CONO. FRUTERICUS.
 ROTHULFUS. VNARG. WERN.
 BERUS. ATHELBERUS. EL.
 HARDUS. BERTHOLDUS.
 RENBERUS. WILHELMUS.

THEROU? LOELIUC?
 ATHELBERT. SASSO.
 ATHELBERTUS. HENRICUS.
 BURCHARDUS. MARQUARD.
 BERTHOLDUS. ANTONIUS. HER.
 MANNUS. NEOLANUS. GODES.
 CALCUS. IOHANNES. WILHELM.
 DUS. SAMMUS. HENRICUS.
 HENRICUS. SIGEFRIIDUS. GO.
 DESCALCUS. MARCIANUS.
 ERDMUNDUS. LORIAN.
 COMADUS. LUDOLD. LOBS.
 KENHARDUS. ROTHALF.
 HENNE. GUMBER. CON.
 RADUS. HENRICUS.
 HARRICUS.

Volenti dno abbas de h...
 Magni sed...
 p...
 uar...
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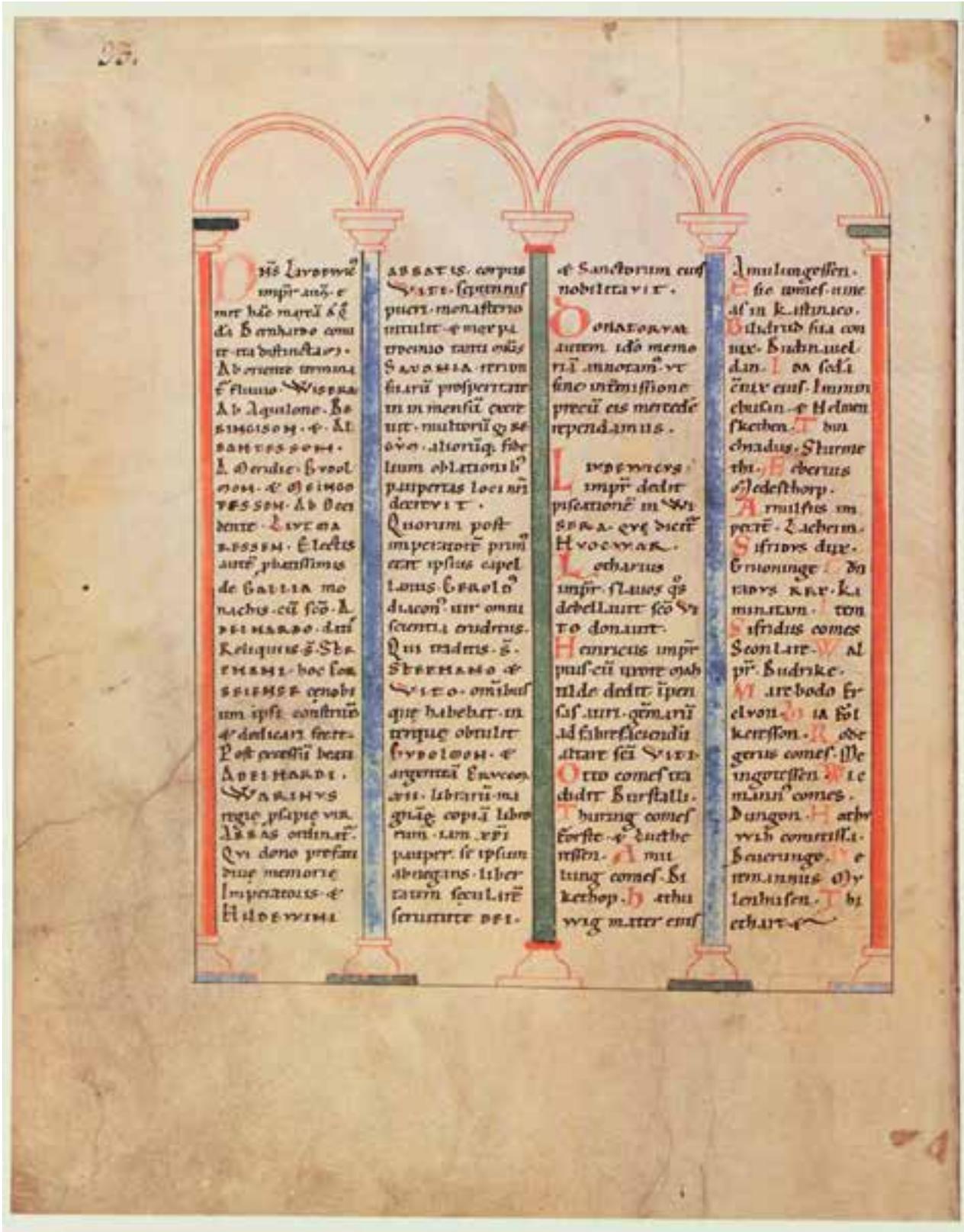
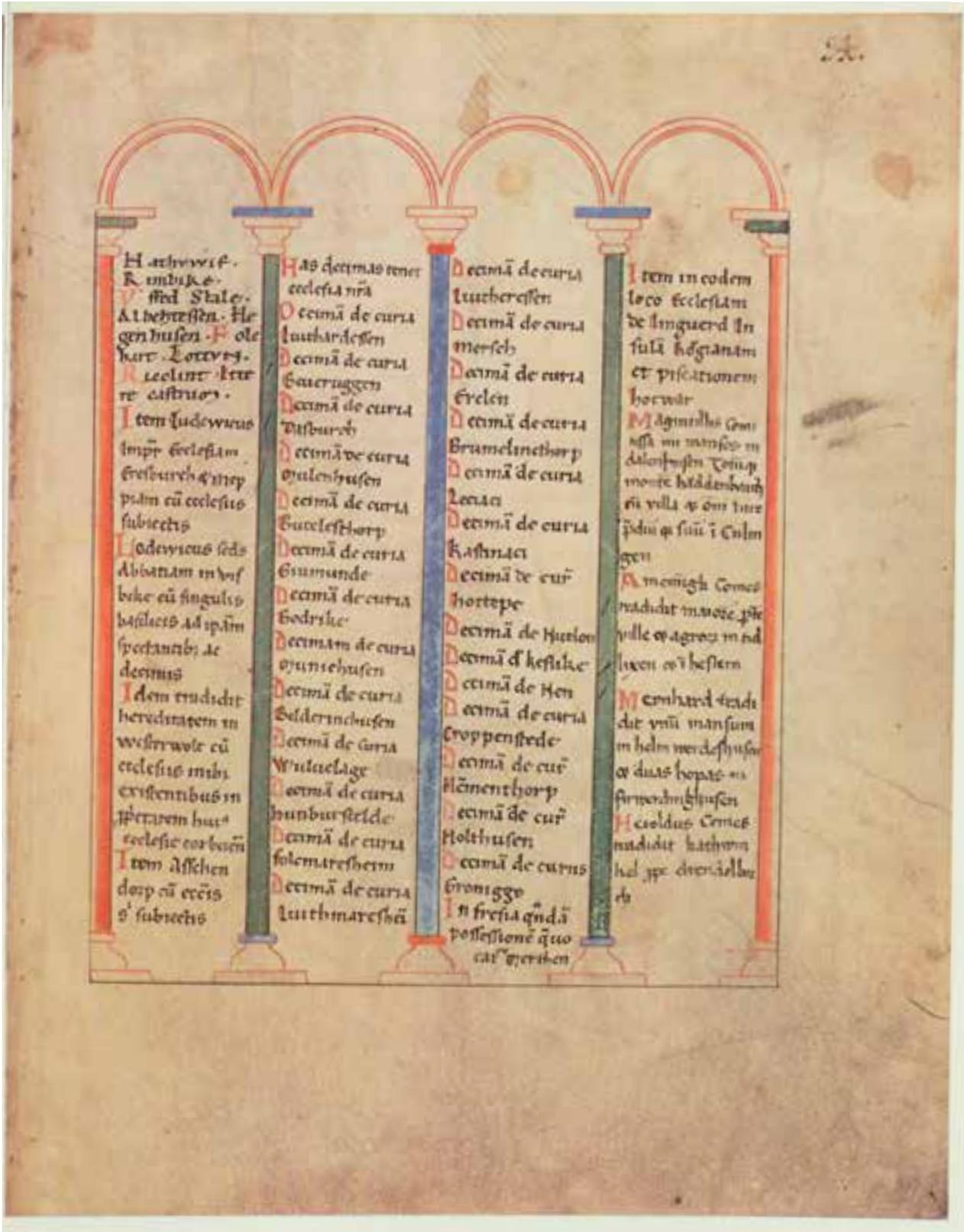


Fig. 16: *Liber Vitae* from Corvey, Corvey/Helmarshausen 1151–1160 and later additions. Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133, pp. 93–94: Benefactors of Corvey. From Schmid 1989.



The communal element of the arcade sequence iconography is particularly pronounced in the *Liber Vitae* of Corvey (Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133). The manuscript was begun in the time of Abbot Wibald (1146–1158), specifically 1151/55, but only completed under provost Adalbert (1147–1176).⁴⁹ The first quire contains the story of the abbey's foundation, leading into a chronological list of the abbots and monks of Corvey (pp. 1–6).⁵⁰ This is followed by a framed dedication image: The patron saint of Corvey, Saint Stephen, is depicted on gold ground, placed between Abbots Warin of Corvey (831–856) and Hilduin of St Denis (†855), who translated the Saint Vitus relics to Corvey. (Fig. 15) All are flanked by columns sustaining a band of towers and buildings that lifts the entire scene into the heavens of New Jerusalem. Separated by another band, the lower part of the image shows Provost Adalbert as donor of the manuscript kneeling in prayer before an open arch with a suspended lamp (p. 11).⁵¹ Facing this miniature, a double arch table lists the names of the Corvey community to open a sequence of no fewer than 76 double arches (pp. 12–92). The confraternal Benedictine houses commemorated in each are represented by a medallion of their patrons in the tympana and named by an inscription in the topmost arch. In the case of Corvey, the second patron saint, Vitus, figures here; the relics of both saints are recorded in the list of benefactors of the abbey and their donations (pp. 93–94) (Fig. 16). This list uses a quadruple arcade, continuing the double arcade motif of the previous part in a simplified form, and includes all secular and religious benefactors in the memoria of the community. The sequence of generally similar, but always slightly varying double arches surmounted by another arch in the Corvey *Liber Vitae* directly recalls Carolingian canon tables, replacing the usual Evangelist or Apostle portraits with patron saints, the canon table number with a title of *nomina fratrum nostrorum* or *sorum nostrorum*, and the specific sections with the names of the convent's members. Taken together, the long arcade sequence becomes a glorious architectural space populated by saints, a visual invoca-

tion of heavenly Jerusalem that the listed names hoped, with the intercession of their saints, to enter at the end of days. The entire sequence ends with another miniature of Christ in Majesty (p. 97) that leads over into the final part of the manuscript, the pontifical.⁵² The Corvey *Liber Vitae* underlines the communion of saints that are depicted in the arcade sequence, not unlike the Folchart Psalter, the Aethelwold Benedictional, or the Landgrave Psalter. While the latter had the reader of the litany invoking the saints for their protection, the Corvey manuscript places the names of the confraternal community under the protection of their patron saints by naming them in the spaces under the arches.

4 Conclusion

The gospel books of the early Middle Ages were often sumptuously ornate, as they were deemed to embody Christ logos. Canon tables were a regular feature and became a visual characteristic and leitmotif of this type of manuscript, irrespective of their actual usability. This made them a natural object for artistic attention, leading to a multitude of visual variations that also included a combination of canon tables with the similarly common motif of Evangelists' portraits. Whenever the arcade structure introduced by the canon tables was employed in other manuscript contexts, as was done in the examples of the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, the Folchart Psalter, and the Aethelwold Benedictional discussed here, it always served as reference to the gospels in this period. It imbued the texts or images with a new layer of meaning and gave the manuscript itself a greater dignity. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the great display gospel books often included pictorial lives of Christ as Christological illustrations. Canon tables were very occasionally reinterpreted and given new meanings, as in the Soissons Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

⁴⁹ The final arcades on pp. 90–92 are only outlined in red ink, the name of the patron inscribed in the medallion's frame, but not filled in; cf. the facsimile (Schmid 1983). On Wibald cf. Jakobi 1979; Wittekind 2004.

⁵⁰ Codicological reasons lead Rück 1989 to suggest an original and conceptual order of the pontifical (quires 8–25), the chronicle and matricle (quire 1), and the *Liber Vitae* (quires 2–7).

⁵¹ Kroos 1989, 151 understands the striking gold sash of the abbots and the lamp as a reference to Luke 12:35 *Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentis in manibus vestris*, which was part of the formula for confessors' feasts; cf. Wittekind 2004, 259–263.

⁵² The pontifical begins with a framed miniature (p. 97) depicting the sainted bishops Servatius and Nicolas underneath Christ blessing in the heavens; the book reads *Ego sum vitis vos palmites* (John 15:5). As Abbot Wibald translated Servatius's relics to Corvey in 1147 and the quote is part of the lesson for his feast, Kroos 1989, 152 sees this miniature as referring to Wibald. Rück 1989, 141 suggests that the pontifical vestments given to Abbot Wibald in 1154 gave the occasion for producing the *Liber Vitae*, even though this promotion given ad personam by the Pope did not imply license for ordinations, reserved to bishops proper; the Wibald's sacramentary (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 2034-35) also includes parts of the episcopal ordo (fols 110r–149v); cf. Wittekind 2004, 354, 361.

France, lat. 8850), spinning the salvation history narrative further through the age of the church to the final days.⁵³

The twelfth century saw a general drop in the number of ornate gospel books being produced, the Brunswick Gospels of Henry the Lion (Helmarshausen 1188, Munich, BSB, Clm 30055/ Wolfenbüttel HAB, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2^o) being a famous exception, in which key themes of the gospels are presented by figures and banners in the tympana or frames of the canon tables (fols 10v–18v).⁵⁴ Usually, the canon tables lose their prominence, as the Evangelist portraits and other illuminated miniatures become the artistic focal points at the beginning of the manuscripts.⁵⁵ Some manuscripts of the thirteenth century indeed forego the canon tables completely, as in the Goslar gospel book of around 1240 (Goslar, Stadtarchiv Hs. B 4387) or university bibles.⁵⁶ Liturgical practice had turned more towards dedicated lectionaries that included only the required gospel readings in the order of the liturgical year or, since the mid-twelfth century, to full missals that included all texts required for the liturgy. As entries from treasuries, oaths or deeds show, the use and value of gospel books shifted from the liturgical space to legal and administrative space or institutional memoria.⁵⁷

It is in light of this shifting use and meaning of the gospel books in the twelfth century that one needs to revisit the canon tables in the Stammheim Missal, the great ornate psalters, or the Corvey *Liber Vitae*. It might indeed be the very fact that gospel books fell out of use in liturgy and the lessons that led to the motif of the canon tables becoming more accessible for other purposes. The arcade frames of the canon tables became signifiers for the gospels and their story of Christ's life and teaching. With the lighter semantic burden of such a less specific meaning, the motif could move into other contexts: Into calendars structuring the life of Christ or the saints in cyclical format or to hymns and prayers. The repeat use of the motif at different places in a manuscript served as a bracket for different texts and iconographies, creating new references and encouraging the introduction of new meanings. The canon tables often served as a visual cue for the idea of harmony in diversity and for the communion of the saints, the living, and the dead in Christ. In the end, the architecture of the canon tables shifted from a specific function and meaning to become a more versatile, visually pleasing, but always semantically loaded vessel.

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⁵³ Cf. Kitzinger on the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon gospel books kept in Cambridge (Trinity College, MS B.10.4) in this volume. The tympana of the canon tables in the Arenberg Gospels (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M. 869, c.1000) depict the adoration of Christ as the Son of Man, the *Agnus Dei*, and the Saviour vanquishing death and the devil, cf. Rosenthal 2011; <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/159161> (last accessed 25/11/2018). The Jumièges Gospels of the early twelfth century (London, BL, Add. MS 17739) discussed in Kitzinger's contribution populates the arcades with angels and includes images to relate the incarnation of Christ, the age of the church, and the final days to each other.

⁵⁴ On the rich iconography of canon tables and the addition of banderoles cf. Klemm 1988, 17, 23–26; <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&image=015v> (last accessed 25/11/2018).

⁵⁵ The ten-part canon tables in the gospel book of St Vitus in Mönchengladbach, Cologne c.1140 (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kg 54:211/ AE 680) are executed in simple pen drawing, in stark contrast to the fully illuminated and gilded *Maiestas* (fol. 24r) or the gold and silver leaf in the Jerome and Evangelists miniatures; Märker 2001, 50–63. Cf. the St Denis Bible of 1146 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 116 vol. 2), whose canon tables fols 101r–102v are also pen drawings, while illuminated, partially historiated initials open each gospel (fols 103v, 116v, 124v, 138r): cf. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10543770v> (last accessed 13/04/2020) (last accessed 25/11/2018).

⁵⁶ Cf. Kroos and Steenbock 1991, 3–4. On the richly illuminated Cologne university bible, late thirteenth century (Cologne, Dom Hs. 2), cf. Plotzek 1998, 168–178 Nr. 26.

⁵⁷ Von Euw 1989, 11–18; von Euw 1993, 15–36; Bihrer 2016; Wittekind 2017, 176–200; Groten 2019.

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