

# manuscript cultures

Hamburg | Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures

ISSN 1867-9617



---

## Publishing Information

### Editors

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich  
Universität Hamburg  
Asien-Afrika-Institut  
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1/ Flügel Ost  
D-20146 Hamburg  
Tel. No.: +49 (0)40 42838 7127  
Fax No.: +49 (0)40 42838 4899  
michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof Dr Jörg Quenzer  
Universität Hamburg  
Asien-Afrika-Institut  
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1/ Flügel Ost  
D-20146 Hamburg  
Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 - 7203  
Fax No.: +49 40 42838 - 6200  
joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

### Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey  
Universität Hamburg  
Sonderforschungsbereich 950  
'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa'  
Warburgstraße 26  
D-20354 Hamburg  
Tel. No.: +49 (0)40 42838 9420  
Fax No.: +49 (0)40 42838 4899  
irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

### Layout

Astrid Kajsa Nylander

### Cover

Photo: *Codex Azcatitlan*, Ms. Mexicain 59-64, fol. 5' (detail)  
showing traces of Mesoamerican footprints. © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

### Translations and Copy-editing

Carl Carter, Amper Translation Service  
www.ampertrans.de  
Mitch Cohen, Berlin

### Print

AZ Druck und Datentechnik GmbH, Kempten  
Printed in Germany

ISSN 1867–9617

© 2017

SFB 950 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa'  
Universität Hamburg  
Warburgstraße 26  
D-20354 Hamburg

[www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de](http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de)

---

# CONTENTS

## FORUM

- 3 | A Case for the Study of Modern Literary Manuscripts  
by Christian Benne

## ARTICLES

- 15 | The ‘Marriage Charter’ of Theophanu: A Product of Ottonian Manuscript Culture  
by Bruno Reudenbach
- 31 | Medial Ambiguity: Liturgical Books of the Latin Church and their Changing Status in Mediaeval Tradition  
by Felix Heinzer
- 51 | Travelling the Time Line: The Visual Organisation of New Spanish Manuscripts about the Mexica  
by Anna Boroffka
- 73 | How Arabic Manuscripts Moved to German Libraries  
by Tilman Seidensticker
- 83 | A Manifold Heritage: Glimpses of a Family Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in Ilorin (Nigeria) and Its Transregional Links  
by Stefan Reichmuth
- 101 | Fakes or Fancies? Some ‘Problematic’ Islamic Manuscripts from South East Asia  
by Annabel Teh Gallop
- 129 | What a Multiple-text Manuscript Can Tell Us about the Tamil Scholarly Tradition: The Case of UVSL 589  
by Jonas Buchholz and Giovanni Ciotti
- 145 | The Novgorod Birch-bark Manuscripts  
by Imke Mendoza
- 160 | How to Make an Archival Inventory in Early Modern Europe: Carrying Documents, Gluing Paper and Transforming Archival  
Chaos into Well-ordered Knowledge  
by Markus Friedrich
- 174 | Contributors
- 176 | Announcement

## Article

# The 'Marriage Charter' of Theophanu: A Product of Ottonian Manuscript Culture\*

Bruno Reudenbach | Hamburg

## 1. Legal document – manuscript – work of art

On the Sunday after Easter in the year 972, Pope Johannes XIII conducted the marriage of Otto II and the Byzantine princess Theophanu in Rome. The date of this day, 14 April 972, and the site, 'done in Rome among the Holy Apostles' (*actum Rome ad sanctos apostolos*), are named in a document that is usually termed the Marriage Charter of Theophanu (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This designation is not accurate, however, because the document is not about the wedding itself or the details of the wedding ceremony. Its text does not mention, for example, whether the marriage celebration was tied to Theophanu's coronation as co-regent, as would have corresponded with Byzantine custom. All that is mentioned is the Pope's blessing – 'in that the blessing of the most holy and universal Pope John XIII follows' (*domnique Iohannis sanctissimi et universalis papae tertii decimi benedictione prosequente*) – and so it remains unclear whether the wedding was celebrated with Byzantine or Roman rites and what role Pope John XIII played in the wedding ceremony.<sup>2</sup> The naming of the site raises questions, since the Church

of the Holy Apostles (*ad sanctos apostolos*) was not the station church for that Sunday (14 April 972), but for the Thursday after Easter (station churches are those churches in Rome that were appointed for a special feast day, when the Bishop of Rome, i.e. the Pope, celebrated the liturgy of this day in the particular church). Since it must be assumed that the wedding celebration with the Pope's participation took place on 14 April in St Peter's Basilica, the couple's betrothal could have been held in the Church of the Holy Apostles on Trajan's Forum earlier, on Thursday.<sup>3</sup> In the various predetermined phases of the marriage process, this had to precede the marriage itself.<sup>4</sup> Part of the process was the husband's transfer of a bride price (*dos*) to the bride.<sup>5</sup> This is precisely the legal content of the Theophanu charter. It is thus not a marriage certificate in a strict sense, which would have documented the marriage of Otto II and Theophanu, but an endowment document with which Otto hands his bride Theophanu her *dos*, the power of disposal over certain provinces and imperial courts

\* This paper was written in the framework of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa, and Europe, Hamburg University, with funding from the German Research Association (DFG) in the context of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC). I would like to thank the Lower Saxony State Archive, Wolfenbüttel site, and Dr Silke Wagener-Fimpel for the generous opportunity to closely examine the Theophanu document and for providing information, photographic material, and permission to publish. I was able to present my first observations on the document at the workshop 'Textures of Material' of the Centre for Advanced Studies 'Pictorial Evidence. History and Aesthetics' (Free University Berlin), which was organized by Anna Bücheler (University of Zurich) and Britta Dümpelmann (Free University Berlin). I owe basic information, further leads, and stimuli to the discussion carried out there, to my colleagues at the CSMC, to Philippe Depreux, to Oliver Hahn, and to Hedwig Röckelein (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen). This paper was completed in 2016. Unfortunately, later published literature, especially Eliza Garrison (2017), 'Mimetic Bodies: Repetition, Replication, and Simulation in the Marriage Charter of Empress Theophanu', *Word & Image*, 33,2: 212–232, could not be considered.

<sup>1</sup> Lower Saxony State Archive – State Archive Wolfenbüttel, 6 Urk. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Georgi 1991, 154f.; Gussone 1991, 164–166.

[...] cum castellis casis servis et ancillis terris campis vineis pratis silvis montuosa planiemque tenentibus aquis aquarumque decursibus molendinis piscationibus [...].

[...] with castles, vineyards, fields, meadows, forests, mountains, huts and female servants, countries with their tenants, waters and watercourses, mills, fisheries [...].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Gussone 1991, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Goetz 1986, 41.

<sup>5</sup> Föbel 2000, 67–80.

<sup>6</sup> Matthes 1984, 11; Schulze 2007, 95.



Fig. 1: Theophanu document. Lower Saxony State Archive – State Archive Wolfenbüttel, 6 doc. 11.

In this context, it has been considered whether the Theophanu charter was not presented in the course of the betrothal and wedding ceremony in 972, but was rather a legal act, the transfer of the *dos*, only documented retroactively.<sup>7</sup> The unusual appearance of the document plays a role in this: its elaborate design as a document of splendour, which is therefore often regarded as a retroactive copy of the original, simpler document.<sup>8</sup> Whether the splendid document was retroactively prepared is not the only thing that is controversial to this day; researchers still do not agree about its actual purpose either, nor has it been possible to identify or localize the writer and artist.<sup>9</sup>

The following elucidations take another look at the unusual – indeed, singular – appearance of the Theophanu document. The goal here is not to make motif- and style-historical deductions about it, as has been extensively done in art-historical papers, nor to identify the author's and artist's hands responsible for the document or with other documents that served as direct models for it.<sup>10</sup> That the document doesn't owe its appearance to the imperial chancellery has always been recognized. It has been regarded as a 'work of art'<sup>11</sup> and 'the most magnificent and splendid document produced in all the Middle Ages'.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the context of its production is not to be sought solely in the Ottonian court chancellery,<sup>13</sup> where the substantial and graphic production of royal and imperial documents generally lay in the hands of high-ranking clergymen.<sup>14</sup> Following the protracted negotiations between the Byzantine and the Ottonian courts, which finally led to Theophanu's being won as Otto II's bride, such clergymen will have composed the text of the Theophanu document as well. As regards the external appearance and material production,

<sup>7</sup> Georgi 1991, 154, 160; Ohnsorge 1983, 156f.

<sup>8</sup> Ohnsorge 1983, 159-161; Schulze 2007, 39-41; Cutler and North 2007, 172, 180.

<sup>9</sup> Hoffmann 1986, vol. 1, 103-116; Master of the *Registrum Gregorii*; Kahsnitz 2001, 129: 'an extraordinary artist [...], whom we do not know and cannot classify'; Schulze 2007, 29.

<sup>10</sup> This is the approach taken by Hoffmann 1986, vol. 1, 103-116.

<sup>11</sup> Rück 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Brühl 1977, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Fleckenstein 1991, 305; Huschner 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Huschner 2006, 366.



Fig. 2: Theophanu document (detail): Upper part with *invocatio* and *intitulatio*.

however, external competence outside the chancellery was obviously found and mobilized in the Empires scriptoria.

The manuscript culture of that time served the diplomatic activities and political intentions that accompanied the marriage of the Ottonian heir apparent and the Byzantine princess. Imperial documents helped not only to secure the law, but, since the ninth century at the latest, special forms of writing and graphic signs made these documents tools of displaying prestige and of symbolic communication.<sup>15</sup> This is especially true of the elaborate and singular design of the Theophanu document. The thesis of the following considerations is that the document, including its visual appearance, is to be understood in the context of diplomatic exchange between Byzantium and the West. In its design, clearly not in the hands of the ruler's chancellery but in those of a scriptorium, recourse was taken partly to signs depicting Byzantine imperial might, but at the same time also to motifs and procedures at home in an Ottonian scriptorium and thus in the manuscript culture of the time. Consequently, this is a document of interest not only for the study of history and diplomacy, but at least as much for the study of manuscripts and for art history. The point is more than to deduce and classify ornamentation and figurative motifs, though; rather, it must be asked whether and how the unusual visual constitution of the document and its oscillation between two genres – legal document and product of an artistically highly developed manuscript culture – is connected with

its functions in the symbolic communication between Byzantium and the West.

## 2. The document and its visual organisation

The text of the document adheres closely to the fixed formula of Ottonian documents.<sup>16</sup> The document's issuer is Emperor Otto II. At the beginning is the *invocatio*, the invocation of the Trinity, followed by the *intitulatio*, the naming of Otto with the title of Emperor: 'In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Otto, by favour of divine grace Imperator Augustus' (*IN NOMINE S[an]C[ta]E et INDIVIDU[a]E TRINITATIS OTTO DIVINA FAVENTE CLEMENTIA IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS*) (Fig. 2). Following the *intitulatio* is a long *arenga*, a general theological introduction that bases the holiness of matrimony both on the Old Testament and with reference to the Church as the Bride of Christ. Then, in the *promulgatio*, Otto proclaims his decision, made after the advice and agreement of his father, the princes of the Empire and the Pope, to wed Theophanu, the niece of the Byzantine Emperor John, and to make her a *consors imperii*, i.e. a co-regent in the Empire. Only then comes the *dispositio*, in which the actual legal content of the document is stated, namely the transfer of the *dos* to Theophanu. The conclusion is the so-called *eschatocol* (Fig. 3). It comprises the *corroboratio*, the indication of the document's sealing, although in this case no seal is actually attached. The *subscriptio* is the name and signature line with the monogram of Otto the Great and Otto II; in the recognition line, the document is notarized by Willigis, the Archbishop of Mainz,

<sup>15</sup> Keller 1998; Huschner 2006, 361.

<sup>16</sup> Schulze 2007, 29–34; Deeters 1973.



Fig. 3: Theophanu document (detail): *eschatocol*.

as *cancellarius*. Finally the date and site are named, *XVIII kalendas maii anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCLXXII*, the 18th calend of May, i.e. 14 April 972, in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome. The document concludes with the benediction *feliciter* ('favorably', 'happily').

The document consists of three sheets of parchment glued to each other, resulting in a rotulus (vertical scroll) 144.5 cm × 39.5 cm in size. At the outermost edge of the rotulus is a painted frame, a two-toned blue-and-white band with foliage ornamentation between two narrow gold-coloured strips (Figs 1, 2, 3). This makes the frame both the outermost border of the parchment surface and the frame of the written area. Unlike the sides, the upper strip of frame shows no leaf ornamentation, but rather seven small medallions on a gold background (Fig. 2). The bust portrait of Christ appears in the middle position with St John and Mary at his sides and, on either side of them, two prophets and apostles, while pairs of animals facing each other are depicted between them. The writing area extends within the frame, but as a patterned background rather than a monochrome, purple surface. The pattern results from fourteen whole and two half large, circular, purple medallions arranged in pairs, between which lie blue-black spandrels (Fig. 3). Blue-black drawings

of pairs of animals are depicted in the circular medallions, alternatingly lions and griffins, each above a second animal that is difficult to identify but could be a horse, a doe or a cow. Purple ornamentation, however, appears in the blue-black interstices. The text of the document is written in gold ink and structured on this symmetrically patterned background filled with ornaments and depictions of animals. The pairs of animals are easily and unambiguously identifiable only where they are not written over, whereas the script, with its brightly gleaming gold, contrasts very legibly from the writing surface. The reverse side of the rotulus is also purple, but monochrome and without any pattern.<sup>17</sup>

With this coloration of the parchment, the Theophanu document belongs to the purple documents, even if there are apparently no other examples of documents with a patterned writing area. Today it can no longer be said with certainty whether there were purple documents as well as purple codices in Late Antiquity, because no evidence has been preserved. In Byzantium, purple documents can be inferred fairly certainly from the ninth century on, but original Byzantine imperial documents are extant only since the eleventh century and then only sporadically.<sup>18</sup> It is especially relevant for the Theophanu document that Byzantine foreign missives, of which three examples from the twelfth century have been preserved, were generally written in gold script on purple parchment from the tenth century onwards.<sup>19</sup> This Byzantine practice is also important because purple documents were used in the West extremely rarely, which explains why only nine examples have been preserved from the period from the tenth to the twelfth century.<sup>20</sup> The oldest of these is the so-called Ottonianum, which was drawn up on 13 February 962 after Otto the Great's coronation as Emperor in Rome, which regulated Otto's relations with Pope John XII, and in which Otto guaranteed the continued existence of the Papal States.<sup>21</sup> Similar to the Ottonianum, also in terms of its form, is the second-oldest extant example, the Theophanu document of 972. Knowledge of Byzantine purple documents was probably a precondition for producing

<sup>17</sup> Goetting / Kühn 1968, 21.

<sup>18</sup> Brühl 1968, 7–9.

<sup>19</sup> Brühl 1968, 10–11; Dölger 1939, 234sq.; Dölger and Karagiannopoulos 1968, 89–94.

<sup>20</sup> Brühl 1968, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Georgi 1991; Hoffmann 2001; Keller 2001, 472–475.

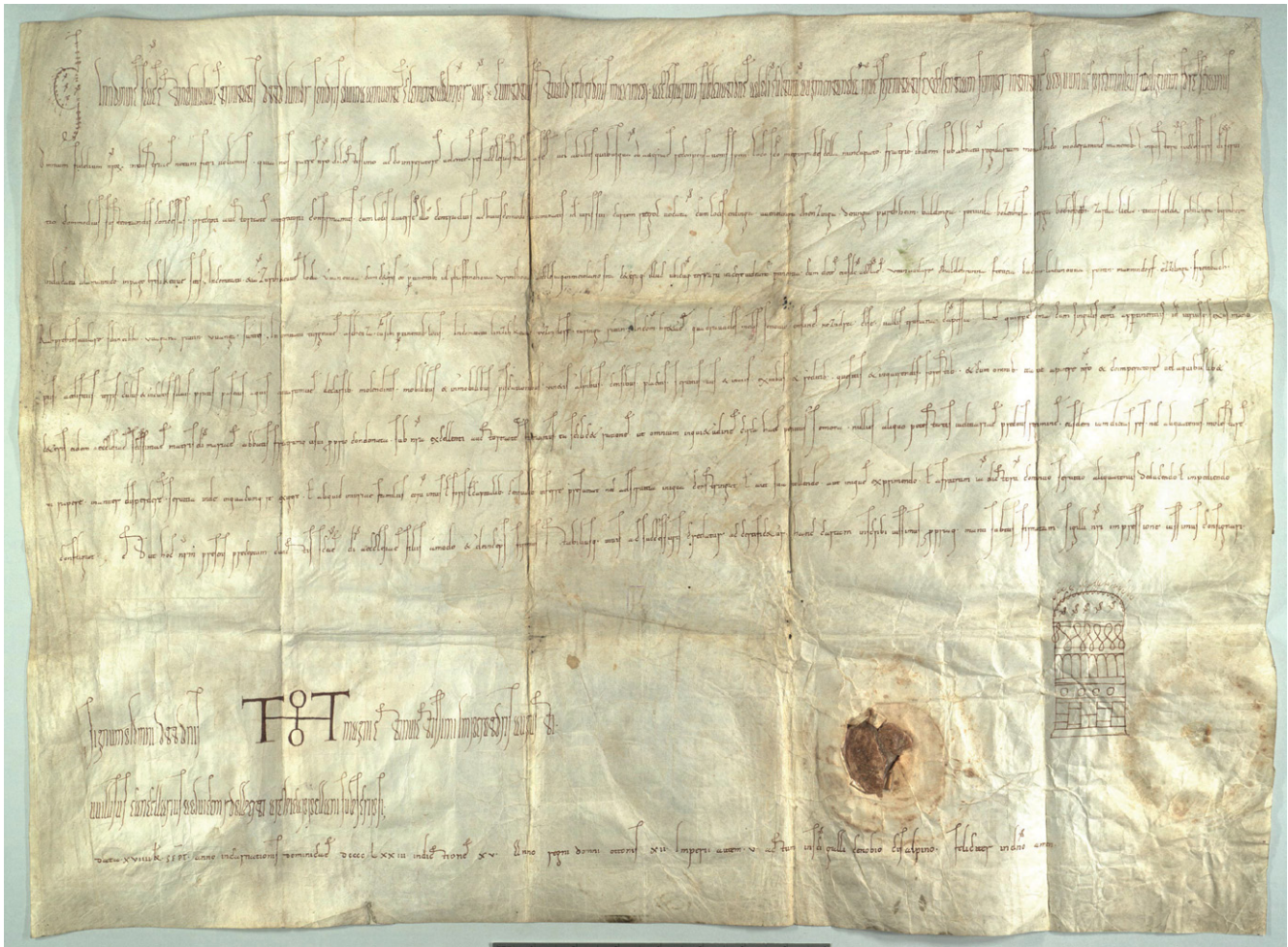


Fig. 4: Otto II's document of 14 August 972. Einsiedeln, Abbey Archive, A.AI.6.

both documents. However, the appearance of the Theophanu charter was not taken solely from a Byzantine model of any kind, nor did its visual organization adhere to the pattern of other Ottonian diplomas.

Although its content was structured like contemporaneous royal and imperial documents, it was anything but a normal document; indeed, its appearance apparently differed consciously and calculatedly from other Ottonian documents. Comparing another document also issued by Otto II in 972 reveals this. In a document from 14 August 927, Otto II confirms that Einsiedeln Abbey holds possessions that his father Otto I had already assigned to it (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> The format of the document is 54 × 76 cm, so that it, like almost all Ottonian documents, is written on quite a large, horizontally rectangular sheet of parchment that is folded several times for storage. The Theophanu document is designed quite

differently: 'portrait' rather than 'landscape' format, rotulus rather than parchment sheet, rolled rather than folded.

There are other differences as well: as has always been noted, the Theophanu document is not written in the customary italic document script of the chancelleries, but in the minuscule script of contemporaneous Western codices. The writing face of the document's beginning does not follow the pattern of diplomas, but, by using the common book script, is based on what was customary for the beginning of text in codices. In Ottonian royal documents, the beginning of the text is written with the document's *capitalis* written in the *litterae elongatae* characterized by large ascenders and descenders. The introductory invocation of the trinitary God and the *intitulatio* are marked with this script. In the case of the document of 14 August 972, this passage reads: 'In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Otto iunior, senioris, divina annuente clementia, coimperator augustus.' This passage extends only to about the middle of the first line. Directly following this, without a caesura or break,

<sup>22</sup> Einsiedeln Abbey archive, A.AI.6 <[http://www.klosterarchiv.ch/e-archiv\\_urkunden\\_detail.php?Signaturteil=A.AI.6&start=0](http://www.klosterarchiv.ch/e-archiv_urkunden_detail.php?Signaturteil=A.AI.6&start=0)> (29 March 2016).



comes the beginning of the document text proper, which is likewise written in this display calligraphy until the end of the first line: 'Cum totius studio re[l]igionis, maximeque a[e]cclesiarum sublevatione, ad dei culturam augmentandam nostrae serenitatis excellentiam semper intentare aequum ac prae omnibus dignum fore sciamus [...].' In the second and succeeding lines, the text continues in diplomatic minuscules. All the lines extend as far as the right-hand margin of the document, so the text appears to be a unified, unbroken block whose entire first line is executed in display calligraphy. There is thus no visual distinction between the *intitulatio* and the beginning of the text, but only between the first and the following lines.

This is significantly different in the Theophanu document. Here, too, the invocation of the Trinity and the *intitulatio* are written in *capitalis*, distinguishing them from the rest of the text, written in minuscules. The wording 'IN NOMINE S[an]C[t]ae et INDIVIDU[a]e TRINITATIS OTTO DIVINA FAVENTE CLEMENTIA IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS' takes up the entire first and most of the second line (Fig. 2). But here, the following *arenga* does not follow immediately. Rather, it begins in a new line, with the initial *C* of the word *Creator* at the beginning and continuing in the minuscule script of the remainder of the document. As a result, unlike in the document of 14 August 972, in the Theophanu document the rest of the second line remains free after the *intitulatio* written in *capitalis*. Thus, contemporary book script was not only used for the document; it was also tied to the appearance customary for the beginning of texts in manuscripts: the title of the work or of a chapter appears in *capitalis*; the beginning of the text appears in a new line in minuscule script. Ottonian documents schematically write the first line in display script. But in the Theophanu document, the marking with *capitalis* is related to the content: in addition to the *invocatio* and the *intitulatio* at the beginning, in the running text the proper names OTTO, THEOPHANU and IOHANNIS, as well as the *subscriptio* with the monograms of Otto I and Otto II are emphasized with *capitalis*.

If the visual organization of the writing on the Theophanu document thus corresponds to that of books, along with the elaborate decoration especially of the splendid liturgical codices of Ottonian scriptoria, then it seems likely that the purple coloration of the parchment is connected not only with Byzantine purple documents, but equally with purple

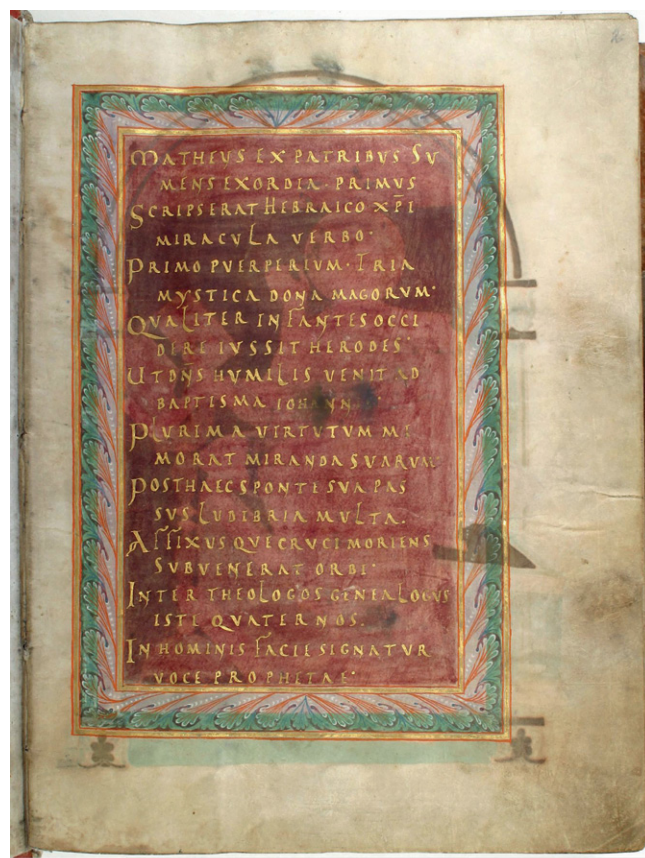


Fig. 5: Gero Codex, Reichenau, c. 969. Darmstadt, University and State Library, Hs. 1948, fol. 2r.

book pages. As is well known, the tradition of purple codices extends back as far as Late Antiquity.<sup>23</sup> In the early Middle Ages, the practice of writing book pages on parchment coloured purple was retained primarily for sacred texts. In the early mediaeval manuscript culture, two different forms of purple coloration must be distinguished: as in purple codices from Late Antiquity, the entire parchment sheet can be coloured purple and inscribed with gold or silver ink. But since the tenth century, it was often customary to colour only the usually framed text area purple or even to give only individual lines a purple background. For example, the so-called Gero Codex, an evangelistary written in 969 in the scriptorium on the island of Reichenau, displays an opening sequence in which pages with pictures alternate with pages with poems. The poems are written with gold ink on framed, purple surfaces (Fig. 5).<sup>24</sup> The Theophanu document with its

<sup>23</sup> Furlan 1998.

<sup>24</sup> Darmstadt, University and State Library, Hs. 1948, fol. 2r, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6r, 7r, 8r. <<http://tudigit.ulb-tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-1948/0001>> (29 March 2016).



Fig. 6: Gospels from Helmstedt, Corvey, c. 950. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Library, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst., fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

written area surrounded by an ornamental frame would thus seem to be not so much a Byzantine document sent abroad, but at least as closely akin to contemporary Western book pages, especially those of splendid liturgical codices with purple writing surfaces. From these, the scribes adopted the ornamental framing of the purple text area for the document, which is filled with a book script. The frame does not distinguish the written area from the surrounding blank parchment surface, however, as is the case with the Gero Codex, for example; rather, the frame of the written area coincides with the edge of the parchment.

As already mentioned, the Theophanu charter shows a monochrome parchment colouring only on the reverse side, while on the front side the writing surface is ornamentally structured with round medallions. Unlike other documents for which no parallels have yet been found, Ottonian book art is indeed familiar with patterned writing areas on which the writing is laid over the pattern, as in the Theophanu document. Since about 950, we find such pages in liturgical codices prepared in the scriptorium of the Imperial Abbey of Corvey and, since about 970, in those from Reichenau.

The Gospel book from Helmstedt, written around the middle of the century in Corvey, for example, distinguishes each beginning of a Gospel with a double-page designed in this way.<sup>25</sup> The initial words are written in monumental *capitalis* above the ornament; in the Gospel of Saint Matthew (fol. 17<sup>v</sup>), it consists of three rows, each with two square areas. A circular medallion with a lion (?) is fitted into each square, resulting in a pattern similar to that of the Theophanu charter (Fig. 6).

Inspired by Byzantine foreign missives, the appearance of the document is thus even more like the pages of a book, particularly pages of liturgical codices. Probably modelled on Byzantine documents and distinguished from the horizontally oriented and folded Ottonian diplomas, the vertically oriented rectangular codex page has been extended to the format of a rotulus. Unlike ancient rotuli, on which the lines run vertically, the Theophanu charter is inscribed horizontally, like a book page and like a Byzantine document. Overall, the document owes much more to the manuscript culture and book art of Ottonian scriptoria than to the writing practice of diplomacy.

### 3. The symbolic communication of diplomacy

Nevertheless, already because of its official occasion, the Theophanu charter self-evidently has its place in a political context, that of the relations between Otto the Great and the Byzantine Emperor. In the competition with the Emperor in the East and in dealings with Constantinople, Otto the Great relied on a double strategy. On the one hand, he claimed territories in southern Italy that were under Byzantine rule, while on the other hand he sought reconciliation with Byzantium and solicited Anna, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, as the bride for his son Otto II.<sup>26</sup> As the daughter of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, Anna was a *porphyrogenneta*, a woman born in porphyry. This epithet expressed her descent from the emperor and derived from the purple porphyry cladding of her birth room in the imperial palace in Constantinople.<sup>27</sup> In 968 Otto sent the Bishop of Cremona, Liutprand, to Constantinople to ask for her as bride, but his mission failed. Liutprand reported to Otto

<sup>25</sup> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Library, Cod. Guelf. 426 Helmst. <<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/426-helmst/start.htm>> (29 March 2016).

<sup>26</sup> Ohnsorge 1983, 129–147.

<sup>27</sup> Schreiner 2011, 76.

on his failed mission in the notorious *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, in which he took his failure as the occasion for a vehement polemic against the Byzantines and the Byzantine court.<sup>28</sup> As Liutprand conveys in the *Relatio*, his solicitation of Anna was refused in Constantinople, and he had to listen to Emperor Nikephoros explain:

Inaudita res est, ut porphyrogeniti porphyrogenita, hoc est in purpura nati filia in purpura nata, gentibus misceatur.<sup>29</sup>

It would be unheard-of, if the *porphyrogenneta* of a *porphyrogeneto*, that is, the purple-born daughter of a man born in purple, would be sent among foreign nations.

A year later in 969, after a transfer of power at the imperial Byzantine court, Otto the Great made a new attempt and sent Gero, the Archbishop of Cologne, to Constantinople. But the new Emperor Johannes I Tzimiskes, like his predecessor, refused to pledge the emperor's daughter. Gero had to abandon the idea of winning a *porphyrogenneta* as bride once and for all and to content himself with a compromise solution. Instead of Anna, namely, Johannes I Tzimiskes offered his 12-year-old niece called Theophanu as a bride for Otto II. The Ottonian legation began its return trip from Constantinople with her. At Otto the Great's imperial court, this result of the solicitation was not received enthusiastically, apparently, as Thietmar of Merseburg reports:

Fuere nonnulli, qui hanc fieri coniunctionem apud imperatorem impedire studerent eandemque remitti consulerent.<sup>30</sup>

There were not a few who spoke to the Emperor to prevent this connection, advising him to send this one [Theophanu] back.

Otto I did not take this advice, however, and so, on 14 April 972, the marriage of Otto II and Theophanu was concluded in Rome.

As a consequence and outcome of this series of events, the Theophanu document was thus a component of political and diplomatic actions between the Ottonian and Byzantine

Empires. The charter stated the result of the long process of soliciting the bride with the precise determination of the *dos*, which was sure to have been preceded by long negotiations. In general, it corresponded with the diplomatic conventions that the addressees also exerted influence over the content and appearance of the document.<sup>31</sup> With a view to the historical and diplomatic context, a Byzantine dimension can thus be identified in the appearance of the Theophanu document, along with its anchoring in Western manuscript culture. Its preparation as a purple document is thus associated, on the one hand, with its kinship to purple manuscript pages, but equally, on the other hand, with the diplomatic conventions in Byzantium, where purple documents were an established 'stylistic means' of foreign policy that articulated the issuer's high rank visually as well.<sup>32</sup>

Purple as a colour and porphyry as a purple stone were used primarily in an imperial context in Roman Antiquity.<sup>33</sup> The Byzantine display of ruling status also adopted this form of marking the imperial sphere with purple and porphyry.<sup>34</sup> Their great significance as signs of symbolic communication can be seen in the epithet *porphyrogennetos*, which documented imperial descent. The insistent staccato of the repeated mention of *purpura* and *porphyrogenita* in the answer, quoted above, that Nikephoros II Phokas gave to the bride solicitation by Liutprand of Cremona is symptomatic in this regard. In this context and in correspondence with Byzantine foreign missives, the purple colour of the Theophanu document must be seen as an imperial marking.

The technical examination of the document published in 1968, however, showed that the Theophanu document was not written on genuine Tyrian purple processed from a secretion of certain murex shells, but on a layer of bright red lead covered with a glaze of madder lake.<sup>35</sup> But this was apparently a common practice in both Western and Byzantine scriptoria when especially important text passages were to be written on a purple substrate. Whenever purple codices have been subjected to material analysis, it

<sup>28</sup> Sutherland 1975, Hoffmann 2009.

<sup>29</sup> Liutprand of Cremona, 194 (*Legatio* XV, 252–254).

<sup>30</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg, 57 (*Chronicon* II, 15).

<sup>31</sup> Huschner 2006, 359–361.

<sup>32</sup> Brühl 1977, 10f.

<sup>33</sup> Delbrück 1932.

<sup>34</sup> Treitinger 1938/1956, 58–62; Carile 1998.

<sup>35</sup> Goetting and Kühn 1968, 20f.

has turned out that, rather than genuine Tyrian purple, other colourants were used for them.<sup>36</sup> But these are not to be understood as a cheap substitute; rather, in the colouring of parchment, the point was clearly more the colour value of purple and its symbolic connotation than the costliness of the material itself. This goes for the Theophanu document also because, as described above, the writing substrate is not monochromatically purple, but formed with a continuous pattern of pairs of medallions.

#### 4. Purple and silk

It has frequently been said that the document with this pattern is reminiscent of Byzantine silk fabrics and textile surfaces.<sup>37</sup> The pattern is not the only thing about the rotulus that reminds one of textiles, though – medallions grouped this way are also found in other objects such as mosaics. The question here is what was the reason for imitating a particular material? It cannot be said with any certainty that a Byzantine appearance of the document was produced for the Byzantine princess because documents designed this way apparently did not exist in Byzantium. What characteristics of the document actually create the association of 'silk fabric' and what was the purpose of making a document look like a textile?

A strong indication that the appearance of a silk fabric was intended is the combination of the medallion pattern and the purple colouring. Ancient and late ancient sources on purple coloration, namely, are always about colouring silk. Purple was thus initially and primarily important for silk fabric and only secondarily for purple parchment.<sup>38</sup> But beyond that, the impression of a textile surface that was created in the charter is based not only on the combination of purple and pattern, but also on the precisely calculated disposition of the medallions. It is conspicuous that two medallions were placed at the lower edge only as halves, although the text ends far enough above them that the parchment surface of the rotulus could have concluded precisely with the last two whole circles (Fig. 3). When one is aware of mediaeval scribes' ability to calculate in advance precisely how to distribute the text on the pages of a codex, it is hard to imagine that the surface left free of script at the bottom could be explained by an original assumption that more space would be needed.

<sup>36</sup> Oltrogge 2013, 144–146.

<sup>37</sup> Ohnsorge 1983, 158; Georgi 1991, 156.

<sup>38</sup> Steigerwald 1990a, 1990b.

Although the amount of text offers no occasion for them, the two half-medallions were still added to the lower margin. This apparently consciously aimed to allude to a length of fabric and to create the appearance that the fabric was cut in the middle of the medallions.<sup>39</sup> In the West, cutting silk without consideration of how the pattern repeated was customary practice, anyway. Numerous fragments and scraps of silk fabric that are extant as wraps for relics of saints show how the precious silks were cut.

Already since the seventh century, silk fabrics produced in Byzantium itself or that reached it via the trade routes from China or the Sassanid Empire were continuously exported to the Christian West as coveted commodities.<sup>40</sup> The Merovingians and Carolingians esteemed them highly as expensive luxury goods that were as valuable as gold or precious stones.<sup>41</sup> The customers of these fabrics imported from Byzantium were therefore primarily nobles and high-ranking clergymen who had the means to acquire these treasures. Accordingly, silks in large numbers are verifiable almost exclusively in the circles of rulers, the Pope, and in Church treasuries.<sup>42</sup>

Silks dyed purple had the greatest value. As with silk fabrics that were also produced in less-valuable qualities through the admixture of other fibres, so too, in purple colouring, other, less expensive colourants existed in addition to the Tyrian purple won from snails. Diocletian's price edict of 301 already lists twelve different qualities and hues of *porphyra*, i.e. of purple coloration: along with Tyrian purple, there are colourants gained from lice, lichens or algae.<sup>43</sup> In the Western Middle Ages, too, different kinds of purple were distinguished as *purpureus* and *coccineus* (made of lice).<sup>44</sup> Quite apart from the differences in fabric qualities and colourants, purple silk was one of the greatest treasures in the West and was regarded as the luxury good of societal elites. Part of the reason for this was that, at least in early Byzantine times, the production of purple colourant

<sup>39</sup> Schulze 2007, 25; Cutler and North 2007, 177.

<sup>40</sup> Jacoby 1997/2001; 2004, 214–228; Brubaker, 2004; McCormick 2001, 589.

<sup>41</sup> Muthesius 1992, 237; Stauffer 2013, 18.

<sup>42</sup> McCormick 2001, 719–724; Jacoby 2004, 228.

<sup>43</sup> Steigerwald 1990a.

<sup>44</sup> Oltrogge 2013, 144.



Fig. 7: Silk fabric, Byzantium (?), 9th/10th century. 92 x 141 cm. National Museum of Ravenna, No. 2483.

and the production and wearing of certain pieces of purple silk clothing was a privilege granted by the emperor.<sup>45</sup> Not least, because they were used in the Byzantine emperors' court ceremonies, silk fabrics and purple colour conveyed, also in the West, a special proximity to the imperial sphere.<sup>46</sup>

This imperial charging of material and colour seemed self-evident also because, although they reached the West as trade goods in large quantities, these objects were among the preferred diplomatic presents of the Byzantine court.<sup>47</sup> Exchanging valuable gifts in the context of diplomatic relations was familiar to both Byzantine and Muslim rulers, as was a culture of dealing with luxury goods.<sup>48</sup> The emperors in Constantinople also practised this in dealings with the Pope or Emperor in the West. Silk fabrics were especially suited as evidence of power and economy potency

because they were not otherwise available in the West. A feeling of cultural superiority that was articulated with precious materials and ceremonial dealings with them may have also played a role; Liutprand's *Relatio*, at least, hints at such assessments. Liutprand reports that before his legation departed from Constantinople again, the Byzantines took back silk fabrics he had acquired, to wit:

[...] quinque mihi pretiosissimas purpuras abstulerunt, indignos vos omnesque Italos, Saxones, Francos, Bagoarios, Suevos, immo cunctas nationes huiusmodi veste ornatos incedere iudicantes. [...] prohibita sunt haec [...] ut enim divitiis, sapientia, ita et ceteris nationibus praestare veste debemus, ut, quibus est singularis in virtutibus gratia, sit singularis et in pulchritudine vestis.<sup>49</sup>

[...] five items of the most precious purple because they regard You [Otto] and all Italians, Saxons, Franks, Bavarians,

<sup>45</sup> Treitinger 1938/1956, 58; Hunger 1965, 84–88; Steigerwald 1990b.

<sup>46</sup> Muthesius 1997b, 310.

<sup>47</sup> Muthesius 1992; 1997b; Jacoby 2004, 211.

<sup>48</sup> Jacoby 2004, 213f.

<sup>49</sup> Liutprand of Cremona, 211 (*Legatio*, LIII, 874–876, 891–896); Hoffmann 2009, 173.

Swabians, indeed all peoples, as unworthy to walk about in such raiment [...].

The Byzantines reproached him:

These are forbidden wares [...], for, as with wealth and wisdom, so too with clothing we must distinguish ourselves from other peoples, so that those who are especially gifted with virtues also have a special clothing that is uniquely beautiful in its kind.

The beauty and preciousness of these fabrics was based not only on the material silk and the colour purple, however, but also by the patterns of the textiles. It has been speculated that five fragmentarily preserved silks that show pairs of lions facing each other were produced specifically for diplomatic exchange.<sup>50</sup> Inscriptions testify to a connection between these lion silks and the Emperor, which also suggests that the fabrics were produced under imperial supervision. The lions facing each other in pairs on these silks, however, stand alone rather than being framed in medallions, while a lion silk from the ninth or tenth century that comes from the grave of Saint Julian in Rimini showed the striding lions surrounded by circles that touch each other.<sup>51</sup> The tangents and the triangular surfaces between them are additionally adorned with rosette and star ornamentation (Fig. 7). And the disposition of the ornamentation of this lion silk displays a pattern very similar to that on the Theophanu document. Silks with such patterns, the diameter of whose circles could measure up to 80 cm, could be produced in these dimensions only with great technical effort and were considered especially precious.<sup>52</sup> But in general, this kind of expansive, ornamentally or figuratively filled circular patterns, which today are usually traced to a Sassanid origin, were considered characteristic of silk fabrics from the East. They were associated with ceremonial procedures at the imperial court in Byzantium or with diplomatic exchange, and in this sense they were esteemed as monarchical clothing in the West as well. This is shown, for example, by the donor portrait on the jewelled cross that Mathilde, Otto I's granddaughter and the Abbess of the Essen convent, donated around 985/990 in



Fig. 8: Otto-Mathilde Cross (detail), enamel plate with donor portraits., c. 85/990. Essen Cathedral Treasure Chamber.

memory of her brother Otto, Duke of Swabia, who died in 982 (Fig. 8). On the enamel plate, Mathilde and Otto can be seen holding the staff of a cross as the sign of the donation. Their imperial descent is made apparent by their clothing, clearly tailored from Byzantine silk and thus characterized by large, cross-shaped, square or circular patterns.<sup>53</sup>

In sum, we can note that the Theophanu charter was designed with a repertoire of forms that originated in Ottonian manuscript culture, but that, at the same time, also made use of the symbolic language of Byzantine diplomacy and monarchical display, whose significance was known and could be understood in the West, as well. But in accordance with the considerations presented so far, this does not mean that the document directly copied Byzantine models: neither Byzantine documents and foreign missives,

<sup>50</sup> Muthesius 1984, 237–247; 1992; 1997a, 34–43; 1997b, 306–310.

<sup>51</sup> Muthesius 1997a, 182 (M55).

<sup>52</sup> Stauffer 2013, 12.

<sup>53</sup> Schilp 2013, 58–59.

nor Byzantine silk fabrics. As mentioned above, circular patterns and the arrangement of such circles in pairs are frequently observed, as is the accompanying depiction of animals facing each other. However, silk fabrics that show two (fighting or snuggling) animals entwined within a circle, as in the pattern of the Theophanu document, apparently cannot be found in the silks that have come down to us. The silk from the reliquary shrine of Saint Kunibert (Cologne), which is frequently referred to in this context, shows the fighting pair of animals in the context of a hunt. As in comparable pieces, the animal struggle appears under a mounted archer.<sup>54</sup> These depictions are thus completely differently arranged than the medallions on the Theophanu Charter, for whose animal medallions no specific model going beyond the general allusion to silk textile can be identified.<sup>55</sup>

By borrowing the repertoire of signs of Byzantine diplomacy, the Theophanu document thus fits within the historical context for which it was produced. As in Byzantium, so too in the Western Middle Ages it was the practice to employ a marriage as a means of forming an alliance and as a political-diplomatic instrument. Byzantine princesses were prepared from earliest childhood for their role and tasks in this diplomatic system, and their upbringing was oriented towards their requirements.<sup>56</sup> They were not only taught to read and write at an early age, but also familiarized with the ideological, political, theological, and philosophical foundations of acting as a ruler as well as with the procedures of court ceremony and the liturgy.<sup>57</sup> Even if Theophanu was no *porphyrogenneta*, she must have been similarly trained and prepared for her task as a bride in a politically arranged relationship. Her activity after the marriage, at any rate, permits us to deduce her familiarity with the processes of the practice of ruling.<sup>58</sup> Significant in the context sketched above is thereby also her obvious high esteem for silk, which is also articulated in the donations she made to several churches.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Muthesius 1997a, 174f., 213 (M 31, 34, 347); von Euw 1991, 184–190.

<sup>55</sup> Matthes and Deeters 1972, 48.

<sup>56</sup> Herrin 1995, 64.

<sup>57</sup> Herrin 1995, 78.

<sup>58</sup> Ohnsorge 1983, 154–157; Wolf 1991, 391–393; Herrin 1995, 80–84; Schulze 2007, 48–52, 62–69, 77–88.

<sup>59</sup> Ohnsorge 1983, 162; Georgi 1991, 160; Herrin 1995, 84.

##### 5. The charter as proof of the achievement of Ottonian manuscript culture

There is no doubt that the Theophanu document, too, can be ascribed to the sketched diplomatic-political context on which its components draw their visual design. Yet, it is not appropriate to understand its appearance, which was compatible in many ways with the sign language of Byzantine diplomacy, solely to an accommodation of the Byzantine addressee and a conforming to the world of forms familiar to the Byzantine bride. The document repeatedly deviates from Byzantinizing elements and its design forms are shaped by Ottonian manuscript culture. Against this background, the search for direct models cannot be productive.<sup>60</sup>

It is thus symptomatic that the document, without being a direct copy of a silk fabric, nonetheless conveys the impression of a textile surface. But its visual quality is simultaneously very close to a very different genre of objects and materials, namely the panel of an ivory diptych from the late 8th or early 9th century that has been attributed to Charlemagne's court school (Fig. 9).<sup>61</sup> This Carolingian ivory has in common with the document that the textile's pattern repeat is limited to a vertical rectangular surface in which pairs of medallions are arranged to face each other. On the ivory panel, the medallions are formed of vines alternately holding a large leaf and a pair of fighting animals. The structure of this ornamental grid is close to the patterned purple substrate of the Theophanu document. Researchers have debated whether this is also true of the motifs, probably because the document's script overlays the medallions, making it very difficult to recognize the animal scenes. Thus, some see in the pairs of animals a fight, others the opposite, namely two snuggling animals.<sup>62</sup> Accordingly, the iconographic interpretations of the animal pairs suggested so far, some of which are quite sweeping, go in very disparate directions.

In the context discussed here, these iconographic questions can be ignored. As for the question of the document's relationship to Western manuscript culture, however, its close kinship to the Carolingian ivory is revealing; quite apart from iconographic determinations, this kinship is

<sup>60</sup> Cutler and North 2007, 177.

<sup>61</sup> Abbey Library of St Gall, back cover of Cod. 60. <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0060>> (29 March 2016). Von Euw 1991, 184–186.

<sup>62</sup> Matthes and Deeters 1972, 48f.; Ohnsorge 1983, 163–167; von Euw 1991, 181–191; Cutler and North 2007, 178f.



Fig. 9: Back cover of Cod. Sang. 60. Ivory, c. 800.

based on the very similar arrangement of the pattern, which is integrated within a vertical rectangle. The ivory diptych introduces a genre of objects that originally belonged to writing media and had its place in early mediaeval book art, being used especially for book covers. In the Middle Ages, in particular, consular diptychs with carved front covers were splendid objects produced in conjunction with an appointment or service jubilee.<sup>63</sup> They thus genuinely stood in the context of the practice of ruling and displaying prestige and, while they cannot be regarded as documents in the strict diplomatic sense, they can nonetheless be considered a kind of ivory testimony to status and office. The allusion to an ivory diptych was thus not far removed from the design of a rotulus as splendid document, while, on the other hand, pattern arrangements with pairs of medallions were unknown for Byzantine documents.<sup>64</sup>

This permits us to understand the document as a product of a transmission process in which an Ottonian scriptorium took up the elements of the symbolic language of Eastern imperial representation, creatively reshaped them and tied them to forms of its own book culture. The Theophanu document is not to be understood as a simple product of Western–Eastern conciliation in which a Western and an Eastern world of forms were brought into balance. Rather, the preparation of the document by an Ottonian scriptorium reshaped the visual signs of diplomacy and politics and extended them to include a sacred dimension. In early mediaeval book culture, an Ottonian scriptorium's and an artist's ingenious invention of inserting textile patterns into a purple writing substrate, the overwriting of a purple substrate with gold ink, and the mounting of ivory diptychs or panels on book covers had an unambiguous functional site, namely the liturgical manuscript. Manuscripts outfitted with purple, gold and ivory were primarily reserved for the Word of God to distinguish sacred texts and the Holy Scripture. In the liturgy, the Gospels represented Christ Himself, and the pages with textile patterns were to be understood as clothing the *corpus Christi*.

The visual design of the Theophanu document made use of political matters by being bound to the symbolic language of Byzantine diplomacy and the display of rule. As has been shown, however, it was accompanied by a veritably demonstrative distancing from the visual organization of

<sup>63</sup> Delbrück 1929.

<sup>64</sup> Oltrogge 2013, 155; against this, the assumption of Hoffmann 1986, vol. 1, 106.



both Byzantine and Ottonian documents. The reshaping of the diplomatic symbolic language carried out by the Ottonian scriptorium operated with the kinship with liturgical books, thereby directing attention to the sacred-clerical dimension of the text. This seemed logical in that the introductory *arenga* takes as its theme an extensive theological justification of marriage and its being instituted by God.<sup>65</sup> The text thereby takes recourse to the idea of the Church Father Augustine that Christ 'appeared in human flesh' (*in humana carne adveniens*) and that the Church had married Christ as His bride.<sup>66</sup> This explicit reference to the Body of Christ may have further enhanced the transfer of the textile symbolism of clothing Christ to the document.

The document rotulus addressed to the Byzantine native Theophanu is thus a highly complex amalgamation in which diplomacy's symbolic language of gold, purple and silk and the Byzantine document format of the rotulus were fused with forms of objects and designs familiar to Ottonian manuscript culture, with the book cover and the ivory diptych, with book script and a corresponding field of text. Based on individual motific and palaeographic findings and its overall conception, scholars have long regarded the Theophanu document as a work of Ottonian art.<sup>67</sup> This can be made more precise. In the political and diplomatic context, this splendid document was not so much a concession to the Byzantine bride Theophanu, to whom one wanted to make a familiar visual offer. The outsourcing of the production from the field of the chancellery into that of the scriptorium meant that the resulting demonstrative reshaping and overlaying also articulated a shift of accent from legal document to a text charged with sacredness that was presented on the highest aesthetic level. It cannot be ruled out that, in the introduction, the scriptorium formulated also a theological justification for this aesthetic achievement. It states, namely, that God the Creator had arranged the world 'in perfect beauty' (*in perfecta elegantia*) and that, 'as the best Artist' (*artifex summe*), He had formed humanity in His own image.<sup>68</sup> It can remain open whether, between the lines, this was intended as an appreciation of the Ottonian *artifex*, who acted as the human likeness of the Creator God.

Apart from that, the Theophanu document can be understood as a demonstration of the capability of one's own Ottonian manuscript culture and book culture. In some ways, we must be reserved about taking Liutprand's tendentious *Relatio* at face value. But if his report that the Byzantines also articulated their cultural and moral superiority with silk fabrics is accurate, then the Theophanu document seems like the Ottonian court's retort to that stance. The Ottonian Empire's own scriptoria were brought into position against the precious silks. They knew how to make virtuoso use of Byzantine diplomacy's language of signs, since they were able to imitate silk fabrics and to fuse all of this with the world of forms of the book pages of Holy Scripture that they were familiar with.

## REFERENCES

- Brubaker, Leslie (2004), 'The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58: 175–195.
- Brühl, Carlrichard (1977), 'Purpurkunden', in Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke (ed.), *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke), 3–21.
- Carile, Antonio (1998), 'Produzione e usi della porpora dell'impero Bizantino' in Oddone Longo (ed.), *La Porpora. Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico. Atti del convegno di studio* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti), 243–269.
- Cutler, Anthony and William North (2007), 'Word over Image. In the Making, Use, and Destiny of the Marriage Charter of Otto II and Theophanu', in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period* (Occasional papers: The Index of Christian Art, 9) (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 167–187.
- Deeters, Walter (1973), 'Zur Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 54: 9–23.
- Delbrück, Richard (1929), *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 2) (Berlin: de Gruyter).
- (1932), *Antike Porphywerke* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 6) (Berlin: de Gruyter).
- Dölger, Franz (1939), 'Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 159: 229–250.

<sup>65</sup> Deeters 1973, 1–16; Schulze 2007, 29f.

<sup>66</sup> Deeters 1973, 16; Matthes 1984, 6f.

<sup>67</sup> Hoffmann 1986, vol. 1, 103–116; Westermann-Angerhausen 1995; Cutler and North 2007, 173, 179.

<sup>68</sup> Deeters 1973, 16; Schulze 2007, 90f.

- Dölger, Franz and Iōannēs Karagiannopoulos (1968), *Die Kaiserurkunden* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Abt. 12: Byzantinisches Handbuch, Teil 3, Bd. 1: Byzantinische Urkundenlehre, Abschn. 1) (Munich: Beck).
- Fleckenstein, Josef (1991), 'Hofkapelle und Kanzlei unter der Kaiserin Theophanu', in Anton von Euw und Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 305–310.
- Föbel, Amalie (2000), *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Mittelalter-Forschungen, 4) (Stuttgart: Thorbecke).
- Furlan, Italo (1998), 'Introduzione ai codice purpurei', in Oddone Longo (ed.), *La Porpora: Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico. Atti del convegno di studio* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti), 317–337.
- Garrison, Eliza (2017), 'Mimetic Bodies: Repetition, Replication, and Simulation in the Marriage Charter of Empress Theophanu', *Word & Image*, 33,2: 212–232.
- Georgi, Wolfgang (1991), 'Ottonianum und Heiratsurkunde 962 / 972', in Anton von Euw und Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 135–160.
- Goetting, Hans and Hermann Kühn (1968), 'Die sog. Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu (DOI.21), ihre Untersuchung und Konservierung', *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 64: 11–24.
- Goetz, Hans-Werner (1986), *Leben im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck).
- Gussone, Nikolaus (1991), 'Trauung und Krönung. Zur Hochzeit der byzantinischen Prinzessin Theophanu mit Kaiser Otto II.', in Anton von Euw und Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 101–134.
- Herrin, Judith (1995), »Theophano: Considerations on the Education of a Byzantine Princess« in Adelbert Davids (ed.), *The empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 64–85.
- Hoffmann, Hartmut (1986), *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*. 2 vols. (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 30,1/2) (Stuttgart: Hiersemann).
- (2001), 'Sog. Ottonianum', in Matthias Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Große. Magdeburg und Europa. Ausstellung im Kulturhistorischen Museum Magdeburg vom 27. August – 2. Dezember 2001*, vol. 2: Catalogue (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 431–432.
- Hoffmann, Tobias (2009), 'Diplomatie in der Krise. Liutprand von Cremona am Hofe Nikephoros II. Phokas', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 43: 113–178.
- Hunger, Herbert (1965), *Reich der neuen Mitte: Der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur* (Graz – Vienna – Cologne: Styria).
- Huschner, Wolfgang (2006), 'Die ottonische Kanzlei in neuem Licht', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 52: 353–370.
- Jacoby, David (1997/2001), 'Silk crosses the Mediterranean', in G. Airdi (ed.) *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI-XVI)*(Genova), 55–79; repr. in David Jacoby (2001), *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, c. X (Variorum Collected Studies Series:CS 703) (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- (2004), 'Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58: 197–240.
- Kahsnitz, Rainer (2001), 'Heiratsurkunde der Theophanu', in Matthias Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa, Ausstellung im Kulturhistorischen Museum Magdeburg vom 27. August – 2. Dezember 2001*, vol. 2: Catalogue (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 127–129.
- Keller, Hagen (1998), 'Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen. Urkunden als Hoheitszeichen in der Kommunikation des Königs mit seinen Getreuen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 32: 400–441.
- (2001), 'Die Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen', in Matthias Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa, Ausstellung im Kulturhistorischen Museum Magdeburg vom 27. August – 2. Dezember 2001*, vol. 1: Essays (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 461–480.
- Liutprand von Cremona, 'Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana', in Paolo Chiesa (ed.), *Liutprandi opera omnia* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 156) (Turnhout 1998: Brepols), 187–218.
- Matthes, Dieter (1984), *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu: 972 April 14* (Wolfenbüttel: Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv).
- and Walter Deeters (1972), *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu. 972 April 14, Rom* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht).
- McCormick, Michael (2001), *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Muthesius, Anna (1984), 'A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 34: 235–254.

- Muthesius, Anna (1992), 'Silken diplomacy', in Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the 24th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990* (Aldershot: Variorum), 237–248.
- (1997a), *Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to A.D. 1200* (Wien: Fassbaender).
- (1997b), 'The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottonian Empire', in Evangelos Konstantinou (ed.), *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau), 301–317.
- Ohnsorge, Werner (1973), 'Die Heirat Kaiser Ottos II. mit der Byzantinerin Theophano', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 54: 24–60; repr. in Werner Ohnsorge (1983), *Ost-Rom und der Westen: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 128–172.
- Oltrogge, Doris (2013), 'purpura und coccus: Materialität und Symbolik in Textilien und Buchmalerei des früheren Mittelalters', in Thomas Schilp and Annemarie Stauffer (eds), *Seide im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Frauenstift: Besitz - Bedeutung - Umnutzung* (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift, 11) (Essen: Klartext), 137–156.
- Rück, Peter (1991), 'Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk', in Anton von Euw und Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 311–334.
- Schilp, Thomas (2013), 'Kleidung aus Seide in Frauengemeinschaften? Spannungsfelder von Norm und Wirklichkeit', in Thomas Schilp and Annemarie Stauffer (eds), *Seide im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Frauenstift: Besitz - Bedeutung - Umnutzung* (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift, 11) (Essen: Klartext), 49–99.
- Schreiner, Peter (2011), *Byzanz 565 - 1453* (Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte, 22) (4. ed., Munich, Oldenbourg).
- Schulze, Hans K. (2007), *Die Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu: die griechische Kaiserin und das römisch-deutsche Reich 972 – 991* (Hanover: Hahn).
- Stauffer, Annemarie (2013), 'Seide aus Byzanz im Westen', in Thomas Schilp and Annemarie Stauffer (eds), *Seide im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Frauenstift: Besitz - Bedeutung - Umnutzung* (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift, 11) (Essen: Klartext), 9–28.
- Steigerwald, Gerhard (1990a), 'Die Purpursorten im Preisedikt Diokletians vom Jahre 301', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15: 219–276.
- (1990b), 'Das kaiserliche Purpurprivileg in spätrömischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 33: 209–239.
- Sutherland, Jon. N. (1975), 'The Mission to Constantinople in 968 and Liutprand of Cremona', *Traditio*, 31: 55–81.
- Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, Robert Holtzmann (ed.) (1935) (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. N.S., IX) (Berlin: Weidmann).
- Treitinger, Otto (1938/1956), *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* [Jena 1938] (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
- von Euw, Anton (1991), 'Ikonologie der Heiratsurkunde der Kaiserin Theophanu', in Anton von Euw and Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 175–192.
- Westermann-Angerhausen, Hiltrud (1995), 'Did Theophano leave her Mark on the Ottonian Sumptuary Art?', in Adelbert Davids (ed.), *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 244–264.
- Wolf, Gunther (1991), 'Wer war Theophanu?', in Anton von Euw und Klaus Schreiner (eds), *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum), 385–396.

#### PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1–3: © Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv (Lower Saxony State Archive), Wolfenbüttel, 6 doc. 11.

Fig. 4: © Klosterarchiv Einsiedeln (Einsiedeln Abbey Archive), E-Archiv <[http://www.klosterarchiv.ch/e-archiv\\_urkunden\\_detail.php?Signaturteil=A.AI.6&start=0](http://www.klosterarchiv.ch/e-archiv_urkunden_detail.php?Signaturteil=A.AI.6&start=0)>.

Fig. 5: © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt (University and State Library Darmstadt), <<http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-1948/0001>>.

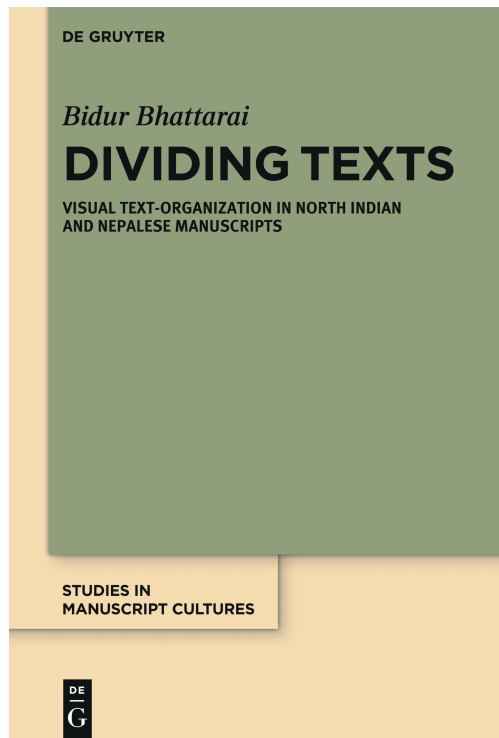
Fig. 6: © Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (Herzog August Library) <<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/426-helmst/start.htm>>.

Fig. 7: © Museo Nazionale di Ravenna (National Museum of Ravenna).

Fig. 8: © Domschatzkammer Essen (Essen Cathedral Treasury).

Fig. 9: © Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen (Abbey Library of St Gall), *Codices Electronici Sangallenses (CESG)*, <<http://www.ecodices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0060>>.

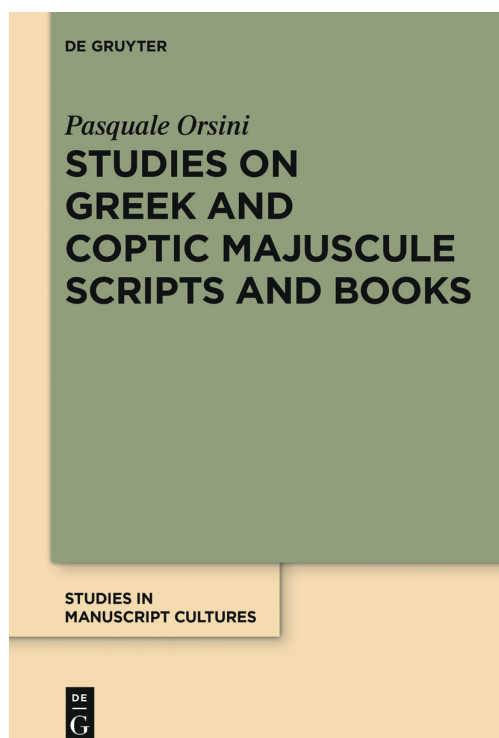
Forthcoming



## 10 - Dividing Texts: Visual Text-Organization in North Indian and Nepalese Manuscripts by Bidur Bhattarai

The number of manuscripts produced in the Indian sub-continent is astounding and is the result of a massive enterprise that was carried out over a vast geographical area and over a vast stretch of time. Focusing on areas of Northern India and Nepal between 800 to 1300 <sup>ce</sup> and on manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts, the present study investigates a fundamental and so far rarely studied aspect of manuscript production: visual organization. Scribes adopted a variety of visual strategies to distinguish one text from another and to differentiate the various sections within a single text (chapters, sub-chapters, etc.). Their repertoire includes the use of space(s) on the folio, the adoption of different writing styles, the inclusion of symbols of various kind, the application of colors (rubrication), or a combination of all these. This study includes a description of these various strategies and an analysis of their different implementations across the selected geographical areas. It sheds light on how manuscripts were produced, as well as on some aspects of their employment in ritual contexts, in different areas of India and Nepal.

Forthcoming



## 15 - Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books by Pasquale Orsini

The volume contains a critical review of data, results and open problems concerning the principal Greek and Coptic majuscule bookhands, based on previous research of the author, revised and updated to offer an overview of the different graphic phenomena. Although the various chapters address the history of different types of scripts (i.e. biblical majuscule, sloping poitend majuscule, liturgical majuscule, epigraphic and monumental scripts), their juxtaposition allows us to identify common issues of the comparative method of palaeography. From an overall critical assessment of these aspects the impossibility of applying a unique historical paradigm to interpret the formal expressions and the history of the different bookhands comes up, due to the fact that each script follows different paths. Particular attention is also devoted to the use of Greek majuscules in the writing of ancient Christian books. A modern and critical awareness of palaeographic method may help to place the individual witnesses in the context of the main graphic trends, in the social and cultural environments in which they developed, and in a more accurate chronological framework.

ISSN 1867–9617

© SFB 950

“Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa”

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstraße 26

D-20354 Hamburg

[www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de](http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de)