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Wisdom's Creation: A Double Beginning in the Stammheim Missal (1160-1170)*

La Sabiduría creadora: un doble comienzo en el misal de Stammheim (1160-1170)*

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Abstract
The moment in which one opens a book and begins to read is a particularly intriguing moment. Creating a design for the frontispiece of a manuscript thus presented medieval illuminators with a special challenge and a unique opportunity: it was the first pictorial element through which the illuminator could engage the interested reader. The Stammheim Missal (1160- 1170) offered its reader a beginning that addressed the problem of how to "begin" a manuscript by intertwining notions of the creative work of the illuminator with God's creation of the world. In doing so, I argue, the Missal offers a kind of double beginning. The manuscript's unique ensemble of four-full-page miniatures, spread over the Missal's beginning after the calendar, constitutes a highly sophisticated and unique pictorial program. In these images, one discovers God creating the world along with the personification of Wisdom surrounded by several figures from the Old Testament. Turning the pages further, one discovers the story of the Fall and a sophisticated visual reflection on the perception of hidden wisdom. These four pages of illuminations were devised and executed by an unknown painter at Hildesheim. A close reading of these sophisticated pictorial inventions reveals an extremely complex interweaving of thoughts about creation and creativity, perception and cognition, which engaged contemporary scholarly debates about these topics. This missal, I argue, creatively engaged this discourse and its maker devised a unique artistic solution for rendering a variety of forms of "creation" and creative wisdom visible.

Keywords: Creation, *Sapientia*/Wisdom, Stammheim Missal, Genesis, Manuscript Illumination, Romanesque Art, *Creatio ex nihilo*.

Resumen
El momento en el que uno abre un libro y comienza a leerlo resulta particularmente intrigante. En este sentido, crear un diseño para el frontispicio de un manuscrito planteaba a los iluminadores medievales un reto especial y una oportunidad única: se trataba del primer elemento pictórico a través del cual el iluminador podía captar al lector interesado. El Misal de Stammheim (1160-1170) ofrecía a su lector un comienzo que se enfrentaba al problema de cómo "empezar" un manuscrito entrelazando nociones de la obra creativa del iluminador con la creación divina del mundo. Al hacerlo así, este Misal ofrece una especie de doble comienzo. El conjunto de cuatro miniaturas a toda página que se halla en este manuscrito a partir del calendario, constituye un programa pictórico único y muy sofisticado. En estas imágenes se encuentra Dios creando el mundo junto con la personificación de la Sabiduría rodeada de varias figuras del Antiguo Testamento. Al seguir pasando las páginas se descubre la historia de la Caída y una reflexión visual sofisticada sobre la percepción del saber oculto. Estas cuatro folios de iluminaciones fueron ideados y ejecutados por un pintor desconocido en Hildesheim. Una lectura atenta de estas sofisticadas invenciones pictóricas revela un entramado extremadamante complejo de concepciones sobre la creación y la creatividad, la percepción y la cognición, que implica ciertos debates académicos sobre estos temas. Este misal, según mi argumento, está relacionado con este discurso, y su autor ideó una solución artística única para hacer visible una variedad de formas de la "creación" y la sabiduría creadora.
Palabras clave: Creación, *Sapientia*/Sabiduría, Misal de Stammheim, Génesis, Iluminación de manuscritos, Arte románico, *Creatio ex nihilo*.

The act of opening a book is a special moment, as is the work of an illuminator who composes and creates the images that facilitate this moment. For an illuminator in the Middle Ages, fashioning the first sheet of a manuscript presented a special kind of challenge, as well as unique opportunities. Additional factors contribute to the spark of incipient tension, the crackle of the parchment while turning the first pages, the odor of the animal skin from which those pages are made, the binding in quires suggesting an arrangement for the content to follow, and the addition of miniatures, especially full page miniatures guiding reader to the relevant parts of the manuscript for specific liturgical occasions. In the case of the Stammheim Missal, a manuscript used during the liturgy for the celebration of the Eucharist, the manuscript's illuminator has dedicated particular attention to the missal's beginning. In the following, a close reading of this beginning will analyze how the illuminator's attention to the beginning of the manuscript subtly, but suggestively conflated ideas about divine creation (*ex nihilo*) with the creative work of the illuminator, and the task of the reader, for whom the illuminations and the text served as a conduit to gain insight and wisdom. The two blank pages, the kind of double beginning, and the composition of such a complex frontispiece for the Stammheim Missal reveals the painter's response to actual, ongoing theological debates, in form of highly original pictorial inventions. His images stand as a theologically adept commentary on his thoughts—on the overcoming the original sin, on the creation of time, and the role of *Sapientia* in the creation.

Why would the illuminator of the Stammheim Missal have devoted so much attention to developing a complex program of miniatures to introduce the manuscript? Through

full-page miniatures, illuminators were entrusted with the role of not only marking the beginning of a text, but also orienting the reader to the manuscript as a whole. Miniatures at the start of a manuscript summarize the central moments and ideas that will follow in the text in pictorial form; they convey, preemptively and memorably, the stories a volume will tell. Illuminating the opening pages of a text thus engaged what one might call a kind of "double beginning", one in which a narrative story began in words as well as in images, which present themselves suddenly, as if out of nothing. The maker of the Stammheim illuminations, as I will argue, illustrated neither simply the text of Genesis nor the text of a particular author or tract. He also did not simply copy extant pictorial programs. Instead, he adapted and combined elements from contemporary representations of genesis (e.g. a wheel or the figure of the *anima mundi*) to create a new image and articulation of the creation, which drew together the creative practice of the artist with the creative work of God. In doing so, the Stammheim illuminator engaged with complex questions about the production of knowledge and the role of vision in facilitating insight. The complexity of the illuminator's frontispiece thus demonstrates not only the painter's response to actual, ongoing theological debates, but also his contributions to that discussion through the production of original pictorial forms. His images stand as a theologically adept commentary on his thoughts as an illuminator about overcoming original sin, on the creation of time (and time of creation), and the key role of Wisdom/ *Sapientia* in the creative process.

Beginning Time

The artful exploration of double beginnings in medieval manuscripts finds an especially striking iteration in a double-page spread designed and executed by a now unknown painter from Hildesheim after 1160 (fols. 9v and 10r). One of the most original features of the manuscript is a set of blank pages that the reader encounters directly after an initial page containing the annual church calendar isolated by a set of arches (fols. 3v-9r). This blank page spread, as we will see, is the manuscript's "real" frontispiece. These blank pages are followed by four full-page miniatures depicting the story of God's creation (fol. 10v, Fig. 1a). These scenes of genesis face an allegorical figure of *Sapientia/*Wisdom (fol. 11r, Fig. 1b), as well as the Annunciation (fol. 11v, Fig. 2a), which faces an embellished letter "A", enriched with floral elements, a naked climber and David holding his harp, accompanied by two musicians (fol. 12r, Fig. 2b).

Research on the Stammheim Missal has, until now, primarily addressed questions of when, where, and why the manuscript was made. It was likely produced on the occasion of the canonization of Bishop Bernward, at St. Michael of Hildesheim, around 1160-70.[1] Anne Menke and Elisabeth Teviotdale have interpreted the intertwined nature of work's images and

[1] A. K. Menke, *The Ratmann Sacramentary and the Stammheim Missal: Two Romanesque Manuscripts from St. Michael`s at Hildesheim* (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation), Yale, 1987; E. C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, Los Angeles, 2001; Ead., "The Pictorial Program of the Stammheim Missal", in *Objects, Images and the Word*, C. Hourihane (ed.), Princeton, 2003, pp. 79–93; J. F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology*, Berkeley, 2002; A. Cohen-Mushlin, *Scriptoria in Medieval Saxony: St. Pancras in Hamersleben*, Wiesbaden, 2004. Since 1173 a new dome was built, which lead a part of the scholars to argue for an early date. One can assume that the manuscript was completed with the consecration in 1188.

Fig. 1a. Stammheim-Missal, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms 64, The Wisdom of Creation/Creation (fol. 10v), Hildesheim, ca. 1170 (© J. Paul Getty Museum)

Fig. 1b. Stammheim-Missal, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms 64, Wisdom of Creation/Sapientia (fol. 11r), Hildesheim, ca. 1170 (© J. Paul Getty Museum)

texts as typological in nature and as a demonstration of the maker's theological knowledge.[2] The typology operates through a structure of linear time in which events in the Old Testament are read as signs of what will follow in the New Testament. By presenting the biblical past as a series of clues, the Old Testament's prophetic role is signaled to the viewer, as is the New Testament's fulfillment (e.g. Christ as the Messiah). At the same time, this typological framework also refers to the ineluctable approach of the Last Judgment; it stresses the importance of interpreting biblical references in light of the future. The work's references to the reader's presence—both bodily and temporally—remain vague, with the work limiting itself to its own eschatological moment. The reader, then, finds him or herself somewhere before

[2] Menke, *The Ratmann Sacramentary and the Stammheim Missal: Two Romanesque Manuscripts from St. Michael`s at Hildesheim*; Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*; J. Bepler, "Review of Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, Los Angeles 2001", *Jahrbuch kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen,* 2 (2001), pp. 219–20.

Fig. 2a. Stammheim-Missal, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms 64, Annunciation (fol. 11v), Hildesheim, ca. 1170 (© J. Paul Getty Museum)

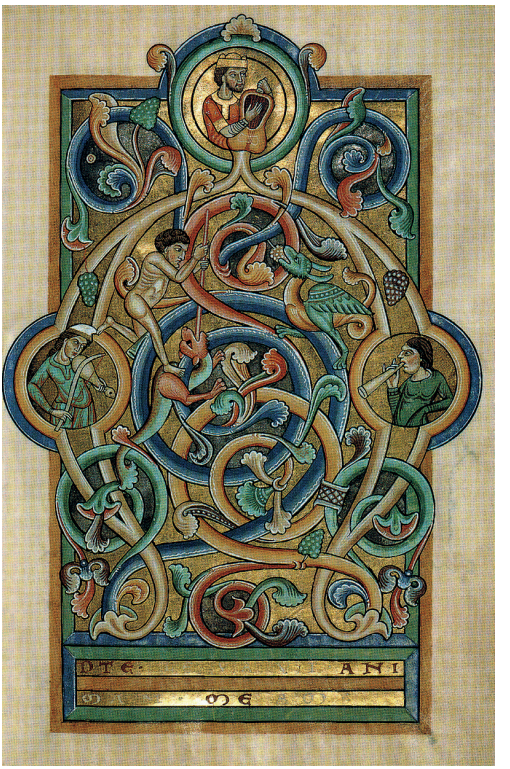

Fig. 2b. Stammheim-Missal, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms 64, A-Initial showing David and musicians (fol. 12), Hildesheim, ca. 1170 (© J. Paul Getty Museum)

the End of Days, when linear time expires. In the Stammheim manuscript, this (more common) focus on the end of time is paired with a unique interest in the beginning of time. The motif of the creation and the articulation of the beginning of time is decidedly rare for a manuscript like a Missal. Oftentimes medieval liturgical manuscripts, used infrequently, if regularly every year, contain illustrations emphasizing the cyclical nature of the Church year. The fact that the Stammheim Missal, which also contains prayers, chants, and texts that are all used during mass throughout the year by the choir and priest, instead depicts not only a march to the end of time, but a temporal beginning that expands is unusual; the interpretation of the Stammheim illuminations, therefore as merely typological is too simple. The focus on the time of beginnings (at the beginning of the manuscript) begs the question of what changed in the 12th century that resulted in such an unusual and inventive reflection on the beginning(s) of time as well as the future. In other words, the manuscript demands that we ask why an illuminator in this specific historical moment was contemplating the *beginning* of all things and

then conceived of a composition that was unique both in terms of the individual images that the illuminator painted and in how these images were organized into a four-page spread.

In fact, the question of how one could conceive of the nature of time (and the origins of time) was a subject of intense discussion in the twelfth century, for instance, by Honorius Augustodunensis and other scholastic philosophers.[3] One could read the design of the Stammheim Missal's frontispiece as a subtle, artistic commentary on these scholastic debates about the nature of time during the creation of the cosmos, specifically in terms of the illuminator's use of a circular motif and how he positioned the figure of God, which we will discuss below. This hypothesis is confirmed if we begin to explore how other questions found in twelfth-century art created immediately before the Stammheim Missal, providing sources for the Stammheim artist to draw – and innovate – upon.

The growing twelfth-century interest in the *origin* of all things—of life, of the soul—manifested itself in a rapid increase in the number of treatises written on Genesis at the time. Throughout that period in Europe, scholars and theologians were actively and systematically gathering knowledge and ideas about the topic; in the process, old and new ideas collided and scholars were obliged to devise new systems to order their thoughts as well as their theories about how – and in what order – creation took place. Entirely new and original solutions to answer questions of creation and temporality were, thus, being articulated in written form, as in new original pictorial inventions. The extraordinary collection of contemporary treatises on these themes in the library in Hildesheim indicates the curiosity about, and scholarly involvement, in the latest developments in natural science, medicine, epistemology, and philosophy that addressed the nature of time, the creation, and time's end.[4]

As we have observed, the miniatures at the beginning of a manuscript do not just translate the beginning of a specific story into pictures. In their details, they can also convey meta-reflections about beginnings in general. As explorations of notions about origins—like the idea of God creating the world out of nothing—they touch upon a paradox: the story of an absolute beginning conceals, yet at the same time implies, the existence of a prehistory. If one believes in *creatio ex nilio* (creation out of nothing) one must believe in a God who has an idea, a plan even, for the creation in mind. This notion of the Creator is like the platonic demiurge; it presupposes a God who already, before the act of creation, had an idea of what he would like to bring forth.[5] This idea of the creator precedes the moment of creating the world itself. Images

[3] A. Prica, *Heilsgeschichten: Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Bibelauslegung zwischen Poetik und Exegese*, Zürich, 2010; E. Jeauneau, *Rethinking the School of Chartres*, C. Desmarais (trans.), Toronto, 2009.

[4] Bishop Bruno 1153-1163/64 (1153-1161) had gathered significant collection (almost 60 codices containing commentaries on the Bible, works by historians, philosophers, medical and scientific works) of writings during his student days in Paris and then collected it and donated it to the library. Whether the Stammheim Missal was then given on behalf of his successor, Hermann 1161-1174 (1161-1170) or under Adelog of Dordstadt, Bishop from 1175-1190 (1170/71-1190) remains unclear. J. Bepler, "Die Dombibliothek zu Hildesheim", in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Dombibliothek in Hildesheim*, J. Bepler, H. Härtel, M. Stähli (eds.), Wolfenbüttel, 1991, pp. 11–26, part. 16. The list is recorded through Hilarius in Ms 656, Dombibliothek Hildesheim.

[5] G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts: Die Entstehung der Lehre von der creatio ex nihilo*, Berlin, 1978, p. VIII: "*Die geistigen Vorrausetzungen für die Formulierung der Lehre von der creatio ex nihilo waren von der christlichen Theologie im zweiten Jahrhundert erreicht*".

of double beginnings, or even two blank pages as in the Stammheim Missal, can visualize this paradox. The analysis of these premises in pictures thereby allows us to gain insight into medieval authors' thoughts on the notion of *creation ex nihilo* in general.[6]

The Image of Genesis in the Stammheim-Missale: nothing out of something

Where does one begin reading an image? This is a crucial question for art historians, and it is even more complex when dealing with an image in a manuscript because it involves taking into account text and images stitched together in a sequence of pages. In the Stammheim Missal, the reader flips over the first sheets of parchment filled a series of arches that recall canon tables in biblical manuscripts, to reveal the blank double page spread previously mentioned. Blank pages are rare in medieval manuscripts, since parchment was costly and artists wanted to maximize the space they had to illuminate. Sometimes the reverse of a full-page miniature was left empty to ensure the legibility of the text that followed, which could have been obscured if colors seeped into or discolored the verso of the image page. However, the two empty pages *facing* each other in the Stammheim Missal is an explicit and unique choice and not motivated to ensure the readability of the preceding and following pages. Although this folio spread has been addressed in terms of codicology, it has remained unnoticed by scholars analyzing the meaning of the book's opening pages. I suggest here that these pages were deliberately left empty: they are not blank because money for more illumination had run out, or because the scribe did not get around to filling them. We discover a similar gap, for instance, in a different and somewhat later 14th-century manuscript. In this object, a sheet is inscribed simply with the succinct words "*Remiet* ne faites *rien* cy car je y feray une figure qui y doit estre".[7] Michael Camille has analyzed what this "*rien*" (nothing) could stand for, placing the word in relation to the manuscript's illustrations of *creatio ex nihilo*, as well as Remiet's self-image as an artist.[8] Yet the void in our manuscript is different although the inclusion of "blank" pages was similarly intentional. In the Stammheim Missal, the blank double-page spread imbues the opening of the book with meaning once one turns the pages: The images placed on the folio's verso and on the following recto reveal, while turning them, the figures of Adam and Eve, who shine through the thin membrane of the parchment faintly when one has it open to the blank double-page spread that precedes them. The seemingly "blank page" is thus in fact characterized by an image that shows through its opposite side, although one would only observe this if one examines the Missal as a book rather than a series of isolated individual images.

Let us now turn the page to consider the context that we have now revealed. The beholder, or reader's, first glimpse of the frontispiece (following the blank pages) focuses attention on the creation of man (Fig. 1). Seven medallions surround Adam, who sleeps on his side in the center. Eve emerges at God's behest. God's right hand extends from the left into the center of the circle of medallions, in a gesture of either blessing or creation, or both

[6] Gerhard May has analyzed how the idea of creation out of nothing—an antithesis to the Greek origin model—formed, was triggered by the Gnostic question of the origin, and was largely developed by Justin and Irenaeus, and, through Origenes and Clement of Alexandria, revived again.

[7] Paris, B.N., MS. fr. 823, fol 1. 18 verso.

[8] M. Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator*, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 13.

simultaneously. The seven medallions all have golden frames, which are each inscribed with a caption to indicate the act of creation taking place within. Only the sixth circle (day six) is open to the middle, or more precisely to Adam, as on that day Eve was created by God. On this day, the earth has become a self-sufficient and self-fashioning entity: it brings forth living creatures to inhabit it; yet here we see only what God creates.

Let us devote more attention to the scaffolding around the individual medallions. Silver beams separate the circles, much like the spokes of a wheel, with the empty spaces filled in with blue and green. On each of these silver spokes is an inscription noting the day of creation described in the images. God presides above this wheel of scenes, visible from his torso up, holding a disk representing the cosmos that contains the medallions.[9] The disk's outermost frame, which fades chromatically from deep red to white, appears to have a beveled edge, which it reinforces the sense that the earth is a flat plane as does the fact that God appears to grasp the edge of the circle. God's exact placement in relation to the earth he holds is, however, indeterminable, as the blue band that runs behind him also appears to be in front of him, intertwined with the framework of the spoked wheel. God, outfitted with a silver cross nimbus, is fixed between the earth and the illumination's outermost frame of green and blue. Is he in the world, or outside of it, or both? The threshold of the frame is not as rigid for the cherubim on either side, who appear to have the peaks of their wings tucked into or pinched by the frame. God and the angels, we are visually encouraged to understand, exist prior to creation described in the wheel that God holds. Meanwhile, in the illumination's lower register, we find the time after the creation, that is, we find a space in which biblical narrative unfold. God thus stands between both time and space. The analysis of the frame construction draws the reader's attention to three questions about the creation raised by the biblical story that were frequently discussed since late antiquity. Namely, what preceded the creation? Where did God derive his ideas for what to create? And where was God before, during, and after the creation?

In the eleventh century in the Latin West, we begin to find depictions of God's works on all six days of the creation (and not only the creation of mankind) . Contemporaneous with this emergence (and only in the West), new kinds of images arose that experimented with depicting the creation of the world within a circular format. On the Girona Tapestry, for example, the creation is depicted within a circle divided into eight fields; the six days are each given their own field, and the remaining two contain angels who accompany the Creator (who is not depicted for he is invisible). This addition of two image fields for the angels is a figurative reference to the fact that at this point in the scripture (Genesis 1: 26 specifically) the word "*faciamus*" (we make) rather than "*fecit*" (he makes) is used for the first time. In other words, in this moment, God is no longer depicted as creating by himself, but rather together with angels.

Liturgical manuscripts may have inspired the illuminator of the Stammheim Missal. A manuscript from the beginning of the 12th century (Verdun, Ms. 1, Fig. 4a) can be seen as

[9] Steffen Bogen introduced the term *Umfassungsfigur* for this type of a diagrammatic representation of knowledge. The framing of the body of this figure, this arc, ontologized the diagrammatic relations, as Bogen writes: "*Sie vermittelt zwischen der Reproduktion der Form auf dem Papier, ihrer vorausgesetzten Realisierung in der Schöpfung und ihrer geforderten Einprägung und Auslegung im Körper und Gedächtnis des Lesers und Betrachters*". S. Bogen, "Der Körper des Diagramms: Präsentationsfiguren, mnemonische Hände, vermessene Menschen", in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, K. Marek, et al. (eds.), Paderborn, 2006, pp. 61–81.

a precedent: Here, the illuminator does not show what is created and instead presents personifications with attributes that represent the six days of the creation. In the middle, God the Creator holds a globe filled with the creation of Eve, rising from the sleeping Adam at the center. This represents the origin of mankind, and is surrounded by six smaller medaillons. On a miniature in a liturgical manuscript from Zwiefalten, which is roughly contemporaneous to the Stammheim Missal (Fig. 4b), we find an elaboration of the narrative unfolding of the events of Creation over time (the fall of the angels and then the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise). More importantly, in this book we also find a circular layout used to configure the images. The circle alludes to both the wheel of time and the Earth, thought at the time to be at the core of the cosmos, which was believed to encircle the earth in a series of rotating spheres.[10] In this manuscript, it is the expulsion of Satan that initiates the start of time, even though Satan is in fact not mentioned in Genesis. The painter of the Stammheim Missal thus appears to have been familiar with a contemporary development in the arts; namely, the Stammheim illuminator was aware of a contemporary interest in representing the process of creation in a circular form. Yet the Stammheim artist expanded upon this design, incorporating the theological and philosophical implications of God's governing both the world and temporality. The elements of framing, which we discussed previously, are interwoven with the images of creation in such a way that frame and content integrate into an image that portrays God as standing over both the world and time simultaneously. He, the divine creator, appears as a figure that has moved the wheel of time ever since the creation.

The illuminator of the gospel of Henry the Lion, made in Helmarshausen in the same region as the Stammheim Missal, also experimented with representing the works of the creation (Fig. 5). In this case, the artist did not depict the works of creation in a circle. Instead, he arranged them around a central Mandorla featuring the Divine Creator. This composition also breaks up the temporal loop otherwise present in circular images. God holds an open book with a legible verse from Isaiah 45: 7: «I form the light, and create darkness, I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord that do all these things».[11] In this image, God's position in the center shows him as the origin of all creations, in contrast to the Stammheim Missal, where the creation of Eve lies at the illumination's core and *Sapientia* on the right hand side emphasizes her contribution to the creation of the cosmos. The medaillon at the center unfolds the sixth day of creation (and does not represent the seventh day with the resting divine creator). It puts emphasis on the creation of both sexes representing the creation of mankind, not on Eve as a secondary image to the creation of Adam, as was common in previous illuminations of Genesis. The Stammheim missal artist's pictorial representation of Creation thereby helped

[10] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. 2°415. Compare with Ms 1 from Verdun, cf. F. Ronig, "Die Buchmalerei des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts in Verdun", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 38 (1969), pp. 7–212, part. 53–56: "*Schöpfungsbild und Annusbild sind als "Eingangsseiten» zum liturgischen Hauptteil der Handschrift zu sehen. Die Kombination der neuen Schöpfungs- mit der alten Annusikonographie ergibt eine Einheit der heilsgeschlichen und kosmologischen Sicht des Seins. So stehen beide Bilder sinnvoll vor dem Martyrologium mit seinen Legenden zu den Festtagen im Jahreszyklus.*"; S. von Borries-Schulten, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart vol. 2: Die romanischen Handschriften, Teil 1: Provenienz Zwiefalten, mit einem paläographischen Beitrag von Herrad Spilling*, Stuttgart, 1987.

[11] All English translations of biblical quotations are taken from the Douay Rheims Bible: *The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English, out of the authentical Latin*, English College of Douai (ed.), Douai, 1609.

Fig. 4a. Ms 1, Bibliothèque Municipale, Verdun, 1100, fol. 1r, Annus, 4 Winds, four seasons, personifications of the works of the creation (© Bibliothèque Municipale, Verdun)

Fig. 4b. Stuttgart WLB, liturgical manuscript from Zwiefalten, Cod. Hist. 2° 415, vor 1162, fol. 17r (© Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart)

to smooth over two two different and contradictory accounts of creation combined in the first three chapters of Genesis that posed a problem for the illuminators of the biblical account of God's creative work to which we will return shortly.

It is difficult to situate the protagonists in the lower pictorial field of the Stammheim missal's illumination, where the Genesis story continues after the creation, because they are indeterminate spatial zones. While the central disc overlaps the nimbus of the archangel on the left, Adam and Eve, who the archangel is expelling from paradise, stand in front of it. On the right, Cain is shown killing his brother within the area defined by the picture's frame, though it is also suggested that the story continues to extend beyond the picture frame. In the center, inside of an arch: King David looks upward, holding a scroll unrolled to reveal Psalm 134: 6: "Whatsoever the Lord hath pleased he hath done, in heaven, in earth, in the sea, and in all the deeps."[12] The proximity of this text to depictions of the acts of creation lend the verse a second meaning: everything that God imagines, he also produces. This could lead to the expectation that the story on the other side of page continues according to the biblical narrative and that the beholder will encounter further stories like Cain and Abel, Noah's Arc, etc. on

[12] Biblia Sacra, Vulgata: Ps. 134:6: "*Omnia quae voluit Dominus fecit in caelo et in terra in mare et in omnibus abyssis*".

Fig. 5. Gospel of Henry the Lion, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Helmarshausen, 1170-80, fol. 172r, creation (© Herzog August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel)

the following pages. Interestingly, however, the reader does not. One then wonders: what connects the moments that the artist has chosen to depict, if it is not a chronological sequence? Or, in other words, in light of this pictorial departure from chronology, how does the illuminator direct and instruct the attention of the beholder?

Let us begin a second time and open the manuscript once more. We flip through the calendar and look first to the "void" of an empty double page before the frontispiece, then to a double page with the *creatio ex nihilo* on the left and the figure of wisdom (*Sapientia*) on the right (Fig. 1). We then proceed to a spread with the Annunciation on the left and the Initial A, in the form of a lively vine, on the right (Fig. 2). The frontispiece of the Stammheim Missal thus spans two double pages. Three out of a total of twelve full-page miniatures in the manuscript are reserved for the frontispiece, which is followed by the leafy "A". Not only the divine creator holding the *rota* containing the six days of creation on the left and *Sapientia* (wisdom) on

the right, but also the following two pages, with the Annunciation and the A-Initial, are closely intertwined both formally and conceptually. Their frames, which demonstrate a knowledge of perspectival convention, seem to operate together almost like a hinge. The "nothing" depicted on the page preceding the creation puts additional emphasis on the collaboration between the creator on the left, creating the cosmos *ex-nihilo* (nothing) together with the central figure of *Sapientia* on the right (Fig. 1b). Wisdom operates not simply as a continuation of the Genesis story, but is also part of a composition of personifications that includes two registers: prophets and saints, with *Sapientia* standing in the center. As on the left page, God on this page is located in a different pictorial plane. However, while on the left God's position can only be discerned by closely examining the various overlapping layers and levels of representation, it is clearly defined on the right. One sees *Sapientia* carrying the globe like Atlas, with both of her hands emphasizing the semi-circular opening towards the beyond. God resides in this beyond, though he reaches far into the main picture plane; his arms are spread outwards and forwards, and through the scrolls that he holds, he "converses" with two Old Testament figures, David and Abraham. He "speaks" with them both about procreation, which is quite fitting given the theme of the facing page, the creation of mankind. To Abraham he says, "All people from thy seed shall be blessed" (Gen 22:18), and to David he directs a Psalm verse: "A fruit of your womb (*In semine tuo*) will sit on your throne" (131:11). The central axis is occupied by God, *Sapientia*, Zechariah, and Jacob. This choice of figures is surprising, though we can be assured that the selection was intentional since the figures' names are inscribed on the page, and all of their voices are given weight through the accompanying Biblical quotations. Elizabeth Teviotdale has explained this choice with respect to Jesus Sirach 24,13 as a sort of *traditio sepientiae*: "And He (Creator of the Universe) said (to me, *Sapientia*): Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thy inheritance in Israel, and take root in my elect."[13] The careful composition of the sequence of an empty double page (fols. 9v and 10r) preceding four full-page minitiatures (fols 10v-12r) can be evidently considered as a deliberate reflection about the divine *creatio ex nihilo,* and the overcoming of the original sin. The role of *Sapientia* in the story of the creation and the addition of David embedded in a large ornamented initial, however, need further explanation.

Sapientia – or speaking in the plural

The innovative element in the page is the invention of the pictorial formula for *Sapientia* that combines, in her raised hands and standing posture, moments of devotion and structural support not unlike like Atlas, the holder of the globe (Fig. 1b). Her pictorial form addresses and reacts to a fundamental problem that had, by this time, occupied theologians for centuries: the problem of God speaking in the plural at the time of the creation of man, while during the first days God speaks of him as creator using singular forms (*creavit* or *fecit* – he created or made), at Gen. 1, 26 he switches to "we make" (faciamus) in the present tense. A verse from Proverbs is written on her body, which I have already cited in regards to God as *artifex*:

[13] Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*. The reference to the fruit of the womb (*fructus ventris*) refers the reader who is used to murmel the line *benedictus fructus ventris* from the *Ave-maria* already to the scene which is waiting for the beholder after the turning of the page: the annunciation. All other prophets on this page refer to the arrival of Christ and announce the changes brought with it.

"I was with him when he invented everything - *Cum eo eram cuncta componens*." (Prov. 8:30).[14] This was far from a common visual trope in this period. In the creation image of the *Clavis Physicae* by Honorius Augustodunensis illuminated at Paris in the 12th century (Fig. 3a and Fig. 3b), the personification of wisdom on the far right side takes on the form of the *anima mundi* from the actual frontispiece.[15] The Parisian illuminator connects the number seven (the Biblical days of creation) with the four Platonic categories of living things. In the case of the Stammheim Missal, through the pictorial form of *Sapientia* and the cherubim pair, a double explanation for God's speaking in the plural is given. All three, God, *Sapientia*, and the angels, the illuminator suggests, existed before the creation out of nothing.[16] In the Hildesheim

Fig. 3a. Honorius Augustodunensis, Clavis Physicae, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 6437, mid of 12th c, fol. 1v (© BnF Paris)

Fig. 3b. Honorius Augustodunensis, Clavis Physicae, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 6437, mid of 12th c, fol. 3v (© BnF Paris)

[14] *Componere* – invent, compose, devise, is a term often described in relation to the divine and artistic act of creation in the Middle Ages.

[15] C. Meier, "Le rappresentazioni dell'invisibile: Sulla nuova diagrammatica del XII secolo", in *Il secolo XII: La "*renovatio" *dell'Europa cristiana*, G. Cracco et al. (eds.), Bologna, 2003, pp. 479–527, part. 499–500.

[16] Almost every commentator on the Book of Genesis commented on this passage, in which the plural is used the first time. Origen († 253/254 AD) explains in his Homilies to Genesis that this passage shows us, what type of being

frontispiece, *Sapientia* is figured as a central pillar in the genealogy between God the Father above, and the Priest Zechariah below; this can be explained because she was central to the creation of man. Moreover, as *sedes sapientiae*, she, along with the Holy Spirit, contributes to the Incarnation depicted on the next page. She is the prerequisite for knowledge, and thus is also a consequence of the Fall of Man as a result of the desire for knowledge and the bite of the apple from the tree of knowledge.

Double Narration of Genesis – Two Iconographic Traditions

The first three chapters of the book of Genesis are composed from two different ancient scriptures, the younger Priestly source (Gen 1-2,4a) the so-called Jahwist (Gen 2, 4b-3,24). This dual authorship means that the history of the creation of man is told in two different versions (Genesis 1:26-28 and Genesis 2:7 (Adam), 2:20-22 (Eve)). This presents the artist with a problem with countless possible solutions: one must decide when to use which story, and more importantly, which variant of the biblical narrative to transpose into an image. The illuminator of the Stammheim Missal has chosen to represent Genesis 1:26 "Let us make man in our image…as male and female he created them", however, the composition follows the iconographic tradition based on the text of Genesis 2:21-22: "Then the Lord God cast a deep sleep upon Adam: and when he was fast asleep, he took one of his ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman: and brought her to Adam." This choice by the illuminator is meaningful because he puts the creation of Eve at the center of his composition, as an enlarged seventh medaillon. He decided to do so in place of showing the seventh day of creation, a move that foregrounds the creation of mankind. The decision to not only depict the creation of Adam and to also represent the taking of Adam's rib while he is sleeping, as well as the choice to not represent the divine creator resting on the seventh day *and* the decision to not show the fall of man, but instead the expulsion from paradise is a pictorial answer to the textual contradictions caused by the combination of two different accounts of the same story in Genesis 1-3. Furthermore, the emphasis on the creation of both sexes, and the illuminator's refusal to continue the tradition attributing the introduction of all evil as consequence of Eve persuading Adam to eat from the tree of knowledge is significant (as reference to *Sapientia*) as is the decision to present the personification of wisdom as essential to the creation of and pillar support to the world, for these choices complicate the narrative of

man is. For him the special position of man is revealed here. He argues that only heaven, earth, sun and moon, the stars and now also mankind are created by God himselves, all other beings are generated according to God's command. Origenes, *Homilien zum Buch Genesis*, T. Heither (ed. and trans.), Cologne, 2002, 1.12, p. 43: "*Er hat die Würde des Himmels, deshalb wird ihm auch die Herrschaft des Himmels verheissen. Er hat auch die Würde der Erde; denn er hat die Hoffnung, einzuziehen in das gute Land, das Land der Lebendigen, das von Milch und Honig fliesst, vgl. Ex 3,8, 33,3 usw.). Er hat die Würde von Sonne und Mond mit der Verheissung, zu leuchten wie die Sonne im Reich Gottes (vgl. Mt. 13, 43.)*". The comment by Basil the Great (329-379 AD) is aimed not on insights about the nature of man, but rather on God's knowledge. He was interested in this passage of Genesis, above all, to learn about God. In its.extensive polemic against Jewish arguments, who considered the plural as a reference to a soliloquy or as God speaking to the present angels, Basil interprets the plural as God speaking to his son. Basil the Great, *The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea*, R. W. Thomson (ed.), *CSCO Scriptores Syri* 223, Leuven, 1995, pp. 135–137.

creation in interesting ways. But before we expand our reading of the sequence as a whole, let us first elaborate the difference to earlier illuminations of Genesis.

An excellent example of the iconographic tradition of Genesis illuminations is provided by a series of bibles illuminated around Tours, in France. Foremost among these, is the frontispiece of a Carolingian Bible from Tours, the Grandval Bible (Fig. 6a), which is frequently cited as a model for the Ottonian bronze doors at Hildesheim. Both examples, the frontispiece in the Grandval Bible and the doors at Hildesheim, avoid the problem of the two different accounts of Genesis by starting their narration when the two separate authors' texts meet and align; they skip the first days of the creation of the world and begin their pictorial cycles with the creation of man. But with which scene do they start exactly? The Grandval Bible shows Adam lying lifeless on the ground, with God gently touches his head. Researchers who have studied primarily Byzantine art, such as Kurt Weitzmann, have identified these scenes in the Grandval Bible without any doubt as depicting the formation and animation of Adam and claim it to be in the manner of the so-called Cotton-Genesis-Reception. Pictorial solutions in this tradition going back to the lost manuscript of the Cotton-Genesis emphasize the two steps in the creation of Adam, the creation of his body and the animation (breathing the soul in his body), some of which explicitly depict his soul as a little butterfly, the chrysalid embedded into his body, like the 4th century tapestry in the Abegg-Foundation or the thirteenth century mosaics of the cupola at the narthex at San Marco in Venice. These resemble pictorial choices made in the (burned) manuscript of the Cotton-Genesis.[17] However, art Historians like Herbert Kessler, who argue from a more Western-centric perspective, have questioned the probability of the Byzantine Cotton-Genesis model and classify the first scenes in the Grandval Bible as the formation of Adam and Eve. Kessler has pointed out analogies to the overlooked Bamberg Manuscript, which eliminates the contradiction of the Bible's double narrative (Genesis 1:27 versus Genesis 2:18) and shows the creation of Adam, the naming of the animals, and then the creation of Eve (Fig. 6b). In the Bible of Charles the Bold in Rome, the emphasis is on the creation and animation of people, with God speaking out his verdict upon Adam and Eve, not shown. In other instances, e.g. the Bamberg manuscript (Fig. 6b), however, the illuminator has highlighted the moment in which God confronts Adam and Eve about the apple, asking them what they have done. In this moment, Adam points to Eve, and Eve to the Snake as the origin of all evil.

The artist of the bronze doors of Hildesheim has exaggerated the redirection of guilt, which comes from altered vision—or, rather, cognition since the protagonists have already eaten from the Tree of Knowledge. The fauna is now subject to the seasons, the snake is exposed and revealed as a dragon, and the pure joy they had previously shared together in Eden has given way to shame. In contrast to the eternal time that prevailed in Paradise, according to Augustine, starting with the Fall, temporality and the perception of men had been indelibly transformed. Instead of the Edenic eternal time of pleasure, post-lapsarian time is short-lived. After the fall, time is running out. In the Early and High Middle ages, the majority of Genesis

[17] L. Kötzsche, M. Flury-Lemberg, U. Schiessl, *Der bemalte Behang in der Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg: Eine alttestamentlche Bildfolge des 4. Jahrhunderts*, Riggisberg 2004 and *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice. The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis mosaics*, M. Büchsel, H. Kessler, R. Müller (eds.), Berlin, 2014, see especially the contributions by Herbert Kessler, Martin Büchsel, Alexander Brungs and Karin Krause, pp. 75-176.

Fig. 6a. Moutier-Grandval Bible, British Library, London, MS. Add. 10546, fol. 5v, Gen. 1,26-4,1 ca. 840 (© BL, London)

Fig. 6b. Alcuin-Bible, Msc. Bibl. 1, fol. 7v, 834/7, Gen. 1,26-4,15 (© Staatsbibliothek Bamberg)

illustrations focused on the creation of the first two humans and the fall of man; as a rule, however, elements of both variations of the story (like in the Carolingian Bibles from Tours, Fig. 6) integrated the contradictions into their artistic pictorial inventions, which resulted from the double narrative of the beginning of all things, into pictures that resolved the narrative difficulties. The end of the story in the Carolingian miniatures is usually Adam and Eve at work, and only sometimes the fratricide of Cain and Able.

Not many books in the Bibles from Tours are introduced by full-page miniatures. In the case of the Grandval Bible, for example, only the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Revelation have introductory images. The Vivian Bible also has full-page illuminations for the book of Jerome, the Psalms, and Paul's epistles. Harvey Stahl and others have argued that in the first scene of the bronze doors at Hildesheim we see Adam twice, lying and standing, though I agree with the contrary stance that the first scene depicts the creation of Eve with Adam watching God at work.[18] This is relevant because it is one of the few examples of illuminations that select this scene as the start of a genesis-cycle; it was also a potential model for the illuminator of the Stammheim Missal, who selected the creation of eve as first scene in a cycle

[18] H. Stahl, "Eve's Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors", in *Reading Medieval Images*, E. Sears, T. K. Thomas (eds.), Ann Arbor, 2002, pp. 163–175.

depicting the beginning of the book of Genesis. In beginning the Missal with this scene, the Stammheim artist also shifted the emphasis in the story of evil's origins from Eve, being lured by the snake into eating from the tree of knowledge and her corruption of Adam. Instead, the Stammheim cycle presents the couple acting together.

The emphasis upon Eve in this manner reflects the way in which the long shadow of Augstine's exegesis of the first chapters of Genesis was being substantially revised in the 12th century.[19] According to Augustine, the divine act of blowing life into the "breathing hole" of the face (*inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vite*) animated the senses and guided the mind (*intellectum*) so that humans were able to contemplate the works of Wisdom. If the Hildesheim illuminator of the Stammheim missal so carefully conceived of the beginning of the manuscript, the question thus arises as to how he dealt with the problem of the origin of evil? Or, perhaps, whether he simply bypassed the question. It seems relevant that in the Missal, all of the scenes of God speaking to Adam or Eve - and the snake as personification of the devil speaking to them – omitted. The moment of "inspiration" (God's life-giving breath, as well as the impetus to knowledge through perception) were apparently of less interest to the Stammheim artist than creation *ex nihilo*. We see, for instance, the consequences of the Fall (expulsion and fratricide), but not what caused these events. The snake no longer appears in Paradise but instead makes an entrance on the next page under the feet of Mary in the Annunciation. This scene was announced by Jacob (Luke 1,78) on the previous page, and depicts Mary with her feet stamping on the devilish serpent. The fact that Mary, here as a "new Eve", is placing her foot on the snake's head was a matter discussed by theologians in this time, but the Stammheim illumination seems to be the first pictorial articulation of the motif. Stepping on the snake's head is both a reference to the origin of sin and the beginning of true perception—Judgment and the beginning of right and wrong. The sequence of these three full-page miniatures taken together is, therefore, not simply an illustration of the biblical text, or another theological tract. It is in itself a theological statement in pictorial form.

Eve, *Sapientia*, Mary or Reading in Traces

Turning the page after the first two full-page miniatures, the Annunciation greets the reader. This is a scene that references the insight gained from the redemption (Fig. 2a). In the arches of a double portal, the reader recognizes the archangel delivering the good news to Mary. The architectural setting alludes to three things: 1) to churches in general 2) to Mary as a vessel for the divine fruit of the womb, and 3) to the heavenly city of God. On the upper level of the architectural structure enclosing Mary, Aaron is addressed by Paul and the

[19] J. S. Ericksen, "Offering the Forbidden Fruit in MS. Junius 11", in *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, C. Davidson (ed.), Kalamazoo, 2001, pp. 48-65. Augustine has commented on Genesis in five different texts, 388/89 returning to Africa, he wrote de genesis contra manichaeos. The unfinished de genesis ad litteram liber unus imperfectus, experiments with another form of exegesis in 393-395, before he discussed in his confessiones in the last book the biblical account(s) of genesis (397-401) again. The most elaborate commentary on genesis is his large commentary de genesi ad litteram written in 401-416 and in de civitate dei written after that (book 11, 416) he returns to the question of the creation of angels. For the latter see M. T. d'Alverny, "Les anges et les jours", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 9 (1957), pp. 271-300.

Psalmist. Below, *Sapientia* appears once again in a position of importance (the figure may also be Mary in the guise of *Sedes Sapientiae*: "Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars." (Proverbs 9,1). Through this illumination, the beholder gains insights how the evil in the world originating in the sin of the primordial couple has been overcome, that fill in omissions from the previous page; what is missing in first is explained by the next. This contributes to a more sympathetic depiction of Eve, similar to that on the Hildesheim doors. In these representations, Eve does not appear origin of all sins, but instead as part of the creation of mankind.

The Stammheim artist, therefore, decided *not* to represent the creation of Adam and the Fall, but rather to feature the female trio of Eve, *Sapientia*, and Mary. In doing so, the artist placed a conspicuous emphasis on very specific elements of the biblical story. Namely, he highlighted moments of cognition and knowledge (wisdom) - to be gained through perception through a set of female representations.. Crucial here is, in my opinion, the punishment of the snake under the foot of Mary, shown here in this manner for the first time.[20] Eve eats the forbidden fruit out of desire for cognition and knowledge. This knowledge gives the descendants of Adam and Eve the ability to recognize, to see truly, to gain true insight through seeing, cognition through perception – a double-edged sword, obviously, since sight and insight do not necessarily align. In stamping out the snake, however, Mary can transform sight into insight; she is a figure of the type of wisdom that leads to redemption.

As *Sedes Sapientiae*, which was one of the most popular artistic motifs of the Romanesque period, Mary embodies the overcoming of Original Sin. She sits in the temple of knowledge and on the Throne of Solomon. These allusions encourage a learned beholder to reflect upon the relationship with God as the creator of Time. Instead of the Augustinian tradition of attributing the plural to the angels and aligning the creation of the angels with the creation of time, the illuminator introduces three female representations from three different historical moments. Historical chronology and eschatology are intertwined in a manuscript used during the celebration of the Eucharist, unfolding a similar intertwining of layers of time, connected in the experience of the reader, viewer, listener and participant in the liturgy. In the manuscript, the viewer's eye is encouraged to wander beyond the confines of the picture plane, spurring one to think about the differences between the nature of time during the act of creation and the larger, eschatological passage of time. The creation of the cosmos, the period of the old testament, is prefiguring the events to come: the period of the new testament with the events fulfilling the old testament and the celebration during the mass in the presence of the believer, listening the psalms sung and connecting these past layers of time with the promised future, the revelation and end of time. The three pages each reveal a different understanding of time and therefore offer up an understanding of the Christian view of time in the Middle Ages, which, as Jean-Claude Schmitt has stated "summarized…different times of symbolic times."[21]

[20] Rupert von Deutz, but also Hugo of St. Victor and Bernhard von Clairvaux discuss it, e.g. in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermo LII*: *De domo divinae Sapientiae, id es Virgine Maria*, J. P. Migne (ed.), *PL* 183, Paris, 1879. There was a broad Carolingian debate on it, see the entry to *calcaneus* in: Alanus ab Insulis, *Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicalium*, J. P. Migne (ed.), *PL* 210, Paris, 1855.

[21] J.-C. Schmitt, "Plädoyer für eine Geschichte der Rhythmen im mittelalterlichen Europa", in *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, M. Borgolte (ed.), Berlin, 2010, pp. 287–306.

Moreover, the reader is moved to think about the relationship of his or her own time to the biblical concepts of genealogy and prophecy.[22]

But what factors led to the artist's decision to depict this triad of female figures, Eve, *Sapientia* and Mary? The presence of musicians in the A of the last frontispiece section in the Stammheim missal coupled with the absence of scrolls seems to refer to the enactment of the actual content of the missal—the songs, readings, and prayers which are to be heard acustically. If we read the red and white (silver?) letters on the gold below, we read "ad te levavi animam meam – listen, my soul has been lifted", an interesting little change to the text of psalm 25. One may add with and through the wisdom and the gifts given through the series of female personifications filling our hearts and eyes from digesting the plethora of connections in the preceding miniatures. I believe this "change of senses" from the discerning eye to the listening ear is a reference to the invisibility of God – left out from the biblical wording in the actual psalm –, who was no longer visually tangible following the expulsion out of paradise. According to Paul in the well-known first letter to the Corinthians (13:12), until Judgment Day, "For now we see in a dimly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then I will know fully just as I also have been fully known." Moreover, when the snake is transformed into the vines on the opposite side and restricts our view of the reflective gold, we read: "To thee, O Lord, have I lifted up my soul - *Ad te domine animam meam [levabo]*." Ps 25,1.

The text of the Psalms then begins with a sentence referencing the moment of the blurring of our sight through the Fall: "In thee, O my God, I put my trust; (25,2), (inscription on the bottom of Fig 4)."[23] The A initial is a representation of the invisibilty of god, and at the same time a pictorial statement, that god is still perceivable through the music, indirectly, veiled, for our eyes, now, and will be visible again after the end of time. The scrolls of the vine represent a calligraphic version of depicting the invisiblity of god for our earthly eyes, and emphasize his perceivabilty through our soul, as a gifts from wisdom and mary. The A-initial acts as a kind of symbol condensing the central thought of Hugo of St. Victor. For the Parisian scholar, whose texts were available early in Hildesheim through copies,

> "If the original creation could be compared to a book, the book of wisdom, written by the finger of God, the divine response to the Fall can be seen as the writing of another sapiental book … This second writing is the Incarnation".[24]

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[22] Jean-Claude Schmitt distinguished between the three types of rhythms (basic rhythms, the rhythmic order, and the rhythm of the story) that defined the modalities of the lives of individuals and their thoughts on the story. One could assign the three sheets of the frontispiece to these three categories. The creation established elementary rhythms, Sapientia and the Priests convey the rhythmic order, and with Mary comes the beginning of time to an end as well as the rhythm of history.

[23] Reading older texts as traces and signs awaiting the fulfillment of more recent texts is a relationship that changed fundamentally in the twelfth century.

[24] Hugo of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis 1.6.5*, J. P. Migne (ed.), *PL* 176, Paris, 1880, col. 266; ~~eadem,~~ *Hugh of Saint Victor on the Sacraments of the Chistian Faith*: *De Sacramentis*, R. J. Deferrari (trans.), Cambridge, Mass., 1951, pp. 97–98; B. T. Coolman, *The Theology of Hugh of St. Victor*: *An Interpretation*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 96. Hans Blumenberg describes this change as following: "*Das Analogieverfahren ist insofern das eines 'Lesens', als es sich vom blossen Beweis der Ursächlichkeit Gottes für die Welt entfernt und die Erschliessung der Handschrift des Urhebers an seinem Werk für möglich hält*". H. Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt*, Frankfurt am Main, 1986, p. 52.

Conclusion

We will now open our manuscript a final time and consider how the wisdom, which God awarded to humans as He formed and animated them in his image, enables mankind to gain knowledge of world phenomena (*Erscheinungswelt*) and invent images for complex ideas. This wisdom can convey 1) the priest (according to the genealogy on the second page) in the tradition of Zacharias, 2) Mary, who played the role of the redeemer of Original Sin and thus crushed the bad (the snake). Third, the wisdom lets us hear the hidden traces of godly wisdom in songs, prayers, and readings—lets us recognize the creation itself or pictures of it. The Stammheim Missal reflects the evolving interests in the creation and its preconditions. Against this background, the images are wholly surprising—the unusual choice of creation images as a frontispiece for a liturgical manuscript, the play with double beginnings, its reflections on both the acts of creation and the question of what was beforehand. The illuminator provides us with three possibilities of understanding wisdom (priest, Mary as *Sedes Sapientiae*, and reading the book of nature) and presents them to our eyes. He developed these two highly original double pages, which propose solutions to the theological debates about speaking in the plural, as well as about the triad of Eve-*Sapientia*-Maria. Wisdom connects all three; Eve desires it and commits the Original Sin, *Sapientia* embodies it and contributes to the creation like an artist, and Mary lives in its house.