Research Article

VISUAL LANGUAGE OF ILLUSTRATION IN CAROLINGIAN AND VISIGOTHIC EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Humanities - Art History

Keywords: Medieval Art; Illuminated Manuscripts; Human Figure; Anthropomorphic Representation; Medieval Iconography; Carolingian Art; Merovingian Art; Visigothic Art.

Mjellma (Ilhami) Goranci Firzi

Department of Art History and Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje

Abstract

This study examines the representation of anthropomorphic figures in early medieval European manuscripts from the eighth to the tenth century, with particular emphasis on Merovingian, and Visigoth traditions. Illuminated manuscripts from this period provide valuable insight into the cultural, religious, and artistic developments of early medieval Europe. While existing scholarship has extensively addressed symbolism, paleography, and stylistic frameworks, this research proposes a focused art-historical analysis of the human figure as it appears in manuscript illustration, script, and the interaction between textual and visual elements. Through the analysis of artistic techniques, formal structures, proportions, and representations of dress, this study investigates how medieval artists constructed visual narratives that reflected cultural norms and artistic conventions. Furthermore, it explores the ways in which human figures were stylized to convey theological and spiritual meanings. By examining the relationship between artistic form and ideological content, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of anthropomorphic representation within early medieval manuscript culture and highlights the significance of visual expression in shaping religious and cultural identity.

1. INTRODUCTION

The study titled *The Human Figure in the Middle Ages (Eighth–Tenth Century)* examines anthropomorphic representation in early medieval European manuscripts, with particular focus on Merovingian and Visigothic manuscript traditions. This historical period marks the consolidation of early medieval political entities following tribal settlement, as well as significant cultural and religious transformation across Europe. (Calkins, 1983) Manuscripts produced during this era were primarily created for religious, educational, and intellectual purposes, reflecting the synthesis of regional artistic traditions and Christian iconography. (Brown, 2003) These manuscripts not only preserved theological texts but also functioned as vehicles of visual narration and symbolic representation. Similarly, Merovingian manuscripts, produced mainly in monastic scriptoria within the territories of present-day France, are recognized for their elaborate ornamentation and integration of script and image. (Blair, 1995) Visigothic manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula further illustrate the fusion of Romano-Christian visual traditions with local stylistic elements. (Gameson, 1999) Illuminated manuscripts played a fundamental role in medieval spiritual and intellectual life. They were essential instruments in liturgical practice, religious instruction, and the preservation of theological knowledge. The relationship between text and illustration was particularly significant, as visual imagery often reinforced theological interpretation and facilitated spiritual engagement. Many manuscripts contain annotations and marginalia that demonstrate the active intellectual participation of scribes and readers. (Alexander, 1978) Today, these manuscripts are preserved in major European collections, including libraries in Paris, London, and Dublin. in major European collections, including libraries in Paris, London, and Dublin. Although scholarly

research has extensively examined textual structures, paleographic developments, iconographic symbolism, and stylistic evolution, the representation of the human figure has received comparatively limited scholarly attention. Medieval artists frequently prioritized symbolic and theological expression over naturalistic anatomical representation. Nevertheless, the stylistic depiction of the human body and its relationship to clothing an element that carried religious, social, and cultural significance gives valuable insight into artistic practice and social identity in medieval Europe. By addressing these scholarly gaps, this study seeks to offer a new perspective on anthropomorphic representation in medieval manuscripts. It explores how artistic traditions such as Merovingian and Carolingian manuscript production approached the depiction of the human figure and how these representations evolved across different regions. Through comparative visual analysis, this research aims to deepen understanding of artistic techniques and to contextualize anthropomorphic imagery within broader medieval cultural, religious, and social frameworks.

2. RESEARCH AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Early medieval European manuscripts represent exceptional cultural artifacts that offer an understanding of the religious, intellectual, and artistic life of the Middle Ages. These illuminated manuscripts, typically produced by monastic scribes, contain religious texts, historical narratives, literary works, and scientific treatises. Written primarily on parchment or vellum, these manuscripts demonstrate a sophisticated integration of textual transmission and visual artistry (Calkins, 1983). The medieval period represents a crucial stage in the formation of European cultural identity, preserving classical knowledge while simultaneously developing new artistic and intellectual traditions. (Brown, 1994) Illuminated manuscripts constitute one of the most significant artistic achievements of this period. Manuscript traditions in Merovingian territories, Carolingian Europe, and Visigothic Spain reflect the diversity of regional artistic and theological expression. (Henderson, 1987) Merovingian manuscripts, created during the reign of the Frankish kingdoms, exhibit a combination of Roman, Celtic, and early Christian visual influences and emphasize the transmission of biblical and patristic texts. (McKitterick, 1989)

The Carolingian Renaissance, initiated under Charlemagne, introduced a revival of classical learning and the development of standardized script forms, most notably Carolingian minuscule, which significantly influenced European literacy and manuscript production. (Williams, 1977) Visigothic manuscripts, emerging from the Iberian Peninsula, reveal distinctive stylistic characteristics reflecting Gothic heritage and Mediterranean cultural interaction. (Brown, 2003) Script and decorative initials played a central artistic and communicative role in early medieval manuscripts. Elaborate initial letters often incorporated zoomorphic motifs, geometric ornamentation, and vivid color schemes, transforming textual elements into complex visual compositions. (Alexander, 1978) Frequently, anthropomorphic figures were integrated into decorative initials, reinforcing the narrative and theological significance of the accompanying text.

The development of early medieval scripts, including Insular, Uncial, and Carolingian minuscule, illustrates the intersection of artistic innovation and functional readability. (Bischoff, 1990) Manuscripts were produced through meticulous craftsmanship by monastic scribes and calligraphers, who often regarded their work as a devotional practice. (Brown, 2003) The standardization of script, particularly during Carolingian reforms, contributed to the dissemination of religious texts and facilitated intellectual exchange across medieval Europe. (Alexander, 1978) The artistic relationship between script and illustration reflects a broader synthesis of craftsmanship and visual storytelling. Within this framework, the representation of human figures occupies a central role in communicating theological narratives, social structures, and symbolic meaning. (Bischoff, 1990) This research focuses on the artistic and stylistic representation of anthropomorphic imagery, examining proportions, symbolic attributes, and compositional strategies employed by medieval artists. Through the analysis of selected manuscript examples, this study investigates how anthropomorphic representation functioned as a visual language expressing theological doctrine, cultural identity, and artistic innovation. (Hamel, 1994) Through comparative analysis, the research aims to interpret the intentions of manuscript creators and to situate human representation within the broader visual culture of early medieval Europe.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a multidisciplinary methodological approach, integrating historical analysis, iconographic and iconological interpretation, semiotic analysis, and comparative methods. Through historical analysis, the study examines the manuscripts, placing them within their cultural, religious, and socio-political contexts, particularly within Merovingian, Carolingian, and Visigothic traditions.

Iconographic analysis focuses on visual motifs, gestures, clothing, and symbolic elements, while iconological interpretation explores deeper theological and cultural meanings embedded within the imagery. Semiotic analysis further aids in comprehending the visual language and symbolic systems present in manuscript illumination. Comparative analysis highlights stylistic variations, regional differences, and the relationship between text and image, enabling a broader interpretation of artistic practices in early mediaeval Europe.

4. MAIN BODY

4.1. Early Medieval MEROVINGIAN AND CAROLINGIAN Manuscripts

The creation of manuscripts in the Early Middle Ages reflects the profound cultural, political, and religious transformations that followed the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. (Brown, 2003) Among the most significant artistic and intellectual achievements of this period were the manuscripts produced under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. (Bowersock et

al., 1999) The Merovingian period (fifth to eighth centuries) represents a crucial transitional phase between Late Antiquity and the early medieval era. (McKitterick, 2008) The Merovingians were the first major Frankish royal dynasty to establish political authority in Western Europe after the fall of Roman imperial rule. (Riché, 1978) Their kingdom encompassed large areas of present-day France and Belgium, as well as parts of modern Germany. Art produced during the Merovingian era reflects a synthesis of Roman, Christian, and local Germanic traditions. Manuscripts from this period were primarily religious in nature, containing liturgical texts, biblical writings, and hagiographic works. Merovingian manuscripts are characterized by distinctive decorative motifs, writing styles, and symbolic embellishments. Their decoration often includes geometric patterns, stylized animal forms, and intricate interlaced designs derived from regional artistic traditions. (Calkins, 1983) As a result, Merovingian manuscripts are of particular importance for the study of early medieval book culture, illustrating the gradual transformation of classical artistic traditions within an increasingly Christian cultural framework. In the eighth century, the Merovingian dynasty was replaced by the Carolingian dynasty, which inherited many aspects of Merovingian culture while expanding the political foundations established during the earlier period. (Henderson, 1987) Under the leadership of Charlemagne, the Carolingian Empire initiated a period of intellectual and artistic renewal known as the Carolingian Renaissance. (Medieval History, 1995) Charlemagne actively promoted education, religious reform, and the revival of classical learning as part of a broader effort to strengthen imperial authority and unify the Christian world. (Weitzmann, 1971) Monasteries and cathedral schools throughout the empire became important centers of learning and artistic production. Scriptoria in major centers such as Aachen, Tours, and Reims produced a vast number of manuscripts, including biblical texts, liturgical books, theological treatises, legal documents, and classical works from antiquity.

One of the most significant developments of this period was the creation of the Carolingian minuscule, a clear and standardized script designed to improve readability and textual consistency. The development of this script greatly facilitated the transmission and preservation of knowledge and later became the foundation for much of modern Latin handwriting. Carolingian manuscripts are particularly significant in the history of art for their high level of artistic sophistication. Illuminated pages frequently incorporate classical architectural motifs, elaborately decorated initials, ornamental frames, and figural imagery inspired by models from Late Antiquity.

4.1.2. Early medieval Carolingian "Gelasian Sacramentary" Manuscript

The Gellone Sacramentary is one of the most important illuminated manuscripts from the Early Middle Ages. It shows the change from Merovingian to Carolingian art styles (Gameson, 1999). Produced between 780 and 800 CE, likely in a scriptorium associated with Charlemagne's reforms, it preserves significant Merovingian stylistic elements while reflecting emerging Carolingian artistic developments (McKitterick, 2008; Riché, 1978). Named after the Abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert (Gellone), the manuscript is a sacramentary containing prayers, blessings, and liturgical texts used during the Mass and other ecclesiastical rites (Vogel, 1986). It

therefore functioned not only as a religious text but also as an essential object in Christian ritual practice. Artistically, the manuscript demonstrates a sophisticated integration of text and image, combining figural representation with calligraphic design (Calkins, 1983). Expressive linear structures, stylized human forms, and dynamic ornamentation reveal the evolving visual language of early Carolingian illumination (Henderson, 1987; Brown, 1994). Its decorated initials and ornamental motifs synthesize Late Antique, Christian, and Insular influences, reflecting the cultural integration characteristic of Carolingian artistic production (Alexander, 1992; Weitzmann, 1971). As a result, the manuscript serves as both a devotional object and a reflection of the intellectual and artistic ideals of the Carolingian Renaissance (Contreni, 1995). Historically, it also illustrates the role of illuminated manuscripts in promoting religious unity, cultural identity, and political cohesion within Charlemagne's empire (McKitterick, 1989). The preservation of Merovingian script traditions alongside transitional letterforms preceding Carolingian minuscule further highlights its historical significance (Bischoff, 1990; Brown, 2003). Although primarily liturgical in purpose, the manuscript reflects the spiritual and cultural complexity of early medieval society (Brown, 1990). Its decorative program demonstrates both theological concerns and artistic sophistication. Human figures are generally rendered in abstract and stylized forms, emphasizing symbolic and spiritual meaning rather than naturalistic representation (Kessler, 2000). At the same time, the manuscript reveals a growing interest in narrative imagery that anticipates the increased naturalism of later Carolingian art (Lowden, 1997). The human figures are richly decorated and expressive, defined by strong contour lines and simplified modeling (Calkins, 1983). Their elongated forms often appear suspended within undefined spaces, emphasizing transcendence and divine presence (Henderson, 1987). Large, prominent eyes symbolize spiritual awareness, while flat backgrounds and decorative frames reinforce the manuscript's symbolic and liturgical character (Kessler, 2000; Schapiro, 1977). In the Crucifixion scene, Christ is depicted frontally and hieratically, emphasizing divine authority rather than physical suffering (Pächt, 1986). His rigid symmetry, open eyes, and stylized body communicate theological meaning and Eucharistic symbolism, presenting Christ as triumphant rather than suffering (Belting, 1994; Schiller, 1971). The Virgin Mary is similarly portrayed in a frontal, symbolic manner, while clergy and bishops are distinguished through vestments and gestures that visually express ecclesiastical hierarchy and authority (Schapiro, 1977).

The Merovingian Sacramentary, known in Latin as Sacramentarian Gelasian, represents one of the earliest Western sacramentaries associated with the Merovingian cultural sphere. (Henderson, 1987) It was compiled during the eighth century, most likely in Gaul, corresponding to present-day France. (Bischoff, 1990) Traditionally attributed to Pope Gelasius I (492–496), it contains prayers and liturgical formulas linked to his ecclesiastical reforms. (Brown, 1990) However, the surviving version is preserved in later copies edited and transmitted during the Carolingian period. (Calkins, 1983) The extant manuscripts mainly date from the eighth and ninth centuries and were produced in monastic scriptoria across the Frankish territories. (Brown, 2003) These centers played a key role in textual transmission, preservation, and liturgical standardization

in the early medieval period. (Gameson, 1999) Textually, the Gelasian Sacramentary consists of prayers, rubrics, sacramental rites, and liturgical formulas for the Mass and other ecclesiastical ceremonies. (Kessler, 2000) It reflects a synthesis of Roman and Gallic traditions, offering important evidence for the development and regional adaptation of early medieval Western liturgy. (Schapiro, 1977) While primarily functional, some copies contain decorated initials and minimal ornamentation. (Alexander, 1992) However, emphasis is placed on textual clarity and organization rather than extensive visual decoration. (Belting, 1994) The manuscript had a significant impact on the standardization of liturgical texts across the Frankish Empire. (Kessler, 2000) Artistically, the Gelasian Sacramentary reflects early medieval decorative principles through initials composed of geometric, vegetal, and symbolic forms characteristic of Christian visual culture. (Weitzmann, 1971) (McKitterick, 2008) These initials show artistic exchange between Frankish and Insular traditions. (Palazzo, 1998) The manuscript is written in Caroline minuscule, developed during the Carolingian period to ensure clarity and textual uniformity. (Calkins, 1983) This script is characterized by rounded, legible letterforms associated with visual order and harmony. (Belting, 1994) The layout is carefully structured, with balanced proportions and the use of red rubrication to guide liturgical reading. (Brown, 1994) (Kessler, 2000) The manuscript also demonstrates advanced craftsmanship in parchment preparation and calligraphy. (Palazzo, 1998) Human figures appear rarely but are important for understanding early medieval artistic and theological expression. (Vogel, 1986) They are rendered in a simplified, schematic manner, emphasizing symbolic meaning over naturalism. (Schapiro, 1977) Often integrated into decorated initials, they reflect the fusion of text and image that is characteristic of medieval manuscript culture. (Alexander, 1978) Figures are stylized, lacking individual identity, and represent generalized spiritual roles such as saints or clergy. (Belting, 1994) Gestures of blessing and prayer reinforce the manuscript's liturgical function. (Schapiro, 1977) Technically, they are defined by strong contour lines and flat color areas, emphasizing clarity and symbolism. (Kessler, 2000) The inclusion of human figures reinforces hierarchical structure and sacred authority within the manuscript. (Weitzmann, 1971) These images function as visual markers guiding ritual interpretation and ecclesiastical order. (McKitterick, 1989) Compared to other manuscripts, they are restrained and less decorative, emphasizing spiritual meaning over ornament. (Palazzo, 1998) Depictions of Christ are highly stylized, prioritizing theological significance over anatomical realism. (Calkins, 1983) Christ is often integrated within initials or ornamental frames, reinforcing unity between text and image. (Belting, 1994) These representations show Christ in acts of blessing and teaching, emphasizing divine authority within the liturgical context. (Brown, 1994) Overall, the images function as visual guides that enhance the manuscript's sacred and liturgical purpose. (Palazzo, 1998)

4.1.3. Early medieval Carolingian "The St. Gall Gospel Book" Manuscript

The St. Gall Gospel Book is a richly illuminated manuscript produced in the Carolingian Empire, likely at the monastic scriptorium of St. Gall in present-day Switzerland. (Gameson, 1999) It is one of the most important surviving examples of Carolingian manuscript art. (Berschin, 1999)

The book contains the four Gospels of the New Testament in Latin and is renowned for its high-quality script and intricate illustrations. (McKitterick, 1994) The manuscript combines classical Roman artistic traditions with early Christian iconography, characteristic of the Carolingian Renaissance. (Brown, 1994) It features vibrant colors, geometric patterns, and stylized biblical figures that emphasize the divine nature of the text. (Lowden, 1997) Though its exact origins remain uncertain, it was likely created for liturgical use. (Calkins, 1983) It exemplifies the Carolingian effort to preserve Christian knowledge while reviving classical forms. (Gameson, 1999) Today, it is preserved in the Abbey Library of St. Gall in Switzerland. (McKitterick, 1989) Human figures in the St. Gall Gospel Book are highly stylized, reflecting Carolingian artistic conventions and the synthesis of classical and Christian traditions. (Bischoff, 1990) They often feature elongated limbs, simplified proportions, and large expressive eyes, emphasizing spiritual presence over individuality. (Kessler, 2000; Schapiro, 1977) Figures appear in formal, hieratic poses that highlight religious significance, with Christ depicted frontally as authoritative and divine. (Belting, 1994) Evangelists are shown seated in teaching poses with their symbolic creatures—the man, lion, ox, and eagle—representing the Gospels. (Pächt, 1986) Clothing is highly decorative, with stylized patterns emphasizing sacred status rather than realism. (Schiller, 1971) Figures are often integrated into ornamental frames or initials, reinforcing their symbolic importance. (Calkins, 1983) The Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John appear in individual miniatures in classical author poses, their forms rigid and stylized under Byzantine and early Christian influence. (Schapiro, 1977) Symbolically, the figures express divine wisdom and authority. Gold and vivid colors represent heavenly light and spiritual transcendence. (Alexander, 1992) The Evangelists hold scrolls or codices, emphasizing their role as transmitters of divine knowledge. (Weitzmann, 1971) The manuscript blends Byzantine, Roman, and Frankish traditions. (Kessler, 2000) Its ornamentation and stylization reflect Carolingian ideals of order, hierarchy, and divine authority. (Schiller, 1971) The rigid depiction of figures reinforces its dual role as a devotional object and a symbol of imperial and ecclesiastical power. (Lowden, 1997) The Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, closely related in style, is housed in the Bavarian State Library in Munich and further demonstrates Carolingian manuscript richness. (D'Achille, 2000)

4.2. Early medieval The VISIGOTHIC Manuscript

Visigothic manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula during the early medieval period (5th–8th centuries) reflect the cultural and artistic legacy of the Visigothic Kingdom. These manuscripts are primarily religious texts, influenced by Christian theology and the cultural synthesis of Roman, Gothic, and early medieval traditions. They were created in monasteries after the Christianization of the Visigoths; these manuscripts illustrate the integration of Gothic and Latin Christian traditions. The Visigothic script, were created by regional variation of the Latin script, is characterized by its rounded and compact forms, used mainly for religious and legal documents.

4.2.1. Early medieval Visigothic "The León Bible" Manuscript

The León Bible, also known as the Bible of León, is a richly illuminated manuscript produced in the Kingdom of León in northern Spain. (Williams, 1977) It is one of the finest examples of Mozarabic manuscript art, created within Christian monastic communities under Islamic rule. (Klein, 1994) The manuscript was produced in the monastery of San Salvador de Tábara, likely under the direction of the monk Maius, a central figure in the Mozarabic artistic tradition. (Williams, 1977) The León Bible contains the complete text of the Bible, accompanied by elaborate illustrations, decorative initials, and visual narratives reflecting both religious themes and contemporary cultural influences. (Williams, 1994) It is particularly valued for demonstrating the coexistence and interaction of Christian and Islamic artistic traditions in medieval Iberia. (Schapiro, 1977) *Human figures* in the León Bible are highly stylized, reflecting the symbolic and abstract visual language of Mozarabic art. (Kessler, 2000) Figures are characterized by elongated proportions, rigid postures, and simplified facial features, emphasizing spiritual meaning over naturalistic representation. (Belting, 1994) The bodies are often disproportionate, with exaggerated gestures that highlight their theological significance. (Belting, 1994) Compared to other manuscript traditions, the León Bible demonstrates a more expressive and dynamic approach to figural composition. (Belting, 1994) The image of Christ reflects the stylized and symbolic aesthetics of Mozarabic art, emphasizing divine authority rather than human realism. (Belting, 1994) Christ is frequently depicted as a teacher or ruler, using gestures and hierarchical positioning to convey theological meaning. (Pächt, 1986) His figure is often framed within geometric or architectural compositions, reinforcing his central role within the spiritual order. (Williams, 1994) Bright and contrasting colors such as red, yellow, and blue enhance the sacred presence of Christ, while facial features remain minimal and abstract. (Belting, 1994)

Virgin Mary and Evangelists: The Virgin Mary is depicted as a central theological figure, emphasizing her role as the mother of God and mediator between humanity and the divine. (Schiller, 1971) She is often shown enthroned and holding the Christ Child, reinforcing the doctrine of divine maternity. (Kessler, 2000) Her form is stylized, with elongated proportions and simplified features, consistent with Mozarabic artistic conventions. (Pächt, 1986) Mary's frontal and rigid posture conveys authority, sacredness, and a timeless presence. She is frequently integrated into richly decorated compositions with geometric patterns and vibrant colors, reflecting both her elevated status and the manuscript's artistic complexity. (Belting, 1994)

The Evangelists are depicted with elongated forms and symbolic attributes, often accompanied by their respective creature's man, lion, ox, and eagle. (Calkins, 1983) Their representation emphasizes divine inspiration rather than physical realism. (Schiller, 1971)

Symbolism and Artistic Style: The figures in the León Bible convey themes of divine authority, spiritual hierarchy, and sacred knowledge. The use of bold colors, geometric patterns, and decorative framing enhances the symbolic meaning of the compositions. The manuscript

reflects a fusion of Mozarabic, Visigothic, and broader Mediterranean artistic traditions, demonstrating cultural exchange between Christian and Islamic worlds. The stylized and hierarchical representation of figures aligns with the manuscript's liturgical and devotional function. The León Bible remains preserved in the Cathedral of León, Spain, where it continues to represent a key example of early medieval Iberian manuscript art.

5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research aimed to illuminate how medieval artists depicted human figures, particularly sacred individuals like Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, in illuminated manuscripts. The findings demonstrate that these portrayals were not intended to mirror naturalistic forms but to convey spiritual and theological ideals. Artists used stylized proportions, abstract forms, and symbolic details to elevate these figures beyond the earthly realm, emphasizing their divine nature and sacred roles. Through this study, it is evident that the depiction of sacred human figures was a deliberate artistic choice that reflected the cultural and religious priorities of the time. The focus on abstraction and symbolism allowed artists to communicate profound theological messages, making these manuscripts not only tools of devotion but also vibrant reflections of medieval spirituality and artistic ingenuity. By examining these representations, we gain a deeper appreciation of how art functioned as a bridge between the earthly and the divine, capturing the essence of faith in visual form.

References

Alexander, J. J. G. (1978). Insular manuscripts: Sixth to ninth centuries. Harvey Miller.

Alexander, J. J. G. (1992). Medieval illuminators and their methods of work. Yale University Press.

Belting, H. (1994). Likeness and presence: A history of the image before the era of art. University of Chicago Press.

Berschin, W. (1999). Latin classics in the early medieval world. University of Notre Dame Press.

Bischoff, B. (1990). Latin palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Cambridge University Press.

Blair, C. (1995). The manuscript culture of early medieval Spain. Oxford University Press.

Bowersock, G. W., Brown, P., & Grabar, O. (1999). Late antiquity: A guide to the postclassical world. Harvard University Press.

Brown, M. P. (1990). A guide to Western historical scripts. British Library.

Brown, M. P. (1994). Understanding illuminated manuscripts: A guide to technical terms. Getty Publications.

Brown, M. P. (2003). The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, spirituality and the scribe. British Library.

Brown, P. (2003). The rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and diversity, A.D. 200–1000. Blackwell.

Calkins, R. G. (1983). Illuminated books of the Middle Ages. Cornell University Press.

Contreni, J. J. (1995). The Carolingian Renaissance. In The New Cambridge Medieval History (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press.

D'Achille, A. M. (2000). The Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Gameson, R. (Ed.). (1999). The Cambridge history of the book in Britain (Vol. 1: c. 400–1100). Cambridge University Press.

Henderson, G. (1987). From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel books 650–800. Thames and Hudson.

Kessler, H. L. (2000). Spiritual seeing. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Klein, P. (1994). Mozarabic manuscripts and their cultural context. Variorum.

Lowden, J. (1997). Early Christian and Byzantine art. Phaidon.

McKitterick, R. (1989). The Carolingians and the written word. Cambridge University Press.

McKitterick, R. (1994). Carolingian culture: Emulation and innovation. Cambridge Uni. Press.

McKitterick, R. (2008). Charlemagne: The formation of a European identity. Cambridge Uni. Press.

Contreni, J. J. (1995). The Carolingian Renaissance. In *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press.

Palazzo, E. (1998). *A history of liturgical books*. Liturgical Press. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.

Pächt, O. (1986). Book illumination in the Middle Ages. Harvey Miller.

Riché, P. (1978). Education and culture in the barbarian West. University of South Carolina Press.

Schapiro, M. (1977). Romanesque art. George Braziller.

Schiller, G. (1971). Iconography of Christian art (Vol. 1). New York Graphic Society.

Vogel, C. (1986). Medieval liturgy: An introduction to the sources. Pastoral Press.

Weitzmann, K. (1971). Studies in classical and Byzantine manuscript illumination. University of Chicago Press.

Williams, J. (1977). Early Spanish manuscript illumination. George Braziller.

Williams, J. W. (1994). The illustrated Beatus: A corpus of the illustrations of the commentary on the Apocalypse. Harvey Miller.