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Intervisuality in iconographical studies of *Speculum humanae salvationis*

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Abstract. This article analyses iconographic research into *Speculum humanae salvationis* (SHS) based on the methodological concept of intervisuality. After consideration of the historiographical investigation into the iconography and corpus of the manuscripts, the typology and bimediality of SHS, attention then focuses on aspects of intervisuality which play an important role in the iconographic programme of SHS. Visual intertextuality manifests itself in the relationship between depictions, texts and contexts: first, the compositional parallelism of antitype and types in the illustrated chapter of SHS; secondly, the correspondence between depictions and textual features in SHS sources; thirdly, compatibility of depictions and texts which are not SHS sources but have a bearing on its context; fourthly, links between the depictions and references to other texts and allegories outside the SHS text. A hypothesis is suggested for possible influence of the "monastic-labour" motif in the historiated initials of Cistercian manuscripts concerning the oak tree parable as an allegory for exegesis. Key factors shaping the intervisuality were patronage, the process of producing manuscripts and the history of their use and parergonality.

Keywords: iconography, visual typology, bimediality, intervisuality, intertextuality, parergonality, *Speculum humanae salvationis*.

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Интервизуальность в иконографических исследованиях *Speculum humanae salvationis*

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Аннотация. В статье анализируются иконографические исследования *Speculum humanae salvationis* (SHS), основанные на методологической концепции интервизуальности. После рассмотрения историографического исследования иконографии и корпуса рукописей, типологии и бимедиальности SHS внимание сосредотачивается на аспектах интервизуальности, которые играют важную роль в иконографической программе SHS. Визуальная интертекстуальность проявляется во взаимоотношениях изображений, текстов и контекстов: во-первых, композиционный параллелизм антитипа и типов в иллюстрированной главе SHS; во-вторых, соответствие изображений и текстовых особенностей в источниках SHS; в-третьих, совместимость изображений и текстов, не являющихся источниками SHS, но имеющих отношение к его контексту; в-четвертых, связи между изображениями и отсылками к другим текстам и аллегориям вне текста SHS. Выдвигается гипотеза о возможном влиянии мотива монастырских работ в историзованных инициалах цистерцианских рукописей, касающихся притчи о дубе как аллегории экзегезы. Ключевыми факторами, формирующими интервизуальность, признаются патронаж, процесс создания рукописей, история их использования и парергональность.

Ключевые слова: иконография, визуальная типология, бимедиальность, интервизуальность, интертекстуальность, парергональность, *Зерцало человеческого спасения*.

Introduction

Since the end of the 20th century, we have been experiencing the era of the visual turn. One of the striking examples of this peak in interest in visual research – beyond the limits of psychology and the study of art – has been the emergence of visual anthropology, visual historiography and visual sociology, the focus for which has been – among other things – visual exegetics, visual typology [Mitchell 1994, 445]. Fundamental to typological Christian exegetics have been ideas to the effect that every event is part of the history of salvation, divided into three periods – *ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia* ("before the law, under the law, under grace") – and the symbolic prefiguration of events and figures from the New Testament (antitypes) by those from the Old Testament (types): "*in Vetere Novum lateat, et in Novo Vetus pateat*» ("The New Testament is concealed in the Old

Testament and the Old Testament is revealed in the New Testament", Saint Augustine of Hippo, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 2.73). The most widespread typological work in Western Europe – *Speculum humanae salvationis* (SHS – "The Mirror of Human Salvation") has influenced works of book illustration, monumental and decorative art and altar painting, including work by outstanding masters of German and Early Netherlandish art: Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Konrad Witz, Dirk Bouts. In the era of the pictorial turn, the study by art-historians of the semantics and syntax of visual exegetics, as found in typological iconographic programmes such as *Speculum humanae salvationis* inherent in which are both intertextuality and intervisuality, is of particular interest.

The methodology in this research is based on the use of intervisuality for iconographic analysis in the context of the social history of art. In the history of art, intervisuality is perceived as the "visual analogy" of intertextuality used to describe the network of allusions, quotations and re-workings, which can link one work of art with another. The term "intervisuality" was introduced into the study of medieval art by Michael Camille in 1991 as a visual parallel for the intertextuality of literary texts – a concept which had been introduced by Julia Kristeva in 1966. Intervisuality is "a process, in which images are not the stable referents in some ideal iconographic dictionary but are perceived by their audiences to work across and within different and even competing value-systems" [Camille 1991, 151]. In Byzantine studies, intervisuality is a concept actively used by Robert Nelson, in research into the history of books by Marilynn Desmond, in studies of theatre and art in Antiquity by Antonis Petrides, Andrea Capra and Lucia Floridi, Aglae Pizzone and other authors [Capra, Floridi 2023].

The corpus of the SHS artworks

The direct influence of motifs drawn from the *Speculum humanae salvationis* comes clearly to the fore in the art of the 14th and 15th centuries: in stained-glass windows of churches in Mulhouse, Colmar, Rouffach, Wissembourg, Ebstorf, cycles of murals in the choir of Königsberg Cathedral and the Church of St. Catherine in Arnau, the cloister and chapel in Prague's Emmaus Monastery "na Slovanech", in some of the arcades of the monastery in Brixen attributed to Leonhard von Brixen and the St. Nikolaus Church in Klerant, the sculptured decoration on the archivolt of the central portal of the St. Maurice Cathedral in Vienne, the embroidered wall-hangings in the castle at Wienhausen, Reims, La Chaise-Dieu, Saint-Omer, the Madonna of Nicolas van Maelbeke, a triptych painted by Jan van Eyck for the St. Martin's Cathedral in Ypres (known thanks to a later surviving copy for Petrus Wijts), the Middelburg Altarpiece (Bladelin triptych) painted by Rogier van der Weyden, the *Heilsspiegel* altarpiece painted by Konrad Witz in Basel. Certain motifs become part of the repertoire for other art forms, including, for example, a work of landscape-gardening sculpture illustrating the death of Eleazar Maccabeus under the feet of a war elephant – within a complex iconographic programme of the "*Sacro Bosco*" (Sacred Wood) in Bomarzo by sculptor Simone Moschino as part of the 1547 project devised by the architect and outstanding humanist, Pirro Ligorio [Lang 1957, 427].

The main corpus of works with an iconographic programme for *Speculum humanae salvationis*, however, is represented by cycles of miniatures in illuminated manuscripts and woodcuts in illustrated incunabula. At the present time no less than 410 partial

or fragmentary copies of manuscripts of *Speculum humanae salvationis* have survived (Joost R. Robbe mentions 408 manuscripts [Robbe 2010, 57] and, to these, three from the Russian National Library should be added, one of which is a facsimile copy of a printed book[1]) and also another 14 manuscripts of currently unknown whereabouts. Most of the SHS manuscripts are in Latin (330), Middle German (55) and Middle French (11), others are of mixed type or in Middle Dutch, Middle English, Old Czech and Old Croatian [Kramarić 2019]. Approximately 40 % of the SHS manuscripts are illuminated and it is the most widespread West-European Christian work of a didactic character dating from the 14th-15th centuries. By comparison, the surviving manuscripts and fragments of another well-known illuminated typological book – *Biblia pauperum* – number approximately 80 and there exist only 250 surviving manuscripts of the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor. The equivalent figure for Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* is approximately 900 in Latin and 100 in Middle Dutch. Surviving manuscripts of Latin texts for works by Aristotle number in their thousands [Robbe 2010, 59]. *Speculum humanae salvationis* is closely associated with the history of early printed books. Forty copies of the earliest printed editions have survived: two in Middle Dutch and two in Latin, which were produced between 1466 and 1479. Incunabula and post-incunabula were printed in different languages.

A brief historiographical review of the SHS iconographical studies

The most significant contributions to the study of the iconography of *Speculum humanae salvationis* were made by Joseph-Marie Guichard (1840), who was the first scholar to start researching this topic and who explained its typological concept; Paul Poppe (1884), who was the first to examine in detail German translations of *Speculum humanae salvationis* in verse and prose; Jules Lutz and Paul Perdrizet (1907) were art historians, who published the first critical edition of a compiled Latin text with a medieval French translation by Jean Miélot; Edgar Breitenbach (1930) made substantial additions to the catalogue and a detailed study of the iconography and classifying manuscripts in circles, groups and as individual manuscripts; Evelyn Silber (1982) who demonstrated, starting out from discoveries made by Ada Alessandrini (1958) and the research undertaken by Gerhard Schmidt (1974), that miniatures from the group of the earliest SHS manuscripts had been those of the Bologna school; Bert Cardon (1996) who studied the illumination of South Netherlandish manuscripts; Nigel Fenton Palmer (2009), who drew attention to the didactic nature of the Prologue; Joost Roger Robbe (2010), who investigated the macro-, meso- and microstructure of *Speculum humanae salvationis*. This list would be incomplete without mention of works by Jean Philibert Berjeau (1862), Eugène Dutuit (1884), Charles Doudelet (1903), Luise von Winterfeld (1919), Montague Rhodes James and Bernard Berenson (1925), Hans Michael Thomas (1970), Marianne Barrucand (1972), Horst Appuhn (1981), Adrian and Joyce Lancaster Wilson (1984), Karl-August Wirth (1985), Avril Henry (1986), Hans-Walter Stork and Burghart Wachinger (1993), Manuela Nisner (1995), Martina Kramarić (2019), Martin J. Schubert and Judith Lange (2021) and also their predecessors: Adriaen de Jonghe (Junius) (1588), Petrus Scriverius (1628), Gerard Meerman (1765) and Carl Heinrich von Heineken (1769).

[1] St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, F. 955, Op. 1. Lat. O.v. XIV.7; Lat. F. I. 650; Lat. F. I. 694.

The current academic consensus is that *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written between 1300 and 1320 by a highly educated priest and preacher, who had studied mysticism and was acquainted with the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. Most probably he was a Dominican with contacts in Germany but the question as to whether the book was of German or Italian origin remains an open one. The transmission of the SHS iconography is characterized by two trends. Firstly, it is the "Bologna group" of manuscripts or the "Italian type" of illumination, in which the schematically and hierarchically organized "iconic" miniatures provide a balance of antitype and types (fig. 1). Secondly, this is the "Transalpine-Gothic" or "Western" group of manuscripts, the illumination of which, thanks to the dynamic organization of compositional elements enriched with details, becomes less schematic and abstract and focuses attention on the narrative. Illuminated manuscripts of a mixed type are less common. The classification of the manuscripts currently used is that compiled by Edgar Breitenbach [Breitenbach 1930]. Most of the works he studied have been grouped together in four large circles: the circle of the Schlettstadt manuscript[2], the circle of the Maihingen manuscript[3], the circle of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript[4] and the circle of Western manuscripts. Certain groups and individual manuscripts have not been included in these circles.

Typology, structure and bimediality of the SHS

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was based on a typological approach to the interpretation of history, also known as historical symbolism. It is based on the idea, according to which earthly events from the Fall of man to the Birth of Christ are a prefiguration (*prae figuratio*) of the event of salvation. The allegorical significance of prefiguration can be expressed using a variety of artistic means [Cardon 1996, 9]: first, the composition of a type is, in many cases, based completely on the composition of the antitype, to which is added a still greater number of elements. Secondly, the idea of the New Testament as "light" and the Old Testament as "shadow" is expressed through the use of both polychrome and grisaille miniatures in the manuscripts. Thirdly, this idea can be expressed through decoration, using for example, richly coloured initials on the folios of the New Testament, while folios of the Old Testament are illustrated simply using ink. Fourthly, there are the contrasts between large and small: for example, the types are depicted using initials and the antitypes are depicted in full-page miniatures. Finally, there appear artistic means for expressing this idea by contrasting architectural motifs from old (Romanesque) and new (Gothic) architecture or by contrasting landscape settings.

The *Speculum* is based on the principle that for every event or antitype of salvation there are three types which took place before the Birth of Christ and which prefigurate the event of salvation. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* is a *nova compilatio* ("new compilation"). As in the case of the *Biblia pauperum*, it became part of urban culture and began to assume several functions: the traditional catechetic one (the concordance of the Old and New Testaments), a didactic function (looking into the mirror at oneself-knowledge, admission of sin, repentance, satisfaction) and also sometimes an

[2] Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 146.

[3] Maihingen, Fuerstliche Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek I. 2. lat. fol. 23.

[4] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek I 12 Aug fol.

ideological function: for example, in the 14th-century support for the Teutonic Order engaged in the Christianisation of Eastern Prussia, and in the 15th century the spreading of anti-Hussite propaganda among German knights during the Council of Basel or efforts to promote the policy of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the plans for the Crusades at the Burgundian court.

Joost R. Robbe has provided a convincing analysis of the SHS structure [Robbe 2010, 32]. The macrostructure of the "canonical" manuscripts of *Speculum* include a *prologue* with a description of its aims, target audience, *prooemium* (this part of the text is never illustrated but which contains a short list of points from the content for use by preachers unable to read the whole of the book), *the main part* of the history of salvation from the Creation to the Last Judgment in 42 chapters and a further three chapters of *meditative cycles* (visions of a hermit, monk, and priest, Passions and the Virgin Mary's Sorrows and Joys). The *Speculum humanae salvationis* not only imparts the history of salvation but also the creation of angels, the fall of the rebel angels, the Creation of man and the Fall of man, the Expulsion from Eden, the labours of Adam and Eve and Noah's Flood. These "pre-historic" events in the first two SHS chapters, which occurred before the period of *ante legem* contain neither antitypes nor types.

For the author of the *Speculum* the multiple 100 was important. A "canonical" SHS text presupposes that the Prologue and each chapter will consist of 100 lines and the prooemium of 300 lines. A "canonical" Latin edition contains 192 miniatures and 5,224 lines between 8 and 29 syllables long. These syllables form pairs ("doublets") possessing a musical symmetry performing a mnemonic function [Robbe 2010, 36]. Sometimes there are typological comparisons in the text, which remain without illustration. Slim booklets known as *summulae* or *compendia* also existed, which only contained headings and lists of antitypes and types with references to sources [Cardon 1996, 32].

The *microstructure* of the SHS manuscripts was arranged as follows. With the exception of the first one, all the chapters begin with a summary of the previous chapter and the announcement of a new theme and they end with a short two-line prayer, which makes it possible to move on from the antitype described in the chapter to the frequently repeated entreaty for salvation. As a rule, a chapter occupies a centrefold consisting of four columns on two sheets, starting with the reverse side of the sheet and finishing with the front side of the next one. At the top of the four columns, four miniatures or pen drawings are to be found and the text is arranged below them: in each column there are 25 lines. In addition, each depiction is provided with a heading and a reference to the source used, usually written in red ink (rubric). The illustrations begin with an antitype placed in the upper left corner of the reverse side of the sheet. There then follow the types – one immediately next to the antitype and two on the front side of the following sheet (fig. 2). This means that on the centrefold a stripe of four depictions is formed and the gaze of the beholder is guided from left to right, starting with an event from the New Testament – light – and then moving across towards events from the Old Testament – shadow, but shadow lit up by that same light. The system of images is achieved using a typological hierarchy: one antitype is balanced by three types. The manuscript functions like a mirror, in which the salvation of mankind is made visible: the didactic motif "Know Thyself" acquires central importance [Cardon 1996, 36].

In the broad context of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, essential elements of which are the Fall of Man, Redemption and the Last Judgment, both tropological and

also anagogical meaning are conveyed based on the overall programme supported by text forming part of medieval sermons, accompanied by typological cycles of murals, stained-glass windows and wall-hangings [Cardon 1996, 11]. *Speculum humanae salvationis* is a catechetic-didactic book with an important feature for intervisual reading – bimediality (combination of text and depictions). Such works were designed mainly for reading aloud and demonstration of depictions by preachers to laymen and for individuals able to examine them so as to promote their own personal piety.

Intervisuality of the SHS iconography

A. Intervisuality and the "implied iconography"

In the SHS iconographic programme bimediality, intertextuality and intervisuality have an important role to play when, within the space of a text and a depiction, utterances taken from other texts and depictions can cut across the main ones, sometimes leading to the contamination of various visual sources. Recently the concept of *rhetography* has begun to appear in discussions of visual exegetics relating to graphic depictions, which people have been creating in their own mind because of the impact of text conjuring up in their consciousness visual images which, in their turn, have lent additional meaning to the experience of the listener or reader [Robbins 2008]. It would be useful to investigate which types or antitypes have not been visualised in *Speculum* and what is the correlation between such "rhetography" and the actual SHS iconographic programme. Moreover, the analysis of what "could be depicted" but never seemed to be an important area for future iconographic and visual studies in art history. Of course, the criteria of what "could be depicted" should be argued in every case to avoid possible biases. We would call it a subject of "*implied iconography*" and it is connected with the understanding of intervisuality as interperformativity and the parergonality of intervisuality in terms of "frictions of frames" [Heller-Andrist 2012]. Yet the historical and, in part, universal symbolism in the SHS iconography goes hand in hand with intervisuality of patterns and as interfigurativity: it is the allusion made by a work of art to another work of art, interaction in bimedial space with other textual and visual sources under the impact of various factors involved in the creation and use of the works of art.

B. Compositional parallelism, proliferation of the motifs, features of patronage, production of manuscripts and the history of their use as factors of intervisuality

What was originally laid down as the basis for the iconographic programme was the parallelism between the antitype and the types in the chapter being illustrated, achieved with the help of its compositional solution, involving among other things appropriate "rhythm" between the types and the poses, for example, Judas' betrayal and the slaying of Amasa by Joab – in both cases associated with a treacherous kiss (fig. 3).

Adrian and Joyce Wilson noted an iconographic tradition for the depiction of Lot's wife, after she had been turned into a pillar of salt (SHS 31 d), in the form of a bust or head placed upon a classical column, explaining this with reference to the fact that, in the text of his *Historia Scholastica,* Petrus Comestor makes reference to Josephus Flavius, who used the word "stele" [Wilson 1984, 195]. Indeed, in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (SHS 31:93–94) it is written "*versa est in lapidem et fere deserti et bestie lambent eam*" (she was

turned into stone and abandoned, and beasts would lick her). Yet in Comestor's text and that of the Vulgate (Genesis 19:26) it is written "*versa est in statuam salis*" ("turned into a pillar of salt") but the illustrators do not depict what is in the text they are illustrating but what has been assumed in their source. This is a manifestation of intertextuality influencing the proliferation of a motif from one text into depictions illustrating another.

We turn now to another similar example (fig. 4). In a miniature of the Königsberg SHS manuscript[5], the subject of the Expulsion from Eden is depicted (SHS 2 b). The angel is depicted wearing a stola with its ends crossed over the chest like those of a priest's garment. Although a depiction of angels with a stola can be found elsewhere[6], in the over 70 depictions of this subject from the SHS manuscripts known to the author, this motif has not been found elsewhere and in this context, even if not unique, it is rare. We have succeeded in establishing that in this particular case the depiction of a stola is directly linked with the subject. In the past, when a priest wore a stola around his neck as a vestment for mass, he would say a prayer *Ad stolam*, in which he asked God to restore *stolam immortalitatis, quam perdidi in prævaricatione primi parentis* ("the robe of immortality, which was lost in the transgression of first parents").

Another important factor influencing intervisuality is the specific nature of the commission. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, for example, is depicted as Gideon (SHS 7 c; Judges 6:36–40) and the Master from the Parable of the Talents (SHS 40 b; Matthew 25:14–30) (fig. 5). This political iconography used for the Order of Golden Fleece.

In 1430–1450 Guillaume de Montjoie, Bishop of Béziers, commissioned the manuscript illuminated with refined drawings by an artist close to the circle of the Master of the Feathery Clouds[7] (fig. 6). In the manuscript commissioned by the Bishop, there are several details astonishing in relation to the SHS iconography, details which reflect the erudition and wealth of the patron. It is possible to encounter, for example, a character wearing spectacles in the scene of the Presentation of the Infant Samuel (SHS 10 d) and, accompanying the motif from the Parable of the Lost Coin (SHS 35 c), there are obverses of coins depicted in detail with a heraldic lily and with the legend (the principal inscription on coin) associated with one of the French kings.

A depiction of a medieval map T-O (Orbis terrae) in the hand of the Emperor Augustus (SHS, 8 d) testifies to the book-learning of the editor. One such feature of interest is the relatively frequent depiction of dogs, towards whom the bishop would also appear to have been far from indifferent. Another striking example of erudition and inventiveness is shown by the editor of the manuscript, when he placed a depiction of a dog at the feet of Moses bending down in front of the Burning Bush (SHS 7 b) together with an inscription reading "*fidelis comes*" (faithful companion). Occasionally a dog with sheep were included in depictions of this motif but in this particular case there was no sheep. We assume that the wish to depict a dog once again could be 'justified' by the fact that the name of the one of the two spies devoted to Moses, namely Caleb, meant "dog". It is worth noting that in a Turin manuscript[8], for which the manuscript belonging to the Bishop of Béziers served as a model or protograph, although the inscription "fidelis

[5] Königsberg. Stadtbibliothek Cod. S 18.2° (Novosibirsk, The Novosibirsk State Art Museum, Nr. KP-666 v).

[6] St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, VadSlg Ms. 343 c, f. 9 v.

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 204.

[8] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria I.II.11.

comes" was retained, the depiction of the dog at Moses' feet is missing (perhaps worn away?), as indeed are the spectacles in the scene of the Presentation of the Infant Samuel.

Something else which played a role in relation to intervisuality was the process of preparation for the illuminated manuscripts. The inscriptions which the editor introduced, naming the characters to be found in the illustrations, provided instructions for the artists. In some of the manuscripts depicting this story, at the point where Tobias sets out with the Archangel Raphael (SHS 35 b), his dog – clearly enjoyed by those who depicted him – is included with the other figures (fig. 7). Moreover, the dog is sometimes referred to as Tobias's dog (*can[is] Tobi [as]*)[9] or by its anthroponomical animal nickname, Robin (Robyin[us])[10].

One further factor influencing intervisuality is the history of how the SHS manuscripts were used. In the case of a certain miniature depicting the *Mater Misericordiae* ("Mother of Mercy") (SHS 38 a) someone has crossed out the rubric "*Maria est nostra protectrix et defensatrix*" (Maria is our protectress and guardian) and drawn a moustache and a beard on her face, accompanied by the words "Christ is our defender"[11] (fig. 8). In 1537 / 40 Martin Luther wrote that worship of the Mater Misericordiae directed "against her Son" was abominable [Posset 2018, 330]. It is likely that this comment was made by the reader of the SHS manuscript during the period of the Reformation.

C. Intervisuality of the illumination of the SHS Prologue: Allegories and visual exegetics

The most striking level of creative imagination on the part of the creators of the manuscript was to be found in their illustrations of parables in the Prologue, the frontispiece, and in the cycles accompanying the Speculum humanae salvationis (Creation, Calendar and Zodiacal cycles). In the SHS Prologue, in the canonical edition consisting of 100 lines, explanation is provided for the aim and method behind the typological interpretation which follows. The aim is outlined in the Introduction explaining the intentions of the author: "I have decided to compile a book for the betterment and instruction of many, through which readers can gain and give advice" and "This knowledge can be gleaned by literate readers from the Scripture and by the illiterate from books for laymen, that is from depictions" (SHS, Prologue 3–4, 7–8). Later in the Prologue, explanations are provided for two methodological principles followed in the book.

Firstly, the stories are told only in part, not in full, "because a teacher is not obliged to expound any particular part of a story differently from the way in which he deems it to be in accordance with his intention" (SHS, Prologue 17–20). The Prologue substantiates the principle of selective interpretation of types with reference to the parable of the oak tree in the centre of an abbey's grounds, which was cut down to free up space. It was divided up between 11 individuals, each of whom was only interested in the part of the

[9] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 512, fol. 36 v.

[10] Cambridge, Magdalene College (Pepys Library) 2359, fol. 36 v; New York, The Morgan Library MS M. 766 fol. 56 v; Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek 114, fol. 55 r.

[11] Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Konsistorialbibliothek (Stadtarchiv) WD 107, fol. 79 r.

tree which could be useful to his particular enterprise: the blacksmith in the base of the trunk to make a wooden anvil; the cobbler in the bark for tanning leather; the swineherd in the acorns; the builder in the trunk for making a beam; the fisherman in the curved branches for making the frame of a boat; the miller in the roots for making his mill more stable; the baker in the brushwood for kindling; the sacristan in the green leaves for decorating his church; the scribe in the oak galls for making ink; the cellarer in the material he needed for making amphorae and vessels and the cook in the wood splinters for lighting fires. In our opinion, the parable of the oak tree in the Prologue to the Speculum humanae salvationis is concerned not so much with the urban occupations of the monks of the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans) as with the labour of the Cistercians. The parable itself almost has the air of an ekphrasis of motifs describing monastic work as outlined in Cistercian manuscripts. In the academic arguments about the authorship of the Speculum and about the region from which it originated there is hardly any mention of the work's possible Cistercian roots.

Secondly, the author of the *Speculum* notes that the Holy Scriptures could justifiably be compared with the soft wax which, after a seal has been pressed into it, acquires its shape: for example, if a seal depicts a lion, the soft wax immediately assumes the shape of that imprint, while if – on another seal – there is an eagle, the impression on that very same wax will reveal an eagle. For this reason – as pointed out by the author of the *Speculum* – one and the same figure might signify either Christ or the Devil in different aspects. David, for example, might be regarded as a type for Christ carrying out good deeds or as a devil performing wicked deeds (such as adultery or murder). Absalom, who despite the cruel pursuit by his father, was the most handsome of men and was eventually hanged in an oak tree – a prototype for the crucified Christ. Samson, who rose from his resting place in the middle of a night spent with a harlot and then destroyed the gates of Gaza – was also a type for Christ who conquered death and brought down the gate of Hell. In the Dutch translation of the *Speculum* another metaphor is also introduced: "a bee flies into a flower for honey, but a spider does so for poison" [Robbe 2010, 156].

Manuscripts of *Speculum humanae salvationis* with a prologue including illustrations are relatively rare (only 10 such manuscripts are extant[12]) and, as Nigel F. Palmer notes, this is very striking in a text containing such clear emphasis on the interaction between words and illustrations [Palmer 2009]. The nature of the illumination depended upon the social position, tastes and aims of the patron. Most of the manuscripts were commissioned for monastic preachers but there were also some private commissions for courtiers and the nobility and sometimes for wedding gifts. The Copenhagen manuscript[13], for example, bearing the coat-of-arms of the couple who commissioned it, clearly had links with Franciscans and could have been a wedding gift [Cardon 1996, 171]. In that manuscript the Prologue is framed by both a calendar cycle and the Creation

[12] Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale 89, fol. 85 r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 6275, fol. 1 v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Vélins-906, fol. A 1 r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9586, fol. 2 r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek germ. fol. 245, fol. 1 v – 2 r; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 79 folio, fol. 8 v, 9 v – 11 r; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 80 folio, fol. 1 v; New York, H. P. Kraus (Cat. 88 [1958], № 15, stolen); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. theol. lat. fol. 734 fol. 3 r; Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 81.15. Aug. fol., fol. 1 r, 1 v.

[13] Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 79 folio, fol. 8 v, 9 v – 11 r

cycle the story of the oak tree is generously illustrated by five miniatures, starting with the felling of the tree in the presence of Franciscan monks and then with a cycle of depictions showing how the tree was divided up to meet various needs and to the eleven craftsmen already mentioned a twelfth was added, namely a half-naked bath-house attendant (*badestover*) bearing a broom of birch-twigs responsible for the "cleanliness of the bath-house" (*badeqweste*) [Warnar 2007, 115] – a motif which possibly also reflected the special features of the commission as a wedding gift (fig. 9).

Outstanding miniaturists were commissioned to create a *de luxe* copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* translated from Latin into Middle French by a canon and a junior secretary at the court of the Duke of Burgundy Philip the Good, a translator and editor, an expert calligrapher and miniaturist as well as the author of works of his own, Jean Miélot (d. 1472). Work on the illumination of the manuscript [Vanwijnsberghe 2006, 144] was embarked upon by Jean de Tavernier (d. 1462) [As-Vijvers, Korteweg 2018, 140], a virtuoso artist with an excellent reputation for innovation in the use of grisaille in miniatures. In the 1480s the work was continued by Master Edouard IV (thought to be Husson Liédet, brother of Loyset Liédet) with a pupil (60 % of miniaturists worked without pupils, while others might have two or three working with them [Heyder 2014, 183]). In this manuscript the Prologue is illustrated in great detail[14]. It includes separate illustrations for the parable of the oak tree and the parable of the wax and also a miniature for the frontispiece.

Let us now examine more closely the details in the dedicatory miniature for the frontispiece of the manuscript with its translation by Jean Miélot (fig. 10). It consists of two parts. The left-hand part pf the miniature contains a portrait of Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264), who created the largest compendium of knowledge in the Middle Ages, *Speculum Maius.* At the end of the Prologue in that same manuscript, Jean Miélot wrote:

> So here is the Prologue to the Mirror of Human Salvation which Brother Vincent of Beauvais from an order of preachers and Magister of Theology – former confessor of the French King Saint Louis – collected and compiled in rhyming Latin doublets. It has been translated into prose by Jean Miélot by the grace of God in the year 1449 in the same spirit [Cardon 1996, 230].

The Dominican monk is depicted sitting at a lectern and writing on a sheet containing two columns of text (just as in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*). Apart from writing tools and codices laid out both in a Gothic armarium and on a table, optics is also represented – a sign of luxury representing at the same time book-learning and erudition. Spectacles and a transparent glass retort for testing urine (*Uringlas*), in which – as in the spheric mirror hanging in a frame on the wall – a window is reflected. The depiction of a mirror in the miniature from the frontispiece calls upon the reader, as stated in the Prologue, "to know his God and himself", since – as had been written by Alcuin, the outstanding figure of the Carolingian Renaissance – reading the Scripture bestows knowledge of divine blessing, which enables men to ponder on themselves, as if contemplating their image in a mirror, to perceive their true nature and the path they are following [Palmer 2009, 348].

[14] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 6275, fol. 1 r – 2 r

The attributes of erudition and luxury in the interior of the studio two centuries later might have included in the portrait of the author a still life reflecting the transitory nature of life, in which the only thing missing would have been the depiction of a skull or even a skeleton. A skeleton is, however, one of the two figures to be seen in the right-hand part of the miniature. Standing there on the ground, the bony figure of Death stretches out his hand towards the three arrows in God's right hand and, with his other hand, Death points to the lifeless bare rock protruding from the water, forming a contrast with the hills of a verdant green lining the winding river and on which can be seen the fortress of the nearby city. God, to be seen aloft in a cloud wearing a tiara and rich apparel, is holding out towards Death, in addition to the three arrows, a vellum document bearing three red seals. This subject reflects [Schneegans 1920, 549] an episode from the book of dialogues in verse, *Histoire du Mors de la Pomme* (Story of a Morsel from an Apple): this name is based on a bilingual pun involving the French word "*mors*" (morsel) and the Latin word for death – also "*mors*". It is linked with the story of how Death appeared, at the time of the Fall, from out of the piece of the forbidden fruit which had fallen on to the ground. In this scene God hands Death three arrows representing plague, hunger and war and a "mandate" for inflicting divine punishment[15]. Into the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (CXIII) is introduced, a story told by a friar minor and friend of St. Francis, recounting the nocturnal vision experienced by St. Dominic in Rome, during which he saw Christ hovering in the air threatening the world with the three spears he was holding on account of men's pride, lust and greed [Vorgarine 2012, 433]. Later this image came to be interpreted as "plague arrows" (*Pestpfeile*) being sent down by God as punishment. A notary from Piacenza, Gabriel de Moussis, in his report on plague victims in 1348, described what he thought must have been God's intentions, including "letting sharp arrows of sudden death hold sway throughout the whole world" [Horrox 1994, 15]. This image was widespread in the iconography of the plague-sheet (*Pestblatt)* woodcuts, which might even be attached to pharmacists' boxes containing treatments for victims of the plague. In this context the image of a black skeleton served to represent the Black Death. In the manuscript "*Histoire du Mors de la Pomme*" written and illustrated by Jean Miélot c. 1470, there is a scene in which Death visits and then kills with an arrow a doctor sitting at a lectern, surrounded by books and in the presence of a smirking jester. A crooked bookshelf[16] has been included in the doctor's studio, introducing a motif of the transitory nature of human life, possibly one of those anticipating motifs such as falling or carelessly strewn objects in the erudite still lifes of *Vanitas* in the 17th century.

In this way both parts of the miniature from the frontispiece – the portrait of the learned author of the *Speculum* and the reference to the "*memento mori*" theme – in themselves provide a mirror-model of opposites referred to in the Prologue: book-learning and visual illustration with their catechetic and didactic content. Jean Miélot used hints when planning his illumination of the manuscript as he did it by the two

[15] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 17001, fol. 108 r, accessed June 29, 2023. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10463342b/f223.item

[16] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 17001, fol. 113 v, accessed June 29, 2023. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10463342b/f232.item

mazes and the musical-cum-ideographic puzzle he used to encode his name as part of the colophon[17].

A similar mirror-model of a two-part dedicatory miniature arranged in a similar way is to be found in a richly decorated manuscript of another French translation of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fig. 11). In the right-hand fragment occupying a large part of the miniature, the translator hands the manuscript to his patron, thought to be Philip the Good, who is sitting on a marble throne in an open loggia. With his left hand the translator points out two female figures standing nearby. These are the Church, in the form of a nun holding the banner of Resurrection with a cross and a chalice and the host, and the Synagogue with rolled-up sleeves and skirt so as to reveal its yellow lining (an allusion to the distinguishing features marking out Jews), blindfolded and with a crown falling from her head, holding a tablet bearing the text of the Law of Moses and a broken pennant, on which is written "*MVTAB*". It seems to us that this inscription with the word "*mutabilis*" (deceptive) sends us back to the words of Isidore of Seville about change: Tamar's change of clothes prefigurates changes in relation to Synagogue and Church (*Isidorus Hispalensis, Quaestiones in Veterum Testamentum, XXIX, 15*).

The absence of illustration in the Prologue in most of the illuminated manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* can be logically explained with reference to the varying importance attached to the illustration of antitypes and types. In this relationship between the depictions subordinated to the typological hierarchy, in which antitypes are accorded the role of prime importance in comparison with types, illustrations in the Prologue, which does not, as a rule, contain typological motifs, occupy only the third place. In cases when there are illustrations of Prologue in the manuscripts, they contain – as a minimum – the scene in which monks are felling a tree as an illustration of the parable of the oak tree. It would be possible, thematically speaking, to number that scene among those depicting monastic labour.

For example, the historiated initial Q depicting how monks divide up a log on the ground[18] in one of the manuscripts of Gregory the Great's "Moralia on the Book of Job" and executed under patronage of a superior of the Cistercian abbey in Citeaux Stephan Harding (c. 1059–1134), is regarded as bearing little relation to the text [Hourihane 2012]. In a miniature from one of the SHS manuscripts[19], two monks are shown felling a tree from two sides with axes, standing on manure covered over with grass in a space flanked by two fortress towers. A similar composition is encountered in a miniature of a 13th-century manuscript with a commentary on the Apocalypse by Alexander the Minorite from Bremen[20]. The left-hand fragment of this three-part miniature shows a building with a dome, a depiction of the first monastery of the Cistercian order in Citeaux, in which several monks in brown tunics are shown kneeling in front of the standing figure of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in a white tunic, blessing their building of Cistercian daughter monasteries. In the centre of the miniature there are Cistercian monks at two sides of a tree which they are felling: they are wearing scapulars over

[17] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 17001, fol. 4 v – 5 r, accessed June 29, 2023. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10463342b/f16.item

[18] Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale, Ms 170, fol. 59 r.

[19] Berlin Staatsbibliothek, germ. fol. 245, fol. 1 r.

[20] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Mm. 5.31 fol. 113 r.

their brown tunics of undyed cloth, and they are standing on the grass. To the right an arcade is depicted consisting of four portals arranged in different ways and supporting domes of various heights: in the doorway of each portal stands the superior from one of the four daughter-houses of the Cistercian order – La Ferté, Pontigny, Morimond and Clervaux.

Alexander the Minorite discussed the predictions relating to peoples, communities and monarchs using "the historical-chronological method" of interpretation. He examined questions relating to the interpretation of history from the angle of biblical history and prophecies, starting out in many respects from the writings of Joachim of Flora [Schmolinsky 1991]. It is noteworthy that one of the manuscripts of the *Speculum* contains a deliberately inserted sheet from the illustrated manuscript, *Liber figurarum*, by Joachim of Flora – one more piece of evidence showing that the Joachimites and Franciscans were involved in the propagation of the *Speculum*. It is worth pointing out that it was precisely the Cistercian, Joachim of Flora, who elaborated the question regarding the concordance of the Old and New Testaments and put forward a model making it possible to understand historical events and epochs as stages in the history of salvation. In particular Bert Cardon, with reference to the work of Michael Thomas [Thomas 1970], writes that the complexity of the question is bound up with the concealed reference to the vision of Ezekiel (Chapter I) in the Prologue of *Speculum,* and he found an interpretation of the vision, as in the works of St. Gregory the Great (540–604) further interpreted by Joachim of Flora in the context of his view of history [Cardon 1996, 39].

Nigel F. Palmer notes that a tree is very frequently used as an object within the framework of the didactic tradition in order to present many ideas which are organically linked: for instance, in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, the tree of Jesse, St. Gregory the Great's Tree of the Church in his *Moralia on the Book of Job* (XIX, I, 3), trees of Vices and Virtues, Bonaventura's *Tree of Life*, and there also exist several manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, in which the main text is preceded by that of *Arbores virtutum et vitiorum* (Trees of Vices and Virtues) [Palmer 2009, 364].

In the miniature of the Prologue in one of the SHS manuscripts[21], a monk is depicted in a brown tunic, over which he has donned a scapular: he is felling a tree at its base, while in the branches of its crown lay brothers are to be seen (fig. 11). The wearing of scapulars over undyed woollen cloth was typical of Cistercian monks, when the Order was newly established. Of interest in this connection is the illumination of the Cistercian manuscript dating from the year 1111 containing the Gregorian *Moralia on the Book of Job* from the scriptorium of Stephan Harding in Citeaux[22]. The first word in Book XXI of this work – namely, *Intellectus* (intellect, here with the meaning of the ability to interpret the Holy Scriptures) is to be found with the initial 'I' arranged almost right across the first page (fig. 11). It is presented in the form of a tree resembling a Burgundian oak, which is being felled at the root by the swinging axe of a Cistercian monk, while a lay brother is to be seen in the branches of its crown. In our view, what can be seen here is the link between the historiated initial and the beginning of the text, in which the proposed exegetic method is metaphorically likened to the stripping of the tree's sapwood from its bark (from its external, literal meaning):

[21] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9586, fol. 2 r.

[22] Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale MS 173, f. 41 r.

> The sense of Sacred Revelation requires to be weighed with so exact a balancing between the text and the mystery, that the scale of either side being adjusted, this latter neither the weight of over-curious scrutinizing should sink down, nor again the deadness of unconcern leave void. […] Since before the eyes of our reflection the sentences of the foregoing Fathers are placed, like pied rods, in which whereas we very often avoid the sense of the letter, we are as it were withdrawing the bark, and whereas we very often follow the meaning of the letter, we as it were preserve the bark. And when from those same the bark of the letter is removed, the interior whiteness of the allegory is brought to view, and when the bark is left, the green grown examples of the outward meaning are shewn (Gregory the Great, Moralia on the Book of Job, Book XXI, i) [Parker 1844].

It can be assumed that this visual motif had been inherited, although it had undergone changes. As early as the manuscript of the "St. Augustine Gospels" in the late 6th century[23], there is the motif of the rich man, Zacchaeus, sitting in the branches of a tree, whom Christ addressed (Luke 19:1–10) and there are similar motifs of "dendrite saints" [Charalampidis 1995, 98], both in the East (Demetrius of Thessaloniki) and the West (Antony of Padua, Bavo of Ghent). In a miniature dating from the 1480s by the master Edouard IV in a manuscript of Gregory the Great's *Homily XX*[24], a tree is depicted in the branches of which there sits a well-dressed layman while Death is chopping at the root, depicted as a skeleton swinging an axe and wearing a white shroud, which faintly resembles a monastic scapular. Close at hand there lies a coffin, which has already been prepared for a burial. It would seem to us that the parable of the oak tree in the Prologue of *Speculum humanae salvationis* possesses connotations with the Cistercian visual metaphor in the form of the historiated initial; 'I', dedicated to discussion of the exegesis method.

Conclusions

Intervisuality is a fruitful concept for the study of the iconography of bimedial *Speculum humanae salvationis* artworks. Manifestations of it can be found in the compositional parallelism of types and antitypes, the proliferation of motifs from depictions and texts that are sources for the *Speculum* (for example, Lot's wife in the form of a column, *Historia Scholastica*), or from the texts, which are not sources for the *Speculum* but which relate directly to its content (for example, the Expulsion from Edem by the angel wearing a stola, *Ad stolam*), in the unforeseen links between the text of the *Speculum* and other sources (for example, Death's 'mandate' in the frontispiece of the *Histoire du Mors de la Pomme*) and allegories, (for example, the allegory by Isidore of Seville of the Tamar's change of clothes which prefigurates changes in relation to Synagogue and Church). The main space for variable creativity by those who illuminated manuscripts was provided by the parables in the Prologue, the frontispiece and motifs which were not part of the SHS text including cycles of the Creation, calendar and zodiacal cycles. The main factors of intervisuality were: special requirements for a particular commission (for example, provision of a wedding gift), other specific of patronage (for example, the politics of Philip the Good or

[23] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 286, fol. 129 v.

[24] London, British Library Royal 15 DV fol. 26.

tastes of the Bishop of Béziers), the process of the production of the manuscripts (for example, captions for illustrations including dog nickname, the lay-out of convolutes containing other manuscripts – for example, the SHS and the Book of Chess by Jacobus de Cessolis with similar didactic aim, written out by a single scribe and bound in a single convolute) and the history of use of such works (for example, redrawing of the depictions and readers' comments during the era of the Reformation). We also suggest a hypothesis regarding the influence of earlier depictions on the text of the *Speculum*. The historiated initial from the Cistercian manuscript made by the scriptorium of Stephan Harding, Citeaux abbey, with the depiction of a monk felling an oak tree with a lay brother in its crown – a motif, associated with the excerpt from Gregory the Great's Moralia on the Book of Job XXI – which corresponds to the depictions and meaning of the parable to be found in the Prologue of the Speculum about the oak tree chopped into pieces by monks as a metaphor for visual exegetics. The possibility, however, that this iconography was indeed transmitted still needs to be either proved or refuted, but this will be the task of future studies. Finally, the concept of the "implied iconography" proposed in the paper seems promising for studying possible gaps in iconographic programs on base of its parergonality and the frictions of the frame.



Fig. 1. The hieratic "iconic" "Italian" and narrative "Western" types of the SHS illumination.
King Codrus of Athens lets himself be slain disguised as a common soldier to save his city (SHS 24 c)
Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana 55.K.2 (Rossi 17), fol. 35 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek CC 243, fol. 30 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 2. Microstructure of the "canonical" SHS manuscript.
The Presentation of Mary in the Temple (SHS 5 a–d).
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek lat. fol. 329, fol. 5 v – 6 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 3. Compositional parallelism of an antitype and types.
Betrayal of Judas, Joab kills his brother Amasa (SHS 18 a–b).
Sarnen, Benediktinerkollegium Cod. membr. 8, fol. 18 v
Source: e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland

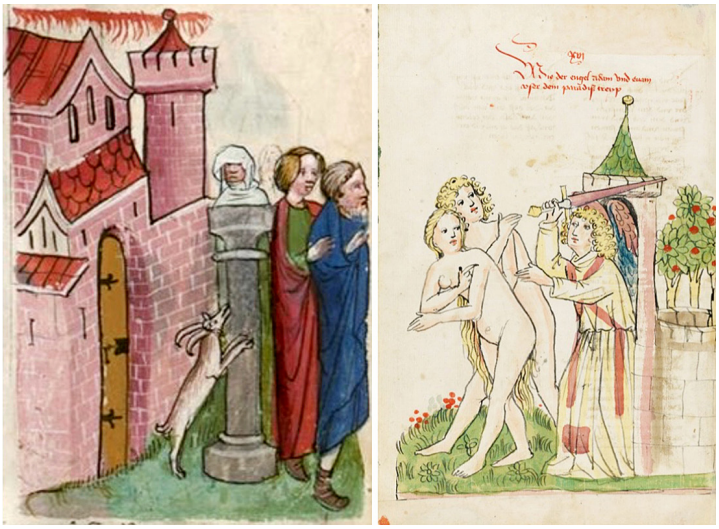


Fig. 4. Proliferation of motifs. Lot escaping from Sodom (SHS 31 d).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3003, fol. 29 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
Expulsion from Edem ("Historienbibel").
St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, VadSlg Ms. 343 c, f. 9 v
Source: e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland



Fig. 5. Specific details of the commission of the SHS manuscript.
Philiip the Good as Gideon and as the Master from the Parable of the Talents.
The miracle of Gideon and the Fleece (SHS 7 c). Chicago, Newberry Library 40, fol. 8 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
The Parable of the Talents (SHS 40 b). Chicago, Newberry Library 40, fol. 40 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 6.1. Intervisuality and the tastes of a patron. The commission of the Bishop of Béziers. 1430–1450.
Presentation of the Infant Samuel (SHS 10 d). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 204, fol. 10 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
The Parable of the Lost Coin (SHS 35 c). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 204, fol. 35 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database

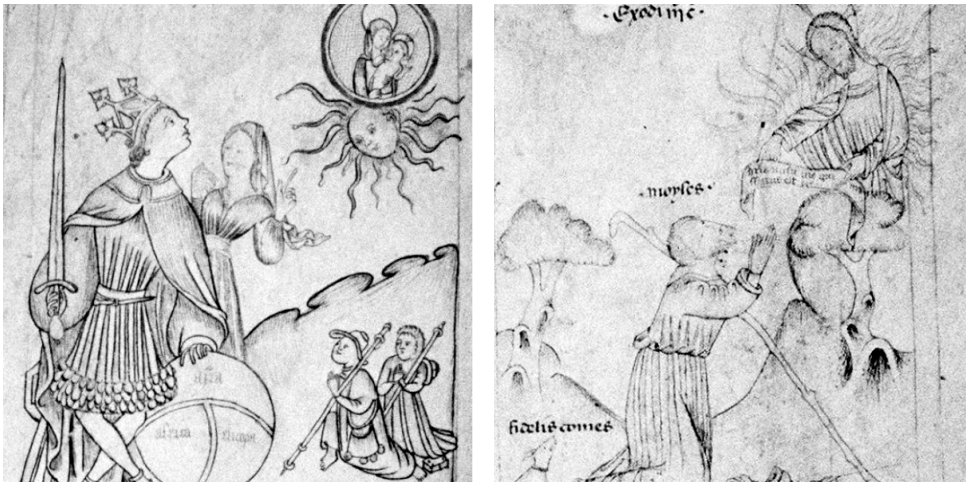


Fig. 6.2. Intervisuality and the tastes of a patron. The commission of the Bishop of Béziers. 1430–1450.
Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl (SHS 8 d). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 204, fol. 7 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
God appears to Moses in the Burning Bush (SHS 7 b). Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Douce 204, fol. 8 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 7. Intervisuality and the process of production of the SHS manuscript.
Sara mourns about Tobias's departure with Raphael (SHS 35 b)
Cambridge, Magdalene College (Pepys Library) 2359, fol. 36 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 512, fol. 36 v
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 8. Intervisuality and the history of use.
Mother of Mercy (SHS 38 a) Rothenburg ob der Tauber,
Konsistorialbibliothek (Stadtarchiv) WD 107, fol. 79 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database



Fig. 9. Parable of the oak tree. (SHS, Prologue)
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 79 folio, fol. 11 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database

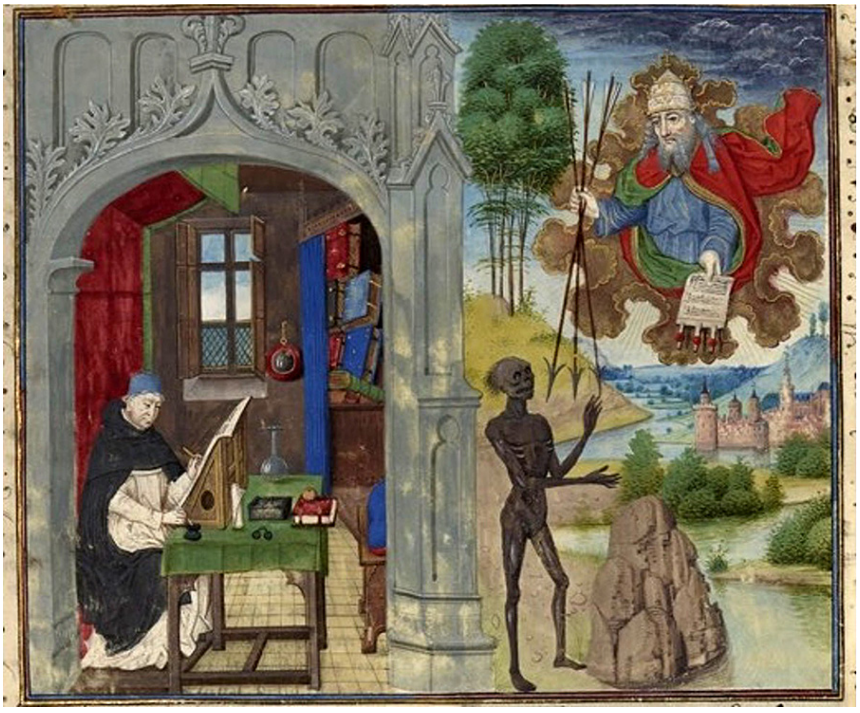


Fig. 10. SHS. Frontispiece. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 6275, fol. 1 r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database

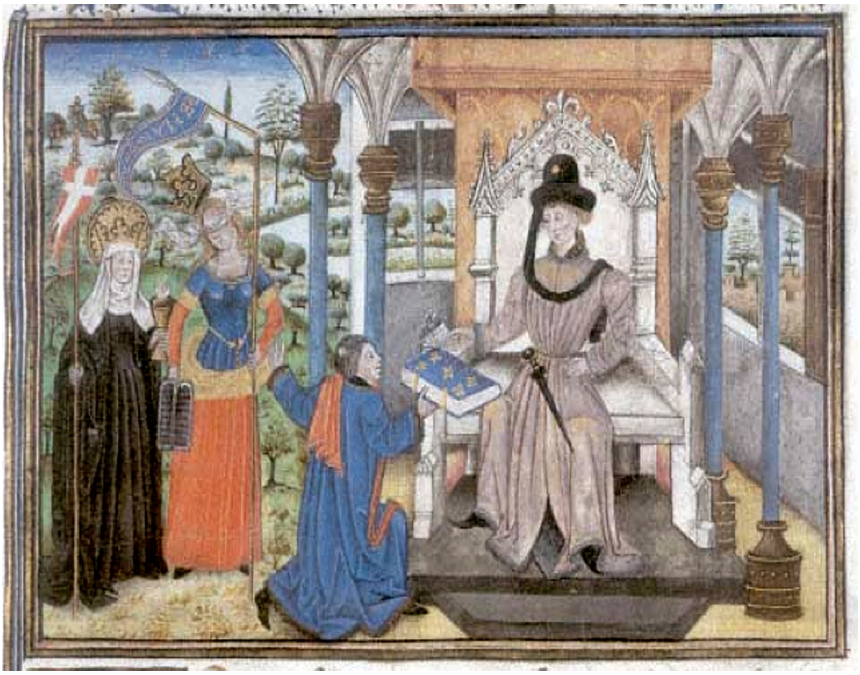


Fig. 11. SHS. Frontispiece. Glasgow, The Hunterian Museum Library, Ms. 60 (T.2.18), fol. 1 r
Source: Wilson, Wilson 1984



Fig. 12. Motif of monastic-labor in Cîteaux Moralia in Job and SHS.
Historiated initial I (Intellectus) in the Gregory the Great's Moralia on the Book of Job, XXI.
Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale MS 173, f. 41 r
Source: Wikipedia Cîteaux Moralia in Job
SHS, Prologue. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9586, fol. 2r
Source: The Warburg Institute Iconographic Database

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