

ABSTRACT

The Monk, the Monarch, and the Court Painter:
On the Production, Uses, and Artistic Significance
of the Green Collection's *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

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Director: David Lyle Jeffrey, Ph.D.

The purpose of this thesis is to introduce the reader to the Green Collection's copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Shelfmark MS.GC.000321), a previously unstudied illuminated manuscript which I have had access to through the Green Scholars Initiative. Produced for a Cistercian community in fourteenth century Austria, the Green *Speculum* is one of many extant editions of a medieval typological work called the *Speculum humanae salvationis* ["The Mirror of Human Salvation"]. The book presents an illustrated summary of the Christian story, showing the reader how the salvific events of the New Testament are prefigured in those of the Old. My thesis work deals with—among other things—the manuscript's origins in the Tyrolean court, its place in the tradition of *Speculum humanae salvationis* production, the significance of its illuminations, and its theological resonance in the Cistercian context.

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THE MONK, THE MONARCH, AND THE COURT PAINTER:
ON THE PRODUCTION, USES, AND ARTISTIC SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE GREEN COLLECTION'S *SPECULUM HUMANAЕ SALVATIONIS*

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of
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PREFACE

I am writing this thesis for those students who want to usefully read and understand the Green Collection's copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.¹ There is little to no existing scholarship on this manuscript, save the brief but helpful sales description of the work by the antiquarian Jörn Günther.² It is also somewhat difficult to track background information on the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in general.³ It is nearly impossible, on the other hand, to find anything written in English about the history of the monastery of St. John at Stams.

I anticipate that my thesis will be especially helpful in that it: 1) provides English speakers with some background material on Stams Monastery and the historical circumstances of manuscript's commission and production; 2) establishes the edition's stemma and provenance; 3) furnishes a detailed chart of the Green *Speculum*'s contents, as well as a transcription and translation of the work's epilogue; and perhaps most importantly, 4) shares a bibliography for students to draw from and expand upon.

¹ Shelfmark MS.GC.000321

² Jörn Günther, "11 Speculum Humanae Salvationis", 2008. accessed January 2, 2013, <http://guenther-rarebooks.com/catalog-online-09/11.php>.

Irma Trattner also makes brief mention of the manuscript's existence in her article, "Die Marienkronungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol. Ihre Stellung zwischen Süd und Nord." (Das Münster 52, 1999): 298-310.

³ On this account, I have found the first couple sections of Evelyn Ann Silber's Ph.D. dissertation "The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*" to be extremely helpful in terms of providing an account of the history, background, and usage of the text.

In the end, I hope to contribute positively to our understanding of the Green *Speculum* as a work on its own, and as an edition within a much larger tradition of *Speculum humanae salvationis* production and illustration.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my joint advisers, Dr. David Jeffrey and Dr. Melinda Nielsen, for their guidance and kindness throughout this process. Dr. Jeffrey magnanimously took on my project, despite the six other student theses had already agreed to direct. I am indebted to Dr. Nielsen for her willingness not only to agree to read my chapters, but also to meet with me weekly, supervise my progress, and point me in the right direction. I am grateful to Dr. Dan Nodes as well for serving on my thesis defense committee and offering his thoughtful comments alongside a passage of soundly corrected Latin.

It goes with saying that thanks is due to the Green family, who has been so generous in allowing students to work with these precious texts. Without their support, this research and the research of many others would not exist. I would also like to thank my own kind and supportive family, particularly my father for his willingness to carefully all one hundred and forty pages of this thesis.

Finally, I extend my thanks and earnest affection to the other students on the *Speculum* team: Ian Conn, Zerek Dodson, Amy Freeman, Callie Hyde, Kirsten Kappelman, Erika Smith, and David Welch. Our discoveries as a group provided both foundational knowledge and continued insight necessary to proceed with this project. It has been a joy and an encouragement to work with you all, and I look forward to shared research in the future!

CHAPTER ONE

Mirrors, Monasteries, and Motives:

Understanding the Green *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

Introduction to the Subject

This thesis is primarily concerned with the Green Collection's copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.⁴ In this first chapter, I mean to provide some literary context for understanding the work, establish an historical account of the manuscript's creation, as well as set out a physical description of the text.

About the Speculum Humanae Salvationis

The text to be discussed in this thesis, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, is a typological text of the Late Middle Ages within the genre of *speculum* literature. It relies on a narrative account of the lives of the Virgin and Christ for its structure and uses this narrative framework typologically. In each chapter, one event in the life of Christ or the Virgin corresponds to three Old Testament or deuterocanonical scenes. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* is typically forty-two chapters in length, with a proem or prologue at its start and several double-length chapters at its end.

⁴ That the Green *Speculum* was given as a gesture of the duke's "special friendship" to a group of Cistercian monks at the Stams Monastery is explained in the manuscript's dedication on folio 1R.

Approximately one third of all extant copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* are illuminated, including early copies from the fourteenth century.^{5, 6} By the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, regional styles of *Speculum* illustration had made a marked impact on their respective visual cultures. Designs and iconography from these regional editions appeared across Europe in a wide array of media, including stained glass, miniatures, tapestries, sculptures, and woodcuts.⁷ The popularity and influence of the text is also attested by the volume of extant *Specula*—nearly four hundred editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* have survived, including woodcut editions. At the height of its distribution, almost every library in Northern Europe would have possessed a copy.⁸

Background

The Speculum Genre

In the medieval mind, the Holy Scriptures were often understood as passive reflectors of man's inner state, serving as a mirror of his virtues and vices, reflecting back to him both the flawed and the commendable aspects of his mortal life and immortal soul. The Scriptures themselves contain this idea, as in these verses from James: “For if a man

⁵ Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, 24.

⁶ Vrudny, *Friars, Scribes, and Corpses*, 4, disagrees, stating that about half of the surviving copies are illuminated. Nevertheless, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* cannot be fully understood without its illustrations, a point which I will explore in later chapters.

⁷ Wilson and Wilson *Medieval Mirror*, 9.

⁸ Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, 24.

be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he shall be compared to a man beholding his own countenance in a glass. For he beheld himself, and went his way, and presently forgot what manner of man he was,” (1:23-4 D-R). St. Augustine also described the Word of God as a mirror with which man could examine the “world of appearances” in light of the archetypal truths accessible to him through the Bible. According to Bishop Possidius, Augustine's biographer, the saint asked for his own compilation of the Old and New Testaments be referred to as “the *Speculum*” (now, the *Speculum de Sacra Scriptura*.)⁹

Augustine was the first to employ the word *speculum* as a title, and a genre later grew up around this usage. The flexibility of the title's underlying concept—that of a contained image or mirror—promoted the growth of the *speculum* genre. Generally, works titled “*speculum*” were designed to classify and summarize. They offered the reader a survey of a topic. The twelfth and thirteenth century love for classification (inspiring works like the *Summa Theologica*) certainly played a part in the increasing number of *specula* in this period. By the year 1300, forty seven different works existed within the genre.¹⁰ For example, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Maius*, which was conceptualized as an extremely ambitious and comprehensive encyclopedia, contains sections on doctrine, history, morality, and natural science.¹¹ Some *specula* were used in universities to group very specific bodies of information within a discipline. Others, like Conrad of Saxony's *Speculum beate Virginis Mariae*, or our own *Speculum humane*

⁹ Evelyn Ann Silber, “The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Fourteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2008) 1.

¹⁰ . Silber, “The Italian Connection” 2.

¹¹ H. Grabes, editor of Augustine's *Speculum de Scriptura Sacra*, p. 246 published in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Munich, 1918, I, pp 263, 38. Cited by Silber, “The Italian Connection” 1.

salvationis, were intended to instruct the laity and less-educated clergy. These have a narrative structure, focusing on the moral implications of the lives of certain exemplary figures.

Typology as an Exegetical Tool

Besides being a text within the *speculum* genre, the *SHS* is a typological work. As such, one of its primary functions is to teach the reader how he might relate the objects, people, or events of the Old Testament to those of the New. Typology itself is an exegetical technique which identifies subjects from the Old Testament as types or prefigurations of events from the life of Christ and his revelation in the New Testament. These New Testament subjects supersede and typify their Old Testament referents, and are called antitypes. A typological comparison of this kind can produce a number of positive results for the exegete, including a more nuanced meaning of a certain scene or a sense of the unity of Holy Scriptures. Christ himself employs this technique a number of times in the Gospels, as he alludes to his Crucifixion by referencing the lifting up of the bronze serpent in the desert (John 3:14); or in Matthew 12:40, when Christ connects his forthcoming death and resurrection with the three days Jonah spent in the belly of the whale.¹² Typology thus aids in bringing out the plurality of meanings present in Scripture, and serves as a staple of Christian exegesis, “part of the armoury of interpretive weapons available to the scholastic commentator doing spiritual battle with his pen.”¹³

¹² Silber, “The Italian Connection,” 6-8.

¹³ *ibid.* 7.

Typological Precedents

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written in the early fourteenth century for a Church that lacked catechesis. It is one of a number of typological works of the period composed by friars and designed as an aid for unlearned clerics in teaching and preaching to their flocks.¹⁴ Others include the *Biblia Pauperum* (c. 1250) and Ulrich of Lilienfeld's *Concordantia Caritatis* (mid fourteenth century). These were written and illustrated in an accessible style, keeping liquid the connection between image and idea and presenting concrete pictures of virtues and vices. The illuminations in these typological compendia play an important role in tying down abstract or difficult concepts.

The *Biblia Pauperum* was in essence a long cycle of typological illustrations with very little accompanying text.¹⁵ Despite its primary reliance on pictures to communicate its message, the work was meant not for the rich but for clerics, monks, preachers, friars, and members of the laity (as its title suggests). Though it is further removed chronologically, the *Biblia Pauperum* is more like to the *Speculum* and the *Concordantia Caritatis* than to its practically contemporaneous predecessor, the *Bible Moralisée*. This ornately illustrated typological work circulated almost exclusively among the rich and powerful, essentially providing its clientele with wholesome and informative entertainment. Unlike the *Biblia Pauperum*, whose artistic and exegetical influence spread all over Germany and Austria, the *Bible Moralisée* had very little impact on popular art or culture due to its narrow circulation.

¹⁴ Silber, "The Italian Connection" 8-9/

¹⁵ *ibid.* 17-18.

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the *Biblia Pauperum* are frequently compared with regard to their pictorial emphasis and typological programs. While the *Speculum* matches up three Old Testament types to one New Testament antitype, the *Biblia Pauperum* only uses two of the former. The text of the *BP* is “confined to cryptic summaries interrelating the scenes”, while the *Speculum* text consists of a much longer poem that can stand alone (as it does in the majority of extant editions).¹⁶ The Latin verses and the length of the *Speculum* indicate its use by literate, but not extensively learned clerics.¹⁷

Like the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Concordantia Caritatis* was circulated almost exclusively through Germany and Austria, while the *Speculum* was spread much more broadly throughout Europe. The author of the *Concordantia Caritatis*—Abbot Ulrich of the Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld—was influenced by the *BP* and the *SHS* in terms of scope and illustration. However, Ulrich explores an even more elaborate method of organization and a wider range of sources than were used by the creators of the *BP* and the *SHS*. Typically the text of the *Concordantia* is located on the recto, while the illustrations are arranged on the versos: a picture of each NT antitype is surrounded by four medallions, each containing the bust of a prophet accompanied by a relevant inscription. Underneath this is a rectangular box with two OT scenes, along with two more types taken from the “natural lore” found in the *Physiologus*¹⁸ and the Bestiaries,¹⁹

¹⁶ *ibid.* 18.

¹⁷ *ibid.* 22.

¹⁸ A Greek predecessor to the bestiary, written between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD,

¹⁹ *ibid.* 23.

In addition to the unprecedented inclusion of natural types, Ulrich arranged the book in the style of a Missal or a Breviary, according to the divisions of the liturgical year. The *CC* progresses through one hundred and sixty-six typological groups pertaining to the usual (albeit extravagantly expanded) New Testament scenes. It then goes on to treat the lives of the saints as antitypes, complete with prophets, OT, and bestiary types. The Abbot borrows his program of saints from the Calendar and includes both local and relatively recent saints like SS. Francis and Dominic. The *Concordantia Caritatis* is thus an extremely innovative and complex work, though not as widely circulated as its typological predecessors. This scantier distribution is likely owed to the work's stunning length and complexity. With regard to this aspect, the *CC* is more similar to the *Bible Moralisée* than to the *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Speculum* in its mode of extravagance and perhaps inaccessibility. Only twenty four copies are extant, six of which are illustrated.²⁰

Of the typological works I have been discussing, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was by far the most widely produced and circulated. Currently, there are 394 documented manuscripts located in eight countries, dating from the early fourteenth through the sixteenth century. While the *Speculum* was most popular in German-speaking regions (as with the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Concordantia Caritatis*) it was distributed across late medieval Europe, reaching from the present-day Czech Republic in the East to France in the west, stretching from Sweden in the north to Italy in the south.²¹

²⁰ *ibid.* 23-4

²¹ Heather M. Flaherty, "The Place of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in the Rise of Affective Piety in the Later Middle Ages." Vol. 1. (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 2006) 5.

Bavaria is likely to have produced more copies of the *Speculum* than any other region. The first translated edition of the work comes from Southern Germany in the 1330's. Of the editions extant, three-hundred and ten are in rhymed Latin verse, while fifty-eight are in German (either poetry or prose), and thirteen consist of both. Two editions each are in Dutch and Czech, ten are in French, and one is in English,²²

The Green Speculum Humanae Salvationis

Through the Green Scholars Program, I have had access to a late fourteenth-century manuscript of the *SHS*, given by Duke Leopold III of Austria to Stams Monastery in Tyrol.²³ To the best of my knowledge, very little research has been done on this particular *SHS*, with the most extensive description coming from the item's sale description by the antiquarian Jörn Günther. In addition, the manuscript's dedication is given a passing mention by Irma Trattner in her article on Stift Stams altarpiece.²⁴ Bought in 2010 from a private collection in Europe, the piece is a recent addition to the Green Collection.

Stemma of MS.GC.000321

In 1930, Edgar Breitenbach divided the manuscripts of the *Speculum* to which he had access into six iconographical families; of those manuscripts, the edition in the Green

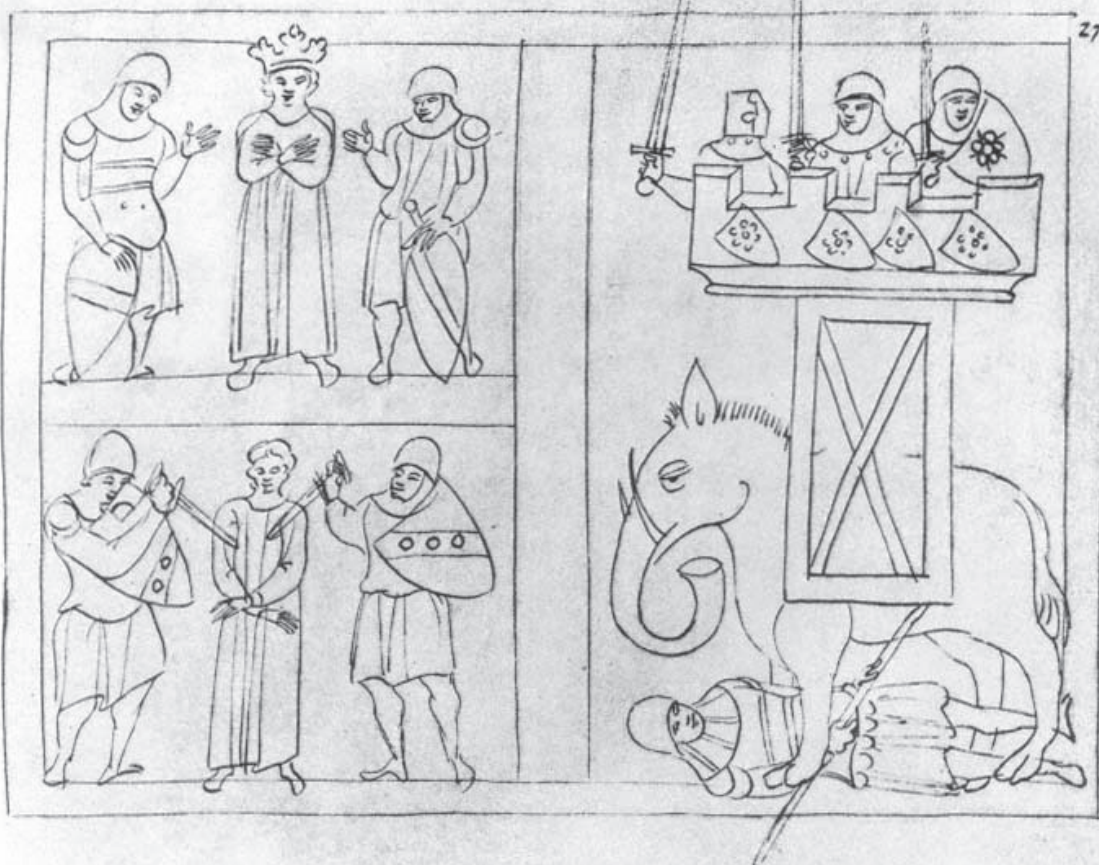
²² Flaherty "Rise of Affective Piety" 5.

²³ Oklahoma City, Green Collection, MS.000321, hereafter called the "*Green Speculum*."

²⁴ Irma Trattner, "Die Marienkronungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol. Ihre Stellung zwischen Süd und Nord." (Das Münster 52, 1999): 298-310.

Collection most closely resembles those that Breitenbach placed in Group Two. Its illustrations bear a clear resemblance both iconographically and compositionally to the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23433 and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 146 (see **Fig. 1, compare with same page in the *Green Speculum* in Fig. 2**).

The manuscripts pictured below are quite closely related to the Maihingen manuscript, which serves as the paradigm for the second group because of its typical provenance, composition, content, and layout. Furthermore, manuscripts in this second family tend to have been made in fourteenth century southern Germany, a provenance similar to that of the *Green Speculum*.



In quo innuatur q. p. dicitur nos xpi i. s. h. o. u.
 Agnosceret miltus deus uenit oim. ferulez.
 Addidit q. d. o. p. o. s. t. e. r. d. a. r. e. g. n. u. s. c. u. i. u. e. l. l. e. r.
 Et q. s. u. p. i. l. l. u. s. h. o. s. e. m. h. a. l. l. i. m. u. s. o. s. t. r. u. e. r. e. t.
 I. t. e. m. q. u. o. d. i. n. u. e. b. a. t. q. x. p. i. e. s. t. h. i. l. l. i. m. o. o. i. m.
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 I. t. e. m. i. g. n. i. p. s. q. u. o. d. p. a. r. t. o. r. e. s. i. n. t. a. s. p. i. g. u. r. a. b. a. t. x. p. i.
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 Et q. u. i. m. u. s. p. i. s. s. i. o. x. p. i. f. i. l. i. u. s. a. p. r. e. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. p. o. r. d. i. n. a. t. i.
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 C. u. i. a. l. i. u. i. d. e. a. n. t. r. e. g. e. m. m. o. r. t. u. s. d. e. c. a. p. t. u. r. u. r. u. r. o. d. e. f. e. r. a. u. e. r. u. n. t.
 Et a. b. i. m. p. u. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. n. o. s. a. d. p. r. i. m. r. e. d. i. c. a. l. i. t.
 H. i. c. x. p. i. n. o. s. d. i. l. e. x. i. t. u. r. s. e. t. m. o. r. t. e. s. n. o. n. e. a. d. i. r. e. t.
 p. r. n. o. s. a. t. e. m. o. n. i. u. s. o. b. s. i. d. i. o. n. e. l. i. b. e. r. a. r. e. t.
 I. n. d. u. i. t. a. u. t. e. m. s. e. c. i. r. n. e. h. i. l. i. m. a. q. u. i. u. e. l. l. e. s. s. u. l. i.
 Q. u. i. a. t. u. e. l. l. e. s. r. e. g. n. a. l. i. i. n. d. o. c. a. t. e. n. o. p. o. s. s. i. t. o. c. c. i. d. i.
 S. i. i. p. s. i. m. r. e. g. e. s. g. l. o. r. i. e. e. s. t. o. g. n. o. u. e. r. u. n. t.
 A. l. i. m. u. s. c. u. i. s. s. i. c. d. e. l. u. s. s. i. t. e. n. t. n. e. c. a. n. d. i. s. s. i. t.
 Et n. s. o. l. u. s. x. p. i. o. b. s. i. d. i. o. n. e. s. i. n. f. i. c. a. p. t. u. r. i. t. a. t. i. s. d. i. s. s. i. p. a. t. u. r.
 S. i. i. m. o. r. t. e. s. s. u. i. s. m. o. r. t. e. s. n. r. a. s. d. e. s. t. r. u. i. t. u. r. i. n. o. c. a. u. r.
 Et h. i. c. f. u. i. t. o. l. i. m. p. a. l. e. a. s. a. r. m. a. c. h. a. b. e. u. s. p. i. g. u. r. a. t. u. s.
 Q. u. i. s. e. m. o. r. t. e. e. x. p. o. s. u. i. t. u. r. i. n. u. m. e. r. o. s. e. l. e. p. h. a. n. t. e. s. l. o. u. a. n. t. e. s.
 Q. u. i. e. n. i. m. e. x. c. i. n. i. s. g. r. a. t. i. l. i. u. s. o. p. r. a. f. u. o. s. i. s. t. e. l. l. i. n. u. r.
 E. l. e. a. z. a. r. p. e. c. u. r. a. n. t. e. s. e. l. e. p. h. a. n. t. e. s. c. o. r. l. a. n. c. e. a. p. f. o. r. a. u. r.
 Q. u. i. s. a. u. c. i. d. i. u. s. u. i. n. e. r. e. m. e. a. n. t. i. o. s. c. e. c. i. d. i. t.
 Et s. u. p. a. c. c. i. d. i. t. e. s. s. u. i. u. s. c. a. d. e. n. s. i. p. s. i. m. o. p. r. a. n. t. e. s.
 S. u. i. n. i. m. a. g. i. t. i. n. f. o. r. t. e. i. n. m. i. s. c. o. r. u. e. n. t. i. l. l. i. t.
 S. u. i. e. l. e. a. z. a. r. i. n. e. l. e. p. h. a. n. t. e. s. i. n. m. i. s. c. o. r. u. e. n. t. i. l. l. i. t.
 I. t. e. m. x. p. i. m. o. r. t. e. s. i. n. u. s. i. t. f. o. r. t. e. s. f. o. r. t. e. s.
 Et p. m. o. r. t. e. s. s. u. i. s. i. n. f. i. c. a. p. t. u. r. i. t. a. t. i. s. m. o. r. t. e. s.
 O. m. n. e. i. p. s. i. q. u. i. p. m. o. r. t. e. s. n. r. a. s. d. i. g. n. a. t. u. s. e. s. t. n. o. s. l. i. b. e. r. a. r. e.
 H. i. c. n. o. s. p. o. s. t. h. a. n. c. u. i. u. s. r. e. c. e. s. s. u. s. h. a. b. i. t. a. r. e.

Fig. 1: a: King Codrus Dedicates Himself in Death. b. Eleazar Kills the Elephant and is Crushed.

Speculum humanae salutis, Chapter XXIV. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm 146, fol. 27 recto.



Inq̃ t̃m̃ebat q̃ p̃d̃ic̃õs x̃i a suoz
 Q̃nd̃ se m̃do d̃m̃ ṽm̃ õm̃i sc̃loz.
 Addid̃ q̃ d̃o p̃h̃ dare reg̃ h̃oi cū ñell̃
 q̃ s̃t̃ h̃i h̃oĩz humilim̃ cōst̃it̃et.
 Ph̃ t̃m̃ebat q̃ x̃i est̃ humilim̃ h̃oĩm̃
 t̃iō d̃s cōst̃it̃et eū regē õm̃iū.
 S̃c̃ p̃h̃g̃abat̃ p̃z q̃m̃ p̃arborē illā p̃h̃g̃abā x̃.
 Q̃ ex p̃ord̃ic̃õe p̃r̃is est̃ p̃ nob̃ cū f̃ie?
 t̃ h̃r̃us p̃allio x̃ f̃uit a p̃r̃e celest̃i p̃ord̃ic̃at̃
 Cū nō inuice s̃i uolūnt̃e ē ab ip̃o acceptat̃a. **Pa. ñ.**
Et i cōd̃ rex g̃oz ol̃i p̃ h̃iāz p̃monstr̃auit
 Q̃ p̃ cūib̃ s̃uis lib̃andis sp̃ote mortē accept̃auit.
 Cūit̃as ñ. At̃hem̃ens̃ ob̃f̃es̃a erat
 t̃p̃ nulli s̃bueñcōz lib̃ari pot̃at.
 Cūc̃ p̃r̃es rex cōs̃iluit d̃m̃ ap̃polinē
 Si p̃ aliq̃ mod̃ poss̃ lib̃are cūit̃atē.
 t̃ q̃m̃is pag̃anus est̃ x̃ nō p̃s̃c̃et d̃m̃
 Cū nūti r̃er̃et̃ p̃ ap̃polinē r̃is̃um ṽm̃.
 D̃c̃m̃ ē ei q̃ cūit̃as ñllo m̃ p̃h̃ lib̃ar̃e
 Ṽl̃is̃ op̃t̃et ip̃m̃ ab̃h̃ost̃ib̃ occidi t̃ m̃actari.
 Q̃ t̃m̃ d̃ix̃it̃ suos q̃ er̃āt in ur̃be
 Q̃ exiūt̃ de ur̃be uolēs s̃bire p̃p̃ eos mortē.
 hostes q̃ fac̃ient̃es nolēbāt ei t̃ aliq̃ nocē
 Cupiētes pot̃ cūit̃atē q̃ ip̃i mortē h̃ic.
 Q̃o audito t̃ ex̃p̃to rex ad cūit̃atē rediit



Q̃ uel̃es reg̃ias ex̃uēs t̃ f̃uiles iñducēs it̃m̃ exiūt̃
 Gr̃ati hostes iñeum̃ ir̃ruentes t̃ef̃ecūnt̃
 Q̃a ip̃m̃ regē esse t̃ s̃m̃li h̃itu nō cogiūt̃.
 Cū q̃ uident̃ regē mortuū d̃ cap̃õe ur̃b̃i d̃sp̃auit̃
 t̃ ab̃ip̃ug̃r̃õe cessant̃es ad p̃p̃a redierūt̃.
 Sic x̃ nos dilex̃ ut̃ se in mortē sp̃onte d̃at̃z
 Ṽt̃ nos a demoniū ob̃f̃idione lib̃ar̃z.
 Induit̃ a se c̃r̃ne humanā q̃i uelle s̃m̃li
 Q̃a in uelle regali. i. uer̃itate ñ p̃h̃ dec̃adi.
 S̃z t̃ ip̃m̃ regē gl̃e ēē cognouiss̃ent̃
 Ṽt̃ ip̃m̃ eū sic delusiss̃et ñ occidiss̃et.
 t̃ solū x̃ ob̃f̃idione ñr̃e captiuit̃atis dissip̃auit̃
Et t̃ morte sua mortē ñr̃az d̃est̃it̃ t̃ nec̃auit̃.
 t̃ h̃i s̃unt̃ ol̃i p̃ eleazar machabēū p̃h̃g̃am̃
 Q̃ se mortē exposuit̃ ut̃ p̃imet̃ eleph̃antē lor̃icam̃.
 Q̃ñ ñ. ex̃cit̃ gentiū d̃ filios is̃rl̃ bell̃auit̃
 eleazar occ̃idens eleph̃antē eoz lancea p̃forauit̃.
 Q̃ sauat̃ m̃l̃ie mortuū c̃cadit̃
 t̃ s̃i occ̃idit̃ s̃m̃i c̃adēs ip̃m̃ op̃p̃sit̃.
 fortis ipegit̃ i fortē t̃ am̃bo corruerūt̃
 q̃ eleazar t̃ eleph̃antē t̃ ab̃o mortuū s̃unt̃.
 Ita x̃ fortis mortē inuasit̃ fortē
 t̃ p̃ mortē suā ñr̃az mortificauit̃ mortē.
 O bone ih̃u q̃ p̃ mortē tuā dignus es nos lib̃are
 fac nos p̃t̃ h̃ic uita t̃ē s̃p̃ h̃itare.

Fig. 2: King Codrus gives his life for his subjects, and Eleazar Maccabeus kills an elephant, Chapter 24,

Folio 28R, MS.GC.000321 Green Collection

My colleagues and I have identified another *Speculum* manuscript, MS M. 140,²⁵ that almost certainly has a direct relationship to the Green edition. Located in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, its illustrations have a high degree of similarity to those in our own manuscript (**Compare Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 below**). This resemblance suggested the possibility that one of them was made using the other as a reference, a hypothesis supported by similarities in provenance; further research established that MS M.140 had been made in German Franconia, possibly Nuremberg, in the late fourteenth century,²⁶ which would place it near to the home of the Green *Speculum* in both time and location.²⁷ This connection was corroborated by Günther.²⁸ Similarities between the Gothic textura rotunda shared by both manuscripts also confirm a close proximity between the codices in terms of time period and location. I will elaborate on the relationship between the two manuscripts in greater detail in later chapters (particularly Chapter Three).

²⁵ currently located at the Morgan Library & Museum (formerly called the Pierpont Morgan Library) in New York

²⁶ Morgan Library & Museum. "Detailed Record of MS. 140." Corsair. corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=7&ti=1,7&Search_Arg=Speculum%20Humanae%20Salvationis&Search_Code=GKEY^&CNT=50&PID=La3xphw1WeuAIGvfFaEL7_ZWf4A&SEQ=20130102144025&SID=1 (accessed January 2, 2013).

²⁷ Indeed, Breitenbach listed MS.140 as a part of Group Two in his catalogue (p. 35, listed as #307), further cementing the Green manuscript's inclusion in the same.

²⁸ Günther, "11 *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*", 2008. accessed January 2, 2013, <http://guenther-rarebooks.com/catalog-online-09/11.php>.



Fig. 4: Ch.1, Folio 4v of the Green SHS, MS.GC.000321

Physical Characteristics

The manuscript consists of fifty-three folios on vellum, 301 by 230 mm each, with the dimensions of the written space being approximately 240 by 172 mm. Although there are some small holes, smears, and other minor defects, the text is, for the most part, undamaged and complete. The work was rebound in the nineteenth century in a brown morocco binding. The spine is green, with five raised bands, gilt stamps, and a red label.²⁹ Following a blank leaf, which has been excluded from numbering, the recto of the first folio serves as a title page and dedication. A proem spans from f1v to f3v. Save this last verso, each page of the proem consists of two columns, and each column consists of forty-seven or forty-eight lines of Latin, arranged in rhyming couplets.³⁰ The last page consists of only one column of ten lines. The main body of the text begins on the verso of the fourth folio (the recto of which is left blank). There are also two columns on each page of the body, each column here being composed of an illustration followed by twenty-four lines of rhymed Latin.³¹ These columns are arranged in sets of four; the first column in a set describes and depicts a scene from the Old Testament, and the following three do the same for scenes from either the New Testament or deuterocanonical books. Each of these sets constitutes a chapter. All Old Testament scenes begin on the leftmost

²⁹ Günther, 2008.

³⁰ Where there are an odd number of lines, it is in both columns, and the last, unpaired lines of each are rhymed instead.

³¹ The number of lines varies a little, as some columns contain fewer or additional couplets.

of a verso, and the following scenes fill out the columns through the facing recto, making one chapter a full page spread (see Fig. 3 below).³²

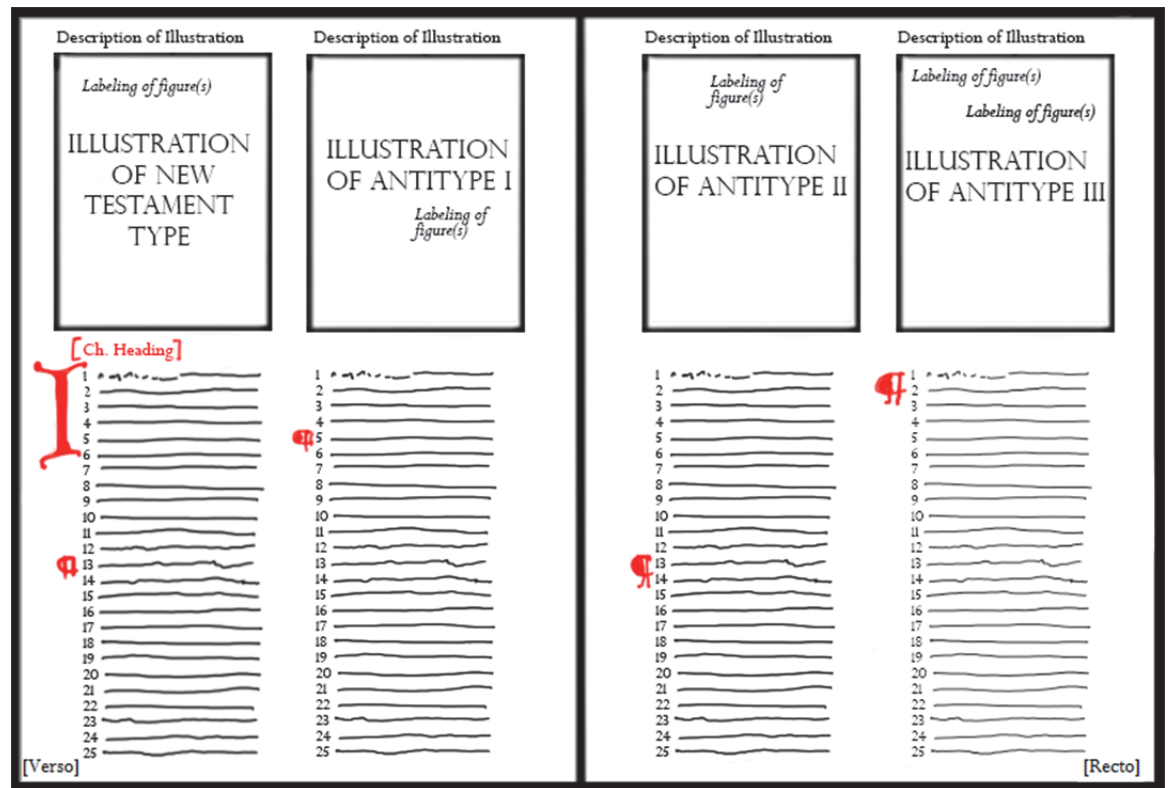


Fig. 3: Typical SHS Chapter layout

Content

An un-illuminated Proem and Prologue precede the body of the text. There are forty-two chapters in the main part of the *Speculum*, stretching from f4v to f46r. Three more chapters follow: the stations of the Passion (Ch. 43), the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin (Ch. 44), and the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin (Ch. 45). These three chapters encompass eight columns (and thus two page spreads) apiece. Following the final chapter is an un-illuminated, but more lavishly decorated epilogue of sorts,

³²

I made this image.

containing lines from another Latin work called the *Vita beate Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*, as well as an original (albeit brief) prayer to the Virgin. This section was added later, likely within a few decades of the Green edition's production.

Below, I include a detailed chart of the contents of MS.GC.000321:³³

Table A: Green *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* Subject Key

Folio	Contents	Literary Source
1R	Title Page	[This section is left blank if (a) there is no clear literary source, or (b) the subject matter is so basic it can be listed without reference.]
1V	Proem	
2R		
2V		
3R	[End of Proem]/ Prologue	
3V	[End Prologue]	
4R	[Blank]	

[Here Begins *Speculum* Proper]

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
4V	1	Fall of Lucifer	Is. 14:12-15
		Creation of Eve	Gen. 2: 18-24
5R		Institution of Marriage	Gen. 2:17
		Temptation of Eve	Gen. 3:1 -5

³³ This chart has been adapted to fit the contents of the Green *SHS* from:

Silber, Evelyn Ann. "The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Fourteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2008), 30-35.

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
5V	2	Fall	Gen. 3:6
		Expulsion from Eden	Gen. 3:23-24
6R		Adam and Eve toiling	Gen. 3:19 & Gen. 4:1
		Noah's Ark	Gen. 8:13-9:11
6V	3	Annunciation to Anna	Protogospel of St. James iv: 2
		King Astyage's Dream	HS Dan. 6 (PL 1470)
7R		An enclosed garden (<i>Hortus Conclusus</i>) and a Sealed Fountain	Song of Songs 4:12
		Balaam and the Ass	Num. 22:21-35
7V	4	Nativity of the Virgin	Pro.Gos.James v
		Vines from the Root of Jesse	Isa. 11: 1-2
8R		Closed door	Ezek. 44:2
		Temple of Solomon	3 Kings 6
8V	5	Mary is presented in the Temple	Pro.Gos.James vii-viii + Ps.Matt. iv
		Golden Table of the Sun	HS
9R		Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter	Judg. 11:30-39
		Queen of Persia's Garden	HS Dan. 5 (PL 1453)
9V	6	Marriage of Joseph and Mary	Luke 1:27
		Marriage of Sarah and Tobias	Tobit 3:16 + 6
10R		Tower of Bari	HS Macc. 6 (PL1527)
		Tower of David	De laud. BVM + S of S St. Bernard on <u>Salve Regina</u> (PL 184, 1074)
10V	7	Annunciation	Luke 1:26-37
		Moses and the Burning Bush	Exed. 3:1-6
11R		Gideon's Fleece	Judg. 6:37-40
		Rebecca and Eliezer	Gen. 24:12-49
11V	8	Christ's Nativity	Luke 2:1-7
		Dream of Pharaoh's Servant	Gen. 40:9-13
12R		Aaron's rod flowers	Num. 17:8

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
		Sibyl and Augustus	<u>Leg.Aurea 4 (PL 193) + Cron.Martin.Mirabilia Urbis Romae</u>
12V	9	Adoration of the Magi	Matt. 2: 1-11
		Magi see the star	Matt. 2:2
13R		Three Soldiers bring water to David	2 Sam. 23 15-16
		Sheba visits Solomon	3 Kings 10: 1-3 , 19-20
13V	10	Presentation at the Temple	Luke 2: 22-35
		Ark of the Covenant	Exed. 25-27
14R		Seven-branched Candlestick	Exed. 25: 31-37
		Samuel dedicated at the Temple	1 Sam. 1:24
14V	11	Flight into Egypt and the falling of the idols	Isa. 19:1; Matt. 2:14; HS Evang. 10 (PL 1543)
		Egyptian Madonna	HS Tob. (PL 1440)
15R		Moses shatters Pharaoh's Crown	HS Isa. 19 (PL 1142-44)
		Nebuchadnezzar and the shattered idol	Dan. 2: 31-45
15V	12	Baptism of Christ	Matt. 3:13-17
		Brazen Laver of the Temple	3 Kings 7:23-24 + 44; HS Exod. 70 (PL 1189)
16R		Cleansing of Naaman	4 Kings 5:1-14
		Ark Borne over Jordan	Josh. 3 + 4
16V	13	Christ is tempted by the Devil in various guises	Matt. 4:1-11
		Daniel destroys Bel and kills the Dragon	Dan. 14:1-26
17R		David about to behead Goliath	1 Sam. 17:48-51
		David fights a bear having killed a lion	1 Sam 17:34-36
17V	14	Penitence of Mary Magdalene in the House of Simon	Luke 7:36-50
		Penitence of Manasseh in captivity	2 Paral. 33:11-13
18R		Father welcomes home the Prodigal Son	Luke 15:20-22
		David repents of adultery	2 Sam. 12
18V	15	Triumphal Entry	Luke 19: 41-44

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
		Jeremiah mourns Jerusalem	Lam. 1:1
19R		Triumph of David	1 Sam. 17
		Heliodoros is scourged	2 Macc. 3: 25-27
19V	16	Judas' Betrayal (Lord's Supper)	John 13 (Matt. 26; Mark 14; Luke 22)
		Miracle of manna	Exod. 16: 14-17
20R		Passover	Exod. 18
		Melchizedek gives Abraham bread and wine	Gen. 14-18-20
20V	17	Roman soldiers overcome by Christ	John 18: 5-8
		Sampson slays 1000 Philistines	Judg. 15: 15-16
21R		Sangar kills 600 men with a plowshare	Judg. 3: 13
		David kills 800 men	2 Sam. 23
21V	18	Betrayal of Christ	Matt. 26: 48-51; Luke 22: 47-51
		Joab slays Amasa	2 Sam. 20: 8-10
22R		Saul returns David's goodness for evil	1 Sam. 18: 10-12
		Cain kills Abel	Gen. 4: 3-8
22V	19	Christ blindfolded, spit on, and beaten	Matt. 26:67; Luke 22: 63-65
		Miriam's husband Hur is suffocated by the spittle of the Jews ³⁴	HS Exod. 32 (PL 1189)
23R		Ham taunted by Noah	Gen. 9: 20-23
		Samson, blinded, is tied to columns	Judg. 16: 21
23V	20	Flagellation of Christ	
		Achior bound to a tree	Judith 6: 12-13; HS Jud. 1 (PL 1477)
24R		Lamech beaten by wives	HS Gen. 28 (PL 1079)
		Job scourged by his wife and Satan	Job 2: 7-12

³⁴ Hur here is (accidentally) depicted as Christ; See Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.140, 21v, column b for an illuminating comparison. In this manuscript, Hur is drawn in the same way as Christ in the Green *Speculum*, except that his halo is colored completely red, and there are black scribble marks decorating it. It appears as though the tri-radiant halo which is ever present in the iconography of Christ in both editions of the *SHS* has been scraped off, and subsequently colored red and scratched over.

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
24V	21	Crowning with thorns	Mark 15: 16-17
		The concubine Apamea taking king's crown	1 Esd. 4: 28-30
25R		Shimei curses David	2 Sam. 16: 5-14
		Haman insults David's messenger	2 Sam. 10: 4
25V	22	Christ bears the Cross	Luke 23: 35-43; John 19: 25-30
		Isaac bears the wood of sacrifice	Gen. 22: 6-8
26R		Husbandmen kill heir of the vineyard	Luke 20: 13-15
		Grapes of Eschol	Num. 13
26V	23	Elevation of the Cross	Luke 23: 33-34
		Tubalcain smites anvil (inventors of arts working with metals and making music)	Gen. 4: 2—22; HS Gen. 27 (PL 1079)
27R		Isaiah sawn in half	HS 4 Reg. 32 (PL 1414)
		Moab sacrifices his firstborn	4 Kgs. 3: 26-7
27V	24	Crucifixion	Luke 23: 35-43; John 19 : 25-30
		Dream of Nebuchadnezzar	Dan. 4: 10-14
28R		King Codrus gives his life for his subjects	(Athenian lore)
		Eleazer Maccabeus kills elephant	Macc. 6: 44-46
28V	25	Christ mocked on the cross	
		David mocked by Mical	2 Sam. 6: 16-20
29R		Death of Absalom	2 Sam. 18: 9-15
		Evilmerodach cuts up father	HS Dan. 3. (PL 1453)
29V	26	Deposition from the Cross	
		Jacob mourns Joseph, seeking his coat	Gen. 37: 31-35
30R		Adam and Eve mourn Abel	HS Gen. 25 (PL 1076)
		Naomi bewails her son and husband	Ruth 1: 8-9
30V	27	Entombment of Christ	
		David mourns Abner	2 Sam. 3: 28
31R		Joseph in the well	Gen. 37: 24

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
		Jonah cast into the sea	Jonah 1: 15
31V	28	Christ in the four regions of hell	Aquinas
		Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednago in the fiery furnace	Dan. 13: 20-27
32R		Daniel in the lion's den	Dan. 14: 30-38
		Ostrich delivers her young	HS 3 Reg. 8 (PL 1353-4)
32V	29	Christ crushes Satan	
		Benaiah slays the lion	2 Sam. 20
33R		Samson slays lion	Judg. 4: 17-21
		Ehud kills Eglon	Judg. 3: 16-21
33V	30	Virgin crushes Satan with elements used in the crucifixion	
		Judith about to behead Holofernes	Judith 13: 6-10
34R		Jael kills Sisera by driving a nail into his head	Judg. 4 : 17-21
		Tomyris kills Cyrus by beheading	HS Dan. 19 (PL 1474)
34V	31	Christ leads souls from hell	
		Moses leads the Israelites from Egypt	Exod. 12: 33-37
35R		God saving Abraham from Chaldean fire	Gen. 11: 31
		Lot leaves sodom, wife is turned into pillar of salt	Gen. 19: 15-29
35V	32	Resurrection	
		Samson bears the gates of Gaza	Judg. 16: 1-3
36R		Fish spits Jonah out	Jonah 2: 11-12
		Stone rejected becomes keystone	Luke 20: 17-18; Ps. 118: 22
36V	33	Ascension	Acts 1: 9-11
		Jacob's ladder	Gen. 28:12-22
37R		Christ as good shepherd bears back lost sheep; angels rejoice	Luke 15: 3-7
		Elijah taken up in a chariot	2 Kings 2: 11-13
37V	34	Pentecost	Acts 2: 1- 13

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
		Tower of Babel	Gen. 11: 6-7
38R		Giving of the law to Moses	Exod. 31: 18
		Elisha fills the widow's jars	2 Kings 4: 1-7
38V	35	Virgin revisits holy places	<u>Leg. Aurea</u>
		Tobias mourned by mother	Tobit 5: 17-22
39R		Last silver piece found	Luke 15: 8-10
		Saul makes Michal marry Phaltiel	HS 2 Reg. 5 (PL 1327)
39V	36	Coronation of the Virgin	
		Ark returned to the Temple, David dances	2 Sam. 6: 1-15
40R		Woman clothed in the sun	Rev. 12: 1
		Solomon sets Mother at right hand	3 Kings 2: 19
40V	37	Virgin intercedes alongside Dominic and Francis	
		Abigail intercedes with David	1 Sam. 25: 23- 35
41R		Woman of Tekoa intercedes	2 Sam. 14: 4-19
		Woman of Abela casts out head of Sheba	2 Sam. 20: 14-22
41V	38	Madonna Misericordia	Cistercian/Dominican Literature
		Tharbis defends the city against Moses	HS. Ex. 6 (PL 1144)
42R		Theban woman kills Abimlech	Judg. 9: 50-54
		Michal helps David escape	1 Sam. 19: 11-12
42V	39	Christ shows wounds to Father	
		Antipater shows wounds to Caesar	HS 2 Macc. 14 (PL 1531)
43R		Virgin shows breasts to Christ	
		Ester intercedes for her people	Esther 7: 2-4
43V	40	Last Judgement	
		Parable of the Talents	Luke 19: 12-27
44R		Wise and Foolish Virgins	Matt. 25: 1-13
		Belshazzar's feast with the hand of God	Dan. 5: 5-26

Folio	Chapter	Subject	Literary Source
44V	41	Punishments of hell	
		David's revenge on Rabat	2 Sam. 12: 27- 31
45R		Gideon's revenge	Judg. 8: 7-16
		Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea	Exod. 14: 23-28
45V	42	Kingdom of Heaven	
		Solomon and Sheba enthroned	3 Kings 10: 1- 13
46R		Feast of Ahasuerus	Esther 1: 1-8
		Job's children feasting	Job 1: 4-5

Passion			
Folio	Chapter	Subject	
46V	43	Christ bearing Cross seen by Recluse	
		Last supper (Vespers)	
47R		Agony in the Garden (Compline)	
		Betrayal (Matins)	
47V		Pilate washes his hands (Prime)	
		Christ's Flagellation (Tierce)	
48R		Christ before Pilate carrying his cross (Sext)	
		Crucifixion (None)	

Seven Sorrows of the Virgin			
Folio	Chapter	Subject	Heading
48V	44	Dominican Vision	[Ch. 44] Transcription and Translation, anyone?
		Simeon's Prophecy in the Temple	First Sorrow of the Blessed Virgin
49R		Angel's warning to Joseph	Second Sorrow
		Christ among Doctors	Third Sorrow
49V		Betrayal	Fourth Sorrow
		Crucifixion (with Virgin of Sorrows)	Fifth Sorrow

50R		Entombment	Sixth Sorrow
		Virgin revisits holy places	Seventh Sorrow

Seven Joys of the Virgin			
Folio	Chapter	Subject	Heading
50V	45	Angel and Virgin appearing to a man in bed	[Ch. 45]
		Annunciation	First Joy
51R		Nativity	Second Joy
		Visitation	Third Joy
51V		Epiphany	Fourth Joy
		Presentation at the Temple	Fifth Joy
52R		Christ among the Doctors	Sixth Joy
		Coronation of the Virgin	Seventh Joy

Marian Epilogue			
Folio	Chapter	Subject	Heading
52V	N/A	[Lines 6612-6741 of the <i>Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica</i>]	“The prologue of the work concerns itself with following what the lifestyle and the monastic life of the Holy Virgin Mary was like.”
53R		[End of Excerpt/Start of Prayer to the Virgin]	Prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary

Key:

Abbreviation	Source
HS	Peter Comester, <i>Historia Scholastica</i> (PL, vol. 198, column number given)
Gest. Rom.	<i>Gesta Romanorum</i>
Leg.Aurea	Jacobus da Vorraigne, <i>Legenda Aurea</i> (The Golden Legend)
ProGos.James	<i>Protogospel of James</i>

Scribes and Rubricators

There are two main scribes of the Green *Speculum*. One of them completed the body of the text, and the other wrote down the excerpt from the *Vita Rhythmica* and the prayer to the Virgin. This second scribe follows closely after the first in terms of chronology, using a similar, but not identical, hand and system of abbreviations. As the manuscript was housed in a Cistercian monastery for centuries, it is likely that the scribe responsible for the epilogue was a Cistercian monk on location.

The work of both scribes is rubricated. These red flourishes and details were typically added after the completion of the text in black ink, following notes and marks made by the scribes during the writing process. The second scribe makes somewhat large and obvious slanted figures to indicate locations in which he would like the rubricator to add decorations (see the black mark to the left of the rubrication in **Fig. 9**). The scribe of the main text, in contrast, uses very subtle markings to designate the location of his rubrications, just a pair of light dashes (**Fig. 10**). Perhaps he himself was the rubricator—the marks are subtle because they are only small notes to himself, not larger designations for a person coming fresh to the text, as is the case with the second rubricator.



(left) Fig.9: Detail of rubrication and marker, folio 52v, column b; (right) Fig. 10: Detail of rubrication and marker, folio 6v, column a

Between the illustration and text of the column beginning each chapter is a rubricated heading (written by the main scribe) that designates the chapter number; at the beginning of the proem, the main body, the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, and the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin, these headings also state that the respective section is about to begin. Chapter Seven, for instance, begins with the heading “Capl'm ·vii·” (*Capitulum Septem*; Chapter Seven), and Chapter 45 begins with the heading “Capl'm ·xlv^m· scilz de ·vii· gaudiis bē v'gīs” (*Capitulum quadragesimum et quintum—scilicet de septem gaudiis beate*³⁵ *virginis*; forty-fifth Chapter—namely concerning the seven joys of the blessed virgin). Chapters 1 through 5 have the abbreviated designations of *primum*, *secundum*, *tertiam*, *quartum*, and *quintum*; after this, all other chapter headings in the *Speculum* proper are listed with Roman numerals. Chapter 43, on the Passion, has headings that are listed according to the canonical hours, with the exception of the first column of f46v, which reads *capitulum xliii* and depicts Christ bearing the cross and

³⁵ By the time of the Green *Speculum*'s production, the Latin ending *-ae* had been reduced to a single *-e*.

being seen by the recluse. The chapter headings for the Seven Joys and Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin are listed cardinally and are respectively marked *tristitia* or *gaudium beate virginis*.

Decoration, Illustration, and Color

The opening letter of each line is decorated, vertically dashed-through with a line of red ink. The main scribe uses a Gothic textura book hand with a miniscule script, although he retains some features characteristic of a proto-Gothic style, such as a frequent use of abbreviations.

The illustrations that form the top of each column in the main body correspond in content to the text beneath. They are in simple line work, drawn in a black ink. Figures in these miniatures are occasionally identified in a more casual cursive handwriting than the book hand used to write the body of the text.³⁶ Skillful, albeit speedily-applied, grey washes give the illustrations some tonal variety. These were most likely applied by the artist using a watered-down version of his black ink; they cohere nicely with the original line work. For the most part, the illuminations are achromatic, although a somewhat crude attempt was made at coloring folios in early parts of the text. The only colors that appear are a red, a green, a reddish-brown, a yellow-brown, and a peach wash on the skin of some of the figures (**See Fig. 5**).

³⁶ These labels are presumably still attributable to the artist; a more thorough discussion concerning the author and form of this script follow later in the chapter.



(Fig. 5: The Temptation of Eve, Folio 5R, Column B)

These attempts at coloring are almost certainly the work of a later monk rather than the original illustrator; the primary artist displays a far more sophisticated execution of skill. The application of color starts on folio four, with the Fall of Lucifer, diminishes throughout the next few pages, and eventually vanishes around folio seven, with the scene of Balaam and the Ass. Red is the exception to this rule—red details appear over the artist's work throughout the manuscript, perhaps applied afterwards by the rubricator, already working in red, instead of the later monk. There are also a number of yellow-brown smears on various miniatures in parts of the text that otherwise have no brown coloring. This could indicate that this particular brown color was a watered-down version of one of the black inks used throughout the manuscript; when the ink spilled, the scribe would dilute the ink spot and dab it off, resulting in a smear.

Another eccentricity of the Green *Speculum*'s illumination is a bizarre double-dotting of various eyes throughout the work that follows little, if any, discernible pattern. Holy figures, it appears, never have their eyes dotted twice—it seems to be restricted to the “less saintly” humans, like Adam or Balaam. Sometimes, only one eye per figure has been marked over, leaving one extremely large, often badly-placed dark pupil and one thin, light pupil in the correct location (See Fig. 8).



Fig 8: Joseph in the Well (Detail of one of his brothers), Folio 31R, Column A

It is also feasible that the blotted pupils resulted from a small mistake on the part of the artist. Although skilled, he does not seem to have taken extreme care in drawing each image. There are places where his line work becomes darker in the process of drawing a figure, either due to having more ink on his quill than usual or taking more time than average to complete the line.³⁷

³⁷ Dragging an inked quill across a page more slowly will give a thicker, darker line. Moving it more quickly will result in a thinner, lighter one.

Correctors

There are two demonstrably different styles of correction found in the Green *Speculum*, each likely implemented by a different contributor. The majority of corrections are found written in a distinctly messy hand, using an ink that is noticeably darker than that of the main or secondary scribe (but that is consistent in tone with the double-dotted eyes); this forms a reasonable basis on which to assume the involvement of a separate monk whose contribution was limited to these corrections. In Ch. 27, f31r, column A, we see an instance of a botched correction and re-dotted eyes (see **Fig. 8** for the eyes and **Fig. 13** for the correction).

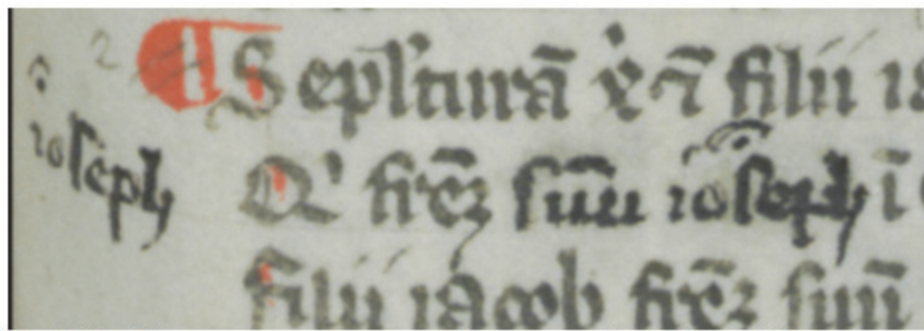


Fig. 13: Detail of a correction and a correction to the correction, chapter 27, folio 31R, column a

One of each of the flanking figures' eyes has been re-dotted with a dark black ink that matches a sequence of corrections lower down in the text. It looks as though the original scribe made a mistake, and the dark-ink corrector scraped away the existing ink and wrote in his correction. The modified words are intended to read "*suum ioseph*", but this has been somewhat obfuscated by the untidiness of the final letter of "*ioseph*". And so, the corrector has made a mark that looks not unlike a fermata over the word. This marking functions as a medieval sort of asterisk and directs the reader back to the margin,

where a neater version of “*iospeh*” is written out.³⁸ The dark-ink corrector uses this method of notation throughout the work, as well as other corrections written over text he has scraped away, and in the form of small marks in the midst of the original text.

Provenance

Stift Stams

The Green *Speculum* was made as a gift to the monastery of St. John at Stams. Better known by the German name of Stift Stams, this Cistercian abbey is located in Tyrol, Austria. It was built in the 13th century, when the monastic complex must have looked much different than it does today, having been redone in the baroque style in the 18th century. The monastery was founded in 1273 by Count Meinhard II of Tyrol-Görz and Elisabeth of Wittelsbach. Although Meinhard furnished the property for the monastery itself as well as few adjoining farms, much of the abbey's property outside the monastery proper was contributed by the nearby parishes of Silz and Mais.³⁹

Stift Stams has a close connection with the royal family, as it commonly served as their place of burial. When Meinhard built the monastery, he certainly had this in mind—twelve members of the family were transferred to Stift Stams upon its completion in 1284 from their original graves at Castle Tyrol. Köpf records, however, that Elizabeth had a

³⁸ It looks slanted in the image provided because the corrector wrote the second “*ioseph*” very close to the binding.

³⁹ Köpf, Ulrich. “Zisterziensische Spiritualität in Tirol: Die Anfänge von Stift Stams.” Ed., Loose, Rainer. (Von der Via Claudia Augusta zum Oberen Weg: Leben an Etsch und Inn ; Westtirol und angrenzende Räume von der Vorzeit bis heute ; Vorträge der landeskundlichen Tagung veranstaltet vom Verein Via Claudia Augusta Tirol, Landeck und dem Südtiroler Kulturinstitut, Bozen; Landeck, June 16-18, 2005) 188.

different motivation; in her previous marriage with Konrad IV of Germany, Elizabeth bore a son, Konradin, who became the Duke of Swabia at a very young age. Early on in his life he also claimed to be the rightful inheritor of the kingdom of Sicily and the kingship of Jerusalem.⁴⁰ The rule of Sicily, however, was usurped by his uncle Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick II, who in 1266 was killed by Charles of Anjou at the Battle of Benevento. Following Manfred's death, Konradin was invited by the antipapal Ghibellines to seize the rule of Sicily from Charles.

After a very enthusiastic reception by the Italians and number of sweeping victories in major Italian cities, he was excommunicated by Pope Clement IV. However, on August 23rd, Konradin was defeated by Charles at Tagliacozza, and sent to Rome. As one might imagine, the pro-papal political establishment did not take kindly to Konradin's actions, and he was beheaded for treason against king and church in the public marketplace on October 29, 1268. He was only sixteen. Grief-stricken, Elizabeth wanted Stift Stams to be built as a memorial for the death of her son. During the Baroque remodeling in 1755, this connection between Stift Stams' founding and Konradin's death was commemorated by an inscription on the ceiling, reading "MORS KONRADINI VITA STAMSII," [The death of Konradin is the life of Stams].⁴¹

The general chapter of Cistercian abbots at Lützel decided that Stift Stams was to be a subsidiary of the Kaisheim Abbey, located in Bavarian Swabia.⁴² Scholars are not entirely sure why the general chapter selected Kaisheim as the parent monastery of Stams;

⁴⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Konradin," accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/133225/Konradin>

⁴¹ Köpf, "Zisterziensische Spiritualität in Tirol: Die Anfänge von Stift Stams" 180.

⁴² *ibid.*, 181.

Meinhard seems to have had no connection with Kaishem at all. Konradin, on the other hand, as the Duke of Swabia during his lifetime, and had business connections with Kaishem; he mentions the abbey in his will, along with several other monasteries in the region.

As to Meinhard and Elizabeth's choice of Stams as the location of the new monastery, scholars do not have a satisfactory explanation. Köpf points out that the shift of the burial place of Tyrolian princes represents a shift in power away from Merano, where Castle Tyrol is located. Stams is a more central location in the region of Tyrol, and Meinhard may have selected this previously obscure area from political motives that remain unknown to us.

It is interesting that Elizabeth and Meinhard chose to found a Cistercian complex, as monasteries of this order are few and far between in the Alps; there are no Cistercian monasteries in the Swiss Alps at all. Stams is a somewhat late addition in terms of the Cistercian monasteries in this region; most were founded in the 12th century.⁴³

Despite the order's relative rarity in the Alps, in most German-speaking areas the Cistercians enjoyed a great deal of popularity one hundred years previous. By the time Meinhard and Elizabeth made the decision to build, the Cistercians were an established and well-respected religious order. Likely their decision to select a Cistercian model was influenced by the actions of Elizabeth's younger brother, Ludwig II, who—in order to atone for a great deal of bloodshed during political turmoil—donated a large sum of money to the Cistercian monastery that found its eventual home in Fürstenfeld.

⁴³ *ibid.* 186.

Whatever the reason for Meinhard and Elizabeth's choice of a Cistercian monastery, the result was that Stift Stams became a part of a larger European monastic community of Cistercians with spiritual and theological unity; this stands in contrast to the earlier Benedictine models, which existed as isolated and autonomous units. Stift Stams' relations with other monasteries are apparent in the content of its library, much of which was furnished by its parent abbey at Kaishem.⁴⁴ In its earliest catalogue of books, taken in 1341, Stift Stams possessed a large collection of the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who was one of the most influential figures in the founding of the Cistercian order. This catalogue dates approximately forty year prior to Stift Stams acquisition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, which I will address below.

Dedication

One of the folios of the Green *Speculum*—preceding the proem, later appropriated as a title page—contains a dedication which reads:

*Istum librum dedit monasterio sanctus Johannis
in Stams. Magister Chuonradus pictor
ducis Leopoldi pro signo specialis amicie.*

Master Konrad, the painter of Duke Leopold,
as a sign of his special friendship, gave this
book to the monastery of St. John in Stams.

To the side of the inscription above is written out by a different (by likely temporally similar) scribe in a light brown—possibly faded iron gall—ink, “*anno domini m ccc lxxx*”. This indicates that the year of the manuscript's donation to the monastery was 1380 or sometime within that decade, as there is extra space in the box which could

⁴⁴ Köpf, “Zisterziensische Spiritualität in Tirol: Die Anfänge von Stift Stams” 187.

conceivably have contained other numerals. We can identify the particular “*dux Leopoldus*” mentioned in the dedication as the Habsburg duke Leopold III of Austria, who was in control of Tyrol during the time that this manuscript was produced. Duke Leopold III (1351 - 1386) would have donated this manuscript to the monastery at the end of his life.⁴⁵ He died young in a battle with the Swiss Confederation, in which his knights were badly defeated.⁴⁶

Some Relevant Habsburg History

There was a good deal of strife within the house of Habsburg at the time of Leopold's rule. His older brother, Duke Rudolph III was in charge of the administration of the whole government before his premature death, at which time the rule was split between Leopold and his brother Albrecht III. As Albrecht was older, he took over the job of governing while Leopold administered Tyrol and the Swabian territories. Leopold eventually grew discontent with his share and demanded more power from Albrecht. Some initial compromises were made which ultimately not satisfactory. Thus, the two brothers met in the Cistercian abbey of Neuberg an der Mürz in 1379 for the purpose of

⁴⁵ I have interpreted the *specialis amicitia* in the dedication to be on the part of Duke Leopold rather than Master Konrad. Thus, I have interpreted that it was Duke Leopold that instigated the production and donation of the Green *Speculum* to Stift Stams. This is why I write that Duke Leopold “donated” the manuscript to the monastery. I have adopted this as my primary interpretation because of the close familial connection that Duke Leopold had to Stift Stams. However, the reader should understand that this interpretation is not the only option. One could conceptualize of the whole situation differently. Perhaps Konrad was donating this illuminated manuscript to the monastery on his own, or as a result of a commission. He might only be stating “*pictor ducis Leopoldi*” as part of his own formal title, or he might have been trying to use his job experience to boost his qualifications for another commission from the monastery. Konrad's career is discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. Bear the possible interpretations of the dedication in mind as you read it.

⁴⁶ Gruber, Steven. "Leopold III, 'the Just' ." accessed Oct. 29, 2012, www.habsburger.net/en/persons/habsburg-emperor/leopold-iii-just

coming to terms agreeable to both parties.⁴⁷ It seems from this encounter that the Leopold and the rest of the Habsburgs had a special connection to the Cistercians, as they were buried in Stift Stams and chose to meet at Neuberg an der Mürz to resolve their differences. This diplomatic encounter was successful—can we assume it was thanks to the Cistercians who might have been overlooking the affair? –and the brothers reached a treaty. Albrecht would control the lands on the Danube and Leopold became ruler of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Tyrol, and the Swabian domains. This dual stratification of power was held intact for the next hundred years. I will return to the significance of this conflict later on in the chapter.

Magister Chuonradus, Pictor

Identification

The illuminator of the Green *Speculum* simply refers to himself as “*Magister chonradus pictor ducis Leopoldi*”, or “Master Konrad, the painter of Duke Leopold.” Scholars have identified this “Master Konrad” with a man referred to as Konrad vom Tiergarten or Corrado da Merano, who was a court painter in Merano in the fourteenth century. Irma Trattner and Dr. Jörn Günther (the Antiquarian from whom the Greens acquired this manuscript) have both made this connection.⁴⁸ From the historical context surrounding the dedication of the Green *Speculum*, it is not too radical of an inductive

⁴⁸ Trattner, “Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol”, 298-310.

leap. Because Konrad was the painter to Duke Leopold III, the ruler of Tyrol, we know that he spent his time in Merano, where Castle Tyrol is located; we also know that the historical figure Konrad vom Tiergarten was a court painter in Merano during this period. It does not, therefore, seem unlikely that the “Master Konrad” of the Green *Speculum*'s dedication and Konrad vom Tiergarten are one in the same.

The Stams Coronation Altarpiece

This connection is strengthened all the more in light of Trattner's article, “*Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol. Ihre Stellung zwischen Süd und Nord.*”⁴⁹ In this article, she argues that this same Konrad vom Tiergarten (1350-1406⁵⁰) is the painter responsible for the central panel of the altarpiece at Stift Stams, the subject of which is the Coronation of the Virgin Mary (See Fig. 15)⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Trattner, “Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol”, 298-310.

⁵⁰ It is usually held that Konrad's artistic activity ended in 1406. However, Trattner mentions that since his son is recorded as inheriting his property in 1427, this is not likely to be the case, and Konrad's career as court painter probably lasted longer than originally assumed.

⁵¹ Image taken from Trattner, “Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol”, 300.



Fig.15: The Coronation of Mary, from around 1390, Konrad vom Tiergarten, from the central panel of a winged altar, Stiftsammlung Stams, in Tyrol

The artist of the panel was sometimes thought to be Abbot Heinrich Grussit, who was a sculptor and a painter himself. A necrologium from Stift Stams mentions Abbot Grussit with reference to an altarpiece, which he completed shortly before his death in 1387.⁵² The work is even referred to as the Grussit Panel on occasion. However, Trattner convincingly refutes this assumption in the aforementioned article, favoring instead the “*Magister Chonradus*” of the Green *Speculum*, whom she names as Konrad vom Tiergarten.

An identification of this master craftsman, Konrad vom Tiergarten with the Green *Speculum*’s Master Konrad explains a number of questions about the logic behind the respective commissions of the Coronation altarpiece and the *Speculum humane salvationis*. Another entry from the Stams necrologium mentions the master craftsman and painter Konrad vom Tiergarten, saying that he completed the “*tabula ad publicum altare*” and delivered it to Stams in the late fourteenth century. The Coronation panel dates to somewhere around 1390, within a decade of the production of the Green *Speculum*; we cannot be sure exactly how many years were between the creation of the two works, since the dates surrounding each of them remain ambiguous—recall that the Green *Speculum*’s dedication is dated at 138(?), since the final numeral(s) of the labeling are faded.

If Konrad vom Tiergarten was responsible for both the manuscript and the panel painting, these dates could easily fall into a range in which in the gift of the *Speculum* could serve as the foundation for the commission of the altarpiece. If the brothers in the

⁵² Trattner, “Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol”, 298.

monastery—Abbot Grussit in particular—liked Konrad's rendition of the *Speculum humane salvationis*, then it is more probable that Konrad would receive a more major commission from Stift Stams like the Coronation Altarpiece. It is worth noting that the Green *Speculum* contains two images of Mary's Coronation (a detail whose larger significance in terms of content and meaning I will return to shortly). Perhaps Stift Stams appreciated the way Konrad dealt with this scene and decided to commission him to complete a more developed version of these manuscript miniatures.

Whatever the case, this work is an extraordinary example of Austrian Gothic panel painting, of which there seems to have been very little in the fourteenth century. Scholars have long identified in the Stams Coronation panel elements of style characteristic of Northern Italian painting. This strengthens the case for the artist's identification as Konrad vom Tiergarten, since we know he spent much of his time in Merano as a painter for the Tyrolean Court.

A Genealogy of the Stams Coronation Altarpiece

Trattner gives a very thorough stylistic genealogy of the Stams Coronation panel in her “*Die Marienkrönungstafel*” article,⁵³ which I will not reiterate completely at this time. Suffice it to say that the painting possesses Tuscan as well as Upper Italian influences, with the most pronounced individual influence being the so-called “London Coronation” of Guisto de Menabuoi, made in the year 1367 (See Fig. 18). One needs simply to look at the two panel paintings in order to immediately pick up on the

⁵³ Trattner, “Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol”, 302-9.

similarities in the composition and the treatment of the figures. Konrad was clearly drawing heavily from Menabuoi's earlier work.



Fig. 18: Coronation of Mary, Guisto da Menabuoi, London, National Gallery; image taken from p. 302 of Trattner, "Die Marienkronungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol. Ihre Stellung zwischen Sud und Nord," 302.

Between the two paintings, Christ and the Virgin are wearing almost exactly the same clothing and hold themselves in exactly the same posture. In both cases, the central figures are framed by a winged gothic structure, which shares many of the same architectural elements. The visual analogies are too numerous to discuss completely here.

Now, the similarity of the Green *Speculum's* depictions of the Coronation possess certain similarities to the Stams Coronation, but are certainly not as compositionally connected as the Stams and London altarpieces. The *Speculum's* Christ and Mary figures are in the same positions as their counterparts in the Stams panel painting, although Christ holds a book in the miniatures and a crucifix in the painting. The figures in the illuminations do sit on what appears to be shorthand for gothic architectural elements, although they are not framed by them, as they are in the painting. It is possible that the panel painting and the manuscript are really very similar, but appear quite different to us because of the differences in media and formality. The crowns of the Christ and his mother in the miniatures could certainly be interpreted as simplified or “cartoon” versions of the more detailed crowns of the panel painting. Perhaps in the medieval mind, viewers would have looked at the illuminations and seen a work of equal formality to the Stams altarpiece in their minds.

In addition, the difference between the manuscript illustrations and the panel painting could be accounted for if we considered that Konrad might have gone back to Italy in order to study the examples of earlier artists after making a gift of the *Speculum* and receiving his commission to paint the Stams Coronation. We cannot know for sure, but a common artist-ship still seems likely.

Further Thoughts on Origin

Duke Leopold III and the Commission of the Coronation Altarpiece

Because Stift Stams was the burial place of the Tyrolean princes, it makes sense that Leopold would want to encourage a flowering of the arts there by allowing his court painter to create the central panel of a very important altarpiece. For this same reason, Leopold would have also been inclined to give a “token of his special friendship” to the monks at Stift Stams, in the form of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, as executed by his court painter, Konrad.

We cannot know exactly how much control Duke Leopold III had over the projects that Konrad was involved in, even in the capacity as his court painter. Of course, with the Green *Speculum*, we do know that it was on behalf of Leopold, as a sign of his friendship, that the manuscript was given to Stift Stams. To what extent Leopold was involved with the Coronation altarpiece at Stams, I am not sure. However, we can get a better idea of Leopold’s involvement by considering the Stams altarpiece as a whole (as opposed to only the center panel).

Recall what I wrote earlier about the history between these contentious Hapsburg brothers, Albrecht III and Leopold III. The Coronation scene is flanked by two wings, each depicting one of the dukes of Austria with their respective Austrian and Tyrolean coats of arms. They had some disputes over landholdings, and eventually came to a compromise in the form of a treaty in 1379, the writing of which was overseen by Cistercians. Trattner hypothesizes that the panel painting might have later commissioned

by either Leopold or Albrecht (or both) to solidify the treaty, with Mary in the center as a mediator and a guarantor.⁵⁴

Dating the Green Speculum in Light of Habsburg Politics

If this is the case, it gives us a better idea about dates. If the treaty signed was in 1379 and Leopold was killed in 1386, then we can assume that the altarpiece was commissioned sometime in between these dates. Trattner puts the date of completion and delivery around 1390. However, it seems likely that the *Green Speculum* was given to the monastery before the altarpiece was commissioned, so that the monks and Abbot Grussit would have some idea about the quality of Konrad's work. Thus, the date for the composition of the *Speculum* seems to be somewhere between 1379 and 1386, probably in the earlier 1380's, as the manuscript would have to be commissioned, completed, delivered, and appreciated all before the commission of the peace-making altarpiece, which must have occurred before Leopold's death in 1386.

Perhaps Leopold III's "token of special friendship" was meant, in part, to function as a sample of his court painters work, with more politically charged and elaborate art to follow in the future. Yet, I do not think this would be the only reason that Leopold would commission a work like the *Speculum humane salvationis* as a gift for Stift Stams. I think it also had much to do with the *Speculum's* content, a point which I will discuss at some length below.

⁵⁴ Trattner, "Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol", 303.

Royal Motivation and the Message of Salvation

As I mentioned earlier, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* can be viewed as an epic retelling of the story of man's salvation, structured around and bracketed by episodes in the narrative life of the Virgin. These events begin in *Speculum* with her Immaculate Conception and end with her coronation as the queen of heaven. In fact, the Mary's coronation appears in the Green *Speculum* twice, first as the New Testament type in Chapter 36 (See Fig. 16), and then as the final scene in both the Seven Joys of Mary and the *Speculum* as a whole (See Fig. 17). As the culminating—not to mention repeated—image of a text named “the Mirror of Man's Salvation,” we can extrapolate that the Virgin's coronation represented the high point and the fulfillment of man's salvation in the medieval mind, as Mary, the greatest of the Saints, is allowed to take her place as Queen of Heaven.



Fig. 16: Coronation of the Virgin, Chapter 36, Folio 39V, column a



Fig. 17: Coronation of the Virgin, Chapter 45 (Seven Joys of the Virgin), Folio 52R, column b

Now why would Konrad vom Tiergarten be commissioned to complete so many works for Stift Stams that revolved around this scene? Kimberly Vrudny, in her work *Friars, Scribes, and Corpses: A Marian Confraternal Reading of the Mirror Human Salvation* offers the following explanation.

In medieval thought, one was constantly caught up in a contest between the forces of light and those of darkness; the human soul was always being drawn up to salvation or dragged down into damnation. This helps account for the immense popularity enjoyed by the *Speculum humane salvationis* across several centuries and much of the geographical area of Europe.⁵⁵ The pious of all social ranks and walks of life do what they can to

⁵⁵ Vrudny, *Friars, Scribes, and Corpses*, 4-5.

assure that they have a place in heaven. For the wealthy, this often manifested itself in the form of gifts to monasteries in (sometimes unspoken) exchange for prayer on behalf of their immortal souls. Thus, it makes quite good sense that Duke Leopold III would have his court painter employed in the service of the very monastery that was to become his tomb.

Like many royals at the time, Leopold lived a life caught in conflict with other nobles over land disputes and the like; perhaps he remembered the example of Konradin, his predecessor in the rule of Swabia, who was executed at the age of sixteen, and whose death becomes the life of Stift Stams (as the baroque inscription has it). Perhaps this memory prompted Leopold to do what he could to make sure that the Cistercians at Stams offered up prayers for him during his life, but more importantly, after his death, as his soul made the harrowing climb through Purgatory up to more celestial realms.

Therefore, his choice of an illustrated text that monks would read to understand the out-working of man's salvation was a smart spiritual move, especially if his intention was to motivate the monks and the visitors to Stift Stams to say a prayer for his immortal soul.

The first appearance of the Coronation of the Virgin is found in Chapter 36 of the Green *Speculum*. As I mentioned earlier, the Coronation serves as the type which the three antitypes retroactively mirror in the next three columns of the chapter. Interestingly enough, the type heading up chapter 37 is an image of the Virgin interceding alongside Dominic and Francis. Perhaps the order of Chapters 36 and 37—especially in light of the fact the *Speculum humane salvationis* has a narrative structure which follows the life of the Virgin—is drawing a clear connection between the Coronation of the Virgin and the

reality and efficacy of intercessory prayer in light of that event. By the fifteenth century, the Coronation was a popular scene which all level of a medieval audience would have been familiar with.⁵⁶ As the order of the *Speculum* chapters suggest, this is largely because of her role as a compassionate mediator. With the same sincerity that she first accepted her son, so her son now welcomes her back into heaven. Thus, she was worthy of all the more focus and adoration as the holy mother of God, first among the saints, a compassionate mediator at the right hand of Christ, constantly using her intimate relationship with her son to intercede on the behalf of the world.

With these considerations in mind, Leopold seems to have made a logical choice in his selection of the both *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the Coronation altarpiece as gifts for the monastery in which he would be buried.

Chapter Summary

To clarify and unite the diverse subject matter covered in this first chapter, I will look at back at some of the basic information established here.

Provenance. The Green *Speculum*, MS.GC.000321, is one of nearly four hundred copies of a work called the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, a phenomenally popular text that experienced distribution all over Western Europe. The manuscript fits into Group Two of Breitenbach's *SHS* iconography-based categorization system, confirming the manuscript's provenance in the fourteenth century, from a German-speaking region.

⁵⁶ Trattner, "Die Marienkrönungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol", 298-310.

Content. The text is in Latin. In terms of content, the Green edition includes a Proem, a Prologue, a forty-two chapter body, two double-length chapters on the Seven Joys and Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, and a kind of epilogue drawn from another work called the *Vita rhythmica*. One scribe is primarily responsible for the *SHS* text, while the other wrote down the epilogue. The first scribe is likely his own rubricator, while the scribe and the rubricator of the epilogue are distinct persons.

Commission. The Green *Speculum* was commissioned by Duke Leopold III of Austria to be given as a gesture of friendship to the Cistercian Monastery of St. John in Stams. Stift Stams was built by Leopold's ancestors to serve as a burial place for the Tyrolean royals, a fact which likely influenced his decision to offer them the *SHS* as a gift. The Duke chose his court painter Konrad vom Tiergarten to illustrate this manuscript. Master Konrad did this skillfully and simply enough, with technically competent line work and applied grey washes. Konrad's work on the Green *Speculum* here may have resulted in his later being commissioned with the three-part altarpiece for the monastery, perhaps by Duke Leopold or the brothers at Stift Stams (maybe a combination of both). This altarpiece contains the Coronation of Mary as its center panel, a stock subject repeated twice throughout the *SHS*, with great thematic relevance to the message of the book as a whole. Based on the manuscript's recorded date in the thirties and Leopold's death in 1386, we can affirm a date for the Green *SHS* between 1380 and 1386. I conclude the chapter by suggesting that Leopold gave both the *SHS* and the Coronation altarpiece to the monks at Stift Stams as a reminder of the efficacy of intercessory prayer.

CHAPTER TWO

The Fraternal Foundations and Cistercian Applications of the Green *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the larger context of the Green *Speculum humanae salvationis* (MS.GC.000321) in relation to the religious orders surrounding its history, production, and use. Broadly, it will attempt to answer three basic questions about *Speculum humanae salvationis* production and usage: Who might have composed the *Speculum*? Who was its intended audience? How was the work meant to benefit that audience? After this, it will ask and answer two similar questions about the Green *Speculum*: In light of the work's provenance, how was it intended to be used, and how might it have been used?

The Cistercian, Franciscan, and Dominican orders are of central importance in this investigation. Thus, the first part of this chapter will give a brief explanation of their history, values, and special callings in order to provide a foundation on which all other discourse can take place.

About the Cistercian and Fraternal Religious Orders

The Cistercian Order

The Cistercian Order grew up in the eleventh century out of a concern that the monastic life had become too lax and too comfortable, straying in large part from the

austere and devoted life prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict. Prominent abbeys like Cluny had come to disregard significant portions of the rule; the element of manual labor, for example, was largely eliminated. Monks at Cluny dedicated their time and resources to elaborate masses and church decoration, practices that St. Bernard—arguably the most important figure in the foundation of the Cistercian order—found inconsistent with the life of a monk. Abbeys in this period were in a position to become quite wealthy; aristocrats would donate large sums of money or give elaborate gifts in order to atone for their sins, arrange for burial in the monastery, or engage the monks in prayer for their souls. Monastic vows of poverty soon came to mean very little in many communities.

As a result of these and other problems, reform congregations emerged that promoted a strict adherence to the Rule of St. Benedict, emphasis on poverty and manual labor, as well as the selection of locations isolated from towns or villages. The group at Cîteaux (founded c. 1098) was the most cohesive and long-lasting of these reform movements. They soon became the Cistercian Order, lead by the charismatic figure of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Their focus was on living in contemplative isolation, as the Egyptian fathers had done. Cîteaux was often referred to as a 'desert-place' to convey something of its seclusion.⁵⁷ Cistercian monks actively spurned the things of this world by adopting an austere lifestyle that would promote a focus on God. Communities took on no more property, relations, or burdens than absolutely necessary. They largely operated on a self-sustaining agricultural model, with the ideal Cistercian location being a geographically isolated area with little contact with the outside world. Architecturally, the

⁵⁷ Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011) pp. 1-20.

new Order moved away from Clunaic opulence and went for functional, solidly-built abbeys with minimal ornamentation. Similarly, Cistercian liturgy was conducted without flourish and conformed to the regulations laid out by St. Benedict. Silence and stillness were essential components of Cistercian way of life. Like their “quiet” architectural and liturgical spaces, external noise and conversation were kept to a minimum in order to promote internal silence in which the monks were to draw deeper into themselves and further into the divine through meditation.⁵⁸

This new monasticism proved hugely popular. By Bernard's death in 1153, there were three hundred fifty Cistercian monasteries in the surrounding region who had taken up the same commitment to simplicity, silence, and contemplation.⁵⁹

The Franciscan Order

The Franciscans, who emerged half a century later in the early twelve-hundreds, were dedicated to serving the poor. At a time when the ecclesial body had grown opulent and complacent, and monastic orders offered little direct ministry to everyday people, St. Francis of Assisi was called by God in a vision to “repair my church.” Although Francis initially took this imperative literally and began rebuilding local Italian churches, he later reinterpreted the command in light of the suffering poor and the languishing Church body. This small but explosive man jolted the Christian community awake and reminded her of the simplicity of the gospel message—one that had often been stifled by insincere

⁵⁸ Nicki Verploegen, *The Legacy of the Founders*, (Oregon, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011). p. 23-29

⁵⁹ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 41.

ritual and displays of wealth in Francis' time. He adopted a life of voluntary poverty in keeping with the example of Christ and the twelve apostles. Soon, young men and women from the wealthy elite flocked to join Francis in his endeavors to preach the gospel through a life of apostolic poverty. They had a preaching and mission emphasis, and took their ministry directly into the city.

A Franciscan was not allowed to have any earthly possessions except his tunic, which was to be made of a rough and uncomfortable material. This initially excluded even books, a thought that might run directly against Dominican sensibilities. St. Francis tended to take a very literal and simple reading of the Gospels, one which was drawn to the humanity of Christ, the circumstances of his earthly life, and a concern with his sufferings. Franciscan spirituality had the effect of returning to the poor and uneducated layperson the ability to draw near to Christ alongside the “spiritually elite” clergy.⁶⁰

As the Franciscans grew in number over the next several decades, they began to require organization. St. Francis himself had taken a number of preliminary steps to organize his rapidly increasing band of “*fratres minores*” (“little brothers”), though these tended to be very simple and anti-hierarchical. Even to his death Francis insisted on the absolute poverty of the Order that precluded all possessions, which, though attainable by the original small group of brothers, was not possible on a larger scale. How would the friars be able to preach and administer the sacraments without a meeting place? How could new friars be educated and trained to preach without a place to study or books to study from? Donations from the laity, though generous, were not reliable enough to give

⁶⁰ Clifford Hugh Lawrence, Chapter 2, “Saint Francis of Assisi and the Origins of the Friars Minor,” from *The Friars: the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, (Longman, 1994). p. 33

the Franciscans organizational stability. Francis' initial vision of absolute poverty seemed not to be possible on a large scale, although there were those on both sides of a debate that created conflict within the Order for centuries. Many well-meaning brothers after Francis' death came up with organizational schemes to fix problems of conscience or devotion posed by deviation from the original ideals of the founder. Pope Gregory IX, through a series of documents in the 1230s and 40s established that Franciscans could have a *nunitus* or a 'spiritual friend' who would clothe the brothers, take care of them in illness, and provide the necessary dwellings and books for the training and ministry of the Order. Lawrence argues that the “subsequent dilution” of Francis' ideal was not a betrayal, but a necessary step for the foundation and continuation of a world-wide order that would preserve the meat of their founder's teaching.⁶¹

The Dominican Order

The Dominicans are in many ways similar to the Franciscans. Both are mendicant orders, a terms which comes from the Latin *mendicans*, meaning “begging.” According to a set of chapter laws from 1216, Dominicans were not allowed to accept any gifts, save food and books. This regulation gives one a sense for just how central good theological training was to the Dominican mission, as this Order too was called to spurn all material goods except those that were absolutely necessary.

Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans operated from within the city. Unlike the Cistercians who were called to contemplative isolation, the mendicants sought out

⁶¹ Lawrence. Chapter 2, “Saint Francis of Assisi and the Origins of the Friars Minor,” from *The Friars*, p. 26-42. Quote from p. 29.

large groups of people to care for and evangelize, as they were first and foremost missional orders. The special call of the Dominican order was to act as a force of educated and trained preachers to assist the Church in teaching the laity and engage in the refutation of heresies. Their lives were centered around study of the Scriptures, giving a strong theological foundation to preach truth to the many. In fact, teaching was so important a component of the Dominican vocation that they are formally called the Order of Preachers.⁶²

Central to the Dominican calling is both the contemplative life spent in study and the active mission of evangelizing. These exist in a natural state of conflict, as one cannot preach and study at the same time. The Church also exists within this tension, as she is “eager to act and yet devoted to contemplation” (Vatican II, SL 2).⁶³ A thriving internal and intellectual life makes for better preaching; the tension arises only out of a concern for time and could not be called a conflict of interest, as the pursuit of one thing will enrich the other.

In the first century of the Dominican order's mission (1215-1303), the Order saw the formation of its school system, the flourishing of its reputation for scholarship, and the efficacy and growth of its ministry through leaders who were clearly attuned to the Spirit. Dominican friars became preachers, teacher, confessors, scholars, and evangelists, living out their calling as academic missionaries.⁶⁴

⁶² William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: Society of St. Paul, 1975), 3-14.

⁶³ Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 14.

⁶⁴ Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 44.

Historically, there has been some conflict between the two mendicant orders. They were often in competition for new initiates as their vocations were so similar. Franciscans were called to follow Christ the Poor Man who preached the Gospel, while Dominicans were to emulate Christ the Preacher who was poor. From these conflicts, however, ultimately sprung up feelings of love and mutual respect. It became tradition for Franciscans to perform the liturgy on the Feast of St. Dominic, and vice-versa.⁶⁵

Who Wrote the Speculum Humanae Salvationis?

Requisite Education

It is quite certain that the author of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was a cleric, as the extra-biblical sources referenced in the work would likely not have been accessible to a lay person.⁶⁶ He displays a command of the mnemonic devices of rhyme, visual symbol, and repetition. This shows an advanced training in the rhetorical arts essential to one in a clerical position—monk and preacher alike.⁶⁷ Only a cleric would have thought to create the didactic chimera that is the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, whose scope includes an orthodox account of man's salvation through Christ, expounds

⁶⁵ Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 41.

⁶⁶ These include Peter Comester's *Historica Scholastica*, the *Cronica Martiniana*, *Legenda Sanctorum*, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri IX*, the *Summa Theologica*, and others. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Mulhouse/Leipzig, 1907-9. pp. 245-9.

⁶⁷ F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966.

on the status of the Virgin, considers contemporary accounts of vice and virtue, and organizes the text in terms of traditional exegetical methods.⁶⁸

Scholarly Consensus

Although there are some dissenters, most scholars conclude that the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written by a Dominican in 1324. There are a number of factors that make the argument for Dominican authorship a likely one, and many attempts have been made to link the author with one famous Dominican or another. With the release of his translation of the *Speculum* in 1449, Jean Mielot makes the assertion that Vincent of Beauvais, a great Dominican scholar, composed the work sometimes between 1256 and 1264.⁶⁹ Lutz and Perdrizet disagree with Mielot, although they think that claims made this far away from the date of the *Speculum's* creation testify to an aural tradition of Dominican authorship.

The Argument for Dominican Authorship

The fourteenth century was a great century for Dominicans; it was soon enough after the Order's founding that its members still retained much of the fire that accompanies new conversion, as well as having enough time to become firmly established. It was at this time that Pope John XXII made the following comment: "Endowed above other Orders with a richer grace of service, the Order of the Preachers

⁶⁸ Silber, "The Italian Connection", 44.

⁶⁹ Lutz and Perdrizet, 245-6.

radiates a greater clarity.”⁷⁰ Many copies of the *Speculum* were produced in Dominican houses, and a number of manuscripts approach the Madonna of Misericordia subject by depicting several Dominican brothers sheltered under Mary’s cloak. Additionally, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin begin in Ch. 44 with the image of a Dominican friar with his hands pierced by nails and his side by a sword. Most scholars do not find these reasons alone convincing, and they commonly cited four important textual details in defense of Dominican authorship.⁷¹

The first is the use of the phrase '*o fratres*,' (ch. 19, l. 10) , or '*o fratres carissimi*' (Ch. 26, l. 29); however, the term '*frates*' could have just as easily applied to Franciscans as it could to the Dominicans, and the usage indicates the author was likely part of one of the two famous mendicant orders.

The second argument for Dominican authorship concerns the mentions of recent saints in the text. There are four near-contemporary saints mentioned in the *Speculum*: Saints Dominic and Francis (Ch. 37, ll. 37-46), Saint Peter Martyr (Ch. 41, l. 60) , and Saint Thomas Aquinas (Ch. 42, l. 60). Of these saints, three are Dominican. Aquinas was only canonized in 1323, and thus, is much more likely to be mentioned so early on in his own Dominican circles. St. Francis and St. Dominic are mentioned in the context of a Dominican's vision in Ch. 37. The very presence of this vision in the text of the *Speculum* is the third argument scholars put forth in favor of Dominican authorship. The source material for the vision in Ch. 37 is taken from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine

⁷⁰ Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans*, 59.

⁷¹ Kimberly J. Vrudny. *Friars, scribes, and corpses: a Marian Confraternal Reading of the Mirror of human salvation* (*Speculum humanae salvationis*). (Peeters: Paris, 2010). 8-9.

(1260); Jacobus tells the story in detail (excerpt given in the footnote), identifying the Dominican referenced in the *Speculum* as St. Dominic himself.⁷²

The fourth argument for Dominican authorship has to do with the doctrine surrounding the conception of Virgin Mary. In Ch. 3, her annunciation to Joachim is described using the phrase “*sanctificatio in utero*” (l. 63). The view expressed in the *Speculum* seems to hold squarely with the maculist perspective—held by most Dominicans, including Thomas Aquinas—that states that Mary was conceived with the stain of sin, but sanctified in St. Anne's womb before her birth. Lutz and Perdrizet, along with many others, see this as evidence that the author of the *Speculum* was asserting Dominican doctrine over the Franciscan belief in the Immaculate Conception.⁷³

Some Opposition to this Argument

H. M. Thomas, however, holds that this view presupposes too simple an account of Mary's conception as understood by the two mendicant orders. Their views are not as polarized as Lutz and Perdrizet's assertion assumes. Although Franciscans affirmed the

⁷² “... cum beatus Dominicus Romae pro confirmatione sui ordinis apud papam instaret, nocte orans vidit in spiritu Christum in aere existentem et tres lanceas in manu tenentem et contra mundum eas vibrantem. Cui velociter mater occurrens, quidnam vellet facere, inquisivit. Et ille: ecce totus mundus tribus vitiis plenus est, scilicet superbia, concupiscentia, avaritia, et ideo his tribus lanceis ipsum volo perimere. Tunc virgo ad ejus genua procidens ait: fili carissime, miserere et tuam justitiam miser

icordia tempera. Cui Christus: nonne vides, quanta mihi iniuria irrogantur? Cui illa: tempera, fili, furorem et paulisper exspecta, habeo enim fidelem servum et pugilem strenuum, qui ubique discurrens mundum expugnabit et tuo domino subjugabit. Alim quoque servum sibi adiutorium dabo, qui secum fideliter decertabit. Cui filius: ecce placatus faciem tuam suscepi, sed vellem ego videre, quos vis ad tantum iudicium destinare. Tunc illa Christo sanctum Dominicum praesentavit. Cui Christus: vere bonus et strenuus pugil iste et studiose faciet, quae dixisti. Obtulit etiam sanctum Franciscum et hunc Christus sicut et primum pariter commendavit.”

Jacobus de Voragine, “De Sancto Dominico”, from the *Legenda Aurea*, edited by Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, 1846. 470.

⁷³ Lutz and Perdrizet, 245-8.

doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it was still acceptable for Ubertino da Casale, an important Franciscan author, to write in 1305 in the *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae*, “*Iesus faber viginens . . . eam sanctificatam in utero matris; et ante fuisse sanctificatam quam natam.*”⁷⁴ Thomas also takes issue with the idea that the inclusion of Dominican saints presupposes a Dominican authorship, referencing Dante's treatment of Saints Dominic, Francis, and Aquinas in the *Divine Comedy*.

Thomas argues that Franciscan views were at least as present as Dominican ones. He sees the author's highest goal as a life lived out in poverty and humility (Ch. 37, ll. 25-26).⁷⁵ A detailed argument is also presented concerning the thirteenth and fourteenth century controversy surrounding the apostolic poverty as it pertains to the office of the procurator (the official overseer of the goods *used* but not *owned* by Franciscan monks), established by the papal bull *Quanto Studiosus* in 1247.⁷⁶ Thomas sees the use of the term “procurator” in the *Speculum*'s chapter on the Betrayal as social criticism, harkening back to this debate on the logistics of Franciscans apostolic poverty.

Some Opposition to this Opposition

Silber presents Thomas' argument on the topic and convincingly refutes it, saying (among other things) that “procurator” is not used in such a narrow sense as Thomas proposes, and by 1324 the specific Franciscan meaning would have been somewhat

⁷⁴ Ubertino da Casale, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae*, I, vi, as cited by Silber, “The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,” p. 45, citing Thomas, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 52, 1970, p. 205, n. 24.

⁷⁵ “*Quidam voluit esse pauperes, sed sine defectu, / Quidam voluit esse humiliter, sed sine despectu.*”

⁷⁶ H. M. Thomas, “Lo *Speculum humanae salvationis* e l'idea occidentale della Rendsione”, from *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 56, 1974, pp. 379-95; also, Thomas, “Hielsspiegel und Gottesschau; Zur chronologischen Einordnung der *Speculum humanae salvationis* nach der historischen Kontroverse über die ‘Visio beatifica,’” *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 22, 1975, pp. 157-69.

outmoded.⁷⁷ She also takes issue with Thomas' assertion that Dante's use of several of the same Dominican saints as the *Speculum* diminishes the likelihood of a Dominican authorship. Dante—very appropriately, given the subject matter—brings in contemporary and near-contemporary figures from all walks of life; his purpose is to be broad. Thus, his use of the not-yet-canonized Aquinas in addition to Saints Dominic and Francis signifies very little about the probability or improbability of a non-Dominican author incorporating Dominicans into their work.

Although there are scholars like H. M. Thomas who present opposing opinions, most conclude that a Dominican is responsible for the composition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. From listening to both sides of the debate, however, it is possible to get some idea of the influence of Franciscan thought on the text and to realize that the author did not wish to be partisan. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* still appears to be a text heavily and primarily influenced by Dominican thought, if not one composed by a Dominican.

Intended Readership and Use of the SHS

For Teachers, By Teachers

Even if one contests the theory that the author of the *Speculum* is a Dominican, very few question the idea that the work was written by a cleric. It is written in a largely didactic style and intended for a didactic purpose. It not only serves to summarize the Old and New Testaments—the *Speculum* shows how the lives of Christ and his mother are

⁷⁷ See Silber, “The Italian Connection”, pp. 45-48 for the entire refutation.

foreshadowed in Old Testament and deuterocanonical passages. It also serves to inform the reader about less lofty, but still very important Christian ideas, such as teachings on the inferiority of women (Ch. 1, ll. 25-50), marriage as opposed to virginity (2.5-50), the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (9.12-70), the cardinal virtues (10. 50-1), the seven works of mercy (10.60-4), and the sacrament of Baptism (12. 15-34). Such matters would be important for those attempting to instruct and clarify Church doctrine as well as the process of living out the Christian life for lay people or students. You might say that the *Speculum* was written for clerics by clerics; it is intended to instruct those who teach and preach. The work's heavily mnemonic execution shows that the *Speculum* was intended to be memorized and internalized by those completing their training as future teachers and preachers.

For Preachers, By Preachers

The fraternal context is highlighted by the instances of '*O frates carissimi*'. The Dominican and Franciscan orders were founded to preach to the lay people and minister to those in the city. The Dominicans were conceptualized as the Order of the Preachers at their founding. One would be hard-pressed to imagine a text more useful than the *Speculum humanae salvationis* for showing a new Dominican (or Franciscan) what and how to teach the laity. The *Speculum* would equip the friars with an easy-access mnemonic for orthodox teaching on vices and virtues, a strong typological kit that could be used on its own or the foundation for further exegesis, and a thorough explanation and sweep of man's salvation history.

The Need for Lay Catechesis and the Mission of the SHS

It is important not to underestimate the need for good preachers at this time in history. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was composed in an age when the Church body largely lacked catechesis. If a homily was given at mass, it was most likely one that did not contain a great deal of substance. It was not expected that a layperson (or even a cleric) would have an understanding of the Christian narrative. Even if he or she could comprehend the Latin in which the lections were read, a layperson at this time would not necessarily understand how the passages related to each other. The emphasis at mass was generally on liturgy and the administration of the Eucharist, and although these are important focuses, Christians in this age were surprisingly ignorant of the basic gospel message underlying the action of the mass. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written to address this need. The work gives its reader these three fundamental tools: (1) a narrative knowledge of the core gospel message (in other words, the “good news” of man's salvation), (2) a solid method for interpreting and relating the Scriptures (both Old and New), and (3) advice for living out the Christian life (especially in relation to the previous two categories). The *Speculum* is complicated enough as a text that it probably was not ordinarily preached from directly—as was the *Biblia Pauperum* with its detailed illustrations— but friars would have memorized and used its content in homilies to educate the laity.

A Wider Audience

Although the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was clearly intended for use in a fraternal environment, its valuable message and concise method of communicating it

helped make the *Speculum* one of the most widely circulated books of the Middle Ages. It seems to have been of use, directly or indirectly, to people in every station and walk of life. Through the mendicants, the *Speculum's* message and method were employed to teach the poor in urban environments. It later finds its way into blockbooks, onto the stained glass windows at Mulhouse, and art of many other kinds, in addition to exerting influence on many of the literary works of the period.⁷⁸

The Production and Usage of the Green SHS

From Monarch to Layman to Monk (and to Layman again)

The origin of the Green *Speculum* provides an excellent example of the breadth of influence and prestige enjoyed by the work approximately fifty years after its creation. It must have been notable enough to engage the attention and intention of so royal a figure as Duke Leopold III of Austria, who commissioned his court painter Konrad vom Tiergarten to illustrate a copy of the *Speculum* for the Cistercian community at Stift Stams, in Tyrol. The Duke would naturally have been interested in giving an excellent sort of gift to Stift Stams, the monastery in which he would later be buried. It would have been of great importance to Leopold to be remembered and appreciated at Stift Stams, as these would be the monks offering up prayers for his immortal soul during and after his mortal life. He must have both known about the *Speculum*, or been advised concerning it, and then found the work to be a suitable gift for such an important purpose.

⁷⁸

The *Concordia Caritatis*, by Ulrich of Lilienfeld, for example.

Also of interest is the fact that Konrad, who was in all probability a layperson, was chosen to produce large parts the *Green Speculum*. For a group of monks to be given the lay-production of a book typically used by the religious clergy to preach to the very laypeople that apparently produced it might have seemed a strange inversion to the monks at Stift Stams.⁷⁹

Furthermore, the *Green Speculum* was given as a gift to a community of Cistercians. Unlike the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the Cistercians were not called to preach to the laity, but purposefully separated for lives of prayer and contemplation.

Cistercian Applications of the SHS

The Reality of the “Desert Place,” the Cistercian Ministry, and the Green SHS

Now, what does a book seemingly designed wholly for preachers have to do with a purposefully isolated, monastic community? Although Cistercians were engaged in lives of contemplative prayer punctuated and held together by long periods of silence, their communities were not nearly as isolated as one might assume from the designation “desert-place.” Burton and Kerr argue that Cistercian abbeys were not cut off from the world at all, although they had removed themselves from the chaos of urban life.⁸⁰ They

⁷⁹ On the other hand, perhaps it was not so shocking that Konrad was able to do this. Judging from the similarity in style that the *Green Speculum* bears to MS.140, a manuscript of the *Speculum* produced in German Franconia in the late fourteenth century, Konrad might have borrowed heavily from the style of those who produced this work. It is possible, as I have not been able to find a date more specific than “late fourteenth century” on MS.140, that the *Green Speculum* came first and Konrad should be given a great deal more credit than I am giving him for illustrative originality.

⁸⁰ Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 189-190.

sometimes served as politicians, teachers, reformers, and mediators in international conflict.

An example of this sort of political intervention occurs in the history of the Green *Speculum*, as a group of Cistercians at abbey from the Neuberg an der Mürz mediated a series of land disputes between Duke Leopold III and his brother Albrecht.⁸¹ Even from the start of the order, the “desert” was more metaphorical than literal. In one of St. Bernard's correspondences with the canon of Oger, he complains of rising early to answer his letters and asks the canon to write back more slowly in order that he might have more time to meditate.⁸²

Martha Newman argues that it was actually a fulfillment of the Order's call to *caritas* that they interact and attempt to positively impact the spiritual well-being of those around them.⁸³ The monks often sent out prayers to help others in the world, warmly accepted guests, and the dead (as with the royal family at Stift Stams); all these were ministries that could be carried on within the walls of the cloister. Contrary to what one might assume, monks often had to leave the confines of the abbey on business as well. Since they were such a unified group, Cistercians often visited their family abbeys or

⁸¹ Steven Gruber "Leopold III, 'the Just' ." accessed Oct. 29, 2012, www.habsburger.net/en/persons/habsburg-emperor/leopold-iii-just

⁸² St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, (no. 91), trans. B. S. James (London, Cistercian Publications, 1998). p. 135.

⁸³ Martha Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098-1180*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1996).

attended chapter meetings. This could involve long journeys, and the monks were often encouraged to recruit new converts to the Cistercian life while abroad.

Refuting Heresy “on-the-Fly”

Starting in the mid-thirteenth century, Cistercian monks began to be allowed, even required in some cases, to attend university outside the cloister and prepare themselves to refute heresies.⁸⁴ The fact that this became an established practice for the express purpose of the refutation of heresy shows that Cistercians were at times, actively engaged in theological debates with the outside world, and were sometimes obligated by their superiors to combat false doctrine. As mentioned earlier when discussing the primarily fraternal applications of the *Speculum*, its extremely memorable form, orthodox message, and Scripturally-rooted content make it an excellent tool for refuting heretics. This might be especially true for a Cistercian brother who often found himself in the position of having to combat a heretical viewpoint “on-the-go” as he trekked through medieval Europe on the business of his order.

Use as an Educational Tool

Although Cistercians were not engaging in the specific work of preaching as often as their mendicant counterparts, they viewed addressing the needs of the world around them as part of their exercise of charity, and, as already stated, there was a great need for good preaching in this time. To help fill this void, Cistercians, who were on the whole very well educated, would help teach those members of the Franciscan order or the

⁸⁴ Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, 190.

secular clergy who lacked a knowledge of the Scriptures or the Christian narrative so that they could better reach out to the laity. In these cases, the *Speculum*, with its emphasis on man's basic salvation story and its working out in the Bible, would have been very helpful for Cistercians who desired to reach out to the less educated clergy around them.

Applications for Private Devotion

In addition to these concerns related to ministry, it is important to keep in mind that the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, though not originally designed as a private devotional text, could come to serve this purpose. A close study of the *Speculum* would accord with Paul's injunction from Philippians 4:8. "For the rest, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever modest, whatsoever just, whatsoever holy, whatsoever lovely, whatsoever of good fame, if there be any virtue, if any praise of discipline, think on these things.," (D-R). On holy days, Cistercians were released from their duties of manual labor and allowed extra time to study. The *Speculum* would certainly not make for poor reading material at these times, as it is filled with poetry whose explicit purpose is to chronicle the salvific work of Christ and the Virgin on behalf of mankind and encourage virtue in the reader.

It is wholly possible to pray through the *Speculum* as well, as each chapter ends with a similar prayer to Jesus. In combination, the rhythm of the poetry, the highly formulaic nature of the Latin, the consistent length, and the prayers ending each chapter create a psalmic cyclicity that lends itself very well to personal prayer and meditation. Essentially, the thoroughly mnemonic qualities, useful typological framework, and overall message of the *Speculum* make it a choice devotional piece.

The Root of the Speculum's Efficacy

Its popularity across several centuries and a wide geographical spread testify to the *Speculum's* many uses. Its usefulness and meritorious qualities come from the reality that it is, in fact, a *mirror* of the Gospel message, the good news of man's salvation narrated through the lives of Mary and Jesus. The story is a universal one, and the readily memorable form of the work makes the *Speculum humanae salvationis* a hugely useful tool in communicating that message to others or cementing it in one's own heart.

Concluding Summary

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* was most likely composed by a Dominican, though its intended audience is not limited to this context. The work serves as an aid for those called to preach—both Franciscans and Dominicans—giving the reader an overview of the gospel story, clarifying and explaining points of doctrine, and providing a strong typological foundation for understanding the Scriptures, all through a narrative account of the lives of Christ and the Virgin.

The Green *Speculum*, however, was not entrusted to a group of preaching friars, but to the Cistercian monks at Stift Stams. Though the author of the *Speculum* text likely did not have this environment in mind, the Green *Speculum* still could have been very useful to the monks at Stams, who might have utilized its content to refute heresies, attract and teach new members of the Order, minister to less educated clerics, or simply

to enrich their own devotions through a prayerful reading of the skillful illustrations and the highly mnemonic text.

CHAPTER THREE

A Comparison of the Illuminations of Five Different Editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Dealing with the Type of the Lord's Supper

This third chapter will be dedicated to a detailed comparative study of the illuminations in the sixteenth chapter of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. I have chosen to discuss chapter sixteen—centered on the type of the Last Supper—because of its all but universal inclusion in the tradition of *Speculum humanae salvationis* editing and arrangement, as well as its relevance to the theme of the work as a whole. This comparison will revolve around MS.GC.000321, the *SHS* owned by the Green Collection. I aim to speak about this manuscript's artistic importance within the tradition of *SHS* illustration. Toward this end, I have selected four different editions of the work (five, including the Green *Speculum*) whose depictions of the Last Supper and its three corresponding antitypes I will discuss at length. First, though, it is necessary for me to paint a picture of each of these editions, in terms of content, provenance, illustration, and layout, as there is a fair amount of variation in approach with respect to content.

Basics of Content, Illustration, and Layout

As one might imagine, when dealing with a work that was as broadly circulated as the *Speculum*, there are different paradigms of arrangement, compilation, and illustration across editions. In terms of compilation, the body of the text is often prefaced by a proem or prologue. The proem is comprised of a rhymed summary of chapter contents, while the

prologue describes the work's purpose through text and illustration, using the allegorical image of the felling of an oak tree in the grounds of an abbey. Next, in an edition of the *SHS*, comes the body of the text, which is typically composed of either the full forty-two chapters or a standardized selection of thirty-four. Then, in certain longer versions, there are included three double-length chapters on the seven stations of the Passion, the Seven Sorrows, and the Seven Joys of the Virgin.

Although the text of the *SHS* will stand alone, illustrations play an important mnemonic and organizational role in manuscripts and printed editions of the work. Nearly a third of the world's extant manuscripts of the *SHS* are illuminated. These illustrations practically serve as a kind of table of contents, marking the dominate type and the three corresponding anti-types for each chapter. Typically, one chapter will consist of a full page spread, in which the four illustrations are situated atop four columns of rhymed verse, twenty-four lines a piece, in this fashion:

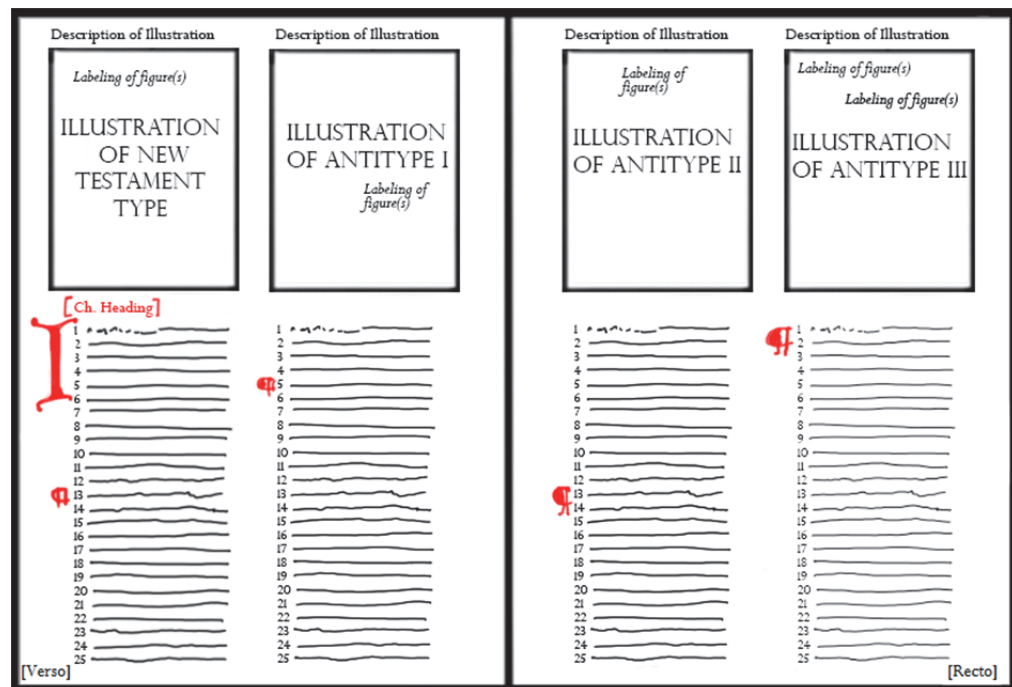


Figure 3: Typical *SHS* Chapter Layout

There are occasional variants; for instance, in certain editions each twenty-four line column and illustration is given its own recto or verso. This allows for the manuscript to have a more ornate decorative scheme at the loss of some conceptual continuity, as the reader cannot view an entire chapter at once. Usually, the illustrations in the *SHS* are not of great technical sophistication or detail, though the illuminations in later editions tend to become increasingly complex.

Introducing the Editions

This chapter will compare five different versions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: (1) MS.GC.000321, part of the Green Collection in Oklahoma City, (2) MS M.140, from the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, (3) Ms.GkS 79 2°, from the Royal Library in Copenhagen, (4) MS. Douce 204, from the Bodleian Library, and (5) G.11784, the British Library Blockbook edition. I have chosen to compare these particular editions because of their relative ease of accessibility and variations in style and content.⁸⁵ In this section, I will briefly describe the content, style, and arrangement of each. To facilitate this comparison, I have made a table describing the basic features of each:

⁸⁵ Each of these editions, with the exception of (1), is available to the public. (2), (3), and (4) can be found through the online databases of their home libraries, with varying image quality. (5) Is available in a helpful facsimile edition, compiled and translated into English by Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz.

Table B:

Comparison of Five Editions of the <i>Speculum humanae salvationis</i>					
	MS.GC.00 0321	MS M.140	MS. GKS 79 2°	MS. Douce 204	G.11784
Current Location	Green Collection, OKC	Pierpont Morgan Library, NY	Royal Library, Copenhagen	Bodleian Library, Oxford	British Library, London
Language	Latin	Latin	Middle German and Latin	Latin	Latin
Medium	Manuscript on vellum	Manuscript on vellum	Manuscript on vellum (?)	Manuscript on parchment	Blockbook
Provenance					
	MS.GC.00 0321	MS M.140	MS. GKS 79 2°	MS. Douce 204	G.11784
Place of Origin	Stams, Austria	Nuremburg, Germany	Northern France	Spain	Holland
Dates	1380-1389	1380-1400	1430	1430-1450	~1470
Misc. Backg. Info.	gifted to Stift Stams, a Cistercian monastery, by Duke Leopold III of Austria	very likely copied directly from Green <i>SHS</i>	ordered by an unidentified (but likely German) man, "F.D.", with wife "B.H.", from a noble family	made in Catalonia-Roussillon for a French bishop; later passed to the Archbishop of Lyons;	produced partly from wooden blocks and partly from moveable type
Layout					
	MS.G C.0003 21	MS M.140	MS. GKS 79 2°	MS. Douce 204	G.11784
Two Columns/ Illustrations per page	✓	✓		✓	✓
One Column/ Illustration per page			✓		

Contents					
	MS.GC. 000321	MS M.140	MS. GKS 79 2°	MS. Douce 204	G.11784
<i>Zodiacal Man*</i>			✓		
<i>Calendar*</i>			✓		
<i>Planetary Woman*</i>			✓		
Proem	✓	✓			✓
Prologue	✓	✓	✓		
<i>The Seven Days of Creation*</i>			✓		
Number of Chapters in the main SHS	42	42	42⁸⁶	42	34
Stations of the Passion	✓	✓		✓	
Seven Sorrow of the Virgin	✓	✓		✓	
Seven Joys of the Virgin	✓	✓			
<i>Concluding Prologue*</i>	✓				
<i>Prayer to the Virgin*</i>	✓				

⁸⁶ All forty-two conventional chapters of the *SHS* are present in MS. GKS 79 2°; however, they are out of order within the text. Chapters 35, 36, 37, 38, 14, and 15, are left out of the text until the end, when they appear in that order after the final chapter of the *SHS* proper (Ch. 42).

Overview of Selections

This selection of editions of the *SHS* is primarily in Latin, though MS. GKS 79 2° has the *SHS* proper written in Middle German, with the auxiliary sections in Latin. I have arranged the editions chronologically in the chart. They represent a decent spread of Western European countries—Germany, Austria, France, Spain, and Holland—all of which were involved in the production of *SHS* at this time. There are four manuscripts and a single blockbook. Each of the manuscripts has the traditional forty two chapter arrangement, while the blockbook contains only thirty four.

As you can see from the section labeled “Contents”, the earlier manuscripts tend toward more complex introductory and concluding material. The middle manuscript highlighted in blue, MS. GKS 79 2° (Copenhagen), contains sections on the Zodiacal Man, the Planetary Woman, and the Seven days of Creation that I have not found included in any other copies of the *SHS*. This oddity can likely be explained by the commission of the German nobleman, “F.D.,” who must have wanted these additions to appear in his edition. In what is likely also a unique feature, the Green *Speculum* contains a “prologus” and a prayer to the Virgin at the end of the volume. This epilogue of sorts seems to have been added later, judging from its apparent lack in the Pierpont Morgan *SHS*, which I assert was copied from the Green *SHS*.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ For evidence of this, one only needs to spend a few minutes examining the manuscripts side-by-side; the drawings in MS M.140 have the same composition and basic style of illustration, though they are executed with less technical precision and skill. As a result, there are certain lines that make visual sense in the Green *SHS*, which are less-skillfully imitated in the Pierpont Morgan *SHS* to a less logical visual effect. For example, the curve of a leg of one of the figures might be copied in the Pierpont Morgan *SHS* in such a way that it no longer connects with the body of the figure in an anatomically correct way, though it retains the same shape as the correctly-connected leg-line in the Green *Speculum*. In addition, there are certain errors made by the scribe of the Green *SHS* that leave evidence MS M.140, by way of extra blank spaces in the Pierpont Morgan *SHS* around the place where an incorrect word appears in MS.GC.000321.

Illustration Styles

MS.GC.000321

The Green *SHS*, to which we will devote most of our attention here, actually has the simplest style of illumination of all the works sampled. The work was initially commissioned to serve as a gift of friendship to the monks at Stift Stams, a Cistercian monastery in the Tyrol; Konrad vom Tiergarten, a court painter in Merano, was appointed by Duke Leopold III to illustrate this edition of the *SHS*.⁸⁸ Master Konrad did a perfectly acceptable—though certainly not lavish—job on this count. Quickly and skillfully drawn, these simple and mostly uncolored illuminations are located in often crudely made boxes, sometimes drawn afterward by the artist, sometimes drawn in advance by the scribe. Grey washes often shade the garments of the figures. The illuminations look to have been drawn by a skilled artist who was not devoting a huge amount of time to each miniature. The compositions are, for the most part, quite conventional; there is very little in the way of visual innovation. It seems clear enough that the illuminations in MS.GC.000321 were serving mnemonic and organizational purposes rather than attempting to provide the reader with an extravagant visual experience.

MS M.140

Much of the same is true for MS M.140. Though we know little about the parties responsible for its production, the book was very clearly made by directly referencing at

⁸⁸ For a more detailed description of the historical context as well as illustration style of MS.GC.000321, see my first chapter.

MS.GC.000321 as a guide for text and illustration. Both manuscripts sport a gothic *textura rotunda*,⁸⁹ from approximately the same region and time period, and show evidence of some of the same scribal errors.



Figure 20: Ch.18, Column A, Saul Returns David's Goodness for Evil; (left: MS.GC.000321, right: MS M.140)

The illustrations from MS M.140 were certainly copied MS.GC.000321, as the compositions and details down to the hairstyles of individual figures are replicated in the Pierpont Morgan *SHS* (See Fig. 20). The drawings themselves are—for the most part—less sophisticated than in the Green edition. As a rule, the figures are more skillfully executed in MS.GC.000321, while the artist of the Pierpont Morgan *SHS* could render architectural elements with greater finesse. More attention is paid to visual detail and embellishment in MS M.140 than in its predecessor. All of the illuminations are colored,

⁸⁹ My mention of this feature here is not meant to convey that somehow the scribe of the MS M.140 was copying the handwriting of the scribe of the Green *SHS*. I bring it up simply to point out that the shared region (which would result in the scribes having similar handwriting) strengthens the case for a sharing of the physical manuscript.

albeit crudely, in reds, greens, and yellows; additional detail has been sometimes added to scenes as drawn in the Green *SHS*.

MS. GKS 79 2°

It stands to reason that the German nobleman “F.D.,” responsible for commissioning MS. GKS 79 2°, wanted his copy of the *SHS* to be extremely accessible, either to himself or those in his family. Although the auxiliary sections are still in Latin, he selected a Middle German translation of the *SHS* to be included in his version. His apparent concern for the comprehensibility and ease of digestion of the message at hand is also reflected in the manuscript’s illustrations. All of the editions of the *SHS* that I have mentioned in this chapter use the two-column per page setup, with the exception of MS. GKS 79 2°. For the most part, each illustration takes up about a third of a single page. “F.D.” evidently wanted a visually driven edition of the *SHS*. In the body of the Copenhagen *SHS* itself, the extra-large illustrations are complex, skillfully executed, and beautifully colored. Moreover, finely worked capitals and foliate borders are present at the side of the columns. No single hue of ink can be described as dominating the visual scheme of MS. GKS 79 2°. Many robust tones and shades are employed by the unknown illuminator to bring the images to life. Ultimately, the coloring was not completed; still, many of the incompletely colored illustrations sport a rich blue background (as seen in Figure 22).



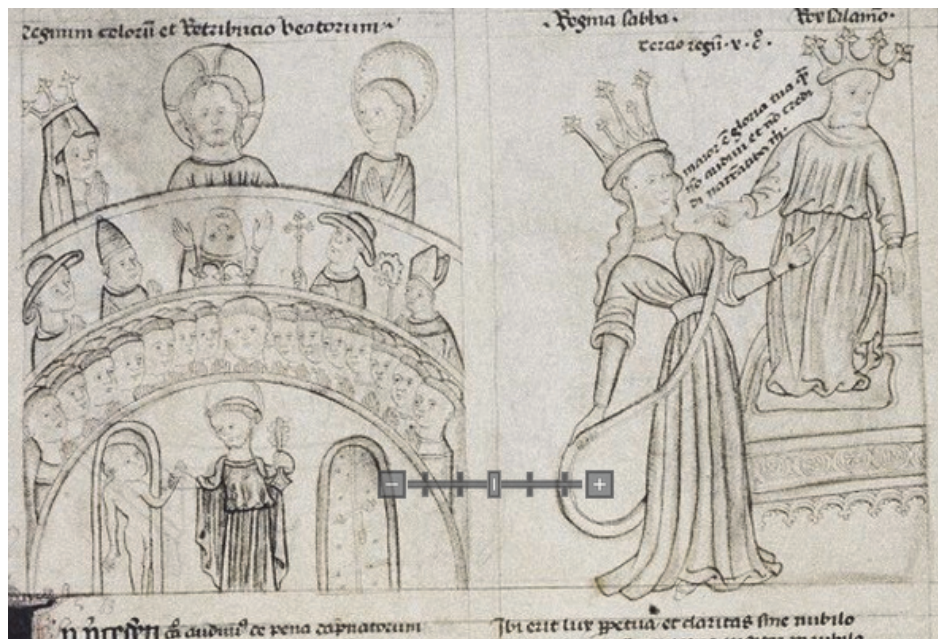
Figure 21: MS.GKS 79 2°: Creation of Eve: Ch. 1: fol. 15r
<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/218/eng/?var=>



Figure 22: MS.GKS 79 2°: Pentecost: Ch. 34: fol. 76v
<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/218/eng/?var=>

MS. Douce 204

This manuscript is characterized by its finely worked illuminations. Evelyn Silber cites MS Douce 204⁹⁰ as one of the few examples of a *SHS* whose miniatures are “high quality.” She notes that most of these manuscripts, characterized by their superior illustrations, come from fifteenth century France. Indeed, both MS. Douce 204 and MS. GKS 79 2° have beautiful illustrations, connections to France, and a date of origin in the early to mid-fifteenth century. Accordingly, MS. Douce 204 is drawn in a French style, though it is officially classified by the Bodleian Library as being of Spanish origin. The manuscript was produced in Catalonia-Roussillon for a French Bishop.



*Figure 23: MS. Douce 204: Ch. 42:
Joy of Heaven and Queen Sheba Visits Solomon, fol. 42r⁹¹*

⁹⁰ Silber has labeled this incorrectly as “ms.202,” which is an extremely ornate, fully colored illuminated manuscript of *Memorabilia* by Valerius Maximus, some images of which can be found here: <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Douce%20202%22>

⁹¹ All images from MS. Douce 204 are taken from the Luna Imaging System, Version 6.3.6.2., part of the Bodleian Library’s online image collection. They can be accessed at this URL: <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/s/19z90q>

Two illuminators contributed to its illustrations. The first, Laurentius Dyamas, is responsible for the detailed and skillfully constructed illustrations drawn in a fine brown ink, touched with pink and red. The second illuminator is responsible for the darker contours, as seen above.⁹²

G.11784

Roughly a half-century after MS. Douce 204 and MS. GKS 79 2°, this blockbook of the *SHS* was likely produced in Holland around 1470, at a transitional time in printmaking. In the older method, both the illustrations and the letters were carved out of one block of wood. However, the text of G.11784 was produced by moveable type, while the illustrations were added using block prints.⁹³ Like most of the manuscript editions mentioned in this chapter, there are two columns and images features on each page. However, in this printed version, the two scenes on each page are carved out of a single block of wood. As a device for compositional unity, these double-depictions are framed and connected by gothic architectural elements, which Labriola and Smeltz suggest are copied from the actual architecture of a cloister, convent, chapel, or church.

⁹² Silber, "*The Italian Connection*," 27.

⁹³ Silber, "*The Italian Connection*," viii



*Figure 24: G. 11784: Ch. 13: Christ is tempted by the Devil
and Daniel destroys Bel and kills the Dragon*

The illustrations themselves are worked with more detail than their hand-drawn predecessors, likely because of the ability of the printmaker to make many copies out of one woodblock. Thus, the time invested in giving the illustrations greater complexity would not be as costly as it would be for a manuscript illuminator to work each of his drawings to an equivalent degree of detail.

For the first time in our sampling, we see a serious attempt to give the figures realistic backgrounds in which to operate. Each subject is placed in the context of either a landscape or a building's interior, rendered with an attempt at perspective. As is characteristic of the blockbooks and later editions of the *SHS*, G.11784 only contains thirty-four chapters as opposed to the full forty-two.

Formal Comparison

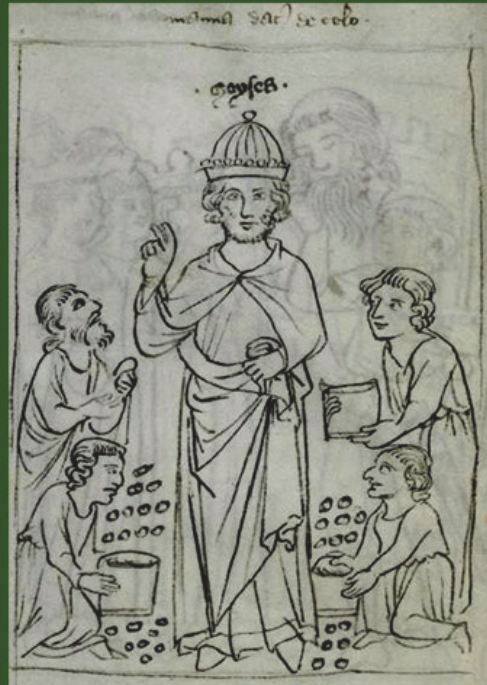
Chapter Sixteen of the SHS: The Last Supper

In this next section, I am going to compare these five editions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* by looking at the way each of them chooses to represent the type of the Last Supper and its three corresponding antitypes: the Miracle of Manna, the Passover, and Melchizedek giving Abraham bread and wine. I have chosen this subject matter, because it is present in all of the versions of the *SHS* I have selected for this study, in both the thirty-four and forty-two chapter volumes. Moreover, the Last Supper, as the first celebration of the Eucharist, is deeply connected to the theme of human salvation that names and defines the work. In the life of the Church (both modern and medieval), the Eucharist is *the* summarizing image and ritual reminder of God's salvific work for man. Thus, chapter sixteen, revolving around the type of the Last Supper, is an appropriate encapsulation of the message of the *SHS* as a whole. The complete cycle of chapter illustrations, taken from the Green *SHS*, is shown below, in Fig. 25.

MS.GC.000321: Chapter 16 Images



The Last Supper
fol. 19v, column a



The Miracle of Manna
fol. 19v, column b



The Paschal Lamb
fol. 20r, column a



Melchizedek Gives Abraham
Bread and Wine
fol. 20r, column b

Figure 25

Thesis Chapter Outline and Explanation of Method

In the remainder of this chapter, I will show groupings of images from Chapter 16 based on the subject represented (i.e., all five illustrations of the Miracle of Manna at once) rather than the *SHS* edition they come from. My findings in this analysis are dependent on a foundational assertion about the function of the chapter in question. This assertion can be expressed as follows: Across editions of the *SHS*, Chapter 16 is meant to teach the reader how to worthily receive the Eucharist. It does this in a four-fold manner through each of the scenes represented. Initially, with the type of the Lord's Supper, the first Eucharist is pictured, showing the reader the great memorial and paradigm to which each celebration of the sacrament returns. Second, the antitype of the Miracle of Manna gives the reader an understanding of the spiritual attributes of the Eucharist through a visual explanation of the physical attributes of manna, so that he might better understand the sacrament he receives. Thirdly, the antitype of the Paschal Lamb (which, in several editions, looks more like Passover) teaches the reader how to prepare his heart for the reception of the Eucharist by mirroring the literal actions of the Israelites preparing for the Passover. Finally, the image of Melchizedek Giving Abraham Bread and Wine serves to show the communicant the manner in which he ought to relate to the priest administering the Eucharist.

As I analyze these image groups with the above assertion in mind, I will address the following larger questions: How does each illustration highlight certain aspects of, or contribute to, the Eucharistic message of the *SHS* text in which it is situated? What does each edition's distinctive approach to illumination reveal about its individual purpose or function? As approximately two-thirds of the extant copies of the *SHS* are un-illuminated,

how important can we say the illustrations are in accomplishing the goal(s) of each edition present in this study? I will attempt to answer these questions, starting with a look at the pictures from the first group.

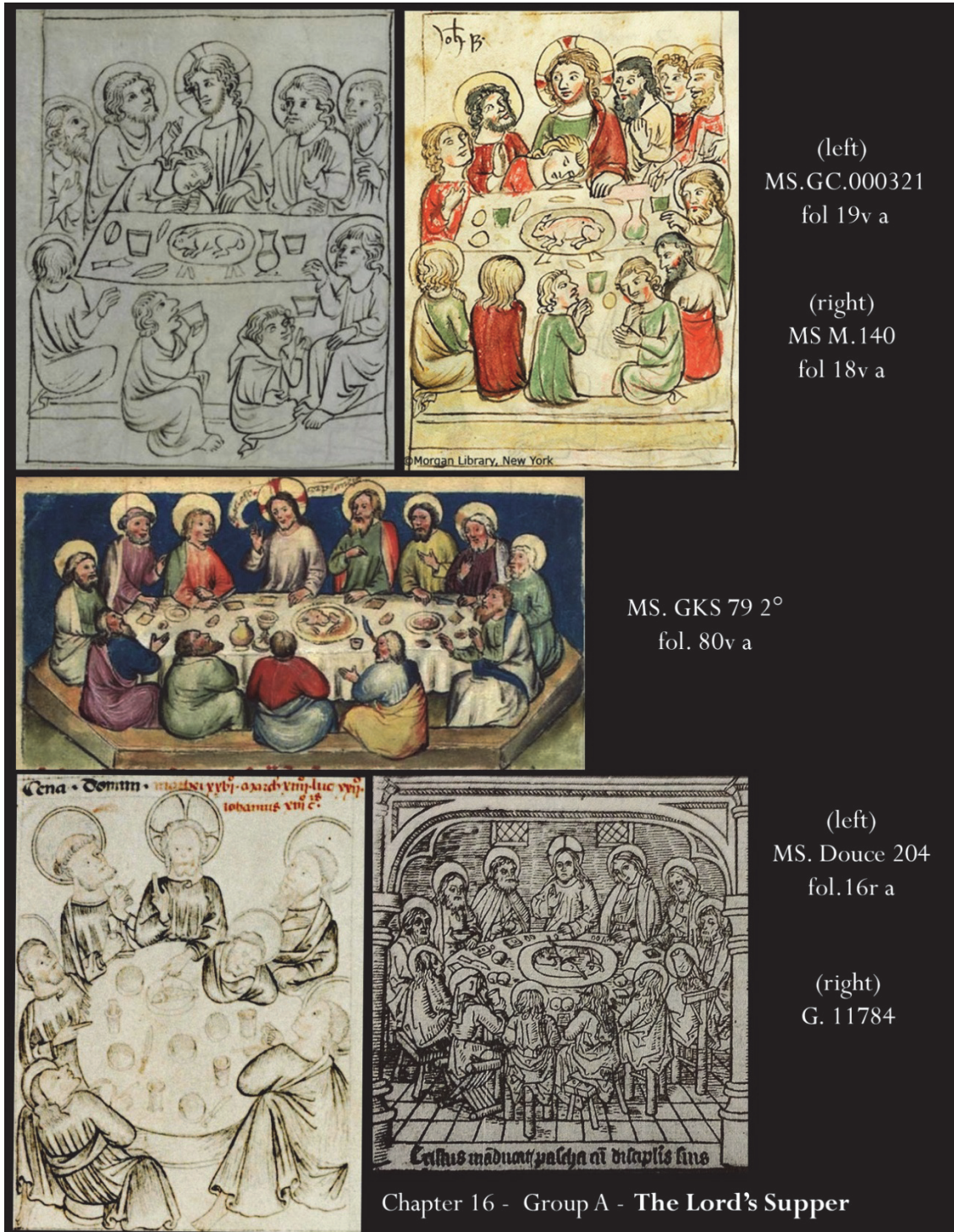


Figure 26

The Lord's Supper (Group A)

Group A contains a collection of images depicting Christ's final Passover meal before his crucifixion. The event doubles famously as both the Lord's Last Supper and the first administration of the Eucharist. The meal is described in all four gospels, though John does not include the inspiration for the Words of Institution or the actual eucharistic event in which Christ says, "And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke: and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye, and eat. This is my body. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks, and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this. For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins.." ⁹⁴ The text of the *SHS*, remarking on the event, concisely comments that the Lord's Supper in the institution of the Eucharist serves as both an everlasting memorial and evidence of Christ's love for us in the form of food. ⁹⁵ Although the primary function of Group A is to introduce the type of the Eucharist, all four editions save the British Library Blockbook seem to be drawing from the account given in John 13, which describes Christ's prediction of Judas' betrayal. One of the contributors to MS M.140 went ahead and labeled the image so that his viewers do not become confused. Judas, on all counts, is the figure with his hand gesturing toward himself (see the halo-less ⁹⁶ man clothed in red on the left side of MS M.140 and the corresponding open-mouthed figure

⁹⁴ From Matthew 26:26-28. Douay-Rheims Version. The relevant chapters from the other gospel books are as follows: Mark 14, Luke 22, and John 13. All other verses are also taken from the Douay-Rheims.

⁹⁵ These, and other summaries of the *SHS*, come from the transcription and English translation of Labriola and Smeltz, *The Mirror of Salvation*, 48-9.

⁹⁶ Although one would think that Judas would seldom be granted the privilege of a halo, the presence or absence of halos is largely dependent on the figure's literal placement at the table in these images. Those facing away from the viewer or tending towards the outer-center of the table in MS.GC.000321, MS. M.140, and MS.GKS 79 2° remain halo-less. The illustrator of the blockbook, however, has considerably left Judas unmarked and sour-faced.

in MS.GC.000321) while all other disciples murmur among themselves and point. John is clearly the figure reclining on Christ's lap in the Green and Pierpont Morgan *SHS*. Once again, the illustrations from later editions were copied from the former. Note that the artist of the Pierpont Morgan edition has decided to fix the seeming-error of Master Konrad, in increasing the number of disciples present at dinner from nine to twelve. Still, Judas, along with questioning Peter between him and John, remains in the same place. All of the illustrations in Group A represent the actual proceedings of the Passover meal, with the pascal lamb recalling Christ in the center of the table; that is, except MS. Douce 204, which has replaced the lamb with something more distinctly piscine. Of all the illustrations in our set, those from this particular manuscript tend to break convention the most often, a point to which I will return below.

The Miracle of Manna (Group B)

Group B contains the Miracle of the Manna found in Exodus 16. The primary function of this subject matter within its typological context is to prefigure the spiritual realities of the Eucharist through the physical attributes of manna. To this end, the author of the *SHS* expounds on superiority of the transcendent nature of the Sacrament over that of material manna: though manna is made by God in the sky, the Eucharist is the true bread of heaven. The author spends a majority of this section drawing parallels between specific qualities of each: Just as manna melts in the sun, so does the sacrament melt in the hearts of the proud; As manna hardens when baked in fire, so the Eucharist cannot abandon a heart aflame with divine love. When manna fell, dew fell with it. This dew

represents the grace that comes upon receiving the Eucharist. Manna's snowy color prefigures the purity of heart required to take Communion.



Figure 27

In addition, manna was only supposed to be collected in one omer per day; if an Israelite tried to take either more or less than that home, he or she mysteriously returned with no more and no less than an omer. Similarly, says the *SHS* author, the communicant who receives more than one host has just as much of Christ's body as the one who received less than a full wafer.

These complimentary descriptions worked to educate the readers of the *SHS* on the divine nature of the sacrament through a prefigurative study of the earthly nature of manna. The illustrations in Group B serve a largely complimentary role in bringing out particular aspects of this typological relationship.

We find Moses with his usual horns in MS.GKS 79 2°; he stands as a priest in a position of authority. He looks as though he is explaining the miracle with his raised hand gesture. Flanking him on either side are Israelites whose postures and attitudes are also quite evocative of the priest/communicant relationship. They do not seem to be doing any hard work to try and gather the manna, as it simply falls down from heaven into their bowls. The bread of heaven comes to meet them where they are, each at a slightly different level. Maybe we can interpret this ease of acquisition of the manna as referencing the manner in which God takes an active role in condescending to the repentant and receptive sinner, and meeting each where he is. The manna itself here has been purposefully colored with white ink on top of the tawny parchment in order to emphasize the necessary purity of those who partake in the Eucharist.

In MS.GC.000321, Moses' iconography is again evocative of a priest; he raises his hand in a gesture of blessing, wearing a ceremonial hat and robe. Here, manna is not depicted as falling from the sky, as it is in the other four illuminations. Instead, it appears

on the ground in little disks as identical communion wafers. The total elimination of the normal shower of manna makes the heavenly bread in this depiction seem even more ethereal, as it moves beyond a literal representation of a physical descent from heaven. Visually, MS.GC.000321 emphasizes the Eucharistic aspects of the Miracle of Manna.

In MS M. 140, Moses appears with the same ceremonial robe, hat, and hand gesture. The manna, however, is drawn completely differently from its predecessor illustration in the Green Speculum. Instead of appearing like the host, it falls down from the sky like rain or snow in streams of small dots and streaks. The illustrator of the Pierpont Morgan SHS has chosen to give a more literal illustration of the manna described in the Holy Scriptures. Perhaps he thought that Konrad, with his communion wafer manna, was not being subtle enough.

In the blockbook illustration of this same scene, a figure—likely Moses—stands to the left of the frame. Gathering Israelites and the falling of the manna itself are depicted, each holding their own pitcher, which represents an omer. Like MS.GC.000321 and MS.GKS 79 2°, the manna is depicted like a flurry of communion wafers, which the Israelites energetically take to gathering in the hilly landscape.

The illustration of this scene from MS. Douce 204 seems similar on first glance; however, there are a number of salient differences. I would like to tentatively label the standing figure in the illumination as Aaron, based on the my identification of Laurentius' drawing of the elaborately decorated vase with the vessel in these verses: "And Moses said to Aaron: Take a vessel, and put manna into it, as much as a gomor can hold: and lay it up before the Lord to keep unto your generations, As the Lord commanded Moses. And Aaron put it in the tabernacle to be kept.," (Exodus 16:33-34).

Curiously, the manna falls to the ground in teardrops, under undulating sunbeams. This is almost certainly a depiction of manna melting under the rays of the sun, and thus a reference to the Eucharist melting in the hearts of the proud. These are details I will return to near the end of this chapter for further analysis. Suffice it to say that MS. Douce 204 is also prefiguring the nature of the Eucharist through its visual rendition of the Miracle of Manna.

The Pascal Lamb (Group C)

This antitypical group communicates that the literal steps of preparation taken by the Israelites in order to eat the pascal lamb prefigure the preparation of the heart necessary to worthily take the Eucharist. To eat the pascal lamb, the Israelites must be girded with a cincture, hold a staff in hand, and shod their feet. So also, to take the Eucharist, communicants must be girded with chastity of body and mind, hold the staff of faith firmly in both hands, stand up into the new life they have begun without falling back down into the mire of their former ways, and shod their feet so their desires do not become poisoned with uncleanness, as feet are an unclean part. The pascal lamb must be eaten with bitter herbs, and the Eucharist must be taken with bitter contrition. Roasting by fire is the only appropriate method of cooking the pascal lamb. It cannot be boiled. Just so, communicants should burn with the fire of charity in order to receive the sacrament.

MS.GC.000321 and MS. M.140 are nearly identical in their visual treatment of this scene—the emphasis is clearly on the actual process of roasting the pascal lamb.

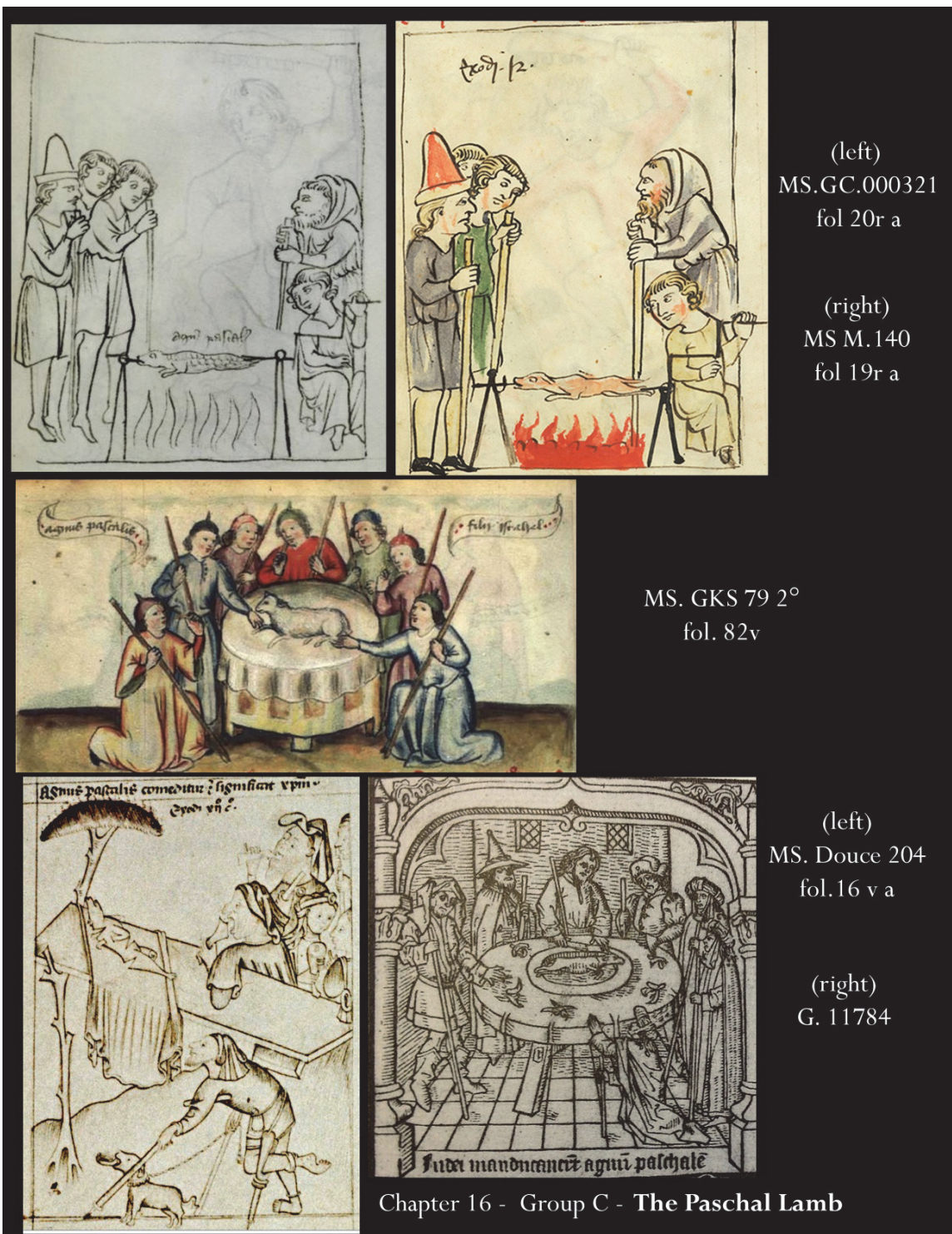


Figure 28

So, we can say, the emphasis is on the love that ought to burn in the hearts of those receiving the Eucharist. With the exception of the young man roasting the lamb, the Israelites depicted in these two manuscripts have followed all the rules of preparation, i.e., girding themselves, wearing shoes, carrying staffs, etc.. MS.GKS 79 2° and G.11784 also have a similar set up. In this organizational paradigm, seven “Sons of Israel” (so labeled in the the manuscript) stand around a circular table, feet shod, staffs in hand, some with their garments girded. The men in MS.GKS 79 2° look almost completely identical to one other, while those in the blockbook’s rendition of the scene have various outfits and composites, indicating different careers and stations in life. Oddly enough, both the extreme uniformity of the figures in the one, and the diversity of those in the other, serves to convey the same message about the universal nature of the Sacrament. Some of the figures kneel around the edges of the table in a posture that looks more like veneration than impious failure to obey the injunction to stand up. This is evidence that the illustrator favored a purposeful evocation of the Eucharist rather than an absolutely literal depiction of the Old Testament story. The composition of the images in these two editions is clearly referencing the representations of Christ’s celebration of this same meal two illustrations earlier. Bitter herbs surround the roasted but uneaten lamb in the blockbook, and the central figure of the scene is ready to cut the lamb, knife in hand. In MS.GKS 79 2°, however, all the literal elements of the passover meal itself have been left out of the illustration, save the (living!) lamb in the middle of the table. The typological connection being made here is quite straight forward and legible, especially

for a lay reader who might not have a detailed knowledge of the passover meal itself, and thus, might fail to gain the main point of the scene.

While the illuminator of MS.GKS 79 2° worked hard to make his illustrations accessible, Laurentius does much to obscure any cursory interpretations of his illuminations in MS. Douce 204. A partially-butchered lamb is situated on a slipping tablecloth on a piece of wood being used as a make-shift table propped up against a tree. The only figure in the picture who is standing up straight is the dog—the others are all relaxed or slumped over. Everyone (dog included) appears to be enjoying their pascal lamb a little too visibly. The sole pair of (human) feet we see in the picture are unshod. The owner of these feet is clearly lame, and he uses a complex series of canes to prop himself up.⁹⁷ But still, this illustration works within the typological framework present. Instead of showing the viewer how one should prepare oneself to receive the Sacrament, this picture uses the same symbolic language as the others in Group C to communicate exactly how one should *not* receive Communion. Perhaps the figures MS. Douce, with their greedy approach, are like those mentioned in the text of the *SHS* who return to receive the host more than once. They certainly represent people whose hearts are not in the proper state to participate in the Eucharist; and thus, this unorthodox depiction carries forth the overarching purpose of the images in Group C, which is to inform the

⁹⁷ Perhaps this less-than-reverent lame man is a reference on the part of Laurentius to the verses in Leviticus concerning the inability of the lame, disfigured, or broken-limbed of Aaron's offspring to minister to others:

“And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: Say to Aaron: Whosoever of thy seed throughout their families, hath a blemish, he shall not offer bread to his God. Neither shall he approach to minister to him: If he be blind, if he be lame, if he have a little, or a great, or a crooked nose, If his foot, or if his hand be broken, If he be crookbacked, or blear eyed, or have a pearl in his eye, or a continual scab, or a dry scurf in his body, or a rupture.” (Leviticus 21:16-20).

The lame man in the illustration could be interpreted as ministering to his dog as priest, since he has presumably offered him some of the Pascal lamb.

viewer, via this Old Testament scene, of the proper posture of the heart when receiving the Blessed Sacrament.

Melchizedek Gives Abraham Bread and Wine (Group D)

Image Group D shows the end of an episode from Genesis 14:14-20.⁹⁸ As Abraham (then Abram) returns victorious from a battle against the king of Elam, Melchizedek, the king of Salem and “a priest of God Most High,” blesses him and presents him with bread and wine. This event prefigures the specific form of the Eucharist. The text of Chapter 16 makes some particularly interesting points in its exegesis of this passage. First, the author of the *SHS* says that Melchizedek signifies Christ as a king and priest of God, as Christ is both the first priest to ever celebrate mass, and he is the king over all the realms of the earth. Almost the entire chapter hereafter is designed to enhance the reader’s understanding of, and respect for, the role of the priest. The author comments that a priest is of the order of Melchizedek, first, because the Eucharist is prefigured by his offering, and second, because he is a good model of priestly dignity as a king. It is right that a priest be characterized as king, because he is the only one who can consecrate the Sacrament; as such, he surpasses the power of all earthly kings, prophets, patriarchs, and angels.

⁹⁸ “Which when Abram had heard, to wit, that his brother Lot was taken, he numbered of the servants born in his house, three hundred and eighteen well appointed: and pursued them to Dan. And dividing his company, he rushed upon them in the night: and defeated them, and pursued them as far as Hoba, which is on the left hand of Damascus.

And he brought back all the substance, and Lot his brother, with his substance, the women also and the people. And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after he returned from the slaughter of Chodorlahomor, and of the kings that were with him in the vale of Save, which is the king's vale. But Melchisedech the king of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the most high God, Blessed him, and said: Blessed be Abram by the most high God, who created heaven and earth. And blessed be the most high God, by whose protection the enemies are in thy hands. And he gave him the tithes of all.”



(left)
MS. GC.000321
fol 20r b



(right)
MS M.140
fol 19r b



MS. GKS 79 2°
fol. 83v



(left)
MS. Douce 204
fol. 16 v b



(right)
G. 11784

Chapter 16 - Group D - Melchizedek Gives Abraham Bread and Wine

Figure 29

He concludes by noting that Mary only gave birth to the son of God once, but priests change the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ many times. Therefore, we ought to hold him (the priest) in a position of honor whom Christ has seen fit to ordain. Chapter 16 concludes with the characteristic prayer beginning with ‘O bone Jhesu...’: “O good Jesus, give us the sacrament to worship so that we may never be separated from you.”⁹⁹

A significant portion of this final section of Chapter 16 is dedicated to explaining and exalting the role of the priest. The illustrations also tend toward this end, informing the viewer of the proper response to the priest as he administers the Blessed Sacrament. In all of the manuscript illustrations, Melchizedek’s kingly aspect is emphasized; he is shown wearing a crown and robe and positioned in a dignified, upright stance. In the blockbook, he appears in priestly garments. In the manuscript illuminations, though he is dressed more as a king, Melchizedek holds Eucharistic items that are most definitely priestly, such as the tabernacle in the Green and Pierpont Morgan editions and the ciborium and chalice in MS.GKS 79 2° and MS. Douce 204. In the blockbook, Melchizedek holds a simple pitcher of wine and a round loaf of bread out to Abraham. It seems as though the manuscript illuminators and artist responsible for the woodblock prints chose to bring out different aspects of Melchizedek’s priestly duties through slight changes in his iconography. In any case, he is clearly in a position of priestly honor in each illustration.

Similarly, Abraham is consistently depicted as a knight, a convention of representation that makes sense since he has just returned from combat. As Melchizedek

⁹⁹ Labriola and Smeltz, *The Mirror of Salvation*, 49.

is the priest in this typology, clearly Abraham represents a communicant. Thus, we as viewers are meant to learn from his example. He appears in a range of postures and states of receptivity. In G.11784, the figure of Abraham greets Melchizedek, raising the brim of his hat, still in full armor with spear in hand. He is depicted as one step closer to receiving the sacrament in MS.GKS 79 2°, where he kneels in a posture that is perhaps indicative of a man being knighted, especially with Melchizedek's kingly depiction. Abraham is depicted in the same way in the Green and Pierpont Morgan *SHS*, and it is in these illuminations that he is the most receptive and most visually evocative of a person about to receive the host. The position of Abraham's hands unmistakably communicates openness to the Sacrament (although one would never take the host in his hands), and Melchizedek extends his hands out toward him as if to place a wafer in his mouth.

Viewers of these illustrations are usually meant to mimic Abraham's willingness to be blessed, and his reverence for Melchizedek. Once again, this is not the case for MS. Douce 204: here, Abraham looks haughty and prim with his large and frill hat and raised chin, not like a knight who has just come in from battle as in the other illuminations. His own crest is quite prominent on his shield; it looks almost like a separate object. In addition, Abraham's posture is erect and angled-out slightly away from Melchizedek in disinterest. All these features work to create the impression that Abraham is completely apathetic towards the blessing, honor, and gift he is being given by Melchizedek. Despite this impression, Abraham is still very much associated with the communicant, representing the one who approaches the Eucharist with a heart full of pride.

The Message of Chapter 16

To summarize, each the typological illustration present in Chapter 16 teaches the viewer about a specific aspect of the Eucharist. The type of the Lord's Supper shows the first celebration of the mass. Next, the Miracle of Manna in the desert shows, through the depiction of the physical attributes of earthly manna, the spiritual nature of the true bread found in the Eucharist. Third, the depictions of the Pascal Lamb emphasize, through the physical steps of preparation that the Israelites undergo to celebrate passover, the way in which communicants must prepare their hearts before receiving the Blessed Sacrament. Lastly, the illustrations of Melchizedek Giving Abraham Bread and Wine are meant to instruct the viewer on the sort of respect he should have for his priest, who stands in the role of Christ. In conclusion, the message of Chapter 16—which concerns the nature of the Eucharist and how communicants should receive it—is resonant with the message of the *SHS* as a whole in that it represents *the* event in the life of the Church that exists as an everlasting memorial to the work God did through Christ's death on the cross in achieving man's salvation.

Understanding the Editions

Now that we have analyzed the work of each group of illustrations in detail, I would like to briefly conclude with some thoughts about the style, mode, message, and function of each of the editions I have discussed here, finishing with the Green *SHS* which is the subject of this thesis.

MS. GKS 79 2°

This is a beautiful edition, more for lay people than for a monastic audience, though the text, as well, has been made accessible through a Middle German translation. It was clearly intended by its noble patron to be highly legible and accessible to himself and his family through its eye-catching, colorful, and well-executed illustrations — illustrations that are very straightforward and easy to interpret, as we saw earlier in the depiction of the Passover. To summarize, I would say that MS. GKS 79 2° has conventional, yet ornate illustrations that attempt to convey simple points. They do not radically change the meaning of the work, but they directly serve and largely enhance the work's main function as an easily digestible mirror of the history of human salvation.

MS. Douce 204

This manuscript's complex and off-beat illustrative strategy has much to do with its intended audience. MS. Douce 204 is characterized by uncolored, but fine illustrations that have more nuanced meanings than the other examples we have examined. As the manuscript was made for a French Bishop, the illustrations can be more complex and ornate than the Green or Pierpont Morgan *SHS*, but perhaps ought to be less colorful and simple than MS. GKS 79 2°. Although one might find MS. Douce 204 initially less notable than MS. GKS 79 2°, the pictures end up being ultimately a good deal more interesting. Without the inclusion of these illustrations, we would lose a humorous and nuanced visual compliment to the message of *SHS*, in which the illustrations of the antitypes present people doing exactly what they are not supposed to do according to the text. Two of the illustrations, at least (B and D), are visual injunctions against pride,

while another (C) acts as an example of poor ceremony. This is especially appropriate given that this text was made for a Bishop and later given to an Archbishop. The illustrations aim to motivate the viewer to humbly and reverently administer the sacraments, and lovingly shepherd and tend to the general health of his flock. Without these expertly drawn and interestingly formulated illustrations, these crucially important messages would likely have been missed by most readers, and the overall thrust of MS. Douce 204 would have almost certainly suffered.

MS.GC.000321, MS M.140, and G.11784

The illustrations in the Green *SHS* are conventional, and are the most minimal in all the editions surveyed here. *MS M. 140* does much of the same work, and the illustrations are almost all directly copied from MS.GC.000321 (although the addition of colored leaves produces another layer of complexity). Though the illuminations in either manuscript might highlight a particular focus within the text, they do not radically change our interpretation of the particular edition of the *SHS*, as one might say about the illustrations from MS. Douce 204. As I have noted previously, the illustrations in the Green and Pierpont Morgan *SHS* largely serve to lay a foundation for further learning as a mnemonic and organizational device.

G.11784 is similar to these two manuscripts in that the illustrations most likely serve a primarily mnemonic function. The illustrations in this blockbook do not seem to be to be particularly novel in terms of composition or approach. The text could stand alone without losing much in terms of meaning, as with the Pierpont Morgan and Green *SHS*.

The simplicity of the images in the Green, Pierpont Morgan, and Blockbook editions compliments the work's mnemonic function. The images in MS. Douce 204 are not as effective as a mnemonic aid as are those in MS.GC.000321 or the others, because they are too ornate and complex. Note, as well, that MS. Douce 204, although it does consist of two columns recto or verso, tends to split up its chapters across page spreads so that the first column of a given chapter is located on the recto. This certainly would impair the framework for memorization, as the type of each chapter is not immediately visible next to its three antitypes. Perhaps, given the (theoretically) sophisticated and well-catechized audience, forming a basic understanding of the story of human salvation was not a primary concern; rather, the artist, Laurentius, along with those compiling the manuscript, might have been more interested in providing the bishop with a more nuanced and personal reading of a narrative with which he was already familiar .

The work of Mary Carruthers in her book, *The Craft of Thought*, presents a helpful lens through which we can better understand how the images can function mnemonically in these three editions. Monastic *memoria*, she says, is primarily conceived of as locational; creating memories involve creating picture-based structures in which those memories can be physically located, as a mental inventory of sorts.¹⁰⁰ The making of a memory, or set of memories, was thought of as an architectural process, as in a house from which one could retrieve, or even create, certain ideas from certain rooms. With this in mind, the architectural framing that literally structures and connects the images in G.11784 is of great significance, as we know that the *SHS* was a text that was first and foremost intended for memorization. It was to serve as a structure in which other new

¹⁰⁰ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9-10.

ideas could be present and understood. The *SHS* presented uneducated lay people and clerics with a mental foundation for processing the information found in the world around them. Moreover, what knowledge is more useful than the knowledge of God and man's condition, as our scribe says in the proem? The pictures of the *SHS* in the three editions mentioned here create a logical storage pattern and structure, a physical space in which new memories and ideas can be assembled.

CHAPTER FOUR

Reflections on the Significance of MS.GC.000321

Earlier Research at a Glance

The subject of this thesis has been a previously unstudied fourteenth century Austrian illuminated manuscript (MS.GC.000321), to which I have had access through the Green Scholars Initiative. This manuscript is one of many editions of a medieval typological work called the *Speculum humanae salvationis* ["The Mirror of Human Salvation"]. The book presents, as the name suggests, a summary of Christian salvation story. To do this, it uses a narrative framework, teaching the reader how to relate Old Testament types to the New Testament antitypes found in the lives of Christ and the Virgin. Nearly 400 copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* are extant, and of these, approximately one third are illustrated. MS.GC.000321 falls into this third.

My work has dealt—among other things—with the manuscript's origins in the Tyrolean court, its place in the tradition of *Speculum humanae salvationis* production, the significance of its illuminations, and its theological resonance in the Cistercian context. I spent the first chapter giving a physical description of MS.GC.000321, establishing stemma and provenance, as well as investigating the main people and places associated with the manuscript's production. In the second chapter, I delved into dimensions of the text when considered in the context of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Cistercian religious orders; naturally, I focused on Cistercian usage, as the Green *Speculum* comes

from this context. The third chapter focuses exclusively on the manuscript's illuminations and their place within the larger tradition of *SHS* illustration. As an interpretive tool, I compared a specific set of illuminations from MS.GC.0000321 with the same group of images from five other editions of the work, produced in different time periods and locations in Europe.

The central aims of my writing and research here have been, first, to discover the origins, usage, and tradition surrounding MS.GC.000321, and second, to comment on the manuscript's significance within the larger tradition of *Speculum humanae salvationis* production and use in medieval Europe. This fourth and final chapter will be primarily focused on this second goal; I aim to provide meaningful commentary on this question of significance, drawing from, and expanding on, my research in earlier chapters. To accomplish this aim, I will consider the importance of the Green *Speculum* in the history of *SHS* production with regard to the following categories: (1) illustration, (2) production and usage, and (3) textual content. Included in this commentary will be a transcription and translation of folios 52v to 53r. These are the final unilluminated pages of the manuscript that serve as a kind of meditative epilogue to the other sections of the text. These lines were likely added later to the complete *SHS* text by a monk at Stift Stams in response to the work. I will conclude with a discussion of this "epilogue", considering the ways in which it makes MS.GC.000321 is unique among editions of the *SHS*.

Significance of Illustrations

Status as an Illuminated Manuscript

To start, MS.GC.000321 is notable as a copy of the *SHS*, because it is illustrated; it is one of approximately one hundred and thirty three illustrated copies of the *SHS*. This totals to about one third of the roughly four hundred extant editions of the text. It is part of Group 2 of Breitenbach's iconographical system of classification, and bears many similarities to other editions in the set. Of course, these manuscripts are grouped together because of the similarities in their illustrations, so it is not extremely important that MS.GC.000321 could be used as a paradigm or example for the set.

Relationship with Pierpont Morgan SHS

What is significant, however, is the extremely close relation that MS.GC.000321 seems to have with MS M.140, another manuscript in Group 2. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, it looks as though MS. M 140 was copied from MS.GC.000321. The illustrations are almost identical in terms of composition, though those of the *SHS* from the Pierpont Morgan Library are illustrated and seem to have been made by an artist with less skill.

There is a good deal to be gleaned, I believe, from looking at the manuscripts side by side. For instance, we can guess that MS M.140 was made by copying MS.GC.000321, not only due to the very similar illuminations, but also because certain textual errors present in MS.GC.000321 have been corrected by the scribe of MS M.140. It seems that the scribe of the Pierpont Morgan *Speculum* noticed the error when he was

copying MS.GC.000321 and left a blank space for a time in order to find the correct word. The scribe must have later centered the correction in the generous blank space he left for himself, because the word is surrounded with several letters' worth of blank space on either side (a feature that is hardly typical of the other parts of the manuscript).

From evidences like these, we can guess that the Green *Speculum* predates the Pierpont Morgan *Speculum* as one was very clearly copied from the other. If that is the case, then a more accurate date can be suggested for MS M.140. In the museum description from the Morgan Library, the date of the manuscript is listed as the second half of the fourteenth century. We now know from an inscription on the title page of the Green *SHS* that the work was composed sometime in the 1380s, and thus, we can assume that the Pierpont Morgan *Speculum* was made sometime after this date. Therefore, the Green *Speculum* is significant, because it increases our understanding of specific aspects of manuscripts from its tradition.

Manuscript Illuminations as Mirror

The extremely high percentage of illustrated copies of the *SHS* indicates something about the work's content and use; if the illuminations were not central to the message or function of the *SHS*, there simply would not be so many illustrated editions. Think about the name *Speculum humane salvationis*: there is a visual metaphor implicit in the idea of the "Mirror of man's salvation." Perhaps there is something essential about the illustrative component in understanding the text, or some way in which the illustrations function as mirrors. There are editions, Ms. Douce 204, for example, in which the illuminations provide an insightful visual gloss to the text. As discussed in

Chapter 3, these illustrations offered the attentive reader a complete reversal of the individual injunctions present in the accompanying poetry. They reflect back, and enhance the meaning of, the poetry by providing a kind of “what-not-to-do” message; one could argue that they have the potential to anticipate and reflect back the reader’s flaws, as would a literal mirror to an individual paying attention.

This is directly in line with the medieval concept of the Holy Scriptures as mirror (mentioned in Chapter 1), functioning as a passive reflector of an individual’s virtues and vices.¹⁰¹ Ms. Douce 204 seems to follow the injunction to be a mirror for the reader’s moral discernment more literally than MS.GC.000321, which actually endeavors to depict the potential flaws of its audience (as I argued in Chapter 3). The illustrations of the Green *SHS* do not attempt to visually anticipate the reader’s vices (as is the case with MS. Douce 204), but they do reflect the events of Holy Scripture. Thus, in so far as they act as a mirror of *the Mirror*,¹⁰² they are able to reflect back to the viewer his vices and virtues: “For the word of God is living and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the division of soul and spirit, and of joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart,” (Hebrews 4:12, NKJV).

Ms. Douce 204 was produced for a French Bishop, presumably an educated and well-catechized member of the clergy. He did not need the illuminations of his copy of the *Speculum* to literally convey the Biblical events, as he would have already been familiar with them. To reference the work of Mary Carruthers, he would have already built the mental framework of the Holy Scriptures in his memory. Illustrations that

¹⁰¹ Evelyn Ann Silber, “The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Fourteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2008) 1.

¹⁰² That is, act as mirror of Scripture, which is a mirror itself.

convey and categorize the Biblical events present in poetry of the *Speculum* would have, perhaps, been redundant for someone who already possessed a thorough knowledge of the Christian metanarrative, and its individual parts.

On the other hand, the illustrations of the Green *Speculum* serve a largely mnemonic function. They exist to help the viewer organize, memorize, and categorize the events of Scripture. The simple style of illustration of MS.GC.000321 accords with the original intention of the author of the *SHS*. He comments on this subject in the Prologue:

In praesenti autem uita nichil estimo homini utilius esse
Quam deum creatorem suum et propriam condicionem nosce.
Hanc condicionem possunt litterati habere ex scripturis
Rudes autem erudiri debent in libris laycorum id est in picturis.
Quapropter ad gloriam dei et pro erudicione indoctorum
Cum dei adutorio decreui conpilare librum laycorum.

[I judge that nothing is more useful to a man in this present life than to know God, his Creator, and to know his own condition. The educated are able to learn of this condition from the Scriptures; however, the unlearned ought to be taught in the books of the laity; that is, with pictures. For this reason, and with God's help, I decided to compile a book for lay people, for the instruction of the unlearned to the glory of God.]¹⁰³

The goal of the *SHS* is to help the reader gain the understanding of his God, and his own condition through a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The author of the Prologue thinks this can best be accomplished for lay people using pictures. Thus, outside of the function of the poem itself, illustrations of the *SHS* exist to help the uneducated come to know God and themselves through the truths present in Scripture. Clearly, the *SHS* as a work was seen to have a wider application for outreach than the author seems to have

¹⁰³ Transcription courtesy of Amy Freeman, from MS.GC.000321, folio 4, column A, ll. 11-16. The translation is mine.

originally intended. Ms. Douce 204 is evidence of this, with its sophisticated commentary in the form of graciously rendered illuminations.

The illustrations of the Green *Speculum*, however, are significant in that they remain very much in line with the original intentions of the author. In contrast to Ms. Douce 204, they are not particularly complicated or painstakingly produced. They do not offer an obvious commentary of any kind on the poetry in the *SHS*. This would have undermined the essential mnemonic function of the manuscript's illuminations. If each of the illustrations of MS.GC.000321 presented a challenging and subtle satire of human behavior as recontextualized into a Bible story, the reader would have likely become confused and had trouble memorizing and understanding the substance of the Scriptural event itself. For the monk trying to acquire a basic grasp of typology, an additional commentary implicit in his mnemonic would likely have been too much information to be a very effective device. For the lay person with no knowledge of Latin, potentially subversive and satirical illustrations like those in Ms. Douce 204 would have been misleading. Imagine trying to get a basic idea of the Passover meal from the picture of the Jews celebrating the event in MS. Douce 204! It would be much easier to discern from the version present in MS.GC.000321 (See Fig. 4 for a comparison).

In summary, the illustrations of the Green *Speculum* were produced in a simple but clear manner, conveying an actual summary of the Scriptural event. Thus, the illuminations of MS.GC.000321 are significant in that they seem to be completely consonant with the objectives of the author and the lay reader. Since they are communicating Scripture to the viewer, the illustrations of MS.GC.000321 have the additional potential to reflect, as a mirror, the virtues and vices of the reader.

Importance of Production and Usage

The Green *Speculum* is also significant because of its interesting production and usage, which I would like to suggest, is a paradigmatic for the work of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* as a whole. In the text from the Prologue quoted earlier, the author of the *SHS* wanted to make a book with pictures for the uneducated so that they could come to understand the Scriptures. He adds:

Ut autem tam clericis qui laycis possit doctrina dare
Satago illum facili quodammo dictamine elucidare.¹⁰⁴

[So that the teaching is able to given to both clerks and laymen,
I have troubled myself to compose this work with language that is fairly simple.]

However, we know from the varied quality of production, artistic and literary influence, chronological range, and geographical spread that the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was circulated to more than just lay people, clerks, and the “*paurperes praedicatores*” (fol.4, column a, l. 4) mentioned in the Prologue. It was a work that touched thousands of individuals from all social ranks and levels of education.

The *Green Speculum* seems to be an excellent example of this historical reality, as there were members of society from virtually every level involved in its production and usage. The work started, of course, in the court of the Tyrolean princes with its commission by Duke Leopold III of Austria. He wanted a copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* to be sent to the Cistercian monastery of St. John in Stams. It was here, after all, that he would soon join several generations of Tyrolean royal in their ancestral resting

¹⁰⁴ for this transcription, I referenced Palmer, *Religious Didacticism in the 'Speculum humanae salvationis'*, 349.

place. In order to give this “token of his special friendship,” Duke Leopold commissioned his court painter, Konrad vom Tiergarten to illustrate the Green *Speculum*.¹⁰⁵ *Magister Choanradus*, as he is called in the dedication, represents another social class, presumably a middling one; important enough to be noticed by the Duke for his skill as a painter, but still at heart an artisan, Konrad might have been a lay person of at least decent means. The next social group with which the Green *Speculum* interacted was the residents of Stift Stams; that is, a group of Cistercian monks and one Abbot Grussit.¹⁰⁶

It is important to note here that from very early on, the life at Stift Stams deviated from the ideal of Cistercian isolation and solitude. By the time Stift Stams was founded, Kopf claims, Cistercian spirituality had already undergone a great transformation. The estate given to the monks at Stams was already in possession of goods, tenants, and vassals. This would have been a serious impediment to the fulfillment of the vows of poverty and manual labor taken by members of Cistercian Order. It was typical of the monks at Stams to engage in pastoral activity, a form of life of questionable compatibility with the *vita contemplativa*. Visitors were allowed in the monastery. In 1282, Stift Stams was given permission by the Bishop to accommodate all the pilgrims who came to St. John’s Church to receive indulgence for visiting a relic of the finger of St. John the Baptist.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ From the dedication of MS.GC. 000321 on the opening folio: “Istum librum dedit monasterio sanctus Johannis / in Stams. Magister Chuonradus pictor/ducis Leopoldi pro signo specialis amicitie.” [Master Konrad, the painter of Duke Leopold, as a sign of his special friendship, gave this book to the monastery of St. John in Stams.]

¹⁰⁶ Irma Trattner, "Die Marienkronungstafel im Zisterzienserstift Stams in Tirol. Ihre Stellung zwischen Sudund Nord." (Das Munster 52, 1999): 298-310.

¹⁰⁷ Köpf, Ulrich. “Zisterziensische Spiritualität in Tirol: Die Anfänge von Stift Stams.” Ed., Loose, Rainer. (Von der Via Claudia Augusta zum Oberen Weg: Leben an Etsch und Inn ; Westtirol und angrenzende Räume von der Vorzeit bis heute ; Vorträge der landeskundlichen Tagung veranstaltet vom

According to Kopf's article on Cistercian spirituality at Stift Stams, the monks were focused more on outreach to the community than on lives of quiet contemplation. I would assume that the monastery's connections with the Hapsburgs and the Tyrolean princes also made Stift Stams a very busy spot. The *SHS* was surely an excellent tool for the pastoral ministry of the Cistercians at Stams; it was indeed intended for preachers, as I noted earlier. Perhaps it was even requested by the Abbot from within the monastery, given the high volume of lay people under the abbey's care. It is very likely that the monks at Stift Stams used the Green *Speculum* both as an aid to their preaching as well as for their (apparently somewhat limited, but doubtless still existent) times of personal contemplation.¹⁰⁸

If this is the case, then the manuscript would have directly or indirectly influenced both the laity of the region and the pilgrims passing through it. In the Middle Ages, pilgrims came from literally every rank and social class, from kings to the poorest of the poor.¹⁰⁹ Since Stift Stams was engaged in accommodating pilgrims, the Green *SHS* must have had an even broader reach than if the monks were only interacting with the lay residents.

Stift Stams is in a unique situation in its interaction with those from all walks of life, from its connections with Tyrolean royalty to its probable concern for the vassals occupying the monastery's estate. Accordingly, MS.GC.000321, with its royal patronage and eventual home in the hands of preaching monks, had a reach analogous in breadth to

Verein Via Claudia Augusta Tirol, Landeck und dem Südtiroler Kulturinstitut, Bozen; Landeck, June 16-18, 2005) 191.

¹⁰⁸ See my second chapter for a more detailed discussion of this idea.

¹⁰⁹ Stams might not have attracted as varied a crowd as major destinations like Santiago de Compostela, but we can still assume that people of different ranks and stations came to visit the relic.

that of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* text itself. I would like to emphasize the manuscript's significance in light of this consideration.

Importance of Textual Content

The text of MS.GC.000321 consists of a Proem, Prologue, a forty-two chapter body (containing the *Speculum humanae salvationis* proper), as well as three double-length chapters containing the seven stations of the Passion, the Seven Joys, and the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The selection of chapters and introductory material present here represents the fullest possible range of conventional *Speculum humanae salvationis* chapter content, which is significant in itself. There is, however, at the end of the book, a modest extraction¹¹⁰ from a Latin poem called the *Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*. It acts as an epilogue¹¹¹ to the rest of *SHS* text, situated between a few explanatory lines at the beginning and end of the excerpt. These lines are likely original, added by the scribe; those at the beginning introduce the content of the *Vita Rhythmica*, and the ones at the end summarize the content and offer a final prayer to the Virgin. This “epilogue” reveals a number of important points about the world surrounding the Green *Speculum*, which I will discuss after more complete description of the epilogue's content.

This section of MS.GC.000321 was likely added by a monk at Stift Stams after the rest of the manuscript had been completed. His handwriting is similar to the gothic

¹¹⁰ Lines 6612-6741 of the *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*; 129 lines total.

¹¹¹ I am going to call this section an epilogue for lack of better term, as it is clearly continuing and wrapping up some of the thoughts of the *SHS* text, but does not directly address it.

textura rotunda of the earlier sections of text, with the major difference being the first scribe's more frequent use of abbreviations.

The *Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, allegedly drawn from Byzantine sources, was composed in the first half of the thirteenth century. Thus, it is almost certainly an older work than the *Speculum humane salvationis*, which is conventionally dated to 1324. The *Vita Rhythmica* has been noted for containing the most detailed description of Christ's physical appearance found in the Latin West.¹¹² Its portrayal of Mary's physical traits and activities are also highly detailed. It is written in rhymed Latin verses with a German style. In his 1888 edition of the *Vita Rhythmica*, Vögtlin posits that the anonymous author is from the Southeast Austrian state of Styria. The work was one of regional popularity and was not commonly found outside of German speaking areas. Something like ten manuscripts are extant, three in Graz (the capital of Styria), six in the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and one in the Kantonsbibliothek in Zurich, Switzerland. Vögtlin's modern published edition is drawn from the manuscript located in Zurich which he traces back to Kloster Rheinau, a Benedictine abbey in the area.¹¹³

Vögtlin's edition differs at many points from the version of the *Vita Rhythmica* attested in the fragment at the end of MS.GC.000321.¹¹⁴ At those points where the texts

¹¹² Robert van den Broek, *Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem On the Life and the Passion of Christ: A Coptic Apocryphon*, (Leiden: BRILL, 2012): 57.

¹¹³ Adolf Vögtlin. Introduction to *Vita Beate Virignis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, (Tubingen, 1888), ll. 3-5.

¹¹⁴ These textual variations indicate that the fragment at the end of MS.GC.000321 was most likely not copied from the Zurich manuscript, but from one of those in Graz or the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

diverge, however, the essential meaning of the poetry seldom alters. Also, the rhymes at the end of each line rarely disagree.

Transcription and Translation

I have included my transcription and translation of the entire epilogue and provided my commentary thereafter in the following section.

----- Transcription -----

*qualiter fuerit vita et conversatio sanctae mariae virginis prologus*¹¹⁵

Folio 52 V, Column A

Qualis fuerit vita et conversatio sanctae mariae virginis 1
Incipit prologus operis sequenti:

Haec est vita virginis mariae gloriose
Summi dei filii matris generosae.¹¹⁶
Qua vixit in hoc seculo in custodia vobis. 5
Post ascensum filii plus quam novem annis:

[“Regula beate virginis secundum quam vixit post ascensionem filii sui”]

“Maria sibi regulam statuit vivendi¹¹⁷ [start]
Et sub quodam ordine deo serviendi.
A noctis enim tempore hore matutine
Oracioni iugiter vacabat haec divinae, [6615] 10

¹¹⁵ A Latin personal cursive hand in a lighter brown ink (see Figure 30) could be making corrections or at least suggests an alternative to the text of the rubric. However, I think that this scrawled line is probably a note to the rubricator, meant to give him a basic idea of how to introduce the first set of four lines. I say this because the thinned ink of the floating text matches the marks in the margins indicating the placement of *paragraphi* to the rubricator (Figure 31). Additionally, the curvise marginalium could not fit grammatically with the second line of the rubric, as the word “*prologus*” is repeated. An annotation (Figure 3) on column a of fol. 53r also seems to serve this function, though the ink looks darker here than in the initial annotation.

¹¹⁶ Almost every line in the manuscript ends in a *punctus* (or •). All my punctuation here is arbitrary, but I largely take my cues from Vögtlin, *Vita Rhythmica*, 223-7.

¹¹⁷ Text picks up at line 6612 of the *Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*. This is the beginning of a section titled: “*Regula beate virginis secundum quam vixit post ascensionem filii sui*” [The Rule/Standard of the Blessed Virgin according to which she lived after the ascension of her son].

Usque dum inciperet dies et haec hora
 A nobis quae vulgariter dicitur aurora;
 ¶ Ab hac enim se contulit meditationi,
 Verborum evangelii ac recordationi
 Dulcis sui filii, cuncta recolendo, [6620] 15
 Ipse quae sustinuit pro mundo patiendo,
 Quod ab eius utero fuit incarnatus
 Et sine doloribus ab ipsa baiulatus,
 Quod ab ea virginæ permanente natus
 Et suis uberibus virgineis lactatus, [6625] 20
 Qualiter annis plurimis secum morabatur
 Et illius dulcedine semper fruebatur.
 Qualiter—ab impiis et falsis est iudeis—
 Captus, vinctus, vinculis, cesusque ab eis!
 Qualiter ad statuam fuerat ligatus, [6630] 25
 Et a satellitibus dire flagellatus!
 Coronaque spinea dure coronatus,
 A pylato preside morte condemnatus!
 Crucifixus et mortuus frustra^{que} sepultus,
 Quod erat ei gemitus atque dolor multus; 30
 Et quod die tertia de morte resurrexit;
 Ipsum quando cum gaudio viventem respexit. [6635]
 Et qualiter ascenderit celorum in sublime!
 Istam consuetudinem compleuit hora prime.
 ¶ Abhinc usque tertiam contemplacioni 35
 Vacabat et celestium delectacioni.
 Vsque nonam operi postea vacabat, [6640]
 Atque suis manibus intente laborabat;
 Haec vel pannos purpureos de serico texebat
 Vel ut solent femine cum acu consuebat. 40
 Nam artem feminarum per optime sciebat,
 De lino, laua, serico, sicut hanc decebat. [6645]
 ¶ Hanc loqui si oportuit uel cuique respondere
 In hac hora debite studuit implere.
 ¶ Ad templum ibat ut decuit si uolebat ire, 45
 Ut ibi laudes domini posset expedire.
 A domo tamen rarius haec egrediebatur, [6650]

Folio 52 V, Column B

Et per plateas minime uel domos vagabatur; 1
 Sicut cum oportuit ire ad templum salomonis.
 Causa legis domini uel orationis,
 Per viam ibat capite decentus ornato,
 Atque cum uelaamine mundissime uelato; [6655] 5
 Ad terram voltum, oculos modicum reflexit,

¶ Transuentes homines rarissime inspexit.
Ipsam tamen aliquis si forte salutavit,
Caput huic humilitus statim inclinavit
Dicens: “deo gratias, tibi pax!” habebat [6660] **10**
Semper illum familiaritatis modum dum uiuebat.

¶ In templo nichil aliud exercuit maria,
Nisi orationibus vacans cum psalmodia
Vacabat et celestrum contemplacioni,
Et mandatorum domini meditacioni. [6665] **15**
Non in turba populi solebat apparere,
Sicut in loco anguli consuevit residere,
Nec enim cum aliquot colloquiis vacabat,
Sicut peractis omnibus domum remeabat,
¶ Postquam autem advenerat hora diei nona [6670] **20**
Suis in orationibus manens virgo bona,
Donec venit angelus ipsam confortans,
Panem quoque celitus missum sibi portans.
Maria cibo alio tunc non utebatur,
Nisi pane qui diuinitus sibi mittebatur. [6675] **25**
Quicquid autem laboribus manu lucrari
Valuit, hoc ordinavit egenis erogari.
Haec refecta celitus manens in labore
¶ Donec venit spacium vespertine hore.
A cunctis tunc laboribus manuum cessauit, [6680] **30**
Atque orationibus et psalmis tunc uacauit.
Sic hora completory diem consumauit,
Sic indie sepcies laudes decantauit.
Postea dulciflue se devocioni
Dedit et celestium contemplacioni, [6685] **35**
Secretaque celestia corde meditando,
Ac eleuato ipsum iocunde iubilando.
¶ In viriginis consorcio feminae fuerunt
Quinque caste virgines ex istis extiterunt.
Tres et due viduae mariae commorantes, [6690] **40**
Sibi cum obsequio solamen exhibentes.
Vestes quoque virginis non erant preciose
Nec tincte coloribus nec multum curiose.
Semper autem vestibus hiis induebatur
Tunica cum camisia supraque tegebatur [6695] **45**
Religioso pallio proprii coloris,
Sicut erat feminis diebus illis moris.

Folio 53 R, Column A

Erantque mundissime vestes et decentes, **1**
Sicut eam decuit scissuras non habentes;

Nemo tamen impius aut detrahens causetur	[6700]
De mariae uestibus uel scandalizetur.	
Quia hanc mundissimam virginem decebat	5
Uti mundis uestibus, quia non habebat	
Causam cur cilicium, uel sagulum portaret,	
Uel uestem penitentiae; nam quod emendaret	[6705]
Per luctum tristitiae, numquam haec peccatum	
Fecit innocentiae sanctae seruans statum.	10
Uestimenta virginis numquam sunt attrita;	
Post ascensionem filii suorum, in manserunt ita,	
Sicut ea induit, in prima nouitate.	[6710]
Nec scissa sunt nec aliqua consumpta vetustate;	
¶ Peploque mundissimo semper utebatur	15
Super caput desupere quod tamen tegebatur	
Uelo candidissimo. hoc modicum dependit,	
Nuda colli protegens ad scapulas descendit;	[6715]
Et a fronte medio se modicum reflexit.	
Non genae aut auriculae uel mentum arcebantur	20
Sicut cum peplo composite subtus stringebantur,	
Sic quod tota facies libera manebat;	[6720]
Sic se Maria domina honeste componebat.	
¶ Crines sui capitis semper dependebant,	
Tecti tamen pallio uel tunica manebant;	25
¶ Tulit quoque cingulum de retorta zona,	
Aut cordam ut feminis mos eam haec virgo bona.	[6725]
¶ Utebatur calceis, sicut tunc se calciauit	
Ire dum oportuit quoquam quia cauit,	
Ne nudi appareant sui pedes ulla uice,	30
Tenens se humiliter nimis et pudice.	
¶ Lectus quoque virginis non habuit ornatum	[6730]
Uilem, sed mundissimum erat suum stratum	
De sago super stramina pannum habebat,	
Et cervical modicum in quo quiescebat.	35
¶ Ad lectum locus fuerat orare quo solebat,	
Aut contemplabatur suauiter scripturas ut legebat,	[6735]
Ad partem uero alteram fuerat locata	
Sedes in qua residebat ad opus haec beata.	
Numquam uacans otio intente laborauit.	40
Orans mente & spiritu psalmos ruminauit,	
Aut psallebat domino aut contemplabatur,	[6740]
Aut in mentis iubilo deo fruebatur.” ¹¹⁸	[end]
Sit per dies singulos maria faciebat	

¹¹⁸ Excerpt from *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica* ends here, at line 6741 (l. 43 in the manuscript's line numbers). The text composed by the presumably Stamsian monk starts at the next line.

Quibus in hoc seculo uiuens permanebat. 45
Oracio ad beatam virinem mariam:
O regina virginum fac tecum gratulari

Folio 53 R, Column B

Quos hic in exilio vides tribulari . 1
Jube tuum filium roga tuum patrem
Pro nobis peccatoribus te, ostendens matrem.
Ut nos velis protegere dareque iuuanem.¹¹⁹
Gaudentes que perducet ad celi regna AMEN. 5

----- Translation -----

Folio 52 V, Column A

The prologue of the work concerns itself with following 1
what the lifestyle and the conduct¹²⁰ of the Holy Virgin Mary was like:
This is the life of the glorious Virgin Mary
the noble mother of the son of the highest God,
who, in guardianship for you all, lived in this age
nine years more after the Ascension of her Son: 5

[The Rule of the Blessed Virgin,
according to which she lived after the Ascension of her Son]¹²¹

“Mary established a rule of living for herself 1
and lived under a certain order of serving God. [start]
For from the night at *Matins*
she continually devoted herself to divine prayer, [6615] 10
continuing while the day was beginning, and the hour
which we commonly call dawn (*Lauds*).
For from this time, she carried herself in meditation

¹¹⁹ “*Iuuanem*” is most likely a mistake on the part of the monk or scribe. It could be a present active participle of *iuvo* (1) if it read *iuvantem* or *iuvanties*.

¹²⁰ “*conversatio*” here can also be translated as behavior, conduct, or way of life. IT has very specific religious connotations, as it is the word used to refer to the monastic life.

¹²¹ Text picks up at line 6612 of the *Vita beate virginis Marie et Salvatoris rhythmica*. In Vögtlin’s 1888 edition, the beginning of a section titled “*Regula beate virginis secundum quam vixit post ascensionem filii sui*” [The Rule/Standard of the Blessed Virgin according to which she lived after the ascension of her son]. This subtitle is present in MS.GC.00032. It is included for clarification.

saying: "Thanks be to god, peace to you!" She always had that way of familiarity while she was living.	[6660] 10
In the Temple, Mary did nothing else unless she was devoting herself to prayers with psalmody. She devoted herself to celestial contemplation, and to meditating on the commands of God.	[6665] 15
She was not accustomed to appear in the mob of the populous, as she was accustomed to sit in a corner. For she did not occupy herself with conversation as if she were coming back to the house with everything completed.	
But after the ninth hour of the day had arrived (<i>None</i>) she was remaining in her prayers until the angel came to the good Virgin, consoling her, bringing bread that was sent to her from Heaven.	[6670] 20
Mary would not eat any food at that time unless bread which is from heaven was sent to her. However, anything she was able to procure by the labors of the hand and she arranged to be given to those in need.	[6675] 25
She, refreshed from Heaven, was remaining in labor until the time came for the hour of <i>Vespers</i> . Then she ceased from all labors of hands, and she was then devoted to prayers and psalms.	[6680] 30
Thus she spent the day at the hour of <i>Compline</i> , Thus she sang lauds seven times. Afterwards she gave herself to sweetly flowing devotion and to contemplation of heavenly things, and meditating on celestial things with a secret heart, and rejoicing in the Him with elevated jubilation.	[6685] 35
There were women sharing in fellowship with the Virgin and there were five virgins going about chastely. Three and two widows were remaining with Mary, for her with compliance exhibiting solace.	[6690] 40
And the robes of the Virgin were not expensive, nor dyed with colors, nor were they unusual. However she was always dressing herself in these robes: A tunic with a shirt and this was covered over with a religious cloak of appropriate color, just as was the female custom in those days.	[6695] 45

Folio 53 R, Column A

And her garments were most delicately appropriate, as it was suitable to her, not having tears; Still no impious or disparaging person objected to Mary's clothing, or was scandalized.	1 [6700]
For it befitted the most pure virgin	5

to use such pure clothing, since she did not have
 a reason why she might use a hair shirt, a cloak,
 or clothes of penitence; For, since she was free of error [6705]
 through the lamentation of grief, this woman never committed sin,
 preserving her state of holy innocence. 10
 The vestments of the Virgin never wore out;
 as if she dressed in them for the first time. [6710]
 after the ascension of her son they remained
 Neither were they torn, nor did they wear thin because of age;
 and she always wore her refined robe 15
 over her head, which nevertheless was covered
 with the purest white veil. This hung down a small amount,
 protecting the exposed parts of her neck,
 and it flowed down to her shoulder blades. [6715]
 And this veil turned out slightly at the center of her forehead.
 Neither her cheeks, her ears, nor her chin were protected, 20
 as when the articles of clothing underneath a robe have been drawn tight,
 so that the whole face remains uncovered; [6720]
 In such a way, Lady Mary carried herself decently.
 Her locks always flowed down from her head,
 although they were covered with a cloak or a tunic; 25
 Also, in terms of a belt, she wore a sash twisted aside,
 or a cord, the good virgin did as is the habit of a woman. [6725]
 She wore slippers, as at that time she shoed herself
 to go anywhere it seemed fit, since she feared
 that her feet appeared might naked on any street, 30
 holding herself exceedingly humbly and modestly.
 Also the bed of the Virgin did not have cheap ornamentation, [6730]
 but her coverlet was most elegant
 about the cloak above the straw it had a cloth,
 and a small pillow on which she rested. 35
 On the bed was the place she was accustomed to pray,
 or contemplate the scriptures sweetly as she read. [6735]
 However, there was located, in another place,
 a chair in which this blessed woman sat to work.
 Never being idle, with work she labored attentively, 40
 Praying, she ruminated on the Psalms with her mind and her soul,
 she sang the Psalms to the Lord, she contemplated them, [6740]
 or she delighted in God with a joyful noise of her mind.” [end]

This is what Mary did throughout each day
in which she remained living in this age. 45
A prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary:
O Queen of Virgins, make it that they might rejoice with you

Folio 53 R, Column B

whom you see are troubled here in exile.	1
Enjoin your son, ask your father	
on behalf of us sinners, showing yourself our mother.	
so that you might wish to protect us and give us aid.	
And He will lead those rejoicing to the kingdoms of heaven AMEN.	5

Significance of the Epilogue

Now, in the epilogue of MS.GC.000321, we have a poem of regional popularity placed in conversation with the *Speculum humane salvationis*. This interesting, and (likely) unprecedented, addition to the *SHS* says quite a bit about the monastery's reaction to the text and style of Marian devotion.

This excerpt from the *Vita Rhythmica* could have been placed here by one of the monks at Stift Stams for a number of reasons. For one, the *SHS* contains an account of the life of the Virgin, which spans from her Immaculate Conception to her Coronation. However, there is a break in the narrative, which essentially comprises the space between Pentecost and the event of the Coronation.¹²² Perhaps the monk responsible for the added sections from the *Vita Rhythmica* wanted to fill in this gap in the chronological narrative of the Virgin's life.

Mary is often figured as the greatest among the saints, and the one to whom Jesus was closest in his earthly life. She is frequently employed as a model for the behavior of other Christians. The Holy Virgin represents perfect openness to divine will. "Answer with a word, receive the Word of God. Speak your own word, conceive the divine Word. Breathe a passing word, embrace the eternal Word." (*Hom. 4, 8-9: Opera mnia, 127 Edit.*

¹²² An episode in which Mary revisits the holy places occurs, but this is a single episode rather than a continuous narrative.

Cisterc. 4 [1966], 53-54). The words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux's homily—framed as moving prayer to the Virgin in the space between Gabriel's announcement and her own ascent—can also be read as an injunction to the believer, calling him to an unconditional acceptance of the will of God in his own life. The Holy Virgin is very much regarded as a model for imitation in the life of the Christian seeking to attain perfection during his stay on earth.

It makes sense, then, that the selection chosen by the monk at Stift Stams would be one that related very closely to his lifestyle.¹²³ This interesting excerpt from the *Vita Rhythmica* speaks about Mary's way of life after the ascension of Christ. Believers are expected to live in this way during the space between Christ's departure from the earth and that glorious day of his return. . In addition, the author of the *Vita Rhythmica* writes that Mary established a *regula* (rule) for herself under an *ordo*. This language is strongly evocative of the Rule of St. Benedict under which the Cistercians at Stift Stams lived. The rubricated heading composed by the monk himself (not taken from the *Vita Rhythmis*) uses the phrase *vita et conversatio* to describe the manner of Mary's existence after Christ's departure. This phrase literally means "life and monastic life." It is telling the monk specified *conversatio* here. Clearly, this passage was selected because of the desire of the author to live as Mary lived, and his desire to draw connections between his life under the *Regula Benedicti*.

It is worth mentioning, at least briefly, the connection between Mary and the *vita comtemplativa* , the life of quiet contemplation the Cistercian monk was expected to

¹²³ Part of the reason I think the "epilogue" is a purposeful addition to the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and not the start of another book contained in the same volume is the absolute relevance of the text chosen to the lives of the monks at Stift Stams. Not to mention the fact that the lines are selected from a very seemingly random spot if you are looking to start your own volume of the *Vita Rhythmica*.

have. This connection draws its inspiration from Scripture: “But Mary treasured all these things, pondering them in her heart” (Luke 2:19) Just so, all kinds of descriptions of Mary’s contemplation are present in the epilogue according to the canonical hours which Cistercian monks would certainly follow.

There is a huge amount of detail in this selection from the *Vita Rhythmica* about Mary’s clothing, social life, etc. Why would a monk care enough about this information to include a passage with such a focus here? This is likely because Mary’s physical characteristics were thought to mirror her inner perfection.

In medieval poetry, Mary is often described using a language that often appeared in the context of courtly love poetry. Whether Mary came to be idealized in this way because of existing poetic idealizations of women, or women came to be idealized in this way because of the descriptions of the Virgin Mary is hard to say. As the Virgin represented the woman perfected, poetic descriptions of beautiful women were bound to have many points of intersection. The Virgin was considered perfect not only in her moral character, but also with regard to her physical appearance. The Church has a long tradition of conceptualizing Mary’s beauty in this way. As far back as the fourth century, St. Ambrose maintained that Mary’s outer loveliness mirrored her inner perfection. This idea certainly carried on into popular works like the *Vita Rhythmica*, in which the physical features of the Virgin are described in great detail. The anonymous author spends ll. 669-760 by describing not only her modest height and the regularity of her limbs, but also by providing details about her eyes, look, eyelids, eyebrows, mouth, lips,

teeth, chin, nose, cheeks, complexion, forehead, hair, neck, walk, and posture.¹²⁴ Before launching into this highly specific depiction, the poet is sure to note:

*Sicut hanc [Maria] virtutibus deus exornavit,
Et velut eam moribus omnipotens beavit,
Sic ipsam pulchritudine natura decoravit,
Et corpus eius specie magna venustavit.*¹²⁵

[Just as God ornamented Mary with virtues,
and just as the Almighty blessed her with character,
so Nature adorned her with beauty,
and made her made her form lovely with great splendor.]¹²⁶

In descriptions of the Virgin, it is consistently understood that her beauty is a mirror of her goodness. Much of the physical and highly specific description present in the excerpt to the *Vita Rhythmis* has symbolic value.

Thus, we can draw from this epilogue to the Green *Speculum* that the monks at Stift Stams were cultivating a special devotion to Mary. The monk responsible for the assembly and composition of this epilogue held her up as a perfect model of the way one should conduct life on earth before the coming of Christ, as ones “*quos hic in exilio vides tribulari.*” It seems the monk was using the life of Mary as a mirror in the context of which he could evaluate the moral actions of his own lifestyle.

This epilogue adds a level of interest and depth to MS.GC.000321 as a manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The monk’s choice of excerpt, and his desire to add this as a conclusion to the *SHS* text, reveals much about his reaction to the *Speculum*, as well as his devotion to the Holy Virgin—much more than I have elaborated on here.

¹²⁴ James I. Wimstatt “The Apotheosis of Blanche in ‘The Book of Duchess’.” *The Journal of English and German Philology* 66 (1967): 29-30.

¹²⁵ Adolf Vögtlin, ed., *Vita Beate Virignis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, (Tubingen, 1888), ll. 665-8.

¹²⁶ All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

The epilogue is evidence of reader response, and ultimately, that response takes the appropriate form of a prayer:

O regina virginum fac tecum gratulari
Quos hic in exilio vides tribulari .
Jube tuum filium roga tuum patrem
Pro nobis peccatoribus te, ostendens matrem.
Ut nos velis protegere dareque iuuanem¹²⁷
Gaudentes que perducet ad celi regna AMEN.

Concluding Summary

Illustrations. In conclusion, the Green *Speculum* is significant, in part, as a typical example of a manuscript of Breitenbach's Group Two. In addition, the manuscript has a strong connection to MS.M.140. This relationship suggests a more accurate date for the Pierpont Morgan *SHS*, and further combined study will likely yield more significant conclusions. The illustrations of MS.GC.000321 are also notable in their simplicity, and thus efficacy, as mnemonic devices. The clear style of illustration present in the manuscript lends itself to extended memorization and categorization, endowing the reader with more comprehensive knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures.

Production and Usage. The *SHS* itself ultimately touched lives in all social circles and circumstances. The Green *Speculum*, in its diverse production and usage—ranging from its commission by Duke Leopold III to its applications in preaching to the laity—likely reached out to individuals from all walks of life. In this way, the production and use of MS.GC.000321 can be thought to serve as a paradigm for the effect of the *SHS* as a whole.

¹²⁷ “*Iuuanem*” is most likely a mistake on the part of the monk or scribe. It could be a present active participle of *iuvo* (1) if it read *iuvantem* or *ivanties*.

Textual Content. The Green *Speculum* is also notable as an edition of the *SHS* that contains the fullest possible range of conventional subject matter in the tradition of *Speculum humane salvationis* production. In addition, the Green manuscript is significant, because it contains an epilogue, of sorts, that demonstrates the actual reaction of a Cistercian monk to the content of the text. This response was to contemplate the life of the Virgin as expressed in the *Vita rhythmica* and relate her monastic style of life after the Ascension of Christ to his own Cistercian way of life. The Green *Speculum* thus ends with a monk's meditation on the Virgin, and a prayer that she might intercede for us sinners before God.

Figures (Ch. 4)

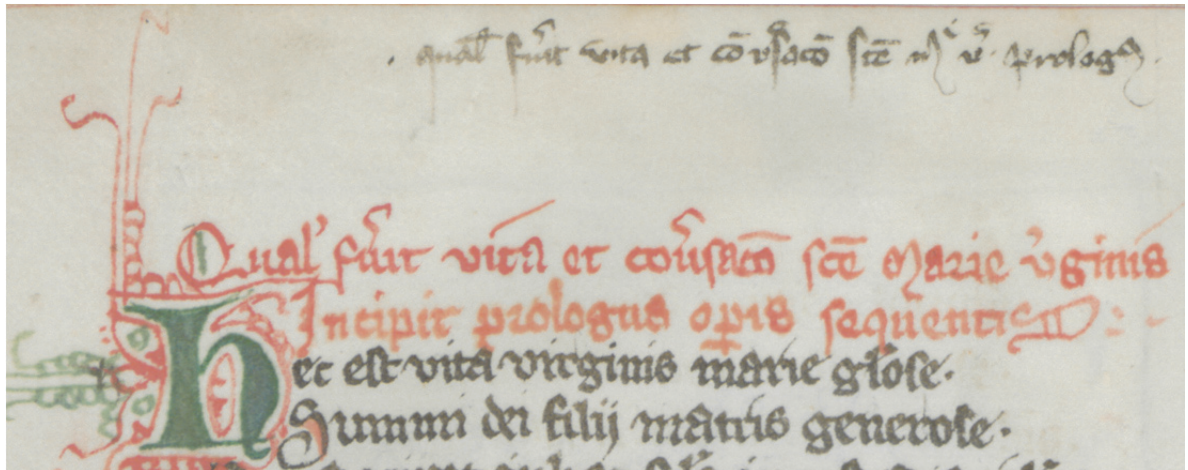


Figure 1: Cursive Script and Rubric, folio 52v, column a, MS.GC.000321

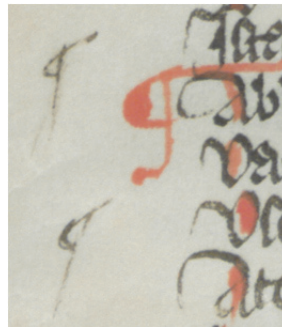


Figure 2: Paragraphi with thinned ink, folio 52v, column a, MS.GC.000321

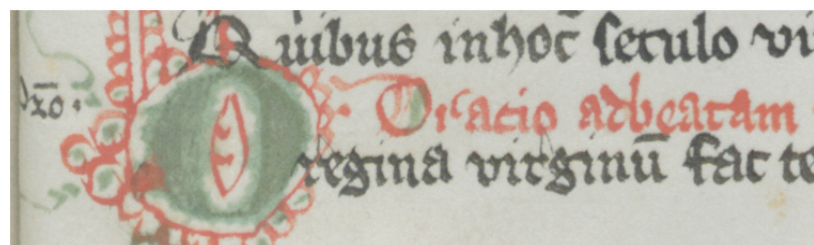


Figure 3: "Oracio" annotation to rubricator in the margin, folio 53r, column a, MS.GC.000321

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