

VISUALIZING SALVATION: THE ROLE OF ARBOREAL IMAGERY IN THE *SPECULUM HUMANAЕ SALVATIONIS* (KREMSMÜNSTER, LIBRARY OF THE CONVENT, COD. 243)

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Gottes muoter ist hie geborn
Ain blueginder rose ane dorn
Von dez geschlaecht her Yesse,
Uins waer anders geschehen we
Und muesin iemer verdorben sin
Inder ewigun helle pin.
Der wisage Esyas,
Der het uins gekuindet daz,
Daz von der wurtze ain boun uz ste,
Diui gehaissen ist Yesse.
Uf dem boum ain bluome wahsenden ist,
Uinser Herr Jesus Christ
Und dez hailigen gaistes gaube,
Die uins behuetent vor der lage
Dez tievels zu der helle.
Swer sin nu sicher welle,
Der stelle nah der fruht
Und nah gaistlicher zuht,
Der wirt dez sicher getan.
Es muos im wol ergan.¹

God's mother was born here,
a blooming rose without thorns
from the lineage of Jesse,
otherwise despair would have overcome us
and we would have had to perish forever
in Hell's eternal torment.
The prophet Isaiah
has announced to us,
that a tree would come forth from the root
that is called Jesse.
On the tree a flower has grown,
our Lord Jesus Christ,
and the dove of the Holy Spirit
that protects us from the lie
of the devil in Hell.
Whoever is seeking to save himself,
should aspire to this fruit
and to spiritual discipline
And so it will certainly come to them,
they must fare well.

* This article has been translated from the original German version into English by the editors of this volume, Pippa Salonijs and Andrea Worm.

¹ Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis* transcribes the German text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*; the passage quoted here is on p. 47. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, complete facsimile edition, I: *Commentary by Willibrord Neumüller*, II: *Facsimile*; see also *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller. In her examination of the manuscript Niesner ignores its other texts and pictures. Hamburger, 'Review of Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the Speculum*', notes that a close examination of how the visual typological system of references operates within specific manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* has yet to be published. Such a close examination is one of the aims of this article. For a methodological reflection on this approach, see also Nichols, 'Introduction'.

These Middle High German verses accompany the illustrated scenes of the Birth of Mary and the Tree of Jesse in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscript in the Convent Library of Kremsmünster, Cod. 243, fols 9^v–10^r (Figure 6.1).

Mary is referred to as the rose and Jesus as the flower of the tree, whose root is Jesse. Vegetal metaphors like these characterize the language and the semantics of the text. This occurs not only in the columns of Alemannic prose poetry situated above the illustrations of this manuscript, but also in the figurative speech of the original Latin verses. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* narrates the history of salvation from the Creation to the Flood, through the Annunciation of Joachim, the life

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and martyrdom of Jesus and Pentecost, and finally closes with the Last Judgement. Each primary New Testament scene is accompanied by three complementary images of symbolic representations or Old Testament episodes functioning as typological counterparts: for example, the Annunciation to Anna (Figure 6.2) on the opening preceding the Birth of the Virgin (Figure 6.1). The Annunciation to Mary, and thus the Incarnation of Christ in Mary as a pure vessel, is paralleled with the Dream of King Astyages. In this dream, it is announced to him that his daughter will give birth to a king (Cyrus) who will free Israel from Egyptian oppression — just as Mary will give birth to the Saviour (Figure 6.2). In the text Mary is praised in the words from the Song of Songs as the *Hortus conclusus*, the enclosed garden, and as the well of living waters (Canticles 4. 12–15). This is continued in the prophecy of Bileam (Numbers 24. 17), according to which a star was to rise out of Israel. This star was understood in the Latin as well as in the Middle High German commentary as announcing the Virgin Mary, the star of the sea: 'stella maris'.² In general, the typological relationship between the Old Testament scenes and their corresponding image from the New Testament is indicated by the compositional alignment of the scenes or by the superimposition of the preceding image on the symbolic representation.³

The eighteenth-century ownership inscription on fol. 3^r above the Tree of Vices indicates that the Kremsmünster manuscript was in the possession of the Premonstratensian monastery of Weissenau at Ravensburg, near Lake Constance (Figure 6.3). It was later transferred to Kremsmünster, as a result of the secularization and dissolution of the monastery of Weissenau in 1812. Apparently, the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was written in the first half of the fourteenth century by an anonymous Dominican, who is mentioned

as 'frater quidam in ordine predicatorum' in chapter 45 (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 50^r, col. 1, line 7).⁴ The dialect of the German verses in the Kremsmünster manuscript points to a Swabian-Alemannic place of origin.⁵ Among roughly four hundred preserved manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, this manuscript is the earliest one containing a bilingual version of the text. Moreover, the Kremsmünster-codex is one of the most lavishly illustrated copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, of which there are roughly 160 illuminated manuscripts.⁶ The manuscript is bound in a simple pigskin binding. Its sixty-two leaves measure 33.5 × 22.5 cm.⁷ As Neumüller has demonstrated, several arguments indicate that it was made for the Premonstratensian convent in Weissenau. In the manuscript, the Dominican Order's patron saint Dominic is replaced by Norbert, the founder and patron of the Premonstratensians, in marked contrast to other existing copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (chapter 37, fol. 42^v). In the illustration on fol. 50^v, a Premonstratensian abbot is represented at the side of a Dominican friar. Furthermore, the image of the Tree of Jesse on fol. 55^r (Figure 6.4), highlights the patrons of the monastery of Weissenau, Peter and Paul, who are shown above the Crucifixion. The heraldic symbols of a golden eagle and the red and white Austrian shield on a coat of arms on fol. 12^r, as well as details of costume, indicate that the manuscript dates to between c. 1325 and c. 1330, when King Ludwig of Bavaria and Frederick the Handsome of Austria (d. 1330) were both elected king. The contemporaneous election of two rulers desta-

² Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 45–46 (Middle High German), see also pp. 179–82 (commentary). Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, 1: *Jahrhunderts: Text*, edition of the Latin text, quoted here in chap. 3, pp. 8–9. The prophecy to King Astyages is based on Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, col. 1470. A substantial portion of the remaining fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, which are written in both Latin and the vernacular, and number well over four hundred, are illuminated. It has been assumed that the first Latin version, too, was illustrated. This manuscript originated in a Mendicant environment, possibly in Italy; cf. Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 8. Stork and Wachinger, 'Speculum humanae salvationis', cols 56–57.

³ This method of figurative typological narration became common in the twelfth century. See Hughes, 'Visual Typology'; Mohnhaupt, *Beziehungsgeflechte Typologische Kunst des Mittelalters*.

⁴ An Italian origin of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* has been suggested because of the existence of a Bolognese manuscript in Toledo, former Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulare, MS 10.8, to which Gerhard Schmidt draws attention in his review of the facsimile edition of the Kremsmünster-codex (Schmidt, 'Review of Neumüller, *Speculum humanae salvationis*', pp. 162–63. Evelyn Silber dates the manuscript in Toledo to c. 1324–35; Silber, 'The Reconstructed Toledo *Speculum humanae salvationis*', p. 34; cf. Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 10–25; Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane salvationis'*, pp. 38–41.

⁵ *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, pp. 12–13, 16–20.

⁶ Roth and Grams-Thieme, 'Speculum humane salvationis'.

⁷ There is one noteworthy irregularity: in the first of the five quaternions (signed with quire-marks at the end of each quire), a smaller separate sheet of 25.8 × 18.5 cm is bound in as fol. 2. On this folio, the ending of the *Summa vitiorum* (starting on fol. 1^v) as well as the *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus*, is noted; on the codicological structure of the manuscript, see in greater detail *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, col. 4.



Figure 6.1. 'Birth of Mary and typological scenes', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 9^r–10^r. c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

bilized and divided the country, also disrupting life at the monastery of Weissenau.⁸

The Tree of Life and the Cross have been the most important symbolic representations of Jesus in exegesis, liturgy, and art since early Christian times. In the Middle Ages, the symbol of the tree was charged with connotations of salvation history. From as early as the twelfth century the flowering Tree of Jesse was a well-known image associated with the arrival of Christ the Messiah of the house of King David.⁹ Thus, it is no surprise that the symbol of the tree is found with par-

ticular frequency in the text as well as in the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where it appears as a trunk with budding leaves, as a vine, or more specifically as a grapevine. The inclusion of a similar motif in different illuminations within the *Speculum humanae salvationis* creates a visual link between these images that goes beyond their specific context. A visual pattern of reference and association is achieved and is woven across the manuscript, where it helps to link the individual images with the passages of text. Other recurring motifs like the enclosed gate of the fortified castle contribute to the visual network of meaning.¹⁰ This pictorial strategy cor-

⁸ Niesner's attempt to attribute the manuscript's production to a Servite convent is, however, not convincing; Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 165–66.

⁹ Schiller, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, pp. 23–31; see the articles in this volume by Marie-Pierre Gelin, 'Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', and Pippa Saloni, 'Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life, and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto'.

¹⁰ Other leitmotifs in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster are the *arma Christi*. They are introduced into various scenes of the Passion (cf. fols 24^r, 25^r, 28^r); they also appear as signs of the victory of Christ and the Virgin Mary over Satan (cf. fols 34^r, 35^r) and in Marian meditation (fol. 40^r); and they represent important moments in the Virgin's life. In the scene of Christ's intercession for humanity they remind us of his passion (fol. 44^r), and in the Last Judgement (fol. 45^r) they also appear as attributes of Christ.

responds to techniques of the medieval *ars memorativa*, in which various topics are linked in order to facilitate the memorization of images and symbols and to aid their recollection.¹¹ The figurative 'tagging' of topics provided a system for associatively linking texts and terms, thus offering a useful tool for developing sermons and for teaching theology. This technique bore creative potential, and was also of great importance for inner vision and contemplation.¹²

I would like to illustrate this idea in a case study of the manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster, which is available in a facsimile edition and thus available to a wider audience.¹³ In my analysis of the manuscript I follow the methodological approach of material philology, which draws attention to the different contexts of a textual tradition, thus shifting the focus of enquiry on the recipients and users of the manuscript in question.¹⁴ The examination of a manuscript as its own entity allows us to analyse its visual structure. Furthermore, it permits us to interpret additions to texts and assess their images as evidence, promoting active discussion of texts, images, and their 'models'.

The Kremsmünster-codex is particularly suitable for the purposes of this volume because it contains the tree as a leitmotif in several arboreal schemes. The Tree of Virtues and Vices appears at the beginning of the codex,

In the scenes of the Passion without typological counterparts, they are also part of the composition (fols 48^v, 49^r–50^r, 52^r), just as in the mariological subject of the *porta clausa*, the closed (castle) gates (fols 9^r, 10^r, 11^r, 12^r, 15^r, 29^r, 30^r, 43^r, 44^r).

¹¹ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, on diagrammatic images see pp. 248–53; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*. Carruthers established to what extent and how the ancient technique of *memoria* was adopted, transformed, and enhanced in the Middle Ages. In classical antiquity the association of terms and passages of text with imaginary terms or objects placed in imaginary rooms was used as a mnemonic device; cf. Gormans, 'Geometria et ars memorativa', pp. 20–29. On *ars memorativa* at the school of Saint-Victor, cf. Kärcher, 'Wer etwas in seinem Geist begreift' (for the image theory of the school of Saint-Victor, see pp. 167–75).

¹² Lentjes, 'Inneres Auge, äußerer Blick und heilige Schau'; Preisinger, 'Renovatio ad imaginem'.

¹³ Most recently this scientific approach is supported by the digital reproduction of entire manuscripts, as offered by the *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis* (CEEC) for the stock of manuscripts in the cathedral library of Cologne, and the *Codices Electronici Sangallenses* (CESG) for the abbey library of St Gall; in addition to this, separate manuscripts are digitalized and can be found on the website <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enluminure/fr/rechguideec_00.htm> [accessed 21 April 2013]

¹⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the argument, see Lutz and others, *Lesevorgänge*.

followed by the Tree of Jesse, the Genealogy of Christ, and finally the *Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis* (Figure 6.5).¹⁵ The contextualization of *arbores* within a moral-didactic, juridical, and biblical-chronicle context opens up new and fascinating perspectives. More precisely, the manuscript contains a distinctive visual structure of links, in which the motif of the tree is singled out and artistically highlighted not only in the framework of arboreal schemes, but also in the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. I perceive and understand these different *arbores* motifs to be signs, which, beyond their objective meaning, belong to another theological area of association. I refer here to the semiotic debate, which has called the linkage of the signifier and the signified increasingly into question. In this discussion, Jacques Derrida has emphasized that signs repeatedly refer to other signs, that it is the human interpreters who create the image relations, and that their assignments are defined culturally by particular manners of thinking and language.¹⁶

However, the origins of these semiotic ideas related to the *arbor*-motif can be found in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscript itself, for the Latin prologue already uses the tree as a symbol, though not in a theological respect. The reader is able to discern an almost playful handling of metaphors and images, which are presented as a subcategory within the established and theologically charged motif of the tree. In fact the author openly acknowledges his use of embedded meaning in the prologue, where he warns the reader of the dangers that lie in the careless association of persons or events with certain images. He points out that Scripture is similar to beeswax, in that it can be moulded into different shapes. In the same manner, he says, a single sign can be used to indicate either the devil or Christ, depending on its context.¹⁷ One must memorize, the author tells his readers, the exact context in which a person or an epi-

¹⁵ For a discussion of the use of miniatures to introduce and end manuscripts, see Böse and Wittekind, 'Eingangsmminiaturen als Schwellen'.

¹⁶ Bogen, 'Semiotik'.

¹⁷ Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I, 3: 'Sic una res aliquando significat diabolum, aliquando Christum. | Nec mirari debemus Scripturae modum istum, | Quia secundum diversas alicujus rei vel personae actiones | Diversae possunt sibi attribui significationes.' In a manuscript with a German verse translation of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the legend of Saint Mary Magdalen (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. fol. 245, fol. 1^r) from the monastery of Steinfeld, the prologue is prefaced by a picture showing two men



Figure 6.2. 'Annunciation to Anna and typological scenes', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 8^r–9^r, c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

sode from the Old Testament is used as a reference to Christ. This remarkably critical view of the interpretation and legibility of signs permeates the visual medium contained in the manuscript in Kremsmünster.

The manuscript in Kremsmünster is an excellent example of the active process of adapting and reshaping the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, which was still a remarkably recent text.¹⁸ This is said in reference to the

versified German summaries of the text, which gloss each illustration, as well as the texts and images added to the Kremsmünster manuscript. The *Speculum humanae salvationis* contains a lot of didactic material, which was sourced from a wide variety of contexts. This is indeed a frequent phenomenon in the Middle Ages, where

as they cut branches off a tree. Becker and others, *Aderlaß und Seelentrost*, no. 124 with illust.

¹⁸ The work of Breitenbach, *Speculum humanae salvationis* has led scholars to believe that an early edition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* illustrated with coloured pen-and-ink drawings like the Kremsmünster manuscript existed in addition to the plain-text version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Breitenbach stresses (pp. 60–61) the wide range of variations in text and iconographic models in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts despite their fixed structure. There is also an abundance of text additions, as becomes evident from the manuscripts catalogued by Breitenbach. However, these variations and additions have not been discussed in great detail by Breitenbach himself, nor by any other authors. The illumination of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* with its combina-

tion of primary New Testament illustrations and Old Testament precursory representations builds on the concept of the *Biblia pauperum* (cf. Cornell, *Biblia pauperum*). By leading the reader's eyes linearly across the double page, the images on the Kremsmünster-codex induce an autonomous, continuous viewing of the pictures. A more comprehensive understanding of the manuscript can then be achieved by reading the corresponding text. A similar structure of bands of images which accompany the text can be found in English Apocalypse manuscripts of the late thirteenth century. Klein, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie*; Lewis, 'The English Gothic Illuminated Apocalypse'. Other *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts like Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505 vary the combination of images by alternating full double-page illustrations with pages of text; cf. Appuhn, *Heilsspiegel*, pp. 79–135; *Heilsspiegel*, ed. by Krenn. The illuminated pages of the *Biblia pauperum* are only furnished with short annotations, but devoid of a more substantial explanatory text.

motifs were often modified and transferred to new contexts. Well-known examples are the Wheel of Fortune from Boethius's treatise on the *Consolatio philosophiae*,¹⁹ or the allegorical Cherub from *De sex alis cherubim* by Alanus ab Insulis (also known as Alain de Lille).²⁰ The different locations of genealogical trees and the *Arbor Consanguinitatis* and the *Arbor Affinitatis* within the Kremsmünster-codex will be analysed below. I will also seek to identify the original context of the additional material included in the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis* and discuss how it was modified and adapted to its present context.

The Trees of Virtues and Vices

In the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster, explanatory texts about the virtues and vices precede every tree (Figures 6.3 and 6.6).²¹ Similar renderings of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* supplemented by Trees of Virtues and Vices are found in several other manuscripts, most of which date to the fifteenth century.²² The

iconographic formula of the Tree of Virtues and Vices occurs first in the encyclopaedic *Liber floridus*, written by Lambert of Saint-Omer in c. 1120. It occupies the full double page before chapter CLXII, 'de bona arbore et mala' in Lambert's treatise (Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fols 231^v–232^r) (Figure 6.7).

Both trees emerge from the spine of the book where the pages meet; the *arbor bona* (the good tree) is rooted in the principal virtue of *caritas* (charity) and the *arbor mala* (the bad tree) rises from the root of all evils, *cupiditas vel avaritia* (greed or avarice).²³ The motif of the Tree of Virtues and Vices was transferred to an explicitly moral-didactic context in the *Speculum virginum*. This treatise was designed as a fictitious, educational conversation between a male teacher, 'Magister Peregrinus', and his female student, the nun Theodora. The early copies of this text occur in Augustinian and Cistercian monasteries in the Rhineland.²⁴ In the *Speculum vir-*

¹⁹ Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie*, for discussion on the medieval understanding of the virtue Fortune pp. 127–39, and its pictorial representation pp. 65–86, 141–58.

²⁰ Alanus ab Insulis, *De sex alis cherubim*. This drawing appears in a penitential context in the composite manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9572, from Niederaltaich (?), mid-thirteenth century: Raymundus de Pennaforti, *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio*, pp. 276–80, *interpretatio arborum consanguinitatis et affinitatis* with *Arbor consanguinitatis* (in arrow shape), p. 279; *arbor affinitatis*, in front of Alanus ab Insulis, *De sex alis cherubim*, pp. 281–86 (p. 281, Cherub-Zeichnung); cf. Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, no. 94. On the 'wandering' of diagrammatic or tabular lists, see Wittekind, 'Verum etiam sub alia forma depingere', pp. 278–79.

²¹ An index of artworks with Trees of Virtues and Vices is offered in Hourihane, *Virtue & Vice*, pp. 323–24, 437–38.

²² Cardon also mentions the Trees of Virtues and Vices in the manuscript in Brussels, Koninkl. Bib., MSS 9332–9346, by Jean de Stavelot of St Laurent/Lüttich, 1428. This version follows a German prototype, in which Old Testament scenes are substituted by pictures of prophets with banners. After the index panel on fols 119^r–120^v, the prologue follows on fols 120^v–121^r, then the Tree of Virtues and Vices on fol. 121^r, followed by fol. 122^r, which shows the Cherub of Alanus ab Insulis, fols 122^v–170^v, then the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane salvationis'*, no. 5 as well as pp. 73–74). The manuscript also contains texts about the lives and miracles as well as of the veneration of Laurence, the monastery's patron saint. The manuscript from Brussels is related to another manuscript in New York City, New York Public Libr., Spencer Coll., MS 15, Niederrhein 1410–20, fol. 1^r (Cardon, *Manuscripts of the 'Speculum humane*

salvationis', no. 18), Tree of Virtues and Vices; fol. 1^r, explanatory text with Trees; fols 2–49^v, *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Other examples are given by Breitenbach, *Speculum humanae salvationis*: Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 720, fifteenth century (no. 17), containing a treatise on the seven cardinal virtues and the seven deadly sins with the *Arbor virtutum und vitiorum* at the beginning, after the proemium adding index and chapters 1–45 of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fols 2^r–54^v) and on fols 55^r–64^v the epistles and readings of the Gospels of the church year. Breitenbach mentions at no. 348 another manuscript in an older library index, which is apparently lost: 'Erfurt, Ehem. Kartause Salvatorberg Hs. 112 secundo mit Traktat de virtutibus et viciis, penitenciaris cum glosa'.

²³ Hünemörder, 'Lambert v. St. Omer'; Derolcz, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus*. Derolcz, *The Liber floridus colloquium* 1967; Dronke, 'Arbor caritatis', p. 227. Tollebeek, 'Arbor mala'. Cf. the *Liber floridus* from the third quarter of the twelfth century at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1 Gud. Lat., fol. 68^r and fol. 68^v, *Liber floridus*; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II: *Catalogue*, no. 96, pp. 119–21. On the tradition of the Trees of Virtues and Vices, cf. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography*, chap. 8, on the *Liber floridus* pp. 332–36.

²⁴ The miniatures precede each book, referring to its content; see *Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenpiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, I, 7–66, here on the determination of the age and distribution of manuscripts pp. 22–23, on the text-image connection pp. 36–39. The virtues and vices are the subject of the fourth book, in which the two illuminated pages with illustrations of the Tree of Virtues and Vices are placed as frontispiece miniatures (cf. Cologne, Historisches Arch., MS W 276a, fols 11^v–12^r). In the manuscript from the Cistercian monastery of Ebersbach (London, BL, MS Arundel 44, 1140–50), the first book adopts the Song of Solomon metaphor of the *flos campi* and follows the introductory letter with a representation of the Tree of Jesse on fol. 2^r (*Speculum virginum — Jungfrauenpiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, pls 1, 3–4; cf. Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*, p. 123. On the Trees of Virtues and Vices as well as the

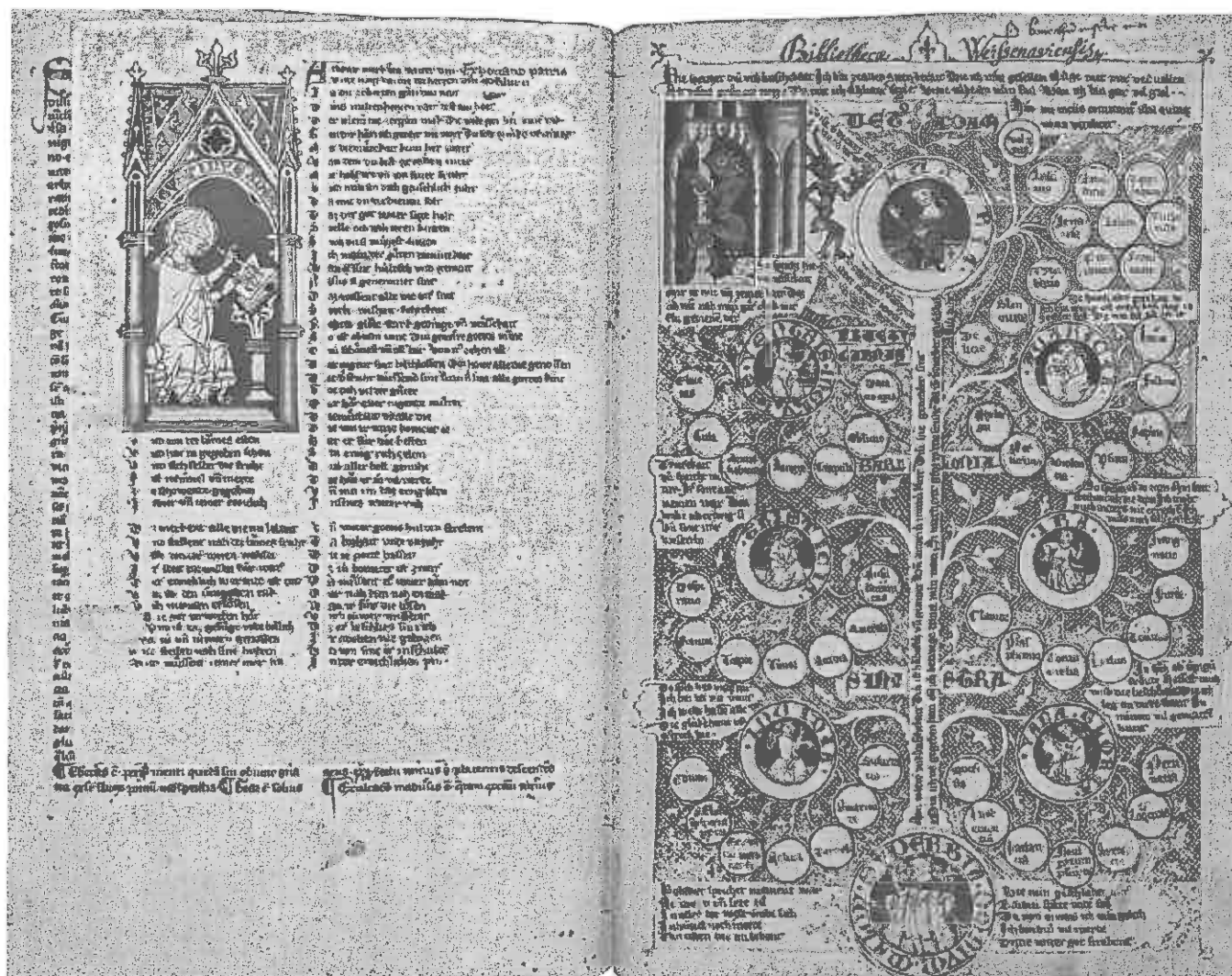


Figure 6.3. 'Exhortatio patris ad filium' and 'Tree of Vices', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, folios 2^v–3^r, c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

ginum manuscripts, the double page with the Tree of Virtues and Vices prefaces the fourth book of the treatise 'de superbia et humilitate', which deals with pride and humility (Figure 6.8). The different context explains why *superbia* (pride) is chosen as the root of all evils, instead of *cupiditas*, and why *humilitas* (humility) takes the place of *caritas*. In the Cologne manuscript, the Tree of Vices is characterized by the dragons and snakes wound around its trunk and by its branches and leaves, which grow downwards. The thriving condition of the Tree of Virtues on the opposite page, on the other hand, is shown by its lush green colour and its upright branches. The symmetrical pattern of the trees, which

visually establishes the hierarchy of the virtues and vices, is easily memorized, and its parallel arrangement invites the viewer's gaze to wander between the motifs in the branches, comparing and confronting them. Referring to these two trees, the subsequent dialogue between Peregrinus and Theodora counterbalances the perils and mental lapses of the nuns in the convent with the prospective joys of paradise.

In the Kremsmünster-codex, the Tree of Vices is placed at the beginning of the manuscript, before the text (and images) of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. It follows two short treatises, a *Summa vitiorum* (Summary of the Vices) and a *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus* (Prologue about the Fruit of the Flesh and the Spirit) (folios 1^v–2^r), and a Middle High German translation of the *Adhortatio patris ad filium*, introduced by an

¹Tree of Jesse in the *Speculum virginum*, see also O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography*.



Figure 6.4. "Tree of Jesse," *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 55'. c. 1325–30.
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image of its author, Augustine (fol. 2^v).²⁵ It is noteworthy that the *Summa vitiorum* consists of excerpts from the fourth book of the *Speculum virginum*, in which the teacher Peregrinus briefly introduces the vices through reference to the Tree of Vices.²⁶ The *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus* in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster cites the beginning of the treatise *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, formerly attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor. In the Kremsmünster manuscript *humilitas* is placed at the summit as the fruit of the Holy Spirit, where it represents the principal virtue and path to salvation. It corresponds to *superbia*, shown on the facing page as the fruit of the flesh, the main vice and path towards evil.²⁷

The inclusion of the excerpt from the *Summa vitiorum* and the image of the Tree of Vices in the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Figure 6.3) was directly influenced by the *Speculum virginum* (Figure 6.8). The Tree of Vices in both the Kremsmünster-codex and the

Speculum virginum are rooted in *superbia* and crowned by *luxuria* (lust). These vices are represented by allegorical figures in medallions placed along the central axis.²⁸ They are identified by their Latin names. The principal vices are linked to subsidiary vices, which are characterized by their activities and located in the medallion next to the trunk. Dangling circular shapes replace the leaves of the *Speculum virginum*.²⁹ Each vice addresses the reader in vernacular texts which complement the image: 'Hie spruchet diu unkunschekait: Ich bin ze allen ziten bereit, Wie ich min gesellen muge mit mir vervellen in disem gruenem nezze' (Here speaks Lust: I am always ready to dwell with my companion in this green net). The Tree of Vices is silhouetted against a dark background of woven pen-and-ink lines which resemble a fine net. The medallions containing the images of the principal vices have dark backgrounds, while those of the subsidiary vices have a black frame. The repetition of visual signs is meaningful and also occurs in other cases: a red devil in the fiery black den of hell is shown chained to a column or a tree trunk; at his feet, a naked sinner looks up at him. On the right side of the page, a black devil steps out of a gate to present the crown to the enthroned figure of *luxuria*, as a symbol of her reign over the other vices. *Luxuria* is shown turning towards the devil to greet him. This juxtaposition of the devil in chains and the devil as seducer is used again in the scene illustrating the punishment of the damned in the dark jaws of hell on fol. 46^v of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and again, although slightly modified, in the depiction of the Harrowing of Hell on fol. 36^v. The devils from the page of the Tree of Vices also appear in other scenes of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: at the very beginning in the Fall of Angels (fol. 6^v), next to the suffering figure of Job (fol. 263^v), struck down with the cross by the risen Christ (fol. 34^v), and at the feet of Ecclesia (fol. 35^v). Reflection on the virtues and the vices is a constant theme throughout the text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, particularly in the context of the Last Judgement.³⁰

²⁵ The text has not yet been identified. Since fol. 1^r is used as a protective sheer and is therefore blank, the space on fol. 1^r obviously was not sufficient for the intended excerpts and vernacular verses, so a smaller page had to be inserted between the two first pages of the quaternion (fol. 2). The continuation of the *Summa vitiorum* on fol. 2^r is written in longer lines, which distinguishes it from the general layout of the rest of the text.

²⁶ The excerpt combines different didactic passages from the speech of Peregrinus in the *Speculum virginum*. It starts with *Si adverteris* and then follows the wording of the *Speculum virginum* (cf. *Speculum virginum* — *Jungfrauenspiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, II, 288–89): '[Lunge] filia, similibus similia et partium aequalitas utrumlibet excellentiam prohibet. Si vero dissimilia contuleris dissimilibus, ex altero magis patet diversitas alterius. Sique [...] — ex sanctae humilitatis [instead of: *ubertate*] dulcedine.' Another paragraph follows with the long monologue of Peregrinus (pp. 294–301), in which he explains that 'Superbia est singularis excellentiae super alios caccus quidam appetitus [...] — Loquacitas est conusa et stulta verborum superfluitate cordis levitatem aperire' (fol. 1^v). However the sequence of vices is often placed in an inverse order to that of the *Speculum virginum*.

²⁷ (Ps-)Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Commentarium in hierarchiam celestem*, col. 997. The attribution of the text to Conrad von Hirsau is widely accepted; cf. Bloomfield and others, *Incipits of Latin Works*, no. 1164; Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243 is missing among the manuscripts cited in this article. In a mid-twelfth-century theological miscellany from Salzburg (Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M I 32) this excerpt is introduced by a double page with a 'Tree of Virtues and Vices (fols 75^v–76^v)', identical in structure to the same Tree in the *Speculum virginum*. For further discussion of the manuscript, see Koll, 'Verzeichnis der Handschriftenfragmente'; *Theologische Sammelhandschrift*. This shows how quickly the pictorial concept of the Tree of Virtues and Vices was disseminated.

²⁸ The figure of *Luxuria* (lust) replaces the *vetus Adam* in the *Speculum virginum*. In the Kremsmünster manuscript Adam is mentioned only in the inscription.

²⁹ In the Tree of Vices in the *Speculum virginum* of Cologne, the medallions of *Ira* (Wrath) and *Invidia* (Envy) have changed places.

³⁰ Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, chap. 27, p. 76: 'Mundus iste totus positus est in maligno, | Creatorem suum non venerans honore condigno. | Ubique enim jam caritas et veritas periclitantur, | superbia, avaritia et luxuria dominantur. | His tribus vitiis mundus repletus jam videtur, | Et rarus est, qui de his innox-

The positive colour symbolism and the lush growth of the Tree of Virtues, which follows the *Summa virtutum*, stands in marked contrast to the negative visual connotations of the Tree of Vices (fol. 4^r) (Figure 6.6).³¹ Similarly to the *Speculum virginum*, the Tree of Virtues emerges from *Humilitas*, the principal virtue. It is interesting to note that the circumscription on the medallion refers to the virtue as 'radix omnium. Hierosolima' ('root of all: Jerusalem'). Humility is shown as one of the works of mercy, a woman with a crown and halo, who is washing a man's feet. The woman may represent the church: Ecclesia. She could also be identified as St Elisabeth of Hungary, who was one of the most popular female saints of the late Middle Ages. At the summit of the Tree there is a medallion containing the Madonna and Child, who leans away from her lap. The circumscription, 'Karitas est deus' (Charity is God) (cf. 1 John 4. 16) links the image to the medallion at the base of the tree, from which the tree trunk emerges. In contrast to the Tree of Vices, the Tree of Virtues is characterized by its vivid colourfulness: the yellow branches, the red and green leaves, and the medallions framed in red. This portrayal of the tree as a living and thriving entity also marks the representation of the Trees of Paradise at the beginning of the *Speculum humane salvationis*, where additional emphasis is placed on the fruit of the tree (fol. 7^{r-v}). These examples demonstrate how colours and subjects are used to link scenes and topics throughout the pages of the manuscript.

The Tree of Jesse

The form of the Tree of Virtues and Vices is modified in the representation of the Tree of Jesse (fol. 55^r)

ius et immunis habetur. | Quidam fugiunt luxuriam, tenentes castitatem, | Qui tamen sordiantur per avaritiæ cupiditatem. Quidam fugiunt avaritiam, tenentes paupertatem, | Qui tamen maculantur per superbiæ vanitatem.

³¹ The *Summa virtutum* (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 3^r) begins with a definition of humility which is regularly quoted: 'Humilitas est ex intuitu propriæ conditionis vel conditoris voluntaria inclinatio mentis' (Humility is the voluntary bow of the mind before one's creation and the Creator). It was already used in Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, c. 11 (Conrad of Hirsau, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, col. 1002). Cf. Bloomfield and others, *Incipits of Latin Works*, no. 2449. The distribution of the text is discussed in the list of manuscripts described in Newhauser and Bejczy, *A Supplement to Morton W. Bloomfield*, no. 2449, pp. 162–63. The same quotation can be found in the fourth book of the *Speculum virginum*; see *Speculum virginum — Jungfrauen Spiegel*, ed. by Seyfarth, IV, 300), directly after the definitions of the Vices, which parallel those in the *Summa virtutum* in the Kremsmünster-codex.

(Figure 6.4). The Tree of Jesse is placed immediately after the text of the *Speculum humane salvationis* together with the last set of scenes illustrating the Passion of Christ and the Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys of the Virgin. Seven hours of prayer are dedicated to each episode. These meditations on the Liturgy of the Hours also follow the *Speculum humane salvationis* in terms of its layout, which situates the sequence of images above the Latin text and underneath its vernacular abridgement (up to fol. 49^r).³² The images representing these meditations on the Passion and the Virgin Mary are reflections of scenes in the *Speculum humane salvationis* part of the manuscript. Thus, these later motifs and episodes repeat, modify, and interpret the original illustrations.³³ At the same time, the typological and exegetical interpretation of the childhood and Passion of Christ in the *Speculum humane salvationis* encourages meditation, aimed at compassion, confession of sin, and a plea for salvation.³⁴ This complex web of references shows how one single motif can be used to illustrate different religious approaches and link them together.

As was common in twelfth-century representations of the Tree of Jesse, the tree emerges from the side of Jesse, the father of David.³⁵ Similarly to other manuscripts of

³² Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humane salvationis*, pp. 88–99. According to the information in the text, this ensemble of texts — *De septem stationibus passionis christi*, *De septem stationibus passionis Christi*, *De septem tristitiis Beatae Virginis Mariae* — was written by a member of the order of preachers ('Frater quidam in ordine fratrum Praedicatorum erat': Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humane salvationis*, p. 100); it is often found in connection with the *Speculum humane salvationis*.

³³ The illustrations which correspond to the meditations on the Passion and Mary are repetitions or variations of illustrated scenes in the *Speculum humane salvationis*. Examples from the infancy narratives in the Kremsmünster-codex are the Annunciation (fol. 12^r, fol. 52^r), the Birth of Christ (fol. 13^r, fol. 53^r), the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 14^r, fol. 53^r), the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (fols 15^r, 50^r, 53^r), and the Flight into Egypt (fol. 16^r, fol. 51^r). Examples from the Passion are the Last Supper (fol. 21^r, fol. 48^r), the Flagellation of Christ (fol. 25^r, fol. 49^r), the Carrying of the Cross (fol. 27^r, fol. 48^r, fol. 50^r), and the Crucifixion (fol. 29^r, fol. 50^r, fol. 51^r). Some new pictorial themes are introduced, such as the Visitation (fol. 53^r), the Twelve-Year-Old Jesus Teaching in the Temple on fol. 51^r, the Agony in the Garden on fol. 49^r, and the Ecce homo, fol. 49^r.

³⁴ Each paragraph of the meditation on the Passion (Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humane salvationis*, pp. 89–91) is introduced by an acknowledgement on the part of the narrator of Christ's suffering 'for me' (*propter me*).

³⁵ Isaiah 11. 1: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root'; Apocalypse 22. 16: 'I am the root and stock of David'; Romans 15. 12: 'And again, Isaias

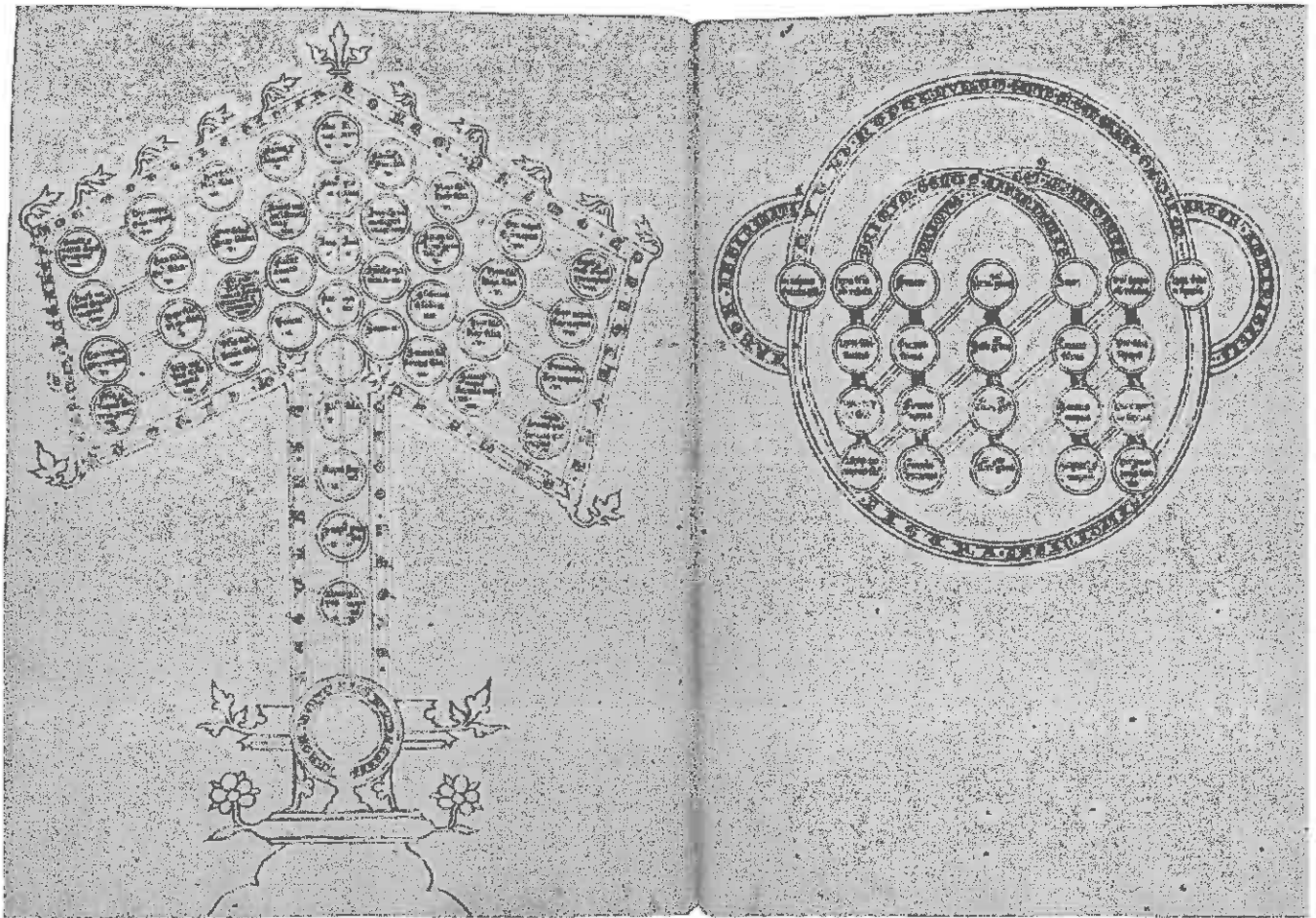


Figure 6.5. 'Arbor consanguinitatis and Arbor affinitatis', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 61^v–62^r, c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

strong Mariological character, the Old Testament forefathers between David and Christ are omitted.³⁶ The sequence is continued with the enthroned figure of Mary holding her naked child on her lap; Mary herself is the *virga* ('stem') and Christ is the *flos* ('flower') of her womb, as Isaiah (11. 1) predicted: 'Et egreditur virga de radice jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet' (And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots). New growth branches out

saith: 'There shall be a root of Jesse; and he that shall rise up to rule the Gentiles shall hope'. Bogen, *Träumen und Erzählen*, pp. 235–60; Bogen, 'Träumt Jesse?'.

³⁶ An example of this omission can be seen in the frontispiece of 'Wernhers Lieder von der Magd' (Wernher's Songs about the Maiden) in Kraków, Jagellion Libr., MS germ. oct. 109, fol. 1^v, which was illustrated in Regensburg around 1220; see Klemm, 'Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhunderts', no. 47, pl. 122; cf. frontispiece of a Flavius Josephus manuscript from Scheyern, c. 1225 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17404, fol. 1^v), Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, no. 13, I, 36–38.

on both sides of the trunk to form medallions enclosing busts of prophets and figures from the Old Testament. These figures are set against blue and green backgrounds and hold tendril-like scrolls. Inscribed on the scrolls are quotes from their writings which were understood typologically as prophecies of Christ the Messiah. The trunk of the tree divides above the representation of the Virgin Mary, and its branches form a medallion which holds the Agnus Dei with the chalice and cross. At the centre of the page the cross is incorporated in the *virga* Jesse. In contrast, the typologically expanded Crucifixion scene interrupts the pattern of tendrils and medallions, and portrays its unframed figures against a red background.³⁷ Beneath the cross, to Christ's right,

³⁷ Although there are some representations of the Tree of Jesse where scenes of the life of Jesus are shown in the central medallions, as for example in the choir window of Saint Kunibert, Cologne, 1220s (Brinkmann, 'Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien'), only in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* of Weissenau is the Crucifixion

Ecclesia is shown, wearing a crown and chain armour over her robe — similar to the armed virtues in Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*.³⁸ In her right hand, Ecclesia carries a staff with a cross and a flag. With the chalice in her left hand, she collects the blood emerging from Christ's wound. Behind her, the Old Testament priest and king Melchizedek is portrayed with a similar gesture wearing a crown and carrying a chalice. Behind him, a woman appears, pointing to an idol in the form of a bull's head. Facing them on the other side of the cross are the lamenting figures of John the Evangelist and the Virgin. Behind them, Moses looks towards the cross and the brazen snake in front of him, in a scene prefiguring Christ rising from the cross (Numbers 21. 6–9 and John 3. 14). The figure of Synagogue, blindfolded, turns away from the cross; in her hands she carries the head of a sacrificial goat.³⁹ The vertical beam of the cross ends in a medallion framing a bust of Christ, who holds an open book and the keys to Heaven and Hell in his raised right hand (Matthew 16. 19; Apocalypse 1. 18). Kneeling on the horizontal beam of the cross, the patron saints of the Premonstratensian monastery of Weissenau, Peter and Paul, turn in adoration towards Christ in Judgement. In the canopy of the tree seven doves represent the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (Isaiah 11). Different elements from the Tree of Jesse composition reappear throughout the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: the living cross flanked by Mary and John, for example, is used in a simple, symmetrical composition for the Crucifixion scene on fol. 29^v. The sinuous foliated trunk, which emerges from the sleeping Jesse, holds in its canopy the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit as a remedy against the deadly sins. It reappears in a slightly modified form as the Old Testament type prefiguring the antitype for the Birth of Mary on fol. 9^v (Figure 6.1). The Seven Gifts in this second tree are *tactus* (touch), *odor* (smell), *fructus* (fruit), *color* (colour), *folia* (leaves), *succus* (juice), and *gustus* (taste), thus referring to *medicinalia* or rem-

edies for human illness resulting from sin. This is taken directly from the Latin explanatory notes in the text of the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis*.⁴⁰ The image of the Birth of Mary in the Kremsmünster-codex is exceptional, because it does not follow the common iconography of representing Anne reclining on her bed after childbirth, but instead portrays Mary between Anne and Joachim under a double arcade. The Virgin stands on the bed, supported by her parents. Although she is child-like, she appears crowned as the Queen of Heaven. In the composition, she substitutes the load-bearing column of the architecture, and new shoots of foliage are shown growing in the spandrel above her head. This innovative iconography calls attention to the role of Mary as the *virga* from which Christ descends, and thus recalls the pictorial representation of the Tree of Jesse. In a similar way, the motif of foliage emerging from a body is used again in the illustrations of the Annunciation of the Birth of Mary to her mother Anne and the dream of King Astyages of Tyre and the Median Empire (Figure 6.1), as already explained in greater detail above.

Genealogia Christi

Although the ancestors of Christ from the Old Testament are not shown in the Tree of Jesse, where emphasis is placed on Mariological and theological argument, the genealogy of Christ is represented in full at the end of the manuscript (fols 56^r–61^r) (Figure 6.9).⁴¹ By beginning with Adam rather than Jesse or King David, Christ's genealogy is embedded in a historical reflection of both the world and salvation. The complex and variable layout of the *Genealogia Christi* is integrated in the schematic text of a chronicle, making the association of individual paragraphs with the rulers mentioned in the medallions easier. This differs from the illustrations of the Trees of Virtues and Vices, where the explana-

highlighted in this particular manner.

³⁸ *Hortus deliciarum*, fols 199^v–204^r (*Psychomachia*); the manuscript, a theological encyclopaedia, was conceived by Herrad of Landsberg for her convent of Augustinian Canonesses in the twelfth century; the original burned in 1870; see Green and others, *Hortus deliciarum*, I: *Commentary*, II: *Reconstruction*. On the fighting Virtues in the *Hortus deliciarum*, see Willeke, 'Ordo und Ethos im Hortus Deliciarum'.

³⁹ The figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga, Melchizedek and Moses have been commonly used in the iconographic programmes of portable altars since the twelfth century; see Wittekind, *Altar — Reliquiar — Retabel*, pp. 89–104, 108–19.

⁴⁰ *Tactus*, the touch of the rose, Christ, liberates one from pride; its odour (*odor*) banishes hardness of the heart; *fructus* calms rage; colour replaces rotten fruit; leaves counterbalance avarice; juice (*succus*) confounds lust of the palate; taste (*gustus*) foils carnal lust; cf. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 25; Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, pp. 10–11.

⁴¹ The genealogy follows the model of Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*: Holladay, 'Charting the Past', p. 122; Worm, 'Ista est Ierusalem'; see the article in this volume by Andrea Worm, 'Arbor humanum genus significat: Trees of Genealogy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century'.

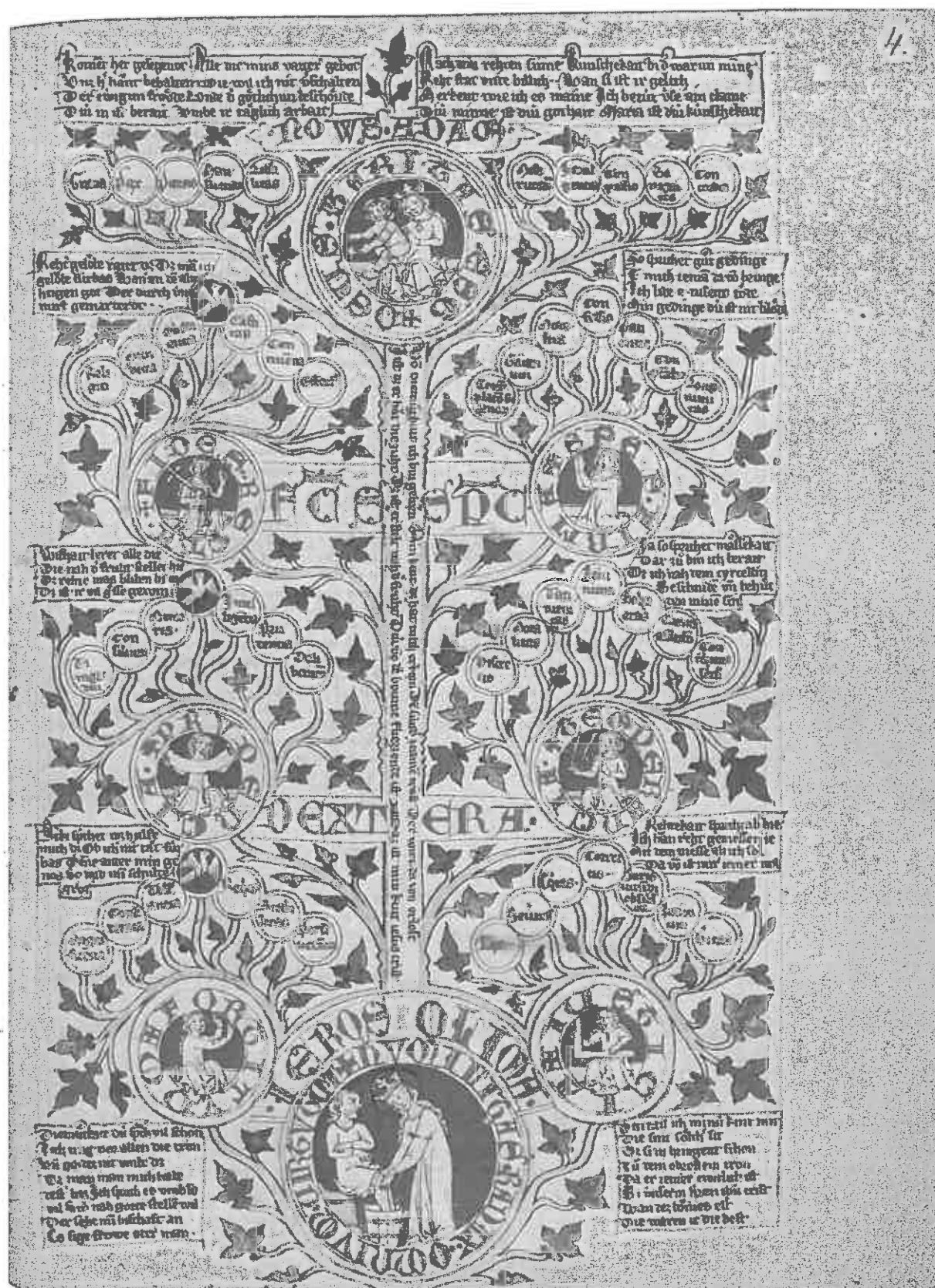


Figure 6.6. *Summa virtutum*, Tree of Virtues, and Tree of Vices, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 3^r–4^r, c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

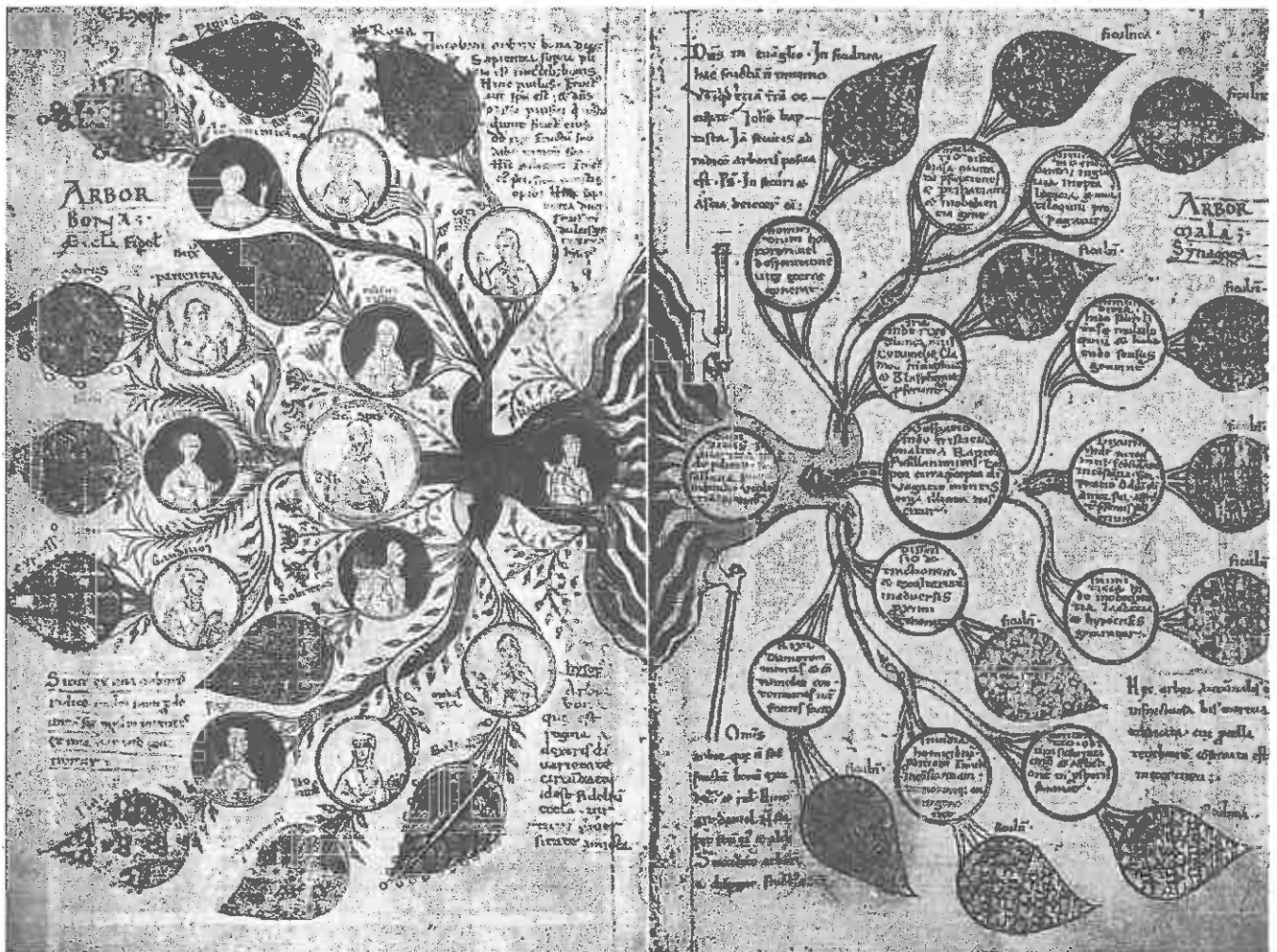


Figure 6.7. 'Arbor mala and arbor bona', Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber floridus*, Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fols 231^v–232^r c. 1120. Reproduced with permission of the Rijksuniversiteit, Ghent.

tory Middle High German texts are situated behind the foliated scheme. The *Genealogia Christi* is connected to the Trees of Virtues and Vices at the beginning of the manuscript by its formal structure. Despite its lack of twisting vine and tree symbolism, its conception as a medallion chain of names and its emphasis on the initial role of Adam, makes the *Genealogia Christi* similar to the representations of the Virtues and Vices. In fact the Tree of Vices is labelled 'Vetus Adam [...] Babilonia sinistra' and the Tree of Virtues bears the inscription 'Novus Adam [...] sanctus spiritus dextera' in reference to Christ. The Six Ages of the World are illustrated in enlarged medallions. The figures within them can be identified as Adam and Noah (fol. 56^v), King David (fol. 58^r), King Matathias (fol. 59^v), Anne and Joachim, Mary, and Christ, who is surrounded by medallions

with the names of the twelve Apostles (fol. 61^v). Their portraits and names can also be associated with other images within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*: for example Abraham and his encounter with Mechizedek is directly related to the Last Supper (fols 21^v–22^v), and the sacrifice of Isaac corresponds to Christ carrying the cross (fols 27^v–28^r). King David is given special significance due to the number of Davidic scenes within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. In the representation of David's victory over Goliath, the lion and the bear are used in reference to Christ's triumph over the devil (fols 18^v–19^v). As the rueful sinner, David corresponds to the figure of Mary Magdalen at the banquet (fols 19^v–20^r); as the musician threatened by Saul, he is linked to the figure of Christ during the betrayal of Judas (fols 23^v–24^r), and Shemaiah's mockery of him

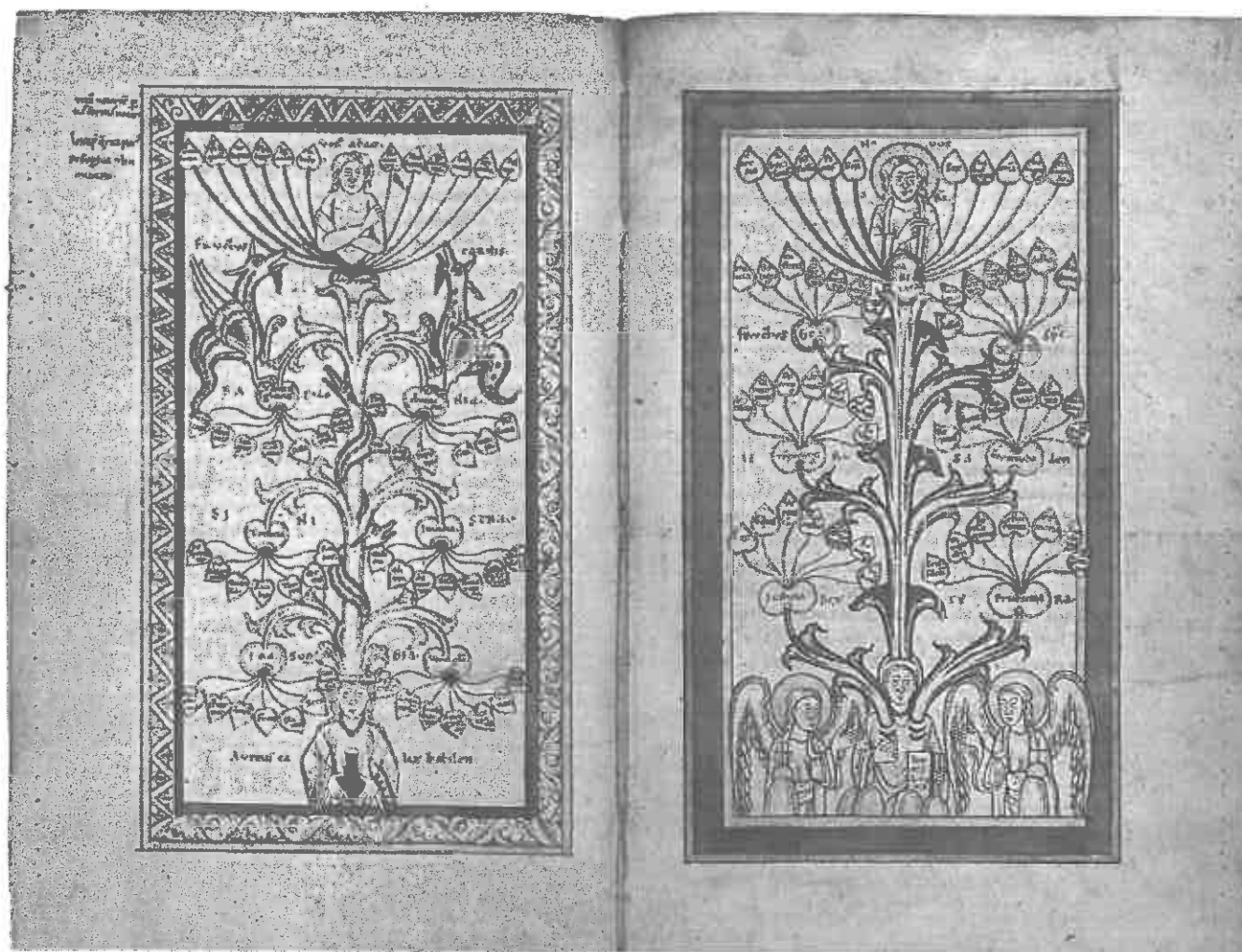


Figure 6.8. 'Trees of Virtues and Vices', *Speculum virginum*, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS W 276a, fols 11^r–12^r. c. 1140–1150. Reproduced with permission of the Historisches Archiv, Cologne.

foretells the mockery of Christ (fols 26^v–27^r).⁴² These corresponding images allow the historical and typological reading of the biblical story to become intrinsically interconnected. Such a reading, when aided by diagrammatic and pictorial representation, therefore permits both historical and typological perspectives to be invoked at the same time. A picture of Noah's Ark is inserted in this genealogy (on fol. 56^v), accompanied by a brief explanation of its measurements. Whereas at the beginning of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fol. 8^r) the story of Noah's Ark is represented within the Genesis cycle in an episode illustrating the dove returning to the Ark with the olive branch, this scene

focuses on the interior of the Ark. Its shape is surprising, with its towering walls with lancet windows which support an arched ceiling.⁴³ Thus, a reference to the exegetical-theological interpretation of the Ark as a symbol of the church and the monastic community is added to the historically experienced view.⁴⁴

⁴² For a survey of medieval interpretations of David, see Wittekind, *Kommentar mit Bildern*, pp. 68–161.

⁴³ According to the inscription, the highest chamber on the upper level is allocated to the humans and birds, the two below are occupied by different animals, another level with a wine barrel and vessels is identified as the *camera apotecaria*, and the darkest lowest chamber is in the bilge (*camera sentina*).

⁴⁴ Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche*, pp. 504–47; Wittekind, 'Passion und Ostern'.

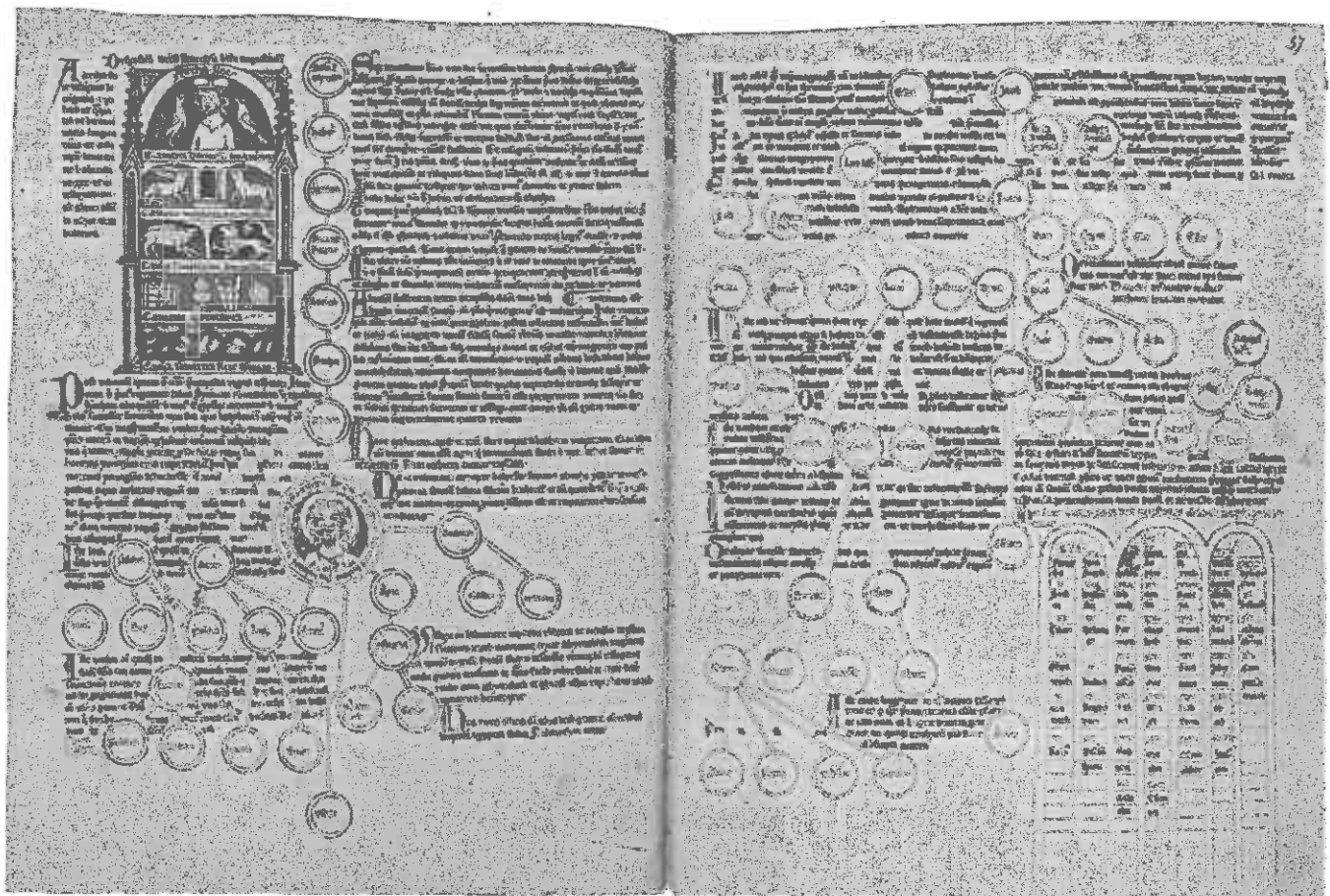


Figure 6.9. 'Genealogia Christi', *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fols 56^r–57^r. c. 1325–30. Reproduced with permission of the Convent of Kremsmünster.

'Arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis' (Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity)

The manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Kremsmünster concludes with a double-page illustration of the *arbor consanguinitatis* and an *arbor affinitatis* (fols 61^v–62^r) (Figure 6.5). As early as 533 kinship diagrams are mentioned in Emperor Justinian's *Institutiones* as a didactic means to obtain a better understanding of the degrees of blood relationship.⁴⁵ The Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity were used primarily for resolving questions of inheritance. In the early Middle Ages stemmata, known as *ramisculi*, were included to clarify family relationships at the end of Book IX. 6 in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.

⁴⁵ Fundamental reading for understanding the *Arbores consanguinitatis* is Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 22, which also contains the quote and the translation of the corresponding *Institutiones* 3.6.9.

These diagrams were usually triangular or in the shape of a tree.⁴⁶ This tradition directly influenced the leafy ornamentation of the frame and the placement of the stemma on a richly adorned pedestal in the representation of the *arbor consanguinitatis* in the Kremsmünster-codex.⁴⁷ Due to its relevance to matrimonial law, the *arbor consanguinitatis* was widely disseminated in works of canon law, for example in the *Canones* by Burkhard of Worms (d. 1025), in the *Panormia* by Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115), and in other legal compendia. In manuscripts of the *Decretum Gratiani*, for example,

⁴⁶ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 61–62, 70–71, 77, on the tree motif pp. 79–80. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by Lindsay, IX, chap. 5: *De adfinitatibus et gradibus*, chap. 6: *De agnatis et cognatis*; Möller, *Die Enzyklopädie des Isidor von Sevilla*, pp. 353–61.

⁴⁷ Cf. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 67, 79–80, fig. 21 (*Etymologiae*, Montpellier, Ecole de Méd., MS 53, ninth century, fol. 136^v).

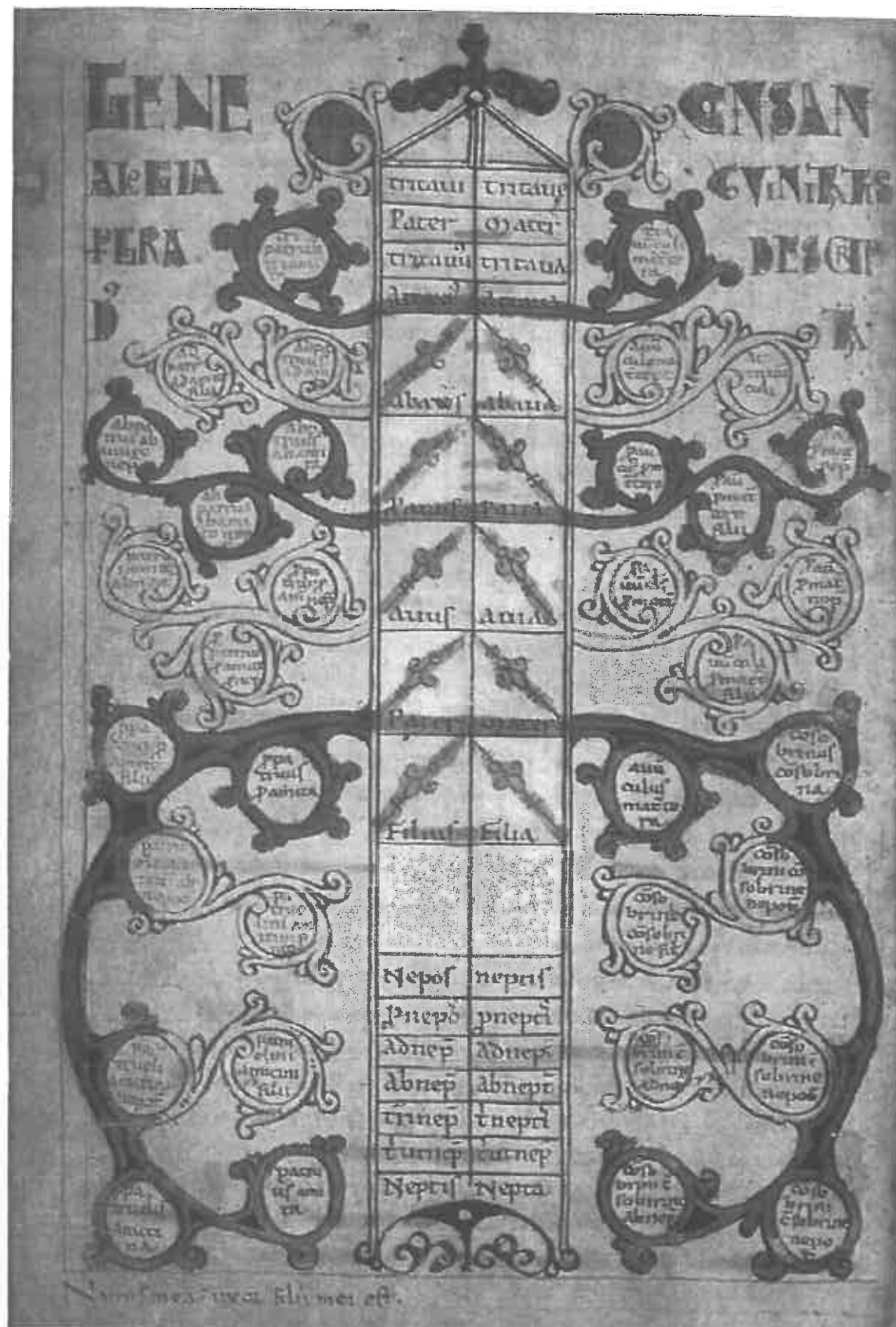


Figure 6.10. 'Arbor consanguinitatis', Lambert of Saint Omer, *Liber floridus*, Ghent, Rijksuniversiteit, MS 92, fol. 102^v. c. 1120. Reproduced with permission of the Rijksuniversiteit, Ghent.

the stemmata are placed within the section dealing with matrimonial law, the *causae* XXXIII to XXXVI.⁴⁸ The tree-shaped *arbor consanguinitatis* also appears in a legal context in the *Liber floridus*, where it accompanies chapter 105, *Quot modis peccata dimittuntur* (On ways for the remission of sins) (Figure 6.10). The circle in the centre of the Tree of Consanguinity, which is either empty or inscribed *ego* (me), is the starting point of the diagrammatic representation of blood relationships in the Kremsmünster-codex. From this central point, the ancestors, *pater/mater* (father/mother), *avus/avia* (grandfather/grandmother), are mentioned in ascending order and the descendants, *filius/filia* (son/daughter), *nepos/neptis* (grandson/granddaughter), appear in descending order. The terms are each inscribed in medallions connected by lines, similar to the ones in the genealogy of Christ. This method of representation also matched the conventional layout of canonical manuscripts, although there is no human presentation figure.⁴⁹ An inscription in the frame reflects the meaning of the stemma and urges the reader to consider the image first and then consult the text: 'Hoc modo legas arborem primo constituas eam secundo legas.' On the facing page (fol. 62^v), a diagram represents the different degrees of affinity that were regarded unsuitable for marriage. This is first shown in connection with the *arbor consanguinitatis* in the *Decretum Gratiani*, where it is placed within the section dealing with matrimonial law. Usually, an amorous couple is used to represent the subject of the Tree of Affinity, while the text addresses problematic, sinful, and therefore punishable cases of marriage.⁵⁰ From the second half of the thirteenth cen-

tury these trees were also incorporated in various manuscripts of the *Decretales* of Pope Gregory IX (completed in 1234). The *Decretales* were widely disseminated as a common textbook of canon law.⁵¹ In this context they often appear in Book IV on marriage or were added at the beginning or the end of the manuscript.⁵² In the Kremsmünster manuscript, however, a simple diagrammatic representation is chosen for the *arbores*. Thus, the double page with the *arbores* points to its origin from an encyclopaedic context. On the other hand the schematic style reinforces its relationship with the diagrammatic representation of the genealogy of Christ in the *Compendium historiae*.

stellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis, pp. 141–75, on the *arbor affinitatis*, which addresses the forbidden stages of pregnancy and is included in the *Decretum Gratiani* for the first time, pp. 175–94. Examples: collection of canons, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12603, fol. 116^r (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 208; *Decretum Gratiani*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13031, fol. 102^r (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 89), as well as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13004, Salzburg around 1170–80, fols 308^r–309^r (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, III. 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, no. 103) and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17161, fol. 165^r (Jakobi-Mirwald, 'Die Schäftlarnen Gratianhandschrift Clm 17161').

⁵¹ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 200–01, on the *arbores affinitatis* pp. 180–85, figs 76–82, 92, 107–18. On *arbores* in decretal manuscripts, see Wittekind, "Ut hac tantum compilatione universi". Elaborately illuminated *arbores* can also be found in the decretal manuscripts in Bourges, Bib. Municipale, MS 189, fols A^v–B^r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8702, fol. 348^v–350^r (see Hernad, *Die gotischen Handschriften*, I: *Vom späten 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, no. 211); in Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 679, fols 1^v–2^r; Rome, BAV, MS Vat. Pal. 629, fols 260^v–261^r (see Burkhart, 'Die Dekretalenhandschrift Vat. Pal. lat. 629'); in Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 81, fols 308^v–309^r *Enluminures*; and in Cologne, Historisches Arch., W 275, fols 331^v–332^r. In Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1295, fols 133^v–134^r the *arbores* are to be found in the fourth book on matrimonial law.

⁵² Cf. the *Decretales* in Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, C. 93, fols 286^r–287^r, Coll i Rosell, 'El arte de los codices', pp. 661–62. The *Decretales* of Gregory IX were part of the curriculum at universities; cf. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 194, 200; Brundage, 'From Classroom to Courtroom', especially pp. 342–44. Barcelona, Arch. Capitular, C. 93, fols 286^r–287^r (the end of the text); *Decretales*, Vic, Arxiu capitolar, MS 144, fols B^v–C^r (later added before the beginning of the decretals); Barcelona, Arch. de la corona de Aragó, MS Ripoll 7 (inserted on fols 215^v–216^r between Gregory's and Innocent's decretals).

⁴⁸ On the *arbores* in the seventh book of the *Decretum Burchardi*, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, pp. 109–23, on their inclusion in further canonical collections pp. 124–30.

⁴⁹ L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*: The Sussex-*Decretum* (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 101) inserts the *arbores* at fols 209^v–210^r into *causa* XXXV (L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, no. 1, p. 106, pl. 1c); the *arbor consanguinitatis* is placed in front of the figure of a king, who holds a scepter and an apple; the *arbor affinitatis* on the opposite page shows an arcade crowned by towers and beneath, two lovers. A manuscript of the *Decretum* in Cambridge (Corpus Christi College, MS 10) shows the *arbor consanguinitatis* between *causa* XXXV and XXXVI (fol. 330^v); the standing male figure is executed; the medallions, however, remain empty (L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, no. 3, p. 120, pl. 3h). On the canonical stemma, see Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis*, p. 144, figs 60–62.

⁵⁰ On its role in the *Decretum Gratiani*, see Schadt, *Die Dar-*

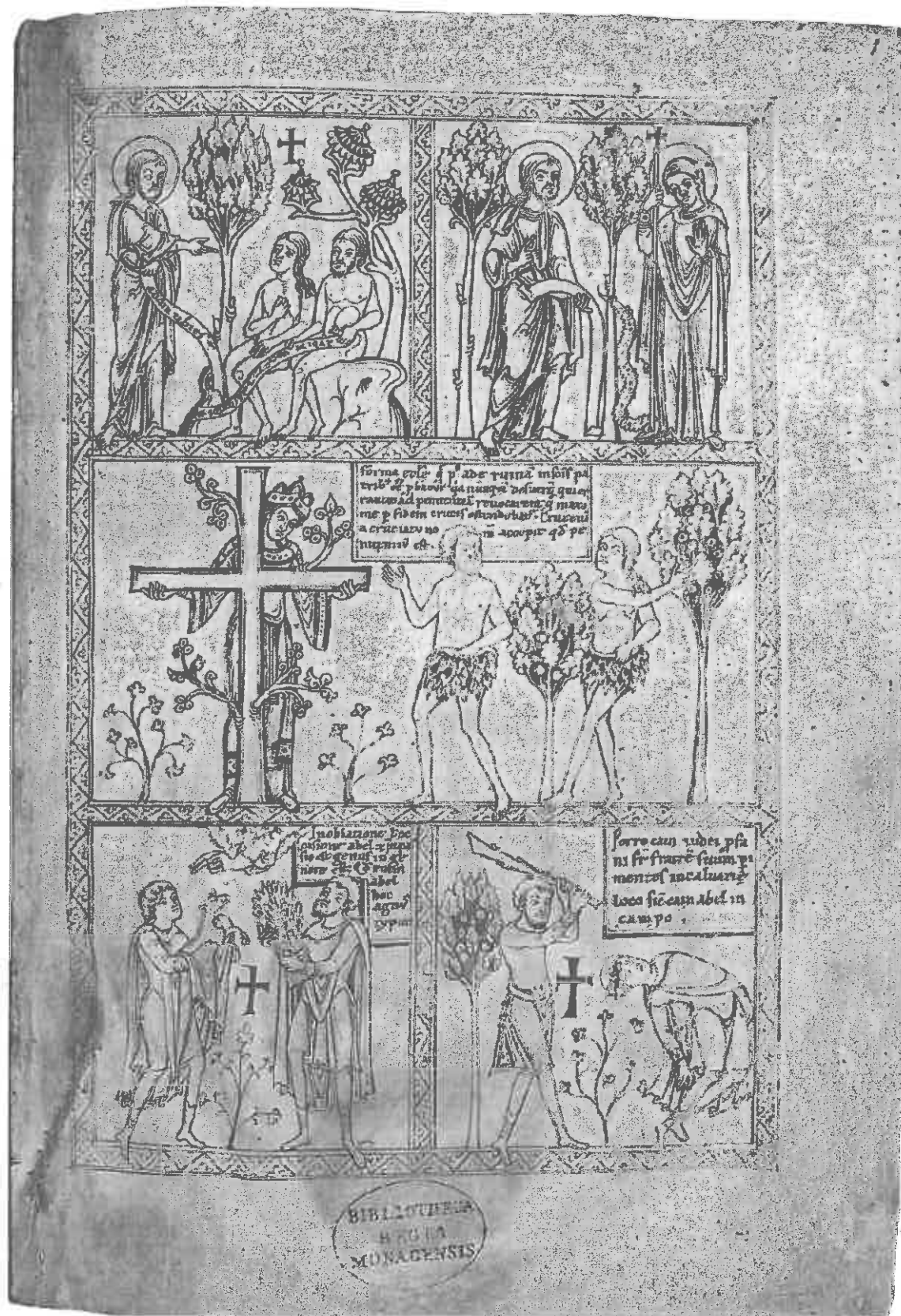


Figure 6.11. 'Types of the sacrificium Christi from Genesis', *Dialogus des laudibus sanctae crucis*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14159, fol. 1r, c. 1165. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

The Motif of arbor and virga as a Referential System in the Pictorial Programme of the Speculum humanae salvationis

The set of scenes from the New Testament and their Old Testament types is based on the corresponding text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and is therefore similar in all illuminated *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts.

Trees or branches play an important role in both text and images as meaningful, symbolic signs. The Tree of Jesse, which is a precursor for the previously discussed illustrated episode of the Birth of the Virgin, appears in conjunction with the representation of the dream visions of King Astyages, in reference to the future Annunciation of the birth of Mary (fol. 9^v). The episode of God in the burning bush (Exodus 3) can be interpreted as a symbol for the Immaculate Conception and refers to the Annunciation of Christ's birth to Mary (fol. 12^v). The tree vision of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4) heralds Christ's death on the cross (fol. 29^v). The Flagellation of Christ corresponds to the representation of Achior tied to the tree (Judith 6) (fol. 25^v). The lance thrust into the side wound of Christ on the cross is symbolically preceded by the illustration of Joab's lance thrust into the corpse of Absalom, who hangs from the tree (II Samuel 18. 8–15) (fols 30^v–31^r). Another example is the illustration of the budding rod of Aaron (Numbers 17), as it appears next to the precursory reference to the Virgin birth of Christ (fols 13^v–14^r), and at the same time it crowns the Ark of the Covenant (Exodus 25. 10–40), which in turn functions as an allegory for Mary, in addition to serving as a precursory scene for the Presentation in the Temple (fol. 16^v). In the Kremsmünster-codex, the sprouting branches of Aaron's rod arch over the Ark of the Covenant (fol. 15^v), take the place of the divine Child standing on the altar in the opposite scene of the Presentation at the Temple. Therefore both the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the subject of the Tree of Life are anticipated and prefigured, but also interpreted as the fulfilment of the Old Testament.

The subject of the tree is applied more prominently in the Kremsmünster-codex, when compared with the images of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in Darmstadt (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505, Germany, c. 1360). In this manuscript, trees are not used as a framing or filling motif; instead they separate scenes or indicate a landscape background.⁵³ The *arbor* or *virga*

is inserted in each of the opening scenes as an indication of Paradise (fols 6^v–7^v); consequently it is missing from Adam and Eve's life outside Paradise (fol. 8^r) and other external scenes. Aaron's rod is characterized by rich foliage and flowers (fols 14^r, 15^v); its branches and leaves recall those of the Tree of Virtues as well as the Tree of Jesse. In addition to this, the abundant foliage of the Persian gardens (fols 10^v–11^r), which prefigure the *Hortus conclusus*, the coming of Mary and Christ, and finally Mary of Egypt (fol. 16^v), is given special attention. The recurrent motif of the tree in different chapters and contexts of the manuscript recalls preceding scenes, but it also reminds the reader of the diagrammatic and didactic *arbores* which frame the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. Thus, the chronological order of text and images, which functions as a continuous narrative accompanied by typological scenes, is enriched by a second layer of meaning, an associative order which is created by the images themselves. This superstructure allows for a quasi-typological linking of scenes by the reader. The trees in the miniatures and the diagrammatic trees framing the *Speculum humanae salvationis* play a key role in the creation of this system of references. The prophetic image of Christ as the offspring of Jesse, born of the Virgin (*virgo*) Mary, which is stressed repeatedly in the text as well as in the miniatures of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, is thus combined with an exegesis of history itself in a genealogical perspective. This interpretation is then integrated with an allegorical reflection, leading to contemplation of the ways towards salvation as indicated by the Trees of Virtues and Vices. Trees and branches unite different moral, Mariological, genealogical, historical, and legal perspectives. As the wood of the cross and the blossom (*flos*) of a chosen *virga* and *stirps*, the Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge also represent the promise of Salvation.

Conclusion

The texts and images framing the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Kremsmünster-codex provide the reader with various ways of reading and understanding

⁵³ While Christ's baptism in the river Jordan is normally set in a tree-lined landscape (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek,

Hs. 2505, p. 24), trees are relinquished here (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 17^v). In Kremsmünster in contrast to Paradise with its fruit-bearing trees, the Life of Adam and Eve outside Paradise (fols 7^r–8^r) is consequently represented in an austere setting, while in the manuscript of Darmstadt these scenes are situated in a lush green landscape. Also, in Kremsmünster, Jonas is shown after his release in a landscape barren of trees (fol. 38^r), quite unlike the tree-lined landscape of the Darmstadt manuscript (p. 61).

the imagery of the manuscript. With regard to the subject of the tree, they set a diversely interpretable model, which breaks the continuous stream of typological narrative and supplements it with a historic as well as moral reading. While on the one hand the *Speculum humanae salvationis* text didactically addresses the recipient as a passive listener with its recurring appeal *audiamus* (let us hear), on the other hand it promotes active contemplation, concluding the meditations of the Passion with a short prayer, in which the praying beholder himself becomes the narrator for whom Christ suffered.⁵⁴

The Passion of Christ and the Mariological scenes in the manuscript are especially significant because the text describing them is illustrated. Salvation history is repeated three times within the manuscript, each time in a different way and with different implications. This strategy of a referential system, which repeats the same motif within different contexts, is also apparent in the opening and ending *arbores* pages of the manuscript. Motifs (*virga*) and keywords (Adam) are used to create new connecting references to other concepts within the text and to images within the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. It is clearly no coincidence that tree diagrams are chosen to frame the text-image-corpus of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Kremsmünster-codex. Their use gives particular pictorial prominence to key metaphors in the text, such as the image of Mary as *virga* and the cross as the Tree of Life. The full-page tree diagrams promote active meditation on certain intellectual concepts, which are consistently referred to throughout the manuscript.⁵⁵ References to common elements lead to reflection on the meaning and possible interpretations of these subjects. The contemplation of signs, which the prologue of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* demands, is then substantiated visually and finally reapplied to the images. This repetitive use of a motif in different contexts, whether they are scenic or narrative, schematic or allegoric, is reminiscent of reference processes developed and used in theological and law schools of the High Middle Ages. An excellent example of this referencing method is Peter Lombard's *Commentary on the Psalms*, in which the author refers to the authorities upon whom he bases his

explanations in the margins of the manuscript.⁵⁶ Early examples of the use of similar visual signs in subsequent illuminations can be found in the *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* from the monastery of St Emmeran near Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14159, c. 1165). In this manuscript a red cross appears as a leitmotif throughout the codex, as a premonitory reference to both the Crucifixion of Christ and the battle of the Virtues against the Vices in the struggle of the soul against the flesh (Figure 6.11).⁵⁷ Wolfgang Hartl, who dedicated a monograph to this manuscript, has pointed to a visual referencing system used throughout the miniatures which is closely related to the one in the Kremsmünster *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The tree appears as an essential motif in the frontispiece illustrating the origins of the Christian Church in the St Emmeran manuscript (fol. 8^v). Here, the cross is shown as the Tree of Life which pierces the serpent. Portraits of prophets and saints are attached to the arms of the cross, and Mary is depicted in the central crossing. This first arboreal image is linked to the final miniatures in the manuscript, which show the genealogical scheme of the offspring of Noah and the seventy-two languages (fols 187^v–188^r).

By the end of the thirteenth century, reference symbols are also used for illuminated vernacular texts such as the *Sachsenspiegel* and in poetry like the *Willehalm*.⁵⁸ In the Kremsmünster manuscript the integration of symbolic motifs into the image narrative is particularly subtle, and yet it results in an associatively connective effect.⁵⁹ Although the prologue in the *Speculum humanae*

⁵⁶ Wittekind, *Kommentar mit Bildern*, pp. 31–32.

⁵⁷ Hartl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift Dialogus*, pp. 50–81; cf. the description of the manuscript, which contains 188 folios of 31 × 21.5 cm, pp. 14–17: the pictorial cycle (fols 1^r–5^v) is followed by the treatise *Homo constat* which is partly based on the *Speculum virginum*; then a dedicatory letter (fols 7^r–8^r), the frontispiece (fol. 8^v), the text of the *Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis* (fols 9^r–186^v), and two genealogical schemata (fols 187^v–88^r); see Hartl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift Dialogus*, pp. 231–36, 268–83, 468–76, and tables 12, 16–17.

⁵⁸ On the images as a system of signs, see Manuwald, *Medialer Dialog*, especially pp. 217–23, pp. 234–35, pp. 320–23, on the image manuscripts of the *Sachsenspiegel* pp. 412–72; on the procedure of image motivic references, cf. Wittekind, 'Überlegungen zur Konstruktion von Heiligkeit in Bildviten'.

⁵⁹ The motif of *virga* is also symbolically woven into the altar cloth of the former abbey of Benedictine nuns Drübeck near Wernigerode/Saxony (first half of the fourteenth century). The altar cloth, composed of twenty-one rectangular image fields, shows the Crucifixion on the centre surrounded by Christological and

⁵⁴ These three prayers, each comprising 203 rhymed verses (chaps 43–45 of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*), are missing in the manuscripts belonging to the textual tradition of the *Speculum* represented by Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2505; cf. Stork and Wächinger, 'Speculum humanae salvationis', cols 55, 57.

⁵⁵ Cf. the considerations of Beyer, *Rahmenbedingungen*.

salvationis is reminiscent of Gregory the Great's famous dictum on the use of images for the illiterate,⁶⁰ the referential system of texts and images across the book is derived from the monastic context, as are the Trees of Virtues and Vices and other didactic devices. The images are richly reflective of the intellectual culture of the convent for which the book was made, in all likelihood the Premonstratensians at the Abbey of Weissenau.⁶¹ The addition of a vernacular abridged version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is not unusual at a time when law texts like the *Sachsenspiegel* were published in the language of the people.⁶²

The association of the tree motif with sin and redemption (Trees of Virtues and Vices) at the beginning of the manuscript means that this symbolic significance pervades the entire narrative-typological sequence of pictures. The repetition of the image of the tree also suggests a connection between the abstract-allegorical concept of the virtues and vices and the historical-typological image narrative. Both strands of discourse can be linked to the *Genealogia Christi* illustration at the end of the manuscript, and it is this discourse which renders the *Genealogia Christi* vivid and concrete. Moreover, the Old Testament premonitory scenes mentioned in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* can be understood chronologically and historically with the aid of the *Genealogia Christi*. Finally, the reader identifies with the *ego* medallion at the centre of the Tree of Consanguinity and sees it in relation to his own ancestors and descendants. These personal ties of consanguinity are analogous to the family relationships in the *Genealogia Christi*, and it is through this association that the reader finds himself fully integrated into the divine plan of salvation.

Mariological scenes, complemented by typological scenes and visualized prophecies at the sides. Here within the representation of Mary a vine is inserted with the depiction of the *porta clausa* (Ezechiel 44. 2), and tendrils of foliage also emerge from the figure of Christ in judgement. Kroos, *Niedersächsische Bildstickereien des Mittelalters*, p. 84, catalogue No. 13, fig. 291; Begrich and Finger, 'Die Altardecke im Kloster Drübeck', p. 171 and illustration on p. 159.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 8: 'Hanc conditionem possunt litterati habere ex scripturis, rudes autem erudiri debent in libris, id est in picturis'; Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ed. by Neumüller, p. 10.

⁶² See Manuwald, 'Narrative Bilder in Rechtshandschriften'; Manuwald, 'Pictorial Narrative in Legal Manuscripts?.'

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