...us ipn Nicolaus

...io de salilla dno

IV pictures

Discussions of modelling environments must always give way to the discussion of modelling *subjects*. If we apply this exercise to editorial theories and practices, we should note that the materials which have been viewed, traditionally, as the 'witnesses' of text are rarely, if ever, only witnesses of text or even primarily witnesses of text. This is especially evident in medieval manuscripts which is why they will provide us with the first area of investigation. This chapter takes the phenomenon of interpictoriality into consideration and works towards an understanding of editorial scope beyond notational integrity. It also suggests preliminary structural approaches for the description of transmission variances that we may encounter with multi-transmitted picture programmes. This is embedded in discourses from art history, particularly with the notion of a 'picture criticism' analogous to 'text criticism'.

Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident, quod sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.

Gregory the Great, MGH Epp. 2, *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1899, Liber XI, 10, 270.

medieval picture works
that vary in transmission

We can trace the foundations of the "medieval western-image doctrine"[1] to a very specific point in time – a very specific set of letters, in fact. The correspondence in question occurred around the year 600 AD between Serenus, Bishop of Marseille, and Pope Gregory I.[2] Word had reached the Pope that Serenus was in the habit of destroying images in his church in order to stifle their worship. In response, Pope Gregory I penned words of admonishment. While he commended Serenus for his fight against idolatry, he mounted a defence of the depictions and, in doing so, advanced an educational argument that, unbeknownst to him, would be cited throughout the centuries to follow. A translation from the 19th century put it thus: "What Scripture presents to readers, a picture presents to the gaze of the unlearned: for in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read."[3]

The notion of pictures as 'books of the illiterate' caught the imagination of medieval writers and modern scholars alike.[4] Indeed, one might

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1 Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," in: *Word & Image* 6/2 (1990), 138–152, here 138. In 1954, Ernst Kitzinger declared the sentiments from Gregory's letters "classical expressions of the Western attitude," a statement that must be seen in the context of his juxtaposition of Byzantine iconoclasm with Roman idolatry, cf. Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 83–150, here 132.
2 For information about the discourse surrounding these letters, see Chazelle 1990, *passim*.
3 James Barmby, *Gregory the Great* (The Fathers for English Readers), London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1879, 201f.
4 Cf. Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" in: *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication. Papers from*

be tempted to link several phenomena to the dictum, not least of all the fact that the typological picture bibles that became especially popular in the late Middle Ages were retroactively titled *Biblia pauperum*, the bibles of the poor. There is neither evidence that this was a common contemporary way of referencing these works nor is there evidence that these manuscripts and block-books[5] were intended for or used by those of low income; quite the opposite.[6] According to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, an entry in the catalogue of the Herzog August library in Wolfenbüttel sufficed to promote the label, based on a faded addition to a manuscript by a later hand.[7] However it came to be – and that may be subject to further discussion in this chapter, when we return to the *Biblia pauperum* in a different capacity –, it has remained, and so has the sentiment that pictures served a certain communicative function.[8] If we

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the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000, ed. by Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 63–107 [originally published in *Word & Image* 5/3 (1989), 227–251].

5 Not all *Biblia pauperum* were block-books but some of them were. For studies of the *Biblia pauperum* in that context specifically, see Avril Henry, "The Iconography of the Forty-Page Blockbooks Biblia Pauperum: Form and Meaning," in: *Blockbücher des Mittelalters: Bilderfolgen als Lektüre*, ed. by Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, Main: von Zabern, 1991, 263–288, and Nigel F. Palmer, "Junius's Blockbooks: Copies of the 'Biblia pauperum' and 'Canticum canticorum' in the Bodleian Library and their Place in the History of Printing," in: *Renaissance Studies* 9/2 (1995), 137–165.

6 Cf. Maurus Berve, *Die Armenbibel: Herkunft, Gestalt, Typologie. Dargestellt anhand von Miniaturen aus der Handschrift Cpg 148 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg* (Kult und Kunst; vol. 4), Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1969, 7–9, and Avril Henry (Ed.), *Biblia pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987, 3f. and 17f.

7 Cf. Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Armenbibeln des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Graz [et al.]: Böhlau, 1959, 1. For one of the earliest references to this, see Friedrich Laib and Franz Joseph Schwarz (Eds.), *Biblia pauperum*, Zürich: Leo Wörl, 1867, 14. And for Lessing's assessment itself, see Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, "Ehemalige Fenstergemälde im Kloster Hirschau," in: id., *Zur Geschichte und Literatur: Aus den Schätzen der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* (vol. 2), Braunschweig: Fürstl. Waysenhaus-Buchhandlung, 1773, 317–344, here 335–337 [also published in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften* (vol. 9), ed. by Karl Lachmann, Berlin: Voß, 1839, 228–245].

8 This can be seen in the many examples of literature concerned with the 'reading' of pictures and images or the difficulty thereof, cf. e.g. Herbert L. Kessler, "Reading Ancient and Medieval Art," in: *Word & Image* 5/1 (1989), 1; Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Elizabeth Sears, Thelma K. Thomas and Ilene H. Forsyth (Eds.), *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002; and Mariëlle Hageman

recall the primacy of text-based hermeneutics in the history of scholarship and especially the humanities, it will hardly surprise that we find at least one legitimization strategy for pictures rooted in their relation to the function of texts, regardless of whether this is explicitly framed as 'books for the poor' or not.

A.
TEXT-IMAGE STUDIES

In hindsight, one might view the extension of editorial theory towards picture works as an organic evolution of the interdisciplinary processes that began decades ago, precisely because of the closely entwined transmission of textual and pictorial materials. In the 1970s and 1980s, a field of text-image studies emerged. This development manifested itself quite notably in the publication of the journal *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry.* In German academia, it was furthermore marked by an increase in respective collected volumes.[9] Of note, in the German context, is also the 'Catalogue of German-Language Illustrated Medieval Manuscripts', the *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters* (KdiH), which was initiated by Hella

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and Marco Mostert (Eds.), *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication. Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005. See also, more generally from the point of view of literary studies, James A. W. Heffernan, "Reading Pictures," in: *PMLA* 143/1 (2019), 18–34, online: <https://doi.org/10.1632/pmla.2019.134.1.18>.

9 For an increase in collected volumes in Germany pertaining to text-image studies, beginning in the 1970s, see Hella Frühmorgen-Voss and Norbert H. Ott (Eds.), *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters; vol. 50), München: C.H. Beck, 1975; Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (Eds.), *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980; Wolfgang Harms (Ed.), *Text und Bild, Bild und Text: DFG-Symposion 1988*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1990; Klaus Dirscherl (Ed.), *Bild und Text im Dialog* (Passauer interdisziplinäre Kolloquien; vol. 3), Passau: Rothe, 1993; and Karin Krause and Barbara Schellewald (Eds.), *Bild und Text im Mittelalter* (Sensus; vol. 2), Köln [et al.]: Böhlau, 2011. See furthermore the important collection of essays in Michael Curschmann, *Wort, Bild, Text: Studien zur Medialität des Literarischen in Hochmittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Saecvla spiritalia; vols. 43 and 44), Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 2007.

Frühmorgen-Voss and Norbert H. Ott in Munich in 1991 and continues to be published to this day; since 2016 in a digital format as well as in print.[10]

As for the emergence of text-image studies, it might be fair to say that this new field responded to a desideratum – a gap in the research that had not been filled by either art history or literary studies, leaving many questions about manuscript culture, multimedial expressions of thought, and networks of meaning unanswered. Research that is bound to a history of transmission will always yield to the intent of observation. The body of evidence may remain unchanged, bar rare revelations, but it does not speak for itself; nor does it speak to everyone with the same voice. When we link evidences to support an argument, that argument derives from a point of view that shapes the lens with which we regard an object of study. Accordingly, information will have already faded in or out, depending on the criteria of relevance that guide our intrinsic *Erkenntnisinteresse* ('interest in insight'). When studying a manuscript, a palaeographer will notice certain details and those will likely be different from the features a codicologist may observe, a philologist, an art historian. Here the slopes and curves of letters, there the binding, here the ink, there the flourishes of decoration, here the commentary in the margins, in between lines, there the tactile feeling of flesh on the one and hair on the other side of the parchment; each and every clue, visual, physical, semantic, or otherwise, meaningful in its own right. I am, perhaps unnecessarily so, repeating a sentiment that has echoed throughout the previous chapters, and yet I do not think it redundant since true interdisciplinarity – the bridging of the gaps that fall to the wayside of specialization – challenge this aspect of scholarship the most: the patterns of thinking pre-established in our mind, inherited from the foundations

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10 See *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters* (KdiH; vol. 1–), initiated by Hella Frühmorgen-Voss and Norbert H. Ott, ed. by Ulrike Bodemann, Kristina Freienhagen-Baumgardt, Pia Rudolph, Peter Schmidt, Christine Stöllinger-Löser and Nicola Zotz, München: C. H. Beck, 1991–present. See also the web presence of the project, <https://kdih.badw.de/das-projekt.html> (accessed 11 March 2023), and the database *Deutschsprachige illustrierte Handschriften des Mittelalters* which is based on the KdiH and covers, at the date of access, the first eight volumes; cf. <https://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/start> (accessed 12 June 2023).

and frameworks of our disciplines, trained on specific sets of materials, with an eye towards specific kinds of evidences. Such a challenge comes with its own set of pitfalls; ignorance of that which is already known, superficiality of observations, obsolescence of references. Two considerations compel me to move forward still: (1) While editorial theory has not reckoned with pictorial or textual-pictorial materials in any sustained way, and while these materials do not speak for themselves, the pull of their evidentiary entanglement is strong enough to have reached across disciplines before, indicating a wealth of materials in need of scholarly edition or, at the very least, deserving of editorial attention. (2) The editorial concern that colours our view on these materials may well be distinct from the views that have come before.

There is no singular editorial concern either, of course, just as there is no singular type of material that would be of interest to us here. It might be best to understand both as contingent on a variance in transmission, for the purposes of the current inquiry. Variance in transmission meaning traces of genetic evolution or the existence of multiple witnesses of a 'work' (a classical editorial boundary that I will adhere to for the time being). Since the example of Diebold Lauber's workshop, as discussed in **CHAPTER I**, has already shown that we can principally conceive of multi-versioned picture works in the context of manually reproduced medieval manuscripts, attention must shift towards the particulars. What is the state of research that is relevant for the question of their scholarly edition, i.e. the question of a structural making-sense?

Studies exist that examine individually illustrated manuscripts of epic poems about heroic figures from legends and sagas like Parsifal, Tristan, or Roland.[11] There are also studies with a broader scope, specifically analysing the evolution of the text-image composition of

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11 See, for example, Norbert H. Ott, "Bildstruktur statt Textstruktur: Zur visuellen Organisation mittelalterlicher narrativer Bilderzyklen; die Beispiele des Wienhausener Tristanteppichs I, des Münchner Parzival Cgm 19 und des Münchner Tristan Cgm 51," in: *Bild und Text im Dialog*, ed. by Klaus Dirscherl, Passau: Rothe, 1993, 53–70, and James A. Rushing Jr., "Images at the Interface: Orality, Literacy, and the Pictorialization of the Roland Material," in: *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages*, ed. by Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel, Basingstoke [et al.]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 115–134.

multi-transmitted works like the aforementioned *Biblia pauperum*.[12] There is, to my knowledge, however, no comprehensive meta-study of the phenomenon as such, that is to say, the phenomenon of copying a picture programme (or cycle) alongside a text as well as independently from a text.[13] Works that fall into this category with varying degrees of interrelation and variance in transmission would be, for example, the *Bibles moralisées*, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the *Speculum virginum*, the *Sachsenspiegel*, the *Legenda aurea*, the *Beatus*, or the *Vaticinia summis pontificibus*, to name only a few.[14] Their circulation

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12 See Hanna Wimmer, Malena Ratzke and Bruno Reudenbach (Eds.), *Studien zur Biblia pauperum* (Vestigia bibliae; vol. 34), Bern [et al.]: Peter Lang, 2016.

13 Henrike Manuwald's observations about text-image relations in medieval manuscripts may come closest, but they are confined to manuscripts from German-speaking regions and do not specifically take into consideration whether there is a pictorial transmission variance (by way of multi-transmission) and what that might mean for the relation of text-image work witnesses among each other; see Henrike Manuwald, "Text-Bild-Beziehungen in der mittelalterlichen Manuskriptkultur (des deutschsprachigen Raums)," in: *Text – Bild – Ton: Spielarten der Intermedialität in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit,* ed. by Joachim Hamm and Dorothea Klein, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2021, 189–232. If we take a broader view on the debate about 'originals' and 'copies' and the transformational processes that (art-)works were subject to in medieval and early modern times, we will find a plethora of case studies, such as the art-historical explorations of this complex relationship in Wolfgang Augustyn and Ulrich Söding (Eds.), *Original – Kopie – Zitat: Kunstwerke des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit; Wege der Aneignung, Formen der Überlieferung* (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München; vol. 26), Passau: Klinger, 2010. See also Antonia Putzger and Joris Corin Heyder, "Kopieren, Faksimilieren, Dokumentieren: Vormoderne Ästhetiken der Genauigkeit in Bild und Schrift," in: *Duplikat, Abschrift & Kopie: Kulturtechniken der Vervielfältigung*, ed. by Jörg Paulus, Andrea Hübener and Fabian Winter, Köln: Böhlau, 2020, 207–232, which connects manual reproduction with the issue of facsimilization sketched in **CHAPTER I**.

14 For reference, see, respectively, John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (2 vols.), University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000; Manuela Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster: Edition der mittelhochdeutschen Versübersetzung und Studien zum Verhältnis von Bild und Text* (Pictura et poesis; vol. 8), Köln [et al.]: Böhlau, 1995; Jutta Seyfarth (Ed.), *Speculum virginum* (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis; vol. 5), Turnhout: Brepols, 1990; Dagmar Hüpper, "Funktionstypen der *Bilder* in den Codices picturati des Sachsenspiegels," in: *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen*, ed. by Hagen Keller, München: Fink, 1992, 231–249; Werner Williams-Krapp, "Bild und Text: Zu den illustrierten Handschriften der ‚Legenda aurea' des französischen und des deutschsprachigen Raums," in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 97/1 (2015), 89–107; John Williams, *Visions of the End in Medieval Spain: Catalogue of Illustrated Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse and Study of the*

ranges from a handful to several hundred illustrated witnesses.[15] One might note that these works often appear to be either typological, didactic, eschatological, or diagrammatic in nature; this is merely a small observation, the significance of which I cannot ascertain. Quite apparently, transmitting a picture programme in a relatively stable yet mutable way was not a unique occurrence. You might ask why this should be interesting, in and of itself. First of all, the fact that a work – regardless of whether it consists of text, images, or both – has survived in multiple manuscripts is an indication of its dissemination and outreach. Second of all, the fact that a picture programme was copied alongside text – or even independently from a specific text – may speak to its role and reception within a work or as a work. Third of all, the relationship between multiple witnesses is more complex than that of an 'original' and its 'copies' and this relationship can be further illumined by the study of the stability or, conversely, the alteration of a picture programme across its transmission history, similarly as one would do with texts.

This is not to say that it might not be equally as interesting and revealing to study the various ways in which the transmission of a singular text (or rather 'work') might have been illustrated over time.[16] However,

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Geneva Beatus, ed. by Therese Martin, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017; and Hélène Millet, *Les successeurs du pape aux ours: Histoire d'un livre prophétique médiéval illustré (Vaticinia de summis pontificibus)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004 [originally published as *Il libro delle immagini dei papi: Storia di un testa profetico medievale*, transl. by Cristina Colotto, Rome: Viella, 2002].

15 According to Lowden 2000 (vol. 1), 11, there are seven extant copies of the *Bibles moralisées*. The *Sachsenspiegel* survives in four illustrated manuscripts (Mscr. Dresd. M. 32; Cod. Pal. germ. 164; Cim I 410; Cod. Guelf. 3.1 Aug. 2°) in addition to around 460 manuscripts containing only the text or fragments thereof. For the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, Hélène Millet lists 102 manuscripts in Millet 2004, 213–216. *FAMA: Œuvres latines médiévales à succès,* the portal maintained by the CNRS, IHRT, and the École nationale des chartes, edited by Pascale Bourgain and Dominique Stutzmann, which compiles the known information about the most widely circulated medieval manuscripts written in Latin from different manuscript catalogues, lists 951 Latin manuscripts for the *Legenda aurea*, <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/254308>. For the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the bibliography refers to 400 manuscripts, <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/267499>, and for the *Speculum virginum* to 36 witnesses, <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/254664>. For the *Beatus* commentary, it states that 43 manuscripts are known, <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/254577> (all accessed 7 June 2023).

16 An example for this would be Cora Dietl, Christoph Schanze and Friedrich Wolfzettel (Eds.), *Artusroman und Bildlichkeit* (Schriften der Internationalen Artusgesellschaft; vol. 17), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2023.

we should be cognizant of a distinction here: In the case of picture pro-
grammes that were transmitted multiple times, such as the *Biblia pau-
perum* or the examples from the *Spiegelliteratur* (the genre of *specula*),[17]
the pictures were evidently more than a mere illustration of a text; this
might also be true for other so-called illustrations, a designation that by
default links such images to a text, in the service of which they perform,
but it is undeniable in cases where picture programmes developed a life
of their own. By way of example, I want to point to the *Vaticinia de
summis pontificibus*, a series of pope prophecies that originated in the
13th century.[18] They were later appropriated by the Protestant reformers
of the 16th century, specifically Andreas Osiander, Erhard Schön, and

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17 On the topic of the so-called *Spiegelliteratur* (which translates to mirror literature) in
general, see HERBERT GRABES, *Speculum, Mirror und Looking-Glass: Kontinuität und
Originalität der Spiegelmetapher in den Buchtiteln des Mittelalters und der englischen
Literatur des 13.–17. Jahrhunderts* (Anglia Book Series; vol. 16), Tübingen: Max Nie-
meyer, 2018 [reprint; originally published in 1973].
18 MILLET 2004 and FLEMING 1999 have been named before. For further literature, see
RENATE BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism:
1378–1417*, University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 2010, 166–178; HERBERT
GRUNDMANN, "Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters," in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschich-
te* 19/1 (1928), 77–138 [reprinted in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze: Teil 2 – Joachim von Fiore*
(Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica; vol. 25), Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977,
1–57]; ROBERT E. LERNER, "Ursprung, Verbreitung und Ausstrahlung der Papstprophe-
tien des Mittelalters," in: *Weissagungen über die Päpste. Vat. Ross. 374*, ed. by Robert
E. Lerner and Robert Moynihan, transl. by Walter Simon, Zürich: Belser, 1985, 11–76
[introductory volume of the facsimile edition of Cod. Vat. Ross. 374]; ROBERT E. LERN-
ER, "On the Origins of the Earliest Latin Pope Prophecies: A Reconsideration," in:
*Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Teil 5 – Fingierte Briefe. Frömmigkeit und VII Fälschung.
Realienfälschungen* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica; vol. 33), Hannover
1988, 611–635; ORIT SCHWARTZ and ROBERT E. LERNER, "Illuminated Propaganda: The
Origins of the 'Ascende Calve' Pope Prophecies," in: *Journal of Medieval History* 20
(1994), 157–191; MARJORIE REEVES, "The Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus: A Question
of Authority," in: *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret
Gibson*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward, London [et al.]: Hambledon Press,
1992, 145–156 [reprinted in MARJORIE REEVES, *The Prophetic Sense of History in Me-
dieval and Renaissance Europe* (Variorum Collected Studies; vol. 660), London / New
York: Routledge, 1999, part VII, 145–156]; PIA HOLENSTEIN WEIDMANN, "Die Vaticinia
pontificum: Tradition einer Bildprophetie," in: *Nova acta Paracelsica* 13 (1999), 153–184;
PAOLA GUERRINI, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo Medioevo* (Nuovo
Medioevo; vol. 51), Napoli: Liguori, 1997; PAOLA GUERRINI, "La propaganda politi-
ca nei manoscritti illustrati," in: *La propaganda politica nel Basso Medioevo: Atti del
XXXVIII Convegno storico internazionale. Todi 14–17 Ottobre 2001*, Spoleto: Centro
italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2002, 561–582.

Hans Sachs who adopted the picture programme in 1527[19] but not the Latin text, instead fitting the images (adapted by Erhard Schön) with vernacular verses (written by Hans Sachs) to capture the political potency of the iconography in changed circumstances of reception.[20] The 'mystic' nature of the origin of the prophecies apparently led to them being attributed to Hildegard von Bingen at some point[21] although this might be a bibliographical fault, given that Osiander published a second book in the same year with prophecies that he attributed to her.[22]

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19 See *Eyn wunderliche Weyssagung von dem Babstumb wie es yhm biß an das endt der welt gehen sol jn figuren oder gemæl begriffe gefunden zu Nuermberg ym Cartheuser Closter vnd ist seher alt. Eyn vorred Andreas Osianders. Mit g°utter verstendtlicher außlegung durch gelerte leut verklert. Welche Hans Sachs yn teutsche reymen gefast vnd darzu gesetzt hat*, Nürnberg: Guldenmund, 1527. A digitized facsimile edition and transcription of this work exists as part of a series of editions published by the Taylor Institution Library, one of the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford, in this case edited by Kezia Fender and published in 2015: <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/weyssagung/> (accessed 2 July 2023).

20 Cf. DAVID HEFFNER, "Regnum vs. Sacerdotium in a Reformation Pamphlet," in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20/4 (1989), 617–630, here 619. See also JONATHAN GREEN, *Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change 1450–1550*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012, 96–99. On the figure of Hans Sachs, see NIKLAS HOLZBERG and HORST BRUNNER, *Hans Sachs: Ein Handbuch*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2020, and here, with respect to the changed verses, 29, work 134. On the topic of the Protestant appropriation of the prophecies, see ABY M. WARBURG, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse; vol. 1919/26), Heidelberg: Winter, 1920 [reprinted in ABY M. WARBURG, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen* (Saecvla spiritalia; vol. 1), ed. by Dieter Wuttke, Baden-Baden: Koerner, ³1992, 199–304]. On the medieval relationship between prophecies and political as well as religious unrest, see also ROBERT E. LERNER, "Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent," in: *Past & Present* 72 (1976), 3–24, and his assessment that "[p]rophecies, of course, did not create Luther or the doctrine of solifidianism, but German receptivity for sweeping religious change may have been heightened by the circulation of numerous texts that expressed dissatisfaction with the government of the Church and certainty of imminent ecclesiastical renovation" (ibid., 24).

21 This attribution applies, for example, to the coloured editions of the pope prophecies published by Gabriel Kantz in Zwickau, VD 16 W 4645; cf. München, BSB, Res/4 H.eccl. 870,29, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00053611-6>, and München, BSB, 4 H.eccl. 826, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10160055-6> (both accessed 2 July 2023; noted in case the record should be corrected in the future).

22 See VD 16 H 3633; *Sant Hildegarten weissagung vber die Papisten vnd genanten geistlichen, welcher erfüllung zu vnsern zeyten hat angefangen, vnd volzogen soll werden*, with a preface by Andreas Osiander, Zwickau: Gabriel Kantz, 1527; Munich, BSB, 4 H.eccl. 827, online: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10160056-2>.

While the picture programme as found under the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* umbrella made reference to the Latin text it accompanied or vice versa, it did not, in fact, originate with those manuscripts either, rather having been borrowed from or at least heavily influenced by a Byzantine tradition of oracles,[23] and it would furthermore seem as though the picture programme was more compelling to viewers and readers than any accompanying text, taking precedence in the long term.[24] The vernacular verses reinterpreted the images, thereby creating a new link that someone unfamiliar with the earlier tradition of the images could misunderstand in its causality. Here, as dramatic a statement as it might seem, the images do not bend to the text. The text bends to the images.[25]

Cf. also Michael Embach, "Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte Hildegards von Bingen im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Mit einem Blick auf die Editio princeps des ,Scivias'," in: *,Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst': Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, ed. by Rainer Berndt, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001, 401–460, here 451. Green notes that the Hildegard prophecies and the pope prophecies circulated in at least two bound collections, combined with another work, "suggesting that these three may have been distributed as a unit or regarded as such by some readers" (Green 2012, 225, fn. 29).

23 Aby Warburg already pointed this out in Warburg 1920/³1992, 245f. See, on the origins on the picture programme, furthermore, Andreas Rehberg, "Der ,Kardinalsorakel'-Kommentar in der ,Colonna'-Handschrift Vat.lat. 3819 und die Entstehungsumstände der Papstvatizinien," in: *Florensia: Bolletino del Centro Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti* 5 (1991), 45–112; Andreas Rehberg, "Ein Orakel-Kommentar vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Entstehungsumstände der Papstvatizinien: Ein Arbeitsbericht," in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 71 (1991), 749–773; and Lerner 1985, 13–21. It would appear that the texts were borrowed in conjunction with the picture programme and translated from Greek to Latin, accounting for some of their obscurity, cf. Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Mittelalter-Forschungen; vol. 3), Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000, 272–275, and Grundmann 1928/1977, 13.

24 Matthias Kaup has pointed out that the prophetic literature flourished during the time of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) because it provided orientation amidst the confusion; cf. Matthias Kaup, "Der Liber Horoscopus: Ein bildloser Übergang von der Diagrammatik zur Emblematik in der Tradition Joachims von Fiore," in: *Die Bildwelte der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore: Zur Medialität religiös-politischer Programme im Mittelalter*, ed. by Alexander Patschovsky, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003, 147–184, here 147. It stands to reason that it also flourished during the time of the reformation due to this, as well as having a propagandistic political function; cf. ibid., 174, and Lerner 1976.

25 Jonathan Green goes so far as to say that "[t]he traditional roles of word and image are here reversed: it is the unlearned who need the text to aid their understanding, while

B.
OF CROWS AND DOVES

After having severed this assumed inherent connection between a text and its picture programme – or the picture programme and its text –, it might be helpful to take a step back and clarify the terminology and framework of the considerations that are to follow.

A glance at the research literature confirms that there is no concise agreed upon definition of what a 'picture programme' (*Bildprogramm*), 'picture cycle' (*Bilderzyklus*), or 'picture system' (*Bildsystem*) might be – the terms are often either used with a tacit understanding or denote a rather specific focal point.[26] The *Katalog der deutschsprachigen*

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intelligent people, according to Osiander, will comprehend the images immediately" (Green 2012, 98).

26 Definitions do exist, of course. In the context of manuscript illumination, Christine Jakobi-Mirwald defines a programme as "a planning concept underlying a book design which selects the depictions and distributes them across the book (or among other picture carriers)" (Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, *Buchmalerei: Terminologie in der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin: Reimer, ⁴2015, 23, original: "Ein einer Buchausstattung zugrundeliegendes planerisches Konzept, das die Darstellungen auswählt und im Buch (bzw. auf anderen Bildträgern) verteilt"). This is differentiated from a *Zyklus* ('cycle') which is the "series of pictures that, taken together, illustrate a text" (ibid., 24, "Serie von Bildern, die zusammen einen Text illustrieren"). In the definition of cycles, Jakobi-Mirwald furthermore states that the "transmission carriers of picture programmes may be ordered in transmission stemmata that parallel the textual transmission or proceed independently from it" (Jakobi-Mirwald 2015, 24, "Die jeweiligen Überlieferungsträger der Bildprogramme können ggf. zu Überlieferungsstammbäumen (Stemmata) angeordnet werden, die parallel zur Textüberlieferung oder davon unabhängig laufen." – 'stemmata' is bolded in the original). Unfortunately, we do not learn more about this practice. Another definition of a 'picture programme' can be found in the introduction to iconography by Frank Büttner and Andrea Gottdang. It reads: "But the purpose of iconography does not merely lie in the interpretation of singular picture works. Since time immemorial buildings or single rooms of special importance have been decorated with extensive series of pictures and figurines that are, generally speaking, not only linked through a formal relation of decoration but must be understood as an overarching unit of content, for which the term of the 'programme' has established itself." (Frank Büttner and Andrea Gottdang, *Einführung in die Ikonographie: Wege zur Deutung von Bildinhalten*, München: C.H. Beck, 2006, 24, original: "Die Ikonographie hat aber ihre Aufgabe nicht nur in der Deutung von einzelnen Bildwerken. Bauwerke oder einzelne Räume von besonderem Rang wurden seit alters her mit umfassenden Folgen von Bildern und Figuren geschmückt, die in der Regel nicht nur einen formalen Dekorationszusammenhang bilden, sondern auch als übergreifende inhaltliche Einheit aufzufassen sind, für die sich der Begriff des ‚Programmes' eingebürgert hat.") For an application of the term

illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdiH) states that "[s]ome manuscripts provide a continuous iconographic program indicating that the provision of both text and images was part of the basic concept."[27]

Instead of 'iconographic program', the German version of the documentation uses the arguably broader term of the *Bildprogramm*.[28] For the purposes of this chapter, it might be useful to define a picture programme as a series of pictures that was, to a certain degree, schematic in its order, arrangement, and composition, and relatively stable in its transmission, meaning that it was, similarly to a textual work, fixed in some way. When regarding such picture programmes, there tends to be an element of familiarity, if not in the execution of an image, then in its placement within the wider work context; no picture stands on its own, they all stand together. This is regardless of whether the pictures can be understood on their own or whether all of them are included in all of the witnesses; the point being that the work – in an ideal representation as well as in a material single witness – always consists of a series of pictures that bear a relation to each other and to the text that they share a space with; this relation does not have to be one of a narrative logic wherein one consecutive story is told that progresses throughout the pictures; the relation can be schematic more than it is sequential.[29]

Bildsystem, see Wolfgang Kemp, "Mittelalterliche Bildsysteme," in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1989), 121–134, and his explanation for using the term of the 'picture system' as a way to capture both narrative and symbolic qualities of medieval picture works that had a tendency to 'aggregate' meaning in complex ensembles, cf. ibid., 121–123 and 126.

27 Cf. <https://kdih.badw.de/en/text-and-image.html> (accessed 11 March 2023).

28 Cf. <https://kdih.badw.de/text-und-bild.html> (accessed 11 March 2023).

29 The notion of medieval picture programmes being a type of 'storytelling' reminiscent of 'modern' forms like comic strips has been analysed in some recent studies, such as in Isabell Brähler-Köhler, "Von der Handschrift zum Sammelbild, vom Bilderbogen zum Comic: Die Rolandssage in mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Text-Bild-Kombinationen," in: *Geschichten sehen, Bilder hören: Bildprogramme im Mittelalter. Akten der Tagung Bamberg 2013* (Bamberger interdisziplinäre Mittelalterstudien; vol. 8), ed. by Andrea Schindler and Evelyn Meyer, Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015, 49–74. The *Erzählung* ('narrative') of content has been a staple of writings about picture programmes, cycles, or, in Kemp's nomenclature, systems, for much longer, however; especially since it was 'put on the map' by Kemp, so to speak, cf. Karin Lerchner, "Narration im Bild: Szenische Elemente im Bildprogramm des ,Welschen Gastes'," in: *Beweglichkeit der Bilder: Text und Imagination in den illustrierten Handschriften des ,Welschen Gastes' von Thomasin von Zerclaere* (Pictura et poesis; vol. 15), ed. by Horst

If there were to be a witness of any of the discussed works that were to contain only one picture from the overall series without any placeholders allocated for pictures that were then not realised and no indication that there were originally more pictures that are now lost, this would be highly curious.[30] Generally, when it comes to medieval imagery and its eligibility for editorial concern, we should remember what art historian Wolfgang Kemp has stated: Namely that "the great common feature of the Christian period of art between 400 and 1400 AD is the dominance of the images over the 'image' (in the emphatic sense given to it by modern times) and of the contexts over the text."[31]

Although no example for a picture from a picture programme being transmitted entirely outside of its programmatic context immediately comes to mind (which is not to say that such an example does not exist), the pertinent question is whether such a witness could still be considered a witness of the work, if we take the picture programme to be the work, or at least the pictorial part of the work. It might be possible to answer this in the affirmative, provided that the relation between the witness and the work were stronger than one of mere visual reference or what might

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Wenzel and Christina Lechtermann, Köln [et al.]: Böhlau, 2002, 65–81, here 65. See also Horst Wenzel and C. Stephen Jaeger (Eds.), *Visualisierungsstrategien in mittelalterlichen Bildern und Texten*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2006.

30 Aside from the issue of picture *programmes* and whether there are manuscripts that contain a single picture from such a programme without any indication that it was part of a larger series, examples for manuscripts where space was allotted for illustrations and miniatures that were then never realised abound and Christopher de Hamel once phrased it nicely by stating that "[s]ome pages look very strange, like a wall with random bricks missing." (Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques*, Toronto / Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2001, 48.) See also the verdict by Karin Schneider that the spaces designated for *Bilderzyklen* ('picture cycles') – used by her to mean what we might call a *Bildprogramm*, such as the picture programme of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* – can be particularly telling as to a manuscript's transmission and use of reference material, cf. Karin Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde für Germanisten: Eine Einführung* (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte. B: Ergänzungsreihe; vol. 8), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2014, 157.

31 Wolfgang Kemp, *Christliche Kunst: Ihre Anfänge, ihre Strukturen*, München: Schirmer/Mosel, 1994, 17, original: "Die große Gemeinsamkeit der christlichen Kunstepoche, die von 400 bis 1400 reicht, ist die Dominanz der Bilder über das ‚Bild' (im emphatischen Sinne, den ihm die Neuzeit gibt) und der Kontexte über den Text."

be called *interpictoriality* or even *intermediality*[32] – a term applicable here since these reference systems do not discriminate between quotations among depictions in manuscripts, tapestry, stained glass, et cetera, any more than they do between the (intentional or otherwise) relation of text and images within the same medium or surface of expression.[33] Therefore, for the purposes of editorial purview, the visual 'inspiration' of other works must be ruled out as a form of versioning the work that the picture programme is said to constitute. Few work witnesses will ever bear witness to the whole work as it was or came to be, especially when they represent temporal glimpses at works that evolved and expanded over long periods of time; not to mention that in the case of contradictory versions of a work, it would be impossible for one witness to contain 'the whole work' unless it contained those contradictory versions. But there are different layers of permeability, and the description of a picture programme necessitates its delineation from visually related but intellectually to a significant degree autonomous presentations that

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32 On the topic of medieval and early modern forms of intermediality, see JOACHIM HAMM and DOROTHEA KLEIN (Eds.), *Text – Bild – Ton: Spielarten der Intermedialität in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2021, and AL-FRED MESSERLI, "Intermedialität," in: *Die Intermedialität des Flugblatts in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Alfred Messerli and Michael Schilling, Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2015, 9–24. On the topic of interpictoriality, see GUIDO ISEKENMEIER (Ed.), *Interpiktorialität: Theorie und Geschichte der Bild-Bild-Bezüge*, Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag, 2013. Sometimes, instead of interpictoriality, *Interikonizität* or *Interbildlichkeit* are used, or a variety of other terms, cf. ibid. 7 and GUIDO ISEKENMEIER, "In Richtung einer Theorie der Interpiktorialität," in: ibid., 11–86, esp. 14, fn. 10. In a medieval context, Cynthia Hahn in particular has promoted the concept of 'interpictoriality' analogous to 'intertextuality', specifically in her work on hagiographies; cf. CYNTHIA HAHN, "Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie," in: *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, 109–124, and CYNTHIA HAHN, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press, 2001.
33 Medieval reference systems – as a way of ordering and communicating knowledge – are inevitably incredibly complex. Some indication for this can be found in the interdisciplinary volume SABINE GRIESE and CLAUDINE MOULIN (Eds.), *Verweiskulturen des Mittelalters*, Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2022, and the 2015 conference on which it was based, cf. the respective programme under <https://www.hab.de/mediaevistischer-arbeitskreis/> (accessed 13 June 2023).

are, precisely for this reason, not *representations* of a work they have been inspired by or that they may be said to have inspired.

It might be best to specify what I mean. Around 1235–1250, accounting for several stages of revision, a Franciscan known as Alexander Minorita[34] wrote a commentary on the biblical *Book of Revelation*, his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.[35] This commentary was accompanied by a picture programme that has survived in several manuscripts. **FIGS. 13** and **14** show a direct comparison of one 'scene' depicted in two different manuscripts of the work, viz. 'a picture' of Domitian (51–96 AD) persecuting Christians – note that in the Cambridge manuscript in **FIG. 14**, the head of a Jewish figure, identifiable by the distinctive hat, *pileus cornutus*, has been added (cf. next to the stretched-out hand of Domitian on his horse), indicating the persecution of not only Christians but also Jewish

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[34] Sometimes referred to as Alexander of Bremen in older literature. Also referred to as such in the description of MS Mm.5.31 at the Cambridge University Library, cf. <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MM-00005-00031/1> (accessed 11 March 2023).

[35] For information on this work in general, see Felicitas Schmieder, "Die Johannesoffenbarung als Schlüssel zur Zeitgeschichte – Alexander Minoritas ‚Expositio in Apocalypsim' als Chronik," in: *Geschichte vom Ende her denken: Endzeitentwürfe und ihre Historisierung im Mittelalter* (Forum Mittelalter – Studien; vol. 15), ed. by Susanne Ehrich and Andrea Worm, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019, 127–145; Sabine Schmolinsky, "Wer wird das Himmlische Jerusalem erbauen? Interpretationen in der Apokalypsenexegese des Alexander Minorita," in: *Geschichte vom Ende her denken: Endzeitentwürfe und ihre Historisierung im Mittelalter* (Forum Mittelalter – Studien; vol. 15), ed. by Susanne Ehrich and Andrea Worm, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019, 147–157; and Felicitas Schmieder, "Inscribing the Orient into a Historiography of the Past, Present, and Future of Latin Europe: Alexander Minorita's Expositio in Apocalipsim," in: *Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome* 554 (2019), 253–266. See also Sabine Schmolinsky, *Der Apokalypsenkommentar des Alexander Minorita: Zur frühen Rezeption Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland* (MGH Studien und Texte; vol. 3), Hannover: Hahn, 1991; Sabine Schmolinsky, "Merkmale der Exegese bei Alexander Minorita," in: *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs; vol. 32), ed. by Robert E. Lerner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, München: Oldenbourg, 1996, 139–148, online: <https://doi.org/10.1524/9783486595789-010>; David Burr, "Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse," in: *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992, 89–105, here 99f.; and Peter K. Klein, "Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in: *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992, 159–199, here 192–194.

FIG. 13: Depiction of Domitian persecuting Christians as one of the four horsemen of the apocalypse in Alexander Minorita's *Expositio in Apocalypsim* in Wrocław University Library, MS I Q 19, after 1271, f. 27v, <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/63> (PD).

FIG. 14: Depiction of Domitian persecuting Christians and Jews as one of the four horsemen of the apocalypse in Alexander Minorita's *Expositio in Apocalypsim* in Cambridge University Library, MS Mm.5.31, c. 1270–1290, f. 27v, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MM-00005-00031/58> (CC BY-NC 3.0).

people under Domitian's reign as described by Eusebius.[36] Here, we can already sense the subtle changes that may have occurred in the different 'iterations' of a picture programme, which, in this case, as is often the case, exhibits a proximity to a certain textual tradition of manuscript transmission that has led to it being regarded as part of the same 'work' rather than separate work expressions of the same motif; something to keep in mind as we continue our way through the maze of intermedial transmission variances.

Another example, to deepen complications (in the Latin sense of the word): Alexander Minorita makes recourse to Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130–1202),[37] an influential theological figure,[38] especially in the heretical circle of the Franciscan Spirituals that formed in consequence of the *Armutsstreit*[39] in the 13th century.[40] The aforementioned *Vaticinia de*

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36 It might also be a note of interest that the *Book of Revelation* is thought by most scholars to have been written towards the end of Domitian's reign, cf. ULRIKE RIEMER, "Domitian — (k)ein Christenverfolger?" in: *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 52/1 (2000), 75–80, here 75f. On the matter of Eusebius and Domitian, see LEONARD L. THOMPSON, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*, Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 1990, 136. On the iconography of the 'Jewish hat', see NAOMI LUBRICH, "The Wandering Hat: Iterations of the Medieval Jewish Pointed Cap," in: *Jewish History* 29/3-4 (2015), 203–244.

37 On the closeness of Alexander's Apocalypse commentary to the Joachitic tradition and its co-transmission with Joachitic and pseudo-Joachitic works, cf. SCHMOLINSKY 1991, 20f., and SCHMOLINSKY 2019, 150f. See also MARJORIE REEVES and BEATRICE HIRSCH-REICH, "The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore: With Special Reference to the Tract 'De Septem Sigillis'," in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954), 211–247, and BEATRICE HIRSCH-REICH, "Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des norddeutschen Minoriten Alexander," in: *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 24 (1957), 361–364, here 361f.

38 On the figure of Joachim of Fiore, see the classic HERBERT GRUNDMANN, *Studien über Joachim von Floris* (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance; vol. 32), Leipzig [et al.]: Teubner, 1927; MATTHIAS RIEDL, *Joachim von Fiore: Denker der vollendeten Menschheit*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004; HENNING OTTMANN, *Geschichte des politischen Denkens*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2004, 118–128, online <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-476-02911-9_7>; JULIA EVA WANNENMACHER (Ed.), *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration: Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905–2003)*, London: Routledge, 2013; and MATTHIAS RIEDL (Ed.), A *Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; vol. 75), Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2017.

39 A conflict within the Franciscan order about the principle of poverty; also referred to as the *usus pauper* controversy, cf. DAVID BURR, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, 137–144.

40 Cf. MATTHIAS RIEDL, "Longing for the Third Age: Revolutionary Joachism, Com-

summis pontificibus originated in the same milieu and were *ex post facto* attributed to Joachim, making them one of the many pseudo-Joachitic works that circulated at the time.[41] To be more precise, the *Vaticinia* are a combination of two series of pope prophecies with accompanying picture programme, created at different stages: the earlier *Genus nequam* series and the later *Ascende calve* series. In terms of intertextuality, this results in the interesting constellation that the author of yet another Joachitic work, the *Liber Horoscopus*, would seem to have been influenced by the *Genus nequam* prophecies while in turn influencing the *Ascende calve* series.[42] In the seventh prophecy of this latter series, Pope Benedict XI is referred to as *avis nigerrima, corvini generis*, "the blackest bird of the species of crow,"[43] due to a widespread propagandistic identification of the Dominican order with this imagery.[44] (And we find the *avis nigerrima* turn of phrase in the *Liber Horoscopus* as well.)[45] The crow is not only referenced in the text but depicted in the corresponding picture – albeit not in all witnesses. Curiously enough, some, such as CC Cim. 6 from Kremsmünster, replace the crow with a dove, the symbolic representation of the Franciscan order (see **FIGS. 15** and **16**). The motif of crows and doves also appears in other places of both picture series. In the second prophecy of the *Genus nequam* series, the Latin text references

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munism, and National Socialism," in: *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition; vol. 75), ed. by Matthias Riedl, Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2017, 267–318, here 280f. See also the outdated but influential MARJORIE REEVES, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

41 Cf. KAUP 2003, 151 and 174, and BERNARD MCGINN, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York [et al.]: Columbia University Press, 1979, 188f.

42 Cf. KAUP 2003, 169f.

43 SCHWARTZ and LERNER 1994, 171. For the full transcription of the prophecy, cf. ibid., 189.

44 The crow was meant to be a symbolic representation of the Dominican order while the dove was meant to represent the Franciscan order – and it has indeed been argued that this central conflict lies "at the heart of the pictorial program" (BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI 2010, 169). Robert E. Lerner has analysed this particular iconography in ROBERT E. LERNER, "Ornithological Propaganda: The Fourteenth-Century Denigration of Dominicans," in: *Politische Reflexion in der Welt des späten Mittelalters / Political Thought in the Age of Scholasticism: Essays in Honour of Jürgen Miethke* (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions; vol. 103), ed. by Martin Kaufhold, Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2004, 171–191.

45 Cf. KAUP 2003, 170f.

FIG. 15: Detail from vaticinium VII of the *Ascende calve* prophecies, showing pope Benedict XI feeding a serpent with a crow behind him, c. 1360/1370; from VadSlg Ms. 342, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, St. Gallen, f. 7, <http://www.e-codices.ch/de/vad/0342/7> (CC BY-NC 4.0).

FIG. 16: Detail from vaticinium VII of the *Ascende calve* prophecies, showing pope Benedict XI with a serpent and a dove appearing behind him, c. 1410/1415; from CC Cim. 6, Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster, f. 4r (image courtesy of the Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster).

FIG. 17: Detail from vaticinium II of the *Genus nequam* series, showing a pope (possibly Martin IV) with a serpent and two crows, 14th century; from MS 404, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, f. 88v, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/jy663fr8353> (The Parker Library, CC BY-NC 4.0).

FIG. 18: Detail from vaticinium II of the *Genus nequam* series, showing a pope (possibly Martin IV) with a serpent and a crow, 15th century; from Latin 10834, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, f. 7v, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84527986> (PD).

ravens and the depiction typically shows one or two of them, sometimes engaged in a fight with a serpent (see **FIGS. 17** and **18**).[46] Martha H. Fleming notes in her *apparatus criticus* of this depiction in her printed edition:

> **bird**: two *corvis* attacking serpent's eyes A, two birds attacking serpent's head CDF, two birds resting atop tree, facing pope M, one bird attacking serpent's head P, *om.* attack, bird on opposite side atop staff, beak open, parallel to pope's head V.[47]

This might begin to indicate the type of variance that we can encounter with these multi-transmitted picture programmes. At least one coloured edition of the 16th century Protestant appropriation retains the raven and the fight (see **FIG. 19**) but renders it a peculiar visual by combining it with the commentary by Osiander which suggests that the image depicts the 'holy spirit' in a fight with the devil.[48] This reconfigured pairing only appears plausible in the non-coloured copies of this printed work that feature a non-specified bird which may well be a dove (see **FIG. 20**). Yet another coloured edition epitomizes the indecision: It looks as though the bird may be both black and white, with the lighter colour not quite covering the other (see **FIG. 21**). How to account for this ambiguity in a description aiming to be precise? We could, of course, retreat to the higher category of avian classification or categorize our levels of (un)certainty. This, however, already goes to the heart of what we describe and ascribe – meaning (interpretation, identification)? Appearance (properties, values, attributes)? Both? And what about points of reference? Spatial or otherwise?

The ornithological example is but a very small variance in a sea of substitutions, additions, deletions, and transformations of 'elements' within an otherwise relatively stable, contiguous picture(s) work. Disentangling this evolution requires a separation and highlighting

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46 "Et niger totus privatus lumine a corvis manifestans tempus." (FLEMING 1999, 153.)
47 FLEMING 1999, 152.
48 Cf. "hie streitet der heylige Geyst mit dem Teuffel" (ANDREAS OSIANDER, *Ein wunderliche weissagung, von dem Bapstum: wie es yhm bis an das ende der Welt gehen sol, ynn figuren odder gemelde begriffen*, Zwickau: Kantz, 1527, 19).

FIG. 19: Detail from vaticinium II of the *Genus nequam* series; from Osiander 1527, VD16 W 4645, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, f. 11r, <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00053611-6> (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

FIG. 20: Detail from vaticinium II of the *Genus nequam* series; from Osiander 1527, VD16 W 4644, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, f. 11r, <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00026119-8> (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

FIG. 21: Detail from vaticinium II of the *Genus nequam* series; from Osiander 1527, VD16 W 4642, Taylor Institution Library, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, f. c3r, <https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/weyssagung/#c3r> (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0); the digital presentation of this print was created by Huber Digital for Taylor Editions at the University of Oxford and published in 2015, with the transcription encoded in TEI/XML by Kezia Fender.
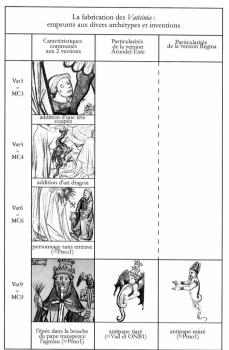
of details as Hélène Millet showed in her excellent study of the pope prophecies where she employed tables as a means of comparison (see **FIG. 22**).[49] Generally speaking, some variances in the transmission of picture programmes may be negligible, incidental, accidental; as always, their significance and variability (or lack thereof) can only reveal itself through an observation of relations and it is those relations that we seek to record. Should we also record matters of reasoning, beyond matters of 'finding' (*Befund*)? It seems to me that we should, but one cannot say that we do, in the digital humanities as such.

Even the matter of finding, that is, the matter of a *system* of finding, is made complex by the permeation of intermediality. We can take this further and look beyond manuscripts. It has been said, for example, that the picture programme of Alexander's *Expositio* served as a template for the picture panels that Master Bertram von Minden painted on an altarpiece around 1400.[50] Furthermore, it has been stated that it may have influenced Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypsis cum Figuris* (1498).[51] The *Expositio in Apocalypsim* picture programme itself seems to be related to an 'English-French' group of illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts, rooted

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49 Cf. Millet 2004, 48, 50 for one way of highlighting details (lowering the opacity of other parts of the image) and 120–124 for a tabular comparison of details in order to showcase the origin of archetypical elements of the picture programme.
50 And for a view of which I must redirect to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accession number 5940-1859: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89176/altarpiece-with-45-scenes-of-altarpiece-master-bertram/> (accessed 11 March 2023). The Victoria and Albert Museum gives the date of creation as c. 1400 – Andrea Worm dates it more specifically into the 1370s and 1380s, cf. Andrea Worm, "Per omnia saecula saeculorum: Alexander Minoritas Apokalypse-Kommentar und ein Retabel aus der Werkstatt Meister Bertrams in London," in: *Geschichte vom Ende her denken: Endzeitentwürfe und ihre Historisierung im Mittelalter*, ed. by Susanne Ehrich and Andrea Worm (Forum Mittelalter – Studien; vol. 15), Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019, 159–188, here 160. See also Alois Wachtel (Ed.), *Alexander Minorita: Expositio in Apocalysim* (MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters; vol. 1), Weimar: Böhlau, 1955, XLV.
51 Cf. ibid. and Wilhelm Neuß, "Die ikonographischen Wurzeln von Dürers Apokalypse," in: *Volkstum und Kulturpolitik: Sammlung von Aufsätzen, gewidmet Georg Schreiber zum 50. Geburtstage*, ed. by Heinrich Konen and Johann Peter Steffes, Köln: Gilde, 1932, 185–197. On the topic of Dürer's Apocalypse cycle and the different manuscript traditions that may have influenced it, see furthermore Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, ⁴1955, 51–59 [originally published in three volumes in 1943].
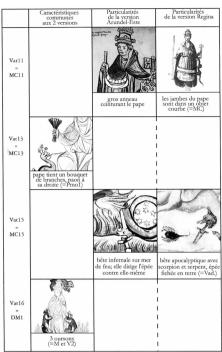
La fabrication des *Vaticinia* : emprunts aux divers archétypes et inventions		
Caractéristiques communes aux 2 versions	Particularités de la version Arundel-Este	Particularités de la version Regina
Vat3 = MC3 — addition d'une tête coupée		
Vat4 = MC4 — addition d'un dragon		
Vat6 = MC6 — personnage sans entrave (=Pmo1)		
Vat9 = MC9 — l'épée dans la bouche du pape transperce l'agneau (=Pmo1)	antipape tiaré (=Vad et ONB1)	antipape mitré (=Pmo1)

Caractéristiques communes aux 2 versions	Particularités de la version Arundel-Este	Particularités de la version Regina
Vat11 = MC11	gros anneau ceinturant le pape	les jambes du pape sont dans un objet courbe (=MC)
Vat13 = MC13 — pape tient un bouquet de branches, paon à sa droite (=Pmo1)		
Vat15 = MC15	bête infernale sur mer de feu; elle dirige l'épée contre elle-même	bête apocalyptique avec scorpion et serpent, épée fichée en terre (=Vad.)
Vat16 = DM1 — 3 oursons (=M et V2)		

FIG. 22: Table with characteristics of *Vaticinia* versions; from Hélène Millet, *Les successeurs du pape aux ours: Histoire d'un livre prophétique médiéval illustré* (Vaticinia de summis pontificibus), Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 120f.

in an Italian tradition, as well as the Spanish *Beatus* cycle.[52] Indeed, in at least one composite manuscript Alexander's commentary is transmitted alongside the pope prophecies of the *Vatinica de summis pontificibus*.[53] This is to be expected, given the (pseudo-)Joachitic milieu that evidently gave rise to many of the immediate examples of multi-transmitted picture works that come to mind.

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52 Cf. Neuß 1932, 187–190, und Max Huggler, "Der Bilderkreis in den Handschriften der Alexander-Apokalypse," in: *Antonianum* 9 (1934), 85–150 and 269–308, here esp. 276f.
53 Cf. Worm 2019, cf. 170f., fn. 29. The manuscript in question is the Cod. Vat. lat. 3819 from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, online: <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.3819> (accessed 11 March 2023).

C.
DIAGRAMMATIC REASONING

At this point I wish to digress briefly and dedicate a few words to a pictorial phenomenon that is not exclusive to the 12th century but gained traction at the time as well as later in the 13th and 14th century within the milieu that we were just familiarizing ourselves with; a phenomenon that is furthermore of interest for issues of modelling and graphical variety: the emergence of widespread diagrammatic knowledge representations (see **FIG. 23**).[54] Fritz Saxl's verdict that "[t]he 12th century did not invent the idea of representing a group of abstract notions in diagramatic [sic!] form; but [that] it was not until then that this device played so considerable a part"[55] still rings true[56] and has to be seen in the context of the changes that the function of books and their design went through in the late 12th and early 13th century in general.[57] Of the many aspects that we could single out, there is one that we should, if not discuss, at

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54 In addition to the literature already named in **CHAPTER II**, section A. 'Models in Science', see also Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Mindmapping: The Diagram as Paradigm in Medieval Art – and Beyond," in: *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages; vol. 16), ed. by Marcia Kupfer, Adam S. Cohen and Jeffrey Howard Chajes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 61–86; Madeline H. Caviness, "Templates for Knowledge: Geometric Ordering of the Built Environment, Monumental Decoration, and Illuminated Page," in: *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages; vol. 16), ed. by Marcia Kupfer, Adam S. Cohen and Jeffrey Howard Chajes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 405–428; and that collected volume in general. With regard to the 12th century in particular, see Christel Meier, "Malerei des Unsichtbaren: Über den Zusammenhang von Erkenntnistheorie und Bildstruktur im Mittelalter," in: *Text und Bild, Bild und Text: DFG-Symposion 1988*, ed. by Wolfgang Harms, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1990, 35–65, and Christel Meier, "Die Quadratur des Kreises: Die Diagrammatik des 12. Jahrhunderts als symbolische Denk- und Darstellungsform," in: *Die Bildwelte der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore: Zur Medialität religiös-politischer Programme im Mittelalter*, ed. by Alexander Patschovsky, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003, 23–53.
55 Fritz Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), 82–134 [134–142 appendices by Otto Kurz], here 107.
56 Adam Cohen would seem to agree with that assessment, cf. Cohen 2020, 385.
57 Cf. Christel Meier, "Bilder der Wissenschaft: Die Illustration des 'Speculum maius' von Vinzenz von Beauvais im enzyklopädischen Kontext," in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 33/1 (1999), 252–286, here 252, online: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110242317.252>.

least mention, and that is the aspect of semiotics, since it ties into issues of interpictoriality.

Generally, when one turns to diagrammatic representations – and remember that models themselves may be depicted thus –, Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) will be referenced at some point and the language will become one of icon, index, symbol, iconicity, and so forth.[58] Therefore, a word of acknowledgement might be in order: It is, of course, entirely possible to think of pictoriality and thereby interpictoriality in terms of *the shape* that they take and it is also reasonable to assume that that will have an impact on how these shapes may be *represented*. If we were to entertain the scholarly edition of diagrammatic depictions, considerations like that would likely have to be at the centre of study. It is, furthermore, entirely understandable that modelling discourses will veer in that direction, given the proximity between the representation of a model and that which it represents. Nevertheless, while it might be tempting to conflate the conversations about that which we speak about and that which we speak about by speaking about how we speak about it – or to regard them as inextricably linked –, we may do well to keep ourselves from getting lost in this maze by minding the words of semiotician Göran Sonesson:

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58 See, for example, Steffen Bogen and Felix Thürlemann, "Jenseits der Opposition von Text und Bild: Überlegungen zu einer Theorie des Diagramms und des Diagrammatischen," in: *Die Bildwelte der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore: Zur Medialität religiös-politischer Programme im Mittelalter*, ed. by Alexander Patschovsky, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003, 1–22, or, outside of a strictly diagrammatic focus, George Bornstein and Theresa Lynn Tinkle (Eds.), *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, and Beatrice Kitzinger, "Framing the Gospels, c. 1000: Iconicity, Textuality, and Knowledge," in: *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages; vol. 16), ed. by Marcia Kupfer, Adam S. Cohen and Jeffrey Howard Chajes, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 87–114. Peirce has also been connected to Panofsky in Tullio Viola, "Peirce and Iconology: Habitus, Embodiment, and the Analogy between Philosophy and Architecture," in: *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy* 4/1 (2012), online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejpap.764>. In a context of modelling in the digital humanities, see Claas Lattmann, "Iconizing the Digital Humanities: Models and Modeling from a Semiotic Perspective," in: *Historical Social Research* suppl. 31 (2018), 124–146, online: <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.suppl.31.2018.124-146>, and Christina Ljungberg, "Iconicity in Cognition and Communication," in: *Historical Social Research* suppl. 31 (2018), 66–77, online: <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.suppl.31.2018.66-77>.
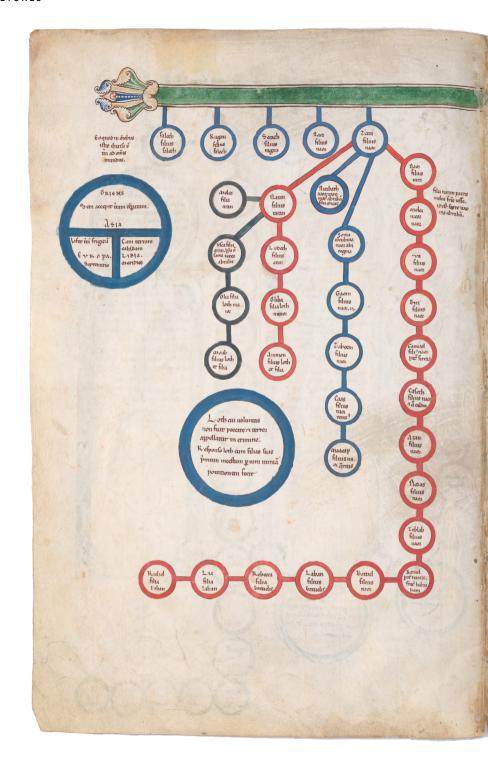
FIG. 23: Bifolium from a disassembled *Beatus* manuscript, showing the genealogy of Christ, c. 1180; from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1991.232.2a-d, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/466197> (PD).

> Although semiotics is often taken to be the study of signs, the notion of sign itself, strange to say, is never defined. It is true of both the main traditions of semiotics, the Saussurean and the Peircean one, that they have never really offered any definition of the sign. When Peirceans and Saussureans quarrel over the presence of two or three entities in the sign, they never pause to ask themselves what kind of objects, defined by what type of features, are involved: but, clearly, before we know what we are counting, it makes no sense to start counting at all.[59]

A habit of counting could be useful if we were to consider the mnemotechnic function of picture programmes[60] but it seems like an ill-suited strategy for making structural sense of pictorial transmission variance; and that is not only true for pictures or picture programmes but also for medieval diagrams.

One reason to draw attention to diagrammatic depictions is that they were often transmitted alongside the textual work, meaning that they are often multi-transmitted similar to the picture programmes that I have mentioned thus far; aside from eschatological diagrams like those by Joachim of Fiore one might think of astronomical works such as *De sphaera mundi* (c. 1230) by Johannes de Sacrobosco, for example.[61]

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59 Göran Sonesson, "The Foundation of Cognitive Semiotics in the Phenomenology of Signs and Meanings," in: *Intellectica* 58 (2012), 207–239, here 220. It should be noted that Sonesson has been especially engaged in the field of pictorial and visual semiotics which is, by its very nature, a structuralist approach to image analysis, a "science of depiction" (Göran Sonesson, "On Pictorality: The Impact of the Perceptual Model in the Development of Pictorial Semiotics," in: *Advances in Visual Semiotics* (Approaches to Semiotics; vol. 118), Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, 67–108, here 68). If one were keen on developing an editorial theory pertaining to certain types of diagrammatic depiction, they could take Sonesson's school of semiotics into account. Since pictorial semiotics do not offer much in the way of describing, let alone understanding, the representation of meaning in the kind of historical works we are concerned with, however, the writings from this field will not be taken into further consideration in the present context.

60 On this interesting phenomenon where, in the case of picture bibles, elements in the pictures were actually numbered, see Susanne Rischpler, *Biblia sacra figuris expressa: Mnemotechnische Bilderbibeln des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter; vol. 36), Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001.

61 Aylin Malcolm has presented the first study of MS Codex 1881 (University of Pennsylvania), one of the witnesses of this widespread work, suggesting that a comprehensive and comparative study of its diagrammatic programme is still a desideratum;

Preliminary autopsy would suggest that multi-transmitted diagrams might not have been subject to quite as much variance in transmission as other types of pictorial programmes, perhaps due to being easier to copy vis-à-vis their schematic nature or because they were explicit knowledge representations and changing them would have more obviously distorted an intended meaning and educational purpose; however, that observation is in need of a more comprehensive study and comparison.

Another reason why diagrammatic depictions are of interest is the way in which they are entwined with other multi-transmitted picture programmes. As Bruno Reudenbach has pointed out in his discussion of the *Biblia pauperum* – and this is where we return to that particular example –, early Christian Bible illustrations that predate the *Biblia pauperum* and are extant in only a small number "surprisingly often [contain] diagrammatic pictures."[62] And while he does acknowledge that those depictions might, at first, seem irrelevant for the "visual constitution"[63] of the *Biblia pauperum*, he connects them to his analysis of earlier di-

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see Aylin Malcolm, "In the Orbit of the Sphere: Sacrobosco's De sphaera mundi in UPenn MS Codex 1881," in: *Manuscript Studies* 5/1 (2020), 181–202, online: <https://doi.org/10.1353/mns.2020.0012>. Furthermore, Malcolm has been working on a digital edition of the manuscript's diagrams (cf. ibid.), underlining that the (digital) edition and presentation of the diagrammatic components of the work is equally of interest as the edition of other pictorial elements in manuscripts. See furthermore Owen Gingerich, "Sacrobosco Illustrated," in: *Between Demonstration and Imagination: Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy Presented to John D. North*, ed. by Lodi Nauta and Arie Vanderjagt, Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1999, 211–224 (which is concerned with illustrations in the printed editions however); Kathrin Müller, "Formen des Anfangs: Sphärendiagramme aus dem 13. Jahrhundert," in: *Diagramme und bildtextile Ordnungen* (Bildwelten des Wissens: Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch für Bildkritik; vol. 3,1), ed. by Birgit Schneider, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005, 85–96; and Kathrin Müller, *Visuelle Weltaneignung: Astronomische und kosmologische Diagramme in Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008, 203–252.

62 Bruno Reudenbach, "Heilsgeschichtliche Sukzession und typologische Synopse in Manuskripten der Biblia pauperum," in: *Studien zur Biblia pauperum* (Vestigia bibliae; vol. 34), ed. by Hanna Wimmer, Malena Ratzke and Bruno Reudenbach, Bern [et al.]: Peter Lang, 2016, 9–30, here 12, original (whole sentence): "Blickt man nun nochmals zurück auf die frühchristlichen Anfänge der Bildausstattung von Manuskripten mit biblischen Texten, dann zeigt sich, dass in der lückenhaften Überlieferung neben Bildern im Modus der Erzählung auch überraschend häufig diagrammatische Bilder vertreten sind, mit denen Einheit und Harmonie der biblischen Textkompilation ausgewiesen werden."

63 Ibid., 14, original: "visuelle Konstitution."

agrams by emphasizing the "continuously implemented diagrammatic layout [in which the manuscripts of the *Biblia pauperum*] combine biblical texts and images."[64]

Here, we have our first hint that the constitution of a picture programme through its layout – through its arrangement of texts and images on a manuscript page or across several pages – might have to be a point of comparison. Henrike Manuwald has pointed out that "not every text-image-combination is a diagram in the sense that its meaning derives from the arrangement of textual and pictorial elements."[65] At the same time, she acknowledges that there is an important "spatial dimension"[66] nonetheless. We tend to think of space in manuscripts in terms of *mise en page*.[67] The physical boundaries of parchment or paper, folded into quires and bound in a codex, dictate our understanding of directionality – how to structure content while laying it down as well as how to navigate it while reading and using the subsequent book. Diagrammatic works broaden this understanding since they commonly disrupt the conventions of division, seeking their own conventions at the edges of the realizable. We can see this, first and foremost, in their actual abdication of the codex format, sometimes opting for the scroll in order to move vertically. Such vertical knowledge organization requires vertical representation which is why these materials have already

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64 REUDENBACH 2016, 14, original (whole sentence): "Doch sind die Manuskripte der *Biblia pauperum*, die in einem kontinuierlich durchgehaltenen diagrammatischen Layout biblische Texte und Bilder kombinieren, damit auch Teil biblischer Überlieferungs- und Illustrationsgeschichte."
65 MANUWALD 2021, 203, original: "Nicht jede Text-Bild-Kombination wiederum ist ein Diagramm in der Weise, dass der Sinn von der Anordnung der Text- und Bildelemente abhängt."
66 MANUWALD 2021, 203, original (whole sentence): "Jedoch ist die räumliche Dimension auch nicht zu vernachlässigen."
67 See, for example, EDGAR BREITENBACH, *Speculum humanae salvationis: Eine typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte; vol. 272), Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930, 56–59, and NORBERT H. OTT, "Mise en page: Zur ikonischen Struktur der Illustrationen von Thomasins ‚Welschem Gast'," in: *Beweglichkeit der Bilder: Text und Imagination in den illustrierten Handschriften des ‚Welschen Gastes' von Thomasin von Zerclaere* (Pictura et poesis; vol. 15), ed. by Horst Wenzel and Christina Lechtermann, Köln [et al.]: Böhlau, 2002, 33–64. See also, more generally on the topic as it pertains to medieval manuscripts, HENRI-JEAN MARTIN (Ed.), *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, Paris: Ed. du Cercle de la Librairie, 1990.
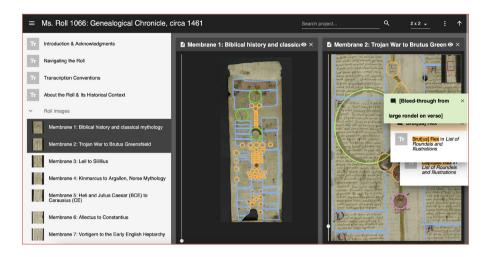
FIG. 24: Digital edition of Ms. Roll 1066 with multiple viewports and annotated membranes, <https://sims2.digitalmappa.org/120> (screen capture 12 August 2023).

attracted digital solutions; the digital edition of the Ms. Roll 1066 from the University of Pennsylvania (see **FIG. 24**),[68] Peter of Poitier's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* which has survived in codices as well as in scrolls,[69] and the Jewish *Ilanot* tradition[70] come to mind, the latter two of which are at the forefront of digital editorial efforts under way at the time of writing this book. The dissolution of certain textual

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68 See *Ms. Codex 1066: Genealogical Chronicle of the Kings of England to Edward IV, circa 146*, ed. by Dot Porter [et al.], Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, 2012 [relaunch on Digital Mappa v.2 in 2022], <https://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/ms-roll-1066> (accessed 1 August 2023). Note, in the edition, how the roll is divided into membranes rather than pages (but that it is divided, nonetheless). See also Dot Porter, "A Roll May Scroll but It Is Not a Webpage: Issues of Presenting Pennsylvania, Penn Libraries, MS Roll 1066 in a Digital Environment," paper presented at the *International Medieval Congress*, Leeds, UK, 3–6 July 2023.
69 See the project *Geschichte als visuelles Konzept: Peter von Poitiers' Compendium historiae*, led by Patrick Sahle, Andrea Worm and Roman Bleier, University of Wuppertal, University of Tübingen, University of Graz, 2022–2025, <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/504265959> (accessed 1 August 2023). For an example of the work in a roll format, see Beinecke MS 1183, Yale University Library, <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/15761199> (accessed 1 August 2023).
70 See *Maps of God* as part of the *Ilanot* project, led by J. H. Chajes, University of Haifa, State and University Library Göttingen, 2019–2024, <https://ilanot.org> (pre-alpha proof-of-concept portal, accessed 1 August 2023). See also <https://ilanot.haifa.ac.il/> (accessed 1 August 2023).

logistics in order to convey the depth of time and relationality suggests that there can be no general schema of organizational units for medieval manuscripts (let alone beyond) that could accommodate the individual expressions of information or translate them into structural templates. Our approach will, therefore, have to be a different one. Since the transmission of the individual works, varied as it is, would appear to be schematic in itself, however, to a certain degree, one wonders whether the meta-methodological contribution of digital humanities thought might lie in the abstraction of layers of structures rather than the abstraction of the structures themselves. If we take the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, for example, we might – if we familiarized ourselves sufficiently – develop a typology of page layouts.[71] If we were to do so, we would need to identify a purpose for such an effort, one that is inherently tied to the intent of edition. One might also think about the three-dimensional spatial representation of a manuscript and the meaning that could be derived from that. Any of those considerations should be prompted by the modelling of process rather than result. We will return to that idea towards the end of the chapter.

D.
BOUNDARIES OF INTERPICTORIALITY

To stay on the matter of diagrammatic works and their implications for interpictoriality, let us briefly return to the *Biblia pauperum*. Interestingly enough, Michael Thomas examined the interrelation of the *Biblia pauperum* with the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the *Liber figurarum* by Joachim of Fiore where Joachim's eschatological theories are expressed in a series of diagrammatic depictions that combine geometric forms with complex pictorial elements (see **FIG. 25**; this work exists in

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71 Generally, considering the discussion of facsimile editions and its relevance for the topic of this book, it might be of interest that printed editions of manuscript witnesses of this work tend to include so-called facsimiles (in this case coloured figures within the confines of the overarching publication) due to the importance of the pictorial elements; cf. Niesner 1995, 399ff. [unpaginated], and Melinda Nielsen (Ed.), *An Illustrated Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Green Collection Ms 000321*, Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2022, 365–473.

FIG. 25: Diagrammatic geneaological depiction in Joachim of Fiore's *Liber figurarum*, 12th century; from MS 255A, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, f. 10r, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/4fb778ab-7a26-43f8-9a61-b1781dd47d3f/> (reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

variant manuscripts as well).[72] While the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is often assumed to have originated within the Dominican order, Thomas questioned this.[73] He stopped short of claiming that it originated in the Franciscan order but suggested, for example, that the featured imagery of the tree might have been intended as an allegory that was particularly common in Franciscan circles[74] and that the originator of the *Speculum* might have been Ubertino da Casale, one of the leaders of the Franciscan Spirituals who wrote a work called *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*.[75] Whatever the case, it would appear that the Franciscan Spirituals did have a "preference for pictures over letters."[76] For a long time, speculation that the *Biblia pauperum* may have originated in a Franciscan context and that the *pauperum* was in reference to the *pauperes spiritu* – a theory already put forth in the early 19th century[77] – persisted as well,[78]

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72 See Michael Thomas, "Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Armenbibel mit ‚Speculum humanae salvationis' unter Berücksichtigung einer Darstellung des ‚Liber Figurarum' in der Joachim de Fiore-Handschrift der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden (Mscr. Dresden A 121)," in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 52/2 (1970), 192–225.

73 Cf. Thomas 1970, 203–209. See, for a critique of his theses in that regard and other regards, Niesner 1995, 13–20.

74 Cf. Thomas 1970, 215. Given Bonaventura's *Lignum vitae* (c. 1260), this would appear to hold some weight, but as has been shown, there are many more ways in which to interpret and explain this part of the iconography; see Susanne Wittekind, "Visualizing Salvation: The Role of Arboreal Imagery in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis (Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243)," in: *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, ed. by Pippa Salonius and Andrea Worm, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, 117–142.

75 Cf. Thomas 1970, 194f., 201f., 205 and 218. For more on Ubertino da Casale, see Burr 2001 – he is referenced at length throughout but for information on his *Arbor vitae*, see 96–100.

76 Thomas 1970, 201, original (whole sentence): "Als möglicherweise eher franziskanisch könnte man die Bevorzugung des Bildes vor dem Buchstaben sehen; es dürfte darin auch eine Hervorhebung der kontemplativen Betrachtung vor der Schrift zum Ausdruck kommen."

77 See, for example, Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Jacobs, *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (vol. 1), Leipzig: Dyk, 1835, 455f. See also [s.n.], "Holzschneidekunst: Ueber die sogenannte Biblia pauperum," in: *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* 14 (1830), 53f., and 15, 57–59.

78 Cf. Alfred Weckwerth, "Die Zweckbestimmung der Armenbibel und die Bedeutung ihres Namens," in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1957), 225–258; see also Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut with A Detailed Survey of Work Done in the Fifteenth Century* (vol. 1), Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935, 230 [reprinted in London [et al.]: Dover, 1963] and Robert A. Koch, "Elijah the Prophet, Founder of the Carmelite Order," in: *Speculum* 34 (1959), 547–560, here 550.

although it has been dismissed for as long and might be put to rest.[79] Norbert Ott argues, most reliably and convincingly of all, that the *Biblia pauperum* originated among Benedictines or Augustinian canons, based on the regional origin of the earliest manuscripts in respective scriptoria in the early 14th century.[80] The purpose of recounting these scholarly debates is simple and rather divorced from any real interest in adjudication (sans the required expertise): When Elena Pierazzo and others state that "editions […] make a scholarly argument,"[81] they tend to refer to the particulars of a text and the readings of a text. What they might also mean, however, and what is surely meant in the present context, is the totality of assumptions informing the assertions made with and about a re-sourcing of cultural heritage (i.e. the creation of a (re-)source through representation; representation of a kind). Rarely do we consider issues of provenance as issues of 'data' rather than 'metadata' – something to be known within the resource rather than about a resource. And yet, the example of the *Ascende calve* pope prophecies and its symbolic configurations of Franciscan and Dominican conflict has already shown that the *situatedness* of a work – of a single witness, even, or a group of witnesses – will necessarily impact interpretative leaps across space and time. The *identification* of information is, in itself, the argument. The *variation* among those identifications is the complexity that

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79 If we regard the *Biblia pauperum* title as ahistorical, there is no sense in trying to find a historical root, cf. Berve 1969, 9 and Henry 1987, 18. Berve also theorizes that the title was taken from other works of the same title that were non-pictorial abbreviated summaries of the Bible and indeed intended for clerics who were either actually poor or *pauperes spiritu*, cf. ibid. 8. As for the lack of a common contemporary naming practice and the historicity of the *Biblia pauperum* title, Schmidt points out that it was used in at least one witness from the 14th century which might be a note of interest, cf. Schmidt 1959, 119.

80 Cf. Norbert H. Ott, 'Biblia pauperum (Nr. 16),' in: *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters* (vol. 2), init. by Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, cont. by Norbert H. Ott and Ulrike Bodemann, München: C. H. Beck, 1996, online: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/stoffgruppe/16> (last changed 15 February 2023, accessed 11 March 2023). See also Gisela Plotzek-Wederhake and Günter Bernt, 'Biblia pauperum,' in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (vol. 2), Stuttgart: Metzler, 1983, cols. 109f.; here referencing the *LexMA Online* from Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias [citeable link not made available in the online version]. The circle of recipients for the works grouped as *Biblia pauperum* would appear to be unclear, cf. Henry 1987, 18.

81 Pierazzo 2016, 196.

will always re-confront us with the editorial decisions we have made (in identification, in the establishment of relation). Those decisions are key. They run contrary to the logic discovery systems would impose on us, drawing on shared categories, supposing a common framework of production, cataloguing, and interoperation. One would never find a mention of Nicolaus de Hanapis in pertinent scholarship about the *Biblia pauperum* as we have discussed that *Werkkomplex* ('work complex' or 'set of work(s)') so far, seeing as the concordance that he may or may not have produced in the 13th century bears little to no relation to it, other than the *Biblia pauperum* title, but that title is, of course, exactly the type of search string that would pull false witness upon witness into our orbit, were we to use, say, the IIIF collections search of *Biblissima* as indiscriminately as the promise of a global query across digitizations might suggest to us.[82] I only mention this since digital scholarly editions

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82 While presumably not an issue for scholars of a given matter, new pathways of discovery introduce new requirements of discernment, namely those trained on anything but said pathway of discovery. On the example of Nicolaus de Hanapis, a few more words: The *Biblia pauperum* nowadays attributed to Nicolaus de Hanapis (or Hannappes, a Dominican patriarch of Jerusalem who lived in the 13th century) is a Pseudo-Bonaventura since it used to be attributed to Bonaventura in the old literature – this already adds a layer of confusion that is not at all uncommon in medieval transmissions. However, some of the old literature is explicitly aware of Nicolaus de Hanapis' work and distinguishes it from an alleged *Biblia pauperum* by Bonaventura, making a potential misidentification all the more confusing; cf. Jacobs 1835, 91 and 455. As the older literature already noted, there appears to be little relation to the picture bibles and it seems, rather, that there was some confusion between Nicolaus' work circulated under the title *Liber de exemplis sacrae scripturae* or *Exempla sacrae scripturae* (apparently essentially identical to *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla* and other titles, small changes notwithstanding) and what was disseminated under the *Biblia pauperum* title and ascribed to Bonaventura, as Victor Scholderer demonstrated on the basis of the material in the British Museum in the 1930s, cf. Victor Scholderer, "The Virtutum Vitiorumque Exempla of Nicolaus Hanapus," in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 11 (1936), 61–62, and Victor Scholderer, "A Further Note on Nicolaus Hanapus," in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 14 (1939), 153–154. One version identified by Scholderer is identical to yet another work circulated under the name of yet another person, leading him to state, in his 1939 addition: "[T]he error has perpetuated itself through all the many subsequent editions, while an additional and almost inevitable error has created out of 'Frater N. de Ianua' a Frater Nicolaus de Janua, whose ghost has haunted not only the General Catalogue of the British Museum Library but more specialized bibliographies also." (Scholderer 1939, 153.) A curio from bibliographical history that seems all too familiar and underlines the great efforts undertaken by cataloguers and others. For examples of a *Biblia pauperum* attributed to Nicolaus de Hanapis, see the manuscript Clm 14099 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

will – in the future, if not already – exist in an ecosystem beyond their own making and they will do so differently from a printed scholarly edition on a shelf. This is not a matter of authority and trust, at least not primarily, but it is a matter of boundaries. Where does the edition start, where does it end? The old question of purview. Lines can be drawn where there is no relation; however, what if there are relations?

As already mentioned, Michael Thomas sought to draw a line between the *Biblia pauperum* and *Liber figurarum* by Joachim of Fiore, specifically the latter's diagrammatic depiction of the vision of the prophet Ezekiel. Thomas alleged that its composition in manuscripts from around 1300 is reflected in a *Biblia pauperum* manuscript from the mid-14th century.[83] An interesting observation can be made here: The example that he gives of this visual compositional reference may also be linked to a glass window in the Canterbury Cathedral[84] – and when we trace this connection further, we can find that Avril Henry had already linked the *Biblia pauperum* to the stained glass of that cathedral although she did not explicitly mention this particular connection.[85] Henry notes that the earliest manuscripts of the *Biblia pauperum* "possibly influenced

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München which is dated to the second half of the 14th century and is catalogued as Nicolaus de Hanapis, *Liber de exemplis Sacrae Scripturae (Biblia pauperum)* [a microform reproduction has been digitized and is available online: <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00035051-6>] and the incunabula J 135-136 from the Dombibliothek Freising which is catalogued as Nicolaus de Hanapis, *Biblia pauperum a domino Bonaventura edita*, Strasbourg: Johann Prüß, 1490, online: <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00062350-6>. See also the transmission history of early printed versions of his works in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 16, M26421–M26459, online: <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/nicohan.htm> (last changed 9 May 2012, accessed 1 August 2023).

83 Cf. Thomas 1970, 211–213. It should be mentioned here that Thomas also attempted to link this vision from the *Liber figurarum* to the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in an argument that Manuela Niesner has pointed out to be flawed and untenable, cf. Niesner 1995, 17–19.

84 This link would perhaps appear tangential if it were based merely on visuals but the oculus shows the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel who "would have faced the four evangelists" of a counterpart oculus (Madeline H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury* (Great Britain; vol. 2), London: Oxford University Press, 1981, 25–29, here 26). In the *Liber Figurarum*, the four evangelists are represented by their animal symbols, and they are, furthermore, associated allegorically with the aforementioned prophets by Joachim, cf. Thomas 1970, 212f.

85 Cf. Henry 1987, 12–14.

the Canterbury glass"[86] and that the glass from the 12th and 13th century "may be contemporary with *Biblia Pauperum* in its earliest manuscript form"[87] – but could it not also be the case that the glass was influenced by Joachim's *Liber figurarum* and that the *Biblia pauperum* may in turn have been influenced by the glass, just as well as it may have been influenced by the *Liber figurarum* itself? Either way, it would seem that this cross-contamination would merit closer inspection;[88] similar to the *Speculum humanae salvationis* where it was found that the pictures have links to stained glass in the Ebstdorf Abbey as well as to tapestry in the Wienhausen abbey and to ceiling paintings in a church in Enkhuizen,[89] to name only a few of such instances.[90]

Reiterating the nature of intermediality in medieval culture and communication serves well to illustrate the aforementioned "dominance of the images over the 'image' […] and of the contexts over the text."[91] Their distribution across materialities and modalities is why they have to be perceived in their structural order – their *Beziehungssinn* ('relational meaning'), as Kemp invokes in reference to Nietzsche.[92] For the pres-

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86 Ibid., 13.

87 HENRY 1987, 13.

88 See also MADELINE H. CAVINESS, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" in: *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art* (Medieval & Renaissance texts & studies; vol. 89), ed. by Bernard S. Levy, Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992, 103–147.

89 Cf. BREITENBACH 1930, 80–82.

90 In his KdiH entry on the *Biblia pauperum*, Ott emphasizes how the intermingled effects of the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* on monumental art and architecture often cannot be clearly distinguished and lists even more examples, including stained glass windows at Hirsau abbey that are no longer extant, mural paintings in a number of different locations, some of which as far as Denmark, and so forth; underlining that typological text-image works had a visible impact on many other depictions in art (cf. OTT 1996). For a study of typological picture programmes in late medieval stained-glass depictions in the German-speaking regions, see SABINE REHM, *Spiegel der Heilsgeschichte: Typologische Bildzyklen in der Glasmalerei des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum* (Europäische Hochschulschriften / 28; vol. 349), Frankfurt am Main [et al.]: Peter Lang, 1999.

91 KEMP 1994, 17.

92 Cf. ibid. For the original use of the term in Nietzsche's writing, see: "Ist nicht nothwendig Sinn aber Beziehungs-sinn und Perspektive?" (FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *Nachgelassene Fragmente*, 1885, cited from the *Digitale Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (eKGWB), published on the basis of the *Kritische Gesamtausgabe Werke*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1967–,

ent purpose of a scholarly edition, we are looking to draw boundaries within and through those relational meanings not for arbitrary but for practical reasons; and as with any scholarly edition, the limitation of the scope is a matter of definition. If the subjects of editions are seen as works and if the works in this case are seen as picture programmes, then they cannot be defined semiotically in the vein of Nelson Goodman; the "sameness of spelling"[93] that he identifies as a crucial attribute of textual works (erroneously or otherwise) must give way to something else. I am tempted to call this a 'sameness of context' – meaning that the *Speculum humanae salvationis* or the *Biblia pauperum* or the *Liber figurarum* are held together by, for example, (1) being transmitted in the same medium, e.g. manuscripts, (2) being transmitted alongside a certain text or a certain configuration of text, (3) being reproduced manually with the *intent* of reproduction – one might say, a 'reproduction as is' –, even if a certain degree of alteration is regarded as a permissible part of this reproduction, especially since alterations may occur involuntarily as a result of the production process or, from an archival perspective, matters such as physical decay. These criteria await further refinement and are merely meant to indicate limitations of scope. Even so, we find ourselves with a transmission variance *within* a specific set of boundaries as well as *beyond* that set of boundaries and this will be important going forward.

According to this preliminary definition, the pope prophecies that were reproduced in the 16th century in a different context from the original *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* would not be a part of an edition of the latter, even if they merited mention as a closely related work. One can easily see, however, how the opposite might be argued; what is understood to be a different context or not is open to interpretation and consequently we see that, as always, the delineation of an edition's subject is entirely dependent on the person of the editor and their line of argument, an important part of which are, not least of all, the available resources. If one wants to show the transmission variance of pictorial

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and the *Nietzsche Briefwechsel Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Paolo D'Iorio, Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975–, 2009-, NF-1885,2[77], online: <http://www.nietzschesource.org/#eKGWB/NF-1885,2[77]> (accessed 11 March 2023).)
93 GOODMAN ²1976, 115.

depictions, studying the picture programmes in *manuscripts* specifically would be an obvious place to start since it aligns with existing scholarship about textual transmission in manuscripts – if we recall Zumthor's work definition of the medieval work being "la collectivité des versions en manifestant la matérialité"[94] – and since those picture programmes are, by virtue, intent, and reach, sufficiently distinguishable from the many influences exerted on them and by them in different media; whether they would need to be modelled in relation to each other, however, should editions be made of all of them, is another question altogether.

E.
WEITZMANN AND THE ART OF CRITIQUE

Let us assume the editorial point of view that there is a pictorial transmission variance worth recording and that there is a distinction to be made between work witnesses and otherwise related instances of reproductive influence and confluence. To study the transmission variance of picture programmes in a systematic way, we might need a theory of *Bildkritik* ('picture criticism') analogous to the long-established practice of *Textkritik* ('text criticism'). It could be tempting to suppose that art history has not ventured in this direction and only spoken of *Bildkritik* – with the particular meaning of studying the transmission variance as one would who wanted to establish an *apparatus criticus* – in oblique terms. This is not so, and I thought it important to bridge these discourses if we are to proceed. While there is no editorial theory as such to rely on, as there is for other cultural goods, and while *Bildkritik* has been used to denote any and all critical analysis of pictorial material – of which there has been plenty, of course –,[95] one shadow looms large: that of Kurt Weitzmann (1904–1993).[96] Even though he did not intend his art-his-

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94 Zumthor 1972, 73.
95 See, as an example for this broad use of the term, the German art-historical yearbook / series of collected volumes *Bildwelten des Wissens: Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch für Bildkritik*, ed. by Claudia Blümle, Horst Bredekamp and Matthias Bruhn; vol. 1,1 published in Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003.
96 For biographical information on Kurt Weitzmann, see Ernst Kitzinger, "Kurt Weitzmann (7 March 1904–7 June 1993)," in: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical*

torical theories to be the foundation of editorial work and even though his school of thought has come under criticism in the last decades,[97] his writings are worthwhile where the topic at hand is concerned. That topic is not the topic of his expertise – Byzantine manuscript illustrations – but the topic of methodology: Any assessment of Weitzmann's specialized contributions notwithstanding, the interdisciplinary origin of his approach cannot be denied and seems timely again, if not in its impetus then in its radicality.[98] To understand this, we must understand what he took 'picture criticism' to be and we must, furthermore, understand why it was rejected by others later on. The abbreviated account: Weitzmann published the study that contained his oft-cited, albeit briefly sketched, methodological thoughts in 1947 and was, understandably so, leaning on and borrowing from a tradition of textual criticism that would be described as outmoded today.[99] His primary interest lay with the way in which illustrated codices might have evolved from earlier scroll illustrations; being hence concerned with reconstructing 'original' archetypes

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Society 139/2 (1995), 204–209, and HERBERT L. KESSLER, "Kurt Weitzmann: 1904–1993," in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), xviii–xxiii.

97 Mary-Lyon Dolezal correctly identifies the issue of Weitzmann leaning on a state of the art in textual criticism at the time, inspired by projects of New Testament scholars, that was later abandoned for its philological failings whereas art historians continued to reproduce Weitzmann's methods without critical re-evaluation, cf. MARY-LYON DOLEZAL, "The Elusive Quest for the 'Real Thing': The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years on," in: *Gesta* 35/2 (1996), 128–141. See also MARY-LYON DOLEZAL, "Manuscript Studies in the Twentieth Century: Kurt Weitzmann Reconsidered," in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 22/1 (1998), 215–263, esp. 223–246 for the historical and educational background of Weitzmann's interest in and application of philologically influenced methodologies.

98 Dolezal credits Weitzmann's mentor Adolph Goldschmidt with giving him the formative freedom to pursue his own school of thought and Weitzmann himself emphasized in a tribute to Goldschmidt that Goldschmidt encouraged students to expand their topics, methods, and fields of study, cf. DOLEZAL 1998, 227f. The strongest influence on Weitzmann's specific interdisciplinary approach at the intersection of art history and philology may have been his working relationship with textual scholars from Chicago, cf. DOLEZAL 1998, 241–246. In his own writing, he states that his reference for the methodology of textual criticism was the edition of the New Testament in Greek by Westcott and Hort from 1882, cf. KURT WEITZMANN, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947, 182, fn. 1.

99 Cf. the two previous footnotes. For Weitzmann's thoughts on 'The Relation Between Text Criticism and Picture Criticism', see WEITZMANN 1947, 182–192.

from their derivates similar to the then-dominant philological desiderata.[100] He was, in fact, arguably advanced in comparison because he admitted that picture criticism could not hope to reconstruct "even a single picture of a large cycle in its absolute purity"[101] due to the "penetration of style into iconography"[102] – something that, in his view, set pictorial criticism apart from textual criticism:

> In miniatures, […] the content, or what is called the iconography and which is the equivalent of the readings of the text, is fused with the style, i.e. the element corresponding with palaeography, to form such a close artistic unit that the one cannot be considered apart from the other. To do so for methodical purposes always involves some act of violence. The intrusion of style leads to an inevitable alteration of some of the iconographic details in later copies of the archetype. As a result, certain features of the archetype can no longer be established by critical methods.[103]

Conversely, his assumption that textual criticism could produce 'pure archetypes' is very much a product of its time as is his "application of the term *error*"[104] – a term that he, again, discussed with more nuance in the context of picture criticism than in his reference to textual criticism, acknowledging the difficulty in determining the presence of 'errors' in pictorial evolutions while assuming "[a]n error in text criticism […] [to be] an absolute quantity."[105]

 Picture criticism in a quasi-editorial sense has always remained strongly associated with Weitzmann and therefore with the philological terminology and concepts most common in the 19th to mid-20th century. John Lowden, an art historian who did not entirely agree with Weitzmann's

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100 For a contemporary review and summation of Weitzmann's study, see ADOLF KATZENELLENBOGEN, "Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration by Kurt Weitzmann," review, in: *Speculum* 23/3 (1948), 513–520.
101 WEITZMANN 1947, 182.
102 Ibid.
103 WEITZMANN 1947, 182.
104 Ibid., 184.
105 WEITZMANN 1947, 183.

approach, acknowledged in 1992 that textual criticism had changed over the course of the 20th century, but he did not suggest that picture criticism might be similarly updated and developed.[106]

Of interest, for our inquiry, is a specific article by Kari Kraus from 2013 which may have constituted the first foray into the redefinition of 'picture criticism' for contemporary purposes.[107] This attempt did not originate in the discipline of art history and was, in fact, published in the *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship* which would make it seem uniquely pertinent in the present context. Kraus does indeed reference Weitzmann at the very beginning when she acknowledges that he coined the term 'picture criticism' but she also states that picture criticism is "a fledgling discipline"[108] which is at the very least curious in light of the decades-old productive period of Weitzmann and his followers in Princeton such as Herbert L. Kessler.[109] The explicit discontinuity of tradition may point towards a renewed interest in questions that ring familiar but are still awaiting a response:

> Is there anything predictable about the way pictures change after several cycles of copying? Have we evolved any methods for notating variants between two or more versions of a picture? Is it possible to try to recover a prototype of an earlier version of a picture from later iterations of it?[110]

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106 Cf. JOHN LOWDEN, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992, 37. His reference to textual criticism is brief and only revolves around changed theories of scribal intention. Although he did not follow in Weitzmann's footsteps uncritically, he mirrored his approach to a certain degree by way of stemmatological inquiry.
107 See KARI KRAUS, "Picture Criticism: Textual Studies and the Image," in: *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 236–256, online: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139044073.012>.
108 Ibid., 236.
109 See for this also IOLI KALAVREZOU and COURTNEY TOMASELLI, "The Study of Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts since Kurt Weitzmann: Art Historical Methods and Approaches," in: *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. by Vasiliki Tsamakda, Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 2017, 23–34, here 25.
110 KRAUS 2013, 236.

In this perspective, picture criticism "does for images what textual criticism has traditionally done for words, namely to provide an adequate scholarly framework for studying their reproduction, transmission, comparison, and – more controversially – their reconstruction."[111]

Kraus acknowledges the speculative nature of the undertaking, given that 'picture criticism' would not appear to be something that is consciously practiced (anymore) or in the process of becoming a practice (yet again).[112] This poses two issues, primarily, which are not alleviated by addressing only one or the other: firstly, that of a frame of reference, and secondly, that of a desideratum out of which such a project would arise. While Kraus contributes to the former, her exploration of the matter seems to be tethered to a general interest in the notational void at the heart of scholarly engagements with pictorial material rather than being rooted in a precise concern. Indeed, there is no such discussion that could be cited here. The debate about Nelson Goodman's aforementioned *allographic* versus *autographic* work definitions does not warrant repetition in that it does not illumine relevant multi-transmitted materials either, even if it does illumine transcriptional anxiety.[113] Kraus' main point of reference from art history is Erwin Panofsky's iconographic method,[114] although it is not clear what his three-tier approach towards the description and interpretation of images offers to the revival of 'picture criticism' in the Weitzmannian, i.e. genealogical, vein. One traces manifestation, the other origin. There is a relation here, one that Kraus rightly senses, but that relation is one of confusion since it intends to make sense of pictorial transmission variance in order to record it, supposing a divisibility of mathematical proximities and distances through distortions of shapes and other types of measurements;[115] whereas the comparisons that establish variants in editorial theory as such always emerge from a process of scholarly judgement and selection and must, if

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111 Ibid.
112 Cf. Kʀᴀᴜs 2013, 236.
113 Cf. ibid., 237.
114 Cf. Kʀᴀᴜs 2013, 242.
115 Cf. ibid., 248–253.

we are to respect Weitzmann's instincts, do so even more acutely in the case of pictorial transmission.

One supposes that computational methods (adhering to their own logics) might aid in the collation of pictures and this is certainly even more true today than it was at the time the article was written, where awareness of the digital humanities already informed the argument.[116] As stated in **CHAPTER I**, however, the first central question for a methodological grounding of editorial theory in a digital age is not one of automation (of processes, of steps in these processes) but of the relationship that scholarship has with the re-inscription of both scholarly assumptions and scholarly assertions, either of which may enter the edition at *some* stage of the process; the exact configuration of which is, naturally, dependent on available technologies and actual workflows that we should not attempt to divine or define on this foundational level. There is something about 'the digital age' that must have prompted the article by Kraus, and we can recognize that – that digitization brings pictures to the fore and that textual scholars feel in some way obliged to react. This would explain why the article was published in the *Cambridge Companion to Textual*

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116 Cf. Kraus 2013, 238f. and 254. As is common in the Anglophone discourse, the digital humanities are, in this instance, mostly treated as synonymous with the activities of English departments at universities in the USA. For more information on this, see, for example, Matthew G. Kirschenbaum, "What Is Digital Humanities and What's It Doing in English Departments?" in: *ADE Bulletin* 150 (2010), 55–61 [reprinted in *Defining Digital Humanities: A Reader*, ed. by Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan and Edward Vanhoutte, Farnham, Surrey [et al.]: Ashgate, 2013, 195–204]. It should be noted that this focus is neither quite accurate for the history of the digital humanities in the USA nor, of course, on a global scale. See, by way of example, the criticism levelled at the 'origin story' of humanities computing in publications such as Sharon M. Leon, "Complicating a 'Great Man' Narrative of Digital History in the United States," in: *Bodies of Information: Intersectional Feminism and Digital Humanities*, ed. by Elizabeth Losh and Jacqueline Wernimont, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018, 344–366, and, for the German context where historical studies played a pivotal role, Manfred Thaller, "Entzauberungen: Die Entwicklung einer fachspezifischen historischen Datenverarbeitung in der Bundesrepublik," in: *Historical Social Research* suppl. 29 (2017), 178–192, online: <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.suppl.29.2017.178-192> [originally published in *Die sogenannten Geisteswissenschaften: Innenansichten*, ed. by Wolfgang Prinz and Peter Weingart, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990, 138–160].

Scholarship rather than the *Cambridge Companion to Art History*, as Kraus herself points out.[117]

Regardless of the disciplinary background and directionality of debate, the topic loses contours unless viewed with an eye towards the tangible. In that regard and with respect to Weitzmann's evolutionary interests and their connection to the medieval picture programmes already mentioned in this chapter, there is one aspect in Kraus' article that we should take note of. It concerns Frederic Bartlett and the changes that the manual process of copying pictures introduces; changes that sometimes end up transforming the semantics of that which is depicted (for an illustration of which, see **FIG. 26** showing Frederic Bartlett's experimentation with the manual serial reproduction akin to a game of *stille Post* ('whisper down the lane') where a pictorial depiction of an owl, through its reproduction, eventually morphs into a cat).[118] Essentially, such a line of thought seeks to understand *why* transmission variance occurs. This can be useful in certain contexts. The scholarly edition of pictorial material is not chief among them, or at least not where the mere establishment of the variance is concerned. Despite the stemmatological nature of editions and the notion that they must establish the relationship between each witness, the most simple layer is yet another, namely the layer of *Befund* ('record') – as opposed to the layer of *Deutung* ('interpretation'), in the

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117 Cf. Kʀᴀᴜs 2013, 255. Kraus makes the case that picture criticism might learn something from textual criticism since "textual scholarship teaches patterns of thought that help us reckon with 'deep time,' time measured in intervals of tens, hundreds, or even thousands of years" (ibid.). If this is to mean that art history might benefit from paying attention to matters of transmission variance and an analysis of the historical situatedness of its objects of study as well as their transformation over time, then the point is well-taken, although one could surmise that this already lies at the core of the discipline; more difficult to determine, still, is why art history would need to be taught to do so by textual scholarship or why that would be the primary purpose of discussing transmission variance rather than a desire to allow for a different kind of study and comparative representation of material; different for art history, although not entirely so as has been indicated, and, much more importantly, different for textual scholarship. This as a side note, since the directionality of interdisciplinary influences in editorial theory does have implications for the conversations that must take place to facilitate such exchange and integration.
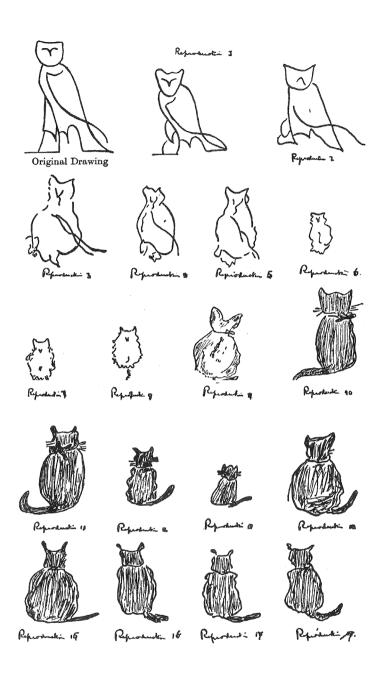**118** Cf. Kʀᴀᴜs 2013, 245–248.

Original Drawing

FIG. 26: A study in manual serial reproduction of images; from FREDERIC BARLETT, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, 180f. [originally published in 1932].

distinction of Zeller.[119] In this view, the first step of a scholarly edition is to record the transmission variance. In order to do this, it is not necessary to *understand* the transmission variance, or it is only necessary insofar as it is necessary in order to record it in a traditional view, viz. by choosing a *Leithandschrift* and determining dependencies: what to present as a lemma and what as a variant. For an indiscriminate approach that first aims to record the variance and then to present dependencies dynamically, such reasoning is not a prerequisite.

A good example for this is Edgar Breitenbach's study of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* from 1930.[120] Breitenbach did examine the evolution of its illustrated manuscripts and he did perform an art-historical analysis that questioned how the manuscripts are affiliated; nevertheless, in the service of this he created a catalogue of the pictorial transmission variance that he explicitly constructed as an equivalent to the philological practice of textual criticism with its *apparatus criticus*.[121] To systematize this catalogue, he followed his predecessors in dividing the work into chapters and the chapters into series of *Bildtypen* ('picture types') which he then described on the basis of the supposedly prototypical Schlettstädter manuscript while noting the variants in other manuscripts.[122] These descriptions contain speculations over why some of the changes occur. One example for this is a variation in the depiction of the dream of Astyages.[123] Breitenbach notes that in a manuscript from the 15th century, Astyages is no longer lying in a bed but situated

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119 See, for the seminal article on *Befund* and *Deutung*, HANS ZELLER, "Befund und Deutung: Interpretation und Dokumentation als Ziel und Methode der Edition," in: *Texte und Varianten: Probleme ihrer Edition und Interpretation*, ed. by Gunter Martens and Hans Zeller, München: C.H. Beck, 1971, 45–89. On the legacy of this distinction, see also BURGHARD DEDNER, "Die Ordnung editorischer Darstellungen: Ein Vorschlag," in: *editio* 22 (2008), 60–89, online: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783484605046.0.60>.

120 See EDGAR BREITENBACH, *Speculum humanae salvationis: Eine typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte; vol. 272), Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930. This doctoral thesis by Breitenbach was supervised by Erwin Panofsky.

121 Cf. BREITENBACH 1930, 2; for the catalogue, see 83–276.

122 For his thoughts on the *Urtypus*, cf. ibid., 62–66.

123 Cf. BREITENBACH 1930, 96f. On the dream of Astyages, see also CHRISTOPHER PELLING, "The Urine and the Vine: Astyages' Dreams at Herodotus 1.107–8," in: *The Classical Quarterly* 46/1 (1996), 68–77.

FIG. 27: The dream of Astyages in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, 15th century; from Latin 512, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, f. 4v, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60002575> (PD).

FIG. 28: The dream of Astyages in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, 15th century; from Hs II 10, Stadtbibliothek Mainz, f. 3r, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0128-3-2330> (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0).

on the floor.[124] He explains this by referring to an iconographically related manuscript from Wolfenbüttel in which the headboard of the bed resembles a construction similar to what then merged into a chapel entrance in the depiction where Astyages finds himself robbed of a bed by a potentially confused illustrator (see **FIGS. 27** and **28**).[125] This transformation recalls Bartlett's drawings. We see, therefore, that a discussion of these matters can be relevant for making sense of depictions to begin with. In some cases, identifying elements may be altogether

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124 Cf. Breitenbach 1930, 96f., fn. 1.
125 Cf. ibid. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript that Breitenbach refers to was already believed to be lost when Lutz and Perdrizet published their edition of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* in two volumes in 1907 / 1909 (for information on the manuscript, cf. Jules Lutz and Paul Perdrizet (Eds.), *Speculum humanae salvationis* (vol. 1), Mülhausen: Meininger, 1907, XVII, no. 196); I have chosen to show another manuscript instead which, according to Breitenbach, represents a similar type, cf. Breitenbach 1930, 97, fn. 1.

impossible without a knowledge of contextual transformation. In most cases, however, it stands to reason that the origin of a certain appearance of a certain element will not be so much a requirement for describing and thereby recording said variance but rather a byproduct of the same – in terms of process, not in terms of scholarly insight.

Kari Kraus evokes Morris Eaves, one of the editors of the digital *William Blake Archive*, and his statement that "[p]ictures are special cases. Pictures are problems."[126] Perchance it would be more helpful – for the task of scholarly editing and otherwise – to focus on a different quote from Morris Eaves instead in which he acknowledges that pictures may be problems but not ones that need all that much solving; or, in his words:

> As entangled as the spiraling processes of identification and interpretation are, and for all the hermeneutic loops that entertain academic minds, we didn't seriously doubt our ability to make rough but useful distinctions.[127]

Although his writings adjacent to his work on the *William Blake Archive* and the mark-up of the illustrations contained within never go into much detail as far as this process of distinction is concerned, he is correct in implying that it is possible to overcomplicate these matters. While it may be argued that a variance in style and a variance in content are of equal importance, they are, in the case of visual works, inextricably linked, as Weitzmann pointed out. In order to record the variance in transmission, it should suffice – as a first step and a first attempt at systematized description – to consider the semantic layer paramount. We already find this realised in Breitenbach's catalogue but also in Martha H. Fleming's edition of the *Genus nequam* part of the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* series, cited before, where she solved the conundrum of

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126 Morris Eaves, "Graphicality: Multimedia Fables for 'Textual' Critics," in: *Reimagining Textuality: Textual Studies in the Late Age of Print*, ed. by Elizabeth Bergmann Loizeaux and Neil Fraistat, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, 99–122, here 101. Cf. Kraus 2013, 236.
127 Morris Eaves, "Picture Problems: X-Editing Images 1992–2010," in: *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 3/3 (2009), paragraph 25, online: <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/3/000052/000052.html> (accessed 7 August 2023).

editing the picture programme as well as the text by placing a manuscript image ('facsimile') opposite it and constructing a pseudo-*apparatus criticus* beneath.[128] Almost all the variants that she notes are of a semantic nature, with the visual information given largely pertaining to the spatial placement of an element.[129] Similarly, when it comes to the description of picture programmes in manuscript catalogues or other literature, they are described in terms of their content first and foremost, with some information reserved for the visual depiction and placement of figures and objects.[130] Where possible, this content is further categorized, as in the case of the *Welsche Gast* where the picture programme was divided and numbered by Friedrich Wilhelm von Kries in the 1980s.[131]

Since there is no commonly established notation and subsequently transcription system for pictorial materials, the semantic description collapses the appearance of a symbol and its meaning. When our attention turns to the question of systematically describing pictorial materials, we quickly find that this is contingent on the degree of symbolism. The less symbolism there is in the pictures, to wit, the more abstract they are, the more the description of their appearance must shift into the foreground; or so one would think. One might criticize the notion that practicality should dictate a given approach. It seems to me that this is in need of deeper reflection, particularly from the perspective of art history and

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128 See FLEMING 1999, 148–187.

129 For her description of the pictures in the descriptions of the manuscripts, see FLEMING 1999, 40–93.

130 For an example of such descriptions, see WACHTEL 1955, XLVI–LIX, or the catalogue description of the *Vaticinia* picture programme in Codex 13648 held at the National Library in Vienna, cf. HERMANN JULIUS HERMANN, *Die italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento. Teil 2 – Oberitalienische Handschriften der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich; vol. 5: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien), Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1929, 200–205. Aside from this, one might also think of *Konkordanztabellen* (tables of concordances) where the correspondence of a typological picture programme in different manuscripts is compiled in tabular form (a concordance of concordances, if you like); e.g. what Martin Roland has done for the *Concordantiae caritatis* by Ulrich von Lilienfeld, cf. <https://www.univie.ac.at/paecht-archiv-wien/cc_html/cc-startseite.html> (accessed 11 March 2023).

131 See FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON KRIES (Ed.), *Thomasin von Zerclaere: Der Welsche Gast* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik; vol. 425,1–4), Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984–1985.

its well of expertise. Whether formalist-stylistic approaches such as those by Heinrich Wölfflin and Alois Riegl can be of any interest in this context is not for me to say although I will say that their criteria for a formal analysis of style would not seem to satisfy the criteria for a formal expression in the sense that the digital humanities typically employ, leading, at the very least, to a misperception of terms.[132] What is it that we can describe and are descriptions really the point of access that an edition requires? We are faced with a simultaneity of complexity and simplicity – the complexity of the intermedial reference systems sketched in earlier sections and the simplicity of recognition that allows us to characterize iconographic 'contents' in categories. The ambiguities of multitudinous meaningful markers and dimensions versus the delineation evidenced in the practice of scholarship already, regardless of computional capacities

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132 When contrasted against formalism in a computational context, the formalism of a Wölfflin might be better described as a certain 'schematicness' or 'table-oriented' type of observation although one should be careful not to be too simplistic and reductionist in the characterization of his approach (or that of his contemporaries); on the topic of which see the essay collection MITCHELL B. FRANK and DANIEL ADLER (Eds.), *German Art History and Scientific Thought: Beyond Formalism*, London / New York: Routledge, 2016 [first published by Farnham: Ashgate, 2012]. On digital art history, see GEORG SCHELBERT, "Digital Art History – Digitale Kunstgeschichte: Überlegungen zum aktuellen Stand," in: *Computing Art Reader: Einführung in die digitale Kunstgeschichte* (Computing in Art and Architecture; vol. 1), ed. by Piotr Kuroczyński, Peter Bell and Lisa Dieckmann, Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2018, 40–57, online: <https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.413.c5768>; there, see the statement: "without photography, no *Stilgeschichte* à la Wölfflin" (ibid., 52, original: "[o]hne Fotografie keine Stilgeschichte à la Wölfflin"). See also PETER BELL and BJÖRN OMMER, "Computer Vision und Kunstgeschichte – Dialog zweier Bildwissenschaften," in: *Computing Art Reader: Einführung in die digitale Kunstgeschichte* (Computing in Art and Architecture; vol. 1), ed. by Piotr Kuroczyński, Peter Bell and Lisa Dieckmann, Heidelberg: arthistoricum. net, 2018, 60–75, online: <https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.413.c5769>. The issue with transmission variance such as the one we are discussing is, of course, that we might not only be interested in finding different witnesses of the same work but, supposing we already know what the witnesses are, want to find out what their *differences* are; what elements were added, which deleted, which *changed* from one object to another; and if we do not know every work witness and want to search a larger image database for evidence of the same work, the boundaries of interpictoriality or rather lack thereof may inevitably collapse the research focus, unless there was a way to finetune the distinction of likeness and difference such that we could observe a frame of commonality as the ideational frame of the 'work' (as opposed to the broader intermedial and -cultural frame of reference) while observing manifestational variance within that, in direct relation to each other.

and the ways in which they might or might not aid in the discovery of similarity and dissimilarity (the latter of which is important in the context of editorial concern since a transmission variance is by nature the detection of deviation from a common frame, necessitating the identification of that which belongs together and that which does not correspond within that, weighed against a threshold of significance that is usually semantically determined; and all of this organized within structures of meaningfulness).

F.
PANOFSKY AND THE ART OF ANALYSIS

While the tradition of Panofsky's iconographical approach should not be confused with Weitzmann's picture criticism, it is important to draw on this antecedent in order to understand layered processes of description. If a structural paradigm undergirds modelling as a method in the digital humanities, then the closest relative that we can find in art history would be the step-by-step procedure that Erwin Panofsky proposed for the 'decoding' of historical images, especially from medieval and early modern times.[133] To structure something, we must divide it and name the components, after all. The *iconographic method* "remains the standard"[134] to this day and it is applied in digital projects, quite practically and specifically, by using the Iconclass classification system;[135] tagging the content of pictorial material with the goal of a semantic *Erschließung* ('making accessible'). Panofsky was preceded by the work of iconographers such as Adolphe-Napoléon Didron and Émile Mâle and later succeeded by the work of scholars such as Meyer Schapiro and Henri

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133 Cf. Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in: *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History by Erwin Panofsky, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955,* 26–54 [originally published as "Introductory," in: *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, 3–31].
134 Dieter Wuttke, "Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968)," in: *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. by Colum Hourihane, London / New York: Routledge, 2017, 105–122, here 105.
135 See <https://iconclass.org> (accessed 8 August 2023).

van de Waal, the latter of whom used it as the basis for Iconclass when it was first developed in the second half of the 20ᵗʰ century, published in printed form but with the capabilities of information technologies in mind early on, as far back as the 1940s.[136] Although Iconclass has come to dominate discussions of iconography in digital humanities contexts,[137] the iconographic method, as Panofsky describes it, was never predicated on the development of a vocabulary, either for the description of any and all (European) art[138] or the description of a specific domain of art. This is because the idea of such a vocabulary was always linked to a facilitation of retrieval (necessarily flattening layers of description into a single code of ascription), while Panofsky's approach was concerned with the differentiation of that which can and that which cannot be identified in and stated about artwork to begin with. For this, he divided scholarly assertions into three sequential stages: First, the *pre-iconographical description*, second, the *iconographical analysis*, and third, the *iconological interpretation*.[139]

One issue that he recognised was that humans cannot describe something in an entirely strict, formal way. Instead, "every description – before it even starts – will have to have reshaped the purely formal aspects of presentation into symbols of that which is presented; and therefore, it

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136 Cf. Hans Brandhorst and Etienne Posthumus, "Iconclass: A Key to Collaboration in the Digital Humanities," in: *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. by Colum Hourihane, London / New York: Routledge, 2017, 201–218, here 201. A very detailed account of the early history of Iconclass can be found in Claire Richter Sherman, "ICONCLASS: A Historical Perspective," in: *Visual Resources* 4/3 (1987), 237–246, online: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973762.1987.9659131>.
137 See work such as Mingfang Wu [et al.], "Automated Metadata Annotation: What is and is not Possible with Machine Learning," in: *Data Intelligence* 5/1 (2023), 122–138, online: <https://doi.org/10.1162/dint_a_00162>, and Nikolay Banar, Walter Daelemans and Mike Kestemont, "Transfer Learning for the Visual Arts: The Multi-modal Retrieval of Iconclass Codes," in: *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage* 16/2 (2023), [1–16], online: <https://doi.org/10.1145/3575865>.
138 There are projects that address and mitigate the Eurocentrism of Iconclass by developing new indexing standards, such as the *Chinese Iconography Thesaurus* (CIT), led by Hongxing Zhang, 2019–, <https://chineseiconography.org> (accessed 8 August 2023). For more information, see <https://www.vam.ac.uk/research/projects/chinese-iconography-thesaurus-cit> (accessed 8 August 2023).
139 Cf. Panofsky 1939/1955, 33.

already reaches […] from a formal sphere into a sphere of meaning."[140] This also explains why he calls the pre-iconographical description a "pseudo-formal analysis."[141] It is based on the immediate experience of life and should thus – theoretically – consist of observations available to every human being; the most elementary recognition of that which is depicted. After that comes the recognition dependent on an awareness

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140 Erwin Panofsky, "Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst," in: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Theorien, Entwicklung, Probleme* (Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem; vol. 1), ed. by Ekkehard Kaemmerling, Köln: DuMont, 1979, 185–206, here 187 [originally published in *Logos* 21 (1932), 103–119 and reprinted in *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. by Hariolf Oberer and Egon Verheyen, Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1964, 85–97], original: "Jede Deskription wird – gewissermaßen noch ehe sie überhaupt anfängt – die rein formalen Darstellungsfaktoren bereits zu Symbolen von etwas Dargestelltem umgedeutet haben müssen; und damit wächst sie bereits […] aus einer rein formalen Sphäre schon in eine Sinnregion hinauf." (A translation of the article is available as Erwin Panofsky, "On the Problem of Describing and Interpreting Works of the Visual Arts," transl. by Jaś Elsner and Katharina Lorenz, in: *Critical Inquiry* 38/3 (2012), 467–482.) On the word 'symbol', a sidenote: Erwin Panofsky paid careful attention to Ernst Cassirer's work, both using Warburg's library, the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (KBW) in Hamburg at the same time in the early 1920s; Cassirer's main work was the publication of the three-volume *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (1923–1929) which directly inspired Panofsky's essay "Die Perspektive als ‚symbolische Form'" (1927); this is noteworthy for a number of reasons but in this context primarily because it underlines that 'symbol' and 'symbolic' are commonly used words that, similarly to 'models' or 'signs', could stand further differentiation. Berthold Hub, for example, recalls Cassirer's differentiation between 'symbol', 'symbolic pregnance' and 'symbolic form' and argues that Panofsky, in contrast to later art historians writing about his work, did make a distinction between 'symbol' and 'symbolic form', cf. Berthold Hub, "Perspektive, Symbol und symbolische Form: Zum Verhältnis Cassirer – Panofsky," in: *Estetika: The Central European Journal of Aesthetics* 47/2 (2010), 144–171, online: <http://doi.org/10.33134/eeja.69>. See also Emmanuel Alloa, "Could Perspective Ever be a Symbolic Form? Revisiting Panofsky with Cassirer," in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Phenomenology* 2/1 (2015), 51–71, online: <https://doi.org/10.1080/20539320.2015.11428459>, and, for an argument about Panofsky fundamentally misunderstanding Cassirer, Rémi Mermet, "Cassirer et Panofsky: Un malentendu philosophique," in: *Labyrinth* 22/1 (2020), 56–78, online: <https://doi.org/10.25180/lj.v22i1.217>. On Panofsky and Cassirer, see furthermore Keith Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of 'Iconology' and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art," in: *New Literary History* 17/2 (1986), 265–274, here 268f., and, more generally, Emily J. Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. For Panofsky's essay, see Erwin Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als ‚symbolische Form'," in: *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1924–25*, ed. by Fritz Saxl, Leipzig: Teubner, 1927, 258–330 [reprinted in *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. by Hariolf Oberer and Egon Verheyen, Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1964, 99–167].
141 Panofsky 1939/1955, 40.

of the cultural web, the iconographical analysis; and after that the most elusive and abstract act of recognition, the one that is concerned with the *Weltanschauungssinn*, the meaning of the artwork on a deeper philosophical and psychological level – the actual interpretation that Panofsky wanted to differentiate from the mere classification of images:

> [Iconography] does not, however, attempt to work out this interpretation for itself. It collects and classifies the evidence but does not consider itself obliged or entitled to investigate the genesis and significance of this evidence […]. In short, iconography considers only a part of all those elements which enter into the intrinsic content of a work of art and must be made explicit if the perception of this content is to become articulate and communicable.[142]

And, to quote Panofsky even more liberally:

> In conclusion: when we wish to express ourselves very strictly (which is of course not always necessary in our normal talk or writing, where the general context throws light on the meaning of our words), we have to distinguish between three strata of subject matter or meaning, the lowest of which is commonly confused with form, and the second of which is the special province of iconography as opposed to iconology. In whichever stratum we move, our identifications and interpretations will depend on our subjective equipment, and for this very reason will have to be supplemented and corrected by insight into historical processes the sum total of which may be called tradition.[143]

Regardless of whether practitioners who subscribe to his theory have always adhered closely to this work process or not, it is important to recall it because it helps to understand the rationale permeating the field of iconography. Iconography is not without its detractors,[144] but it

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142 Ibid., 31f.
143 PANOFSKY 1939/1955, 39.
144 Some criticism centres around the notion that iconography presupposes the existence of meaning where there might be none or where there is simply none to be found, in the sense of none intended; Svetlana Alpers in particular has made this argument over

remains the only widespread methodology that 'formalizes', to the extent that that is deemed possible, the description and study of 'symbolic' art or visual culture.

A model of transmission variance is not necessarily a model that should account for an *interpretation* of that which it represents, in the iconological sense. Even the description and analysis of that which is transmitted is only relevant for editorial purposes insofar as it allows a relation of elements; Kemp's *Beziehungssinn*, the relational meaning. Panofsky's method is about relations as well: It studies how images relate to the viewer, to the culture they are embedded in (especially literature) and finally, how they relate to the world at large. But his steps do not provide the means to understand how they relate to each other if they are variants of the same work; or in other words, how a work relates to itself, if it exists in more than one manifestation. And while the method does account for the relation that an image has to a text, it does not account for the immediate environment that an image might be embedded in, *entwined* with a text or – and this is where it gets complicated with respect to medieval picture programmes that were transmitted multiple

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the years, especially pertaining to the iconological layer of interpretation (and, if I understand correctly, prompted by the excessive study and 'decodification' of emblem books in the Netherlands), see SVETLANA ALPERS, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, and SVETLANA ALPERS, "Einleitung," in: *Ikonographie: Neue Wege der Forschung*, ed. by Sabine Poeschel, Darmstadt: WBG, 2010, 13–30. Such criticism can be misguided in that it does not point out flaws in the method as such, only in the intentions of those using the method to achieve certain goals and to arrive at certain forms of description; in that sense, it might diagnose a discrepancy between the insight that scholars who apply the method might aspire to gain and the insight that they will actually gain in relation to their object of study as well as the insight that they will not gain by singularly focusing on one approach. If there is a perception that the very existence of the method compels researchers to use it, then that might speak to a lack of convincing alternatives. Indeed, T. J. Clark would seem to have expressed that the issue lies with a misapplication of the method rather than its design by Panofsky when he delivered his famous verdict that "[i]conography is the notorious example: in a generation it has declined from a polemic about tradition and its forms, an argument over the conditions in which an artist encountered an ideology, into desultory theme-chasing." (T. J. CLARK, "The Conditions of Artistic Creation," in: *Times Literary Supplement* 24 (1974), 561–562 [reproduced in and here quoted from *Selva: A Journal of the History of Art* (2019), online: <https://selvajournal.org/article/tj-clark-conditions-of-artistic-creation/> (accessed 8 August 2023)].)

times – at a later stage *disentangled* from the text originally accompanying it and entwined with a new text or no text at all.

If we take the essence of the manifestation of a work in a work witness as well as the relation of the witnesses to each other to be a *structural* manifestation, we must find ways to reflect their structural composition and de-composition. In this view, the layers of description move from Panofsky's meaning-oriented approach to a different kind of observation, namely to a regard for units of organization. We could identify and distinguish different stages of organization in the manuscript transmission of the picture programmes that we have discussed, but in the context of our inquiry, it is important to remember the level of abstraction that we are working towards. As stated before, we might do well to effect the abstraction of layers of structures rather than the abstraction of the structures themselves. In the following, I wish to exemplify what I mean:

What could be layers of structures that we might want to capture in our treatment of work witnesses? We could think of them as markers of layers first, as space (surface, dimension), sequence (order), composition (arrangement), appearance (form, style), content (meaning). This list is not exhaustive and could be specified further – undoubtedly, each of these may be argued to overlap and interact in specific ways. So, too, might any structural representation. The intent here is to draw attention to different aspects of an interrelated whole. In the abstract, these markers could be applied to multiple layers of description (which is to say: layers of a model) and the example of medieval manuscripts and scrolls suggests that the division of observation might be established along physical features of a work witness first and foremost.
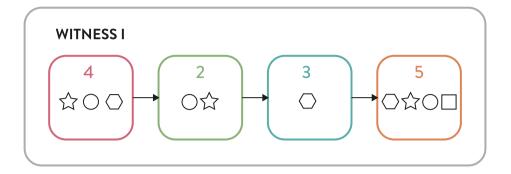
Take manuscripts: Stages of pictorial transmission variance could be distinguished (1) on the level of the *manuscript*, (2) on the level of the *page*, and (3) on the level of the *image*. It might not be entirely correct to speak of the 'manuscript' here; or rather, the levels could possibly be extended to look at the manuscript as a unit overall which would then have to take into account that many works were not necessarily transmitted singularly in a manuscript but in composite manuscripts that were either assembled at the time of creation or sometime thereafter bound

together.[145] Examining these transmission contexts and what works were transmitted alongside each other would be interesting in itself but goes beyond the *work* focus. Consequently, as far as the *work* is concerned, the level of the manuscript is the level of the *witness*, the manifestation of a work in a single instantiation. To analyse the structural organization of the picture programmes – and the types of variances that occur in transmission – has to be achieved by way of comparison and a work cannot be compared against itself except by comparing its different occurrences, whether they exhibit variance or not. These occurrences are tied to the material objects and so the logic of division corresponds to them; but only to a certain degree, as has been explained in the case of the manuscript level.

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145 Karin Kranich-Hofbauer has emphasized the librarian distinction between manuscripts that include different texts which were copied together to form a thematic collection or were bound together soon after their creation being *Sammelhandschriften* and composite manuscripts that consist of different, initially independent parts of different origin and ages, bound together at a later point, being *zusammengesetzte Handschriften*; cf. Karin Kranich-Hofbauer, "Zusammengesetzte Handschriften – Sammelhandschriften: Materialität – Kodikologie – Editorik," in: *Materialität in der Editionswissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 32), ed. by Martin Schubert, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2010, 309–322, here 309–311, online: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110231311.309>. This distinction has drawn criticism due to its ambiguity, cf. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, "Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities," in: *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, ed. by Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2016, 1–26, here esp. 3, fn. 7, and 7, fn. 27. For further literature on composite manuscripts, see the influential article Erik Kwakkel, "Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts," in: *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002), 12–19 (wherein Erik Kwakkel differentiates between 'production units' and 'usage units' as components of composite manuscripts); Johan Peter Gumbert, "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex," in: *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003)*, ed. by Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere, Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 17–42; Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013; Jürgen Wolf, "Sammelhandschriften – mehr als die Summe der Einzelteile," in: *Überlieferungsgeschichte transdisziplinär: Neue Perspektiven auf ein germanistisches Forschungsparadigma* (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter; vol. 52), ed. by Dorothea Klein, Horst Brunner and Freimut Löser, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2016, 69–82; and the comprehensive bibliography provided by Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 23–26. In general, on medieval manuscript culture, see Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, York: Arc Humanities Press, 2018.

Once such levels are distinguished, they can be described with respect to the markers tentatively outlined. The choice for this distinction is partially based on the evidence of existing descriptions of picture programmes. Breitenbach's catalogue, for instance, has already been mentioned: The division of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* into 42 chapters and those chapters into types did not originate with him,[146] but it has carried through the reception of the work. A witness of the work would therefore be studied in relation to this summation of content. Since the respective picture programme is the series of pictures contained in the witness, it is of interest which depictions are included and excluded, as well as the order of their inclusion. This is what I would then call the variance on the level of the *witness*, that is to say, on the level of sequence that could, most broadly, be arranged in the structure of a chain where one element follows another. That idea is visualized in **FIGS. 29** and **30**: On the one hand, we have witnesses with segments (e.g. chapters or other content divisions, such as per prophecy) that are identifiable by colour code and number, they themselves containing further elements – units of meaning, units of any kind of partition – which are identified through symbolic differentiation. As can be seen in **FIG. 29**, not every witness contains every identified element or contains elements in the same order, and the elements within the elements differ in volume and arrangement as well; this is portrayed in an exaggerated way for illustrative purposes. In **FIG. 30**, we then have an abstract idea of the work which is not supposed to be an ideal type of representation but a maximal type of collection: It contains all elements that are present in either witness. Note that it does not represent the different order of elements in the different witnesses at this point, which it likely *should* if it were an actual maximal type of *representation*. We will discuss this further in the last chapter of the book.

Another level of variance would be the level of the page and here, in particular, as mentioned before, the matter of the layout, the *mise en page*. Focusing on this would mean focusing on space, on composition (which is not to say that one might not also focus on the other markers
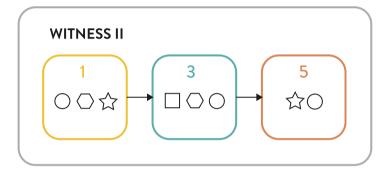
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146 Cf. Breitenbach 1930, 44–55 and 62–69.

FIG. 29: An abstract visualization of the variation that might occur on the witness level, e.g. the omission and reordering of components.
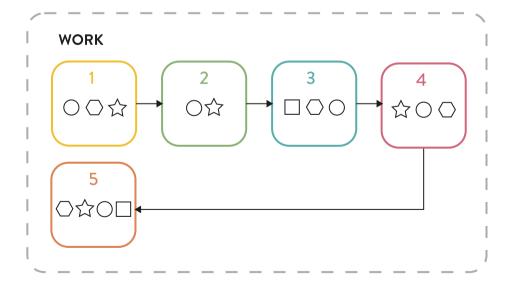

FIG. 30: An abstract visualization of the 'work' as a maximal type of tradition, containing all components from all witnesses.

for this level of observation). Since the interrelation between the picture programmes and any accompanying text has often been deemed of interest, this matter of content organization should be, too. Regardless of the meaning that one might ascribe to the layout of a page or the reason one might divine as the cause for that type of arrangement, it is clearly a delineated unit within which something is arranged (and the membrane would be the equivalent for the scroll). On the witness level, the ideational division of content dominates. On a page level, the material aspect comes to the fore, seeing as the assembly of a manuscript from sheets of parchment or paper necessarily results in page breaks as markers of division. The variant layouts in which the picture and text of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* are arranged (see **FIGS. 31** and **32**) should be recorded in a digital edition of this work, not only because they tie into the (re-)materialization and the spatialization that might be seen as characteristic for digital scholarly editions, but also because they would constitute a basis for an analysis of the evolution of this diagrammatic work component which might be relevant for study. It should be noted that the importance ascribed to 'the page' as a matter of interest – as well as the predominance of certain ideas about how medieval manuscript pages were designed and what the significance of that was – has been criticized in the past.[147] However, as with all questions in this book that pertain to medieval objects of study, the purpose of the present inquiry is not to make any sophisticated claims about the exemplary nature of that which is discussed; nor is there, in this particular case, any need to launch investigations into the underlying processes or intentions.[148] All we have

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147 Cf. JOHN DAGENAIS, "Decolonizing the Medieval Page," in: *The Future of the Page*, ed. by Peter Stoicheff and Andrew Taylor, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, 37–70.
148 This is not to say that such investigations would not have to be part of scholarly editions, however, as they would surely have to be part of any serious study of source material. But the issue is one of a notion of a *Grundlagenedition* ('foundational edition'), on top of which other studies and investigations are crafted. That necessitates, of course, that such a foundational edition is open to amendment and expansion in terms of its *information model*. (The idea of a foundational edition is not to be confused with the notion of 'factual editions' or 'source editions with fact extraction' popularized by Georg Vogeler's 'assertive edition' concept, cf. VOGELER 2021 and GEORG VOGELER, "The 'Assertive Edition': On the Consequences of Digital Methods in Scholarly Editing

to concern ourselves with at this stage and in this context are the means with which to describe observed variation in a structured manner.
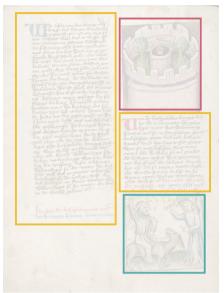
Lastly, and perhaps most importantly – insofar as it impacts the picture programmes that are at the centre of our attention here –, variation occurs on the level of the image, or rather, picture. This variation is the variation that, if the pictures were texts, would traditionally be recorded in an *apparatus criticus*. Variants that are recorded in the critical apparatus are usually not the same kind of variation throughout; in texts, one might differentiate between orthographical variants, semantic variants, variants of omission or addition, variants of word order and sentence structure, and so on. This list is, again, not exhaustive or definitive since, interestingly enough, variants are generally not differentiated in the apparatus in those terms even though attempts at classification are far from arbitrary.[149] When we regard the transmission variance in picture programmes, we find that the same is true there; namely that there are different kinds of variation that could be classified if the merit of such an act were deemed sufficient enough to warrant the effort. It is, at this point, not quite apparent what could be gained by recording not only the variation itself but by qualifying it in such a way, unless that were to be a subject of study, in which case it would be obviously useful to facilitate a better understanding of the variation itself, i.e. by differentiating between topographical variants (e.g. of placement, orientation, alignment), semantic variants (e.g. one element being replaced by another or one element being changed to mean something else) and variants of omission or addition.
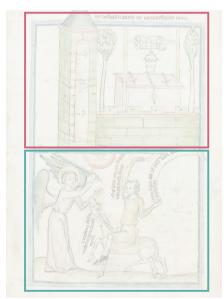
When compared to the kinds of variants that may similarly be described for texts, we might forego the equivalent of orthographical variants since we must assume that pictures collapse style and content.

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for Historians," in: *International Journal of Digital Humanities* 1 (2019), 309–322, online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42803-019-00025-5>).

149 In the context of digital editions, Elena Spadini has proposed a theory of modelling variants that accounts for a 'category of change' ("addition, deletion, substitution and transposition") and a 'linguistic aspect' ("orthography, morphology, syntax, lexis"), cf. Elena Spadini, "Exercises in Modelling: Textual Variants," in: *International Journal of Digital Humanities* 1 (2019), 289–307, here 292, online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42803-019-00023-7>.
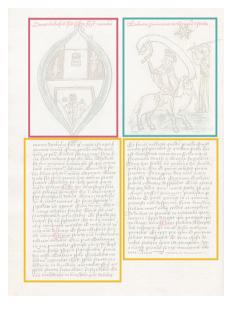
FIG. 31: Some examples for page layouts of *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts: text above a picture, two texts with two pictures interspersed, two pictures above each other, two texts underneath two pictures (text highlighted in yellow, the picture of the story of Balaam highlighted in blue and the picture of the story of the sealed fountain highlighted in red); from top left to bottom right Hs. 179, Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg, f. 3r, <http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/speculum1436/0007> (PD); Cod. Pal. germ. 432, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, f. 6v, <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.230#0020> (PD); 3378, Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, p. 5, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-1732> (CC BY 4.0); Hs II 10, Stadtbibliothek Mainz, f. 3v, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0128-3-2330> (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0).
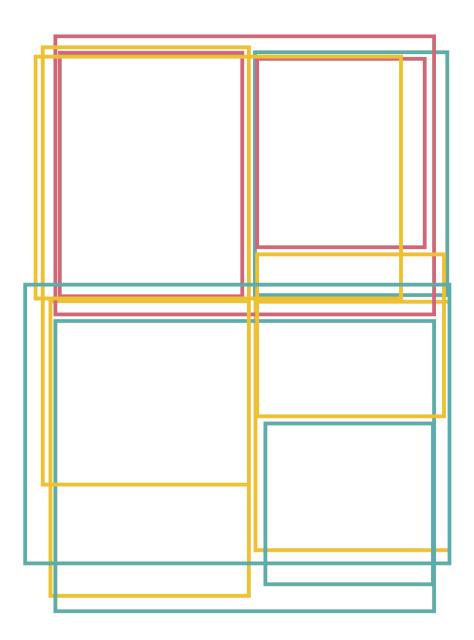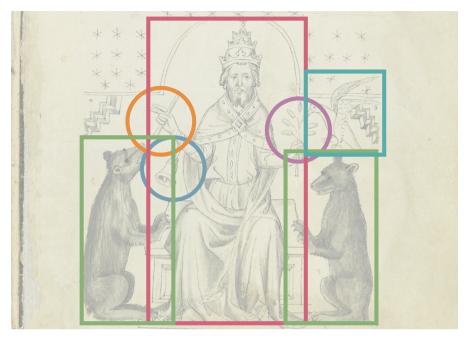
FIG. 32: Visualization of the layouts from **FIG. 31** overlayed with respect to the page dimensions, indicating the kind of structures that might emerge if this was done on a more comprehensive scale, considering that the work survives in several hundred manuscripts.
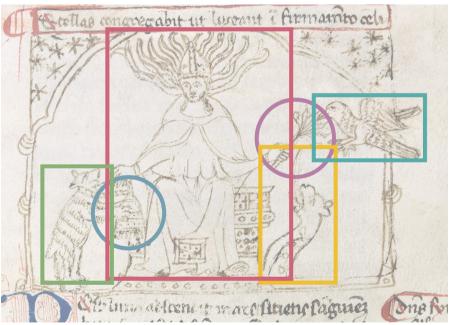
FIG. 33: Vaticinium I from the *Ascende calve* prophecies with highlighted (corresponding and diverging) elements; from VadSlg Ms. 342, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, St. Gallen, f. 1, <http://www.e-codices.ch/de/vad/0342/1> (CC BY-NC 4.0), and Ms. 68, Bibliothèque municipale, Châlons-en-Champagne, f. 61v, <https://portail.biblissima.fr/ark:/43093/ifdata75fb810cd375c252b0869f32d1f-3be0794c60446> (CC BY-NC 3.0).
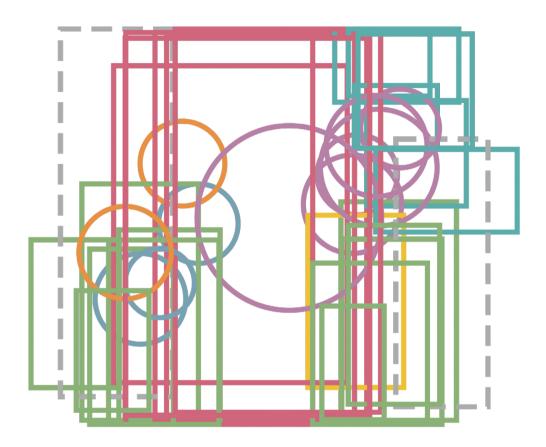
FIG. 34: Visualization of the mark-up from **FIG. 33** overlayed; in addition to the two manuscripts from the previous figure, this visualization includes mark-up of vaticinium I from Lat. 10834, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, f. 1v, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84527986> [the grey dashed lines signify trees in the background of the depiction]; Cod. 13648, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, f. 1v, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13950379>; Arundel 117, British Library, London, f. 137r, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1706>; CC Cim. 6, Stiftsbibliothek, Kremsmünster.

With the topographical variants, we might note that they, too, are bound to that which is depicted – we are most likely to describe the displacement and rearrangement of elements in relation to their semantic identification. If we take the first *Ascende calve* prophecy, for example, and mark corresponding semantic elements with colour-coded bounding boxes, and if we then take those layers of mark-up and overlay them, we will see the obvious: that they are in spatial proximity to each other (see **FIGS. 33** and **34**). Although this is obvious, it is a crucial point to make, as it directly impacts the occurrence of transmission variance. It is not enough to identify what is depicted and to say that there is a man (or a pope or pope Nicholas III, depending on the level of specificity) and a dove and two bears and then to detail attributes or objects; to say that he is sitting and holding something in his hands or what he is holding in his hands. Any description would, at the very least, have to rise to the level found in old catalogue descriptions[150] and even then, the spatial relation would have to be emphasized. Not only is Nicholas III flanked by two bears, in some manuscript traditions, he is flanked by a bear to his right and a serpent to his left (see **FIG. 33**, Ms. 68).[151] That the dragon on the left is a variance of the bear on the left is a relation established by the fact that both occupy the same space in a topographical schema. The same could be said for elements that are missing or added in other cases – the omissions or additions speak for themselves, but they also speak to an expectation associated with a certain spatial composition. This might be the most important characteristic of pictorial transmission variance in comparison to textual transmission variance, although one might characterize word order and sentence sequence as inherently spatial or

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150 See, for example, the description of this first prophecy from Codex 13648, National Library in Vienna, in HERMANN 1929, 200: "Unter einem Kielbogen, auf einer mit einem Kissen bedeckten Bank thronend, Papst Nicolaus III. (1277–1280); er trägt über einem Untergewand einen weiten Mantel mit Kapuze, auf dem bärtigen Haupte eine Tiara mit ausgezacktem Stirnband. In der seitwärts erhobenen Linken hält er einen Büschel Ähren, an denen ein Vogel (eine Taube) pickt; in der gesenkten Rechten hält er einen Löffel, um Körner zu streuen; an seinem rechten Arm hängt eine Glocke. Zu beiden Seiten der Bank zwei aufwartende kleine Bären. Rechts und links vom Kielbogen je 10 Sterne, ebenso darüber 7 Sterne."
151 Right and left here used in the sense of dexter and sinister, from the perspective of the depicted.

OBJECT OF DESCRIPTION	MARKERS OF DESCRIPTION
I – *The witness* as such, meaning the entirety of a work transmission within a single witness	space (surface, dimension) sequence (order) composition (arrangement) appearance (form, style) content (meaning)
II – *The physical entity of divison* within the witness, e.g. page	space (surface, dimension) sequence (order) composition (arrangement) appearance (form, style) content (meaning)
III – *The unit of meaning* singled out, e.g. a picture	space (surface, dimension) sequence (order) composition (arrangement) appearance (form, style) content (meaning)

FIG. 35: Beginning of a schema for the recording of editorially relevant transmission variance beyond text.

directional as well. In lieu of abstracted symbols, however, the surface of placement and its coordination system gains significance as the point of reference.

These are very preliminary steps towards differentiating structures of pictorial transmission variance. In terms of Panofsky's schema, this might have to be ranked beneath or alongside the pre-iconographical description, some iconographic identifications notwithstanding. The basic nature might explain why such observations are not part of his schema: They concern aspects of visual organization that are so self-evident to the observer of a single manuscript and so insignificant to anyone interested primarily in the art itself (or, indeed, the text) that the need to describe them only arises from the wish to represent them (in relation to each other). Consequently, there are many more categories that one might employ for an analysis of the same material under a different premise. For a schematic summary of this approach, see **FIG. 35**. As we turn towards other types of transmission variance in other types of cultural heritage next, we will have to both broaden and specify the discussion further.