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# Typology Refigured: Marian Devotions derived from the *Speculum humanae salvationis*

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

**T**YPOLOGY—A RETROSPECTIVE MODE OF READING THAT SEES IN OLD Testament events the prophetic foreshadowing of signal moments in the life of Christ—by definition involves the reconfiguration of history.<sup>1</sup> History, rather than being read as an open-ended line or, as often was the case, as a circle that revolves back to its point of origin (as in competing modern theories of the history of the universe), was seen as something of a house of mirrors, in which virtually every event following the center point, namely, the birth of Christ, could be viewed as reflecting, yet, at the same time, revealing the full meaning of all that had come before. Typology, or, to use a medieval term, figural speech, entailed systematic prefiguration. It also inherently lent itself to visualization, not only because of its rhetoric of type and antitype or foreshadowing and illumination, all cast in terms of the dynamics of revelation, but also, no less, because images, forbidden by the strictest interpretations of Jewish law, represented the embodiment of incarnational theology. Moreover, lending visual expression to perceived parallelisms made even the most obscure comparisons easier to comprehend and endowed them with the appearance of self-evident truths.

Typological exposition provides the context for a single leaf in Houghton Library (MS Typ 270)—but in surprising and idiosyncratic ways (see figures 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup> The leaf, which measures 18 x 11 cm., is written in brown ink on paper without a watermark that might assist in dating or localization. The recto presents a simple, yet effective image

1 Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” *Archivum Romanicum*, 17 (1938): 320–341, translated as “Figura,” trans. Ralph Manheim, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, Theory and History of Literature 9, ed. Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11–76.

2 Bibliography on MS Typ 270 is limited to the following: Jules Lutz and Paul Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis: Texte critique; Traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448); Les sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Mulhouse: E. Meininger, 1907), 1: no. 235, 104; Evelyn Silber, “The Early Iconography of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Fourteenth Century,” (Diss., Cambridge University, 1982), 98–99 (appendix, no. 365); and Roger S. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1983), 84.

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of Mary mourning over the dead Christ, otherwise known as the Pietà, above sixteen lines of rhyming couplets in German. Thirteen additional couplets follow on the verso. Although the first letter of each verse has been accentuated with vertical strokes in the same ruddy orange pigment employed to create the large three-line initial *I* that opens the poem (or this section of it), no attempt has been made to justify the lines, which form a ragged trailing edge to the right. No traces of ruling or pricking remain.

The drawing itself also represents a remarkable combination of freedom and restraint. Although the frame, which is doubled with an additional line on its interior edge so as to create a modest impression of depth, analogous to that of the cross, was drawn, at least in part, with a straight edge, the rest of the image employs a freehand technique consisting of an initial sketch in brown, perhaps using a quill, heightened with black strokes of a breadth that suggests that they were added using a thin brush. Whereas the artist uses the brown ink to block out forms and lay down simple parallel hatching to create contrasts of light and shade (for example, in the folds of Mary's cloak or in the interior of the empty tomb behind her), he uses black to reinforce critical outlines. The short jagged strokes employed to build up the figures at the center contrast dramatically with the freer calligraphy of the trees that frame the scene, whose foliage is formed by lines laid down over some of the tinted washes used to clarify constituent parts of the composition, a method of coloring that can be compared to that employed in many early woodcuts. Overall, the artist's technique is economical, but effective: in a manner reminiscent of, and perhaps intended to compete with, woodcut illustrations, it allows for a combination of speed of production and devotional impact. No less than the script, the drawing communicates the presence of the human hand that made it, an immediacy that lends vitality to its persuasiveness as a focal point for the empathetic compassion with Christ's sufferings of which Mary represents the archetypal embodiment.

Just how the viewer is to respond to the image is spelled out by the twenty-one couplets that follow:

**[Recto]**

- 1 Ich man dich magt erbarmerin  
Des siebenden grosses schmerzen dein
- 2 Vnd hertzen laides vngemach  
Das dir an deynen kind beschach
- 3 Do sich vollendet alles das  
Vnd er an dem creutz erstorben was
- 4 Joseph ain reicher gerechter man  
Den man gen got in forschet sach stan
- 5 Edel genant von aromati  
Der stünd auch cristen gelauben bey



**I**ch man dich magt erbar mer in  
 Des siebenden grossen schmerzē dein  
 vnd hertzen laides vngemach  
 Das die am deynen kind beschach  
 Do sich vollendet alles das  
 vnd er an dem creutz er storben was  
 Joseph ein reicher gerechter man  
 Den man gen got in forcht sach stam  
 Edel genant von aromati  
 Der stund auch oyster gelauben bey  
 vnd was sein iüger harmlich doch  
 vum er forcht die iuden auch  
 pilatum. der da bitten began  
 Das er im gab den toten man  
 Den nam er von dem creutz her ab  
 vnd wolt in legen in sein grab

Figure 1. Entombment (Pietà), Augsburg, 1470s. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 270, recto. 18 x 11.1 cm.

Do er in her ab genomen het  
In dem schos man die in let  
Do wart erst dein iamer gros  
Mit hauffen zaheren in begos  
Die die von augen gingen ab  
Du spracht o meyns alters stab  
Vnd meiner augen groeste boim  
Vnd meynes hertzen liechte sunn  
Wie hast du mich so hie verlam  
Nu muos ich hie in treurn stam  
Jemer vnd mer rouchs der schmertz  
Das die sauffen an das hertz  
Stieffen das es todes begert  
Vnd das her symeones schwoert  
Dein leib hertz vnd sel ver schynaid  
In dem selben grossen laid  
Tet die got am zalchen kind  
Das sein leib zu der selben stund  
Wart hail roeis vnd sauber gar  
Das man kayner vonden wart gewar  
Vom die funff vonden fron  
Die sach man da offen stam  
Do er gelet wart in den stam  
Johanes fruct dich mit im hain  
Do er dein in dem haus pflag  
Das tet er treulich mengen tag.

Figure 2. Text page, Augsburg, 1470s. MS Typ 270, verso.

6 Vnd was sein iunger haimlich doch  
Wan er forcht die iuden auch  
7 Pilatum, der da bitten began  
Das er im gab den toten man  
8 Den nam er von dem creutz herab  
Vnd wolt in legen in sein grab.

[Verso]

9 Do er in her ab genomen het  
In dein schos man dir in let  
10 Do wart erst dein iamer gros  
Mit haissen zahern in begos.  
11 Die dir von augen gingen ab  
Du sprach o meyns alters stab  
12 Vnd meyner augen groste wün  
Vnd meynes hertzen liechte sün  
13 Wie hast du mich so hie verlan  
Nu müs ich hie in traurn stan  
14 Yemer vnd mer wüchs der schmertz  
Das die saufzen an das hertz  
15 Stiessen das es todes begert  
Vnd das her symeones schwert  
16 Dein leib hertz vnd sel verschnaid  
In dem selben grossen laid  
17 Tet dir got ain zaichen künd  
Das sein leib zu der selben stünd  
18 Wart hail weis vnd sauber gar  
Das man kayner wunden war gewar  
19 Wan die fünff wunden fron  
Die sach man da offen stan  
20 Dor er gelet wart in den stain  
Johannes furt dich mit in haim  
21 Do der dein in dem haus pflag  
Das tet er treulich mengen tag.

After opening with an appeal to the Virgin (couplets 1–2) on account of the seventh of her seven sorrows, these plaintive verses, which in general recall the well-established tradition of the *Planctus Mariae*, or the mourning of Mary at Golgatha, continue by defining the consummation of that sorrow as having taken place, just as we see in the

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accompanying illustration, at the foot of the cross (couplet 3).<sup>3</sup> Couplets 4–5 speak of Joseph of Arimathea as a man who feared God, but also the Jews, and hence worshipped Christ secretly (*haimlich*). These couplets provide the background for the continuation of the narrative in couplets 7–8, which describe how, despite having been asked by Pilate for the body, Joseph removed the dead Christ from the Cross and placed him in the tomb. In relation to these verses, the image can be seen, not as a particular moment in the narrative of the Passion, but rather as a condensation of several incidents, in addition to the deposition, entombment, and, of course, the crucifixion itself, by virtue of the scourge and flail that hang from the nails at the ends of the cross to the left and right, the sufferings of Christ prior to his death. Even Christ's complicated posture can be read in this light: his stiff right arm recalls its extension and stretching on the cross, a motif on which late medieval Passion tracts often dwelled in excruciating detail and that itself had its origins in typological exegesis.<sup>4</sup>

Turning the page and leaving the image behind, the reader would then have read how Joseph laid the dead Christ in Mary's lap (couplet 9). The following couplets (10–16) provide the gravamen of Mary's complaint (from Anglo-Norman *compleindre*: to have compassion, lament, bewail) by describing in evocative detail the depth of Mary's sorrow. Mary weeps hot tears (couplets 10–11), two of which can actually be seen in the drawing falling from Mary's eyes, a motif made that much more pathetic by the contrast drawn in the following verses (couplets 12–13) with the delight that Mary once took in seeing her son, who is compared with the light of the sun.<sup>5</sup> There follows

3 From the large literature, I cite only the following: Sandro Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross." *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 254–273; Gerd Seewald, *Die Marienklage im mittelalterlateinischen Schrifttum und in den germanischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Diss., Universität of Hamburg, 1953); Janthia Yearly, "A Bibliography of *Planctus* in Latin, Provençal, French, German, English, Catalan and Galician Portuguese from the Time of Bede to the Early Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 4 (1981): 12–52; and Georg Satzinger, and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, "Marienklagen und Pietà," in *Die Passion Christi in der Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, *Fortuna vitrea* 12 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 241–276.

4 Frederick P. Pickering, "Das gotische Christusbild: Zu den Quellen mittelalterlicher Passionsdarstellungen," *Euphorion* 47 (1953): 16–37; Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970), revised trans. of *Literatur und darstellende Kunst im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1966).

5 For tears and their place in medieval piety, see, inter alia, Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge: Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (V<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2000); and, in relation to the Pietà in particular, Serge Lepeltier, *Les Larmes de la Vierge: La Vierge de pitié de Lury-su-Arnon restaurée; Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par la Ville de Bourges au musée du Berry 6 octobre 2000–7 janvier 2001* (Bourges: Rencontre avec le Patrimoine religieux, 2000).

(couplets 14–17) the central motif of the *planctus*, namely, Mary standing beneath the cross, her heart pierced by the sword of sorrow (Luke 2:35: “And thy own soul a sword shall piece, that, out of many hearts, thoughts may be revealed”).<sup>6</sup> Couplets 17–19 then speak of a sign (*zaichen*) shown to Mary by God revealing that, despite his five wounds, Christ’s body at that very moment (*zu der selben stünd*) remained a holy white (*hail weis*) and clean (*sauber*). This sign points forward in so far as it refers to the coming resurrection and, further still, the white raiment worn by the just as described in the Apocalypse (e.g., Rev. 7:13–14: “These that are clothed in white robes, who are they? and whence came they? . . . These are they who are come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb.”). The poem, at least as presented in the fragment, concludes with verses (couplets 20–21) that describe the apocryphal incident of John the Evangelist taking the Virgin Mary home and tending to her after the burial of the savior.

Given their allegiance to the tradition of *Planctus* poetry, these verses could conceivably constitute a free-standing poem. The opening invocation of the seventh of Mary’s Seven Sorrows, however, leads one to suspect that, at the very least, the verses formed part of a larger set that narrated all seven, perhaps in tandem with the Seven Joys of the Virgin.<sup>7</sup> In keeping with the numerical piety of the later Middle Ages, of which Rosary devotions merely provide the most familiar example, devotions to the Seven Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin proved enormously popular.<sup>8</sup> Although devotions of this type can, as so often, be traced back to monastic texts of the twelfth century, the decisive development in this tradition came with the composition of the most successful and widely disseminated typological text of the later Middle Ages, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.<sup>9</sup> It is to this tradition, despite the complete absence of any typological motifs, that the poem in Houghton MS Typ 270 turns out to belong.

6 Georgiana G. King, “Iconographical Notes on the Passion,” *Art Bulletin* 16 (1934): 291–303; H. Peters, “Die Sieben Schmerzen Mariens,” *Neußer Jahrbuch für Kunst, Kulturgeschichte und Heimatkunde* (1957): 11–19; Carol Monica Schuler, “The Sword of Compassion: Images of the Sorrowing Virgin in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 1987 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1987); and Schuler, “The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe,” *Simiolus* 21 (1992): 5–28.

7 For devotions to the Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys of the Virgin, see Norbert Schneider, “Zur Ikonographie von Memlings ‘Die sieben Freuden Mariens,’” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 24 (1973): 21–32, and Hardo Hilg, *Das ‘Marienleben’ des Heinrich von St. Gallen: Text und Untersuchung*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 75 (Munich: Artemis, 1981), 426–431.

8 Arnold Angenendt et al., “Gezählte Frömmigkeit,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien: Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 29 (1995): 1–71.

9 See Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae salvatinois, 1324–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); and Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the*

In its original form, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* consisted of 4,924 lines of rhyming Latin prose with 192 illustrations.<sup>10</sup> It was written by an unknown Italian mendicant, most likely a Dominican, in the early fourteenth century, perhaps as late as 1334. Despite its Italian origins, the work enjoyed its greatest success in both art and literature north of the Alps.<sup>11</sup> Over 400 manuscripts, including translations into French, Dutch, Middle English, and Czech, survive. To these can be added eleven different translations into German.<sup>12</sup> Following a prologue, the bulk of the work is given over to typological exposition. It closes, however, with three parallel sets of septenaries (chapters 44–46) free of any typological content: the seven stations of the Passion, linked to seven of the eight liturgical hours (Lauds, often celebrated in combination with Matins, is lacking); the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (Simeon’s Prophecy; Flight into Egypt; Christ in the Temple; Meeting Christ on the way to Golgotha; Crucifixion; Deposition; Entombment), and, last, her Seven Joys (Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Coronation). Taken together, the Seven Sorrows and Joys provide an approximate encapsulation of most of the essential moments in the lives of Mary and Christ and, hence, in the history of salvation. The parallel sets of seven invited representation in tabular or diagrammatic form, for which there was a long tradition in the earlier Middle Ages.

In MS Typ 270, however, there is no trace of any parallelism between Mary’s mourning Christ under the cross and the corresponding Joy. The events are presented successively, in narrative, not in tabular form. Nor, if one compares the poem to its ultimate source in the Latin *Speculum*, does it include any of the longer work’s exegetical

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*Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Southern Netherlands (c. 1410–c. 1470): A Contribution to the Study of the 15th-Century Book Illumination and of the Function and Meaning of Historical Symbolism, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts: Low Countries Series 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 1996).

10 For the status quaestionis, with additional bibliography, see Nigel F. Palmer, “‘Turning Many to Righteousness’: Religious Didacticism in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the Similitude of the Oak Tree,” in *Dichtung und Didaxe. Lehrhaftes Sprechen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Henrike Lähnemann and Sandra Linden (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 345–366, and Joost Roger Robbe, *Der mittelniederländische Spiegel onser behoudnisse und seine lateinische Quelle: Text, Kontext und Funktion* (Münster: Waxmann, 2010).

11 For the influence of the *Speculum* on stained-glass programs alone, see Sabine Rehm, *Spiegel der Heilsgeschichte: Typologische Bildzyklen in der Glasmalerei des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXVIII/349 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1999).

12 Hans-Walter Storck and Burghart Wachinger, “*Speculum humanae salvationis*,” in *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, begründet von Wolfgang Stammerl; fortgeführt von Karl Langosch. 2., völlig neubearbeitete Aufl., unter Mitarbeit zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Kurt Ruh zusammen mit Gundolf Keil et al., 14 vols. (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1995), 9:cols. 52–65 (hereafter cited as *Verfasserlexikon*).

or theological elaboration. For the sake of economy, only those parts of the German poem that bear any relationship to the Latin are reproduced here side-by-side.<sup>13</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Ich man dich magt erbarmerin                                | Ave, Maria, mater Christi pia, coelestis imperatrix!                |
| Des siebenden grossen schmerzen dein                           | Tu es, Virgo dia, tristium in hac via clemens consolatrix.          |
| 2. Vnd hertzen laides vngemach                                 | Sextam tristitiam, Mater dulcissima, tunc habuisti,                 |
| Das dir an deynen kind beschach                                | Quando dilectum Filium tuum mortuum de cruce suscepisti,            |
| 3. Do sich vollendet alles das                                 | Quando ipsum brachiis tuis, mitissima Virgo Maria,                  |
| Vnd er an dem creutz erstorben was                             | Mortuum et lividum imposuit Joseph ab Arimathia;                    |
| 4. Joseph ain reicher gerechter man                            | Quem olium crebo dulicter et laetanter vivum portaveras.            |
| Den man gen got in forschet sach stan                          |   |
| [ . . . ]  |   |
| 9. Do er in her ab genomen het<br>In dein schos man dir in let | Hunc, heu! nunc mortuum et cum magna tristia portabas;              |
| 10. Do wart erst dein iamer gros                               | Novus luctus et novus gemitus in corde tuo oriebatur,               |
| Mit haissen zahern in begos                                    | Et tristitia tua semper magis ac magis accumulabatur.               |
| 11. Die dir von augen gingen ab                                | O, quantus erat, pia Mater, tuus luctus et ploratus!                |
| Du sprachst o meyns alters stab                                | O, qualis erat, dulcis Virgo, tuus planctus et uluatus!             |
| 12. Vnd meyner augen groste wün                                | O, quam modicam quietem et consolationem, Domina clemens, habuisti, |
| Vnd meynes hertzen liechte sün                                 | Antequam dilectum Filium tuum resurrexiss conspexisti!              |

<sup>13</sup> *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Les sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Jules Lutz and Paul Perdrizet, 2 vols. (Mulhouse: Meininger, 1907–1909), 1:93.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 13. Wie hast du mich so hie verlan<br><br>Nu müs ich hie in traurn stan | Tantum habuisti, pia Mater, tristitiam et<br>dolorem,<br>Quod libenter pro Filio tuo dilecto vel cum<br>eo subisses passionem. |
| 14. Yemer vnd mer wüchs der schmerz<br><br>Das die saufzen an das hertz | Die noctuque luxisti, planxisti, doluisti et<br>flevisti,<br>Quamdiu illa m elliflua praesentia Filii tui<br>caruisti.         |
| 15. Stiessen das es todes begert<br><br>Vnd das her symeones schwert    | O, quam durum et quam lapideum cor<br>habere videretur,<br>Qui tuae tristitiae tam immensae, Virgo pia,<br>non compateretur!   |

The extent to which the text of MS Typ 270 departs from the Latin original distinguishes it sharply from the most popular verse translation (not to mention the six known prose translations), the anonymously authored *Spiegel der menschlichen Seligkeit*, known in twenty-two manuscripts, of which the earliest can be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. Nor can the poem represented in part by the leaf at Houghton Library be compared with the so-called Kremsmünster Reimparaphrase, which is larded in along with the original Latin in a manuscript most likely of Upper Rhenish origin, but now housed (hence its name) in the Stiftsbibliothek at Kremsmünster, Austria (Codex Cremifanensis 243).<sup>14</sup> The translation, of which there is still no edition, is incomplete, and among those parts that were never translated are most of the sections corresponding to the Seven Stations of the Passion (chapter 43), plus all of the Seven Sorrows (chapter 44) and the Seven Joys (chapter 45). Also precluded from comparison is the translation by Heinrich Laufenberg (d. 1460), who probably lived in Freiburg i.Br. and whose earliest poem is dated 1413, simply by virtue of the fact that the sole known manuscript, which came from the library of the Grünen Wörth in Strasbourg, to which Laufenberg had retired in 1445, was destroyed in the bombardment of Strasbourg in 1870.<sup>15</sup> This leaves only two possibilities: i) the Alemannic verse translation in 4,774 verses by Konrad von Helmsdorf, which survives in a single fifteenth-century Swabian manuscript (St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, MS. 352, 9–100), complete with illustrations, which, while it hardly translates the entire *Speculum*, includes the three concluding chapters; and ii) the equally isolated translation of ca. 8,000 verses by Andreas Kurzmann (born before 1396), a monk at the Cistercian monastery of Neuberg (Steiermark, Austria), which also is known only in a single unedited manuscript (Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 178

<sup>14</sup> *Verfasserlexikon*, 9:col. 58; and Manuela Niesner, *Das Speculum humanae salvationis der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster, pictura et poësis* 8 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> Burghardt Wachinger, "Laufenberg, Heinrich," *Verfasserlexikon*, 5:cols. 614–625.

[olim 227], fol. 194r–247v), in this case without illustrations.<sup>16</sup> In light of the fact that Konrad von Helmsdorf's translation is amply illustrated, one might be tempted to jump to the conclusion that it is to this text that MS Typ 270 adheres. In this, however, one would be mistaken; comparison of the two texts shows no relationship whatsoever. Comparison with the manuscript in Vorau is equally unfruitful.<sup>17</sup> Having exhausted all known verse translations of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, we would seem to have reached a dead end.

The format and layout of the fragment, however, in themselves provide powerful indicators that comparisons to translations of the complete *Speculum* may well be the wrong place to look. The *Speculum* traditionally appeared in fairly large manuscripts, ranging from ample quartos to large folios. Although originally conceived as a book that required the conjunction of text and image, numerous copies of the *Speculum* without the ambitious program of illustration never included any. Houghton Library owns two such copies: one (MS Lat 165), an English compendium brought together perhaps as early as the fifteenth century that includes the typological work, fol. 1r–91r; the other (MS Lat 121), a fifteenth-century Austrian copy formerly owned by the monastery of Seitenstetten that, like MS Lat 165, consists of several texts written by different hands and bound together at an early date.<sup>18</sup> Most illustrated manuscripts employ two columns so as better to permit the juxtaposition of the images that head the various subdivisions of the chapters, each of which is divided into four sections explicating the type and its three antitypes. This format can be seen, for example, in Houghton Library MS Typ 50, an unfinished copy of the Latin *Speculum* written in Bavaria ca. 1400 that eventually found its way to the Monastery of San Pedro de Roda

16 Karin Morvay, "Kurzmann, Andreas," *Verfasserlexikon*, 5:cols. 469–471.

17 Peter Wiesinger, "Editionsprobleme spätmittelalterlicher Reimpaardichtungen um 1400 am Beispiel von Andreas Kurzmann," *editio* 6 (1992): 96–111; Wiesinger, "Einige Bemerkungen zu Andreas Kurzmanns Reimübersetzung des *Speculum humanae salvationis* anlässlich des Editionsvoorhabens," in *Die mittelalterliche Literatur in der Steiermark. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Schloß Seggau bei Leibnitz 1984*, ed. Alfred Ebenbauer et. al. (Bern and Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1988), 299–315; Wiesinger, "Episches Erzählen im *Speculum humanae salvationis* des steirischen Dichtermönchs Andreas Kurzmann um 1400," in *Durch aubenteuer muess man wagen vil: Festschrift für Anton Schwob zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Wernfried Hofmeister and Bernd Steinbauer (Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik an der Universität Innsbruck, 1997), 523–538; and Wiesinger, *Schreibung und Aussprache im älteren Frühneuhochdeutschen: zum Verhältnis von Graphem, Phonem, Phon am bairischen-österreichischen Beispiel von Andreas Kurzmann um 1400*, *Studia linguistica Germanica* 42 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1996). My thanks to Prof. Wiesinger for confirming that there is no relationship between this text and MS Typ 270.

18 Laura Light, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, Harvard University*, Vol. 1: MSS Lat 3–179, (Binghamton: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1995), 140–148 and 248–254. For MS Lat. 121, see also Klaus Klein, "Erneut zu 'Verbleib unbekannt': Wiederaufgefundene Handschriften," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur* 127 (1998): 69–84, esp. 83–84.

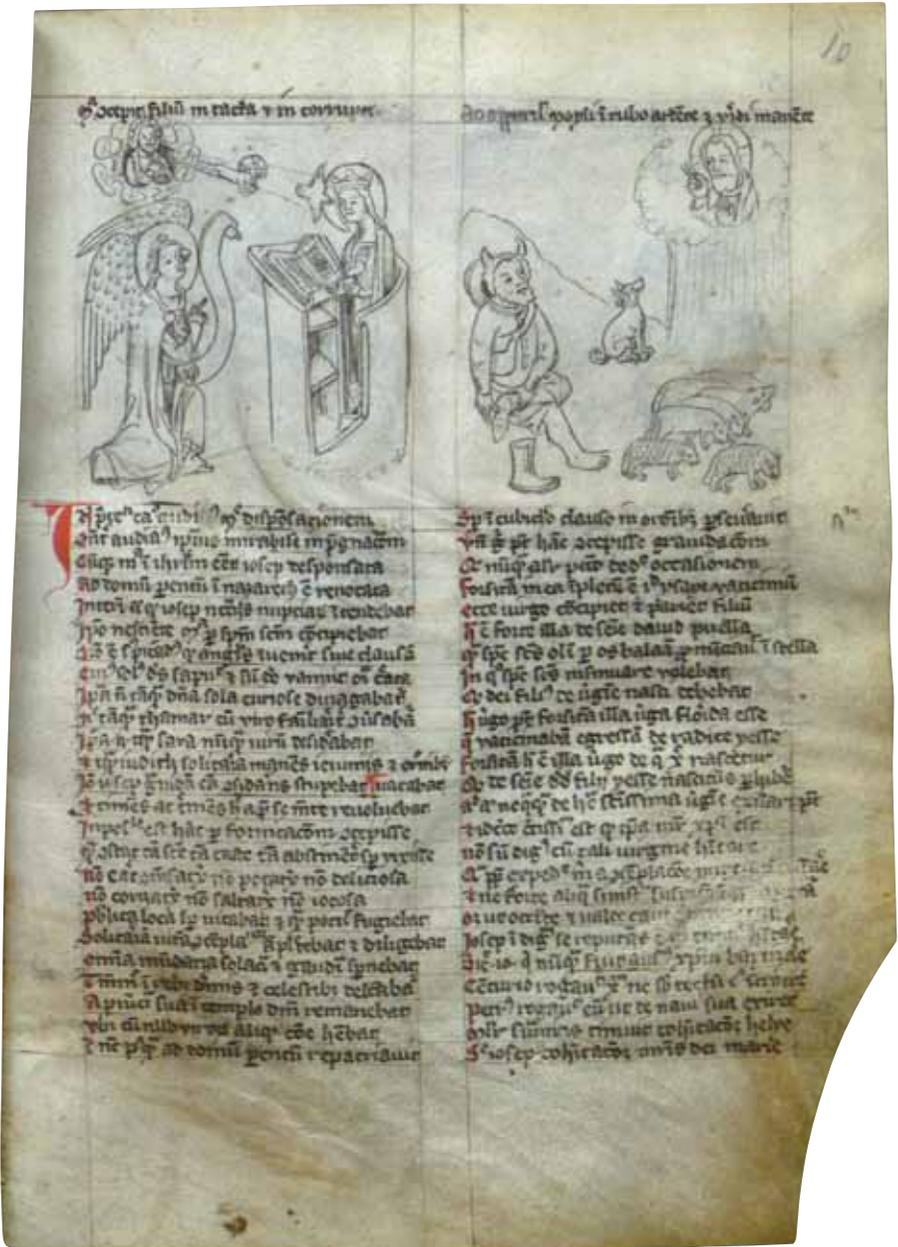


Figure 3. Annunciation (antetype) and The Burning Bush (type), *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Bavaria (?), late fourteenth century. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 50, fol. 10r. 22.6 x 16.8 cm.

in Spain (see figure 3).<sup>19</sup> It was also taken over for some, if not all, of the early printed editions of the work, including the block book editions.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, a single column with long lines (but justified!) was used for other early editions of the *Speculum*, for example, the German version printed in folio under the title, *Spiegel menschlicher behaltmuss*, published in Augsburg by Anton Sorg on August 9, 1476 (GW M43012), which measures 27 cm., of which Houghton Library also owns a copy (Typ Inc 1646.1). Other publications of this sort include Günther Zainer's folio edition (Augsburg, not after 1473; GW M43054). It must be emphasized, however, that as folios both these books are considerably larger in size than MS Typ 270, which employs an unjustified single-column in a format more akin to that found in prayer books, both written and printed, of the period. The script, of a type known as *schlaufenlose Bastarda* (bâtarde script, i.e., a mixture of a book and cursive hand, in this case, without the loops that are one of the telltale features of cursive scripts), is of remarkably high quality.<sup>21</sup> More upright and angular than the fully cursive scripts usually employed in conjunction with texts of this nature, it points to a skilled, experienced, and professional scribe.

All of the leaves with which MS Typ 270 can be associated on the basis of script, style, and format depict subjects or have texts that refer exclusively to subject matter related to the seven Sorrows and Joys, not to the typological cycle that precedes them in the *Speculum*.

The leaves, which aside from that at Houghton Library, are four in number, include the following subjects, listed here in their original sequence, accompanied by brief observations on their iconography:

**Fifth Sorrow:** Christ before Pilate (with Pilate washing his Hands), 16.5 x 10.5 cm., formerly Laurence Witten, cat. 12 (1980), no. 56 (offered together with the Annunciation listed below, no. 57) (see figure 4). The image confronts what are, in fact, two separate moments in the narrative: Christ brought before Pilate, and Pilate washing his hands.

19 Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts*, 84, no. 41; Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, 42 (incorrectly identified as Houghton Library, MS Lat 121).

20 *Blockbücher des Mittelalters: Bilderfolgen als Lektüre*, Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz, 22. Juni 1991 bis 1. September 1991, exhibition catalog (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1991).

21 For this term, see Evargardus Overgaaauw, "Spätmittelalterliche Handschriften aus Westfalen in ihrem Verhältnis zu Handschriften aus den Niederlanden," in *Humanistische Buchkultur: deutsch-niederländische Kontakte im Spätmittelalter (1450–1520)*, ed. Jos. M.M. Hermans and Robert Peters, *Niederlande-Studien* 14 (Münster: Lit, 1997), 65–98, esp. 66. For scribes in Augsburg, see Karin Schneider, "Berufs- und Amateurschreiber: Zum Laien Schreibbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg," and Hans-Jörg Künast, "Die Augsburger Frühdrucker und ihre Textauswahl, oder, Machten die Drucker die Schreiber arbeitslos?," both in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 8–26 and 47–57.

Dein hertz nie mit anders kind  
 vom trawnen saußen ze aller kind  
 Das du auf die erd fielt  
 vnd demer krefft mindert viel



**M**aria maget kunigin  
 All der welt ein trosterin  
 Dich an das funfft laid ich man  
 Das laid nyman vol sagen kan  
 Do man demen lieben sun ihesus  
 fuet auf das gericht haus  
 vnd man in stalt fur gericht  
 vnd die uiden hetten gedicht  
 vil falscher lügen mengerlay  
 vnd mit grossen geschwai  
 Schreuiens heb auf treutzig in  
 Des de pilatus het mit sin  
 vom er kaynet schuld waer geroar

Figure 4. Christ before Pilate (with Pilate washing his Hands), Augsburg, 1470s.  
 Location unknown (formerly Laurence Witten, catalog 12, no. 56). 165 x 105 mm.

Similar compositions are common in south German woodcut illustrations of the scene from the 1470s and 1480s.

**Sixth Sorrow:** Crucifixion, 17.6 x 11.2 cm., Tomás Harris, his sale, Sotheby's London, July 12, 1971, no. 3; Bernard Breslauer, New York; sold and rebought by Breslauer in the 1980s; Les Enluminures, Chicago; purchased in 2004 by the National Gallery of Art, William B. O'Neal Fund, 2004.115.1 (TMS 129921) (see figure 5).<sup>22</sup> Adding to the pathos of the scene is the manner in which John looks away from the dead Christ. Whereas Mary joins her hands in prayer, John's melancholic gesture of head in hand ultimately derives from representations of mourning in Roman art.<sup>23</sup>

**Seventh Sorrow:** Entombment (Pietà), 16.5 x 10 cm., Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Typ 270 (see figure 1). The particular form of MS Typ 270's presentation of the Entombment stems from the *Speculum's* profound influence on the iconography of the Passion: by recasting the Entombment as a Pietà, the drawing follows this influential model that, more than any other source, transmitted this coinage of Italian Trecento painting to the north, where it first becomes commonplace ca. 1400 in France, Germany, and the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup>

**Preface to Joys of the Virgin:** Virgin appearing to a Dying Priest, overall: 17.5 x 11.3 cm., National Gallery of Art (provenance as above), William B. O'Neal Fund, 2004.115.2 (TMS 129921) (see figure 6). The image is somewhat unusual in showing Mary accompanied by a host of angels. More often, she appears to the bed-ridden priest alone. For an exception, in which Mary is joined by a pair of angels, see the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Paris, Bnf, MS lat. 512, fol. 48v, Vienna, mid-fifteenth century.

**First Joy:** Annunciation, 17.5 x 11.3 cm., Jörn Günther, Katalog 5 (1997), no. 26 (see figure 7).<sup>25</sup> In its overall configuration, this image is highly conventional, the only slightly unusual feature being Gabriel's entry from the right, rather from the left. Both orientations, however, can be found in fifteenth-century paintings and graphic images, so one cannot conclude from this feature alone that the drawing represents a reversal due to copying. Mary's backward glance over her shoulder while reading

22 William M. Voelke and Roger S. Wieck, with Maria Francesca P. Saffiotti, *The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illuminations* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1992), 134–135, no. 41–42.

23 Dorothy C. Shorr, "The Mourning Virgin and Saint John," *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 61–69.

24 Tadeuz Dobrzeńiecki, "Mediaeval Sources of the Pietà," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 8 (1967): 5–24; and Peter Hawel, *Die Pietà: Eine Blüte der Kunst* (Würzburg: Echter, 1985).

25 Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Handschriften und Miniaturen aus des deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Katalog 5 (Hamburg: Jörn Günther, 1997), no. 26 (reproducing recto).



Figure 5. Crucifixion, Augsburg, 1470s. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, William B. O'Neal Fund, 2004.115.1. 17.6 x 11.2 cm.



**M**aria muter maget h̄er  
 Gib mir die sin vnd auch die lex.  
 Das ich die siben frau von dir  
 Betichten kin nach meynen gie  
 Vnd mit deynen frauden frau han  
 Dich deynen frau ermanen schon  
 Als ich in aynem buch las  
 Wie das ein weltlich priester was  
 Der mit ganzem willen sein  
 Dich mit dem siben frau dem  
 Mit fleis all tag sinder bar  
 Do er das tet vil manig ier  
 Bis er kam an sein alte tag  
 Vnd er an dem tot bet lag  
 Do gedacht er hin vnd dacht h̄er

Figure 6. Virgin appearing to a Dying Priest, Augsburg, 1470s. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, William B. O'Neal Fund, 2004.115.2. 17.5 x 11.3 cm.



**H**ro dich maget genaden reich  
 Deyn ersten fraud er man ich dich  
 Din engel det roert aus gesant  
 Von got was gabriel genant  
 Ben galilea in das lant  
 zu ayner stat hies nazareth  
 Do sich zu ayner magt gemahelt het  
 Joseph der von dauid kom  
 Maria was der maget nam  
 Vnd da der engel ging da in  
 Er sprach du salt gezeuget sein  
 Gnaden vol der her der ist  
 mit dir dar umb du gesegnet bist  
 fur all magt vnd feroen gat  
 Do du des engels wurd gewar

Figure 7. Annunciation, Augsburg, 1470s. Location unknown (formerly Jörn Günther, Katalog 5, 1997, no. 26). 17.5 x 11.3 cm.

at her prie-dieu enhances the drama of the moment. The box-like space, showing both floor and ceiling and separated from the viewer by a diaphragm arch defined by modest tracery elements in the corners—an archaic spatial device that had its origins in fourteenth-century painting, but that continued to be used well into the fifteenth century—lends the image the quality of a shrine.

What emerges from this list is, first, that all the extant images constituted consecutive leaves in the original manuscript. This means, in turn, that were one to locate the missing drawing and transcribe all the versos, it would be possible to reconstruct a considerable chunk of the poem, indeed, its entire central section (about a third of the whole). Moreover, to judge from the dimensions of the leaves in their current state, it would appear that the first and the third, i.e., those depicting the Fifth and Seventh Sorrows, traveled together at some point, which would account for their each having been trimmed down to a smaller size, perhaps due to framing. Be this as it may, the surviving evidence suggests further that, contrary to all previous discussion of any of these leaves and given that there is no extant evidence that any part of the complete manuscript from which these leaves were taken translated or paraphrased the typological core of the *Speculum*, we are dealing not with a *Speculum* per se, but rather with what might be called one of the many spin-offs of this extraordinary popular and influential work.

Assuming that the sequence of texts and images was limited to the Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin, which seems likely, there would have been a total of fifteen illustrations or, had there been a prefatory image for the Sorrows matching that for the Joys, as in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where the series is ushered in by an image of a Dominican pierced by a sword of sorrow, perhaps sixteen in toto. As a result, we can conclude that at least ten, possibly as many as eleven, drawings are missing, perhaps still to be discovered. From the leaf bearing the drawing of Christ before Pilate that somewhat unusually prefaced the Fifth Sorrow (the verses are addressed to “Maria maget kunigin/ All der welt ain trosterin/ dich an das funfft laid ich man/ Das laid numan vol sagen kan,” etc.), it can be seen that not all the drawings were placed at the top of the page; four lines of text accompanying the preceding Fourth Sorrow stand above the image. In this respect also the layout of the original manuscript represents a departure from the layout common to most illustrated manuscript and printed copies of the *Speculum*, in which the images introducing and marking the subsections of each chapter are aligned in rows across the top of the page, with the corresponding views arranged in columns beneath them. Instead, in the book of which MS Typ 270 once formed a part, and in keeping with its emphasis on narrative exposition, text and image formed part of a running, continuous whole.

The small size of MS Typ 270 points in the direction of a prayer book containing what are known as *Tagzeitengebete* (prayers for the liturgical hours), dedicated to the

Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin Mary. Several such sets, which number among the earliest illustrated printed prayer books, directly or indirectly took the final chapters of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* as a model. For example, the so-called Stöger Passion (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 8° Inc. s.a. 104<sup>m</sup>), printed before 1462, combines a cycle of twenty Passion scenes accompanied by prayers with the *Sieben Freuden Mariae*, whose prayer texts employ a different state of the same type.<sup>26</sup> Mitigating against any such proposal, however, is the fact that MS Typ 270 does not open with a prayer. Nor, with one exception (the leaf depicting Mary with the dying priest, which opens with the petition, “Maria muter maget her/ Gib mir die sin vnd auch die ler”), do any of the other leaves in the group. It would appear, then, that MS Typ 270 originated in an independent and fairly free and abridged German verse translation of the final section of the *Speculum*, one that, while similar to many other such texts, cannot for now be identified in any other extant copy. Given that complete translations of the *Speculum* survive as unica, for example, the aforementioned manuscripts of versions by Konrad von Helmsdorf and Andreas Kurzmann, the existence of what appears to be yet another partial versification should hardly come as a surprise.

It remains, however, to localize and date the set of leaves to which MS Typ 270 belongs. Previous efforts limit themselves to such general (and varied) statements as “southern Germany, third quarter of the 15th century” or “Oberrhein (?), ca. 1470.” The dialect is indistinct, but points to somewhere along the boundary between Mittelbairisch (i.e., Bavaria) and Alemannisch (Swabia and the Upper Rhine). The evidence of artistic style, however, is more decisive. In every respect—their assured economy of means combining economic marks with neatly applied tinted washes—the drawings fit comfortably with what is known of the strong tradition of graphic illustration in a wide variety of books produced in Augsburg in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Famous examples include the 1479–1481 exemplar of the chronicle of Augsburg written in both Latin and German versions between 1456–1457 by Sigismund Meisterlin, a monk at St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 213) of whose work multiple illustrated copies survive.<sup>28</sup> Like

26 Alan Coates, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library*, 22. See <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00017534/>> and <<http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00017544/>> (accessed June 15, 2010). See also Hardo Hilg, “Sieben Freuden Marias,” *Verfasserlexikon*, 8:cols. 1158–1168.

27 Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Schwäbische Federzeichnungen: Studien zur Buchillustration Augsburgs im XV. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929), Eberhard König, “Augsburger Buchkunst an der Schwelle der Frühdruckzeit,” 173–200, and Norbert Ott, “Frühe Augsburger Buchillustration,” both in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 173–200 and 201–241.

28 Hans Pörnbacher et al., *Literatur in Bayerisch Schwaben: Von der althochdeutschen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Beiträge zur Landeskunde von Schwaben 6 (Augsburg: Anton H. Konrad, 1979), 42–45, cat. no.

MS Typ 270 and the leaves to which it is related, the copy of the chronicle in Munich is written (albeit not by the same hand) in an elegant bâtarde script mixing textura with cursive, but without loops linking letters. Also comparable is the collection of poems and plays, both religious and secular, in a compilation (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4<sup>o</sup> Cod. H. 27), of which the earliest portion can be dated ca. 1486.<sup>29</sup> The drawings in our spin-off from the *Speculum* may not rise to quite the same level of quality, but far from being pedestrian, they are of an assured professional standard.

The style that MS Typ 270 represents was less the creation of an individual artist than it was a common, if varied, mode of mass production developed in part in response to the challenge of incunabula and other books illustrated with woodcuts. As such, it became widespread already after the mid-fifteenth century. Representative examples include a richly illustrated German life of Catherine of Siena (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 A 14) that according to its colophon was written, albeit not necessarily illustrated by, the Dominican nun, Elisabeth Warausin, to whom three other manuscripts can also be assigned, in 1466.<sup>30</sup> Most such works can best be situated within a dense urban network of patrons and producers that included monastic craftsmen and lay readers among the patrician class that dominated the city.<sup>31</sup>

Despite its relatively modest appearance, MS Typ 270 thus has a complex and compelling story to tell. It represents but one piece from a devotional miscellany of unknown extent that incorporated a set of poems derived from the final section of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* that focused on the Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin Mary. Originally conceived as a supplement to the far more extensive typological cycle that preceded it, this section of the appendix functioned particularly well as an independent devotional work in that it reduced the closely linked lives of Christ and the Virgin to their essentials. The poems in the manuscript to which MS Typ 270 belonged take this process still further by streamlining the narrative at the expense of any elements that still smack of theological commentary. Narrative takes the place of exegesis; what previously provided an armature for complex theological disquisitions now stands at the center. The drawing of the Pietà can thus be seen as participating in a broader shift

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80c; and Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota, *Von der Augsburger Bibelhandschrift zu Bertolt Brecht: Zeugnisse der deutschen Literatur aus der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek und der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg* (Augsburg: Anton H. Konrad, 1991), 194–198.

29 450 Jahre Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: *Kostbare Handschriften und alte Drucke*, ed. Helmut Gier (Augsburg: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 1987), 14–15, cat. no. 13, pl. 9.

30 Paul Wescher, *Beschriebendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturenhandschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlins* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1931), 211; and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, “Un jardin de roses spirituel: Une vie enluminée de Catherine de Sienna, *Art de l’enluminure* 11 (2004): 2–75.

31 Peter Rückert, “Augsburger Buchkunst um 1500 und ihre Netzwerke im deutschen Südwesten,” in *Augsburger Netzwerke zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Wirtschaft, Kultur und Pilgerfahrten*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Peter Rückert, *Jakobus-Studien* 18 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2009), 35–60.

from exegetical frameworks that stress what might called the vertical axis that links the literal sense of scripture to its “higher” allegorical and anagogical significance to the horizontal, linear dimension of narrative. In lieu of a set of systematic comparisons between types and antitypes, the reader confronts a simple structure based on the methodical matching of contrasting elements: Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys. At the center stood the image of Mary appearing to the dying priest, which, as in an *Ars moriendi* (another popular genre in fifteenth-century art and piety), provided the viewer with a model for empathetic identification. Text and image together invited the reader, like the priest, to meditate on the means of his salvation. Further still, the manuscript would have prompted the attentive reader to envisage the life of Christ as seen through the eyes of the Virgin Mary, the exemplar of Christian virtue and compassion. Hardly a detached spectator, the ideal reader of the manuscript would have sought to identify with the depicted subject-matter as intensely as possible and, like the Virgin in the drawing of the Pietà, weep tears over the sacrifice of the dead Christ.

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