

**THE CONTEXT AND RECEPTION HISTORY OF THE ILLUMINATIONS IN
NICHOLAS OF LYRA'S *POSTILLA LITTERALIS SUPER TOTAM BIBLIAM*:
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CASE STUDIES**

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the reception history of the Latin biblical commentary, the *Postilla litteralis super totam bibliam* (c.1333), originally written and illustrated by Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349) in Paris. The *Postilla* was one of the most frequently copied texts during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance in Western and Central Europe, as evidenced by the approximately seven hundred extant manuscripts. The *Postilla's* astounding popularity is often attributed to its thorough treatment of a fundamental issue in Christian thought: how to validate the authority and utility of Jewish exegetical traditions while asserting the truth of Christianity. Lyra compared Jewish and Christian biblical commentaries more comprehensively than any other previous Christian commentator and was the only scholar who designed diagrams to augment these comparisons. These comparative illustrations depicted Old Testament temple structures and their ritual objects.

My study of this manuscript tradition reveals that Lyra's original images were dramatically altered in fifteenth-century copies, indicating that the reasons for the *Postilla's* vast transmission had changed. My dissertation begins with an analysis of several early fourteenth-century French *Postilla* manuscripts to demonstrate how that they were prepared for scholarly audiences. I then present in-depth case studies of three fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts that display startling ruptures in the *Postilla* tradition. I have chosen three luxurious copies produced

and owned in Italy, Portugal, France and the Burgundian Netherlands. I utilize these particular manuscripts to document that fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscript imagery camouflaged, obscured or even erased Nicholas of Lyra's study of Jewish exegesis as well as his presentation of the differences between Jewish and Christian exegesis; the appearance of deviations in imagery is complicated by the fact that the text sometimes replicated Lyra's original scholarly format whereas the picture diverged from the original. These case studies demonstrate that *Postilla* manuscripts were valued not only for their intellectual content, but also as status symbols, emblems of political power, luxury items, aesthetic objects and signifiers of piety. I also reveal how the text and imagery of *Postilla* manuscripts advances our knowledge regarding changes in Christian usage of Jewish biblical scholarship in the late middle ages.

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PREFACE

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NOTE TO READER

Due to copyright restrictions for an internet document, the author cannot include the two-hundred and eighty-two photographs of manuscripts, architectural structures and sculpture that I submitted to my dissertation committee. The reader should contact the author at sebromberg@gmail.com to obtain reproductions in a way that does not violate copyright.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis super totam bibliam* (c. 1333) was one of the most frequently copied illustrated texts in the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation.¹ The reception history of the *Postilla* is astounding in terms of the number of manuscripts and printed books produced. Approximately seven hundred *Postilla* manuscripts and one hundred and five printed editions are extant.² Further, this illustrated text was transmitted all throughout Western Europe, including Portugal, Spain, France, The Burgundian Netherlands, Flanders, Italy, England and Germany; Lyra's text and images spread to a geographically diverse audience.³ The *Postilla's* popularity is indisputable but the reasons for its vast transmission are complex and have been mostly overlooked by previous scholars. In my dissertation, I explore the multiple, complicated, and changing reasons for the production of this illustrated exegetical work. My dissertation analyses the changes that the imagery of these manuscripts underwent between the earliest copies made during Lyra's lifetime and the end of the manuscript tradition in the late fifteenth century in relation to shifting patterns of patronage, production and reception of Lyra's exegesis.

¹ "*Postilla*" is most likely an abbreviation for "*post illa verba*," meaning: "after these words."

² Henri Labrosse, "Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre," *Études Franciscaines* 19(1908): 369. Edward A. Gosselin, "A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicholas of Lyra," *Traditio* 26(1970): 399-426.

³ While some scholars refer to Nicholas of Lyra as "Nicholas," others refer to him as "Lyra," and I will use the latter in this dissertation.

The *Postilla* was an essential canonical book within any well-stocked library belonging to the late medieval educated literate elite. A brief overview of the known patrons of *Postilla* manuscripts that I discuss in this dissertation demonstrates the vast and varied demand for Lyra's work. Numerous monastic and ecclesiastical patrons owned *Postilla* manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Pierre of Baume, a Dominican friar; Guillaume de Brosse, archbishop of Sens; Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims;⁴ Per Afán de Ribera, a nobleman of Seville and archdeacon of Cornado in the church of Compostela.⁵ Several monasteries owned *Postilla* manuscripts: the Premonstratensian Abbey of Belval in the Diocese of Reims in the Ardennes;⁶ the Grands Augustins Monastery in Paris;⁷ the Abbey of Saint Victor.⁸ There were also *Postilla* manuscripts in the German libraries of the Freiburg and Basel Carthusians as well as the Swiss Fraziskanerkloster in der Au Luzerne.⁹ Two royal patrons, King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495-1521) and King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia (r. 1378-1419), also commissioned richly decorated copies. In addition, secular rulers (lords, dukes) commissioned elaborate multivolume manuscripts, among them Galeotto Manfredi, the Lord of Faenza (1477-1488), Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the duke of Milan (r. 1395-1402) and Jean de France, the Duke of Berry (r. 1392-1402). Government officials commissioned *Postilla* manuscripts: Pierre I^{er} Lorfèvre, a royal official and member of the French parliament in the early fifteenth century; William Hugonet, Chancellor of Burgundy (1471-1477). Even women were involved in *Postilla* manuscript production: Dame Eleanor Hull, an intriguing woman who belonged to the

⁴ These three men owned *Reims BM MS 171-172*.

⁵ *Seville, Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, MS 332/145*.

⁶ *Charleville- Mézières BM MS 267, Volumes I-VIII*.

⁷ *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*.

⁸ *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 166-168*.

⁹ *Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek Msc 39-45 fol; Basel Universitätsbibliothek, AIII-AII6; AIII10-13*.

confraternity of St. Albans by 1417, produced translations from French to English of an anonymous biblical commentary, commissioned a *Postilla* manuscript.

Although previous biblical commentators such as Andrew of Saint Victor, Richard of Saint Victor and Peter Comestor incorporated Jewish commentary into their treatises, Lyra was the only commentator to specifically analyze and explicate numerous passages from every book of the Old Testament.¹⁰ Lyra's organizational structure in the *Postilla* was extremely helpful for scholars. He always cited a specific biblical passage immediately before providing a lengthy explication. The *Postilla* was thus an important reference tool; a scholar could locate a passage from the Bible and then easily find the corresponding explanation.

One of Lyra's most original and significant contributions to fourteenth-century medieval visual culture and biblical exegesis was his diagrammatic comparisons that illustrated differences between earlier Hebrew and Latin biblical commentaries regarding Old Testament architectural structures. Whereas the use of diagrams in biblical commentaries is attested by Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki, known as Rashi (c. 1040-1105), and Moshe Ben Maimon, known as Maimonides (1135-1204), in the Jewish tradition, and Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) in the Christian tradition, no previous Christian biblical commentator or previous cycle of Christian images in any media provided visual comparisons between Jewish and Christian interpretations of the Old Testament. In addition, Lyra's original *figurae* occupy a unique position in Christian iconography because they resist the common medieval Christian practice of representing Temple structures with Christian attributes.

¹⁰ Beryl Smalley's survey of the literal mode used in Medieval exegesis from the Carolingian period to 1300 presents a comprehensive overview of the numerous Christian scholars who utilized Jewish exegesis in their own treatises and commentaries. See: Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964).

For Lyra, investigating Jewish exegesis was a legitimate and essential aspect of the literal interpretation of scripture (*sensus litteralis*). This interpretative method operated under the assumption that the Old Testament was a reliable source of historical events. The exegete's task involved presenting the literal meaning of each Latin word and phrase, often by seeking out the original Hebrew or Aramaic meaning, in order to clarify the unfolding of each historical event. Jewish exegesis could therefore provide an accurate explanation of certain aspects of Old Testament historical events. Several scholars have noted that Lyra refers to Rashi as an authoritative source when investigating the literal meaning of scripture.¹¹ My analysis of Lyra's *figurae* in the fourteenth century confirms this characterization of Lyra's text as respectful because the *figurae* never condemn Jewish opinion. The textual phrases within and accompanying the *figurae* are neutral and objective (e.g. "*figurae secundum rabi salomonem*") and note measurements, physical descriptions and cardinal directions of Temple structures. The *figurae* never condemn Jewish thought or Jews.

Lyra's *Postilla* occupies a pivotal position in the history of biblical exegesis because it was the first to include *figurae* that compared Jewish and Christian perspectives on biblical

¹¹ Jeremy Cohen has translated a brief passage from Lyra's prologue to the *Postilla*: "In order to determine the literal sense, I intend to introduce the sayings not only of Catholic doctors but also of Hebrew ones – especially of Rabbi Solomon, who among the Hebrew doctors has spoken most reasonably." (Cohen ultimately argues that Nicholas of Lyra invokes harsh polemic against the Jews, but as Lyra's prologue has not been edited, translated or transcribed it is necessary to borrow this translation from Cohen's work.) Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 175. Klepper has also noted that in Lyra's summary of the *Postilla*, entitled *De differentia nostrae translationis ab Hebraica littera Veteris Testamentis*, Lyra describes Rashi's exegesis to be useful in order to precisely understand biblical text: "Know also that among the Hebrews there are many equivocal nouns and sometimes our translation holds to one sense and the Hebrew to another, as was shown in many places in this work. Also various Hebrew doctors on account of these differences vary from one another on their interpretation of the Old Testament. In such cases I have followed Rabbi Solomon, whose teaching among modern Jews is respected as most authoritative." Deeana Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 44.

descriptions of architectural structures.¹² In the case of these buildings, Lyra sought to discern their original appearance. He incorporated fifty-six *figurae* which complimented those verbal comparisons. These *figurae* illustrated multiple aspects of temple structures: Noah's Ark, the Tabernacle carried by the Hebrews through the desert, King Solomon's Temple, and the Temple as described in Ezekiel's vision. Other *figurae* represented the ritual objects used inside these buildings.¹³ However, the treatment of these *figurae* evolves over time: whereas those in manuscripts made during the fourteenth century are relatively consistent in their schematizations and most likely reflect a lost original drawn by Lyra himself, the fifteenth-century copies depart substantially from the fourteenth-century traditions. The crux of this dissertation is an analysis of the differences found in a set of case studies in order to determine what role copies of the *Postilla* played for fifteenth-century audiences and what they tell about changing cultural values in late medieval Europe.

Fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts faithfully copied Lyra's diagrammatic renderings of the Temple which incorporated his detailed and thorough exegesis as they were produced for a scholarly audience that often included ecclesiastical and monastic patrons but occasionally included secular patrons. Despite Lyra's monumental innovations, later fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscript imagery camouflaged, obscured or erased Nicholas of Lyra's interest in Jewish exegesis as well as his presentation of the differences between Jewish and Christian exegesis. In order to make this claim, I use several *Postilla* manuscripts as case studies. In

¹² A word about the term I will use to describe the illustrations Lyra designed in *Postilla* manuscripts. Their format ranges from highly schematic one-dimensional *figurae* to three-dimensional images. Although Lyra's illustrations may be categorized by modern viewers as ground plans, elevations, building facades, cross sections, three dimensional objects or well-modeled human forms, Lyra himself did not make these distinctions. He consistently used the term *figura* for the visual additions to his commentary. For Lyra, this term designated any representation that was constricted by the two-dimensionality of the manuscript page. The term "*figura*" is often followed by the words "*in plano*" to designate an image that is constricted by the two-dimensional surface of the page. Thus, I will use Lyra's term, *figura*, in this dissertation.

¹³ A full listing of all *figurae* can be found in Appendix A.

fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts, textual explanations that had previously accompanied the *figurae* to explicitly compare Hebrew and Christian exegesis were eliminated and Temples were depicted as Christian structures. Additional illuminations within the *Postilla* manuscripts depicted Old Testament events and personages from a Christian perspective, diverting the reader's attention away from Lyra's interest in Hebrew commentary and effectively Christianizing the *Postilla* manuscript.

My observation that later fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts de-emphasized both Lyra's iconographic innovations and his comprehensive comparisons of Jewish commentary with Christian interpretation of the Old Testament led to the central question of my research. Why did later copies camouflage or erase Lyra's scholarly endeavors? How were these altered *Postilla* manuscripts valued by their patrons and owners?

Previous scholarship on Lyra's *Postilla* illustrations rests on the assumption that the approximately seven hundred extant manuscripts is an indicator that Lyra successfully transmitted Jewish scholarship to a Christian audience. But if the alterations disguise Lyra's use of Jewish exegesis and his conception of the relationship between Jewish and Christian commentaries, it becomes more difficult to assume that *Postilla* manuscripts were valued solely as sources of Hebrew commentary. I assert that the fifteenth-century copies also functioned to highlight the political, economic power and religious piety of the patron. Further, these manuscripts were valued as highly aestheticized luxury objects and status symbols. In addition, *Postilla* manuscripts were given as gifts, often from kings or nobility to religious institutions or individuals. Finally, the changes in *Postilla* manuscripts correspond to a changing understanding of the status of Jewish commentary within the literal mode of exegesis.

Though *Postilla* manuscript imagery shifted away from Lyra's analysis of Jewish and Christian biblical commentary, the voluminous commentary text often remained relatively intact; the owners of these altered *Postilla* manuscripts were thus aware of its status within the one-thousand year tradition of Christian biblical scholarship. Patrons and producers of fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts devised numerous ways to associate their identity with this canonical text; the patron's coat of arms, mottos, initials, symbols and emblems were often placed throughout these manuscripts, which reinforced their own status as book collectors, and Christian scholars.

The reasons for Lyra's interest in the Temple of Solomon (and the Tabernacle as predecessor) are twofold. His analysis of the specific measurements and appearance is typical of his general interest in precise historical details in his entire commentary *Postilla* text. My research of the commentary on Exodus and III Kings did not uncover any text that discusses any larger implications of his interest in the temple structures other than an interest in historical precision. However, as noted by Michael Signer and Helen Rosenau, Lyra's commentary on the Ezekiel's vision of the Temple in the messianic era contains some telling analysis. (This dissertation does not thoroughly explore the text and *figurae* of Ezekiel because none of my case studies reproduce those *figurae*). Lyra claims that the Temple as described by Ezekiel has not yet been built because the Israelites have disobeyed God through idolatry and hatred of Christ. Lyra then finds fault with the opinions of contemporary Jews (*hebraei moderni*) that state the Messiah will be human by insisting that a divine and human being, Christ, has already come. Lyra also interprets the Temple on a symbolic level. The Temple signifies the Church which itself is not to be understood as physical architecture but as a spiritual structure built of morals and

sacraments.¹⁴ Yet my research reveals that this symbolic interpretation is not represented in any of Lyra's *figurae* of the Tabernacle of Temple.

The first chapter of my dissertation reviews both Lyra's biography and art historical scholarship on *Postilla* manuscripts before examining Jewish and Christian pictorial sources and parallels for Lyra's *figurae*. Chapter Two discusses typical fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts in order to provide a basis for understanding how the manuscripts discussed in the ensuing chapters deviate. In order to understand the ways in which *Postilla* manuscript imagery changed to accommodate and interest different types of readers/viewers, I have chosen several illuminated manuscripts as case studies for the next three chapters. Chapter Three analyzes one of the most sumptuous *Postilla* manuscripts (Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo MSMB/A/65-73*) made by one of Florence's most celebrated illuminators, Attavante degli Attavanti, for King Manuel of Portugal. By examining the types of imagery and decoration, I conclude that Lyra's interest in Jewish and Christian exegesis becomes secondary to promoting Manuel's personal piety and, at the same time, a broader agenda, that of Portugal's navigational power and international economic domination. The representation of the *figurae* highlights the foreign origins of this *Postilla* manuscript, as do many of King Manuel's other artistic and architectural commissions. In the next chapter, I analyze a Parisian *Postilla* manuscript (*Tours BM MS 52*) produced for a lay reader in which imagery other than the *figurae* is so prominent that it camouflages Lyra's comparisons of Jewish and Christian commentary. The fifth chapter focuses on one *Postilla* (The Hague, *Royal Library 128 C8*) whose *figurae* themselves are Christianized to the point of erasing Lyra's original intent to visually instruct his readers/viewers on

¹⁴ Michael A. Signer, "Vision and History: Nicholas of Lyra on the Prophet Ezechiel," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 164-171; Helen Rosenau, "The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25, no. 2 (1974): 304.

comparisons between Jewish and Christian exegesis and in so doing, severs the visual connection to the *Postilla's* Hebrew heritage.

1.1 LYRA: BIOGRAPHY AND WORK

Nicholas of Lyra's biography, written works and participation within the French royal, political, and ecclesiastical realms have been heavily documented and discussed in great detail by several scholars.¹⁵ Born in 1270 in Lyre, Normandy, in the diocese of Evreux, Lyra was sent to a Franciscan convent in the town of Verneuil, Normandy in 1300. A year later, he was sent to the Franciscan convent of the Cordeliers in Paris, where he spent the rest of his life. He received his education and taught at the University of Paris. By 1308, Lyra became a Master of theology and by 1309 he was on the theological faculty of the University of Paris. He served as the Franciscan Provincial Minister of France from 1319-1324 and Burgundy between 1324 and 1330. Scholars have provided documentation for his 1307 involvement with the trial of the Knights Templar, his condemnation of Marguerite Porete's writings in 1310 and his participation in a debate concerning Pope John XXII's opinion regarding the Beatific Vision. In addition, Lyra maintained ties to French royalty. In his official role as the Franciscan provincial minister of France, Lyra attended the 1319 ceremony in which Philip the Fair's daughter, Blanche, entered

¹⁵ Henri Labrosse, "Sources de la biographie de Nicolas de Lyre," *Études Franciscaines* 16(1906): 383-404. ———, "Biographie de Nicolas de Lyre," *Études Franciscaines* 17(1907): 488-505, 593-608. ———, "Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre," 41-52, 153-75, 368-79. ———, "Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre," *Études Franciscaines* 35(1923): 171-87, 400-32. Ch. V Langlois, "Nicolas de Lyre, Frère Mineur," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 36(1927): 355-401. Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963). Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith, "Introduction," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1-18. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, 170-95.

the nunnery, *Humilité Notre-Dame of Longchamp*. In 1325, Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife to King Philip V, selected Lyra as one of the executors to her will.

Nicholas of Lyra wrote prolifically. Between 1323 and 1333, Lyra wrote the *Postilla litteralis super totam bibliam*, a commentary on the entire Old and New Testament that incorporated immense quantities of Jewish biblical exegesis. Lyra refers to the texts of Jewish commentators, especially Rashi, on nearly every page of his Old Testament commentary. Upon completing the *Postilla litteralis*, Lyra wrote a condensed version for scholars who could not afford the complete text, *De differentia nostrae translationis hebraica littera veteris testamentis*. In addition to the *Postilla*, Lyra wrote two treatises demonstrating that Jewish texts, when properly understood, provide proof for Christ's humanity and divinity. By 1334, he completed a text entitled: *Probatio adventus Christi contra Judaeos (De adventu messiae)*. In the same year, he also completed another work, the *Responsio ad quendam Judaeum ex verbis evangelii secundum Matthaeum contra Christum nequiter arguentem*, a response to an attack on the Gospels written by a Jewish scholar, Jacob ben Reuben of Gastony, in the twelfth century. Between 1333 and 1339, Lyra wrote the *Postilla moralis*, a shorter biblical commentary, which incorporated more typological and allegorical modes of interpretation than the *Postilla litteralis*.

1.2 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON NICHOLAS OF LYRA'S *POSTILLA*

Scholars have made important initial forays into the manuscript tradition. Extant *Postilla* manuscripts have been partially catalogued. Frederick Stegmüller recorded the *incipit* to Lyra's commentary on each biblical book and listed approximately one hundred manuscripts according to the *incipits* that they contain.¹⁶ Teresa Laguna-Paúl has listed approximately five hundred manuscripts including those that Stegmüller mentioned.¹⁷ Each manuscript is noted along with the library that currently holds it. She has more fully catalogued sixty-two manuscripts in her doctoral dissertation from the following French, Spanish, and Italian libraries: Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona; Bibliothèque Municipale de Charleville-Mezières; Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial; Biblioteca Nacional de España; Bibliothèque Arsenal (Paris); Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Bibliothèque de la Ville de Reims; Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina (Cathedral of Seville); Archivo Biblioteca (Cathedral of Toledo).¹⁸ Klaus Reinhardt has catalogued sixty-eight manuscripts now in Spanish libraries.¹⁹ No complete list exists; several of the *Postilla* manuscripts that I examined were not found in any of these compilations.

Previous scholars have argued that Christian audiences valued Lyra's commentary for its presentation of Jewish exegesis; I seek to modify their claims. Deena Klepper has demonstrated that Lyra's text made Jewish scholarship both safe and available for Christian readership and viewership: "Nicholas successfully Christianized medieval rabbinic text for his readers, bringing

¹⁶ Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum medii aevi, Volume IV* (Barcelona: Matriti, 1940-1954), 51-94.

¹⁷ Teresa Laguna Paúl, *Postillae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum de Nicolás de Lyra: Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. Ms. 332/145-149* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979), 71-96.

¹⁸ ———, "Iconografía de las Postillae Litteralis de Nicolás de Lyra (1332-1660)" (University of Seville, 1983).

¹⁹ Klaus Reinhardt, "Das werk des Nicolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien," *Traditio* 43(1987): 321-58.

the fruits of Jewish learning to a phenomenally broad Christian audience.”²⁰ Though I agree that Lyra’s original text as found in the early fourteenth-century copies does present Jewish commentary in a way that is acceptable to a Christian audience, I argue that fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscript illumination Christianizes Lyra’s *figurae* and text in a different way than Klepper describes. In the fifteenth century, visual and textual alterations to *Postilla* manuscripts partially erased Lyra’s initial reliance on Jewish commentary. As a result, the audience of these manuscripts would not have been able to fully grasp Lyra’s presentation of Jewish exegesis.

Throughout his extensive comparisons of Rashi’s and Lyra’s commentaries, Herman Hailperin claims that Lyra perceptively and accurately refers to Rashi’s exegesis.²¹ In his conclusion, Hailperin cites many late Medieval and Renaissance Christian scholars who were influenced by Lyra’s use of Hebrew commentary in their own writings such as Conrad Pellikan and Johannes Reuchlin. Hailperin’s extremely thorough textual analysis focuses on Lyra’s text as it appears within printed versions (Rome, 1471; Nuremberg, 1481; Nuremberg, 1485; Venice 1588) but does not consider the manuscript context. As I will show, illuminations within the manuscript tradition do not always reflect Lyra’s discussion of Jewish biblical commentary.

Helen Rosenau attributes Lyra’s popularity in the Middle Ages to the fact that the *figurae* were “steeped in the biblical text.”²² I modify Rosenau’s assessment of Lyra’s popularity. Although Lyra closely linked his *figurae* to biblical passages, many fifteenth-century versions of the *figurae* sever the connection to the biblical text.

²⁰ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 133.

²¹ Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*.

²² Helen Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity* (London: Oresko Books, 1979), 39.

Several scholars have categorized *Postilla* manuscripts according to their iconography, visual content, textual layout, patronage, and audience. In the last seven pages of her monograph on Nicholas of Lyra's biblical exegesis, Klepper charts the complex reception of the *Postilla litteralis* by describing six types of *Postilla* manuscripts produced for different viewing communities. Klepper's categories and the examples that she mentions are: elaborately illuminated manuscripts owned by bishops and cardinals [*Oxford MS Bodl. 251* (fourteenth century); *Vat. Archivio di S. Pietro D200* (fourteenth century)]; manuscripts owned by monastic libraries [*Reims BM MS 178* (second half of fourteenth century); *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 166-168* (fourteenth century)]; mass produced manuscripts in the Paris university book trade [*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 162* (1329); *Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266* (second quarter of fourteenth century)]; manuscripts produced for royal patrons [*British Library MS Royal 3.D.VII* (fourteenth century)]; manuscripts used by biblical scholars [*Rome Casanatense MS 10*²³]; manuscripts produced for lay people [*Tours BM MS 52* (c. 1500)]. As Klepper notes, her overview of the *Postilla* manuscript tradition is preliminary and would benefit from further investigation: "The manuscript tradition of the *Postilla litteralis* is enormously complex and still awaits systematic study."²⁴ My dissertation expands on Klepper's brief but useful discussion with detailed examinations of the text and imagery of *Postilla* manuscripts produced for monastic, scholarly and secular audiences and by more thoroughly considering the shift from spare diagrammatic *figurae* to luxurious illuminations. Further, most of the manuscripts described by Klepper were produced during the fourteenth century, while my discussion focuses on fifteenth-century manuscripts.

²³ Neither Klepper's list nor the Casanatense Library online database of its manuscript collection, nor Laguna Paúl's list, nor Stegmüller's list provides a date for this manuscript.

²⁴ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 125.

Walter Cahn has briefly described a shift in the appearance of the illuminations in *Postilla* manuscripts from “practical or utilitarian” fourteenth-century Parisian copies to fifteenth-century luxurious copies.²⁵ I build upon Cahn’s apt observation by analyzing the implications of these changes. By comparing illuminations in several fifteenth-century *Postilla* with the earliest extant *Postilla*, I reveal the many functions that the text and imagery served for the varied fifteenth-century readership/viewership.

Teresa Laguna Paúl has produced the most prolific art-historical research on *Postilla* manuscripts and has extensively discussed iconographic parallels and sources within both Jewish and Christian art-historical traditions for Lyra’s imagery.²⁶ Though she demonstrates an awareness that the *figurae* change over time in both *Postilla* manuscripts and printed books, the changes she discusses are often changes in formal qualities rather than subject matter. I expand upon her discussion of the *Postilla* tradition by examining changes in the *figurae* over time which alter and change their content and meaning.

²⁵ Walter Cahn, "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 160-161.

²⁶ Paúl, *Postillae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum de Nicolás de Lyra: Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. Ms. 332/145-149*. ———, "Iconografía de las Postillae Litteralis de Nicolás de Lyra (1332-1660)". ———, "El Arca de Noe en las Postillae de Nicolás de Lyra," *Revista de arte sevillano*, no. 3 (1983): 63-68. ———, "Originalidad y variantes iconográficas en las Postillae Litteralis de Nicolás de Lyra conservadas en España," in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Historia del Arte: Barcelona, 29 de octubre al 3 de noviembre de 1984. Sección 1a: Originalidad, modelo y copia en el arte medieval hispánico* (1984), 125-35. ———, "Nicolás de Lyra y la Iconografía Bíblica," *Apotheca. Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte. Universidad de Córdoba*. 5(1985): 39-78. ———, "Primeras reconstrucciones de la casa del Bosque del Libano: Un edificio salomónico poco conocido," in *Aragón en la Edad Media X-XI; homenaje a la profesora emérita María Luisa Ledesma Rubio* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1993), 461-79.

1.3 ICONOGRAPHIC PRECEDENTS AND PARALLELS FOR LYRA'S

FIGURAE

The scholarly literature on Medieval and Renaissance Jewish and Christian illustrations of temples and temple structures is vast.²⁷ In order to understand the specific context of imagery in *Postilla* manuscripts, this discussion will be limited to analyzing previous scholarship concerning precedents and parallels to Lyra's *figurae*.

The idea of using diagrams in biblical exegesis has its origins in both Jewish and Christian exegesis. There is evidence that Rashi used diagrams in the now lost original manuscripts of his commentary. In a letter responding to an inquiry by the men of Auxerre concerning the northern cells in the Temple as described in Ezekiel 41:10, Rashi writes: "I have nothing to add to what I have said in my commentary, but I will make drawings and send them to

²⁷ Many scholars have recently raised other fascinating issues about *Postilla* manuscript imagery and Lyra's commentary which have not directly impacted my research and are not within the scope of my project. Felipe Pereda links the dimensions described by Lyra's ground plans of Solomon's Temple and of Ezekiel's vision of the Temple in the messianic era to the proportions of the height, width and depth in the interior space in the Cathedral of Seville. See Felipe Pereda, "Le origini dell'architettura cubica: Alfonso de Madrigal, Nicola da Lira e la *querelle salomonista* nella Spagna del Quattrocento," *Annali di architettura* 17(2005): 21-46. For a discussion of a hand-illuminated *Postilla* incunabulum, see: Jos van Heel, "De lotgevallen van een Romeinse incunabel te Leuven," in *Manuscripten en miniaturen*, ed. Jos Biemans et al. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007). Several scholars have recently examined Lyra's use of Hebraic scholarship in individual books of the Old Testament. The following articles thoroughly discuss Lyra's commentary with infrequent and brief references to Lyra's *figurae*: Corrine Patton, "Creation, Fall and Salvation: Lyra's Commentary on Genesis 1-3," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 19-43. Lesley Smith, "The Rewards of Faith: Nicholas of Lyra on Ruth," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45-58. Frans van Liere, "The Literal Sense of the Books of Samuel and Kings: from Andrew of St Victor to Nicholas of Lyra," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 59-81. Theresa Gross-Diaz, "What's a Good Soldier to Do? Scholarship and Revelation in the Postills on the Psalms," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 111-28. Mary Dove, "Literal Senses in the Song of Songs," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 129-46. Signer, "Vision and History: Nicholas of Lyra on the Prophet Ezechiel," 147-71. Deean Copeland Klepper, "Nicholas of Lyra and Franciscan Interest in Hebrew Scholarship," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 289-311.

you.”²⁸ In Richard of St. Victor’s *Commentary on Ezekiel’s Temple Vision*, Richard introduces his diagrams with the following phrases: “*Horum igitur quae jam descripsimus formam taliter representamus,*” or “*Horum itaque quae diximus tale exemplar formamus.*”²⁹

For Lyra, the value of the Jewish exegetical tradition was found not only in its diagrammatic visual representations of the Temple, but also in a mode of interpretation unconcerned with typological and Christological analogies and arguments which focused on precise details of historical events and architectural structures. Lyra’s interest in presenting a historically accurate visualization of biblical temple structures is based on Jewish textual and visual traditions. Diagrams produced both by Rashi (c. 1040 – 1105) and Maimonides (c. 1135-1204) clearly influences Lyra. Extremely close similarities between Lyra and Rashi’s illustration of the Promised Land in Ezekiel 48 point to close connections between Jews and Christians, an insightful claim by Helen Rosenau that is not accompanied by any citations of specific manuscripts or any reproductions of illuminations or diagrams.³⁰ To clarify Rosenau’s claim, I offer a brief comparison of this subject matter in one of the earliest extant *Postilla* manuscripts (*Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267 v. III*, c. 1333-1347 A.D.) with a late thirteenth-century Ashkenazi copy of Rashi’s commentary produced in southern Franconia (*Paris, BnF Hébreu 154*, 1298 A.D.).³¹ Both Rashi and Lyra present a nearly identical bird’s-eye-view that schematically represents the arrangement of the territories of the Promised Land. The spare

²⁸ Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 283.

²⁹ Walter Cahn, "Architectural Draftsmanship in Twelfth-Century Paris: The Illustrations of Richard of Saint-Victor's Commentary on Ezekiel's Temple Vision," *Gesta* 15, no. 1 (1976): 247.

³⁰ Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, 39-63. ———, "The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition," 294-304.

³¹ The details of the origin of *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267 v. III* will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two. There are three other manuscripts with Rashi’s commentary that contain the same diagram illustrating Rashi’s exegesis of Ezekiel: *Paris, BnF Hébreu 161*, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana cod. ebr. 94*, *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Or. Fol. 122*. See: Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "Some Further Data on Rashi's Diagrams to his Commentary on the Bible," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* I(1993/4): 151-55. ———, *Les manuscrits Hébreux enluminés des bibliothèques de France* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1994), 224-27, 230-31.

drawings consist of rectangular fields bordered by straight lines and are filled with text that describes the use and owner of each partition of land. Both images represent virtually all of the same territories in the same position.³²

Rosenau does not address an issue that complicates the relationship between Lyra and Rashi's diagrams of the Promised Land. Sed-Rajna and Walter Cahn have both noted that several copies of Richard of Saint Victor's (d. 1173) commentary on Ezekiel, *In Ezekielem*, also include a diagram of the Promised Land that has been copied from the very same drawing by Rashi.³³ As the extant Richard of Saint Victor manuscripts were produced by the end of the thirteenth century, they were completed before Lyra began the *Postilla*. Neither of these scholars cites Rosenau's comparison of Lyra and Rashi's drawings. Thus, it would seem to be an open question as to whether Lyra got his *figura* from Richard of Saint Victor or from Rashi.³⁴

Helen Rosenau argues that a ground plan of the Temple in a copy of Maimonides' *Commentary of the Mishna* produced in Spain or Egypt, c. 1180 is an important precedent for Lyra's ground plan of the Temple in the messianic era as described by the prophet Ezekiel.³⁵ She states that Lyra has borrowed Maimonides' technique of making a diagram of the Temple.

³² Although these diagrams are found in copies of Rashi's commentary produced two centuries after his death, scholars have established that Rashi included diagrams in his original commentary. See———, "Some Further Data on Rashi's Diagrams to his Commentary on the Bible," 154. Walter Cahn, "Architecture and Exegesis: Richard of St. Victor's Ezekiel Commentary and Its Illustrations," *Art Bulletin* 76(1994): 67. Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, 283.

³³ Sed-Rajna, "Some Further Data on Rashi's Diagrams to his Commentary on the Bible," 155-57. Cahn, "Architecture and Exegesis: Richard of St. Victor's Ezekiel Commentary and Its Illustrations," 67-68.

³⁴ In this dissertation I do not intend to focus on the vast scholarship regarding illustrations accompanying Jewish biblical exegesis, but rather those which directly impact Lyra's *figurae*. As noted by Sed-Rajna, there are four diagrams that accompany Rashi's commentary of Numbers and Ezekiel which were present in the now lost original copy of Rashi's commentary; these diagrams have been copied into later manuscripts with Rashi's commentary, but there is only one diagram illustrating Ezekiel that influences Lyra. I am not arguing that Lyra fully relies on all of Rashi's visual material, but is partially influenced by one of Rashi's diagrams.

³⁵ Rosenau, "The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition," 300. ———, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, 42. The particular *Postilla* manuscript that Rosenau uses in this comparison is an early fifteenth-century English copy (*University of Oxford, MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 70*), but I am using an early fourteenth-century *Postilla* to make the same comparison in an effort to get as close as possible to Lyra's original intent.

Rosenau notes that the main outlines and proportions of both Maimonides' and Lyra's linear drawing of the Temple are identical. Both include the altar of the Holocaust in the center. Rosenau posits that Lyra could have been advised by Jews in the preparation of this manuscript and *figura*, but that he did not name any of these Jews or cite his sources for fear of being designated a Judaizer.

To demonstrate Maimonides' influence upon Lyra, Rosenau limits her very apt comparison to just one *figura* designed by Lyra. Rosenau's comparison could be bolstered with further comparisons between the diagram found in Maimonides' commentary and other *Postilla figurae*. For example, both Maimonides' drawing of the Temple and Lyra's *figura* of the Tabernacle depict their respective structures along an East-West axis, and place the caption for the western end (*pars occidentalis/ma'arav*) along the exterior perimeter.³⁶ Each diagram indicates the placement of certain rooms. The Holy of Holies (*sancta sanctorum/kodesh hakodeshim*) is found at the western end. The Sanctuary is adjacent to the eastward wall of the Holy of Holies. Both diagrams also indicate the location of ritual objects in the sanctuary: *candelabrum/menorah*, table of showbread (*mensa propositionis/shulhan lehem hapanim*) and altar of incense (*altare thymiamatis/mizbah haqtoret*).³⁷ As noted by Esther Goldman, numerous

³⁶ The precise reasons for the diagramming of the Temple/Tabernacle along an east-west axis, and for the Holy of Holies to be placed at the western end are complex, and a full explanation is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, a preliminary explanation follows. As noted by Helen Rosenau, the Old Testament describes the Ark of the Covenant to be facing the west and the Temple doors as facing the east. My reading of Exodus and III Kings has not yet unearthed the precise reference to this description. However, Exodus 37 describes the Tabernacle along an East-West axis without specifying which direction the Ark faces. Exodus 40 mentions that certain ritual objects inside the Tabernacle are placed either to the North or South. See:———, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, 16.

³⁷ For further information on diagrams in manuscripts containing Maimonides' writings, see: Rachel Wischnitzer, "Maimonides' Drawing of the Temple," *Journal of Jewish Art* 1(1974): 16-27.

other illustrated copies of Maimonides' commentary were produced from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries.³⁸

Teresa Laguna Paúl has noted that Nicholas of Lyra's *figurae* display a strong influence from Jewish art. For example, an important precedent for many of Lyra's images of the shelves that hold the ritual loaves of bread (Bread of the Proposition) inside the Temple and Tabernacle can be seen in the front page openings of Spanish and southern French Sephardic Biblical manuscripts such as *Paris BnF MS Hébreu 7* (A.D. 1299).³⁹ Laguna Paúl often cites both Jewish and Christian antecedents and parallels for Lyra's *figurae*. In the *figura* of the Tabernacle, Lyra delineates the three interior and exterior spaces: the atrium, the sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies, which are surrounded by columns that form a rectangle around the perimeter of the Tabernacle. These features are found in both a fourteenth-century drawing accompanying Rashi's commentary (*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Michael 384*, f. 142v, A.D. 1399) and an illumination in an eighth-century Christian English manuscript, the Codex Amiatinus (*Florence, Laurentian Library, Cod. Amiatinus*, f. 2v-3r, c. 700).⁴⁰

Lyra's *figurae* occupy a unique position within Christian art, as noted by Helen Rosenau: The images of the Temple closely reference the biblical text of Exodus, III Kings and Ezekiel

³⁸ Copies of Maimonides' commentary include: *Mishneh Torah*, Narbonne, A.D. 1282 (*Amsterdam, Etz Haim Seminary Library, Ms. 47 A 2*); *Mishneh Torah*, place unknown, A.D. 1306 (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Ebr. 173*); *Mishneh Torah*, place unknown, A.D. 1488 (*London, The British Library, Harley Ms. 5719*); *Mishneh Torah*, Ashkenaz, late 14th century/ early 15th century (*New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. Rab. 350*); *First Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, northeast France, A.D. 1296 (*Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ms. A 77/ I-IV*). Ester Goldman, "Maimonides' Illustrations of the Temple in Jerusalem as a Model for Later Copies," in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts, and Images*, ed. Brigitte Dekezer and Jan Van der Stock (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2005), 93-98.

³⁹ Paúl, "Nicolás de Lyra y la Iconografía Bíblica," 43-44. For further information on *Paris BnF MS Hébreu 7*, see: Sed-Rajna, *Les manuscrits Hébreux enluminés des bibliothèques de France*, 24-29. For a study of the tradition of Sephardic Hebrew Bible manuscript illumination, see: Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain*, trans. Judith Davidson (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁴⁰ Paúl, "Nicolás de Lyra y la Iconografía Bíblica," 43-44. For further information on the Codex Amiatinus, see: R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, "The Art of the Codex Amiatinus," *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 32(1969): 1-25.

without adhering to the Christian tradition of interpreting the Temple as a precursor to the Church, and thus picturing the Temple as a Christian structure. This distinction bears enormous relevance to my dissertation. As noted by Rosenau, Lyra's visual depiction of the Temple can be linked to the Jewish tradition.⁴¹ Rosenau distinguishes between diagrams of the Temple in Hebrew manuscripts and those in Latin manuscripts.⁴² Christian representations of the Temple, that were contemporary to Lyra, did not often visualize the layout, appearance and contents of the Temple and Tabernacle as described in the Old Testament. Moreover, the Temple and the Tabernacle were represented as Churches containing Christian ritual objects. Rosenau separates the *Bible Historiale* manuscript tradition from her discussion of *Postilla* illuminations; she differentiates between Lyra's precision in his drawings and the relative lack of attention to the details of Biblical text found in the *Bible Historiale*. She notes that there is a greater interest in gothic stylistic conventions than in careful explication of Biblical text in the *Bible Historiale*. For example, in a particular *Bible Historiale* (*Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 211*) the Tabernacle is depicted in an ahistorical manner, as a simplified Gothic church with pointed arches and trefoil forms, and the Ark of the Covenant resembles a reliquary case. In addition, the candelabra is depicted as an eight-branched menorah, as opposed to the six-branched lighting structure prescribed for the temple and Tabernacle in Exodus and Kings. In the *Bible Historiale* illuminations, "the iconographic relationship to the Old Testament was here ignored."⁴³

In contrast, Lyra's original *figurae* rarely recall Gothic architecture, the Temple and Tabernacle are not depicted as a church structures, and the Temple implements are not depicted as Christian ritual objects. Using the example of Lyra's *figurae* that illustrate his commentary on

⁴¹ Rosenau, "The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition," 300.

⁴² ———, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, 37-38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 38.

the Temple as described in Ezekiel, Rosenau writes that Lyra' produces an image that is "not reminiscent of a church."⁴⁴ Lyra's *figurae* adhere to the Jewish tradition of visualizing the historical appearance of the Temple.

In my dissertation, I seek to complicate Rosenau's linking of *Postilla figurae* to Hebrew manuscript illumination, which is a highly perceptive characterization of Lyra's original intentions. My dissertation offers a more nuanced view of the tradition of *Postilla* manuscript imagery by considering iconographic developments and changes that begin to surface a century after Lyra produced his commentary. My dissertation argues that the *figurae* in several *Postilla* manuscripts represent the Temple as a church, a significant, dramatic, change which would alter a reader's perception of Lyra's commentary by obfuscating his interest, involvement, and study of Jewish visual and verbal modes of biblical interpretation.

⁴⁴ ———, "The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra's Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition," 297.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: FOURTEENTH-CENTURY *POSTILLA* MANUSCRIPTS

This chapter examines four crucial aspects of the text and *figurae* in the earliest extant fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts in order to set the stage for the next three chapters which demonstrate that fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts change in form and content from their fourteenth-century predecessors. First, textual and visual evidence in fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts indicates these manuscripts were prepared for scholarly use. Second, fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts faithfully adhered to Lyra's historicizing imagery of the Temple. This unusual iconographic choice strikingly diverged from the medieval Christian practice of representing the Temple as a church. Third, the illuminations in *Postilla* manuscripts contain a feature not found anywhere else in Christian art: diagrams and illustrations originally designed by Nicholas of Lyra to compare Jewish and Christian biblical commentary. Fourth, Lyra carefully, frequently and methodically directed and guided his readers/viewers in the process of examining his *figurae*. Lyra included copious, thoughtful comments regarding every *figurae* in order to ensure the reader/viewer would be able to gain a thorough understanding of his literal mode of exegesis and his comparisons between Jewish and Christian commentary. In order to explore these elements of Lyra's *Postilla*, text and *figurae* from Exodus and III Kings will be used because they not only contain some of the most extensive directions for effective viewing, but they enable me to constitute a coherent cluster for comparative

purposes; these early *figurae* also offer particularly interesting variances to analogous *figurae* in the *Postilla* manuscripts discussed in Chapters Three, Four, and Five.

2.1 EARLIEST *POSTILLA* MANUSCRIPTS AND THE EVIDENCE FOR THEIR DATES

The following *Postillae* will be used as examples of the earliest *Postilla* manuscripts: *Paris, Bibiothèque Mazarine MS 169*; *Reims BM MS 171-2*; *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267, volumes I-VIII*; *Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266*. These particular copies have been chosen because they are the earliest extant manuscripts that can be dated with reasonable accuracy and because I was able to gain first-hand access to all but *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267*. Further, my selection process was guided by the following criteria. *Reims BM MS 171-2* and *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267* contain the most complete cycle of *figurae*. *Paris, Bibiothèque Mazarine MS 169* is the absolute earliest dateable manuscript. Both *Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266* and *Paris, Bibiothèque Mazarine MS 169* contain important marginal annotations. Before discussing their visual characteristics, I will discuss the available and scholarly evidence for the dates of their production.

2.1.1 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169 is securely dated to 1330 and has been signed by the scribe in the colophon. As initially noted by Moliner, the following text appears on the last folio (folio 326v).

Explicit Postilla s(uper) libru(m) Ruth edita a f(rat)re N. de Lyra de ordine fr(atru)m minoru(m). Iste lib(er) fuit inceptus et completus temp(ore) Joh(an)is Petichaliches anno d(o)m(ini) MMM CCC XXX

Frater Phillipus Parvus Episcopus Parysiensis prior fecit scribe hunc librum⁴⁵

While the phrase “*Iste lib(er) fuit inceptus et completus temp(ore)*” is written in the same handwriting as the scribe who wrote the text of Lyra’s commentary, the name “*Johannis Petichaliches*” has been written in a less formal script and in a different color of ink than the commentary text; further, it appears to have been written over another name that was previously erased. The phrase “*Frater Phillipus Parvus Episcopus Parysiensis prior fecit scribe hunc librum*” is also written in a less formal handwriting than the commentary text and in a different

⁴⁵This colophon has been discussed briefly by several scholars. See Auguste Moliner, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1885), 58. Also see Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste. Tome I: Musée Condé et Bibliothèques Parisiennes* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959), 221. Also see Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au xvi siècle* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1973), 429. Neither Moliner nor Samaran and Marichal nor the Bénédictines du Bouveret have been able to identify *Johannis Petichaliches* or *Phillipus Parvus Episcopus*. A slight problematic element with *Phillipus Parvus Episcopus* is that the name of the Bishop in Paris from 1326-1332 was *Hugo Micheli de Besançon* and moreover there was never a bishop of Paris ever named *Phillipus*. See Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlangsanstalt, 1957), 595-7. I also considered the possibility that “*Phillipus Parvus Episcopus prior*” could be translated to mean that Phillipus was a prior, and “*parvus episcopus*” could be a joke or comment on the inferior status of priors. However, all of the priors named Phillipus served at least a century before 1330 (the date of *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*), and none of them were nicknamed *Phillipus Parvus*. Further, there was no mention of *Johannis Petichaliches* in any of indexes for any type of ecclesiastical official (bishop, deacon, abbot, prior) in Paris. See: Denis de Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia christiana in provinias ecclesiasticas distributa qua series & historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum & abbatum Franciae vincarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem positis opera et studio domni Dionysii Sammarthani...nec non monachorum ejusdem congregationis.*, Editio altera, labore et cvris domni Pauli Piolin ... recensita et aucta ... Parisiis, apud Victorem Palme, 1870-99 ed. (Paris: Parisiis, venit apud Firmin Didot fratres, filios sociosque, 1856-65, 1715-1899).

color of ink. Although this manuscript has been dated in Moliner's 1885 catalog, it has not been discussed in the current literature on *Postilla* manuscripts as one of the oldest *Postilla* manuscripts.

2.1.2 *Reims BM MS 171-2*

Reims BM MS 171-2 was completed close to the time that *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169* was produced. On folio Av of *Reims BM MS 172*, the second volume in this *Postilla*, the first owner has written: “*Iste liber est fratris Petri de Palma, ordinis Predicatorum, quem fecit scribi Parisius, anno Domini M^oCCC^oXXXI^o*” (Pierre of Baume, of the order of Dominican (preachers), who had this book written in Paris in 1331, owns this book.) In a different handwriting, there is an additional notation by the second owner which was added four years later: “*a quo emit eum reverendus dominus (reverent lord) G. de Brocia, Dei gratia archiepiscopus Senonensis, anno Domini M^oCCC^oXXXV^o*”⁴⁶ (Guillaume de Brosse, archbishop of Sens, by the grace of God, bought this book from Peter of Palma in 1335.) Guillaume de Brosse was the archbishop of Sens from 1330-1338. Further, on the first volume of this *Postilla*, Brosse's ownership is again indicated: “*Postillae super libros Moysi, domini G. de Brucia, archiepiscopi Senonensis.*” After this notation, there is an indication that the manuscript then found its way to Reims into the ownership of Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims sometime after 1390: “*Et tandem domini Guidonis de Roya, archiepiscopi Remensis, postquam fuerat*

⁴⁶ Henry Loriquet, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France. Départements-Tome XXXVIII: Reims* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1904); All Latin inscriptions indicating ownership are recorded in: *ibid.*, 156-61. A summary of the inscriptions, along with brief information about the different owners of the Reims *Postilla*, can be found in: Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste. Tome V: Est de la France* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965), 233-5.

Viridunensis episcopus, de anno Domini 137.” Guy de Roy served as bishop of Verdun from 1375 to 1381. Between 1381 and 1390, he served as the bishop of Dol, then the archbishop of Tours, and finally the archbishop of Sens. From 1390 to 1409, he served as the archbishop of Reims. On the front cover of MS 174 and on f. Av of MS 177, the same transfer of ownership in 1335 from Pierre de Baume to Guillaume de Brosse is mentioned. Thus, the volumes that contain the *figurae* can all be dated securely to 1331-1335.⁴⁷ As Lyra’s *Postilla* was written between 1322-1332, it is significant that the volumes of the Reims *Postilla* were written soon after the completion of the original texts. Langlois speculates that Lyra himself may have supervised the production of *Reims BM MS 171-2* as well as *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267, volumes I-VIII*. The Reims manuscript was produced in Paris at the same time Lyra was in Paris.⁴⁸

2.1.3 *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267, volumes I-VIII*

Ownership of *Charleville- Mézières BM MS 267* is confirmed by an inscription on f. 429v of volume III: “*Iste liber est monasterii Belle Vallis ordinis Premonstratensis, Remensis dioc[esis]* (Premonstratensian Abbey of Belval, Diocese of Reims in the Ardennes). Baudoin de Baumont, the abbot of the Monastery of Belval in the Ardennes recorded a list of manuscripts that he acquired for the Abbey of Belval between 1314/16-1347, the time he served as abbot. This inventory is listed on f. I of *Charlesville BM MS 25* (Raymundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de poenitentia abbreviata* and Guillelmus Peraldus, *Summa de uitiiis*).⁴⁹ However, only five *Postilla*

⁴⁷ *Reims BM MS 173* is the only volume in this series to be dated after 1335. Samaran and Marichal note inscriptions in this volume that date it between 1392-5; however MS 173 is less relevant to my study because it does not contain any *figurae*.

⁴⁸ Langlois, "Nicolas de Lyre, Frère Mineur," 375.

⁴⁹ Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste. Tome V: Est de la France*, 568. Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia christiana in provinias ecclesiasticas distributa*

volumes are noted, and it is not clear which of the eight volumes that comprise this *Postilla* were included because each of the volumes currently differ in terms of size and appearance.

2.1.4 *Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266*

Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266 has been dated by Michael Curschmann to 1334.⁵⁰ Curschmann's dating is problematic, but provides important clues to build upon in order to arrive at an approximate production date. Based on his observation of a colophon on f. 213v, Curschmann initially claimed that the manuscript was completed in 1334. However, the colophon appears at the end of another text written by Lyra that is included with the *Postilla* in this manuscript, the *Responsio ad quondam Iudaeum ex verbis evangelii secundum Matthaem contra Christum nequiter arguentem*; Lyra completed the *Responsio* in 1334.⁵¹ Curschmann has reassessed his initial claim by confirming that the 1334 date does not refer to the completion of the Princeton *Postilla*, but to the date Lyra completed the *Responsio*. Curschmann has also suggested that the script and decoration are still indicative of the plausible fact that the manuscript was produced during the 1330s.⁵² Further, Curschmann's observation provides evidence for 1334 to be a *terminus ante quem*.

qua series & historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum & abbatum Franciae vincarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem positus opera et studio domni Dionysii Sammarthani...nec non monachorum ejusdem congregationis. Vol IX, 322. Samaran and Marichal claim Abbot Baumont began his service in 1314; Gallia Christiana claims he started in 1316.

⁵⁰ Michael Curschmann, "Review of *Die Rüdiger Schopf-Handschriften: Die Meister einer Freiburger Werkstatt des Späten 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre Arbeitsweise* by Lieselotte Esther Stamm," *Speculum* 58, no. 3 (1983): 828.

⁵¹ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 9.

⁵² Personal email from Michael Curschmann, 8 July 2011. I am extremely grateful to Michael Curschmann for acknowledging my skepticism regarding his initial dating of the Princeton *Postilla* and for re-examining the manuscript's colophon first-hand and confirming the 1334 date does not refer to the date of the completion of the manuscript, but to the date Lyra completed the *Responsio*.

Stylistic analysis of a puzzle initial and filigree ornamentation in the Princeton *Postilla* locates this manuscript in Paris between 1334 and 1345. These visual attributes in the Princeton *Postilla* are highly similar to the decoration of initials and margins in several manuscripts associated with the Parisian illuminator Jacobus Mathey (Jaquet Maci), who was active in Paris between 1327 and 1345.⁵³ Mathey decorated several manuscripts with a unique border consisting of half fleur-de-lis that alternated in gold and blue; this feature is found in the margins of the Princeton *Postilla*. In addition, the pattern of blue and gold shapes separated by a line of bare parchment in the long stem of a decorated initial P in the Princeton *Postilla* is nearly identical to the same decorative qualities as a puzzle initial of a P in a manuscript decorated by Mathey, the *St. Chapelle Epistle Lectionary* (London, British Library, Yates Thompson 34).⁵⁴

As noted by Adelide Bennett, Jean F. Preston and William Stoneman, Johannes Brito, a Paris University scribe, copied the text; I have observed that on f. 204v, just after the *explicit* to the commentary on Gospel of John, the text reads: “*Joh(ann)es Brito sc(ri)psit*”. Two *libraires* identified as Johannes Brito are documented to have been working in Paris. Jean le Breton (*Johannes Brito alias de Sancto Paulo*) was a *libraire* from 1316-23 and a *libraire principale* in 1323; Jean le Breton le jeune (*Johannes Brito juvenis*) was also a *libraire* in 1323. That both men are documented to have been *libraires principales* in 1323 indicates that they are separate individuals.⁵⁵

⁵³ François Avril, "Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jaquet Maci?)," *Bulletin Monumental* 129(1971): 249-64.

⁵⁴ For specific information on London, British Library, Yates Thompson 34, see: British Library, "Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts," <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8110&CollID=58&NStart=34>. Accessed 13 March 2012.

⁵⁵ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), 63. Klepper has also briefly referred to Rouse and Rouse's identification of Johannes Brito. See Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 126.

2.2 EVIDENCE FOR HOW THE EARLY *POSTILLA* WERE USED OR INTENDED TO BE USED BY A SCHOLARLY AUDIENCE

2.2.1 *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169 was owned by the Grands Augustins Monastery and read by students of biblical exegesis.⁵⁶ On the last page, there are brief notes which seem to be the writing of different students of the Bible who traveled from many European locations (Hungary, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza) to study at the monastery of Augustins. These notes can be found on the bottom right of f. 326v, after the *Explicit*, the date, and the signature of the scribe:⁵⁷

Frater Iohannes de Ungaria finiuit hunc librum vii die ___adii quae fuit dies sabbati infra occasionem ascensionis domini anno eiusdem(?) m ccc 34 [i.e. 1334, *the last two digits appear to be Arabic rather than Roman numerals.*]

Frater Remigius de Florentia finiuit istum librum, die xxvii mensis Iunii anno Domini m ccc xxx viii [1338] et tum(?) hos libros Tobie Judith et Hester.

Frater Iohannes e Placentia incepit hunc librum m ccc xxxx [1340] de viiii mensis Novembris. Et finuit ipsum die ultima mensis Martii quae fuit tunc dies Mercurii *sancti*? ...et incep-

⁵⁶ Moliner, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 58.

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all transcriptions and translations have been produced by myself with the assistance of Mark Possanza (Classics Department, University of Pittsburgh), though I retain responsibility for any remaining errors. Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal have partially transcribed the biblical scholars' signatures, noting their names and the years that they signed their names. See Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*. Tome I: Musée Condé et Bibliothèques Parisiennes, 221. The above transcription is based on my own observations, and Mark Possanza's assistance, but several words were illegible.

Ego Frater V_____us compleui istos libros _____ die
Februarii

Frater Samuel de Ianua incepit hunc librum anno domini m ccc lvii
[1367] et finivit die *penultima*? _____ quae *tunc*? fuit uigilia
corporis Christi

Ego Frater Paulus de Varadino provinciae Ungariae inepi hunc
librum anno domini 1362 (-62 Arabic numerals?) in mense
Septembris et finivi in mense _____

Ego Frater Iohannes Tomberti _____
incepti istos libros anno domini m ccc _____-mo8 et finivi ...*vii*?

The friars' signatures often state the precise date or feast day, month and year that each reader began and completed his study of the text, a detail not discussed by Samaran and Marichal.

2.2.2 *Princeton Art Museum MS y1937-266*

Princeton MS y1937-266 also includes evidence of its readership and use by scholars. One particularly stunning example of the way in which *Postilla* manuscripts were used can be found in Klepper's discussion of *Princeton MS y1937-266*.⁵⁸ There are several marginal annotations that note passages where Lyra discusses biblical interpretations of Latin and Hebrew scholars. Klepper has thoroughly discussed the annotations, but did not include photographs of them. For example, in a detail of folio 56r, annotations for the opinions of Jews [*op(inio) iudo(rum)*] appear at the top, and annotations designating the opinions of Catholics [*op(inio)*

⁵⁸ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 126.

catho(licorum)] are found at the bottom. In a detail for folio 46v, annotations for the explanations of Catholics [*expo(sitio) catho(licorum)*] are located at the top, and of Rashi [*ra(bi) sa(lom)on*], at the bottom. A tally of the annotations in Lyra's commentary on Exodus demonstrates that the readers/viewers paid careful attention to Lyra's discussion of previous Jewish and Christian exegetical opinion: there were eight marginal notes referring to Rashi, thirteen notes referring to the opinions of Jews, one note referring to the opinions of Hebrews, six to the opinions of Catholics, one note referring to Josephus and a note referring to Aquinas. The numerous marginal annotations reveal a studious involvement with Lyra's commentary consistent with the work of a conscientious biblical scholar. These annotations indicate that either the consumers or producers of the *Postilla* valued Lyra's text for its presentation of previous Hebrew and Latin exegetical opinions. In the ensuing chapters of this dissertation, I will compare the annotations in the Princeton *Postilla* with fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts that do not include annotations, which is suggestive of a less thorough interaction with the text, as well as other fifteenth-century *Postilla* which include similar marginal text.

The imagery within a historiated initial on f. 119r may provide a clue to the identity of the patron.⁵⁹ A group of students sits before Nicholas as he teaches from an open book; a lay man and a lay woman also sit in front of the students. Klepper acknowledges that either the students or the lay couple may have owned the manuscript. I would like to complicate this discussion of patronage. The manuscript displays sumptuous and costly decoration: Folio 140r, which begins the Gospel of Mark, displays initials with gold leaf and foliate patterns, and penwork flourishes as well as a quatrefoil-shaped illumination with the lion as symbol of Mark the evangelist. Folio 1v includes an illumination of God as creator of the universe in between

⁵⁹ Ibid.

two columns of text which are framed by foliate forms in the margins. On the bottom margin of the folio (f. 119r) with text containing the prologue to the Gospel of Mathew, there are animals running amongst trees. The *figurae* are equally ornate. For example, the *figura* of Aaron includes a patterned background, is surrounded by foliate forms in gold leaf; his priestly garments are also richly patterned. These types of decoration and illumination suggest a wealthy lay patron rather than monastic student with modest financial means. Perhaps the lay couple donated the manuscript to a monastery.

2.3 EARLY POSTILLA FIGURAE FOR SCHOLARLY UNDERSTANDING OF THE *SENSUS LITTERALIS*

Lyra designed his *figurae* to be used by biblical scholars in order to gain a thorough understanding of the *sensus litteralis*. This section will investigate the ways in which the visual format of these early *figurae* were designed to be functional additions to the commentary text to benefit scholars. In addition, these diagrams represented the Temple in a historicizing manner without any Christian attributes.

2.3.1 Ground Plans of Tabernacle

For example, in two of the earliest *Postillae*, *Reims BM MS 171* and *Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*, there is a *figura* of the ground plan of the Tabernacle that was carried through the desert as described in Exodus. The visual appearance of the two versions of the *figurae* of the

Tabernacle suggest they were made to be utilitarian diagrams. They are composed of words and lines, which were likely produced by a scribe: an illuminator's skills would not have been required (which is not meant to suggest a lack of imagination, inventiveness, visual clarity or complexity in these *figurae*). The dense, thorough descriptions of the Tabernacle within the *figurae* reveal Lyra's goals and scholarly intent. I have transcribed the most complete and earliest version of this *figura* below, as found in *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*.

Table 1: Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169, f. 209r. Ground plan of Tabernacle.

<u>Text on outermost edges that describes atrium and exterior part of tabernacle</u>	
Top: p(ar)s occide(n)talis atrii Left: p(ar)s aq(ui)lonis Right: p(ar)s australis Bottom: p(ar)s oriental(is) at(r)ii ubi erat introitus	Top: western part of the atrium Left: northern part Right: southern part Bottom: eastern part of the atrium where the entrance was
<u>Text in center of figura that describes interior spaces of tabernacle</u>	
Top: P(ar)s post(e)rior tab(er)naculi q(uae) dicebat(ur) s(an)c(tu)m s(an)c(t)orum i(n) qua erat archa p(ro)pitiatorium et duo cherubim	Top: Posterior part of the tabernacle which was called the Holy of Holies in which there was the Ark of the Covenant and two cherubs
Middle: P(ar)s ant(er)rior tab(er)naculi i(n) qua erat altare thymiamatis in p(ar)te eius occidentali contra velum di(vi)de(n)s int(er) p(ar)te(m) posteriorem et anteriorem tab(er)naculi et mensa propositionis in latere eius aquilonari et cadelabrum in latere australi	Middle: Front part of the tabernacle in which the altar of incense (was located) in its western part facing the curtain dividing the posterior part from the anterior part of the tabernacle. And the table of the proposition (was located) in its (the tabernacle's) northern side and the candelabra (was located) in the southern side
Bottom: Introitus tab(er)naculi qui claudabatur velo pende(n)te ad q(uin)q(ue) colu(m)pnas	Bottom: Entrance of the tabernacle that was enclosed by a curtain hanging from five columns

The content of these words emphasize Lyra's literal and historical interpretation of the Old Testament. Lyra operates under the assumption that biblical text provides evidence of how these structures initially appeared. Many of these measurements are found in the text of Exodus. Lyra

carefully designates the cardinal directions, different interior spaces and the location of ritual items. No part of this ground plan includes Christian imagery, a decision that was likely in accord with Lyra's intent to utilize the *sensus litteralis* in order to obtain an understanding of the Tabernacle's original format.

2.3.2 Ground Plan of Temple of Solomon

Lyra's ground plan of the Temple of Solomon as described in III Kings also contains visible attributes to serve scholarly endeavors. In two early *Postilla* manuscripts (*Reims BM MS 172* on folio 93v and in *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267*, Volume III, on folio 52v), the *figura* functions to communicate the measurements and cardinal directions of the Temple's layout. The copious textual annotations provide a scholarly reader/viewer with the opportunity to intensely focus on Lyra's explication of the original appearance and structure of Solomon's Temple. The words "*occidens, meredies, oriens, and aquilo*" indicate that the Temple is laid out on an east-west axis, with the holiest space, the *sancta sanctorum*, to the west. Each room is labeled and the length and width of each room is indicated. The Holy of Holies (*sancta sanctorum*) measures twenty cubits on all sides; the sanctuary (*sancta*) measures twenty cubits in width and forty in length and the entrance porch (*porticus*) measures twenty cubits in width and ten in length. I have transcribed the text from the Reims *Postilla* below.

Table 2: Reims BM MS 172, f. 93v. Ground Plan of the Temple of Solomon

<u>Text on outermost edges</u>	
Top: occidens Left: aquilo Right: meredies Bottom: oriens	Top: west Left: north Right: south Bottom: east
<u>Text inside <i>figura</i> that describes temple's dimensions</u>	
Top: dom(us) int(er)ior siue sa(nct)u(m) s(an)ct(or)um h(abe)ns in quadro xx cubitos i(n) quolibet latere	Top: Interior of the House (of the Lord) or the Holy of Holies, having in a square, twenty cubits on each side. (Less literal translation: interior of the House of the Lord, also known as Holy of Holies, is proportioned as a square, with all sides being twenty cubits long).
Middle: dom(us) exterior q(ue) di(citur) s(an)c(t)a h(abe)ns xl cubitos i(n) lo(n)gitudi(n)e et xx i(n) latitud(ine)	Middle: the exterior of the Temple, which is called the sanctuary, measures forty cubits in length and twenty in width.
Bottom: portic(us) h(abe)ns xx cubitos lo(n)git(ine) iux(ta) latitud(ine) te(m)pli et x latitud(e)ni)s	Bottom: Entrance porch has twenty cubits in length, which adjoins the width of the temple. The width is ten cubits.
<u>Text that frames the <i>porticus</i> (at the bottom of the <i>figura</i>)</u>	
Left side: latitudo portic(us)	Left side: width of the entrance porch
Top side: longitudo portic(us)	Top side: length of the entrance porch

The content of the text varies slightly in each of these two *Postillae*. Though the *Charleville-Mézières Postilla figura* of the same subject matter appears in the same place within the commentary text, the phrases within the *figura* vary slightly. As with the *Reims Postilla*, the measurements for the *porticus* are given. However for the sanctuary (here labeled as the *domus exterior*) the contents of the room are given instead of measurements: the altar of incense, the table with the bread of the proposition and the candelabra; for the Holy of Holies (here labeled as the *domus interior*), the ark with cherubim and propitiatory. I have transcribed the text from f. 52v of the Charleville-Mézières *Postilla* below.

Table 3: Charleville- Mézières BM MS 267, f. 52v. Ground Plan of the Temple of Solomon

<u>Text on outermost edges</u>	
Top: aquilo Left: oriens Right: occidens Bottom: meredies	Top: north Left: east Right: west Bottom: south
<u>Text inside <i>figura</i> that describes temple's dimensions</u>	
Left: portic(us) h(abe)ns xx cubitos lo(n)gitudi(ni)s iux(ta) latitudine(m) te(m)pli et x latitude(ni)s	Left: Entrance porch measures twenty cubits in length, which is joined to the width of the Temple. The width of the temple measures ten cubits.
Middle: dom(us) ext(er)ior in qua erat altare ince(n)si, me(n)sa p(ro)positionis et ca(n)delabra	Middle: The exterior of the temple in which there was the altar of incense, the table of the proposition and the candelabra
Right: dom(us) int(er)ior in q(ua) erat archa, ch(er)ubin et p(ro)piciatoriu(m)	Right: Interior of the temple in which there was the ark and cherubim and the propitiatory (cover of the ark).
<u>Text that frames the <i>porticus</i> (at the right of the <i>figura</i>)</u>	
Left side: latitudo portic(us)	Left side: width of the entrance porch
Top side: longitudo	Top side: length (of the entrance porch)

These *figurae* are structured to focus a reader on Lyra's commentary. In both of these two early *figurae* of Solomon's Temple, information is conveyed to the reader through a series of short texts placed inside relatively spare settings of lines that form rectangular spaces. The Reims *figura* is composed entirely of the same brown ink used in the commentary text. The Charleville-Mézières *figura* is composed of red and blue colored lines. Neither the Reims nor the Charleville-Mézières *figurae* of the Temple of Solomon display any decorative elements in order to preserve the function of conveying information. Further, either *figura* incorporates any Christian symbols or ritual objects. Dramatic changes to this *figura* occur within a fifteenth-century *Postilla* will be discussed in a later chapter of this dissertation. In Chapter Five, I will

examine the *figurae* of the Temple Ground Plan in a fifteenth-century *Postilla* (folio 12r of The Hague, *Royal Library 128 C8*).

2.4 EARLY *POSTILLA FIGURAE* AS VISUAL DEVICES TO ELUCIDATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HEBREW AND LATIN COMMENTARY

2.4.1 *Figurae*: External Attachments to Solomon's Temple

Lyra frequently employed diagrams to augment his textual comparisons of Hebrew and Latin biblical commentary. I will now focus on the *figura* comparing the external attachments to the walls of Solomon's Temple in early fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts because this *figura* changes dramatically in my fifteenth-century case studies in Chapters Three and Five of this dissertation. In III Kings Ch 6:5-6, there are descriptions of architectural elements that are attached to the exterior of the Temple:

And upon the wall of the temple he built floors round about, in the walls of the house round about the temple and the oracle, and he made sides round about...And he put beams in the house round about on the outside that they might not be fastened in the walls of the temple.

Lyra visually compared Hebrew and Latin commentator's opinions regarding the exact appearance and placement of these exterior architectural elements. The most detailed and informative *figurae* are seen on two early-fourteenth-century *Postilla*, *Reims BM MS 172*, f. 130v, and *Charleville-Mézières BM 267, volume III*, f. 53. The layout of this *figura* is depicted

in a nearly identical fashion in each of these *Postilla* manuscripts. The left most drawing presents the structure of the temple as described by Latin commentators. This *figura* is composed of three rectangles, in which the height is greater than the width, stacked on top of each other. These rectangles represent the varying thickness of the exterior walls of the temple. Attached to the top right part of each rectangle is a yellowish-brown shape that looks like a capital L turned on its side. This is meant to visually elucidate the Latin commentators' opinion that the architectural structures attached to the exterior walls are open air walkways attached at regular intervals at the bottom, middle and top of the exterior wall of the temple. To the right of this *figura*, there is a representation of the temple as described by Hebrew commentators. Three uncolored rectangles are placed one on top of each other, the first two being longer in width than height and relatively small and one very tall rectangle on the top; again these rectangles represent the varying thickness of the exterior walls. At the bottom of this *figura*, adjacent to the exterior wall, are three yellowish-brown rectangles. This schema graphically summarizes the Hebrew commentators' opinion that the architectural elements attached to the exterior of the temple are closed passageways that are all located near the bottom. I have transcribed and translated the text:

Table 4: *Reims BM 172, f. 130v. External Attachments to Solomon’s Temple*

LEFT FIGURA (Reims BM 172, f. 130v)	
Top: prima figura	First figure
Left side, outside of the structure, from top to bottom: Mansio su(per)ior h(abe)ns lx cubitos i(n) altitudi(n)e; Ma(n)sio media in xxx cubitorum altitudi(n)e ; Mansio i(n)ferior altitudi(ni)s xxx cubito(rum)	Highest story has 60 cubits in height; middle story has 30 cubits; lowest story has 30 cubits
Interior of figura, from top to bottom: spissitudo muri s(upe)rior; spissitudo muri media; spissitudo muri inferior. Lo(n)gitudo v(er)o ei(us) et tabulata secundum longitudi(n)em suppleant(ur) p(er) ymaginationem	Thickness of the highest wall; thickness of the middle wall; thickness of the lowest wall. The length of the wall and the plank alongside the length of the wall could be supplied by the imagination.
Right side, outside of structure, from top to bottom: tabulatu(m) s(upe)rius; tabulatu(m) medium; tabulatu(m) inferior	Highest floor; middle floor; lowest floor
RIGHT FIGURA (Reims BM 172, f. 130v)	
Top: s(e)c(un)da figura	Second figure
Interior of figura, from top to bottom: spissitudo muri sup(er)ior; media; inferior	Thickness of the highest wall; [thickness of] middle [wall]; [thickness of] lowest [wall]
Right side, outside of structure, from top to bottom: latera superiora septe(m) cubito(rum) latitudi(ni)s; lat(er)a media sex cubit(orum) latitudi(ni)s; lat(er)a i(n)f(e)rior v cubito(rum) latitudo(ni)s	Highest side is seven cubits in width; middle side is six cubits in width; lowest side is five cubits in width. (“latera” also refers to these exterior attachments, and in Douay-Rheims is translated as sides?)

Early *figurae* of Solomon’s temple display a fastidious interest in the different thickness of the walls of each story, the different heights of each story, the placement of *tabulata* (planks), and the different widths of each *latera* (side, flank). Lyra’s concern with measurements and

arrangements of architectural elements are important to his project of discerning the functionality of each part of the building according to Catholic doctors and Hebrew scholars.

Also, Lyra comments on the limitations of his *figura* directly on the *figura* by noting a view of the length of the *tabulata* must be supplemented by the imagination. Since we see a cross-section of the *tabulata*, we can only see its width. The *tabulata* would run alongside the building, but Lyra is aware that such a view is not presented by the *figura*.

2.5 CONSISTENCY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF LYRA'S FIGURA

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the format of many of the *figurae* in *Postilla* manuscripts remains rather similar to the earliest *Postilla figurae*. My purpose in this section is to demonstrate consistency within the *Postilla* tradition across time and space, over two centuries and in several regions of Western Europe, as background for my investigation of the deviations in the *figurae* and illuminations of Solomon's Temple in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

2.5.1 *Figurae*: External Attachments to Solomon's Temple

I will begin with the *figura* that displays the structures attached to the exterior walls of the Temple. I have found ten manuscript illuminations of this comparative *figura* produced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from Northern France, Seville, Bruges, and England. There are flat, schematic shapes that represent the walls and the different types of external attachments, and explanatory text to indicate measurements and specify the different

architectural elements. This schematic, diagrammatic form which was originally seen in initial *Postilla* manuscripts continues to appear in fourteenth and fifteenth century *Postilla* manuscripts. Though some of these *figurae* have replaced the above-mentioned explanatory text with less text, their forms and shapes are relatively consistent, and still express the essential differences between Latin and Hebrew commentary. In the cases where there is less text, the text reads as follows:

Table 5: Text for Comparative *figurae* of Exterior Attachments to Solomon's Temple

LEFT FIGURA	
Top to bottom: Deambulatoria superiora, Deambulatoria media, Deambulatoria inferiora	Highest ambulatory; middle ambulatory; lowest ambulatory
RIGHT FIGURA	
Top to bottom: Appendencia superiora, Appendencia media, Appendencia inferiora	Highest appendage; middle appendage; lowest appendage

I will now list the folios and their respective *Postilla* manuscripts that contain similar *figurae* of the attachments to the exterior walls of the Temple along with the individual manuscript's circumstances of production and initial ownership/patronage. This list may not be as comprehensive as possible, but is based on *Postilla* manuscripts that I have either seen first-hand, or found through research.

(1) *Paris, BnF Latin 359*, f. 238v. This manuscript is part of a three-volume set (also includes *Latin 460* and *617*) and was completed by 1375, if not earlier, as it was inventoried in 1375 for Pope Gregory XI's library.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Marie-Henriette Julien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola pendant le Grande Schisme d'Occident et sa dispersion* vol. 2 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 933. Felipe Pereda discusses *Paris, BnF Latin 359* in the context of *Postilla* manuscripts that were produced in France and imported to Spain in order to explain Lyra's influence on Spanish biblical exegesis and architecture. See Pereda,

(2) *Troyes BM MS 400*, f. 197r. This manuscript has been dated to the fourteenth century.⁶¹ A 1472 inventory taken by a cleric, Pierre de Virey, at the Abbey of Clairvaux, lists this particular *Postilla*, confirming possession.⁶²

(3). *Paris BN Lat. 360*. Lauer dates this manuscript to the fourteenth century, but without any more precision; the image database of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Mandragore*, dates this manuscript to the third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶³

(4) *Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 34*, f. 196v. This *Postilla* is part of a three-volume set that also includes *MS 35 and 36*. François Avril has attributed the illuminations in this *Postilla* to the Parisian artist, the *Maître du Policratique*, and dated the manuscript to 1380-1395. Avril also notes the arms of the Lorfèvre family likely indicate ownership by Pierre I^{er} Lorfèvre (d. 1416), chancellor for the duke of Orléans, advisor to King Charles VI, and member of the French parliament.⁶⁴

"Le origini dell'architettura cubica: Alfonso de Madrigal, Nicola da Lira e la *querelle salomonista* nella Spagna del Quattrocento," 28.

⁶¹ Lucien Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes: J.-L. Paton, 1935), 138. *Troyes BM MS 400* is also documented and photographed on the following internet database: Direction du Livre et de la Lecture and L'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), "Enluminures,"

<http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html>. Accessed February 7, 2011.

⁶² André Vernet and Jean-François Genest, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: Catalogues et répertoires* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979), 96. Jean-Paul Bouhot, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: Les manuscrits conservés. Première partie, Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1997), 208-9.

⁶³ Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939), 129. *Paris BN Lat. 360* is also documented and photographed on the following internet database: Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Mandragore, base des manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale de France," <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>. Accessed February 7, 2011.

⁶⁴ François Avril, "Le parcours exemplaire d'un enlumineur parisien à la fin du XIV^e siècle: la carrière et l'oeuvre du Maître du Policratique de Charles V," in *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie: genèse et usage de la Légende Dorée*, ed. Barbara Fleith and Franco Morenzoni (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 268-9, 282. *Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 34-36* is also documented and photographed on the following internet database: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Centre Informatique National de l'Enseignement Supérieur, and Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, "Liber Floridus: Les manuscrits médiévaux enluminés des bibliothèques de l'enseignement supérieur," <http://liberfloridus.cines.fr/>. Accessed 7 February 2011. D. Nebbiai et al., "Pierre Lorfèvre " Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes and Ædilis, Publications pédagogiques, 7, http://lorfevre.irht.cnrs.fr/pierre_lorfevre.html. Accessed 20 March 2011.

(5) *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 166*, f. 48r. This *Postilla* is part of a three-volume set that also includes *MS 167* and *168*. This manuscript was produced in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century. The arms of the Abbey of Saint Victor are shown on f. 2r of *MS 168* and f. 1r of *MS 167*.⁶⁵ The Abbey of Saint Victor's possession of this manuscript is documented in a 1514 inventory.⁶⁶

(6) *Seville, Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, MS 332/145*, f. 183r. This *Postilla* is the first of a five-volume set, *MS 332/145-149*. This five-volume *Postilla* was produced in Spain between 1432-1470 for Per Afán de Ribera, a nobleman of Seville and archdeacon of Cornado in the church of Compostela. The evidence for Per Afan's patronage is found in the colophons of each volume which note that they were made for him. For example, in the colophon for volume III, the scribe writes that he completed the volume "*in civitate Ispalensem ad mandatum Petri Afan de Ribera.*" Further, Per Afan's coat of arms is found on folio 1r of Volume V. The evidence for Per Afan's identity is that his ecclesiastical position is recorded in the colophon of the first volume. The above-mentioned quotation from the colophon of Volume III also provides evidence that this *Postilla* was completed in Seville. Volume I contains the *figurae* from III Kings, including the *figura* of the attachments to the exterior walls of the Temple; the colophon of volume I notes it was produced in 1432.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 166* is documented and photographed on the following internet database: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Centre Informatique National de l'Enseignement Supérieur, and Ministère de l'Education Nationale, "Liber Floridus: Les manuscrits médiévaux enluminés des bibliothèques de l'enseignement supérieur." Also see: Moliner, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 56-58. For a brief mention of this manuscript as an example of *Postilla* manuscripts that were owned by monasteries, see Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 125.

⁶⁶ Gilbert Ouy and Véronika Gerz-von Büren, *Le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue: 1514* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983), 12-13.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of the content of the colophons and for reproductions of the colophons, see Paúl, *Postillae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum de Nicolás de Lyra: Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. Ms. 332/145-149* 29-33, 109-110. This *Postilla* is also briefly catalogued in Reinhardt, "Das werk des Nicolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien," 331-332.

(7) *Besançon BM MS 31*, f. 93v. A note on the top fly sheet, at the beginning of the manuscript informs the reader that this *Postilla* was produced between 1461-2 by a Franciscan scribe, Pierre Dambonnay, who was residing at a monastery in Dole, at the request of a cleric named Pierre Bourgeois.⁶⁸

(8) *Morgan M.535*, f. 239v. On folio 164v and 265v, the scribe, Johannes Aveloos, has dated the manuscript to 1467.⁶⁹ Bernard Bousemanne has attributed the illuminations to the *Maître de vraie cronicque descoce*, an assistant to Willem Vrelant, who had a workshop in Bruges.⁷⁰

(9) *Tours BM MS 52*, f. 234v. There is very little written on the circumstances of production of this very intriguing manuscript to which I will dedicate Chapter Four. M. Collon and A. Dorange have dated this manuscript to the fifteenth century. In a more recent catalog, and this manuscript has been dated to c. 1500 and localized to Paris.⁷¹

⁶⁸The note is reproduced in Auguste Castan, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXII: Besançon* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1897), 21-22. The note reads as follows: "Cest livre a escript frère Pierre Dambonnay, religieux de Saint François, demourant au convent de Dole, par l'ordonnance et commandement du reverent Père gardien frère Pierre Bourgeois: et fut encomméncié ledit livre l'an mil quatre cens LXI, ou mois de may, et fini l'an revolu ou mois d'avril. Soit prié Dieu pour son âme."

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the scribe's signature and date, see page 1- 2 of the PDF, "Detailed descriptions and additional bibliographies," in Morgan Library, "CORSAIR: The Online Catalog of The Pierpont Morgan Library," <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=13&ti=1,13&SC=Author&SA=Nicholas%20of%20Lyra%20ca%2E%201270%2D1349%2E&PID=tg3KE07HV0RFI8ao00pcwwg0Ir&SEQ=20110209132157&SID=2>. For further discussion of the scribe, Johannes Aveloos, and his dating of the manuscript, see Alain Arnould and Jean Michel Massing, *Splendours of Flanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 212.

⁷⁰ For discussion of the *Maître de vrai cronicque descoce* and other manuscripts that he illuminated including *Morgan M. 535*, see Bernard Bousmanne, "Item a Guillaume Wyelant aussi enlumineur": *Willem Vrelant - Un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1997), 55-58. Also see ———, *Guillaume Weiland ou Willem Vrelant: Miniaturiste à la cour de Bourgogne au XV^e siècle* (Brussels: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1997), 20-21, 60.

⁷¹ M. Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXVII: Tours* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1900), 31. A. Dorange, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours* (Tours: Imprimerie Jules Bouserez, 1875), 19-20. Didier Lett, "L'homme, la famille et la parenté," in *Le moyen âge en lumière: manuscrits enluminés des bibliothèques de France*, ed. Jacques Dalarun (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2002).

(10) *Tours BM MS 53*, f. 275r. This *Postilla* is part of a series that also includes *Tours BM MS 54*, *55* and *56*. At the end of *Tours BM MS 56*, after the *explicit*, there is the following text: “*Pro Johanne Bouhale, scolastico Andegavensi.*” This manuscript is dated to the fifteenth century by M. Collon with no explanation.⁷² Bouhale was the chancellor of the University of Angers.⁷³

(11) *New Haven, Beinecke Yale MS 640*, f. 96v. Barbara Shailor has dated this manuscript to the first half of the fifteenth century and posited that it was produced in England based on the style of the script and illumination, but there is no evidence regarding its original provenance.⁷⁴

In these eleven examples, I have intended to demonstrate the homogeneity of the geometric and diagrammatic appearance of a particular *figurae*, the external attachments to the Temple of Solomon, in the *Postilla* tradition.

2.5.2 Consistency in other *figurae*

I will now present other *figurae* that display Solmonic architecture and ritual objects in the *Postilla* tradition which are represented similarly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in different geographic regions. However, I will discuss these more summarily. I will use examples from *Reims BM MS 172*, *Seville, Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla, MS 332/145*, *New Haven, Beinecke Yale MS 640*, and *Tours BM MS 53*. I would like to discuss the consistency of

⁷² Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXVII: Tours*, 31-33.

⁷³ For discussion of other manuscripts owned by Bouhale, see Leopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), 83; Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXVII: Tours*, 28-29.

⁷⁴ Barbara Shailor, "A New Manuscript of Nicolaus de Lyra," *Yale University Gazette* 58(1983): 15.

other *figurae* in order to demonstrate that the *figurae* of the attachments to the exterior walls of Solomon's Temple are not the only ones that are consistent over time and in different geographic regions. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to fully explore Lyra's commentary on every *figura*, but to demonstrate the consistency of these illuminations in order to demonstrate why the manuscripts to be used as case studies in future chapters are so unusual.

The *figurae* from these different manuscripts of the ground plan of Solomon's House in the Forest of Liban (III Kings 7:1-6) schematically represents four ambulatories divided by three rows of columns. Each of the *figurae* of the elevation of Solomon's House in the Forest of Liban (III Kings 7:1-6) schematically represent two stories and include text that specifies the height of both stories and the width of the building. The *figurae* of the Capitals of the Columns in Solomon's Temple according to Latin Commentators (III Kings 7: 15-22) are all depicted as structures that are taller than they are wide. Lyra is concerned with the placement of the decorative rows of pomegranates. The pomegranates are depicted as little circles in horizontal rows that encircle the capital; one circle is placed in the middle of the capital and one circle near the bottom (In III Kings, there are descriptions of rows of pomegranates attached to the bronze capitals of the columns.) The Capitals of the Column in Solomon's Temple according to Rashi (III Kings 7: 15-22) are all depicted as round, bulbous forms; the rows of pomegranates that are depicted as round dots encircling the form of the capital are all similarly placed. The *figurae* of the Sea of Bronze according to Latin commentators (III Kings 7: 23-25) are all depicted in a similar manner in that the bronze sculptures of the bulls are depicted in three groups of three. There is a spout to the left of this large water receptacle and water drains into a smaller ritual vessel. The *figurae* of the Sea of Bronze according to Rashi are mostly depicted in a similar manner in that we see a side view of the large, undecorated water tank, and the water falls from a

spout into a smaller basin. The *figurae* of the Sea of Bronze according to Josephus are all shown from a side view and represent the water and the receptacle without any ornamentation or a spring leading to a vessel. The *figurae* of the Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin according to Latin commentators all depict a small vessel sitting on top of a rectangular-shaped base; often this base is decorated with an encircled lion, an encircled bull and an encircled six-winged seraphim. The *figurae* of the Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin according to Hebrew commentators (III Kings 7:26-35) depict a vessel resting on top of an undecorated rectangular base.

2.6 LYRA'S COMMENTS ON HIS OWN *FIGURAE*

References found in the earliest *Postilla* manuscripts indicate that Lyra planned the *figurae* as he wrote his commentary text, and that he conceived of these *figurae* as an integral and essential aspect of his commentary. Some of these references have been examined by previous scholars, whose research I will review before introducing additional text from the *Postilla* in order to explore how deeply Lyra valued his *figurae*. As noted by Kathleen Scott and Walter Cahn, Lyra often writes that he will include a *figura* to clarify the textual commentary that he has just written. Cahn has transcribed examples of such introductory phrases: “*Ad capiendum vero facilius quae dicta sunt et dicenda ponitur hic talis figura*” or “*et accipunt iste*

mensure intra parietes per modum hic figuratum” and “*ut melius apparebit in figura sequenti.*”⁷⁵ Lyra often instructs the reader/viewer to use their imagination to supplement information provided by a drawing. For example, Bernice Kaczynski has translated Lyra’s description of his *figurae* of the Altar of the Holocaust as mentioned in Exodus; Lyra explains that the drawing can only represent the altar from the front, and thus the viewer must use their imagination to picture the other three sides, which are identical to the front side except that they do not have a window.⁷⁶ Scott has transcribed another example of Lyra’s expectation for the readers to use their imagination. In *MS Beinecke 640*, before the vision of Ezekiel on f. 175v, Lyra describes both the purpose and the deficiencies of a *figura* of the vision of Ezekiel: “*Ad facilius capiendum praedictam visionem ymaginariam posui hic figuras praedictorum secundum descriptionem latinorum & eciam hebreorum. Sciendum tamen predicta non possunt sufficientur in plano describi sed oportet per ymanginacionem inspicientis multa supleri.*”⁷⁷

2.6.1 Role of memory in viewing *figurae*

For Lyra, the *figurae* are so important to the process of understanding biblical scholarship that he insists a reader/viewer commit the images to memory rather than take a brief glance at them. I have uncovered one example of text highlighting Lyra’s expectation that a reader/viewer memorize his *figurae*.

⁷⁵Cahn, "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision," 159-60. Kathleen Scott, "An English Modelbook for Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis*," in *Tradition and Innovation in Later English Manuscripts*, ed. Kathleen Scott (London: The British Library, 2007), 32.

⁷⁶ Bernice Kaczynski, "Illustrations of Tabernacle and Temple Implements in the *Postilla in Testamentum Vetus* of Nicolaus de Lyra," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 48, no. 1 (1973): 10-11.

⁷⁷ Scott, "An English Modelbook for Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis*."

Lyra remarks that these mental constructions must be based on previous *figurae*. The text with Lyra's description of this process can be found just above the *figurae* of the ground plan of Tabernacle within the columns of commentary text on f. 117r in *Reims 171*.

The text is as follows:

ut autem praedicta melius intelligantur, expressi hic in figura situm tabernaculi et atrii, et eorum quae erant intra ipsa, prout possunt in plano figurari sed oportet per ymaginationem uidentis figuram. Et possunt de facili supleri si habeantur *in memoria* (my italics) illa quae de illis superius sunt expressa

Moreover, in order to understand better what was said previously, I have depicted here in a figure the structure of the tabernacle and the atrium, and those things which were within them, as they are able to be represented on a flat surface. But it is necessary to supply what is missing in the figure through the imagination of the viewer. And if those things [contents of Tabernacle and atrium], which were depicted above concerning them should be held *in memory* (my italics), they can easily be supplied.

To fully gain meaning from this *figura* the reader/viewer must remember Lyra's previous *figurae* of the Ark of the Covenant, the Table with the Bread of the Proposition, the Candelabrum. The reader/viewer must understand that the *figura* of the ground plan of the Tabernacle needs to be understood in the context of previous *figurae*. Lyra expects the reader/viewer's memory to produce a mental imitation of the previous *figurae* and retain that imitation while examining the *figura*.

2.6.2 *Figurae* visually replicate Lyra's textual commentary

To demonstrate that the text and appearance of the *figurae* were planned by Lyra at the same time that he wrote the commentary text, I would like to compare Lyra's commentary on the Temple of Solomon with its respective *figurae*. No scholar has yet found correspondences

between specific passages from Lyra's commentary and the *figurae*. The *figura* of the Temple is a useful example of this phenomenon because later *Postilla* manuscripts that will be discussed in this dissertation include highly altered versions of the Temple *figurae*, and I want to examine an early *figura* in order to be able to track the changes in the later versions. On folio 94r from *Reims BM MS 172*, Lyra describes the measurements of the ambulatories that project from the external wall of Solomon's temple:

...et sic deambulatoriu(m) primu(m) habebat qu(in)q(ue) cubitos latitude(ni)s. Medium u(er)o sex. Et supremu(m) septe(m) secundum modu(m) figuratum in colu(m)pna ext(er)ori pagine seq(ue)ntis p(ro)ut potest in plano figurari.

And thus, the first ambulatory had five cubits in breadth, the middle certainly had six cubits in breadth and the highest had seven cubits in breadth according to the figured mode in the exterior column of the next page according as it can be shaped on a flat surface.

The *figurae* of the external attachments on f. 130v includes the information mentioned in the Lyra's commentary. On the structure on the right-most part of the manuscript page, there are three yellowish-brown stacked rectangles that represent three ambulatories attached to the wall of the temple. To the right side of these three rectangular forms, is text that tells the reader the different lengths of the ambulatories. The top box has the text: "*latera superiora septe(m) cubito(rum) latitude(ni)s;*" the middle box has the text: "*lat(er)a media sex cubit(orum) latitude(ni)s;*" the lowest box has the text: "*lat(er)a i(n)f(e)rior v cubito(rum) latitude(ni)s.*" In later *Postilla* manuscripts, the *figurae* of the Temple were highly altered such that they did not include these measurements which were central to Lyra's exegetical methods. In Chapters Three and Five, I will examine *figurae* of the external attachments to the Temple wall in two of the fifteenth-century copies (folio 214v of Volume II, Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo MSMB/A/65-73* and

folio 13r of The Hague, *Royal Library 128 C8*) that I have chosen as case studies, which did not reproduce the text that specified the breadth of the three “*latera*.”

2.6.3 Lyra’s intentions to integrate *figurae* and text on manuscript page

In my examination of *Reims BM MS 171* and *172*, I have found several statements that demonstrate that Lyra envisioned a physical space for his *figurae* within the manuscript page at the time he wrote his commentary. In the paragraph of commentary text regarding attachments to Solomon’s Temple that I have just described (on folio 94r *Reims BM MS 172*), Lyra explains that a reader/viewer can find his *figurae* embedded in columns of text. He writes that the *figura* of Solomon’s Temple can be found “*in colu(m)pna ext(er)ori pagine seq(ue)ntis*” Kathleen Scott has noticed a nearly identical comment in a late fifteenth-century *Postilla* (*Cambridge, University Library MS Dd. 2.6*) and noted this comment would direct a reader/viewer toward a *figura*. Although she notes the effect of this comment upon a reader/viewer’s experience, her examination of this passage in a fifteenth-century manuscript prevents her from linking this comment to Lyra’s original intentions.⁷⁸ These references to the appearance of *figurae* also appear on at least four other occasions, which I will cite below. On folio 95v, Lyra specifies that the *figura* of the ground plan of the House in the Forest of Liban can be found “*in colu(m)pna sequ(en)ti*.” In reference to measurements of the three chambers of the interior of the Temple of Solomon, Lyra writes (f. 93v):

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 152, n.68.

Ista vero dom(us) no(n) po(tes)t figurari in plano. Sed posui hic figura(m) fu(n)dam(en)ti in colu(m)pna p(ro)cedenti et per ea qu(a)e dicta sunt possu(n)t alia ymaginari.

In fact (multiple views of) this house cannot be represented (simultaneously) on a flat surface, but I have placed this figure of a foundation (ground plan) in the preceding column. And through those things which were said, others can be imagined.

On folio 96r, in reference to the capital of a column in the Temple of Solomon, as envisioned by Catholic doctors, Lyra writes: “...*posui quintam figuram in colu(m)pna imediate sequ(en)ti.* (I have placed a fifth figure in the column immediately following).” On folio 97v, in reference to the Sea of Bronze, Lyra writes: “...*ut patet figuras inspiciendo in ista colu(m)pna formatas.* (...as is evident from looking at the figures formed on that column). On f. 99r, in reference to the *figurae* of the lavers according to Hebrew and Latin scholars, Lyra writes: *Ad capienda praedicta facilius ponentur figurae luterum in columpna opposita.* (For understanding about what was said previously more easily the figure of the lavers will be placed in the opposite column). These five examples indicate that for Lyra, the *figurae* were integral to his commentary and planned at the same time he wrote text.⁷⁹ Though scholars have noted the *figurae* were planned by Lyra, they have not clarified that Lyra himself designed precise layout on the manuscript page.

2.6.4 Lyra’s directions for viewing *figurae*: Tabernacle

My research uncovered some of Lyra’s most extensive instructions to the viewer intended to ensure their direct and complete engagement with his *figurae*. Below a schematic rendering of

⁷⁹ The *figurae* in *Reims BM MS 172* are grouped together at the end of IV Kings, and are not embedded within the specific columns of text that Lyra initially intended. However, this grouping may have been a decision by the illuminators to make the production process easier and should not distract us from understanding Lyra’s intentions. I used the text from the *Reims Postilla* because that is the earliest version of that included the text from III Kings to which I had on-site access.

the Tabernacle that elucidates the commentary on the last chapter of Exodus, Lyra expresses a concern that his *figurae* are accessible to a reader/viewer. This text can be found on f. 117r of *Reims BM MS 171* and on f. 209r of *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*:

Notand(um) q(uod) in hoc spatio atrii q(uo)d erat ante tabernacl(u)m erat altare holocausti sub diuo sicut dictum fuit exo(dus) no(n) t(ame)n directe an(te) introitu(m) tab(er)naculi sed declinando aliqu(an)tulu(m) ad aquilonem cuius altaris figur(a)e sunt sup(er) pertractatae. Ite(m) notand(um) q(uod) in figura ista parvi circuli in modum °° litterae facti significant columpnas atrii per circuitu(m) ita quod per circuitum illu(m) sig(nifica)tur pes columpne et ymaginari debet ergo in altu(m) sup(er) pedem et eodem in si(mi)lib(u)s fig(ur)is tabernaculi. linee v(er)o p(er)tractate de columpna ad columpnam sig(ni)ficant cortinas claudentes atriu(m). Et sing(u)la spatia int(er) colu(m)pnas continent qu(in)q(ue) cubitos. Hoc excepto quod pedes colu(m)pnarum i(n) eisde(m) spatiis co(n)tine(n)t(ur).

It should be noted that in this space of the atrium, which was in front of the Tabernacle, was the altar of the holocaust under the open sky as was said in Exodus, not, however, directly in front of the entrance of the Tabernacle, but deviating somewhat to the North, where figures of the altar (of the holocaust) have been drawn above. Likewise it is to be noted that in that figure small circles have been made in the shape of the letter **to** to indicate the columns of the atrium by their circumference in such a way that by that circumference the base of the column is indicated and therefore the height above the base has to be imagined and so in the same way with similar figures of the Tabernacle. Moreover, lines drawn from column to column indicate curtains closing off the atrium. And the individual spaces between the columns contain five cubits, with this exception, namely the fact that the bases of the columns are contained in the same spaces.

By stating that the circles signify the Tabernacle's columns and the lines signify the curtains, Lyra also ensures that his *figurae* communicate as clearly as possible to the reader/viewer, so that the *figurae* can perform their function to clarify the textual commentary. Such statements would have been extremely beneficial for students of biblical exegesis, the initial intended audience for the *Postilla*, and would have enabled the *figura* to fulfill its

pedagogical purpose. One can imagine Lyra, as a teacher, hoping to make sure his *figurae* were useful in aiding students to understand his commentary. In the ensuing chapters of this dissertation, I will examine how later *Postilla figurae* both deviate and reinforce this initial purpose. Further, Lyra's precise description of the appearance of the *figura* suggests that he was involved in either making the drawings himself or guiding an illuminator to make the drawings.

A few visual aspects of the script of this paragraph that describes the Tabernacle could suggest that it was not part of Lyra's original commentary text, but I would like to demonstrate that the text was written and planned by Lyra. On both folios 117r of *Reims BM MS 171* and 209r of *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*, this paragraph is set off in a separate part of the page from the body of Nicholas of Lyra's commentary, and the script is written in a slightly lighter brown tone than the columns of commentary above. However, I believe that this paragraph was written by Nicholas of Lyra for several reasons. First, in the initial sentence there is a reference to the altar of the Holocaust as it is discussed in Exodus; I believe that a scribe would not or would be unlikely to have an understanding of specific textual passages of Exodus. Second, in this passage, Nicholas of Lyra notes reader must use their imagination to envision the height of the columns because the *figura* only presents a birds-eye view. In the body of his commentary text, he frequently refers to the reader's need to employ their imagination to supplement the process of looking at his *figurae*, as I have already discussed above. In fact, on folios 117r of *Reims BM MS 171* and 209r of *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*, just above the *figura* of the tabernacle, in the last sentence of the column that contains the commentary text regarding the tabernacle in Exodus 40, Lyra again mentions the necessity of supplementing the *figura* on the page with an imagined image. Third, there is a reference to the fact that the spaces

in between the columns are five cubits long and specificity concerning numbers and measurements is something that is frequently seen in Lyra's commentary text.

The writing of this section that appears below the *figura* of the tabernacle is in somewhat lighter brown than the rest of the body of the commentary text in both *Reims BM MS 171* and *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169* which might lead one to believe that this section was not written by Lyra, and could have been a later addition. However, I suggest this text was written at the same time the *figura* was written. In *Reims BM MS 171*, the light brown text is the same tone as the lines that form the boundaries of the tabernacle; this light brown script was completed close to the time of the rest of the manuscript because the foliate decoration with of pink and gold leaves that comes near this commentary paragraph at the bottom of the page actually in a few places overlaps the text of this paragraph, signifying that text of this paragraph had to have been done before the illumination of this page. Also, on *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169*, the red and blue paraph marks in the block of text that appears below the *figura* are identical to the paraph marks in the body of the commentary text. Further, both of these *Postillae* were produced in Paris in 1331. Lyra was living in Paris at the time of these manuscripts' production so it is possible that Lyra may have overseen their production including the comments that accompany the *figurae*. As mentioned before, Labrosse posits that Lyra might have overseen the production of *Reims BM MS 171-2*.

Lyra designed his *figurae* to benefit students of biblical exegesis; these diagrammatic images were meant to be pedagogical tools to elucidate his textual commentary. The next three chapters will explore ways in which selected late medieval copies transpose and transform Lyra's diagrams into Christianized buildings and motifs, emblems of power and luxury items. Deviations in fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts present radical departures from Lyra's

diagrammatic visualization of Jewish and Christian exegesis, and from Lyra's unique representation of the Temple without any ahistorical Christian imagery.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: KING MANUEL I OF PORTUGAL'S *POSTILLA*

For Chapter Three, I have chosen a luxurious and exquisitely illuminated *Postilla* manuscript, a seven-volume *Postilla* now kept at the National Archives of Lisbon (*Lisbon, National Archives of the Torre de Tombo PT-TT-MSMB/A/67-73*), as a case study of the effect of changes in patronage upon *Postilla* manuscript imagery and text. This manuscript was commissioned for King Manuel I of Portugal and illuminated by the Florentine workshops of Attavanti degli Attavante and Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni, who rank amongst Florence's most celebrated illuminators.⁸⁰ Though the Lisbon *Postilla's* seven elaborate and sumptuously decorated openings, consisting of a title-page and a first-text page, have received a lot of scholarly attention, the *figurae* that are found on the interior pages have been mostly overlooked.

My research documents that the differences between the visual appearance of the *figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla* and in the early fourteenth-century *Postilla* present startling ruptures within the *Postilla* tradition. These highly altered images lack the critical aspects characteristic of Lyra's original *figurae* described in Chapter Two. Their highly decorated and intricate nature indicates that they are not produced for scholarly use. Moreover, one of the Lisbon *figurae* of Solomon's Temple includes Christian ritual objects, a deviation from Lyra's original *figurae*. King Manuel's *Postilla* also lacks textual annotations found in earlier *Postilla* manuscripts that enabled scholars

⁸⁰ Also included in this commission was a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (*Lisbon, National Archives of the Torre de Tombo PT-TT-MSMB/A/66*).

to clearly detect and understand the differences between Jewish and Christian biblical scholarship. My findings are at variance with previous scholarship on the *Postilla* that positioned it as a successful and thorough transmitter of Jewish biblical exegesis to a Christian audience. In King Manuel's *Postilla*, other goals and values for manuscript production and ownership were privileged; the *figurae* and other illuminations serve as emblems of Manuel's royal, navigational, and commercial power. Manuel desired an object that overtly displayed its foreign origins.

First, in this chapter, previous scholarship on the Lisbon *Postilla* will be explored to confirm that the manuscript was commissioned for King Manuel. Second, the relationship between the Lisbon *Postilla* and a Venetian printed book containing the *Postilla* (published by Ottaviano Scotto and printed by Boneto Locatelli in Venice in 1489) will be explored in order to demonstrate that in one instance stylistic appearance of the *figurae* in a *Postilla* incunabulum impacted the manuscript tradition. Next, I will demonstrate that the Lisbon *Postilla* did not copy the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*'s representation of the Temple without Christian attributes nor its visual distinctions between Jewish and Christian biblical commentary, attributes that were central to Lyra's work. Then, I will examine the text of the Lisbon *Postilla* in order to suggest that it would have hindered scholarly analysis of Lyra's commentary. The sixth section of this chapter contextualizes Manuel's *Postilla* with his other artistic and architectural commissions. Finally, another opulently decorated Italian *Postilla* produced for Galeotto Manfredi (1440-1488), the Lord of Faenza (1477-1488), will be briefly examined as another example of fifteenth-century *Postilla* imagery playing down Lyra's use of Jewish scholarship in order to highlight the temporal power of the patron.

3.1 BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The dates of production are noted within many of the volumes. The scribe of the volume of the *Sentences* dates his completion of the manuscript to December 13, 1494. The scribe Sigismundo di Sigismondi dated the first volume of the *Postilla* to December 11, 1495. The scribe Alessandro da Verrazzano dated the second volume of the *Postilla* to August 1495. Volume Three displays the date 1496 on the frontispiece. Volumes Four, Five and Six are undated. Volume Seven is dated 1497 on its frontispiece.⁸¹ An inventory taken in February 1522, a few months after Manuel's death, documents that the Lisbon *Postilla* was in his possession.⁸² Upon his death, King Manuel bequeathed this *Postilla* to the Royal Monastery of Saint Jerome in Belém (just outside of Lisbon) a building that he also commissioned.

The contract for these eight volumes, including the *Sentences* and the *Postilla*, is extant, executed on April 23, 1494 between a Florentine citizen and merchant, Chimenti di Cipriano di Sernigi and Attavante degli Attavante.⁸³ Chimenti's duties were specified by the contract. Chimenti was required to ensure Attavante received quires as soon as the scribes completed them

⁸¹R. Dos Santos, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés en Portugal," *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* XIV(1930): 20.

⁸²This entire inventory has been published by Sousa Viterbo. For the description of the Lisbon *Postilla*, see Sousa Viterbo, *A livraria real especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia, 1901), 12-13. The Lisbon *Postilla* is described as follows: "Oyto liuros da Bribya que foram a Belem com suas gurnições per imteiro soomente a huï deles fãltaua huïa brocha, de latim, em purgaminho, de letra de mão, emluminado douro, cubertos de veludo cremesym, guarneçidos de prata dourada e anyallada (sic) e com oyto cantos cada huï e com quarto fyuelas com suas charneiras com que sabrocham e oyto boughões, e dous escudos darmas em cada huï, todo de prata, e os boughões soomente tẽ huï deles e todolos outros todalas outras peças, e huï destes liuros he cuberto de veludo azull, que se chama Mestre das Sentenças, e tem huï letereyro de prata, e diz na recepta de Pedro Carualho que pesou toda a dita gurnyçã dos sete liuros destes oyto que estauam cubertos de veludo cremesym quoremnta e cimquo marcos, seis onças sete oyttaus, que Ruy Leite nã nos descrauou nem os frades de Belem, a que foram dados a elle."

⁸³G. Milanese, *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell'arte toscana dall xii al xvi secolo* (Rome: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fische, 1893), 164-6. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University, 1993), 53, 181-2. Dario Tessicini, trans., "The contract between Attavante and a Florentine merchant for an illuminated manuscript" in *Renaissance Art Reconsidered: An Anthology of Primary Sources*, ed. by Carol M. Richardson, Kim W. Woods and Michael W. Franklin, 329-332 (Walton Hall, UK and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing in association with The Open University, 2007).

and pay Attavante on a weekly basis. He was also obligated to judge the quality of illumination, and observe the illuminators' progress daily. Further, if the quality of illumination was judged to be substandard or if production fell behind schedule, Chimenti could have fined Attavante. Also, if the work had not been completed on time, Chimenti could have chosen another illuminator. Chimenti's involvement in organizing the production of this manuscript may be reflected in the imagery of two of the frontispieces. R. dos Santos has suggested that the initials "S.C." that appear on the frontispiece for the *Sentences* as well as Volume Six of the *Postilla* refer to Sernigi Chimenti, a reference to his role as agent.⁸⁴

There is a brief but relevant history of the Florentine Sernigi family contributing to contracts with Italian artists on behalf of the Portuguese court. Chimente and his brother, Girolamo Sernigi, are named in an extant 1492 contract in which they were agents of King João II in an agreement with Andrea Sansovino to spend at least eight months in Lisbon producing sculpture for the king.⁸⁵ Girolamo was one of many Florentine merchants based in Lisbon who both financed and participated on overseas voyages along trade routes to the East.⁸⁶ The contract stipulates that Sansovino was to spend eight months in Portugal working for King João II, but it does not stipulate the type of work that was supposed to be produced. Höfler also states that not a single work of art in Portugal has been conclusively attributed to Sansovino.

Scholars agree that the seven *Postilla* volumes commissioned for King Manuel, but disagree as to the identity of the person who might have initiated the commission. Though the contract clearly states that Clemente Sernigi oversaw the production of the Lisbon *Postilla*, it

⁸⁴ R. dos Santos, 21

⁸⁵ Janez Höfler. "New Light on Andrea Sansovino's Journey to Portugal." *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (April 1992): 234-238. Latin contract has been transcribed by Höfler.

⁸⁶ Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 159-60.

does not specify whether he was acting as an agent for the actual patron or whether he paid for the manuscript, intending to give it as a gift to Manuel. Further, neither Manuel I nor King John II (who would have been king in 1494, at the time that production of the manuscript began) are mentioned in the contract. This lacuna in knowledge has prompted many early twentieth-century Italian and Portuguese scholars to consider who, other than Manuel, might have commissioned the Lisbon *Postilla* as well as their possible motivations for investing in such an expensive illuminated manuscript as a gift to Manuel. Though I do not plan to solve this disagreement, I will review the different assertions as to who initially made the decision to enter into a contract with Attavante. Because there has been so much scholarship regarding the process of commissioning this extravagant *Postilla*, it is essential to review it in order to underscore the point that despite the many possibilities regarding the person(s) who initiated the commission, there is no doubt that Manuel was the intended recipient of the Lisbon *Postilla*. This is important because in this chapter, I will link Portuguese royal identity and values to the unique *figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla*.

Prospero Pergallo assigns agency to Clemente Sernigi and his brother by arguing that the *Biblia dos Jeronimos* given to King Manuel through the efforts of both Sernigi brothers in order to gain the benevolence and protection of the Portuguese court.⁸⁷ He places this gift exchange within the context of the economic and commercial activity of the colony of Florentine merchants residing in Lisbon. These Florentines had a particularly strong presence in Lisbon, and benefited from a particularly secure and symbiotic economic relationship with the Lusitanian court; while overseas commercial ventures financed by these Florentine merchants were

⁸⁷ Portuguese scholars refer to the Lisbon *Postilla* as the *Biblia dos Jeronimos* because Manuel donated this manuscript to the royal monastery of Saint Jerome at Belém. I choose to use the term “Lisbon *Postilla*” to emphasize that this manuscript is not a Bible, but Lyra’s biblical commentary.

protected and guided by the Portuguese royal fleet, the Florentines were faithful to the Portuguese by guarding their secret trade routes to West Africa and India.⁸⁸

Sousa Viterbo claims that the Sernigi brothers had a different role in the production and transaction of the *Biblia dos Jerónimos*. In contrast to Pergallo's argument, Viterbo argues that the Lisbon *Postilla* could not have been a gift from the Sernigi brothers; if it had been a gift, its provenance would have been mentioned in Manuel's will or in the 1522 inventory of Manuel's library. Although Viterbo argues that it is not possible for Manuel's *Postilla* to have been a gift from the Sernigi brothers, he nevertheless provides more evidence that there is an indisputable relationship between Giralomo Sernigi and the Portuguese court. Viterbo had discovered two new documents that shed light on the relationship between King Manuel and Giralomo Sernigi. One document, dated May 25, 1511 indicates King Manuel gave Giralomo privileges to the city of Lisbon and a second document dated July 4, 1515 indicates Manuel bestowed a coat of arms upon Giralomo.⁸⁹

Paolo d'Ancona also disagreed with Peragallo and moved the discussion of the patronage of the Lisbon *Postilla* away from an investigation of commercial and economic activity to a consideration of the visual evidence found in the *Postilla* frontispieces. He asserts that King Manuel himself commissioned the Lisbon *Postilla* and used Sernigi as an agent. He supports this hypothesis with observations of iconographic elements found on the frontispieces that are linked directly to King Manuel: the shield of the Order of Christ, of which Manuel was made governor in 1492, as well as the armillary sphere, an emblem chosen for Manuel by King John II. Also, King Manuel's name is found twice on the frontispiece of Volume Seven. D'Ancona

⁸⁸ Prospero Peragallo, *La Bibbia dos Jeronymos e la Bibbia di Clemente Sernigi* (Genoa: Stabilimento Tipografico Ved. Papini e Figli, 1901).

⁸⁹ Viterbo, *A livraria real especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel*, 55,72-3.

acknowledges, but does not resolve, one problematic aspect of his attribution of Manuel as the initial patron: Charles VIII of France's portrait is on the frontispiece of Volume Six, where one would expect a portrait of Manuel.⁹⁰

J. Cardoso Gonçalves agreed with Peragallo's hypothesis.⁹¹ He claims the privileges bestowed upon Florentine merchants are evidence for the Lisbon *Postilla* being a gift. He cites the fact that King Manuel gave both Bartolomeo Marchionni (another Florentine merchant living in Lisbon) and Giralamo Sernigi the privilege of importing sugar from Madeira, beginning in 1498. He refines a small point by Pergallo. While Pergallo stated that Sernigi's gift was intended to garner good will toward the entire Florentine colony of bankers and merchants living and doing business in Lisbon, Goncalves claims that the gift was meant to benefit only Marchionni and Sernigi.

Martim Albuquerque disagrees with the arguments constructed by Pergallo, Viterbo and Gonçalves that the Lisbon *Postilla* was given to King Manuel to gain protection and favors for Florentine business in Lisbon. He claims that these arguments are chronologically problematic for several reasons. First, all the favors bestowed upon the Florentine merchants by King Manuel occurred approximately a year after the completion of all of the last volume. Further, at the time the contract was written (April 23, 1494) King John II was reigning, and it was not yet known that Manuel would eventually assume the throne. In fact, King John II did not designate Manuel as his successor until he was on his deathbed. Before this decision, King John II had wanted his illegitimate son, Dom Alfonso, to assume the throne. Moreover, the initial volume of the

⁹⁰ Paolo D'Ancona, "Nuove ricerche sulla 'Bibbia dos Jeronymos' e dei suoi illustratori," *La Bibliofilia* 15, no. 6a (1913): 205-212.

⁹¹ J. Cardoso Gonçalves, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos e o Mestre das Sentenças* (Extremoz: Brados do Alentejo, 1932).

commission, the *Sentences*, was completed December 11, 1494, two months before King John died.⁹²

Eve Borsook responds to an issue left unresolved from d'Ancona's work.⁹³ She sought to explain the presence of a portrait of Charles VIII of France (reigned 1483-1495) within the title-page of Volume Six of the Lisbon *Postilla*. To the left of a fantastical/imaginary architectural structure, behind an image of a seated cleric, Charles VIII stands as he looks toward the tablet engraved with the contents of the volume, and directs our attention to this text with a pointer that he holds. Borsook argues that this image commemorates a festival on the occasion of Charles VIII's visit to Florence on November 17, 1494; Charles entered the city accompanied by the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, who would eventually become Pope Julius II. Borsook's article focuses on the frontispiece as one of the ways that Charles VIII's visit was visually inscribed in Florentine art, and does discuss patronage the Lisbon *Postilla*.

Annarosa Garzelli discusses the presence of Charles VIII of France in the frontispiece of Volume Six without referring to Borsook's article.⁹⁴ Though she notices that the French king's presence is interesting, she does not offer any historical context for the appearance of Charles VIII. However, she adds to Borsook's discussion by noting that King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary is portrayed opposite Charles VIII, on the right of the tablet, wearing glasses so that he may better see the text to which Charles VIII points. Garzelli does not seek to explain why these two sovereigns appear in an illumination produced for King Manuel I.

⁹² Martim de Albuquerque and Monsenhor Arnaldo Pinto Cardoso, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos* (Lisbon: Bertrand Editora, 2004), 18-20.

⁹³ Eve Borsook, "Decor in Florence for the Entry of Charles VIII of France," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 10, no. 2 (1961).

⁹⁴ Annarosa Garzelli and Albinia Catherine de la Mare, *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525*, 2 vols. (Florence: Scandicci, 1985), 297-98.

Martim Albuquerque provides an explanation for the portraits of Charles VIII and Mathias Corvinus in the Lisbon *Postilla*. Albuquerque claims that Monte and Gherardo had produced an incomplete version of this illumination before 1490, and filled in the text with the contents of the *Postilla* and the arms of King Manuel at a later date, presumably when they received the commission. Albuquerque also disputes Borsook's argument.⁹⁵ The presence of Mathias makes it impossible for the illumination to depict Charles VIII of France's 1494 entry into Florence because King Mathias died in 1490.

A question that remains unanswered is whether King John II or King Manuel initially commissioned this manuscript. José Pereira da Costa notes that an inscription by the scribe at the end of the first volume of this commission, Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*, indicates that King John II initially paid for the volumes.⁹⁶ The scribe has been identified by Albinia de la Mare as *Jacobus Carmelitanus*, and the scribe includes his name in the colophon.⁹⁷ After noting the date of completion as "December 13, 1494," *Jacobus Carmelitanus* dedicates the work to the King of Portugal: "*Reliqua sua tota uita/Se tibi portugallo regi/Iacobus uere Carmelita.*" Since King John II was reigning at the time, da Costa concludes that he was originally responsible for the commission. Thus, it is very likely that the commission was started by or for King John II and that Manuel took it over, or Sernigi cooperated with Manuel to continue the project.

Scholars have briefly, but ambiguously, suggested that Queen Leonor, wife of John II (predecessor to Manuel I) and sister to Manuel I, may have had some involvement in the

⁹⁵ Martim de Albuquerque and Monsenhor Arnaldo Pinto Cardoso, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos* (Lisbon: Bertrand Editora, 2004), 20-26.

⁹⁶ José Pereira da Costa. "A 'Bíblia dos Jerónimos.'" In *In memoriam Ruben Andressen Leitão*. Vol. 2, 111-126. Lisbon, 1981.

⁹⁷ Albinia de la Mare has noted that this scribe is probably the same scribe who has been identified as the Carmelite Jacobus Johannis Crucennacensis who copied a manuscript for King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary in 1490, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 21, 18*. Albinia de la Mare, "Notes on Portuguese Patrons of the Florentine Book Trade in the Fifteenth Century," in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 177.

patronage of the *Sentences* volume, which was included in the same commission as the Lisbon *Postilla*, as indicated by the contract. I would like to clarify that Queen Leonor was not directly involved in this commission in order that my upcoming discussion of the connection between Manuel as patron/recipient of the Lisbon *Postilla* and its imagery are valid. The eight volumes were commissioned beginning in 1494 while Manuel was still Duke of Beja, before he ascended the throne on October 27, 1495. The seven frontispieces of Lyra's commentary all include King Manuel's emblems—the Cross of the Order of Christ and armillary sphere—as well as his coat of arms. However, there seems to be some ambiguity regarding the interpretation of the coat of arms found on the title-page of the volume of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which differs slightly from the shield on the other seven *Postilla* volumes. This title-page was completed by December 1494, while King John was still alive and while Manuel was still Duke of Beja. The main problem for scholars is the interpretation of the heraldic elements and whether these elements belong to Queen Leonor or Manuel. Superimposed onto the top of the Royal Arms of Portugal is a label with points that display the arms of Sicily and Aragon as points. The label and points are not found on the coats of arms on the frontispieces produced at the time Manuel reigned, as can be seen in an example from the third volume of the Lisbon *Postilla* which, as mentioned earlier can be securely dated to 1496, after King Manuel ascended the throne on October 27, 1495. The arms of Sicily and Aragon belong to King Manuel and Queen Leonor's mother, so this heraldic element could actually refer to either Manuel or Leonor. Esteves Pereira describes the shield found in the *Sentences* in an ambiguous way: he writes that the shield has the royal arms of Portugal with the label at the top, and that this format is indicative of the arms of Queen Leonor and then he notes the cross of Christ on top of the shield is a symbol of King Manuel as he was the Master of the Order of Christ. Pereira offers no conclusive evidence that the coat of arms

belongs to Queen Leonor and he nevertheless concludes that the arms must be of King Manuel when he was the Duke of Beja.⁹⁸ Martim Albuquerque initially puts forth the possibility that the arms on the volume of the *Sentences* might possibly be those of Queen Leonor, suggesting that the first volume was directed to her. His evidence is that the shield has a label with the arms of Aragon and Sicily as points, referring to Queen Leonor's Aragonese and Sicilian ancestors. However, he essentially sets up this argument as a strawman in order to immediately contradict it. He claims the arms cannot belong to Queen Leonor because they have a different format from known examples of Leonor's arms in manuscripts she owned and in architectural structures that she commissioned. Other scholars have more clearly pointed to Manuel's involvement. Dos Santos has observed that the shield includes a label, a symbol of an *infante*, signifying that Manuel was still the Duke of Beja. Also indicating that Manuel was still Duke is a cross with four even stems, the symbol of the Order of the Cross, which sits just on top of the shield. The coats of arms on the seven *Postilla* volumes lack the label and are topped with a crown instead of the cross, indicating Manuel's kingship. Alexander and de La Mare echo Dos Santos' claim that the arms on the *Sentences* volume signify Manuel as Duke of Beja.⁹⁹ To clear up this ambiguity, I contacted Miguel Metelo de Seixas, the director of a Portuguese Heraldry Society, the *Centro Lusída de Estados Genealógicos e Heráldicos*, who has confirmed that the arms belong to Manuel as duke of Beja, noting that the cross that appears above the shield in question is a common emblem used by Manuel, which signifies that he was Master of the Order of the Cross,

⁹⁸ "Na portada e nas tarjas figuram as armas reaes de Portugal com o banco de pinchar, os escudos da rainha D. Leonor irmã de D. Manuel e a cruz de Christo encimando o de D. Manuel por este ser mestre da ordem de Christo. As armas, pois, que se encontram n'este codice são as de D. Manuel quando ainda duque de Beja." F.M. Esteves Pereira, "Os Manuscritos Iluminados," in *A iluminara em Portugal*, ed. Martim de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro (Lisbon: Figueirinhas, 1990), 19.

⁹⁹ Dos Santos, 19-21.

a sect that was originally part of the Knights Templar.¹⁰⁰ According to Seixas, Queen Leonor would have never had a reason to use the Cross as an emblem, and thus the appearance of the cross is highly conclusive evidence that the arms belong to Manuel. Further, Seixas explained that Manuel's arms as Duke of Beja incorporated the label with the points of displaying the arms of Aragon and Sicily. To corroborate that Manuel used this precise coat of arms while he served as duke, Seixas provided another example. A relief stone originally placed by Manuel in the Parish Church dedicated to St. James in Soure, a city near Coimbra, displays the same label and points. Also on this relief stone were Manuel's emblems: the cross of the Order of Christ and the armillary sphere. Next to the armillary sphere there is an inscription confirming the date: "acabou-se no ms dagosto da Era de noso Snor Jhu xpo de mill CCCC IR anos." This translates to "the work was finished in the month of August in the era of our Lord Jesus Christ in AD 1490."¹⁰¹ Thus the inscription in stone dates the work to August 1490, when Manuel was still the Duke of Beja.

In their different examinations of the Lisbon *Postilla's* patronage, Paolo D'Ancona, Martim de Albuquerque, Esteves Pereira, Reynaldo dos Santos, Eve Borsook, Jonathan Alexander and Anarosa Garzelli have focused on the illuminated opening pages. This approach is also prevalent in art historical discussions of the Lisbon *Postilla's* iconography and style, in which these extraordinary introductory pages are explored at the expense of the interior pages. Several exhibition catalogs have displayed the opening pages.¹⁰² De la Mare discusses the

¹⁰⁰ Personal Communication with Miguel Metelo de Seixas, April 8, 2010.

¹⁰¹ Personal Communication with Miguel Metelo de Seixas, February 8, 2011 and February 28, 2011. I would like to thank Dr. Seixas for sending me these photos and for providing me with the original Portuguese transcription. I would like to thank Marta Manuel Gomes dos Santos for the photographs of the relief stones at the Parish Church at Soure which were sent to me via Dr. Seixas.

¹⁰² *Feitorias: L'art au Portugal au temps des Grandes Découvertes (fin XIVE siècle jusqu'à 1548)*, (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1991), 127-128. Jonathan J.G. Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian*

frontispieces in the context of Medieval and Renaissance Portuguese patronage of Florentine manuscripts.¹⁰³ Sylvie Deswartes discusses the opening pages and their influence upon the Italianate-inspired motifs on the frontispieces of the *Leitura Nova*, a series of volumes of legal documents which were produced in Portugal between 1504 and 1552.¹⁰⁴ Albuquerque's survey of all of the treasures of the National Archives of the Torre Do Tombo in Lisbon reproduces many of the frontispieces.¹⁰⁵ Garzelli places the iconography of the frontispieces within the context of Florentine sculpture and architecture.¹⁰⁶ The multiple scholarly approaches concerning the origins of the Lisbon *Postilla* converge around the fact that the manuscript was destined for King Manuel and that it was in his possession until his death. The next six sections link the Lisbon *Postilla's* visual imagery to Manuel's ownership.

3.2 AN UNUSUAL EXEMPLAR: INFLUENCE OF A VENETIAN POSTILLA INCUNABULUM ON THE LISBON *POSTILLA*

Although there has been extensive research on the opening pages to each volume of the Lisbon *Postilla*, no scholar has thoroughly analyzed this manuscript within the tradition of *Postilla* manuscripts or comprehensively examined its *figurae* which are placed within the interior pages of Lyra's commentary text. In a brief sentence, Monsenior Cardoso has recently

Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550 (New York: Prestel 1994), 49-52. *A arte e o mar*, (Lisbon: Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, 1998), 79-80.

¹⁰³ de la Mare, "Notes on Portuguese Patrons of the Florentine Book Trade in the Fifteenth Century," 176-181.

¹⁰⁴ Sylvie Deswartes, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova, 1504-1552: Etude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'humanisme* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1977).

¹⁰⁵ Martim De Albuquerque, *A Torre do Tombo e os seus tesouros* (Edições Inapa, 1990).

¹⁰⁶ Garzelli and de la Mare, *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525*, 234-235.

claimed that these *figurae* have been influenced by an illustrated *Postilla* (*Biblia Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering*) incunabulum published by Ottaviano Scotto and printed by Boneto Locatelli in Venice in 1489.¹⁰⁷ My findings expand upon Cardoso's statement by documenting that the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* is the only possible visual source for the Lisbon *Postilla*, and the utilization of the Venetian incunabulum as an exemplar is an extremely unusual choice. In an important, but incomplete, statement from a recent catalog entry, Jonathan Alexander has noted that the Lisbon *Postilla* contains an image of a three-storied Florentine palazzo.¹⁰⁸ However, he does not explore the ways in which this *figurae* fits into the larger tradition of *Postilla figurae*; in fact, he does not mention that this image has any relation to the text of Lyra's *Postilla*, nor does he mention the nine other *figurae* that appear in the Lisbon *Postilla*. Moreover, Alexander's catalog entry does not reproduce this image. My research builds upon Alexander's observation by thoroughly analyzing all of the Lisbon *Postilla figurae* and their problematic relationship to Lyra's commentary.

3.2.1 *Figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla*

The Lisbon *Postilla* has ten *figurae* in comparison to many *Postilla* manuscripts, which contain up to fifty-six. The table below details the different *figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla*. These few *figurae* can be compared with the comprehensive list of *figurae* that I have placed in

¹⁰⁷In a 2004 monograph on the Lisbon *Postilla*, Monsenhor Arnaldo Pinto Cardoso briefly links the Lisbon *Postilla* to the 1489 *Postilla*: "Para tais ilustrações não havia modelo nem base tradicional. Um bom exemplo oferece-o o primeiro volume da Bíblia Latina impressa em Veneza, em 1489." de Albuquerque and Cardoso, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos*, 74.

¹⁰⁸Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*, 49.

Appendix A to show that the Lisbon *Postilla* contains a relatively incomplete grouping of *figurae*.

Table 6: Lisbon *Postilla* *Figurae*

Volume and folio number	Title of <i>figura</i> (For purposes of clarity, I have included titles of the <i>figurae</i> in this table, although they were not always labeled in the Lisbon <i>Postilla</i>)
Volume II, f. 214v	External Attachments to King Solomon's Temple according to Latin Commentators and Hebrew Commentators
Volume II, f. 217r	House of the Forest of Liban
Volume II, f. 220v	Capitals in King Solomon's Temple according to Latin Commentators
Volume II, f. 220v	Capitals in King Solomon's Temple according to Hebrew Commentators
Volume II, f. 221r	The Sea of Bronze according to Latin Commentators
Volume II, f. 222v	The Laver and its Base according to Latin Commentators
Volume II, f. 288r	Sundials of Achaz
Volume II, f. 290r	Sundial of Achaz
Volume VI, f. 11v	Genealogy of Christ

3.2.2 Analysis of Lisbon *Postilla* *figurae* within *Postilla* tradition

In this section, I will ultimately confirm that that the illuminator of the Lisbon *Postilla* copied the *figurae* directly from the Venetian *Postilla* incunabulum, rather than from the existing manuscript illuminations or other editions of *Postilla* incunabula that contained different types of woodcuts. I will demonstrate that the Lisbon illustrations are so different from most of the *Postilla* illuminations and woodcuts that were previously produced that the only possible source must have been the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*.

I will focus on the *figurae* in III Kings because they are the most unusual in the Lisbon *Postilla*, and within the *Postilla* tradition. Within this grouping, I will use the *figura* of the attachments to the exterior walls of the Temple as my most thorough case study because it offers the most intriguing imagery, but I will also refer to some of the other *figurae* within the Lisbon *Postilla*. Before I compare the Lisbon *Postilla* drawings with the Venetian woodcuts, I would like to compare some of the Lisbon *Postilla* *figurae* of Solomonic architectural objects to the more typical *figurae* of the same subject matter in order to demonstrate how different they are from the bulk of the *Postilla* tradition. I will select the Lisbon *figurae* that display the most dramatic changes from typical *figurae* within the *Postilla* tradition that have been discussed in Chapter Two. For example, the *figura* of the attachments to the exterior walls of the King Solomon's Temple according to Latin Commentators and Hebrew Commentators in the Lisbon *Postilla* differ from the typical fourteenth and fifteenth-century *figurae* in that a fully three-dimensional Italian Renaissance structure with intricate detail and decoration is represented in comparison to flat, rectangular, two-dimensional, schematic shapes. In addition, the *figura* of the House of the Forest of Liban in the Lisbon *Postilla* differs from the typical fourteenth and fifteenth-century *figurae*. Many of the typical manuscripts illuminations of Solomon's Forest House include a pairing of a ground plan diagramming the placement of the columns and a façade/section illustrating the heights of the two stories; in contrast, the Lisbon *Postilla* merges these two diagrams into a three-dimensional representation of the front and side of the building such that the first story shows the columns not from a bird's eye view but from a side view, as well as two upper stories. Further, there are also many Italian Renaissance decorative embellishments on the rooftop and exterior walls of the building. Finally, the Sea of Bronze according to Latin Commentators in the Lisbon *Postilla* displays some dramatic changes in

comparison to the typical fourteenth and fifteenth century *figurae*. In addition, new iconography is introduced. A representation of a sculptural relief frieze appears on the base of the water receptacle. Another unusual change can be seen in the form of the *figura*: a large wide-mouthed water tank, decorated with round arched motifs, rests upon a square base. Renaissance stylistic developments have also been added. The bodies of the bulls are rendered as fully three-dimensional forms, well modeled and carefully shaded. The urn has been placed into an illusionistic deep space through the use of a tiled floor which has been drawn in perspective, another common Renaissance technique.

Already in the 1480's, printed versions of *Postilla* texts were being produced including illustrations. My intention is to demonstrate that although there were several printed versions of the *Postilla* available, the Lisbon *Postilla* illuminators copied directly from the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* alone. To demonstrate this conclusion, I will focus on the *figura* of the attachments to the exterior walls of Solomon's Temple. In a woodcut from a 1481 *Postilla* incunabulum printed by Anton Koberger in Nuremberg, the walls of Solomon's Temple are depicted as flat undetailed long rectangular shapes, similar to the depiction of the walls in the manuscript illuminations. A stylistic change in this woodcut from the manuscript tradition is that the external attachments are depicted as three-dimensional structures, occasionally with people inhabiting them. In the Lisbon *Postilla*, Solomon's Temple has been transformed into a contemporary Italian Renaissance structure in contrast to the late Gothic form of the 1481 Nuremberg version of the Temple. The only other *Postilla* that depicts Solomon's Temple as an Italian Renaissance palace is the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. The Renaissance style Temple in the Lisbon *Postilla* is nearly identical to the Temple woodcut in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*.

The other Lisbon *Postilla figurae* that illustrate Lyra's commentary on III Kings also bear a striking resemblance to the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. First, Solomon's House of the Forest of Liban is also pictured as a distinctly Italian structure in both the Lisbon *Postilla* and its printed exemplar. Second, the capitals of columns in Solomon's temple are depicted in a highly similar manner in both manuscript and printed version. Third, the Sea of Bronze according to Hebrew Commentators is derived from the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* and the Laver on Base with Wheels according to Latin Commentators also closely resembles its predecessor in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*.

To my knowledge, no other *Postilla* manuscript has copied illustrations from an incunabulum. Usually, the reverse was true. As already shown, the Nuremberg *Postilla* woodcuts borrow some of the schematic elements of the manuscript tradition. In addition, Lilian Armstrong has argued that the Pico Master hand illuminated two individual 1481 Venetian *Postilla* incunabula before ultimately designing the woodcuts in the same Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*.¹⁰⁹ The Lisbon *Postilla* presents an atypical example of the older tradition of manuscript illumination being influenced by the newer technology of woodcut illustration. Not only is this chain of influence unusual within the *Postilla* tradition, it is highly unusual within the transition from manuscript illumination to woodcuts.¹¹⁰ The choice to utilize the Scotto and Locatelli

¹⁰⁹ Lilian Armstrong, "The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period," in *Incunabula and Their Readers*, ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 107-113.

¹¹⁰ I know of only two other analogous examples of print culture influencing manuscript illumination. Anne H. Van Buren and Sheila Edmunds have argued that depictions of animals, plants and people in fifteen Northern European manuscripts produced c.1435-1455 were copied from engraved playing cards. Jeffrey Hamburger has recently suggested that the drawings in two Apocalypse manuscripts (*New York Public Library MA 15* and *Wellcome Western MS.49*) might have been copied from the fourth edition of a series of German and Netherlandish Apocalypse Block Books (*Bodl. Auct. M. 3. 15*). See: Anne H. van Buren and Sheila Edmunds, "Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets," *The Art Bulletin* 56, no. 1 (1974). See also: Jeffrey Hamburger, "Apocalypse, No. 19 (Catalog Entry for NYPL MA 15)," in *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at The New York Public Library*, ed. Jonathan J.G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler (London: Harvey Miller, 2006), 89-97. Hamburger's argument stands in contrast to Gertrude Bing's earlier claim that the Apocalypse manuscripts influenced corresponding illustrations

Postilla as a model is a remarkable decision, in light of the fact that so many other more typical manuscript models were readily available. The reasons and consequences for this choice will be explored in Section 3.4, but the immediately following section examines the differences between Lisbon *Postilla* and the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* to demonstrate that *figurae* in the Venetian *Postilla* were adapted to suit Portuguese royal, political and religious values.

3.3 ERASING LYRA'S INTEREST IN JEWISH COMMENTARY IN THE LISBON *POSTILLA*

Although the Lisbon *Postilla figurae* are stylistically identical to those in the 1489 Venetian *Postilla*, my analysis also posits that numerous other omissions and errors were made in the transmission, a phenomenon that has gone unnoticed in previous scholarship. I conclude that these alterations erase Lyra's dedication to explicating Jewish commentary.

3.3.1 Example of erasure: Attachments to exterior walls of Solomon's Temple

For example, in the Lisbon *Postilla's* visual comparison of the attachments to the exterior walls of Solomon's Temple, none of the text found in the corresponding Venetian woodcut has been copied. This text is essential to Lyra's exegesis. In the table below, I have transcribed the Latin text within and underneath the version of the attachments to the exterior walls of the

in the Apocalypse Block Books. See Gertrud Bing, "The Apocalypse Block-Books and Their Manuscript Models," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5(1942).

Temple that are depicted according to the Catholic doctors in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*.

This version appears on the left side of the page.

Table 7: Harvard University, Houghton f Typ Inc 5018A, f. Aa 7v. Text for the *Figura* of the Attachments to the Exterior Walls of the Temple According to Catholic Doctors

Location of Text	Latin Transcription	English Translation
At bottom of page	Altitudo templi Salmonis cum suis deambulatoribus centum vinginti cubitorum secundum catholicos doctores.	The height of the temple of Solomon with its ambulatories (was) one hundred and twenty cubits according to the catholic doctors.
First Story	Mansio inferior triginta cubitorum in altitudine.	Lowest story (was) thirty cubits in height.
First Ambulatory	Deambulatorium inferius quinque cubitorum.	The lowest ambulatory (was) five cubits.
Second Story	Ma(n)sio secu(n)da triginta cubitoru(m) in altitudine.	The second story (was) thirty cubits in height.
Second Ambulatory	Deambulatoriu(m) mediu(m) sex cubito(rum).	The middle ambulatory (was) six cubits.
Third Story	Mansio superior sexaginta cubito(rum) in altitudine.	The top story (was) sixty cubits in height.
Third Ambulatory	Deambulatoriu(m) sup(er)ius septem cubitorum.	The top ambulatory (was) seven cubits.

The text at the bottom left of the page clarifies that the architectural elements are defined as ambulatories. Also, text within this *figura* specifies the width of each ambulatory and the height of each story. For example, just under the top ambulatory, the text specifies that it is seven cubits wide (though the word for width is not included on the *figura*, it is included in Lyra's commentary text), and just below that label, written vertically, there is a notation that the top story is sixty cubits in height.

Below the image of the attachments to the exterior walls of the Temple on the right of the page, there is additional text that explains that the Jewish commentators defined the architectural elements in question as appendages. From this passage, we also learn the height and width of each appendage. These short descriptions summarize Lyra's much more complicated and lengthy

commentary. My transcription and transcription of this text describing the external attachments to the Temple as conceived by Jewish commentators appears in the table below.

Table 8: Harvard University, Houghton f Typ Inc 5018A, f. Aa 7v. Text for the *Figura* of the Attachments to the Exterior Walls of the Temple According to Hebrew Commentators

Text at bottom right of folio	Hebrei vero dicu(n)t fuisse appenditia in inferiori p(ar)te te(m)pli q(uo)rum inferiori(us) erat q(ui)nq(ue) cubito(rum) i(n) altitudi(n)e et latitudi(n)e. Mediu(s) vero 5 cubito(rum) i(n) altitudi(ne) et sex i(n) latitudine. Supremus v(er)o 5 i(n) altitudi(n)e et 7 in latitudine p(ro)pter restrictio(n)em muri i(n) duabus mansionibus.	But the Hebrews say that the appendages were/have been in the lower part of the temple of which the lower (appendage) was five cubits in height and width. The middle (appendage) was five cubits in height and six in width. The highest (appendage) certainly was five cubits in height and seven in width because of the restriction of the wall in two stories.
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Lyra’s focus on precise measurements and physical layout of the structure is conveyed in the *figura* of the attachments to the exterior walls of the Temple found in the Venetian *Postilla*, but is ignored in the Lisbon *Postilla*, where a drawing with a far less degree of connection to the commentary remains. This Lisbon *figura* thus does not retain Lyra’s original intention of using *figurae* to convey differences in Hebrew and Latin commentary. This *figura* in the Lisbon *Postilla* is one of several that no longer explicitly compare Hebrew and Latin commentary.

My findings contrast with the previous scholarly assessment of Lyra as a transmitter of Jewish scholarship to a Christian audience. In her study of Nicholas of Lyra, Deana Klepper concludes that Nicholas of Lyra “successfully Christianized medieval rabbinic text for his readers.”¹¹¹ Klepper argues that Lyra has Christianized rabbinic text, but I use the term

¹¹¹ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 133.

“Christianized” in a different way. Lyra’s interest in Jewish scholarship is de-emphasized in the Lisbon *Postilla figurae*. I argue illuminations in later *Postilla* manuscripts Christianize Lyra’s *figurae* to so that Jewish scholarship is heavily obscured.

3.3.2 Sources of erasure: Patterns of Corruption in *Postilla* Tradition

Not only were there textual omissions in the Lisbon *Postilla*, but there were also deliberate changes in the format of the *figurae* themselves. As a result, Lyra’s concern for the precision of measurements and structure of the Temple and Tabernacle was undermined; Lyra’s concern with the literal sense of scripture and overt comparisons between Jewish and Christian commentary is obscured. Moreover, the errors in the *figurae* of the Lisbon *Postilla* can be seen as part of a larger trend of a type of corruption of the original *figurae*. Some of these changes are not the fault of the illuminators in Attavante’s workshop, as they are also found in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. For example, some textual and visual errors in the *figura* of Solomon’s House of the Forest of Liban were also copied into the Lisbon *Postilla*. The woodcut in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* combines two typical *Postilla figurae* of this house that Solomon built. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, Lyra designed a ground plan that depicted the placement of columns and ambulatories and an elevation that depicted the two stories of the house. Instead of a ground plan and an elevation, the Venetian woodcut presents the viewer with a more fully three-dimensional representation of the building, so that one can see the front, side and interior all at once. Though this is an important stylistic innovation (and the importance of this evolution will be discussed soon), several errors result. This newer *figura* of Solomon’s House has three stories although the initial *figurae* depicted two stories. Further, the explanatory text for columns and ambulatories that usually appeared in the *figurae* of the ground plan is missing. As noted by

Laguna-Paúl, the columns seem to form a portico at the front of the house.¹¹² In the initial extant *figurae* of the ground plan, the columns are placed solely in the interior of the building.

In the case of the *figurae* of the capitals of the columns, there were errors in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* that made it difficult to differentiate between the *figura* that depicted the appearance of the capital as described by Hebrew commentators and the *figura* that depicted the appearance of the capital according to Catholic Doctors. On folio Aa 10v of the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, there are two capitals, one above the other. Above the top capital, there is one section of text that suggests the capital follows Rashi's interpretation: "*Hec e(st) figura capitelli s(e)c(un)d(u)m exposition(m) Ra(bi) Sa(lomonem) hebrei longitudo et dispositio stipites colu(mp)ne et basis ut potest imagi(n)ari per supradicta.*" However, the next line of text suggests this column follows the opinion of the Catholic Doctors: "*Capitellum s(ecundu)m Catholicos.*" On top of the second capital, the text indicates that this capital also depicts the appearance of the capital according to Rashi's commentary: "*Capitellum secu(n)dum Rabbi Salomonem.*" This ambiguity seems to have confused the illuminators, scribes and producers of the Lisbon *Postilla*, because the text above each capital suggests that each of these capitals corresponds to the opinions of Hebrew commentators. Above the top column is the phrase "*Hec est figura capitelli secundum expositionum Ra(bi) Sa(lomonem) hebrei longitudo et dispositio stipites columpne et basis ut potest imaginari per supradicta.*" Above the other capital is the phrase "*Capitellum secundum Rabbi Salomone(m).*" Thus in this instance in the Lisbon *Postilla*, a reader would not

¹¹²Teresa Laguna-Paúl, "Primeras reconstrucciones de la casa del Bosque del Libano: Un edificio salomonico poco conocido," in *Aragón en la Edad Media X-XI; homenaje a la profesora emérita María Luisa Ledesma Rubio*, 461-479 (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1993), 468.

be able to use the *figurae* to differentiate between Hebrew and Latin exegetical opinion. Both the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* and the Lisbon *Postilla* deviate from the initial and typical *Postilla* *figurae* of the capitals in which the text clearly differentiates the capital according to Rashi from the capital according to Catholic doctors.

Lyra's original use of different *figurae* to depict differences between Jewish and Christian biblical commentators is hardly recognizable in both the *figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla* of the Sea of Bronze and the Laver and its Base with Wheels. Typical *Postilla* manuscripts include three versions of the Sea of Bronze: one, according to the opinions of Catholic Doctors, a second according to Hebrew commentators, and a third according to Josephus. The Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* only includes two versions of the Sea of Bronze. The first such *figurae* is labeled: "*Mare eneum s(ecundu)m Josephum et Catholicos,*" thus conflating the two separate *figurae* that normally appear in *Postilla* manuscripts. The second *figura* is labeled "*Mare eneum secundum expositores hebreos.*" The Lisbon *Postilla* includes only the *figura* of the Sea of Bronze according to Hebrew commentators; moreover, it lacks any explanatory text. Further, typical *Postilla* manuscripts include two versions of the Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin: one according to Latin commentators, and one according to Hebrew Commentators: the Lisbon *Postilla* includes only a *figura* of the version according to Latin commentators. In contrast, the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* includes both versions. Thus, neither of the *figurae* of the Sea of Bronze or the Laver facilitate visual comparison of Hebrew and Latin commentary in the Lisbon *Postilla*, despite the fact that the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* contained versions from both exegetical traditions, from which these *figurae* were copied.

3.3.3 Total Erasure: Missing *Figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla*

Not only are there many incomplete and erroneous *figurae* in the Lisbon *Postilla*, but many are missing as well. One example can be found on f. 325v of Volume I of the Lisbon *Postilla* which contains the end of the commentary on Exodus. At the bottom of the left text column, a scribe has written the phrase “*Sequitur figura*” above a blank space where there should have been the *figura* of the Tabernacle. Normally, a *figura* displaying the dimensions of the Tabernacle and its ritual implements occurs at the end of the commentary on Exodus in most *Postilla* manuscripts, and in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Tabernacle *figura* exemplified several essential aspects of Lyra’s commentary. First, Lyra provided a literal interpretation of the Bible by picturing a historically accurate Tabernacle without Christian references. Second, Lyra verbally clarified the meaning of different visual components (lines, circles) of his diagrams. Third, Lyra directed his reader to memorize the Tabernacle’s contents. Without the Tabernacle *figura* nor its original textual annotations, the Lisbon *Postilla* eliminates Lyra’s use of images as exegetical tools.¹¹³ Though the Lisbon *Postilla* lacks the *figura* of the Tabernacle, it does not lack exquisitely embellished and brilliantly colored margins. On the top border, gold foliate motifs superimposed upon alternating red and green backgrounds frame a cross, one of Manuel’s emblems. On the bottom border, between pink and blue foliate forms, two angelic figures hold Manuel’s coat of arms. In lacking a diagram, but in surrounding Manuel’s heraldic device and emblems with profuse decoration, this page demonstrates the Portuguese court’s priorities for the visual program of this entire manuscript: to emphasize Manuel as patron.

¹¹³ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this is not the only instance of a missing *figura*. Although *Postilla* manuscripts and printed books included up to fifty-six *figurae*, the Lisbon *Postilla* contains only ten.

3.4 EFFECT OF PATRONAGE: HOW THE UNIQUE QUALITIES OF THE LISBON *POSTILLA* EXPRESS KING MANUEL'S INTERESTS

I submit that those responsible for the Lisbon *Postilla's* production and consumption may have been less interested in historical representations of the Tabernacle and Temple as well as specific comparisons between Jewish and Christian exegesis that could have been garnered from complete and accurate *figurae* and more interested in utilizing a highly aesthetic item to appeal to King Manuel's need for extraordinary propaganda.

3.4.1 Contract for Lisbon *Postilla's* Production

A valuable source of information on the status of *Postilla figurae* within this manuscript is the extant contract for the illumination of these seven volumes that was drawn up between Attavante's workshop and Chimenti Sergnigi, the Florentine merchant who acted on Manuel's behalf. This contract makes no mention of the illumination of the usual illustrations relating to Lyra's commentary. This omission is all the more curious because the contract does specify a wide variety of several other types of illumination. For example, the contract lists the price and expectations for the appearance of the frontispieces, the border and intercolumnar decorations on the text pages, the foliage to decorate rubrics, and the initials that begin each chapter of the Bible and each chapter of the commentary. Thus, the illuminators may not have been motivated to include all the diagrams, or make accurate copies if they were not getting paid for them. That the diagrams are not discussed in an otherwise detailed legal agreement suggests that they were not considered a top priority by the Portuguese court. Rather than categorize these omissions as a careless error, I believe they allow us to understand what aspects of the manuscript were

important to Manuel and how the manuscript was expected to function in the context of the Portuguese Court. The contract's consistent emphasis on the expectation of quality of the other types of illumination suggests an interest in obtaining a luxury object, worthy of display, to project an image of Manuel as a pious ruler. Later in this chapter, I will discuss the function of these other types of illumination and consider the issue of why they were considered valuable enough to specify their cost and quality in the contract. Yet, for now, I will examine the meaning and significance of the *figurae* for their patron and producers.

3.4.2 Visualizing Foreign Art and Architecture in the Lisbon *Postilla*

Though visual and verbal signifiers of Lyra's commentary were not copied from the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, many of the Italian architectural elements were accurately duplicated, and in one case the *figura* were embellished with even more Italian architectural element. For example, in the *figurae* of the External Attachments to the Temple, the Temples are depicted as three-story stone buildings, with clearly articulated masonry blocks. In the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, such masonry blocks only appear on the left side building of the Temple According to Hebrew Commentators, but the Florentine illuminators have drawn this type of masonry on all of the exterior walls of both buildings. These features are found on Renaissance Florentine buildings, such as the Palazzo Medici. The *figura* displaying House of the Forest of Liban, as mentioned by Laguna-Paul, appears to have a *portego*, which was likely inspired by Venetian architecture.¹¹⁴ Further, the Sea of Bronze in the Lisbon *Postilla* has retained the frieze of a triumphal procession that was originally found on its Venetian exemplar; the artists have

¹¹⁴ Paúl, "Primeras reconstrucciones de la casa del Bosque del Libano: Un edificio salomonico poco conocido," 468.

placed this band of relief sculpture below the water tank and above the bull's heads. Though the frieze takes up a small part of the drawing, which itself takes up a tiny space on the manuscript page, one can still see figures who sit on wheeled chariots led by other figures on horseback and additional people walking. This theme is found in Italian painting and manuscript illumination. For example, in a manuscript copy of Petrarch's *I Trionfi* (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W. 755), produced c. 1480, there are several triumphal processions including the subjects of the Triumph of Love (f. 1v); Cupid stands on a wheeled chariot, pulled by four horses; several men and women process in front of him.¹¹⁵ Although Manuel was likely unaware of these specific Italian buildings and illuminated manuscripts, their shared stylistic elements and iconography with Lisbon *Postilla* helps to establish that these features are uniquely Italian and were given preference over the original visual elements that clarified Lyra's commentary.

This focus on foreign architecture is also found in the opening pages of this manuscript; for example, as noted by Anarosa Garzelli, the frontispiece to Volume Six of the Lisbon *Postilla* depicts many of the sculptural and architectural elements found in a chapel constructed by Antonio Rossellino in San Miniato a Monte; this chapel was constructed between 1460-66 to house the tomb of the Cardinal Prince of Portugal who died in Florence.¹¹⁶ The following elements that are displayed on the frontispiece are also found in the chapel: an inlaid stone pattern on the floor, a monumental arch with coffers in its underside that are decorated with floral motifs, and a billowing drapery frames the arch. As the Cardinal was Manuel's cousin, the

¹¹⁵The scribe of this manuscript was Bartolomeo Sanvito. Gaspare da Padova (also known as Romano), who often worked in Rome, initially illuminated the manuscript before it was completed by the Florentine illuminators Monte and Gherardo. For brief references regarding this manuscript, see Walters Art Gallery, "W.755: I Trionfi," <http://art.thewalters.org/viewwoa.aspx?id=800>. Accessed March 24, 2011. Also see Giordana Mariani Canova, "The Italian Renaissance Miniature," in *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*, ed. Jonathan J.G. Alexander (New York: Prestel, 1994), 30.

¹¹⁶Garzelli and de la Mare, *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525*, 233.

producers of this manuscript may have been responding to a continuation of patronage of Florentine art by the Portuguese royal house of Avis.

Other art objects were commissioned by Manuel from abroad. Manuel also commissioned a hand-illuminated printed Book of Hours from France (*Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-CF/136*).¹¹⁷ Several full-page illuminations have been painted into this book such as a miniature depicting the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁸ Manuel's ownership is indicated by a woodcut on the last folio that depicts his royal coat of arms held up by angels and one of his emblems, the armillary sphere. This undated Book of Hours was printed in Paris by Gillet Hardouyn as indicated by text that appears at the end of the book:

Parisius noviter impressum. Opera Egidii Hordouyn commorantis
in confinio pontis Nostre domine ante ecclesiam sãcti Dionisii de
carcere ad intersignũ Rose. Et Germani Hardouyn cõmorantis ante
palatium ad intersignium diue Margarete.¹¹⁹

Raphael Moreira has recently identified a Flemish tapestry depicting the Apostle's Creed (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.441) as having been commissioned by Manuel for the Royal Monastery of St. Jerome, where the Lisbon *Postilla* was destined.¹²⁰ Adolph Cavallo notes several previous scholarly opinions concerning the date of the tapestry, all of which range from 1450 to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but concludes the tapestry was most likely

¹¹⁷ De Albuquerque, *A Torre do Tombo e os seus tesouros*, 215-217.

¹¹⁸ Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, "TT Online,"

http://ttonline.dgarq.gov.pt/dserve.exe?dsqServer=calm6&dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=ImageView.tcl&dsqDb=Images&dsqImage=TES04\TT-CF136_38v_c0003.jpg. Accessed March 28, 2011.

¹¹⁹ Pedro D'Azevedo and Antonio Baião, *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon: Academia de Estudios Livres de Lisboa, 1905), 93. D'Azevedo and Baião do not indicate the folio number of the colophon.

¹²⁰ Rafael Moreira, "'Com antiga e moderna arquitectura:" Ordem clássica e ornato Flamengo no mosteiro de Belém," in *Jerónimos: 4 séculos de pintura*, ed. Anísio Franco et al. (Lisbon: Secretária de Estado da Cultura and Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico, 1992), 24-26, 33-34.

produced c. 1500.¹²¹ Perhaps the most famous example of Manuel's patronage is a monstrance also made for the Monastery of St. Jerome, now known as the Belem monstrance. Though produced in Lisbon, the text running along the perimeter of the monstrance's base boldly proclaims the foreign source of the gold material: "The very high prince and powerful lord, King Dom Manuel I ordered it to be made from the gold of the tributes of Kilwa. Completed in 1506."

¹²² In 1502, during his second voyage to Africa, Vasco de Gama obtained tribute money from tribes in Kilwa, which is on the coast of present-day Tanzania, in the Eastern part of Africa. Manuel accumulated foreign goods from territories beyond the boundaries of Western Europe. Mario Pereira comprehensively examines the Portuguese court's deep appreciation, admiration and patronage of sub-Saharan African objects between 1450 and 1521. Pereira claims these objects aided in constructing King Manuel's royal identity. One example is an ivory saltcellar from Sierra Leone.¹²³ At the base of the saltcellar, three lions hold three different reliefs that display Manuel's coat of arms. Above these lions, there are snakes that bite at their backs; above the snakes is a base that holds the container meant for the salt, and this container is in a spherical shape. Horizontal and vertical bands are carved around the surface of the spherical container to form Manuel's emblem, the armillary sphere. Further, as an example of Manuel's "taste for the Oriental exotic," Isabel dos Guimarães Sá notes that he imported elephants, leopards and a

¹²¹ Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol. 1 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967), 83-87.

¹²² The original Portuguese text reads: "O muito alto Principe e poderso senhor Rei. D. Manuel I a mdou fazer do ouro das parias de Quilwa aquabou CCCCCVI." The Portuguese transcription and English translation of the text is found in Pedro Dias et al., *The Manueline: Portuguese Art During the Great Discoveries* (Lisbon: Programa de Incremento do Turismo Cultural, 2002), 52.

¹²³ Mario Pereira, "African Art at the Portuguese Court, c.1450-1521" (Brown University, 2010), 329-356. Rafael Moreira, "Cultura material e visual," in *História da expansão portuguesa: Formação do imperio (1415-1570)*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), 483.

Persian horse.¹²⁴ Manuel obtained numerous objects from regions beyond Portugal. The visual focus on Italian decorative and architectural motifs in the Lisbon *Postilla* form part of Manuel's larger collection of objects that overtly display their foreign origins.

3.4.3 Visualizing Portuguese Power in the Lisbon *Postilla*

Not only did the physical construction and appearance of many of these objects display their locations of production, or the origins of their raw materials, but several also contained iconographic references to Portuguese naval power, expansion, trade and economic prowess. The notion of foreign exploration and trade is epitomized on the Belem monstrance by the presence of six armillary spheres that are clustered around the lower stem. The spheres were one of Manuel's emblems and also appear frequently on the opening pages of the Lisbon *Postilla*. For example, the armillary sphere appears eight times on the monumental title-page for Volume Seven: once in the center of the top margin, twice on the left and right edges of the bottom margin, held up by angels, and five times in the frieze of the architectural structure.

As noted by Adelaide Miranda, the armillary sphere is also found on the opening page to Volume One. On the top of this page, there is a miniature that depicts Nicholas of Lyra reading a manuscript in front of him and writing his own text. Behind his desk, there are several bookshelves which contain objects that reference Portuguese naval accomplishments. Miranda has also observed that there are scientific instruments which express Portuguese nautical acumen and knowledge necessary for effective navigation: on the bottom shelf on top of two books, there is an astrolabe and in front of these books, there is a quadrant. Also on the bottom bookshelf,

¹²⁴ Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "The Uses of Luxury: Some Examples from the Portuguese Courts from 1480 to 1580," *Análise Social* 44, no. 192 (2009): 596-597.

there is a map of the coast of western Africa surrounded by the Atlantic; though it is difficult to see the details of this map which takes up a small amount of space within the miniature, it operates as symbol of Portuguese maritime fame.¹²⁵ By including symbols of his success, the Lisbon *Postilla* becomes a device to highlight Manuel's accomplishments.

Miranda perceptively notes that the presence of these scientific objects were a function of Manuel's patronage. I would like to further demonstrate that Manuel's patronage affected the visual composition of a *Postilla* manuscript by comparing this imagery to earlier *Postilla* manuscripts. Several illuminations in fourteenth-century copies focus solely on Lyra's biblical scholarship by including miniatures that represent him as a teacher or scholar. Some of these portraits have already been briefly discussed by Deena Klepper. Lyra is depicted as a teacher (f. 119r, *Princeton MS y1937-266*), which I have mentioned in this dissertation in Chapter Two; Lyra teaches a royal couple in the presence of Moses (f. 1r, *British Library MS Royal 3. D. vii*; Lyra is represented as a student of St. Jerome (f. 1r, *MS Paris BNF lat. 14247*).¹²⁶ I would like to add a few more examples to Klepper's study in order to demonstrate how pervasive the tradition of *Postilla* manuscripts with imagery that emphasized Lyra's role as biblical exegete and instructor. Lyra is also shown instructing students on the first pages of two other *Postilla* manuscripts, *Paris Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève MS 34*, f. 1r and in *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267*, volume III, f. 1r. By altering the tradition of author-portraits through the addition of the armillary sphere and the nautical instruments, the producers of the Lisbon *Postilla* (which likely involved

¹²⁵ Adelaide Miranda, "Postilla Super Totam Bibliam chamada "Bíblia de Belém" (Catalog entry for *Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-MSMB/A/67*)," in *A Arte e o Mar*, ed. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1998), 79-80. Miranda writes that the main figure in this miniature is probably Nicholas of Lyra because he wears a brown Franciscan robe. I am inclined to agree with her claim because the main figure in the other miniatures of the other six first text pages in this seven-volume set is St. Jerome, and he is always in a red robe. However, my reproductions of the frontispiece are slightly imperfect and I cannot tell if the Franciscan robe is accompanied by a belt that has the three knots typical of Franciscan dress.

¹²⁶ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 125-133.

some collaboration between artists, scribes, Chimenti Sernigi and possibly Manuel himself) have created an illumination suited to be used in the service of promoting and projecting Manuel's authority and power rather than encouraging a study of Christian and Jewish exegesis.

3.4.4 Christianization in the Lisbon *Postilla*

The *figurae* of the Solomonic architectural objects and ritual implements in the Lisbon *Postilla* do not present the reader/viewer with the same interest in biblical history from the perspective of Hebrew scholars, including Rashi, as does Lyra's commentary text. As mentioned earlier, only the *figura* of the capitals of the columns of Solomon's Temple includes explanatory text which mentions Rashi's name. Further, the *figura* of the External Attachments to the Temple actually lacks the visual elements that would actually allow it to signify the Jewish Temple. The Bread of the Proposition and the Ark of the Covenant that are drawn on the bottom level of the Temple on the right side of the miniature in the Lisbon *Postilla* have been depicted without very important details that are found in the corresponding *figura* in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. In the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, the visual details of the Ark explicitly reveal the intended subject matter: two sideways poles are attached to the top of the Ark and a winged cherub hovers above. On the far right side of the lower story of the Temple in the Lisbon *Postilla*, the rather ambiguously depicted Ark appears. The winged cherub is missing, and the sideways poles used for carrying the Ark of the Covenant have been drawn with rather sketchy, indistinct lines. Further, the image of the Bread of the Proposition in the Lisbon *Postilla* has been so dramatically altered from its model in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* that it barely resembles the Bread of the Proposition at all. On the far left of the bottom story of the Temple, there are two series of vertically stacked shelves. The container that sits on top of the leftmost shelves does not hold

several small round loaves as does the container in the Venetian *Postilla*. Instead, one round semicircular form has been drawn above the container. Moreover, a cross appears on top of the semicircular form. The shape of this object resembles a ciborium more than it resembles the Bread of the Proposition. Rather than representing a container of loaves of bread, the artist depicted a chalice decorated with a cross. Manuel's commission of the Belem Monstrance indicates his interest in Christian liturgical objects; thus this manuscript miniature of the ciborium likely resonated very well with him and his audience. These visual changes and omissions to the liturgical objects within the Temple of Solomon do not seem to be the result of a careless error. The accuracy with which the illuminator copied many architectural details from the Venetian *Postilla* into the Lisbon *Postilla* demonstrates that he or she possessed very good visual skills and abilities; thus, these particular changes were conscious choices, not omissions by a hasty, untalented workshop artist. Despite the miniscule scale of this Christian liturgical object within the space of the manuscript page, it contributes to a Christianizing of the image of the Temple, a phenomenon that I will explore in other *Postilla* manuscripts.

My findings problematize Rosenau's distinction between the representation of the Temple in Lyra's *figurae* and more typical Christian iconography. Lyra's *figurae* never pictured the Temple with Christian symbols or objects and, instead, replicated biblical measurements and proportions. The Lisbon *figurae* have eliminated Lyra's textual annotations which clarify the height and width of the Temple's stories, walls and external appendages and have significantly impeded Lyra's historical mode of interpretation through the insertion of a ciborium and cross. The Lisbon *Postilla* Temple drawings have undermined Lyra's resistance to traditional Christian iconography.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, 37-38.

This ciborium operates as one of many visual signifiers of Christianity within the Lisbon *Postilla*, and many of these symbols are inextricably linked to Manuel's actions as a Christian ruler. The crosses with four equal stems that represent the Order of Christ, a military order governed by King Manuel, are frequently displayed; for example, a red cross on a contrasting blue circular medallion surrounded by sea creatures has been placed in the center of the top margin on the Title-page to the first volume. The Order of Christ played a prominent role in Portuguese history. After the Order of the Knights Templar was suppressed in 1312, King Dinis of Portugal founded the Order of Christ in 1319 with papal approval. The Order of Christ retained the same knights and property of the old Order of the Knights Templar. In 1484, Manuel became the governor of the Order of Christ. As observed by Cardoso and Albuquerque, the crosses appear in nearly every top margin of each of the opening pages to each volume and in many of the top margins of the interior pages.¹²⁸

Manuel's Christian devotion is further displayed on the opening pages. Six of the first-text pages include large miniatures with Saint Jerome as the main subject. Arnaldo Pinto Cardoso and Martim de Albuquerque have briefly remarked that these illuminations of Saint Jerome are appropriate subject matter because they express Manuel's devotion to Saint Jerome.¹²⁹ As Jonathan Alexander briefly remarks, the depiction of both Saint Jerome and Hieronymite monks on many of the first-text pages of each volume of the *Postilla* provides evidence that Manuel's bequest of the manuscript to the Monastery of Saint Jerome was anticipated at the time of the manuscript's production.¹³⁰ Thus, these opening pages reference Manuel's act of founding the Royal Monastery of Saint Jerome. In 1496, Pope Alexander VI, in

¹²⁸ de Albuquerque and Cardoso, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos*, 132.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹³⁰ Alexander, ed. *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*, 51.

his *Bul Eximiae Devotionis*, gave Manuel permission to found this monastery. Construction began c. 1501-1502 and continued throughout Manuel's entire reign and after his death. Manuel oversaw the building of the first story of the cloister and the nave of the Church. That six of the Lisbon *Postilla*'s half-page miniatures on the first-text pages depict Saint Jerome while only one half-page miniature depicts Lyra indicates a pictorial strategy to highlight Manuel's role as patron of the monastery.

3.5 TEXTUAL LAYOUT OF LISBON *POSTILLA*

The textual layout of the Lisbon *Postilla* demonstrates that this interest in foreign architecture and in fashioning Manuel's self-image overrode an interest in biblical commentary. Lyra's interest in Jewish exegetical scholarship is lost. Comparing a folio from an early *Postilla* manuscript with an analogous page of Manuel's *Postilla* will reveal that several visual aids that encouraged accessibility and close scrutiny of his text, were not copied into the Lisbon *Postilla*. I will compare a folio with the explicit of Lyra's commentary on Exodus to a *Postilla* dated to 1331, *Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 164*, discussed in Chapter Two, with the same section of commentary in the Lisbon *Postilla*, discussed in this chapter. The text of Manuel's *Postilla* is the product of a highly skilled scribe as it is an easily legible and clearly written humanistic script, typical of Italian scribal production. Though elegant, the appearance of this text does not include some of the graphic tools that enable a reader to focus on the commentary. In contrast, the text of the Mazarine *Postilla* was designed for biblical scholars. Biblical passages are underlined in red, so that a reader can easily find the biblical text before reading Lyra's explanation that follows. As noted by Walter Cahn, the fourteenth-century Parisian *Postilla*

manuscripts drew attention to the biblical *lemmata* by underlining them in red or brown ink.¹³¹ Ryan McDermott has also explored the innovation of the underlined *lemmata*, and argues that the “spatial proximity” of the biblical text and the ensuing commentary reinforce Lyra’s use of the literal sense in his commentary.¹³² Although Lyra’s innovation encouraged careful scrutiny of biblical text within many *Postilla* manuscripts, it is not found in the Lisbon *Postilla*. This absence provides an example of another instance in which Lyra’s intention to make his exacting text as clear as possible for the reader is both manipulated and ignored in the later *Postilla* tradition. Lyra’s commentary was organized systematically, beginning with Genesis and ending with Revelations. Within his commentary on each passage, Lyra often referred to other passages, as one of his concerns was the Bible’s internal consistency. Sometimes, a *Postilla* manuscript also included marginal notations that signaled to the reader the presence of this type of biblical citation. Such marginal notations can be seen in a *Postilla* made in the region of Hainault, c. 1450-75, for an unknown patron, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Five. As an example, I have chosen folio 10r, which also depicts the explicit to Lyra’s commentary on Exodus and part of the beginning of his commentary on Leviticus. On the lower left margin next to Lyra’s commentary on the first verse of Leviticus, there is an abbreviation for the word “*apostolus*” that references a passage quoted from the First Epistle of Timothy that is underlined just to the right. The Lisbon *Postilla* does not contain underlined passages nor marginal notations.

The Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* did in fact include another, different, textual system to help the reader link biblical text to Lyra’s commentary, but my preliminary observations suggest

¹³¹ Cahn, "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision," 159.

¹³² Ryan McDermott, "The Invention of Goodness: Literary Ethics and Tropological Imagination in Late-Medieval England" (University of Virginia, 2010), 27-49.

that this system was not incorporated into the Lisbon *Postilla*. The Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* contained the entire text of the Bible along with Lyra's commentary, and an organizational structure that guided the reader back and forth between these two bodies of text. In the center of each page, one or two columns of biblical text were placed, as can be seen on the folios Aa10v-Bb1r. The corresponding commentary surrounds this center block of text. Letters, in the order of the alphabet, were placed at the beginning of each group of sentences of Lyra's commentary that explicated a particular biblical passage. The same letters were then also placed at the beginning of the chapter and verse from the biblical text in the center of the page. Thus, a reader could easily move between Lyra's commentary (which also began with a short quotation from the Bible) to the more complete biblical text. Each section of commentary in the exterior textual columns of each folio and the relevant and more complete biblical passage placed within the interior textual columns were marked with the same letter. For example, on folio Bb1r of the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, at the beginning of the outermost column of text just below the *figura* of the Sea of Bronze, the biblical quotation from III Kings 25: "*Et stabat super duodecim boves,*" appears in the commentary text preceded by an "a" and followed by the commentary text. To the right of the column of commentary text, there is a separate block of text with the words from the Bible, and three lines down from the top, there is the same biblical phrase "*Et stabat super duio decim boves,*" but here it is followed by the rest of the verse and above the word *stabat* there is a small lower case "a" that the reader can link up with the other smaller lower case "a" that precedes the commentary text.

In the Lisbon *Postilla*, I have noticed that red letters, in alphabetical order, appear above the sentences of Lyra's commentary, or in other cases, just before each sentence. However, in my limited examination of the seven volumes, I have not yet seen the complete biblical text. My

examination, to date, of the textual content in the Lisbon *Postilla* is incomplete.¹³³ I can however, make the preliminary observation, that I did not see any biblical text on the folios that I have observed, so if the biblical text was included, it would have been included in a separate location, unlike the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*, which put both text and commentary on each folio. For example on folio 221r of the Lisbon *Postilla*, just below the Sea of Bronze, there are two columns of commentary text, but there are not any blocks of purely biblical text. A comparison of this folio with the folio of the same *figura* and commentary text in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla* suggests that the scribes and producers of the Lisbon *Postilla* did not copy the full biblical text, thus rendering the remaining alphabetical letters to be without their original function. Although the commentary text has letters in alphabetical order before each section, no corresponding letters appear before biblical text. Thus the Lisbon *Postilla* does not contain the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*'s device to make the study of biblical exegesis more accessible to its readership. The format of the text in the Lisbon *Postilla* does not lend itself to precise biblical analysis, as biblical passages are neither underlined, as in the Mazarine *Postilla* and the bulk of early *Postilla*, or linked to the entire biblical text, as in the Scotto and Locatelli *Postilla*. My assessment concludes that the producers of this royal manuscript never intended for its readers/viewers analyze biblical text and wanted a manuscript for its prestigious value rather than scholarly content.

¹³³ In addition to a limited number of color photographs, I was given only access to the microfilm of the whole manuscript at the National Archives in Lisbon, which was not of high enough quality to accurately read all the text. However, these observations have been limited to microfilm, the photographs in Cardoso and Albuquerque's monograph on the Lisbon *Postilla* and the selected folios on the National Archives of Lisbon's internet database. Further examination of the actual manuscript would be necessary to discover whether the complete biblical text was included.

3.6 OTHER MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS OWNED BY KING MANUEL I OF PORTUGAL

In examining the text of the Lisbon *Postilla*, I have tried to answer the following two questions: To what extent did Manuel engage with the text of the Lisbon *Postilla*? To what extent did Manuel have an interest in biblical commentary, and the differences between Jewish and Christian exegesis? Another way to consider these questions and Manuel's possible reading activity is to examine the other books in his possession. Many of the books he commissioned were texts that cemented his secular and religious authority, and paid homage to the authority and accomplishments of previous kings. In his discussion of manuscript illumination under King Manuel, Francisco Pato de Macedo notes that the sole objective of the manuscript production and illumination imagery was to affirm royal power.¹³⁴ The scholarly literature on manuscripts commissioned and owned by Manuel is enormous; my goal is not to treat his collection comprehensively, but to cite a few examples that demonstrate his goals and visual propaganda. The *Leitura Nova* (Lisbon, *Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo, LN*), was a sixty-volume collection containing copies of legal documents that had been stored in the Portuguese State Archives from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. This compilation of legal texts was produced in the royal workshop of Portugal beginning in 1504 under Manuel's reign and completed in 1552 under the rule of King João III in 1552.¹³⁵ Deswartes writes that the illuminated frontispieces of the *Leitura Nova* function as affirmations of royal power in three specific ways. They visually express the divine origin of royal power, the secular power of the

¹³⁴ Francisco Pato de Macedo, "L'enluminure au Portugal a l'epoque des Decouvertes," in *Feitorias: L'art au Portugal au temps des Grandes Découvertes (fin XIV^e siècle jusqu'à 1548)*, ed. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Brussels: Fondation Europalia International, 1991), 217-218.

¹³⁵ Dos Santos, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés en Portugal," 29.

king over the country of Portugal and the Algarves, and the role of the monarchy in maritime conquests and commercial prosperity.¹³⁶ For example, the frontispiece for volume nineteen of the *Leitura Nova*, illuminated by 1513 by Álvaro Pires, displays these themes. Underneath a Netherlandish architectural canopy, brightly winged putti hold up armillary spheres on both the left and right of the miniature that appears at the top of the folio. Between the two armillary spheres, angels hold up Manuel's coat of arms. In the bottom margin, a tondo framed by a garland encircles an image of several large ships sailing in an ocean.¹³⁷

Manuel also commissioned a five-volume printed edition of another set of legal documents, entitled the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (Lisbon, *Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-LO/1/17* and *PT-TT-LO/1/18*); one edition was printed between 1512-1514 and a revised edition was printed in 1521. These volumes included general legislation of all of Portugal intended to replace the existing legislative corpus. Woodcuts were placed at the beginning of each volume. Ana Maria Alves has described the symbols of royal power that are repeatedly found in these woodcuts. For example, the 1514 woodcut that appears at the beginning of the volume containing Manuel's legislation over Portuguese monasteries asserts Manuel's power through the ubiquitous motifs of Manuel's coat of arms and armillary sphere. Manuel's authority over monastic institutions is portrayed through his central position and hieratic scale in comparison to several clerics that either look up at him or kneel before him. Further, the phrase "*Deo in caelo tibi autem in mundum*" which is displayed above an enthroned Manuel in each woodcut conceptualizes Manuel's court as a mirror of a divine court.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Deswartes, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova, 1504-1552: Etude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'humanisme*, 53-71.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 63. Macedo, "L'enluminure au Portugal à l'époque des Découvertes," 223.

¹³⁸ Ana Maria Alves, *Iconologia do poder real no período Manuelino: A procura de uma linguagem perdida* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1985), 29-44.

Other manuscripts commissioned by Manuel included two armorials, one in 1509, entitled the *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* (Lisbon, *Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-CR/D/A/1/19*) and one in 1513, entitled the *Livro da nobreza e da perfeição das armas* (Lisbon, *Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-CR/D/A/1/20*). Manuel also commissioned several chronicles of previous kings including Dom Afonso Henriques (r. 1143-85), Dom Afonso V (r. 1438-81), Dom Duarte (r. 1433-8), and Dom João II (r. 1481-95) (*Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo PT-TT-CRN/1, PT-TT-CRN/17, PT-TT-CRN/16, PT-TT-CRN/19*).

That Manuel commissioned so many manuscripts and printed books whose images and texts celebrated and solidified regal authority suggests his primary reading activity was not focused on biblical commentary. To my knowledge, no extant theological or exegetical books other than the Lisbon *Postilla* and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were commissioned by or for Manuel. Although other extant commissioned manuscripts were of a religious nature, such as two Books of Hours, these books seem more appropriate for private devotion than intellectual study. In addition to the Book of Hours printed by Gillet Hardouyn that I have already discussed, a second Book of Hours (*Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga inv. 14*) was made for Manuel, beginning in 1517. The illumination has been attributed to António de Holanda, though the attribution is under debate.¹³⁹

Cardoso and Albuquerque have suggested that the Portuguese Court libraries display a general interest in sacred texts, some in Latin and many in Portuguese translations within the Portuguese court, as evidenced by the libraries of King Duarte (r. 1433-8) and Queen Leonor (Manuel's sister, João's wife). Cardoso and Albuquerque cite a few examples, including individual books of the Bible, Books of Hours and a Portuguese translation of Ludolph von

¹³⁹ For a summary of this debate and complete bibliography on this manuscript, see Macedo, "L'enluminure au Portugal à l'époque des Découvertes," 227-228.

Sachsen's *Vita Christi*.¹⁴⁰ Originally written in the fourteenth century, the *Vita Christi* instructed the reader on methods to meditate on the events of Christ's life. In 1495, Queen Leonor commissioned Nicolao de Saxonia and Valentim de Moravia (also known as Valentim Fernandes) to print this text with woodcut illustrations.¹⁴¹ Many of the examples cited by Cardoso and Albuquerque are books and manuscripts whose texts and images are directed toward a pious, lay audience, not a scholarly audience.

In addition to the extant books of hours, legal documents, armorial and chronicles, several exegetical and theological books were in Manuel's library, as documented by an inventory of his library, taken in Lisbon on February 3, 1522, two months after his death (*Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo, Núcleo Antigo 789*).¹⁴² Many of the theological and exegetical books in the inventory have not been conclusively linked to extant manuscripts, and we do not know how Manuel obtained them.¹⁴³ I have included this table below to show that Manuel's library does indicate that he had access to some sacred exegetical and theological texts.

Table 9: Exegetical and theological texts listed in 1522 Inventory of King Manuel I's Library

Number of Book in List, as found in Inventory	Author and Description of text, as transcribed by Sousa Viterbo	My Translation of the Author and Title	Sousa Viterbo's Comments
10	<i>Especulum historiale fratris Vincentii</i>	Vincent of Beauvais, <i>Speculum Historiale</i>	
14	<i>Sato Agostynho</i>	No title mentioned. Author is St. Augustine	

¹⁴⁰ Albuquerque and Cardoso, *A Bíblia dos Jerónimos*, 134.

¹⁴¹ H. G. Whitehead and G. D. Painter, "A Portuguese Incunable," *The British Museum Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1954).

¹⁴² Sousa Viterbo, *A livraria real especialmente no reinado de D. Manuel*. Memoria Apresentada á Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa (Lisbon, 1901), 7-18. Recently, Viterbo's book has been digitalized by the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. See <http://purl.pt/60>.

¹⁴³ To my knowledge, there are not any extant inventories of royal libraries that existed previous to Manuel's collection, so the question of whether he inherited these books or did he commission them is hard to answer.

28	<i>Omeliias de Sam Jeronimo</i>	<i>Homilies of St. Jerome</i>	
31	<i>Vita Xpy</i>	<i>Vita Christi</i>	
34	<i>feytos e paixões dos martyres</i>	<i>Deeds and Passions of Mayrtrrs</i>	This description might refer to the <i>Flos Sanctorum</i> , which was printed in Lisbon in 1513. This text is a Portuguese translation of a Castillian translation of Jacopo da Voragine's <i>Golden Legend</i> .
38	<i>Outro liuro que fala da natureza amjeliqua</i>	<i>Natura Angelica</i>	Written by Francisco Ximenez, Bishop of Toledo, this text was printed in Burgos in October 1490.
49	<i>Miserere mey Deus</i>	<i>Have Mercy on Us</i>	
55	<i>pystolla de Sã Jeronimo</i>	<i>Letters of Saint Jerome</i>	
57	<i>Sermões de Papa Pyo</i>	<i>Sermons of Pope Pius</i>	
62	<i>mylagres de Nosa Senhora</i>	<i>Miracles of the Virgin</i>	
63	<i>Dialego de Sam Grigoreo</i>	<i>Dialogue of Saint Gregory the Great</i>	
64	<i>outro liuro de Sã Yoam Climo</i>	<i>Saint John of Climacus, author</i>	This description refers to the <i>Spiritual Ladder</i> by Saint John of Climacus.
67	<i>Myditações e Sobliquyo de Samto Agostynho</i>	<i>Meditations and Soliliquies of Saint Augustine</i>	
81	<i>Suma Amjeliqua</i>	<i>Summa Angelica.</i>	
84	<i>Opus pasyone Xpy</i>	<i>Opus passione Christi</i> ¹⁴⁴	

¹⁴⁴ I would like to thank Jean-Marie Guillouet for examining and making some suggestions to my translations of Viterbo's transcriptions. The responsibility for any remaining errors rests with me.

This list demonstrates that although many of the manuscripts and printed books commissioned by Manuel and the Portuguese court served to display his authority, the possibility remains that he may have engaged, on some level, with these other types of exegetical and theological texts.

3.7 GALEOTTO MANFREDI'S LUXURY *POSTILLA*

The Lisbon *Postilla* displayed imagery that emphasized King Manuel's power and Christian piety more than Lyra's specific and precise presentation of the differences between Jewish and Christian biblical commentary. This phenomenon, in which *Postilla* manuscript illumination celebrated secular authority, and the patron's identity, at the expense of the *figurae* and their articulation of Lyra's use of Jewish scholarship, occurred in another Italian *Postilla* manuscript, a six-volume *Postilla* (Florence, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Latin Plutarch 22.1-6*) produced for Galeotto Manfredi (1440—1488), the Lord of Faenza (1477-1488). Faenza is located in the province of Ravenna and in the region of Emilia-Romagna. Like the Lisbon *Postilla*, this sumptuously decorated Italian *Postilla* includes ornate frontispieces at the beginning of each volume, but omits several *figurae* or displays corrupted *figurae*. Manfredi's *Postilla* shares another similarity with the Lisbon *Postilla* as its frontispieces function to Christianize the text of Lyra's commentary by pictorially highlighting the Christian origins of Lyra's commentary without any visual references to Lyra's use of Jewish commentary. Before I discuss these aspects of the Manfredi *Postilla*, I will summarize previous scholarship regarding evidence for its date and location of production, artistic creators, and patronage.

There is much evidence on the frontispieces and some of the interior pages that the manuscript was destined for Galeotto Manfredi. Paolo D'Ancona and Anna Rosa Gentilini have

described and catalogued the frequent appearance of Galeotto's personal coat of arms, as well as the Manfredi family coat of arms, and his mottos throughout the manuscript.¹⁴⁵ For example, his coat of arms appears in a medallion in the center of the bottom margin of f. 1r in *Plutarch 22.01*. Galeotto's coat of arms is divided into four fields; in the first and fourth fields, there are chevron patterns of red and green stripes with a small gold stripe dividing each red and green stripe. In the second and third fields, there is a branch of a palm leaf with an abbreviation of Galeotto's motto, *Justus ut palma floruit*. Also on the same folio, in a medallion in the center of the top margin, there is Galeotto's emblem, a rooster perched on a palm branch. The Manfredi coat of arms can be found in a medallion in the center of the bottom margin of folio 1r of *Plutarch 22.03*. A gazelle-like creature with a helmet over its head topped by green and red leaves holds this coat of arms, which is divided into four fields. The first and fourth fields are silver while the second and third fields are blue. A red outline encircles the four fields; gold *fleur-de-lis* appear at the top.

According to Angela Dillon Bussi, the latest possible date of production would be in the 1480s, as the manuscript was clearly produced for Galeotto Manfredi and he died in 1488. Sabina Magrini also supports this date.¹⁴⁶

The illumination has been attributed to both Florentine and Ferrarese illuminators. D'Ancona has attributed three of the six volumes (*Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Latin Plutarch 22.3, 22.5, 22.6*) to Attavante.¹⁴⁷ In her catalogue entry that focuses on *Plutarch 22.1*, another volume of this *Postilla*, Angela Dillon Bussi has attributed the illumination to a

¹⁴⁵ Paolo D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina: secoli XI-XVI* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1914), Volume I, 733-735. Anna Rosa Gentilini, "La biblioteca dei Manfredi Signori di Faenza," in *Faenza nell'età dei Manfredi*, ed. Veniero Casadio Strozzi et al (Faenza: Faenza Editrice, 1990), 131-143.

¹⁴⁶ Sabina Magrini, "Il diffondersi della visione prospettica," in *Capolavori dei musei italiani. Tokyo-Roma 2001* (Milan: Skira, 2001), 134-135. Angela Dillon Bussi, *Miniature laurenziane rinascimentali: Nuove proposte attributive* (Florence: Centro Di, 1991), 26.

¹⁴⁷ D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina: secoli XI-XVI*, Volume I, 733-735.

Ferrarese illuminator named Jacopo Filippo Medici, known as Argenta, an illuminator active in Ferrara and Bologna in the late fifteenth century. In her examination of the frontispiece and first-text page of *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Latin Plutarch 22.1*, Bussi notes that the illumination is typically Ferrarese because of the rigid and stylized decorative and figurative elements. These particular stylistic elements are found in the work of Argenta, who also illuminated choir books for the convent of San Francesco a Brescia and the Cathedral of Ferrara.¹⁴⁸

In Manfredi's *Postilla*, the illuminations that are meant to illustrate Lyra's commentary are often incomplete or missing. I will give a few examples of these absences and errors in order to ultimately consider the purpose of the illumination, and the message that the viewer would receive based on the available visual content within this *Postilla*. As with the Lisbon *Postilla*, scholarship has focused on the frontispieces and there has been far less discussion of the *figurae* within Manfredi's *Postilla*. In a catalog entry, Sabina Magrini notes the presence of some of the *figurae* in the first volume of Manfredi's *Postilla, Plutarch 22.1*, on folios 46r, 254r and 255r but does not describe their appearance or comment on their explanatory text.¹⁴⁹ In the commentary text for Exodus, found in *Plutarch 22.1*, there is an error in the *figurae* of both the Table with Bread of the Proposition and of the Candelabra, which are pictured on folio 251r. Complete *Postilla* manuscript *figurae* depict versions of the Table and of the Candelabra according to Rashi and according to Catholic doctors, as can be seen on folio 74v of *Tours BM MS 52*. In Manfredi's *Postilla*, the illuminator has only depicted the version of the Table and of the Candelabra according to Rashi. Moreover, the commentary for III Kings lacks *figurae* of Solomon's Temple and of its ritual implements; blank spaces were left for *figurae* on folios

¹⁴⁸ Bussi, *Miniature laurenziane rinascimentali: Nuove proposte attributive*, 26.

¹⁴⁹ Magrini, "Il diffondersi della visione prospettica," 134.

157v, 161v, 162r, 163r, 163v, 164r, 166v, 171r of *Plutarch 22.03*.¹⁵⁰ For example, we can see that the scribes did not write text on several rulings on folios 157v and 161v, suggesting an intention to allow an illuminator to include *figurae*. As the illuminators never filled the blank spaces with the *figurae*, the focus of the illumination in this volume remains in the margins and in the frontispieces.

Magrini suggests that Manfredi's *Postilla* belongs to a category of *Postilla* manuscripts that were made for nobles or princes and were rarely consulted for the purpose of understanding the literal sense of scripture. Magrini briefly notes that the primary function of Manfredi's *Postilla* seemed to reside in the richness of its decoration.¹⁵¹ I would like to build upon Magrini's comments by considering several specific visual messages conveyed by the illuminations in Manfredi's *Postilla*.

Although D'Ancona and Gentilini have thoroughly catalogued the insertion of Manfredi's coats of arms within the frontispieces, they have not emphasized the frequency with which these visual identifiers appear. For example, on the first-text page of *Plutarch 22.03*, the coats of arms appear four times in roundels in the left and right margins, and once more in a larger roundel in the center of the bottom margin. That these coats of arms often appear in the center of the bottom margins of several first-text pages compels the reader and viewer to immediately focus on this imagery. One of the most dramatic examples of the visual emphasis on Manfredi's patronage occurs on folio [1]v of *Plutarch 22.04* in which his coat of arms dominates the entire manuscript page.

¹⁵⁰ Personal email communication from Sabina Magrini, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana to myself, March 4, 2010. I am grateful to Sabina Magrini, who responded to my question as to whether there were *figurae* in *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Latin Plutarch 22.3* by examining the manuscript firsthand and noticing the absence of *figurae*, as I have not yet had access to this manuscript, but I confirmed her findings by examining these pages on the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana's on-line database.

¹⁵¹ Magrini, "Il diffondersi della visione prospettica," 135.

In the same way that the Lisbon *Postilla* functions to Christianize Lyra's commentary through the addition of a cross and a ciborium to the *figura* of the Bread of the Proposition, some of the frontispieces in Manfredi's *Postilla* function to visually Christianize Lyra's text. On the frontispiece to the first volume (*Plutarch* 22.01), the text of the introduction to Lyra's commentary to the entire *Postilla* is surrounded by portraits of five figures in the margins. As noted by Angela Dillon Bussi, the identities of these figures are as follows, starting from the top right corner: Ecclesiastes, Saint Gregory, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome and Saint Paul. These personages have been chosen because their texts are cited by Lyra in his prologue to his two prologues to his entire commentary.¹⁵² The text on this frontispiece refers to four of these figures. As Lyra refers to the text of Ecclesiastes and to Saint Gregory's writings, the words *Ecclesiastici* and *Gregorius* are written in red. The word *Jeronimus* is also written in red lettering and is followed by the words (in black lettering) *in epistola ad paulinum* to highlight Lyra's reference to Saint Jerome's prologue to the Letters to Saint Paul. Through the use of marginal portraits, Lyra's text is visually given the authority of Christian theologians and exegetes, but the imagery in this frontispiece does not give any indication that the text will ultimately compare Jewish and Christian commentary. The total visual program of this volume's illuminations functions to highlight the Christian origins of Lyra's commentary and the Christian exegetes which he relies upon and deemphasizes his interest in Hebrew commentary.

Christianizing imagery can also be seen in the frontispiece to Volume III of Manfredi's *Postilla*, which contains Lyra's commentary on I-IV Kings (*Plutarch* 22.03). In this case, the Christianizing imagery also illustrates Lyra's commentary on the right to rule of secular earthly kings. The text found on the frontispiece to this volume contains Lyra's prologue to his

¹⁵² Bussi, *Miniature laurenziane rinascimentali: Nuove proposte attributive*, 26.

commentary on I-IV Kings.¹⁵³ The first words of Lyra's prologue to his commentary on Kings begins with a quotation from Proverbs 8:15: "*Per me reges regnant*" (Through me kings rule). These words are found in capital letters at the top of the section of text on the frontispiece to *Plutarch 22.03*. Lyra interprets this phrase from Proverbs as Christ's speech. This interpretation is illustrated through an image of Christ as a divine king within the historiated initial of a P. Symbols of his kingship include his jeweled crown, a scepter, and an arched throne. Christ's divine nature is pictured through a blue heavenly sky, winged angels, and a book displaying an Alpha and an Omega. The earthly kings are pictured in the four corners of the margins in the frontispiece. Their kingship is indicated by scepters and globes that they hold in their hands, and by their crowns; their earthly nature is suggested by the landscape that appears behind each of them, which is often composed of green foliage or distant blue mountainous forms. In his commentary, which is found in the center of the frontispiece, Lyra expands upon Proverbs 8:15 to define the relationship between Christ as rule and earthly kings. As noted by Buc, Lyra defines God as a "*huius gubernationis rector principalis*" ("principal ruler in this governance") and defines an earthly king as a "*rector ministerialis*" ("delegated ruler"). Lyra borrows an analogy found in a Neoplatonic text, the *Liber de Causis*, to define God as the prime cause and an earthly king as the secondary cause.¹⁵⁴ Earthly rule fulfills God's will.

The illumination on the frontispiece for the volume containing the commentary on the book of kings legitimizes earthly kingship, but all of the *figurae* that normally illustrated III Kings are absent from Manfredi's *Postilla*. Lyra's commentary on I-IV Kings is used in the

¹⁵³ Philippe Buc, "The Book of Kings: Nicholas of Lyra's Mirror of Princes," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 87-88. Buc thoroughly examines Lyra's textual commentary on the book of Kings, including passages that also appear on the frontispiece to Volume III of Manfredi's *Postilla*, but does not consider the presentation of the text on specific *Postilla* manuscripts.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid; Dennis Brand trans., *The Book of Causes [Liber de causis]* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1984), 4. Little is known about the origins of the *Liber de Causis*; the author, date, location of initial production and original language remain unknown. A Latin translation circulated beginning in the thirteenth century.

service of conferring divine authority onto secular human rulers, and the initial function of the text as a source of information on Jewish and Christian commentary is relegated to a secondary status. As Galeotto Manfredi's personal and family shields appear five times in the margins, in between the roundels containing the earthly kings, it is highly likely that the imagery was intended to justify Manfredi's power over Faenza. Manfredi's *Postilla*, like King Manuel's *Postilla*, has transformed a fourteenth-century work intended for scholarly use into an ornately designed luxury object. Manfredi's *Postilla* takes this transformation one step further by linking the specific text of Lyra's commentary on earthly and divine kings to Manfredi's rule.

Although the Lisbon *Postilla* and the Manfredi *Postilla* have been examined by previous scholars, their position within the *Postilla* tradition has largely gone unnoticed. When analyzed in the light of fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts, as my research demonstrates, it becomes clear that the *figurae*, frontispieces and other illuminations submerge Lyra's interest in Jewish commentary for the sake of producing a luxurious object that celebrates and legitimizes the owner's secular authority and religious piety. The multiple inaccuracies in the fifteenth-century versions of Lyra's *figurae* indicate a lack of interest in a historical representation of the Temple, an exegetical concept central to Lyra's commentary, and in part, based on his study of Jewish visual and textual biblical commentary. My findings run counter to previous scholarship that characterizes Lyra as a successful and thorough transmitter of Jewish exegesis to a Christian audience. In the next chapter, I explore another fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscript in which Nicholas of Lyra's adherence to central aspects of Jewish commentary is subverted and camouflaged.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: TOURS BM MS 52

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four continues my investigation of fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts by examining the unique imagery of a Parisian *Postilla* (*Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 52*) produced in c. 1500. This manuscript obscures Lyra's comparisons of Jewish and Christian scholarship in order to concentrate on aestheticized imagery and make the text more accessible to a non-specialist audience. Narrative images of biblical stories were frequently added to late fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts. The fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts discussed in Chapter Two do not contain narrative images of biblical stories. By adding these narrative images, a reader/viewer's attention is directed away from the historical interest in the Temple and the comparisons of Jewish and Christian exegesis visualized in Lyra's *figurae*. An unusual example of this trend to include of narrative images in *Postilla* manuscripts may be found in *Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 52*. On each introductory page of the commentary on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I-IV Kings, and I-II Paralipomenon, we find between five and seven richly illuminated scenes depicting a biblical event, all of which are described in vernacular French text that appears immediately below each image. To my knowledge, though other *Postilla* manuscripts include narrative biblical illustrations, none label these images with vernacular text. It is these narrative illustrations that

lead Deeana Klepper to posit that this manuscript was produced “for a presumably lay owner.”¹⁵⁵ I argue that the laicization of *Tours BM MS 52* for a non-monastic and non-scholarly audience results in textual and pictorial diversions that camouflage Lyra’s utilization of Christian and Jewish biblical scholarship in his *figurae*. The narrative images with French rubrics function as luxury elements that delight the eye. These images also Christianize the manuscript by depicting the Temple and Tabernacle as churches and by depicting Old Testament events as Christian rituals.

Michael Curschmann has raised fundamental questions regarding the addition of illustrations of biblical stories to *Postilla* manuscripts: “What are the reasons for this not unprecedented but nevertheless quite striking shift toward illustration of the biblical narrative embedded in Nicholas’s commentary...?”¹⁵⁶ As Curschmann’s brief inquiry offered no answer to these questions, I will explore them in this chapter.

4.2 CIRCUMSTANCES OF PRODUCTION

Before examining the *Tours Postilla*, I will review the scholarship regarding the circumstances of its production. M. Collon and A. Dorange have dated this manuscript to the

¹⁵⁵ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 129. Another scholar has briefly discussed the presence of the narrative images in *Tours BM MS 52*, but he does not consider the presence of narrative images in this manuscript in relation to the tradition of *Postilla* manuscripts. Didier Lett has cited the narrative scene of the sacrifice of Abraham as an example of the medieval understanding that one’s familial bonds are inferior to one’s spiritual bond to God. See Lett, “L’homme, la famille et la parenté.”

¹⁵⁶ Curschmann, “Review of *Die Rüdiger Schopf-Handschriften: Die Meister einer Freiburger Werkstatt des Späten 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre Arbeitsweise* by Lieselotte Esther Stamm,” 830.

fifteenth century.¹⁵⁷ In a more recent catalog, this manuscript has been dated to c. 1500 and localized to Paris.¹⁵⁸ A potential clue regarding patronage may be the “A” and “E” that are intertwined with a tree trunk and leaves in the intercolumnar decoration of many of the frontispieces.¹⁵⁹ Collon describes the monogram, but does not discuss their meaning nor does he consider other manuscripts that have similar monograms or lettering.¹⁶⁰ A French manuscript, illuminated in Carlat, displays a stylistically similar monogram, but also with different letters. A copy of Jean de Courcy’s *La Bouquechardière*, produced for Jacques d’Armagnac’s library (*The Hague, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10 A 17*) displays letters that refer to Jacques d’Armagnac’s motto; these letters are found on a scroll surrounding a branch.¹⁶¹ This format, of letters layered on top of a tubular branch in the margins of the page, is also found in *Tours BM MS 52*. Although it is not yet possible to link the monogram on the *Tours Postilla* to a specific owner, it is safe to conclude that the monograms provide evidence for ownership by a person of high social status, as monograms are often used by wealthy nobles.

4.3 FIGURAE IN TOURS BM MS 52

The *figurae* in *Tours BM MS 52* are similar to fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts in two specific ways. The *figurae* explicitly represent Lyra’s comparisons of Jewish and Christian

¹⁵⁷ Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXVII: Tours*, 31. Dorange, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours*, 19-20.

¹⁵⁸ Lett, "L'homme, la famille et la parenté," 133-4.

¹⁵⁹ Monograms are found on folios 2r, 106r, 129r, 153r, 167v, 182r, 209v, 228v, 250v, 266v.

¹⁶⁰ Collon, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXVII: Tours*, 20.

¹⁶¹ Elizabeth Morrison and Anne Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250-1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 252-255.

commentary. Other *figurae* visualize Lyra’s historical interest in the Temple. This faithfulness to Lyra’s original intentions is distorted by the narrative illustrations which were added to the Tours *Postilla*. Tours *BM MS 52* includes a relatively complete set of traditional *figurae* for Genesis, Exodus, III Kings, and IV Kings. A list of all the *figurae* in *Tours BM MS 52* appears below, and all of the *figurae* are illustrated in Appendix B.

Table 10: *Figurae* in *Tours BM MS 52*

f. 13v	Ark of Noah, according to both Latin and Hebrew commentary Ark of Noah, version according to “others”, which refers to Bede’s Hexameron.
f. 73v	Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory (covering for Ark; “mercy seat” for Lord to sit on), Latin version Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory, Hebrew version
f. 74v	Table with bread of the proposition, Latin version Table with bread of the proposition, Hebrew version Candelabrum, Latin version Candelabrum, Hebrew version
f. 75v	Large curtain
f. 76r	Two boards which are joined together to form a corner of the Ark Assembly of lateral boards and sockets of the Ark
f. 76v	Lateral Boards of the Ark
f. 77r	Altar of the Holocaust, Latin version (according to Peter Comestor) Altar of the Holocaust, Hebrew version (according to Rabbi Solomon)

f. 78r	Aaron, High Priest in his Vestments
f. 82v	Ten Commandments, Hebrew version Ten Commandments, Latin version
f. 87r	Ground plan of the tabernacle
f. 107v	Ground plan of Levite camps in the desert
f. 233v	Section/floor plan of the Temple of Solomon
f. 234v	External Attachments to the Temple of Solomon, Latin version External Attachments to the Temple of Solomon, Hebrew version
f. 235v	Elevation of the House of the Forest of Liban
f. 236r	Ground plan of the House of the Forest of Liban
f. 236v	Capital Surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, According to Latin Commentators
f. 237v	Capital Surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, According to Rabbi Solomon
f. 238r	Molten “Sea,” according to Latin commentators Molten “Sea,” according to Rabbi Solomon Molten “Sea,” according to Josephus
f. 239r	Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin, according to Latin commentators Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin, according to the Hebrews
f. 263v	Sundial of Achaz

The images within the *figurae* in *Tours BM MS 52* have been carefully copied from an earlier exemplar. Though not the exact model, *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Latin MS 359* is closely related. As mentioned in Chapter Two, 1375 is the *terminus post quem* for this *Paris Postilla*

(which does not contain internal evidence for its date) because it was listed in the 1375 inventory of Pope Gregory XI's library. Although the *figurae* are strikingly similar in these two *Postilla*, some of the explanatory text that appears in the Tours *Postilla* does not appear in the Paris copy; another similar *Postilla* likely served as a source for the Tours *Postilla*. Each *figura* from Tours *BM MS 52* is compared with its corresponding *figura* in *Paris BnF Lat. MS 359* in Appendix B.

The visual appearance of the *figura* of the Capital Surmounting the Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon According to Latin Commentators, and the *figura* of the Capital Surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon According to Rabbi Solomon in the Tours *Postilla* are nearly identical to the *figurae* of the same subject matter in the Paris *Postilla*. In both manuscripts, the Capital according to Latin commentators is depicted entirely in gold leaf and topped with a *fleur-de-lis*; it is composed of three rectangular segments punctuated by multiple horizontal beams. Near the top and bottom of the central rectangular structure are rows of circles that represent pomegranates. The *figurae* of the Capital according to Rashi is also depicted entirely in gold leaf in both instances. A *fleur-de-lis* rests on the top of a horizontal, oval form containing two rows of circles that represent pomegranates that sit on top of a rectangular form which itself rests upon a three-tiered structure. The numerous similarities in terms of color, structure and layout in the representation and depiction of these *figurae* in both *Postilla* manuscripts suggests that the illuminators of the Tours manuscript carefully copied from a previous model.

All *figurae* in the Tours *Postilla* include explanatory text that often distinguishes between the opinion of Rashi, or Hebrew commentators in general, and Latin commentators. For example, to the right of the capital depicted according to Latin commentators, a caption that specifies its exegetical origin: "*fig(ur)a a capitelli s(econdum) latinis.*" Accompanying the other

figura of a Capital, its caption refers to Rashi: “*hec e(st) figura capitelli s(ecundu)m expo(sitio)ne(m) Ra(bi) sa(lomonem) heb(re)i.*” Also, the explanatory text for the Altar of the Holocaust, as described in Exodus (f. 77r), is written in red above each *figura*. Above the image of an Altar on the left side of the manuscript page, there is a short inscription: “*Altare holocausti secundum latinos.*” Above the other *figura* “*Altare holocausti secundum hebreos*” is written. Nine other groups of *figurae* in the Tours *Postilla* explicitly compare Hebrew and Latin commentary on folios 13v, 73v, 74v, 77r, 82v, 234v, 236v, 237v, 238r, and 239r.¹⁶²

In the Tours *Postilla*, several *figurae* depict the Temple or Tabernacle without emulating the common Christian tradition of changing them to churches or cathedrals. As noted by Helen Rosenau, this mode of representation typifies Lyra’s *figurae*.¹⁶³ I would like to build upon Rosenau’s observation by providing a detailed description of one of Lyra’s *figurae* in the Tours *Postilla*. The ground plan of the Tabernacle adheres to Lyra’s historical mode of interpretation by excluding Christian motifs and by picturing the original layout and appearance in an effort to reconstruct the biblical description of this moveable tent. The plan specifies the structure’s measurements and spatial orientation, demarcates the interior and exterior spaces and locates the ritual objects within their respective rooms. The cardinal directions are indicated on the perimeter of the ground plan: the caption indicating the occidental orientation of the plan is located at the bottom of the *figura* and other captions follow accordingly. The Holy of Holies is located at the western end of the Tabernacle; the Sanctuary is adjacent to the eastern wall of the Holy of Holies; the Atrium is found at the eastern end. This *figura* also indicates the contents of each room: The Holy of Holies contains the Ark of the Covenant; the Sanctuary contains the Altar of Incense, Candelabra and Table with the Bread of the Proposition and the Atrium

¹⁶² These folios are described in Table 9 above, and pictured as part of Appendix B.

¹⁶³ Rosenau’s argument is more fully examined in Chapter One, Section Three of this dissertation.

contains the Altar of the Holocaust and the Brass Laver. None of the visual imagery contains any references to Christian architecture nor ritual objects used in the Mass. The ground plan is composed of red and blue lines; the images of the altars and washing basin do not display any Christian iconographic elements or forms.

The *figura* of the ground plan of Solomon's Temple as described in III Kings also conveys Lyra's exegetical approach by diagramming the size, location and contents of the Entrance Porch, Sanctuary and Holy of Holies and by avoiding any overt Christian symbolism. Since Solomon's Temple bears many similarities to the Tabernacle, I will not detail all of its components.

In the Tours *Postilla*, Lyra's careful articulation of his historical interest in the Temple and his interest in Jewish commentary in the *figurae* is ultimately obfuscated by the manuscript's narrative imagery, which will now be examined.

4.4 NARRATIVE IMAGE VS. FIGURAE: QUANTITY

The Tours *Postilla* includes copies of Lyra's *figurae* as well as images that depict events from the Old Testament which were not designed by Lyra, but by later manuscript producers and patrons. Narrative images are visually privileged over the *figura* because they outnumber the *figurae*. This *Postilla* includes thirty-three *figurae*, and eighty-eight narrative images. The narrative images appear at regular intervals throughout the manuscript, in the margins of the first-text page of each chapter of commentary. In contrast, the *figurae* appear in a more irregular

and less frequent fashion. Some *figurae* are found on individual folios (f. 13r, f. 107v, and f. 263v) and others are clustered in groups (ff. 73v-87r and ff. 233v-239r). Thus, readers/viewers would more frequently view the images of biblical stories as they progressed through the manuscript.

Similar ratios of narrative images to *figurae* can be seen in three other fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts. Lieselotte Esther Stamm, Marie-Claire Berkemeier-Favre, and François Avril have extensively and carefully catalogued and described these two types of images in at least three *Postilla* manuscripts, but they have not considered the numerical imbalance between these two types of images. Further, the profusion of narrative imagery seems to have influenced current scholarship. The narrative images are discussed at great length while the *figurae* are briefly mentioned; moreover, not a single *figura* has been reproduced by Stamm, Berkemeier-Favre, or Avril. I will review their findings below.

Stamm and Berkemeier-Favre have produced monographic studies on German and Swiss *Postilla* manuscripts with extensive narrative cycles. Stamm examines a German *Postilla* produced in Freiburg from 1392-1415 by the scribe Rüdiger Schopf (*Basel Universitätsbibliothek, AIII-AII6; AIII10-13*).¹⁶⁴ The ten paper volumes were in the possession of the Freiburg Carthusians by 1428, when they were sold to the Basel Carthusians.¹⁶⁵ This *Postilla* includes over three hundred and sixty narrative images, but only ten of Lyra's *figurae*.¹⁶⁶ An example of one narrative image is the depiction of the Tower of Babel.

¹⁶⁴ Dates are indicated by scribes' colophons within each volume, and are transcribed by Stamm. See Lieselotte Esther Stamm, *Die Rüdiger Schopf-Handschriften: Die Meister einer Freiburger Werkstatt des späten 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre Arbeitsweise* (Aarau: Frankfurt a.M., 1981), 295-301.

¹⁶⁵ Stamm reviews the evidence for ownership: On folio B and folio 186 of *Basel Universitätsbibliothek AIII*, the sale is mentioned. Also, in the chronicles of the Basel Carthusians from 1430 (*Chronica fundationis carthusiae in Basilea minore auctore Henrico Arnoldi de Alvedia eiusdem domus priore*), the purchase of Lyra's *Postilla* is mentioned. *Ibid.*, 17, 21, 286.

¹⁶⁶ Stamm catalogs all of the *figurae*, but does not include reproductions. *Ibid.*, 302.

Berkemeier-Favre writes about a seven-volume Swiss *Postilla* produced between 1459-62 in Wolfenschiessen, a small parish in Engelbergertal, Switzerland (*Lucerne, Zentralbibliothek Msc 39-45 fol*). According to the *ex libris* placed at the beginning of each volume, this *Postilla* was in the collection of the Franziskanerkloster in der Au Luzerne by the early sixteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Approximately two hundred fifty biblical passages are illustrated, often with more than one image, greatly outnumbering the thirty-eight *figurae*.¹⁶⁸

Avril has written a catalog entry describing a partially complete *Postilla* containing Lyra's commentary on Genesis. The single volume was produced from 1395 to 1402 (*Paris, Bibliothèque National Lat. 364*) for Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the duke of Milan, contains numerous illuminations that accompany the text of Genesis.¹⁶⁹ There are forty painted illuminations and seventy preparatory drawings for additional miniatures. A staggering one hundred and ten illustrations for Genesis alone would surely have overwhelmed the two standard *figurae* of Noah's Ark. An example of a series of the narrative images can be seen in four miniatures depicting Cain and his descendants, Jabel, Jubal and Tubal-Cain.

Comparing the large number of narrative images with the relatively few *figurae* indicates that the Freiburg Carthusians, the Franciscans from der Au Luzerne and Gian Galeazzo

¹⁶⁷ Berkemeier-Favre has provided transcriptions of the scribes' colophons which mention the dates and has also note the presence of each *ex-libris* within each volume. The municipality of Wolfenschliessen is mention eight times in the colophons and is twice dated 6 November 1460. Marie-Claire Berkemeier-Favre, "Die Miniaturen der Nicolaus-de-Lyra-Bibel in der Zentralbibliothek zu Luzern (Msc 39-45 fol)," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 74(1980): 2-16, 22.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 30, 45-66. Although Berkemeier-Favre extensively catalogs the miniatures in the Lucerne *Postilla*, neither the narrative illustrations nor the *figurae* in this manuscript are reproduced in the article, nor is this collection available on-line.

¹⁶⁹ Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 130; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan au XVe siècle* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1955), 292-293; François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne III. XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005), 138-141. The heraldic elements of this *Postilla* indicate that a *terminus post quem* of 1395. On folio 1r, Visconti's coat of arms displays the arms of France in two of its four fields; Visconti was given the right to incorporate these arms into his own in 1395. The manuscript would have been likely completed by Visconti's death in 1402.

Visconti, as well as the producers of their *Postilla* manuscripts, prioritized the narrative images over the *figurae*. Lyra's historical interest in the Temple and his detailed comparisons of Jewish and Christian commentators were overshadowed by these numerous illustrations.

4.5 NARRATIVE IMAGES: VERNACULAR

Although a number of fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts include cycles of narrative images, the Tours *Postilla* is the only copy in which the narrative images are accompanied by French vernacular text; this textual anomaly distances a reader from Lyra's careful scrutiny of the meanings implied within the Latin Bible.

Other fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts frequently include narrative images coupled with explanatory text in Latin. A *Postilla* completed by 1467 in Bruges for an unknown patron, *Morgan M.535*, contains an opening page with three stacked images to illustrate stories from Genesis.¹⁷⁰ The top frame depicts walled Garden of Eden where Eve emerges from Adam's side. The heavenly realm floats overhead and the angels at the right hand of God use long poles to evict the rebel angels. The middle scene depicts Adam, Eve and the serpent with the fateful fruit. The lower image represents a sword-wielding angel who banishes Adam and Eve from paradise. Unlike the vernacular captions that explain the content of the narrative images in *Tours BM MS 52*, the text accompanying these narrative illustrations is Latin. For example, in the central image, scrolls contain Adam and Eve's speech. Adam's scroll reads: "*mulier quam dedisti mihi sociam decepit me,*" (the woman whom you gave to me deceived me) based on Genesis 3:12.

¹⁷⁰ As noted and discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Two, *Morgan M. 535* can be dated to 1467, and the illumination of *Morgan M. 535* has been attributed to the *Maître de la vraie cronicque*, an assistant in the Bruges workshop of Willem Vrelant.

Eve's scroll reads "*Tulit de fructu eius (word is partially rubbed off) et (com)edit et dedit viro,*" (she took of the tree's fruit and did eat and gave [the fruit] to the man) based on Genesis 3: 6. By bringing attention to the Old Testament words, these biblical citations reinforce a reader's exegetical study.

A luxurious seven-volume *Postilla* produced between 1460 and 1472 for Guy Bernard, Bishop of Langres from 1454 to 1481, also contains narrative images which incorporate Latin text at the beginning of Lyra's commentaries on each biblical book (*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 11972-8*).¹⁷¹ Scrolls often emanate from mouths of figures with phrases of biblical text.¹⁷² In at least one instance, a quotation within a speech scroll is same phrase that is explicated by Lyra in the commentary text on the same page. On folio 314r of the seventh volume of this *Postilla*, there is an illumination depicting a scene from the Apocalypse of St. John. An angel says to John: "*Oportet te iterum prophetare gentibus et populis* [Apocalypse of John 10:11]."¹⁷³ This text is written in a scroll, but is duplicated and underlined in red ink as well in the paragraph of text below, indicating this is a line from the Bible that Lyra will analyze.

¹⁷¹ Production of this manuscript began c. 1460, as indicated by a colophon on f. 57v in Volume II. "*Explicit liber Ruth, finitus et completus die decima quinta iulii anni Domini millesimi quadringentesimi sexagesimi pro reverendo in Christo patre et precelssissimo principe et domino doño Guidone miseratione divind episcopo et duce lingonensi...*" Different parts of this colophon have been transcribed by two authors. See L. Marcel, *La calligraphie et la miniature à Langres à la fin du quinzième siècle: Histoire et description du manuscrit 11972-11978 du Fonds Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1892), 6. Also see Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste. Tome III: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin: n 8001 à 18613*. (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1974), 263. There is also evidence for the 1472 completion date of this manuscript. As noted by Marcel, there is a record of a transaction made on behalf of Guy Bernard regarding this manuscript. This document is dated 14 December 1472 and notes payment to the illuminator Guillaume Hugueniot and to the scribe Pierre Rouche for a manuscript with the text of Nicholas of Lyra. See Marcel, *La calligraphie et la miniature à Langres à la fin du quinzième siècle: Histoire et description du manuscrit 11972-11978 du Fonds Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 11-12. François Avril has recently catalogued this particular *Postilla*. See François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à Peintures en France: 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion-Bibliothèque Nationale, 1993), 183-184.

¹⁷² Marcel, *La calligraphie et la miniature à Langres à la fin du quinzième siècle: Histoire et description du manuscrit 11972-11978 du Fonds Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 30-42.

¹⁷³ In a future project, I would like to compare more Latin phrases within *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 11972-8*'s narrative illustrations with the text below, but as I have not yet viewed this *Postilla* in person, I am limited to available reproductions in exhibition catalogs and on-line databases.

Though Marcel transcribed this quotation, he did not consider its relation to the commentary text or the function of narrative imagery in a *Postilla* manuscript. I suggest that text in the image reinforces a reader/viewer's task of focusing on specific biblical passages and their meanings when examining the same text in Lyra's lengthy commentary.

The reading and viewing of the huge number of narrative images in the Tours *Postilla* is a different process than examining Lyra's commentary and limited *figurae* which provide precise meanings of phrases from the Bible. For example, while examining the image of builders constructing Solomon's Temple, a reader/viewer would glean the essence of this event without reading or learning specific biblical phrases. In contrast, the reader/viewer absorbing Lyra's commentary on Solomon's Temple would learn about the particularities of the measurements and appearance of the architectural elements and ritual objects. Lyra's commentary on the Temple in III Kings includes numerous pages of text and twelve *figurae*.¹⁷⁴

4.6 PRECEDENT FOR VERNACULAR FRENCH TEXT THAT ACCOMPANIES NARRATIVE ILLUSTRATIONS IN *TOURS BM MS 52*

This section posits a source for the narrative images and their accompanying text in *Tours BM MS 52*. Applying the methodology of both Stamm and Berkemeier-Favre, I examined possible sources outside the *Postilla* tradition. Stamm has helpfully observed that by the late fourteenth

¹⁷⁴ The *figurae* (folios 233v, 234v, 235v, 236r, 237v, 238r, 239r) are described in Table 9 and pictured in Appendix B.

century, *Postilla* manuscripts borrow from traditions of illuminations not found in earlier *Postilla* manuscripts. For the particular biblical illustrations in the Basel *Postilla*, Stamm finds iconographic parallels in World Chronicles and Picture Bibles, although she acknowledges with so many available models of biblical illustration, it is difficult to conclusively find a direct source.¹⁷⁵ Berkemeier-Favre argues that miniatures found in copies of the *Bible Moralisé*, *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humane Salvationis* can be considered source material for the narrative illustrations of the Lucerne *Postilla*.¹⁷⁶

As context for the Tours *Postilla*, I will discuss a Book of Hours (*Besançon BM MS 148*) that combines prayers in Latin and narrative images described with vernacular phrases. The Besançon Book of Hours was illuminated by the workshop of Jean Colombe in Bourges between 1480 and 1485.¹⁷⁷

The Besançon Book of Hours contains Old Testament miniatures in the exterior margins of approximately three hundred folios. Underneath these images there are French vernacular textual descriptions explaining their content. The French words are written in red, which visually separates them from the dark brown script of the Latin devotional texts. Like the Tours *Postilla*, the Besançon Book of Hours contains both Latin and French text. The presence of an extensive set of scenes depicting biblical events that are labeled in vernacular French in this particular Book of Hours suggests that other extensive compilations of similar images existed. The illuminators of the Tours *Postilla* likely copied the narrative illustrations from a narrative

¹⁷⁵Stamm, *Die Rudiger Schopf-Handschriften: Die meister einer Freiburger Werkstatt des späten 14. Jahrhunderts und ihre arbeitweise*, 174-75.

¹⁷⁶Berkemeier-Favre, "Die Miniaturen der Nicolaus-de-Lyra-Bibel in der Zentralbibliothek zu Luzern (Msc 39-45 fol)," 101-13.

¹⁷⁷Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à Peintures en France: 1440-1520*, 336; Castan, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements - Tome XXXII: Besançon*, 103-5; Direction du Livre et de la Lecture and L'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), "Enluminures."

cycle similar to those in the Besançon Book of Hours. Although the Besançon Book of Hours may not be the exact source for these images in the Tours *Postilla*, it does bear many close visual and textual resemblances.

An example of the similarities in illustration between the Tours *Postilla* and the Besançon Book of Hours can be seen in the illuminations of the transport of the Ark of the Covenant. Although they are stylistically different, these images also share a common iconography. In both images, the Tabernacle is depicted as a miniature Gothic chapel composed of a relatively short nave. In each version of this scene, the Tabernacle is depicted in the middle ground of the painting; green land and trees have been painted in the foreground and blue mountains and sky have been painted in the background in order to show atmospheric perspective. In both cases, the illuminations are placed in the exterior margin. Below each Tabernacle image, the vernacular description is written, and separated from the main texts of each page. On f. 130r of the Besançon Book of Hours, the following phrase appears below the image of the Tabernacle: “*Comme(nt) les prestres de la loy conduisoient l’arche.*”¹⁷⁸ On f. 106r of the Tours *Postilla*, a descriptive French sentence is also written below the image of the Tabernacle: “*Comment par le commandement de Moyse le tabernacle fut porte.*” Similar language is used for the accompanying vernacular descriptions. In the Tours *Postilla*, the phrases often begin with the word “*comment*” and in the Besançon Book of Hours the phrases often begin with the word “*comme*” or “*comment.*” Also, God is often referred to as “*nostre seigneur*” in both manuscripts

The source of narrative biblical imagery likely originates from a type of illuminated manuscript intended for lay private devotion. This marks a significant change in the *Postilla*

¹⁷⁸ Though the Besançon Book of Hours uses the word “*arche*,” I am referring to the entire structure as a Tabernacle because the Ark was not carried on its own, but was kept inside the Tabernacle as described in Exodus 25-40.

tradition, as its readership/viewership expands beyond university and monastic settings in the fourteenth century and into a more secular context in the fifteenth century.

4.7 NARRATIVE IMAGES FOR VISUAL PLEASURE AND LUXURY

The addition of remarkable illuminations to *Postilla* manuscripts is a function of their new usage as luxurious picture books in the fifteenth century. The extraordinary attention to brilliant colors, glittering gold and painterly techniques make this particular *Postilla* manuscript a luxury item. Walter Cahn briefly discusses luxury elements of two other *Postilla* manuscripts with extensive narrative cycles. Cahn writes that *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 364* and *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 11972-8* “transcend to a degree the dimensions of the merely practical or utilitarian,” differentiating between lavish fifteenth-century and functional early *Postilla* manuscripts.¹⁷⁹ Expanding upon Cahn’s observation, this section first discusses the aesthetic qualities of the narrative illustrations and, second, compares their visual appearance with the *figurae*.

The illumination of Noah and his family as they enter the Ark provides an example of the bright luminous colors used in the Tours *Postilla* illuminations. The Ark is painted with a mixture of brown and purple tones, and the garments of Noah and his family are in a variety of tones: orange-red, grey-blue, cobalt blue and yellowish-red. To highlight these different objects and forms of the human figures and the architectural components of the Ark, golden tones

¹⁷⁹Cahn, "Notes on the Illustrations of Ezekiel's Temple Vision," 160-61.

layered upon these colors. Gold lines outline the edges of the roof, the contours of the hull and the curves of the arches. Gold lines also highlight different aspects of the figures' garments. For example on the far left, the woman's orange dress is embellished with a golden pattern. On the other figures' garments, gold lines have been layered on top of blue stockings or grey-purple cloaks, or orange dresses in order to indicate where the light hits the high points of the folds. And in addition, gold lines are layered on top of the blue ocean in to suggest the places where light hits the peaks of waves. On this folio we can also see that the human figures have been depicted as well-modeled forms. Flesh tones have been subtly gradated in order to suggest the mass and weight of the human form.

The illumination of Jacob's dream of the ladder provides another example of intense color contrasts designed for visual pleasure. The orange and red tones of Jacob's garment contrast with the blue tones of his undergarment which can be seen in his sleeves. The folds of the angels' gold robes are highlighted in red. God is depicted in a yellow mandorla that contrasts with the deep grey-blue sky. There are also delicate outlines of golden clouds that have been gracefully etched against a translucent blue sky. The trees to either side of Jacob are composed of dark green and grey green oblong horizontal paint strokes and are dotted with small, yellow-golden ovals. As the landscape recedes into the distance, the color gradually shifts from green to blue create the illusion of atmospheric perspective.

The image that depicts the birth of Esau and Jacob reveals an interest in Renaissance architectural structures and in illusionistic painting techniques. A tiled floor has been painted with some interest in linear perspective. On the back wall, columns are topped by Corinthian capitals. A cornice rests on top of the capitals. The sections of the wall between the columns display panels of pink marble.

In the depiction of the crossing of the Red Sea, multiple events are carefully represented on the same image, within the same picture and separated with subtle visual devices. The sea is composed of highly contrasting red and pink swaths of paint that are punctuated by dark crisply outlined forms of Pharaoh's armored soldiers. The saturated hues and sharp outlines suggest that these forms are closest to the viewer and the picture plane. In the middle of the painting, Moses and the Israelites are clustered together. Their forms have been painted in muted tones with delicate washes and less overall detail to indicate that they are more distant than the Red Sea.

The narrative images form part of a highly decorative page layout that introduces Lyra's commentary to each biblical book. For example, on the opening page to Lyra's commentary on III Kings, the narrative images frame the text on the left and bottom margins, and are joined to the foliate and zoomorphic forms on the top and the right margins that also surround the text. In addition, there is an elaborately decorated initial whose interior contains foliate scrolls on a gold background and is surrounded on the exterior by intricate penwork lines.

In the Tours *Postilla*, the narrative images and the *figurae* originate from different visual traditions, and often represent the same subject matter differently. Though the *figurae* are skillfully painted, the narrative images are painted with more intricate visual details. For example, the Tabernacle is represented as a ground plan in Lyra's *figura* and as a miniature chapel surrounded by a landscape setting in the narrative image. The narrative image displays an interest in several painterly techniques. The effect of light upon the human figure is displayed through gold highlights on the men's garments, stockings, and hair. Atmospheric perspective is conveyed through a transition of colors from the foreground to the background. Green hills and trees populate the foreground; in the middle ground, the tone of the landscape changes to a greenish-blue. In the background, there are blue hills and vegetation and light blue-grey skies

above the hills. The leaves of the trees and bushes are individually painted through a series of different types of brush stroke such as gold circles and dark green dashes. In contrast, the *figura* of the Tabernacle is more restrictive in its use of color; flat ungraded tones are used to construct the lines that represent the walls of the Tabernacle, the two altars and the Bronze Laver. The narrative image displays an interest in architectural detail. For example, the gables of the Tabernacle are highlighted in gold, while such decorative embellishments are absent from the *figura*. The different visual aspects of the *figura* and the narrative images may be a result of their different purposes. However, it is likely that the careful attention to visual detail and the decorative qualities in the narrative images may have distracted a reader/viewer from focusing on the *figurae*. A reader/viewer may have become accustomed to these types of pictorial delights as the narrative images appear with more frequency and regularity than the *figurae*. A reader/viewer's attention to the *figurae*'s emphasis on Lyra's historical interpretation of the Old Testament and his comparison of Jewish and Christian commentary was diluted as he/she also examined the visually pleasing narrative images. In the next section, I will consider another way in which the narrative images eclipse the *figurae*.

4.8 CHRISTIANIZING ELEMENTS OF NARRATIVE IMAGES IN *TOURS* *BM MS 52 AND OTHER POSTILLA MANUSCRIPTS*

The narrative images in the *Tours Postilla* depict Solomon's Temple, Temple implements and ritual practices within the Temple as Christian subjects and events. This typical Christian iconography directly contrasts with the representation of the same subjects in Lyra's *figurae*. As a result, the Christianized depictions of the Old Testament events in the *Tours Postilla* would

have distracted a reader from Lyra's visual presentation of both his historical interpretation and his use of Hebrew commentary.

One instance of the contradictory visual representations of Old Testament architectural structures can be seen by comparing the *figura* of the Tabernacle on f. 73v with a narrative image of the Tabernacle on f. 106r. In the narrative image, two golden crosses rest on the top of the Tabernacle's roof, each sitting at the apex of the pointed arches at the front and back of the building. There is a gothicization of the form of Ark, as it resembles a miniature Gothic chapel. In contrast, the *figura* of the Tabernacle is devoid of Christian symbolism in order to depict the Temple in accord with Lyra's literal mode of exegesis, as described in Section 4.3 of this chapter. The ground plan informs the reader/viewer about the measurements, contents and layout of the Tabernacle as Lyra believed it originally appeared. Further, in several other *figurae*, Lyra also clarified the differences between Christian and Jewish exegetical opinions regarding the appearance of five of the ritual objects inside the Tabernacle: the Ark of the Covenant, the Table with Bread of the Proposition, the Candelabra, the Altar of the Holocaust, and the Ten Commandments. He represented two versions of these implements, one according to the opinion of Hebrew Scholars and one according to the opinion of Christian scholars. These *figurae* are accompanied by captions that indicate whether they illustrate the opinion of either Christian or Jewish commentators. Because the narrative image of the Tabernacle is represented from an ahistorical perspective that sublimates its Jewish ancestry, it camouflages the approach to biblical history central to Lyra's commentary and *figurae*.

Crosses are often inserted into the narrative imagery of the Tours *Postilla*. On the same folio as the depiction of the Christianized Tabernacle, a cross also appears in another narrative image two scenes below. In the background of the image on the bottom right corner of folio

106r, God hovers in the sky holding an orb topped by a golden cross, a motif which is repeated on f. 167v. On folio 129r, God is pictured twice, once within a blue and yellow mandorla, and again next to a dying Moses. In both instances, golden rays emanate from his head in the shape of a cross. By representing God with these attributes that would never have been found in an originally Jewish text, these narrative images present an interpretation of the Old Testament from a Christian perspective.

A second contradictory set of Old Testament architectural imagery in the Tours *Postilla* can be observed in the varied representations of interior Temple spaces. On the border of the first-text page (f. 228v) introducing Lyra's commentary on III Kings, a narrative image depicts the construction of Solomon's Temple. Crosses of consecration have been carved into the surface of the altar. In addition, the narrative sequence framing the first-text page (f. 153r) that begins Lyra's commentary on Joshua includes an image of Joshua kneeling before the altar on Mount Hebal. The altar is represented with a golden altarpiece, a golden chalice and the Host, elements which visually transform Joshua's act of devotion into a Christian ritual. As part of the series of narrative images on the border of the first-text page to I Paralipomen (f. 266v), King David makes an offering to God within a temple. A tonsured cleric stands by the altar, guiding King David's devotional activity.

The addition of Christian imagery to Old Testament depictions of Temples and Temple rituals functions to mask Lyra's *figura* of Solomon's Temple, its architectural elements (External Attachments and Capitals of Pillars) and water vessels (Molten Sea and Bronze Water Basin). Lyra's *figurae* of the Temple and its interior objects are relatively atypical representations within the tradition of Christian art. Lyra's Temple is depicted from a historical perspective, without Christian ornaments or symbols and with specific references to the opinions of Hebrew

commentators. By integrating Lyra's *figurae* into a manuscript that also contains an extensive narrative cycle of typically Christianized Old Testament imagery, the Tours *Postilla* distracts a reader/viewer's attention from the *figurae*.

The Christianization of imagery within the Tours *Postilla* is symptomatic of a development that occurs in other *Postilla* manuscripts. *Morgan M.535* displays Christianizing elements in the narrative images on the folio that begins the manuscript. By producing a visual parallel between Lucifer's expulsion and Adam and Eve's expulsion, the illuminators and iconographic programmers have placed an Old Testament event within a Christian context. In addition, on the first-text page to the beginning of Lyra's commentary on Leviticus in *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 11972*, tonsured clerics pray while looking toward a golden altarpiece in an illumination representing the Tabernacle. Gian Galeazzo Visconti's *Postilla* includes images of God in the sky with a crossed nimbus framing his head.

In the Tours *Postilla*, a hierarchy has been created by the difference between the physical placement of the narrative images and the *figurae*. The Christianized images in the Tours *Postilla* are placed in highly visible locations within the manuscript, on folios that contain the beginning of one of Lyra's chapters of commentary. In contrast, the *figurae* are located in less prominent places, often embedded within columns of commentary text. A similar prioritization of the Christianized narrative images occurs in *Morgan M.535* in which the image of Lucifer expelled from heaven decorates the first folio and the *figurae* are interspersed throughout Lyra's commentary. In *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 11972*, the Christianized representation of the Tabernacle introduces the commentary on Leviticus, but the *figurae* are found on the interior text

pages, also augmenting specific passages of Lyra's commentary.¹⁸⁰ The lesser placement of the *figurae* can be seen in the examples of the Ark of the Covenant, found in the Tours, Paris and Morgan *Postilla* manuscripts. The *figurae*'s explicit comparisons of Hebrew and Latin exegesis are buried within the numerous pages of textual commentary yet the Christianized narrative images are prominently displayed on the introductory page of Lyra's commentary for each biblical book.

My research complicates the scholarship of Deena Klepper, Herman Hailperin and Helen Rosenau that link the contents of Lyra's commentary and its circulation to Christian interaction with Jewish exegesis. Christianized narrative illustrations in the Tours *Postilla* are privileged over the *figurae*, obscuring Lyra's reliance on Hebrew sources. Further, visual delight preceded scholarly study. The narrative images likely expressed the Christian piety of the patron and satisfied a predilection for luxurious illumination rather than direct attention toward Lyra's interest in Jewish exegesis. In the next chapter, I will examine a *Postilla* in which the Christianizing trend is carried a significant step forward in so far as Lyra's *figurae* are themselves Christianized.

¹⁸⁰ Marcel has noted that several illustrations appearing at the beginning of Lyra's commentary of Old Testament books display Christian imagery, but he has not included reproductions. The book of the Song of Songs is introduced with an image of Christ next to personifications of ecclesiastic and lay church elements. The book of Isaiah begins with an image of Mary and the Christ child. The book of Zachariah opens with an image of Christ arriving in Jerusalem. In a future project, I plan to examine these miniatures. Marcel, *La calligraphie et la miniature à Langres à la fin du quinzième siècle: Histoire et description du manuscrit 11972-11978 du Fonds Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 31, 36.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: THE HAGUE, ROYAL LIBRARY 128 C8

For this chapter, I have chosen a *Postilla* (*The Hague, Royal Library 128 C8*) because the *figurae* carry the Christianization process observed in the Tours *Postilla* and the Lisbon *Postilla* an important step further in two ways. Whereas the remaining fragments of The Hague *Postilla* preserve Lyra's commentary text, the accompanying *figurae* lack Lyra's distinctions between Latin and Hebrew biblical scholarship, which are usually written on and around the *figurae* themselves. The absence of these annotations dismantles Lyra's initial strategy for clarifying these divergent opinions. Second, Old Testament architectural structures in the *figurae* are shown to contain numerous Christian ritual objects, displaying an even more dramatic iconographic shift than is found in the Tours *Postilla*, the Lisbon *Postilla*, and *Postilla* manuscripts in general. The Hague *Postilla figurae* display just enough similarities to earlier *Postilla figurae* to indicate that the illuminators were using a previously produced *Postilla* as a model, but were consciously choosing to deviate. These Christianized *figurae* suggest the need for a radical shift in our understanding of the reception of Nicholas of Lyra's work. While Deena Klepper and Herman Hailperin credit Lyra as a successful and accurate transmitter of Jewish biblical scholarship to a Christian audience, these Christianized *figurae* block access to Lyra's use of Jewish exegesis on a visual level.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ Deena Klepper and Herman Hailperin's arguments are summarized in Chapter One.

Although the *figurae* in The Hague *Postilla* do not thoroughly express Lyra's biblical scholarship, the textual layout and marginal notations function in an opposite manner by highlighting Lyra's references to Jewish commentary, and emphasizing his comparisons of Jewish and Christian exegetical opinion. This chapter will examine the contradictory modes of text and image in The Hague *Postilla* before concluding with a discussion of its patronage. In order to reconcile the fact that the text and image served different purposes and were likely produced for different audiences, I offer the possibility that a wealthy noble commissioned The Hague *Postilla* before donating it to an ecclesiastical or monastic community or individual.

5.1 CIRCUMSTANCES OF PRODUCTION

The Hague Royal Library 128 C8, though fascinating, survives in a somewhat mutilated state. Many copies of Lyra's *Postilla* were lengthy multi-volume sets, but only twenty-four folios of The Hague *Postilla* remain—suggesting that someone at an uncertain date valued the images but was prepared to discard most of the lengthy and unillustrated text pages. Some of the marginal notes are cut off, indicating the pages have been trimmed to the present size of 364mm by 248mm but enough commentary text survives to indicate that the owner was nonetheless interested in retaining some of Lyra's explanations as well as the *figurae* themselves. There are *figurae* from Exodus, Numbers, III Kings and narrative illustrations of biblical text accompanying the Psalms, Maccabees II, Proverbs and III Kings. The *figurae* are described in the table below.

Table 11: The Hague *Postilla figurae*

Folio number	Title of <i>figura</i> (For purposes of clarity, I have included titles of the <i>figurae</i> in this table, although they were not labeled in the <i>The Hague Postilla</i>)
f.2r	Sundial of Ahaz
f.3r	Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory, Latin version Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory, Hebrew version
f.4r	Candelabrum, Latin version Candelabrum, Hebrew version
f.5r	Curtains in Tabernacle
f.6r	Lateral boards of Ark
f.6r	Altar of the Holocaust, Latin version
f.6v	Joinings of the boards in the Ark
f.6v	Table with Bread of the Proposition, Latin Version Table with Bread of the Proposition, Hebrew Version
f.7r	Altar of the Holocaust, Hebrew version
f.8r	Aaron, High Priest in his Vestments
f.9r	Ten Commandments, Hebrew version Ten Commandments, Latin version
f.10r	Tabernacle interior* ¹⁸²
f.11r	Ground plan of Levite camps in the desert
f.12r	Temple of Solomon interior*
f.13r	External Attachments of the Temple of Solomon*
f.14r	House of the Forest of Liban*
f.15r	Capital surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, according to Latin commentators
f.16r	Capital surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, according to Rabbi Solomon
f.17r	Sea of Bronze, according to Latin commentators
f.18r	Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin

¹⁸² In the early fourteenth-century *Postilla figurae*, the Tabernacle, Temple of Solomon, the External Attachments of the Temple of Solomon and the House of the Forest of Liban were represented either as cross-sections or ground plans. However, in *The Hague Postilla*, they have been represented as fully three-dimensional structures, so I have not referred to them in this instance as ground plans or sections in the way that I have described other *figurae* in this dissertation.

The circumstances of the production of *The Hague Library 128 C8* are difficult to determine. Neither a coat of arms nor a colophon is included in the remaining folios, making it impossible to link the manuscript with a specific patron. The manuscript was produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, according to A.S. Korteweg and C.A. Chavannes-Mazel's 1980 catalog entry on the manuscript.¹⁸³ Anke Esch has attributed the manuscript's illumination to the hand of the Master of Phillip of Croÿ. Esch has mentioned *The Hague Postilla* very briefly, as part of a list of manuscripts produced in Hainault between 1450 and 1475 that are likely painted by the same artist.¹⁸⁴ Though Esch includes *The Hague Postilla* in her article, she does not reproduce any illustrations of it nor does she compare specific visual aspects of its illumination with the other stylistically similar manuscripts. I will elaborate on Esch's essential and extremely useful grouping by pointing out specific stylistic similarities between *The Hague*

¹⁸³ A. S. Korteweg and C.A. Chavannes-Mazel, *Schatten van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek: acht eeuwen verluchte handschriften* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum/Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1980), 90-91. See also Hanno Wijsman, "'3209: Postilla Literalis (Bible Commentaries) (fragment)' in *Luxury Bound*," CNRS: Traitement Électronique des Manuscrits et des Archives, <http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound/manuscrit3209/>.

¹⁸⁴ Anke Esch, "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons: Nouvelles perspectives," in *Als Ich can: Liber amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 642, 655-60. Some of the manuscripts in Esch's grouping have been attributed to Jacquemart Pilavaine. (*The Hague Postilla* was never attributed to Pilavaine.) Esch proceeds to demonstrate that Pilavaine never produced manuscript illuminations, but was responsible for marginal decorations and served as a scribe and reattributes all the manuscripts to a name of her own invention, the "Master of Phillip of Croÿ." Esch includes transcriptions from two fifteenth-century texts detailing Pilavaine's artistic activity. First, a document dated 5 April 1452 describes how Pilavaine was paid for several his work as an "enlumineur," a term that refers to the person who produces the marginal decorations, *but not the miniatures*. On the colophon for *Histoires martinienes* (*Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 9069*), Pilavaine is also cited as the "enlumineur." Esch notes that the miniatures of *Royal Library 128 C8* are stylistically similar to the miniatures of the *Histoires martinienes*. This comparison does not clearly link *The Hague Royal Library 128 C8* with Pilavaine because Esch contends that Pilavaine may have only decorated the margins and not painted the miniatures. Esch disagrees with the previous scholarship of Anne van Buren which claims Pilavaine was actually the miniaturist for *Histoires martinienes*; however, van Buren does not mention *The Hague Royal Library 128 C8*. See Anne van Buren-Hagiopan, "Jean Wauquelin de Mons et la production du livre aux Pays-Bas," *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Burgondomédianes* 23(1983): 59. Esch cites a previously unpublished document indicating Pilavaine left Hainault in the autumn of 1464 in order to argue that Pilavaine could not have been associated with any Montois manuscripts of any of those produced after 1464. Further discussion of Pilavaine's activity as an illuminator of margins and as a scribe can be found in: Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt, *Miniatures flamandes 1404-1482* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2011), 28, 30, 32, 85, 401.

Postilla images and contemporary miniatures to root The Hague *Postilla* firmly within the context of *Montois* manuscripts produced in Hainault and will suggest iconographic parallels for its Christianized and luxurious elements.

5.2 TEXTUAL LAYOUT IN THE HAGUE POSTILLA

5.2.1 Evidence for Interest in Nicholas of Lyra's Commentary Text

The marginal notes and the text of the commentary text in The Hague *Postilla* provide evidence that this manuscript was produced for scholarly use in three ways. First, the layout of the text gives prominence to Lyra's textual comparisons between Jewish and Christian commentators. On the folios that contain Lyra's commentary on the Altar of the Holocaust (folio 7r), Aaron's priestly garments (folio 8r), and the Ten Commandments (folio 9r), Rashi's name is both underlined in the main body of the commentary text and written a second time in the margins. On the folio containing Lyra's commentary text on the Curtains of the Tabernacle (folio 5r), both Josephus and Rashi's names are underlined in the main body of the commentary text and written a second time in the margins. On the folio that includes Lyra's commentary on the Candelabra (folio 4r), Augustine's name is underlined in the commentary text and written again in the margin. On folio 9v of The Hague *Postilla*, in the margins next to Lyra's commentary on Exodus 32:16, there are two marginal notes in red ink: "*Aug* (Augustine)" and "*Ra. Sa.* (Rashi)." Within the columns of commentary text, Rashi and Augustine's names are underlined in red. Marginal notes that designate the opinions of Latin and Hebrew commentators are also found in an early fourteenth-century *Postilla* discussed in Chapter Two: *Princeton MS 1937-266*,

suggesting that The Hague manuscripts represents a continuation of a trend in which the text within *Postilla* manuscripts was valued for its presentation of Jewish and Christian exegesis.¹⁸⁵

Second, all of the quotations from the biblical text are all underlined in red. These underlines allow a reader to easily locate a particular biblical passage, as well as the commentary that immediately follows. For example, a passage from Exodus 32:16 describing the two tablets of law, “*Scriptura quoque dei erat sculpta in tabulis,*” is underlined. Similar red underlines are found in early fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts such as *Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 169* and *Reims BM MS 171-2*, indicating that The Hague *Postilla* text accurately replicates Lyra’s organizational structure.

Third, numerous scribal corrections to the text indicate a concern to provide an accurate copy for the reader. For example, on folio 5r, the word “*doctores*” has been inserted to make a complete phrase “*ut dicunt aliqui doctores.*”¹⁸⁶ Other corrections appear on folios 3r and 4r where the phrase “*in plano*” and the word “*erat*” have been inserted into previously incomplete sentences.¹⁸⁷

5.3 ALTERATIONS TO LYRA’S ANNOTATIONS IN THE HAGUE

POSTILLA’S FIGURAE

In contrast to the text of The Hague *Postilla*, the illuminations do not explicitly distinguish between the opinions of Catholic or Hebrew biblical scholars. Lyra initially conceived of his

¹⁸⁵ *Bibliothèque nationale Latin MS 360*, an early fourteenth-century *Postilla*, has some marginal notes which are not legible from the internet website of the Bibliothèque nationale, but I plan to examine them in a future project.

¹⁸⁶ *The Hague Royal Library 128 C8*, f. 5r

¹⁸⁷ *The Hague Royal Library 128 C8*, f. 3r; *The Hague Royal Library 128 C8*, f. 4r

commentary text and accompanying *figurae* as an integral unit. He referred to his *figurae* in his commentary text, and rubrics within, below and above the *figurae* in turn linked the imagery with the commentary text. These annotations appear on numerous other fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts. These rubrics are absent in The Hague *Postilla's* *figurae*, thus disconnecting the commentary from the images, which no longer function as conveyors of Christian and Jewish exegetical opinions. None of the illuminations in this *Postilla* explicitly aid the viewer in understanding the differences between Hebrew and Latin commentary, a central aspect to Lyra's text. This fact complicates the current scholarly consensus that Lyra's *Postilla* consistently exposed Christian readers to Jewish biblical interpretation. However, The Hague *Postilla* includes thirteen *figurae* in which these explanatory rubrics are absent, suggesting that a different interpretation of the *figurae* is called for. I will present comparisons of five The Hague *figurae* with *figurae* from other *Postilla* manuscripts. Each comparison begins by discussing how Lyra's textual comparisons between Jewish and Christian commentary are manifested in the *figurae* of early fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts. Then, I will demonstrate that The Hague *Postilla* *figurae* do not refer to Lyra's Jewish and Christian sources.

5.3.1 Altered *Figurae*: External Attachments to Solomon's Temple

Lyra's *figurae* of the External Attachments to Solomon's Temple typically included two diagrams: one titled "*prima figura*," which corresponds to Lyra's summary of the Catholic commentators' descriptions of the architectural measurements and construction and a second titled "*secunda figura*," which refers to Lyra's recapitulation of Hebrew commentary on the same subject matter. An explanation is necessary to clarify why the "*prima figura*" corresponds to Latin exegetical opinion and the "*secunda figura*" corresponds to Hebrew exegetical opinion.

In his commentary on these external attachments, Lyra begins with the opinions of “our commentators” (*expositores nostros*) and of “others” (*alii*), all of whom conceive of these structures as ambulatories (*deambulatoria*).¹⁸⁸ Lyra explains that he has represented these passageways with a two-dimensional figure: “*secundum modum figuratum in colu(m)na quarta interius in margine exterior prout potest in plano figurari.*” Near this textual commentary in several fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts (*Reims BM MS 172*, f. 130v; *Charleville-Mézières BM MS 267*, f. 53r; *Paris BnF Lat. 360*, f. 167v), a schematic drawing with the label “*prima figura*” appears. Though the names of these Catholic exegetes are not mentioned in Lyra’s commentary, Teresa Laguna Paül has found passages in Latin exegetical texts such as Richard of St. Victor’s *De Templo Salmonis* that correspond to Lyra’s *figura* that is designated “*prima figura.*”¹⁸⁹ Next, Lyra distinguishes all of the previously mentioned opinions from those of Hebrew commentators (*Hebreos*) by remarking that Hebrew commentators categorize these external architectural elements as appendages (*appendicia*): “*secundu(m) vero Hebreos qui non ponu(n)t ista deambulatoria sed appendicia.*” Then, he notes that there will be another *figura* that visually expresses the structural appearance of the *appendicia* according to Hebrew commentary. Lyra further specifies the precise location of this *figura* on the manuscript page: “*sicut figuratum est in colu(m)na opposita exterius.*” A second schematic drawing with the phrase “*secunda figura*” that refers to the Hebrew interpretation of these architectural projections also appears in several early fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts below, adjacent or near the relevant column of commentary text. Laguna Paül has noted that Josephus’ description of these

¹⁸⁸This commentary text does not appear in the remaining twenty-four folios of The Hague *Postilla*, but it does appear in complete printed and manuscript copies of the *Postilla*. Thus, these passages were almost certainly written in The Hague *Postilla* when it existed as a complete text. The text appears in a *Postilla* printed by Sweynheym and Pannertz in Rome, 1471-72 (*The Hague, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, 4 A 15*) and an early fourteenth-century *Postilla* (*Reims BM MS 172*, ff. 94v-94r). Because The Hague *Postilla* is incomplete, all of my translations and transcriptions in this chapter are based on the Sweynheym and Pannertz edition unless otherwise noted.

¹⁸⁹ Paül, “Nicolás de Lyra y la Iconografía Bíblica,” 45-46.

appendages in his *Antiquities of the Jews* corresponds to Lyra's visualization of Hebrew commentary.¹⁹⁰ Lyra informs the reader that an understanding of Hebrew commentary is an essential and integral element to understanding the literal sense of scripture: "*et secundum hanc intentionem Hebreorum sic exponitur littera.*"

This valuation of Hebrew scholarship has been lost in The Hague *Postilla figura* of the External Attachment to Solomon's Temple; Lyra's rubrics are absent. Neither the phrase "*prima figura*" nor the phrase "*secunda figura*" appears. There is only one version of the External Attachments represented in The Hague *Postilla*; the other might be missing from the remaining twenty-four folios or it may not have been included in the first place. (However the two *figurae* usually appear next to each other on the same page). The fragmentary nature of the extant folios makes it difficult to know the status of the missing *figura*. In the *figura* that is currently included, the planks and boards projecting out from the right side depict the External Attachments, suggesting the illuminator had access to a previously produced *Postilla figura* of this subject; however, but the precise arrangement of the planks and boards attached to the Temple's exterior as specified in Lyra's early *figurae* (as discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two Section Five) was not replicated, indicating the illuminator decided to construct a different image. Instead of a linear drawing in brown ink with highly informative textual annotations as found in the early fourteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts, there is a brilliantly colored illumination displaying many visual details to delight the reader's eye rather than explicate specific points from Lyra's text: the Temple structure is encircled by a vermillion red stone wall and placed on top of a tiled

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. My preliminary study of two fifteenth-century copies of the *Antiquities of the Jews* reveals that Josephus' description of these appendages is not illustrated; instead Solomon's Temple is depicted in accordance with common late medieval iconographic trends. For example, in a copy produced in Tours, c.1470, (*BnF Française 247*), the Temple is represented as a late Gothic cathedral on f.163. Also in another copy produced in Gent, c.1480, (*BnF Française 16*), the Temple of Solomon is pictured as a circular structure similar to other late medieval depictions of the Temple that conflated it with the Dome of the Rock on f.294. See: Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Mandragore, base des manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale de France." Accessed 30 March 2012.

floor. An ogival entrance arch is topped by a golden pinnacle. Rosette windows and narrow lancet windows pierce the building constructed from stone blocks. A wooden roof tops an upper story with gabled windows. A landscape setting frames the architectural monument. A gold leaf border surrounds the illumination. The altarpiece in the interior of the Temple will be discussed as a Christianized element in section 5.4.

5.3.2 Altered *Figurae*: Ark of the Covenant

Next I will compare the *figurae* of the Ark of the Covenant in The Hague *Postilla* with other illuminations of these *figurae*. Both Bernice Kaczynski and Deena Klepper have analyzed Lyra's discussion of the different exegetes whose commentaries were meant to be further clarified by the two different images of the Ark produced by Lyra.¹⁹¹ Kaczynski has examined the *figurae* of the Ark in *New Haven, Marston MS. 215*, a *Postilla* dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, on the basis of Barbara Shailor's stylistic analysis.¹⁹² Kaczynski has noted that Lyra cites both Rashi and Josephus' opinions on the placement of the poles that allowed Hebrews to lift and carry the Ark. According to Lyra, Josephus wrote that the poles were attached along the length of the Ark while Rashi wrote that the poles should be adjoined to the width of the Ark. The notation placed on the left side of the *figura* in the *Marston Postilla*, "Rabi Sa" (Rabbi Solomon/Rashi) corresponds to Lyra's explication of Rashi's opinion as its poles are attached to the shorter side. The notations near the second image of the Ark indicates this version

¹⁹¹ Kaczynski, "Illustrations of Tabernacle and Temple Implements in the *Postilla in Testamentum Vetus* of Nicolaus de Lyra," 5-9; Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 53-56.

¹⁹² Barbara Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, vol. 3 (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 407-09.

corresponds to the description of “others” (*aliorum*). Since the phrase “*aliorum*” appears next to the second image of the Ark in which the poles parallel the length, Kaczynski interprets “*aliorum*” as a reference to Josephus’ opinion.

Klepper has expanded upon Kaczynski’s analysis by examining additional passages of Lyra’s commentary on the same *figurae*. Lyra also seeks to define the meaning of the word “*propitiatorium*.” In the Vulgate, the Ark of the Covenant is referred to as the “*arche propitiatorii*.” Lyra illustrates Rashi’s claim that a “propitiatory” refers to a cover for the Ark upon which the cherubim stood. By examining multiple *Postilla* manuscripts, Klepper has also discovered that the bottom image of the Ark corresponds not only to Josephus’ opinion on the poles’ position, but also to Thomas Aquinas’ commentary on the propitiatory. Annotations to the *figurae* of the Ark in several early *Postilla* manuscripts (*Reims BM MS 178*, f. 49r; *Oxford Bodl. MS 251*, f. 49r; *Brit. Lib. Royal 3 D VII*, f. 65v) include the notation: “*Figura arche propitiatorii et cherubin secundum alios doctores et specialiter secundum Thomas de Aquino*.” Klepper cites Aquinas’ original description of the propitiatory as a golden table that was raised above the Ark. In the bottom *figura*, the two cherubim hold a flat object, meant to represent this golden table, above the Ark, a visualization of Aquinas’ commentary.¹⁹³

In The Hague *Postilla*, the two different versions of the Ark have been painted, but the explanatory rubrics that link each version to Lyra’s detailed explanation of Josephus’, Rashi’s and Aquinas’ commentaries are not present. The artists and producers privileged visually intricate exterior and interior environments over textual annotations, a new development in comparison to the early *Postilla* manuscripts. In the top version of the Ark, a balcony composed

¹⁹³ My source for the transcriptions and list of early *Postilla* manuscripts with these particular notations for the Ark is: Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 167, n. 70. Note that the *Reims BM MS 178* is a different copy than *Reims BM MS 171-172*, which I have frequently discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

of gold columns topped by red capitals that support stone arches both frame the Ark and guide the viewer's eye to a distant landscape setting composed of trees, small mountains, and a blue sky. In the bottom version, trefoil arches separated by finials rest above red and gold columns that frame a room built out of stone blocks and punctuated by three windows. These different backgrounds distinguish each *figura* pictorially, but not exegetically.

5.3.3 Altered *Figurae*: Capitals of the Columns According to Latin Commentators in Solomon's Temple

Comparisons of The Hague *Postilla figurae* of the capitals of the columns in Solomon's Temple with early fourteenth-century and typical fifteenth-century *figurae* reveal that The Hague *Postilla* illuminators did not prioritize Lyra's visual clarification of differences between Jewish and Christian exegesis. The early *figura* of the capital according to Latin commentators as found in *Reims BM MS 172* illustrates Lyra's analysis of the capitals as described in III Kings 7: 15-20.¹⁹⁴ Two hundred brass pomegranates and seven rows of brass chainwork were attached in horizontal rows around the capitals while a sculpted lily is placed at the top. In the *Reims Postilla figura*, the rows of pomegranates appear at the bottom and middle of the column. They are represented as small circles painted in a pale yellow tone encircling a long white oval. Above the rows of pomegranates, there are seven rows of chainwork that are articulated with a variety of

¹⁹⁴ III Kings 7:15-20 reads: "And he cast two pillars in brass..He made also two chapiters of molten brass, to be set upon the tops of the pillars...And a kind of network, and chainwork wreathed together with wonderful art. Both chapiters of the pillars were cast; seven rows of nets were on one chapiter, and seven nets on the other chapiter. And he made the pillars, and two rows round about each network to cover the chapiters, that were upon the top, with pomegranates...And the chapiters that were upon the top of the pillars, were of lily work in the porch, of four cubits...And of pomegranates there were two hundred in rows round about the other chapiter.

decorative black and white patterns.¹⁹⁵ In several fifteenth-century *figurae* of the same subject, the pomegranates and chainwork are also represented.

The corresponding representation of the Capital according to Latin commentators in The Hague *Postilla* alters or lacks many visual elements that express Lyra's commentary, resulting in a whimsical and idiosyncratic revision of Lyra's *figura*. On either edge of the miniature, two columns support the capitals, but are hardly the focal point of the illumination. They appear at the top edge of the picture; their red bulbous shapes are truncated by the illumination's golden borders. No brass pomegranates are found on the capitals. Two rows of chains hang between the base and top of the columns, a deviation from their placement on the capital, as mentioned in III Kings, in Lyra's commentary and visualized in the *Reims figura*. White lilies float in the sky instead of resting at the capital's apex, as specified by Lyra. A canopy of golden architectural forms connects the two capitals and may also represent the chainwork that is described by Lyra. A series of blue columns supporting an arcade, described neither in III Kings nor Lyra's commentary, has been placed between the two large columns. That no rubric links this image to the opinion of Latin exegetes is not surprising, given these visual deviations from Lyra's *figura*.

Lyra also designed a *figura* to illustrate the capital's decorative elements according to Hebrew commentary; he notes that the Hebrews claim that two rows of pomegranates are attached just above and below the widest part of the capital's apple-shaped bulbous form.¹⁹⁶ This spatial arrangement is pictured in many fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla*

¹⁹⁵ Ideo lumen transiens per illa foramina circumquaerue ostendebat pulchritudinem illius operis. Super istas autem septem portiones que in littera vocantur retiacula et cathene eo quod in retibus et cathenis apparent talia foramina et intricaciones prope medium capitelli alia dilatatio circularis per modum circuli omnino similis predictae et ibi centum malogranata superposita et centum supposita et desuper VII portiones distincte et perforate sicut et predictae sed erat strictiores quia capitellum in ascendendo restringebatur et in summitate capitelli erat opus simili flor lili.

¹⁹⁶Notandum etiam quod Ra. Sa. [Rashi] et alii doctores Hebrei habent alia(m) imaginationem totaliter de istis capitellis. Dicunt enim quod capitella ista erant duo grossi pomelli super captia duarum columnarum magis latique alti sicut solet fieri in summitatibus campanilium et in latior parte utriusque pomelli exterius erant duo circuitus malogranatorum unus super alius subter.

manuscripts. However, Lyra's visualization of Hebrew commentary is not included in The Hague *Postilla*'s second representation of the Temple's capitals. Although the capitals appear on top of columns in the foreground of the illumination, they are depicted as rather non-descript stone elements, and one of them is cut off by the miniature's frame. Other visual aspects of the miniature distract the reader even further away from Lyra's interest in the Hebrew commentators' understanding of the capitals. A small stone building (which may represent the Temple), and landscape fills the miniature. And again, the rubric that customarily accompanies this *figura* to indicate that it represents Hebrew commentary is missing. Although the illuminators did not accurately copy the *Postilla figurae* from a previous model, their pictorial invention presents the reader and viewer with attractive, intriguing imagery which would have a significant visual impact upon the reader and viewer. Though not illustrative of Lyra's detailed exegetical comparisons, the illuminations still depict recognizable images of the subjects that Lyra discussed, and thus bear a relationship to the text, if only superficially. The illuminations were produced by a highly skilled artist, and included gold leaf and expensive pigments such as lapis lazuli, suggesting that this was a luxury manuscript, and probably a status object.

5.3.4 Altered *Figurae*: Ten Commandments

Lyra's objective, to encourage a reader/viewer to carefully consider Jewish and Christian exegetical opinion, was also erased in The Hague *Postilla figurae* of the Ten Commandments. In his commentary, Lyra explicates the literal meaning of Exodus 32:16 ("The writing also of God was graven in the tablets") by discussing the arrangement of the commandments on each of the two tablets:

Indeed, according to Augustine, in one tablet there were the first three commandments because the precepts of the first table direct man to God. On the other tablet however, there were the seven other laws which direct man towards his neighbour. According to Rashi (Rabbi Solomon) and the Hebrew doctors, five (commandments) had been written on one tablet and five on the other. Rabbi Solomon nevertheless divides the commandments differently from Augustine as was said above in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. As, moreover, this is to be easier understood as expressed here in the figure that appears on the following page.¹⁹⁷

Fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Postilla figurae* of the Ten Commandments illustrate and annotate Rashi and Augustine's divisions, but Lyra's comparisons are rendered less effective in The Hague *Postilla figurae* because neither set of tablets is labeled.

Lyra initially designed his comparative *figurae* of the Ten Commandments in the same way he designed all of his comparative *figurae*: to present Jewish and Christian exegetical opinion without visual signifiers of his preferences, even if these preferences are articulated in his commentary text. In some cases, the commentary text also compares these opinions without a clear indication of preference. In the commentary on the Ten Commandments, Lyra presents both opinions neutrally. The Hague *Postilla figurae* of the Ten Commandments dismantles Lyra's neutrality and clearly articulates a preference for the Latin Commentators: two hands, floating in the sky, point to the version of the Ten Commandments according to Latin Commentators. These hands recall the *dextera dei* common in medieval iconography, thus, although two hands are unusual they could signify divine guidance directing a viewer's attention

¹⁹⁷ Scriptura quoque dei erat sculpta in tabulis (Exodus 32:16). Secundum Augustinum in una tabula erant tamen tria praecepta. Ideo dicuntur precepta prime tabule quia ordinant hominem ad deum. In alia autem tabula erant alia septem que ordinant ad proximum. Ideo dicuntur precepta secunde tabula. Secundum Rabi Salomonem et doctores hebraeos quinque erant scripta in una tabula et quinque in alia. Aliter tamen distinguit precepta quam Augustinus ut dictum est supra 20 capitulum ut autem ista melius intelligantur expressi hic in figura qu(a)e est in sequiti pagina (*The Hague, Royal Library 128 C8, f. 9v*).

toward the representation of the tablets as conceived by Augustine, and away from the tablets that depict the division of the laws as described by Rashi.

5.4 CHRISTIANIZATION

Another dramatic alteration occurs in the representation of the Temple in The Hague *Postilla figurae*. The imagery is more emphatically Christianized than the other *Postilla* manuscripts used as case studies in this dissertation as well as *Postilla* manuscripts in general, as these comparisons will show.

5.4.1 Christianized *Figura*: Measurements and Contents of Solomon's Temple

By comparing the early fourteenth-century *figurae* that diagram the contents and measurements of Solomon's Temple found in the Reims and Charleville-Mézières *Postilla* manuscripts with the analogous The Hague *Postilla figura*, a significant change becomes apparent. Jewish liturgical objects are left out, displaced or outnumbered by the many Christian ritual implements in The Hague *Postilla figura* of the Temple. Lyra's placement of the ritual objects within their respective rooms has not been replicated accurately. The Bread of the Proposition is absent; the Candelabra and the Altar of Incense are placed in separate spaces. In contrast, these three objects are all located in the sanctuary (*domus exterior*) in the Reims and Charleville-Mézières *Postilla* depictions of the Temple, following the text in III Kings. A second rupture within the tradition of *Postilla figurae* occurs with the striking Christianization of

Solomon's Temple. In the left section of the upper story, a chalice and a ciborium await usage in the Mass ceremony. In the middle section, three liturgical vestments hang from a horizontal wooden beam. In the right section of the top story, a reliquary case, a second ciborium and two golden crosses appear. An altar topped by a golden altarpiece occupies the central space of the bottom tier. This Christian altar and golden altarpiece are centrally placed commanding the viewer's attention; the adjacent curtains reach out and project in the viewer's space while the Candelabra and Altar of Incense – Jewish ritual objects emphasized by Lyra – are marginalized as they are placed on either side of the Christian elements.¹⁹⁸

5.4.2 Christianized *Figurae*: External Attachments of the Temple and Solomon's House in the Forest of Liban

The unexpected Christian altar and golden altarpiece appears again in The Hague *figura* of the External Attachments of the Temple and in a *figura* of Solomon's house in the Forest of Liban. In these *figurae*, this altar occupies a central position in the miniature while other elements that Lyra mentions in his commentary are again relegated to the periphery. For example, the External Attachments are depicted as wooden boards that extend from windows on the right side of the Temple. These architectural projections—the focus of Lyra's commentary and *figurae*—appear on the far right side of the miniature, and are hardly a focal point of the image. Yet, several visual devices guide the viewer's attention to the Christian altarpiece.

¹⁹⁸ Teresa Laguna-Paül has noted one instance of a subtle Christianization in another fifteenth-century *Postilla* (Paris, BnF MS. Lat. 11519), an exquisite luxury French manuscript with no known patron: Aaron stands in front of a church. Upon examining this *Postilla*, I observed that the structure behind Aaron is composed of several Gothic features that are found on cathedrals (pointed arches, trefoil tracery, external buttresses, nave), but does not have any overtly Christian symbols. See: Paül, "Iconografía de las Postillae Litteralis de Nicolás de Lyra (1332-1660)", 591-92.

Depicted with bright, shining gold leaf paint, the altar occupies a central position in the illumination, and is framed by a Gothic doorway. The altar's presence implies that the House is designed for the Mass and other Christian rituals (even though the figures depicted on the altarpiece seem to lack halos and are not specifically Christ or the Virgin and saints).

5.4.3 Christianized Psalm Illustration

Moreover, an illumination that accompanies the text of the Psalms in The Hague *Postilla* illustrates the Mass actually taking place. There were never any *figurae* that illustrated Lyra's commentary on the Psalms. This illumination is a new development in the *Postilla* tradition. In this scene, the same liturgical vestments and objects depicted in The Hague miniature of Solomon's Temple are used by the ritual's participants: the blue chasuble and the red tunic initially depicted in the illumination of Solomon's Temple are worn by the priest and the cleric in the Psalm illustration. The ciborium that is represented in the top left of Solomon's Temple is now being elevated by the priest and has been filled with the Eucharistic wine. The altar and altarpiece found in the *figura* of Solomon's Temple are duplicated in the Psalm illustration: a golden altarpiece is framed by green curtains and rests upon a white table from which a floral tapestry hangs. The intervisual relationship between the liturgical implements pictured in The Hague *Postilla* illumination of Solomon's Temple and the enactment of the Mass in the Psalm illustration reinforces the association between Solomon's Temple and Christian ritual, an ahistorical relationship at odds with Lyra's historical investigations.

5.4.4 Severing the Link to Hebrew Manuscript Illumination

In representing measurements and contents of the Temple without any Christian objects or symbols, Lyra's initial *figurae* bore a resemblance to the methods employed by the creators of diagrams of the Temple in the biblical commentaries of Rashi and Maimonides, discussed in Chapter One who naturally represented the Temple as a sacred architectural monument that existed long before the advent of Christianity. As noted by Rosenau, Lyra's *figurae* stand apart from the iconographic tradition of projecting Christianized elements onto Temple imagery (as in the *Bible historiale* cited above in Section 1.3). Lyra resisted this Christian tradition and for many years, copyists and illustrators had been faithful to this resistance. Carol Herselle Krinsky makes a similar distinction; she notes that by the mid-fourteenth century, temples were depicted as fully three-dimensional contemporary churches in Christian art such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple* (c. 1342) or an anonymous Burgundian mid-fifteenth-century painting of the same subject matter, but exceptions can be seen in the two-dimensional diagrams of the Temple that appear in Hebrew manuscripts and in Nicholas of Lyra's illustrations which rely on Jewish sources.¹⁹⁹ In The Hague *Postilla*, on the other hand, the change to depicting the Temple with ritual objects designed for the Christian Mass severs Lyra's iconographic link to Jewish Temple imagery.

Not only are there iconographic changes in The Hague *Postilla* from previous *Postilla* manuscripts, but there are stylistic changes. In early *Postilla* manuscripts, Solomon's Temple is depicted with two-dimensional schematic diagrams. The Hague *Postilla* represents the Temple as

¹⁹⁹ Carol Herselle Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem Before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33(1970): 11-18. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple* is now located in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. The anonymous Burgundian painting also titled *Presentation in the Temple* is now located in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (inv 3765) and has been reproduced in Krinsky's article.

a three-dimensional form, as is found in a significant number of fifteenth-century copies. Lyra's early diagrams share an affinity with diagrams of the Temple found in Hebrew manuscripts which also represent the Temple using spare, undecorated two-dimensional diagrams. This stylistic shift is more than an aesthetic change, it marks a break with the way Temple imagery was visualized both in Hebrew manuscripts and within the *Postilla* tradition.

5.4.5 Iconographic Parallels to Christianized *Figurae* in The Hague *Postilla*

The Hague *Postilla* illuminators and producers chose to merge images of Christian architectural structures with Lyra's *figurae*. Although they utilized previous copies of Lyra's *Postilla* as a model to some extent in their selection of subjects that formed an intrinsic part of the illustrated *Postilla* tradition, the artistic and iconographic programmers drew equally, if not more, from contemporary source material found in fifteenth-century Burgundian painting and sculpture. A miniature in a Franciscan breviary (*London, Sotheby's, 6 July 2000, Lot 29*) produced c. 1460 for Jean de Carondelet (1428-1502) of Dôle depicts a chapel that is strikingly similar to the representations of Solomon's Temple and Solomon's House in the Forest of Liban in The Hague *Postilla*.²⁰⁰ Carondelet held several positions in the Burgundian government. He

²⁰⁰ The following information regarding the Carondelet Breviary and the history of the manuscript is found in "Lot 29: The Carondelet Breviary, of Franciscan Use, in Latin, Illuminated Manuscript on Vellum," in *A Selection of Illuminated Manuscripts from the 13th to the 16th Centuries, the Property of Mr. J.R. Ritman* (London: Sotheby's, 2000). The identification of Jean de Carondelet as patron is made based on the arms of Carondelet that occur frequently throughout the manuscript: three gold-filled circles azure a bend or between five bezants of the second. The breviary was produced when Carondelet was involved as ambassador to Charles the Bold to the rebellious town of Liège in the 1460's. The breviary is for Franciscan use and may have been given by Carondelet to the Franciscan convent in Tournai; the calendar lists the feast day of August 31st as a day which commemorates the dedication of this particular Franciscan convent. There are only two other manuscripts associated with the Carondelet family. First, Jean de Carondelet commissioned another breviary which was written in Namur in 1489 and illuminated in Ghent in the 1490s (*Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 285*). Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren, "Carondelet Breviary," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 112. Carondelet's son,

served as the counselor to Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy and as an ambassador to the Courts of France, England, and Austria. In 1473, he became the President of the Parliament of Burgundy (1473) and in 1480, he became the Grand Chancellor of Burgundy and Flanders. In her list of manuscript illuminations with stylistic similarities to The Hague *Postilla*, Esch mentions this breviary but does not provide specific visual comparisons.²⁰¹ In the Carondelet breviary's illumination of the Immaculate Conception (f. 376v), there is an altar covered with a cloth and topped by a golden altarpiece that is nearly identical to an altar and altarpiece that appears in depictions of Solomon's Temple and the House in the Forest of Liban in The Hague *Postilla*.

The architectural structure that contains the altar in the Carondelet breviary also shares visual similarities to the Christianized Temple in The Hague *Postilla*. The chapel in the Carondelet Breviary is a small gray stone structure, with just enough room for the altarpiece. Two turrets are attached to each end of the buildings in illuminations from both manuscripts. The red and white floor tile patterns in many of the Carondelet Breviary illuminations resemble the floor pattern in The Hague *Postilla*. These stylistic similarities not only support Esch's contention that The Hague *Postilla* and the Carondelet Breviary were illuminated by the same artist.

A second Montois manuscript (*Jena, Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Thüringer Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, El. Fol. 95-96*) produced during the third quarter of the fifteenth century (c. 1465-73) also contains illuminations that depict Old Testament ritual spaces as Christian structures. Images in this manuscript illustrate the text of Guyart des Moulins' late

Jean de Carondelet II, commissioned a missal now kept in the Treasury of Tournai cathedral. See L. Fourez, "Le Missel de Jean II de Carondelet," *Scriptorium* 23(1969): 272-75.

²⁰¹ Esch, "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons: Nouvelles perspectives," 660.

thirteenth-century translation of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, commonly referred to as the *Bible Historiale*. The two volumes were likely commissioned by Phillippe de Croÿ (1434-1482), the Count of Chimay and Lord of Semy and Quiévrain, and passed on to his son, Charles de Croÿ (1455-1527), Count of Chimay and godfather to Charles V.²⁰² Esch cites this *Bible historiale* as one of the manuscripts that is stylistically similar to The Hague *Postilla*, but she does not explore the imagery and text beyond the brief listing.²⁰³ One illumination in the Croÿ *Bible historiale* (*El. Fol. 95, f. 141v*) illustrates the twelve princes of Israel inside the Tabernacle where the Ark of the Covenant is represented as a golden gothicized reliquary case, similar to the reliquary case in The Hague *Postilla* illumination of Solomon's Temple. Two other illuminations in the Croÿ *Bible historiale* depict the interiors of temples with altarpieces that are stylistically similar to those represented in The Hague *Postilla* illustrations of Solomon's Temple and Solomon's House in the Forest of Liban. One illumination (*El. Fol. 96, f. 23v*) illustrates the beginning of the commentary on Ecclesiastes with an image of a temple that includes an altar with a long horizontal golden altarpiece. In an illumination (*El. Fol. 96, f. 140v*) that illustrates the history of the Maccabees, a temple is depicted with several priests and tonsured clerics standing in front of an altar with another long horizontal golden altarpiece. These illuminations in the Croÿ *Bible historiale* reveal that late fifteenth-century Montois biblical illustrations customarily represented Jewish temples in a Christianized manner. The illuminators of The Hague *Postilla* likely absorbed this pictorial approach by incorporating contemporary iconography into Lyra's *figurae*.

²⁰² As noted by Éléonore Fournié, the arms and devices of Phillippe de Croÿ and his son, Charles de Croÿ, are found on this manuscript. Éléonore Fournié, "Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bible historiale. Volume I.," L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques, <http://acrh.revues.org/index1467.html>. Accessed 8 December 2011. A list of the extant manuscripts that were owned by Phillippe de Croÿ can be found in Jean Devaux, "Un Seigneur lettré à la Cour de Bourgogne: Philippe de Croÿ, Comte de Chimay," in *Liber Amicorum Raphaël de Smedt. Volume 4*, ed. André Tourneux (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 27-29.

²⁰³ Esch, "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons: Nouvelles perspectives," 657.

The conflation of the Ark of the Covenant and a tomb structure in The Hague *Postilla* functions to Christianize the Ark. Along the front side of the top version of the Ark, there are sculptural elements: four small niches topped by trefoil arches encase small standing human figures. The tomb of the first Burgundian duke, Philip the Bold, sculpted by Claus Sluter, Jean de Marville and Claus de Werve (1384-1410) for the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon, includes similar sculptures placed under trefoil arches. In addition, the tomb of Philip the Bold's son, John the Fearless and his wife Margaret of Bavaria (1443-70), produced by artists Jean de la Huerta and Antoine le Moiturier, also includes sculptures of mourners underneath arcatures.²⁰⁴ As Hainault was under the control of the Burgundian dukes by 1433, the producers of The Hague *Postilla*, who were working in Mons, were likely influenced by this ducal tomb iconography.

5.5 PATRONAGE POSSIBILITIES

5.5.1 Evidence that The Hague *Postilla* was Commissioned by a Member of the Nobility

As The Hague *Postilla*'s specific patron remains unknown, it is necessary to posit possibilities for the type of patron and readers/viewers in order to better understand the varied audiences' motivations for producing and viewing the text and imagery. A full-page illumination of King Solomon appears just above the text that begins the commentary on Proverbs: *Incipiunt proverbia Salomonis*. The depiction of Solomon as a secular king of a bustling court suggests

²⁰⁴ Stephen N. Fliegel and Sophie Jugie, *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 223-27, 251-55.

that the patron might have been a Burgundian duke (the Burgundian dukes were descended from Philip VI, King of France) or member of the French or Burgundian Court who wanted to associate himself with Solomon to mirror his own activities. Solomon's French associations cannot be denied as a *fleur-de-lis* appears at end of his staff and three *fleurs-de-lis* decorate his hat. He reigns from a raised wooden throne, set off by a red tapestry embellished with a golden geometric design. The throne room displays bustling secular court activity. Two men converse behind Solomon. A man in the foreground offers an apple toward a chained monkey, while an attentive dog looks up toward Solomon. A man in a brown robe gestures toward Solomon. Solomon and another royal figure gaze down at an open book in his lap, perhaps to indicate the value of reading, and to encourage the readers of this manuscript to carefully examine its contents.

A second illumination in The Hague *Postilla* indicates the patron's likely association with French or Burgundian secular authority. In one of the illustrations accompanying the Psalms, Christ's nimbus is composed of three *fleur-de-lis* projecting from his head; a secular ruler might have desired such an image which links divine authority to the French crown for the purpose of legitimizing his earthly rule.

My research has uncovered that The Hague *Postilla* illumination of King Solomon in a typical fifteenth-century court setting replicates French royal portraiture. One such portrait is found in a copy of Augustine's *City of God* (Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale ms. français 17*), illuminated between 1470 and 1480 by the Master of Margaret of York for Lodewijk van Gruuthuse (c. 1427-1492), a diplomat, advisor and soldier for two Burgundian dukes, Philip the

Good and Charles the Bold.²⁰⁵ The frontispiece to the *City of God* includes an illumination of Charles V (r. 1364-1380) in a court setting that displays many of the iconographic elements that are found in The Hague *Postilla* illumination of King Solomon. Both rulers sit on wooden thrones placed in front of a red hanging tapestry. Both illuminations depict lively activity surrounding each king. Courtly men and royal attendants converse with each other. Several animals, including dogs, also populate the interior space. Finally, both King Solomon and Charles V wear hats that are encircled with gold *fleur-de-lis*, an official emblem of the French crown.

A Book of Hours produced in Utrecht c. 1442-44 for Catherine of Cleves (*Morgan MS M. 917 and 945*) also includes an illumination of King Solomon holding a scepter topped by a *fleur-de-lis*. Though no scholar has commented on the *fleur-de-lis* motif in this illumination of Solomon waiting for the Queen of Sheba to cross the Kidron River, I believe it is a signifier of Catherine's royal ancestry.²⁰⁶ Catherine of Cleves' uncle was Philip the Good (Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467), her grandfather was John the Fearless (Duke of Burgundy from 1404 to 1419) and her great-great-grandfather was John the Good (King of France from 1350 to 1364).

²⁰⁵ For a brief notice on *Paris BnF ms. fr. 17*, see Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the Eighth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century* (Louvain: Brepols, 1999), 406-408. Also see Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Mandragore, base des manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque nationale de France."

<<http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>> Accessed 25 January 2012.

²⁰⁶ For discussions of the illumination of King Solomon awaiting the Queen of Sheba (f. 109) in the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves, see the following: John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), n. 85. Friedrich Gorissen, *Das stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1973), 517-19. Rob Dückers and Ruud Priem, *Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century* (Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof, 2009), 332-33. Morgan Library, "Demons and Devotion: The Hours of Catherine of Cleves (Digital Facsimile),"

<http://www.themorgan.org/collections/works/cleves/manuscript.asp?id=1>. Robert Dückers, Eberhard König, and Roger Wieck, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: MS M.917 and MS M.945, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*. (Munich: Faksimile Verlag, 2009).

These comparisons suggest that the initial patron of The Hague *Postilla* was most likely a member of the nobility with similar status as Lodewijk van Gruuthuse or Catherine of Cleves. In the same way that this motif was used in these two books of Hours to link the patron to French royalty, the *fleur-de-lis* crown and scepter in The Hague *Postilla* must reflect the patron's political or familial association with the French crown.

5.5.2 Context for the Hague *Postilla*: Burgundian Manuscripts Owned by Secular Wealthy Patrons

In The Hague *Postilla*, narrative images of biblical stories appear at the introduction to the commentary on Proverbs, Maccabees and at the beginning of individual Psalms. The presence of these illuminations suggests narrative scenes may have introduced Lyra's commentary on each biblical book in the complete version of this *Postilla* manuscript. The scene that is depicted in the illumination above the text that begins Lyra's commentary on the Book of Maccabees is stylistically similar to a battle scene in another luxury Montois manuscript produced c. 1455-1473, that illustrates the *Histoires Martiniennes*, the French translation of a Latin chronicle originally written by Martin Polonus (*Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9069*). The patron of the *Histoires Martiniennes* was Philippe de Croÿ, (d. 1482), the count of Chimay, chief bailiff of Hainault, a bibliophile and frequent patron of Montois manuscripts.²⁰⁷ Esch has placed both The Hague *Postilla* and the *Histoires Martiniennes* in the same stylistic and

²⁰⁷ Esch, "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons: Nouvelles perspectives," 652. Dominique Deneffe, "Analysing Border Decorations: The Case of the *Histoires Martiniennes*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS. 9069," in *Als Ich can: Liber amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 489.

geographic milieu, but she has not directly compared these two illuminations. Although they illustrate different battle scenes, their composition and color palettes are highly similar. In the foreground of both images, many foot soldiers wear grey armor and other soldiers ride on horseback. The battle scenes consist of large crowds of soldiers, many of which are represented solely by their armored heads. White tents appear in the middle ground of each image. In the background of both illuminations, walled cities are constructed of grey stone. The same brightly colored blue and red clothes are found on many of the foot soldiers in each illumination. Richly illuminated borders frame each folio. The close similarities in visual detail allow for the probability that since the *Histoires Martiniennes* was produced for Philippe de Croÿ, The Hague *Postilla* was most likely commissioned by another equally wealthy and powerful member of the nobility.

5.5.3 Flemish and Burgundian Secular Patronage of *Postilla* Manuscripts

Other Flemish and Burgundian secular patrons of high social status owned *Postilla* manuscripts. For example, Jean de France, the Duke of Berry, owned a two-volume *Postilla* (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Lat 50-51*) which he gave as a gift to (Anti-Pope) Clement VII by 1394. Ownership of this *Postilla* is verified on the first folio which includes the tiara and eschuteon of Clement VII and the arms of Jean de Berry and his second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne. This *Postilla* was illuminated at the end of the 1380s and the script was written slightly earlier.²⁰⁸ Further, William Hugonet, who became Chancellor of Burgundy in 1471,

²⁰⁸ Paul Durrieu, "La Bible du Duc Jean de Berry," *La revue de l'Art* 27(1909): 5-20; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London: Phaidon, 1967), 194-198; "Antico e Nuovo Testamento, con la postilla di Niccolò da Lira e di un anonimo. <<Bibbia del Duca di Berry>>," in *Il libro della Bibbia: Esposizione di Manoscritti e di edizioni a stampa della*

commissioned a *Postilla* manuscript just before his death as indicated by a 1477 inventory. A preacher from Lille, Pierre Richart (Richard) served as the scribe. While under house arrest before his execution on 3 April 1477, Hugonet arranged for this *Postilla* to be given to his confessor, Antoine du Terne, a doctor of theology, an order that was carried out on 31 December 1477, after his death.²⁰⁹ Like most of Hugonet's books, this *Postilla* is not extant. The Brederode family from Holland and Sticht owned a *Postilla* manuscript as indicated by an inventory taken in 1566-67; this *Postilla* manuscript was likely one of the approximately thirty manuscripts acquired by this noble family in the fifteenth century.²¹⁰

5.5.4 Final Destination of The Hague *Postilla* to an Ecclesiastic or Monastic Institution or Individual

Although the imagery strongly suggests that The Hague *Postilla* was commissioned, and likely owned for some time by a secular patron, the Latin text and marginal annotations indicate the reader was schooled in biblical exegesis, and familiar with the Latin language. Secular patrons were often unfamiliar with this type of knowledge. Many of the major secular bibliophiles in the fifteenth-century Burgundian Netherlands had collections of books which were mostly written with French text, often translations from other languages. For example, all

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dal secolo III al secolo XVI, ed. Luigi Michelini Tocci (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 51-52; François Avril, "Bible avec gloses de Nicolas de Lyre, offerte par Jean de Berry à l'antipape Clément VII" in *Paris, 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), 109.

²⁰⁹These facts are confirmed by the 1477 inventory that Anke and Warner Paravicini published. See: Anke Paravicini and Warner Paravicini, "L'arsenal intellectuel d'un homme de pouvoir. Les livres de Guillaume Hugonet, chancelier de Bourgogne," in *Penser le Pouvoir au Moyen Âge*, ed. Dominique Boutet and Jacques Verger (Paris: Rue d'Ulm, 2000), 280-81, 311, 314. See also: Albert Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum belgii: the medieval booklists of the southern Low Countries. Volume 4: Provinces of Brabant and Hainault* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 2001), 376-82.

²¹⁰Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 286.

the extant manuscripts owned by Philippe de Croÿ were in French.²¹¹ Further, in his analysis of the library belonging to the Dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, Hanno Wijsman noted that by the end of the fifteenth century, eighty-three percent of the books were French while eleven percent were in Latin. Of the manuscripts that were in Latin, most were Books of Hours and liturgical works. The remaining books were written in Dutch, German, or English or a combination of French and Latin.²¹²

If the text of The Hague *Postilla* is in Latin, but wealthy nobles often usually did not own Latin manuscripts, how are we to understand this manuscript's patronage? That both Jean de Berry and William Hugonet's *Postilla* manuscripts were gifts to ecclesiastical officials and church scholars allows us to hypothesize that that The Hague *Postilla* was also donated by its noble patron to an ecclesiastic or monastic institution or individual. Moreover, secular rulers and nobility beyond the Burgundian Netherlands donated *Postilla* manuscripts to monastic institutions. Like The Hague *Postilla*, Manuel's *Postilla* projected imagery to glorify secular rule but was ultimately given to a monastery. Further, an English noble woman, Dame Eleanor Hull, was instrumental in the 1457 bequeath of a luxurious four-volume *Postilla* (*Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. 7.7-10*) to St. Albans monastery with the help of Roger Huswyff, a priest, lawyer and the executor of her will.²¹³ Since the textual layout of The Hague *Postilla*

²¹¹ Devaux, "Un Seigneur lettré à la Cour de Bourgogne: Philippe de Croÿ, Comte de Chimay," 27-29.

²¹² Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)*, 156.

²¹³ Christopher de Hamel, "Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis* in *Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. 7.7)," in *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, ed. Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005), 208-09. Alexandra Barratt, "Dame Eleanor Hull: The Translator at Work," *Medium Aevum* 72, no. 2 (2003): 277-96. For a discussion of this manuscript's stylistic relationship to other fifteenth-century English *Postilla* manuscripts, see: Scott, "An English Modelbook for Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis*," 8, 9, 10, 16, 17. Scholars have begun to reconstruct her biography: Eleanor Hull's father was Sir John Malet, the retainer of Henry Bolingbroke. By 1413, Eleanor was married to Sir John Hull. Eleanor Hull was provided with a royal grant for service to of Joan of Navarre, the second wife to Henry V. She also belonged to the confraternity of St. Albans by 1417. Provisions were made so that this *Postilla* could be used by Roger Huswyff, but it is highly likely that Eleanor read and viewed manuscript as well,

repeatedly highlights Lyra's analysis of previous exegetes such as Rashi, Josephus and Augustine, this manuscript was also directed towards scholars and perhaps was also intended as a gift to a religious institution.

The Hague *Postilla* text and images served multiple purposes for its different readers and viewers. The images would have undoubtedly attracted the readers' attention, cursorily corresponded to the text and provided luxurious ornamentation to the manuscript, which would have appealed to a secular patron. In contrast, a biblical scholar would have benefited from the textual layout that thoroughly presented Lyra's analysis of previous Jewish and Christian exegetes. Both types of readers/viewers would have engaged with the *figurae*, which had been transformed from carefully designed diagrams that overtly clarify the commentary text's use of Jewish and Christian opinion into Christianized decorative objects. Like the Lisbon and Tours *Postillae*, the treatment of The Hague *Postilla figurae* thus explicitly broadens the range of potential interest not by juxtaposing traditional *figurae* with elaborate frontispieces to the various books, but by making significant alterations to the *figurae* themselves while retaining the original function of the accompanying text which alone would now be the sole vehicle for the comparative study of Christian and Jewish exegesis that was Lyra's primary aim.

either on her own, or with the guidance of Huswyff; she was highly educated and she produced her own translations from French to English of an anonymous commentary of the Seven Penitential Psalms and other prayers and meditations.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This dissertation has presented a diachronic analysis of the changes in *Postilla* manuscripts between 1330 and the end of the fifteenth century. As my case studies reveal, in fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts, the *figurae* and additional miniatures were greatly altered in comparison to the fourteenth-century exemplars. As a result, the newer imagery distracted a reader and viewer away from Lyra's use of Jewish commentary to elucidate the original historical appearance of the Temple. These visual changes also de-emphasized Lyra's comparisons of Jewish commentary with Christian opinion on specific aspects of the Temple's appearance, structural elements, architecture, and ritual objects.

Instead, other cultural values were privileged alongside the biblical commentary. The sumptuous illumination in the Lisbon, Tours and The Hague *Postilla* manuscripts indicate a predilection for owning luxury goods, displaying wealth, and viewing intricately painted images. *Postilla* manuscripts also visualize their patron's worldly accomplishments and status. The Lisbon *Postilla figurae's* depiction of Solomon's Temple as an Italian Renaissance palace together with his elaborate frontispieces references King Manuel's economic pursuits, international trade and navigational prowess. The Hague *Postilla's* inclusion of *fleur-de-lis* motifs displays the initial patron's association to royalty. Finally, fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscripts contained some elements that were directed to a less scholarly audience than those of the fourteenth century. By adding narrative illustrations described with vernacular French

text, the Tours *Postilla* engaged, in part, a reader and viewer who neither possessed an in-depth familiarity with biblical stories nor had mastered the Latin language. An important complexity within the fifteenth-century manuscript tradition is that although the imagery de-emphasized Lyra's exegetical strategies, the commentary text sometimes still served scholarly pursuits. The Hague *Postilla's* textual layout and marginal annotations that highlight the names of Rashi, Josephus and Saint Augustine demonstrates that readers were still mining the *Postilla* for Lyra's verbal descriptions of Jewish and Christian exegesis in the late fifteenth century.

Although the *Postilla* was widely read by biblical scholars, Lyra's exegetical method was not emulated. A development in the role of Jewish commentary within post-Lyra Christian exegesis could explain the lack of emphasis on Jewish exegesis in fifteenth-century *Postilla* manuscript imagery. Nicholas of Lyra's use of the literal sense (*sensus litteralis*) involved a careful, and somewhat respectful, analysis of Jewish exegesis even though he ultimately condemned its failure to recognize the Christological implications of the Old Testament.²¹⁴

Subsequent exegetes revised their approach to the literal sense, which resulted in a shift away from Lyra's emphasis on the utility of Jewish commentary. According to the treatise, *Scrutamini scripturas* (c. 1388) by an Italian exegete, George of Siena (d. 1398), the literal sense must include an understanding of the Old Testament as a prophecy of the New Testament, a theological point ignored by Jews. Whereas Lyra linked Jewish interpretation to the literal sense,

²¹⁴ In Lyra's prologue to the *Postilla*, he indicates one of his goals is to use Jewish commentary to prove its error. Jeremy Cohen has translated a part of the prologue in which Lyra advises the reader to be circumspect of his use Jewish commentary, which is necessary to use despite its false conclusions: "Yet in this, great caution must be taken with regard to the places in the text of the Old Testament that speak of the divine nature of Christ and its ramifications, several of which [texts] the Jews have falsified in the defense of their error, as I have demonstrated to some extent in a certain *quaestio* concerning the divinity of Christ and as I shall demonstrate more fully when such places occur, God willing." Lyra also more blatantly accuses Hebrew commentary of its error: "Occasionally, although rather infrequently, I shall also insert plainly absurd sayings of the Hebrews, not in order to espouse or follow them, but so that through them might appear how great a blindness has come upon Israel." See: Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, 177-178.

George defined all Jewish opinion as carnal (*carnaliter*), and thus separate from the literal sense. For George, Jewish commentary could not support even the literal sense.²¹⁵ In a treatise that criticized the *Postilla*, referred to as the *Additiones* (c.1429-31), the Spanish convert, Bishop Paul of Burgos, claimed that the literal sense must include, and is not separate from, an allegorical sense. He defined the literal sense in a twofold manner; the literal sense can be interpreted by examining the words of the Bible, but also by considering the intention of its author, God, who would have intended the words to signify the advent of Christ. Although Lyra employs this same concept, Burgos articulates a stronger preference for Christological meaning.²¹⁶ When later exegetes cited parts of Lyra's *Postilla* in their own work, they sometimes played down the importance of his discussion of Hebrew commentary. For example, Mathew Döring, a fifteenth-century German Franciscan biblical commentator, argued that Lyra's imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language was not problematic because Lyra's most significant contribution was to glorify the Catholic faith.²¹⁷ Both Döring's and Burgos' commentaries circulated along with the *Postilla* in several printed editions. Thus, for Christian scholars producing biblical exegesis beginning in the late fourteenth century, Lyra's Temple diagrams might not have been considered a legitimate mode of the *sensus litteralis* because of their adherence to Jewish exegesis and their purely historical nature that did not picture the

²¹⁵ Deeana Klepper, "Literal versus Carnal: George of Siena's Christian Reading of Jewish Exegesis," in *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context*, ed. Natalie B. Dohrmann and David Stern (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 206. Klepper quotes Siena's description of the failure of Jewish exegesis to support the literal sense: "The Jews understand and explain the sayings of the prophets and all of Scripture carnally but we Catholics draw back to the spirit...and therefore in all of the prophecies which may be understood literally about Christ, they see in those same passages only a carnal sense."

²¹⁶ Reinhardt, "Das werk des Nicolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien," 346-350.

²¹⁷ Christopher Ocker, *Biblical Poetics Before Humanism and Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 179-83. Also see: Philip Krey, "Many Readers but Few Followers: The Fate of Nicholas of Lyra's 'Apocalypse Commentary' in the Hands of His Late-Medieval Admirers," *American Society of Church History* 64, no. 2 (1995): 185-201. As noted by Krey, Nicholas' commitment to interpreting the Bible with respect to historical events extended to the New Testament (though, obviously, without using Jewish commentary). However, later exegetes subtly rejected and modified Lyra's approach while simultaneously praising his efforts.

Temple as a predecessor of the Church. The diagrams did not glorify Christianity, which suggests that they may no longer have been acceptable to later readers/viewers.

My dissertation has analyzed *Postilla* manuscripts and printed books over two centuries that were produced in France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and Italy to demonstrate these manuscripts were transformed from sources of knowledge to luxury items that signified their patron's political power and Christian devotion. The change in *Postilla* manuscripts from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century mirrors changes in Christian exegesis over these centuries. The developments in *Postilla* imagery illustrates a transition from a university and monastic interest in Jewish exegetical opinion for the purpose of confirming the truth of Christianity to a type of piety that no longer requires an image-based, visual engagement with Jewish scholarship for religious education.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ALL *FIGURAE* THAT APPEAR IN *POSTILA* MANUSCRIPTS

Table 12: *Figurae* in *Postilla* manuscripts

Translated directly (with a few exceptions) from Teresa Laguna Paúl's chart in "Originalidad y variantes iconográficas en las Postillae Litteralis de Nicolás de Lyra conservadas en España." <i>Actas del Vº congreso Español de historia del arte. Barcelona; 29 de octubre al 3 de noviembre de 1984.</i>
Genesis
Ark of Noah, according to both Latin and Hebrew commentary Ark of Noah, version according to others ²¹⁸
Genesis 6: 14-16
Exodus
Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory (covering for Ark; "mercy seat" for Lord to sit on), Latin version Ark of the Covenant and the Propitiatory, Hebrew version
Exodus 25, 28 (and Leviticus 26)

²¹⁸ The phrase "others (*aliqui*)" refers to Bede's *Hexameron*. Paúl, "El Arca de Noe en las Postillae de Nicolás de Lyra," 65.

<p>Table with bread of the proposition, Latin version Table with bread of the proposition, Hebrew version</p> <p>Exodus 25:23-30</p>
<p>Candelabrum, Latin version Candelabrum, Hebrew version</p> <p>Exodus 25:31-40</p>
<p>Smaller curtain</p> <p>Exodus 26:1-14</p>
<p>Bigger curtain</p> <p>Exodus 26:1-14</p>
<p>Lateral Boards of Ark</p> <p>Exodus 26:15-30</p>
<p>Joinings (of boards in the Ark):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> --boards --Two boards which are joined together to form a corner of the Ark --Hooks --Sockets --Assembly of lateral boards and sockets of the Ark <p>Exodus 26:15-30</p>
<p>Altar of the Holocaust, Latin version (according to Peter Comestor) Altar of the Holocaust, Hebrew version (according to Rabbi Solomon)</p> <p>Exodus 27:1-8</p>
<p>Aaron, High Priest in his Vestments</p> <p>Exodus 28:4-39</p>
<p>Ten Commandments, Hebrew version Ten Commandments, Latin version</p> <p>Exodus 20</p>
<p>Ground plan of the tabernacle</p> <p>Exodus 38</p>
<p>Numbers</p>
<p>Ground plan of Levite camps in the desert</p> <p>Numbers 3:23-38</p>

III Kings
Section/floor plan of the Temple of Solomon III Kings 6:1-14
External Attachments to the Temple of Solomon, Latin version External Attachments to the Temple of Solomon, Hebrew version III Kings 6:1-14
Elevation of the House of the Forest of Liban III Kings 7:1-5
Ground plan of the House of the Forest of Liban III Kings 7:1-5
Capital surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, according to Latin commentators Capital surmounting Bronze Pillar in the Temple of Solomon, according to Rabbi Solomon III Kings 7:15-22
Molten "Sea," according to Latin commentators Molten "Sea," according to Rabbi Solomon Molten "Sea," according to Josephus III Kings 7:23-25
Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin, according to Latin commentators Wheeled Stand and Bronze Water Basin, according to Hebrews III Kings 7:26-39
IV Kings
Sundial of Achaz IV Kings 20
Isaiah
Vision of Isaiah Isaiah 4
Sundial of Achaz Isaiah 38

Ezekiel
Vision of the Glory of God, Latin version Vision of the Glory of God, Hebrew version Ezekiel 1
Vision of the Idolatry within the Temple Ezekiel 8
Vision of Ezekiel 40-48 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> --Arrangement of the Temple Courts --Entrances to the Temple Courts --Eastern Portico --Elevation of Eastern Portico --Exterior and Middle Courts --Exterior Walls --Lateral Elements --Plan of the Eastern Zone --Elevation of the Temple and Lateral Edifice --Altar of the Holocaust --Ground Plan of the New Distribution of Territory --Complete Plan of the Temple --Ground Plan of the New City
Daniel
Genealogy of Alexander the Great: Egyptian Kings until Ptolemy VI Philometor Daniel 11
Genealogy of Alexander the Great: Kings of Syria until Antiochus IV Epiphanes Daniel 11
Matthew
Genealogy of Jesus Matthew 1

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