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From Print to Manuscript. The Case of a Manuscript Workshop in Stuttgart around 1475.

As part of a larger project on late medieval German manuscripts, the Heidelberg University Library has recently digitalised a group of manuscripts under the name of "Werkstatt des Ludwig Henfflin".¹ As the initiators of the project point out, this is a special case among the many treasures of the library because, as far as we know, these nine manuscripts form a distinct group that has been kept together since its production around 1475 in the Stuttgart area for Margaret of Savoy, then Duchess of Württemberg.² Between 1453 and her death 1479, she lived in Stuttgart third wife of Ulrich V of Württemberg, and it is here, at the end of her life, that she must have commissioned the group of manuscripts. After her death in 1478, the nine manuscripts, one still unfinished and all probably still unbound, went to Heidelberg where the Elector Palatine Philip, Margaret's son from a previous marriage, incorporated them in his Heidelberg library.

The group is named after a scribal entry in the heroic epic 'Sigenot': *Hie haut rys Sigenot ein end/ Got vns allen kummer wend/ Ludwig Henfflin* (Here ends the story about the giant Sigenot. May God preserve us from all trouble). It can be assumed that this Ludwig Henfflin was a main figure in the workshop which employed several scribes and beside one main illuminator several collaborators of different skill and patience. No archival record has been found to substantiate the workshop hypothesis and it might have been an *ad hoc*-formation for this particular order by the duchess. The only indication of a date given in the manuscripts is the figure 1477 written on the steps of the throne of King Saul in the second volume of the three-volume Old Testament.³

The "Henfflin Workshop" as a unity is determined by paper with the same watermarks, by "Zeichner A", the illuminator who was responsible for most of the drawings throughout the manuscripts with the exception of Cpg 76, and by recurring scribal hands.⁴

¹ The digitalisation-project: <http://bilderhandschriften-digital.uni-hd.de>, follow the link to "Ludwig Henfflin". Hans Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der deutschen Bilder-Handschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek*, Leipzig 1927, p. 71f, gives an overview on the common features of the manuscripts (scribes, illuminators and water marks, available online <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/Wegener1927/0079>).

² For a historical introduction to the literary background for Margaret of Savoy cf. Henrike Lähnemann, *Margarethe von Savoyen in ihren literarischen Beziehungen*, in: ›Encomia-Deutsch‹, Berlin 2002, p. 158–173 (available online: http://www.icls.uni-freiburg.de/Publikationen/h._lahnemann.pdf). The most extensive biographical data in Gerhard Raff, *Hie gut Wirtemberg allewege. Das Haus Württemberg von Graf Ulrich dem Stifter bis Herzog Ludwig*, Stuttgart 1988.

³ Heidelberg UB, Cpg 17, f. 14^r. Text: I Sam 10 (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0035>).

⁴ Another possible candidate is Cpg 143 (Johann von Würzburg: 'Wilhelm von Österreich') where planned illuminations were not executed and which is therefore excluded from his publication. Since, until the 19th century, one of the leaves from Cpg 345 (now f. 373a*) was erroneously bound into Cpg 143 as f. 267, the volumes were obviously kept side by side in an unbound stage. Brigitte Schöning, 'Friedrich von Schwaben'. *Aspekte des Erzählens im spätmittelalterlichen Versroman*, Erlangen 1991 (Erlanger Studien 90), therefore concluded that it had been part of Margaret's commission; Karin Zimmermann in her catalogue entry for the digital project (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/sammlung2/werk/pdf/cpg143.pdf>) argues against it because the paper and the scribe are different from the Henfflin manuscripts. The parallel of the binding mistake which involved one manuscript from the Henfflin Workshop and one from the Lauber Workshop shows that the common

Cpg 16–18	Old Testament
Cpg 67	'Sigenot'
Cpg 76	'Ackermann von Böhmen'
Cpg 142	'Pontus und Sidonia'
Cpg 152	'Historie von Herzog Herpin'
Cpg 345	'Lohengrin' and 'Friedrich von Schwaben'
Cpg 353	'Die Heidin'

The group of manuscripts allows a unique insight into the production of illuminated manuscripts subsequent to the establishment of printing in the Southern German speaking area.⁵ From the standpoint of literary history, the mixture of texts may appear random. There seems no unifying feature apart from all of them being in German and all of them being illuminated. Next to the highly rhetorical contemporary prose work 'Ackermann von Böhmen' stands the heroic verse epic 'Sigenot', one of the later adventures of Dietrich of Bern and one of the early bestsellers of printing history. There are translations of scandal novels from French like the 'Herpin', the adventure story of 'Pontus und Sidonia', also translated from French, and 'Lohengrin', a courtly romance. Cpg 16–18, a full set of the Books from the Old Testament, is copied from the German bible printed by Mentelin in Strasbourg around 1466.⁶ But then, the key to understanding the manuscripts and the choice of the topics lies, I would claim, not in the text side but in the wishes of the patroness for a certain type of book: the illuminated vernacular manuscript as an object for entertainment and representation at the same time – and to be different from the newly emerging formats of the printing press. The activity of the "workshop" is to pursue her ideal of a courtly library when revising the texts, developing the layout for the different genres and devising the iconography.

By way of introduction, I will therefore give a brief overview on the bibliophile background of Margaret before analysing those texts where printed editions exist, whether as a direct model or as contemporary parallels.

storage in an unbound state does not presuppose the same origin. I have therefore excluded Cpg 143 from my survey although it might well have been part of Margaret's order.

⁵ For a detailed case study and figures about the surge of vernacular text printing cf. Romy Günthart, *Deutschsprachige Literatur im frühen Basler Buchdruck (ca. 1470–1510) (Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit, vol. 11)*, 2007, especially p. 222 on manuscript copies from early Basel prints.

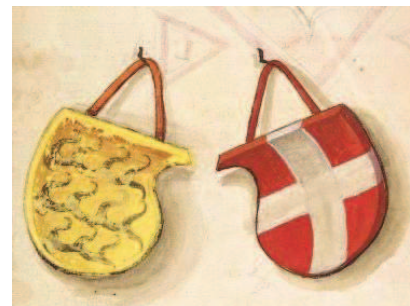
⁶ Heimo Reinitzer, *Oberdeutsche Bibeldrucke (vollständige Bibeln)*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd edition by Burghart Wachinger (VL2), vol. 6 (1987), col. 1276–1289, here col. 1280. For a full discussion of a manuscript copy of a Mentelin Bible cf. Christine Wulf, *Eine volkssprachige Laienbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchung und Teiledition der Handschrift Nürnberg, StB, Ms. Solg. 16.2° (Münchner Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. 98)*, 1991; a short description of the Henfflin volumes on p. 25. All illuminated German bible manuscripts are listed in the *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illuminierten Handschriften*, ed. by Norbert H. Ott, begun by Hella Frühmorgen-Voss. vol. 2, München 1996. The Henfflin Bible is Nr. 14.0.5. An interesting feature is that there is one leaf from an earlier illuminated German bible bound into the volumes, part of a set of manuscripts produced by Diebold Lauber (*Katalog*, Nr. 14.0.6.) which might have belonged to Margaret's second husband Ludwig IV (Cpg 19–23). It represents a different branch of bible translation (Walther XII); Mentelin belongs to Walther's branch 1. See also the manuscript description in: *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, ed. by William Kurrelmeyer, Tübingen 1915 (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 266), vol. 10, p. xxix (he mentions seven manuscript copies of the Mentelin Bible while Reinitzer can name eight).

* Margaret of Savoy as patroness *

The eventful life of its patroness Margaret of Savoy spans the turbulent century, from a courtly upbringing in the French speaking realm to an established literary community in southwest Germany, one generation after the introduction of the printing press. In the manuscript production of the Henfflin Workshop, the socio-cultural setting of a courtly culture meets the modern book market. The printing network influenced what texts could be obtained for copying, what training was available for scribes and literary agents and what models for text-image-relationship were prevalent. The commission of tailor made manuscripts for Margaret drew on a wide selection of texts that also allowed the patroness to show off in different ways.

One way was the integration of her coat of arms in various forms. A forthright representational setting (which was continued in printed books in the form of book plates) can be found in an elaborate drawing on the opening page of the 'Ackermann von Böhmen', where the coat of arms is shown in the form of two shields done in trompe-l'œil fashion, each hung on an imaginary peg, casting shadows on the wall represented by the page. [Ill. 1]

Ill. 1: Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 76, f. 1^v (Ackermann von Böhmen): Coat of Arms of Margaret of Savoy as Duchess of Württemberg-Urach

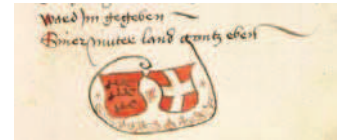


<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg76/0010>

On the left shield, i.e. the heraldic prominent right hand side, are the three antlers of Württemberg; on the other side, reserved for the female line, the white cross of Savoy on a red field, later to become the Swiss flag, is shown. The same arms of alliance recur twice as a bas-de-page drawing in 'Friedrich von Schwaben' where the name of the protagonist seems to have triggered the showing of the Swabian alliance with Savoy, especially the second time where it appears next to the lines talking about Friedrich of Swabia's son inheriting his mother's country: *ward im gegeben / Siner muter land gantz eben* (ll. 8059f) [Ill. 2].⁷

Ill. 2: Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 345, f. 379^r (Friedrich von Schwaben): Coat of Arms of Margaret of Savoy as Duchess of Württemberg-Urach

⁷ For the importance of the genealogical argument for the romance cf. the chapter "Friedrich von Schwaben – ein Herzog, wie er im Buche steht. Schwäbisches Landesbewusstsein und literarische Vermittlung" in: Sandra Linden (ed., transl. and comm.), *Friedrich von Schwaben*, Konstanz 2005 (Bibliotheca suevica, vol. 14), p. 469–492. Klaus Graf in his review (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. 129 (1999), p. 104–110) of Klaus Ridder, *Mittelhochdeutsche Minne- und Aventiureromane. Fiktion, Geschichte und literarische Tradition im späthöfischen Roman: "Reinfried von Braunschweig", "Wilhelm von Österreich", "Friedrich von Schwaben"*, Berlin 1998 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 12) wrote polemically against connecting the hero with the history of Württemberg but what might be true for the original text needs not be true for the reception of it.



<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg345/0781>

The Savoy coat of arms on its own with its very basic structure which allowed it to be downscaled to miniature size pops up through all the illustrations: as bas-de-page decoration in drawn-out curves of letters of the top- or bottom-line of writing. Sometimes it is combined with the device *fortuna* but, more hidden, as part of the illumination, for example, the red flag with the white cross flies over the tent of the Christian hero preparing for a tournament with the Saracens in 'Die Heidin', an epic adventure [Ill. 3].⁸

Ill. 3: Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 353, f. 6^v (Die Heidin): Savoy flag flying on the tent of Wittige of Jordan



<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg353/0016>

The importance of this courtly identity devise can also be seen on two panels from the 1460s, formerly part of a triptych.⁹ Ulrich V, "the much loved", also called *Gotznieswurtz* after his favourite curse,¹⁰ on the left is kneeling opposite his three wives on the right, all of

⁸ Additional devices: Cpg 76, f. 9^v *fortuna*, abbreviated to *F* on f. 8^r, 10^r, 16^v, 17^v, 20^r and 22^r, *V* (= Ulrich?) on f. 29^r, (*M* = Margaret?) on f. 10^r, 11^v, 14^r, 21^v, 23^v and 29^r. Cpg 345, f. 311^r: *fortuna me mena alto fare lo mal e mi por* (under the bottom line) and the coat of arms of Savoy (above the top line), f. 379^r: arms of alliance of Württemberg and Savoy.

⁹ Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, Inv. Nr. 13721/13722, 1460/70 (by the Ulm painter Ludwig Fries?): Side panels for an altar. Ulrich V of Württemberg (+ 1480) and his three wives Margaret of Cleve (+ 1444), Elisabeth of Bavaria-Landshut (+ 1451) and Margaret of Savoy (+ 1479). *Das Haus Württemberg. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. by Sönke Lorenz, Dieter Mertens and Volker Press, Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 1997, p. 86. The middle panel was probably destroyed during the reformation, following the iconoclastic movement of the "Uracher Götzentag" (a meeting of the Lutheran ministers which requested the abolition of all idols and popish imagery) while the side-panels were kept. By 1593, these panels are still recorded as being in the castle, aptly in the bridal chamber, preserving the genealogical interest.

¹⁰ Thomas Fritz, *Ulrich der Vielgeliebte (1441–1480). Ein Württemberger im Herbst des Mittelalters. Zur Geschichte der württembergischen Politik im Spannungsfeld zwischen Hausmacht, Region und Reich*, Leinfelden 1999 (Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 25). On Ulrich's marriage with Margarete, cf. p. 126f. "Mit allen 3. Gemahlinen lebte Gr. Ulrich vergnügt, sonderlich mit der letzteren." (Count Ulrich lived happily with all his three spouses, especially so with the last one) writes Pregitzer at the beginning of the 18th century in his "Württemberg Cedar-Tree", Johann Ulrich Pregitzer III, *Wirttembergischer Cedern-Baum, Oder Vollständige Genealogie Des Hoch-Fürstlichen Hauses Wirttemberg: In sechs Theilen / Aus denen besten und bewährtesten Autoribus und Genealogisten ... anfangs zusammen getragen und entworffen Von Weyland D. Johann Ulrich Pregitzern, Hoch-Fürstl. Wirtt. Ober- und Justiz-Rath ... Nachmahls elaboriret Und mit Historischen Anmerckungen vermehret ... Von dessen ältistem Sohn, gleichen Namens, ... Nach desselben Anno 1730. erfolgten Tod aber*

them daughters of counts, with their coats of arms: Margaret of Cleve (+ 1444), Elisabeth of Bavaria-Landshut (+ 1451) and Margaret of Savoy (+ 1479) with the silver cross on the red ground. Margaret of Savoy thus is shown between the coats of arms that were then painted in the manuscripts.

It was also the third marriage of Margaret of Savoy (* 1420). After growing up as the youngest daughter of count Amadeus VIII of Savoy and his wife Marie of Burgundy in a literary rich tradition,¹¹ she had been married *in absentia* to Louis III of Anjou, titular king of Sicily (*1403, + 1434), who was in Italy fighting for his dominion. When, after three years of nominal marriage, she went to meet him, the news of his sudden death reached her in Cosenza. At least she retained the title of a queen, as was celebrated by the French court poets of the day, especially in the 'Champion des dames', written by her father's clerk Martin LeFranc, in 1440:

Mais d'une diray entre mille
Laquelle porte le vesvage
Pour le roy Loys de Cecile
Que Mort ravi en trop vert age
C'est une reyne belle et sage
Tant de vertu enluminee
Qu'elle est a tout humain visage
Comme la clere matinee.

(But I will talk about one among a thousand, one who wears widow's weeds for the King Louis of Sicily whom death stole away at a much too tender age. She is a beautiful and wise queen, so much illuminated by virtue that she is for all humans to behold like the bright morning.)

Pour les grans biens qui sont en elle,
Souvent l'ay voulu haultement
Loer de loenge nouvelle,
Mais onq n'y avins justement.
Neantmoins en son nom proprement,
Marguerite de Savoye,
Vous trouverez tout rondement:
Vertu me garde sa joye.¹²

(Because of the great goodness that is in her, I have often intended to laud her highly with renewed praise, but I could not do this adequately. However, in her proper name "Margaret of Savoy" you find it all nicely rounded [i.e. anagrammatically turned] as "Virtue guards for me its joy".)

This was the type of literature Margaret was familiar with: exceedingly rhetorical French romance, illustrated to a high standard as can be seen by the French manuscripts in the

herausgegeben und biß auf jetzige Zeiten fortgesetzt Von seinem jüngern Bruder, Johann Eberhard Pregitzern, Stuttgart 1734.

¹¹ Sheila Edmunds, *The Medieval Library of Savoy*, in: *Scriptorium* 24 (1970), p. 318–327; 25 (1971), p. 253–284; 26 (1972), p. 269–293. The widowed Amadeus was elected as an alternative Pope to Eugene IV by the Council of Basel in 1439 and although he exchanged the tiara for a Cardinal's hat in 1449 to make way for Nicholas V, Margaret thus became for ten years the only legitimate Pope's daughter of history.

¹² Martin Le Franc: *Le champion des dames*, ed. by Robert Deschaux, Paris 1999 (Les classiques français du Moyen Age), vol. 5, p. 233, verse MMDXLIII–IV = ll. 20337–20360.

Palatine Library which were probably brought by her to Heidelberg.¹³ In 1444, she married Ludwig IV, Elector Palatine (*1424, + 1449) and moved to Heidelberg. To the French historiographers, this seemed a steep decline but, in fact, she was still in a Francophile sphere: her mother-in-law was a distant relative from another branch of the Savoy family and many of her peers, the noble women married to the dukes and counts of Southern Germany, came from French speaking areas and acted as translators: Eleanor of Austria (*~1433 in Scotland, raised at the French court, + 1480) is acclaimed as translator of the prose novel 'Pontus und Sidonia' in the first print [Ill. 4]; Elizabeth of Nassau-Saarbrücken (*~1394 in Nancy, + 1456) translated the French novels 'Loher und Maller', 'Huge Scheppel', 'Herpin' and 'Sibille' of which the 'Herpin' later was to form part of the commission by Margaret of Savoy.

Ill. 4 Pontus und Sidonia-Print: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: 2 Inc.c.a. 3649 (Pontus und Sidonia, Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 1498, f. a2^r)



http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/inkunabeln/inkill/@ebt-raster;cs=default;ts=default;pt=95321;lang=de?filename=e_48_01.jpg;window=new

This gives an idea of what Margaret was looking for when she commissioned the manuscripts after moving to Stuttgart to marry Ulrich V in 1453: vernacular stories in the form of illuminated manuscripts, noble entertainment finished to a high standard. She had to leave all her books behind in Heidelberg and had to start from scratch in recreating a noble-woman's library. Since the manuscripts are fairly homogenous in appearance and share the same paper, they were probably commissioned as a group only in the late 1470s, around the date 1477 given in the Old Testament and still unfinished at the time of Margaret's death in 1479 when the manuscript were probably left unbound, since some of the pages came to be bound with other manuscripts, and the rubrics in the Ackermann-manuscript were missing.

¹³ For example Guillaume de Deguileville: 'Pèlerinage de la vie humaine' (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1969, Parchment, 84 fol., 29,5x20,5cm, Toulouse ~1375) from the collection of Louis I. of Anjou which might have come to the Palatine Library through Margaret. There is also a French manuscript of "Le champion des dames" in the Palatine Library (Heidelberg UB, Cpl 1968) of the work which has the praise for Margaret on f. 156v–157r. This might be a copy that Margaret brought with her to Heidelberg. However, Martina Backes, *Das literarische Leben am kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg im 15. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Gönnerforschung des Spätmittelalters*, Tübingen 1992 (Hermaea N.F. 68), p. 181, pointed out that this copy misses the praise for Amadé VIII and the verses on Margaret's mother Marie de Bourgogne and her sister Bonne de Montfort and only mentions her sister-in-law Anne de Chypres (f. 15v).

* The "Henfflin Workshop" *

This brings me to the second part: what did Margaret expect from the Henfflin Workshop and how did they set to work? None of the works they executed was at that time available in the form of an illuminated manuscript which they could have copied directly, except for the Old Testament – actually the work that might have inspired Margaret since she could see from her late husband's copy that German workshops were capable of illuminating manuscripts, though in a very different style from what she was used to from her youth. But that was not available to borrow, so for each of the texts, the workshop had to find an individual solution. However, the Lauber Workshop that was active a generation earlier in the Alsace, provides a good point of comparison since it is the earliest known workshop to produce a large number of illuminated German manuscripts.¹⁴ These workshop products from Alsace can be distinguished from the form of illuminated manuscripts Margaret was familiar with from her youth in Savoy, by the fact that they were not costly singular pieces on parchment adorned with gold and the coat of arms of the patron.¹⁵

The Lauber Workshop streamlined the production of manuscripts, writing only on paper, with drawings that could be coloured in with a restricted palette. Some of them were even produced in advance for prospective buyers, for example, popular texts like Wolfram of Eschenbach's 'Parzival'. These clients could still be the high nobility, as the example of the Palatine court shows, but even more often they were prosperous merchants in those towns that were to become hubs of the printing industry which could take over distribution strategies and clientele from the Lauber Workshop.

The Henfflin manuscripts present a union of the manuscript manufacture tradition in the German speaking area and the courtly idea of the commissioned elaborate artefact. What the Lauber Workshop produces for Margaret of Savoy are the stock-in-trade vernacular texts of the late 15th century, on paper without gold and expensive colours but they are also individual pieces, for most of the time the only illuminated manuscript copy of the text. In addition the illustrations are pencil-washed drawings but staged as illuminations: framed, with detailed background and specifically designed captions. Each of the manuscripts had been through a process of careful editing, either through text adaptations or by iconographic new devices, quite often both of them. I will concentrate on three examples where contemporary prints allow a comparison of the style, status and layout of the texts.

¹⁴ Due to the bibliophile interests of the Palatine Electors, Margaret's husband Ludwig among them, there is a large number of Lauber manuscripts in Heidelberg, completely digitalised on the same website (<http://bilderhandschriften-digital.uni-hd.de>, follow the link to "Diebold Lauber"); there has been a recent surge in interest in the Lauber manuscripts, following the publications of Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, *Spätformen mittelalterlicher Buchherstellung. Bilderhandschriften aus der Werkstatt Diebold Laubers in Hagenau*, Wiesbaden 2001, and Christoph Fasbender, *hübsch gemolt – schlecht geschrieben? Kleine Apologie der Lauber-Handschriften*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, vol. 131 (2002), p. 66–78.

¹⁵ A good survey on the changes manuscript production was undergoing in the 15th century can be found in Norbert H. Ott, *Die Handschriften-Tradition im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Die Buchkultur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Barbara Tiemann, vol. 1, Hamburg 1995 (Veröffentlichung der Maximilian-Gesellschaft. Jahrgabe der Maximilian-Gesellschaft), p. 47–124, especially the chapter on "Serielle Handschriftenproduktion in bürgerlichen Werkstätten", p. 73–86.

* Cpg 16–18: The Old Testament *

The Old Testament was directly copied from a print, the German Bible, printed before 1466 by Mentelin [Ill. 5].¹⁶

Ill. 5: Mentelin-Bible: Inc. 2099 d. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, P*, f. 162r (Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin 1466)

scan from: Biblia sacra (Berlin 1987)

He used a much smaller type than Gutenberg, which allowed him to accommodate more text on the pages and he included no illustrations. What the workshop did to turn this material into an illuminated manuscript is repeated in the other volumes, a fact which points to an overall editor for this, possibly the Ludwig Henfflin who writes the *subscriptio* in the Sigenot-volume: breaking up the text into convenient portions and devising captions which were written in red above the frame that marked places for the illustrations that were to be executed.

An intriguing insight in the close collaboration between the scribe / editor and the illuminator can be seen in one of the miniatures for the Book of Judith. [Ill. 6]

Ill. 6: Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 17, f. 255^v (Judith hands Holofernes' head over to her maid)



<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0518>

Wie Judith Holiferns sin houbt abschnait als er lag an sinem bette (Cpg 17, f. 255v)¹⁷

Jdt 13, 8 Vnd da sy dis hatt gesagt sy genahet sich zû dem haubt sins bettes vnd lost vff sin swert das da hing an ir. 9 Vnd da sy es hatt ußgezogen sy begraiff das har sins houpts vnd sprach O herre got israhel sterck mich zû der stund. 10 Vnd sy slûg zwir in sin halsaderen vnd schnaid ab sin houbt (255^{vb}) vnd nam ab sin küssy von den sülen

¹⁶ Eva Berndt (Hg.): Biblia sacra. Deutsche Edition der Bibelausgabe des Hieronymus durch Johann Mentelin 1466 zu Strassburg gedruckt (1. gedruckte deutsche Bibel) nach einer Übersetzung um das Jahr 1350; mit reichhaltigen Summarien und Prologen sowie Anweisungen zur Erarbeitung des Grundtextes (Wiederabdruck nach der Inc. 2099 d. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, P*. - Berlin: Berndt, 1987). The text of the 2nd branch of German bible translation which was taken up by the Mentelin Bible is not published; the only easily accessible facsimile of a manuscript preceding the print is that of the so-called 'Wenzelsbibel' (Codices selecti LXX/1–9, Graz 1981–1991), cf. Heimo Reintzer, 'Wenzelsbibel', in: VL2, vol. 10 (1999), Sp. 869–875.

¹⁷ The Henfflin manuscript follows the text of the Mentelin-Bible, f. 162^r, closely, but reduces the phrase Jdt 13,8 zû *einer seule die do was zû* ("to a column that was at") to a single zû, presumably by a slip of the eye (haplography), leaving the *ir* (= *die seule*) at the end of the verse without a reference.

vñ als er niht geeruncht an ein tag in sein lebē.
Wann do s abent waiv gemacht
 sein houbt die spiren: si irin berbergen: 301117
 vñ gieng hin. Wann all wären si mit von dem
 wein. Vñ iudith was allein in der kamer. Wan
 holofernes der warf sich in ein bett schlafiger vor
 vbriger erundenbeite. Vñ iudith die sprach zu
 ir diem. das si sein aufwendig vor der tür der kas
 mer vñ hiet. Vñ iudith die sein vor dem bett
 vñ hiet mit erdem vñ mit der le wegung der
 leife in schwigungt fa gent. O herre got ist sterck
 mich. vñ sebau in der sein zu den werden meine
 hende: als du hest gelobet ihm das du aufrichte
 dein stat: vñ gedauert. vollbringe ich das das ich
 gebade: jundgen worden getan durch dich. Vñ do
 si die bett gefaget: si gemacht sich zu einer seule die
 do was zu dem bette: sius bette: vñ lof auff sein
 firsuere das do hing an ir. Vñ do si es hette auf:
 gezogen: si begreiff das har seins houbtes vñ sprach
 O herre got ist sterck mich zu der seunde. Vñ si
 schlug zwir in sein halsaderen. vñ schnaid ab sein
 houbt: vñ nam ab sein küssy von den sülen. vñ
 wetejer ab seinen leib den seulen. Vñ do nach ein
 lützel gieng si aus vñ antwortte das houbt holofer:
 nes ir diem: vñ gese: das si es legte in ir kassē.
 Vñ si giengen beide aus nach ir gewonheit als
 zu dem gebet. vñ firsuere die berterge: si vñ
 giengē das tal vñ kamen zu dem dor der stat. Vñ
 iudith die sprach vñ verni zu dem hütten s mauret.

vnd welczet ab sinen lib den stamm. 11 Vnd darnach ain lützel ging sy uß vnd antwurt holofernis houbt irer dirn vnd gebot das sy es legt in ir tasche. 12 Vnd sy gingen baid uß nach ir gewonhait als zû dem gebet vnd fürgingen die herbergen vnd vmbgingen das tal...

How Judith cut off Holofernes' head while he was lying on his bed¹⁸

Jdt 13,8 and when she had said that, she drew near to the head of his bed and untied the sword that was hanging at it. 9 And when she had unsheathed it, she gripped the hair of his head and said: "O Lord God Israel, strengthen me in this hour." 10 And she slashed his jugular veins twice and cut off his head and took down his pillow from the column and pushed down his body, the trunk. 11 And shortly after that, she went out and passed the head of Holofernes to her maid and ordered her to put it in the bag. 12 And both of them went out as they were wont to do for prayer and passed the tents and went round the valley...

The caption for the culminating moment in the Book of Judith is independent from the Bible text that gives the gory procedure in long-winded sentences typical of the literal translation of the 14th century that formed the basis for the text of the Mentelin Bible. But the illumination does not show the action described in the caption – Judith in the act of cutting off Holofernes' head – but rather the immediately following scene: The torso of Holofernes is left behind in the tent and Judith hands his severed head to her maid while they both hold a curious looking pouch; it has the same pattern as the pillow case in Holofernes' tent. This arises from how the translator of this bible version rendered the *conopeum* for the trophy Judith takes from Holofernes' tent to show later to the citizens of Betulia (Jdt 13,10 *et percussit bis in cervicem eius et abscidit caput eius et abstulit conopeum eius a columnis et evolvit corpus eius truncum*).¹⁹ In antique literature, it meant a mosquito net but since it is a hapax legomenon in the Bible, none of the translators of the 14th century was sure what it meant; the first branch translated it as *umbhank* (coat) and the twelfth branch kept the word as a loan word *conopeum*.²⁰ The second branch on which the Mentelin Bible and eventually the Henfflin manuscript was based tried to hit the meaning with *küssy* ("cushion") and identified this object with the bag used to transport the head (Jdt 13,11 *iussit ut mitteret illud in peram suam*). This unique feature of the image proves that the illuminator must have been familiar with the text as it stands in the manuscript and that rather than resorting to

¹⁸ This draft translation of the German version aims to keep the unevenness of the original which in itself is based on Jerome's deliberately rough translation prose for the Book of Judith (cf. Henrike Lähnemann, ›Hystoria Judith‹. Deutsche Judithdichtungen vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Berlin/New York 2006 (Scrinium Friburgense 20), p. 74–80). The Vulgate version (following the Sixto-Clementina) for the passage: 13,8 Et cum hæc dixisset, accessit ad colúmnam quæ erat ad caput léctuli ejus, et pugiónem ejus, qui in ea ligátus pendébat, exsólvit. 9 Cumque evaginásset illum, apprehéndit comam cápitis ejus, et ait : Confirma me, Dómine Deus, in hac hora. 10 Et percússit bis in cervícem ejus, et abscidit caput ejus, et ábstulit conópeum ejus a colúmnis, et evólvit corpus ejus truncum. 11 Et post pusillum exívit, et trádidit caput Holoférnis ancíllæ suæ, et jussit ut mitteret illud in peram suam. 12 Et exiérunt duæ, secúndum consuetúdinem suam, quasi ad oratiónem, et transiérunt castra, et gyrántes vallem....

¹⁹ On the *conopeum* in Judith cf. the forthcoming article by Barbara Schmitz (in: The Sword of Judith. Cambridge: Open Book Publishing 2009).

²⁰ There are only three branches that translate all of the Bible, including the Apocrypha, the first, second and twelfth which is the so-called "Wien-Zürcher Bibel" (cf. Heimo Reinitzer, in: VL2, vol. 10 (1999), Sp. 1053–1057)-

standard devices, he carefully showed as many of the actual details as possible – like the crowd of listless Assyrian soldiers squeezed into the image by reducing them to the round back of their helmet (approximately 50 silvery blots).

What has been observed from this page could be repeated for many of the other pictures: even iconic iconography is enhanced and elaborated by close attention to the illustrated text. At the same time, the illustrations are much more numerous than in the contemporary parallels. While the Lauber manuscript of the Bible has just one image per biblical book, in the Henfflin Old Testament the Book of Judith (f. 245r-259r) alone has 10 images, placed at dramatic moments of the story. The illustrations start with only one image for chapter 6 (f. 248v: Achior is bound to a tree) and chapter 7 (f. 249v: Holofernes starts the siege of Bethulia) and then focuses completely on Judith's story. After leaving Bethulia (f. 252v) and being presented to Holofernes (f. 253v), the narrative unfolds blow by blow, page by page, with four illustrations for chapter 13 alone: The meal with Holofernes (f. 255r), the head being put in the bag (f. 255v), returning to the city (f. 256r) and showing the proofs to the city council (f. 256v) [Ill. 7].

Ill. 7: Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 17, f. 256^v (Judith shows the head of Holofernes while her maid presents the pillow case)



<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0520>

Since one of the proofs is the *conopeum* (Jdt 13,19 *Ecce caput Holofernis principis militiæ Assyriorum, et ecce conopeum illius, in quo recumbébat in ebrietáte sua*), the illustration faithfully repeats the pillow case scenario, the blue-and-white chequered material decorated with a large blood stain; the exact rendering, again, required reading not only the caption that mentions the *küssy* just as an object but the full text that explains that this is actually the pillow on which Holofernes was resting and which therefore has to be blood-stained.

The last two illustrations show again the action from Judith's viewpoint: she sets the flight of the Assyrian army into motion by holding Holofernes' head over the town walls (f. 257v) and on the opposite side (f. 258r)²¹ she continues watching from this post when the Israelites set upon the disheartened army. By this form of *teichoscopy*, Judith emerges quasi as the narrator of the picture cycle. This ties in with the strict concentration on the historical meaning of the Bible: throughout the poetic books there is not a single illustration to be found which had the effect that the first illumination in the third volume of the Old Testament (Cpg 18) only comes on f. 255r, showing Ezekiel in action. Whenever it is possible

²¹ The rubricator erroneously labelled the figure of Judith as *Hester* in his caption for the image, thinking ahead to the Book of Esther that follows only a few pages later.

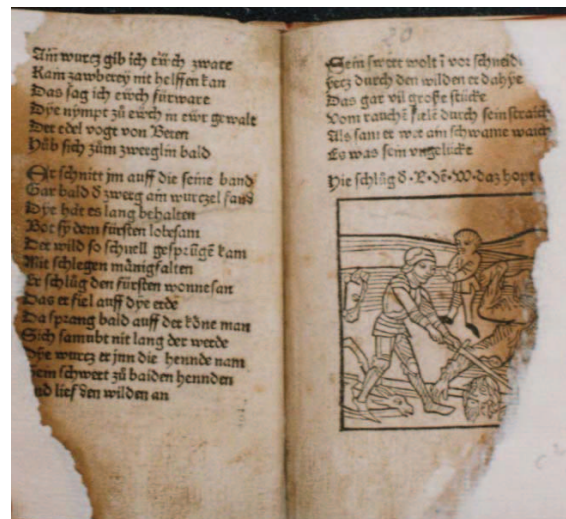
in this pictorial re-telling of the history of the Old Testament, noblewomen are foregrounded and shown in the latest fashion, regardless whether they are Pharaoh's daughter, Judith or the Queen of Sheeba.

* The Sigenot manuscript

The special feature of the illustration of the Old Testament Short, namely that the images form fully fledged narrative cycles, has been taken to extremes in the Sigenot manuscript.²² There were no precedents for illustrating German heroic epic; while other secular genres (Arthurian romances, Love Lyrics) had slowly started to be represented in illuminated manuscripts over the 13th and 14th century, texts like the 'Nibelungenlied' and the heroic epic surrounding Dietrich of Bern had been confined to unspectacular manuscripts, decorated if at all only with ornamental initials. Therefore, the first task confronting the editor was the division of the text to define the places for the illustrator. The contemporary printers, who started around the same time in Augsburg to print the first edition of Sigenot which was rapidly followed by numerous reprints, interspersed the narrative in more or less regular intervals with woodcuts. [Ill. 8]

Ill. 8: Sigenot Print: Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 8° Inc. 114115 (Augsburg: Johann Bämler, ca. 1487, f. C1v/C2r)

(own photograph, cf.



<http://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/henrike.laehnemann/sigenot/s1/C2.jpg>)

Johann Bämler positioned all woodcuts with their captions at the bottom of the octave sized pages which were laid out for 25 lines of text; this meant that the woodcuts and their captions would inevitably cut through one of the 13-lined verses.²³

The Henfflin editor apparently wanted to avoid this splitting up of verses. Instead, he opted for taking each verse as a separate unit to be illustrated. [Ill. 9]

Ill. 9 Sigenot-Manuscript, Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 67, f. 21^v/22^r

²² Henrike Lähnemann and Timo Kröner, Die Überlieferung des ›Sigenot‹. Bildkonzeptionen im Vergleich von Handschrift, Wandmalerei und Frühdrucken. Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft 2003/2004, p. 175–188 (cf. the documentation on the web: <http://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/henrike.laehnemann/sigenot/>).

²³ John L. Flood, Studien zur Überlieferung des Jüngerer Sigenot, in: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, vol. 95 (1966), p. 42–79.



either <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg67/0048> & /0049 (to be mounted as one image) or own photograph of the double page

This resulted in a very peculiar lay-out which never was repeated, neither for the 'Sigenot' nor any other heroic epic: each of the 201 pages is divided between a framed image on the top half and a 13-line verse on the bottom half. Since large portions of the text consist of dialogues or duels, easily drawn out over a dozen verses, the effect is similar to looking at film stills in slow motion.

* The 'Pontus und Sidonia' manuscript *

By choosing the prose novel 'Pontus und Sidonia' to be turned into an illuminated manuscript, the Henfflin Workshop picked again, as with the 'Sigenot', a text that became one of the early bestsellers of the German printing industry.²⁴ In this case, the solutions for distributing the images in the narrative are parallel though not identical since the prose text allowed placing the illustrations at the most convenient point. But the effect achieved by this is quite different. In the manuscript the first miniature comes only when a significant action takes place, after two pages of text. [Ill. 4] By contrast, the first woodcut in the print-edition by Schönsperger is prominently placed on the first page, together with a blurb: a print has to sell its contents to a prospective buyer and therefore the title-page is developed – a form of lay-out superfluous for a manuscript where the patron or patroness knows exactly what she commissioned and why [Ill. 10].²⁵

Ill. 10 Pontus und Sidonia-Ms., Heidelberg University Library, Cpg 142, f. 1^v: The Sultan sets sail to attack Galicia.

²⁴ Henrike Lähnemann, 'Pontus und Sidonia', Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek cpg 142. Literar- und kunsthistorische Einführung, München 1999 (Codices illuminati medii aevi 49).

²⁵ On the "developments in the informational content of the title-page" in the late 15th century cf. Margaret M. Smith, The title-page, its early development, 1460–1510, London 2000, p. 108.



<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg142/0008>

To conclude: By turning "from manuscript to print" on its head, I wanted to counteract the implicit teleology of the well-worn phrase, the popular misunderstandings of manuscripts and prints as stages in the development of literacy. In certain areas, manuscript production was not extinguished by the printing press but rather encouraged and diversified. A very considerable number of seminal manuscripts for what we think of as medieval German literature were produced at a time when it would have been just as easy to have it printed; without the 'Ambraser Heldenbuch', the manuscript collection of novels and heroic epic commissioned by Emperor Maximilian, we would not have the full text of the earliest German Arthurian novel, the 'Erec'.²⁶

What the Henfflin Workshop did in answer to the challenge of its noble patroness, is not quite re-inventing the wheel but quite close to it: re-inventing the idea of the illuminated vernacular manuscript as setting aside courtly entertainments in the age of cheap (or rather: more easily affordable) book production. They developed a specific style of formalized illustration and layout that held together the group of manuscripts despite the variety of its genres and sources. This feature was seen by the early research on the Palatine manuscripts as a lack of originality and individuality. Wegener writes in his catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts of the Heidelberg University Library in 1927:

Die Arbeit ist sorgfältig, aber sehr temperament- und phantasielos. [...] Die übertriebene Eleganz der Figuren in Kleidung und Geste, die affektlose Ruhe der Bilder, die starke Vertiefung und Ausschmückung der Bildbühne, die allerdings durch primitive Mittel zu erreichen versucht ist, zeigen deutlich, daß der Zeichner von dem Wunsch der Bestellerin nach einer höfischen Illustrationsform stark beeinflußt ist. Der Qualität des Zeichners entsprechend ist das Resultat seiner Bemühungen unbedeutend. Für eine steife und leere Eleganz gibt er alle volkstümliche Kraft auf.²⁷

(The work has been done diligently but without temperament and imagination [...] The overdone elegance of the figures' attire and gesture, the emotion-drained immobility of the images, the great depth and decoration of the imaginary stage which however has been tried to achieve by primitive means – they all show that the illustrator has been strongly influenced by the patroness' wish for a courtly form of illumination. In accordance with the quality of the illustrator, the result

²⁶ Peter Jörg Becker, *Handschriften und Frühdrucke mittelhochdeutscher Epen. Eneide, Tristrant, Tristan, Erec, Iwein, Parzival, Willehalm, Jüngerer Titurel, Nibelungenlied und ihre Reproduktion und Rezeption im späteren Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1977.

²⁷ Wegener (1927), p. 72.

of his endeavours is meagre. He sacrifices all home-grown, natural strength to achieve a stiff and empty elegance.)

Later voices have found more positive words. In her introduction to the facsimile of the 'Herpin'-manuscript, Ute von Bloh has characterized the work of the Henfflin workshop as an independent and inventive way to cast courtly models in the mould of contemporary manuscripts.²⁸ This is not only true for the 'Herpin' but can be read as a description of the editing efforts of this group of scribes and illustrators: finding a viable balance between representation and usage, of combining recognisable schemes of illustration (for example the recurrent scenes of parting) with the minutiae of the individual text and its detailed descriptions.

Illumination had always been a mark of distinction not only for the patron (whose wealth was a perquisite for it) but more for certain types of book: theological and historical subjects, predominately Latin. Until the print made heroic epics easily available (even though you might squirm at the term "Volksbuch"), an illuminated heroic epic was a contradiction in itself. Manuscript production in the age of printing gives the manuscripts and its patrons a new status. The tailor-made erudite application of forms of representation until then reserved for different subject matters is what marks the transition "from print to manuscript". As soon as manuscript production is no longer the default form of dissemination of knowledge, it takes on new meanings and establishes a different kind of literary community.

²⁸ Ute von Bloh, 'Historie von Herzog Herpin', übertragen aus dem Französischen von Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. Pal. Germ. 152, München 1990 (Codices illuminati medii aevi 17), p. 33–45.