

Michael Stolz (University of Bern)

Eschatology and Care. The Manuscripts of the Wellcome Scribe in Interdisciplinary Perspectives
Conference Istituto Svizzero di Roma, 13th to 16th April 2026

1. State of research in the field

The self-reflection on the conditions of human existence, on its finiteness, and on related compensation strategies with regard to this world, experienced as a natural environment, and an afterlife, imagined as a transcendent hope, represents an anthropological constant. The proposed conference project examines this self-reflection under the premises of pre-modern European mentality, as articulated by a 15th century manuscript group, presumably from Thuringia, with an unusual media constellation of text and image.

The textual witnesses are a total of six mostly large-format manuscripts from the period around 1440–50 with Latin and German-language ‘pictorial texts’ (“Bildertexte”) in prose and verse; they are considered to be the products of the so-called ‘Wellcome scribe’. According to the prevailing opinion, he was responsible for the compilation, the writing and probably also the illustrations¹ (the following explanations can be traced using a provisional digital edition: wellcome-schreiber.unibe.ch):

- MS C: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1404
Paper with parchment inlays (fols. 14, 27, 39) – 40 fols. – 41 x 30 cm.
Ecclesiastical composite manuscript with numerous pictorial texts, including virtues and vices, tree diagrams with moralising contents, political prophecy, collection of exempla; ‘sister manuscript’ to MS W, but no direct dependence.
- MS W: London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 49
Parchment – 69 fols. – 40 x 30 cm – alternative dating: c. 1470.²
Ecclesiastical ‘encyclopaedic’ composite manuscript with pictorial texts: including an Apocalypse with Antichrist vita and John vita (textual commentaries: Berengaudus, 9th century, *Glossa ordinaria*), *Ars moriendi*, medical treatises, virtues and vices, tree diagrams with moralising contents, collection of exempla; ‘sister manuscript’ to MS C, but no direct dependence.
- MS Y: New York, The New York Public Library, MS 15
Parchment – 18 fols. – 33 x 23 cm – alternative dating: c. 1470.³
Illustrated text of the Apocalypse as in MS W, but without the Antichrist vita.
- MS P: private property
Paper – 180 counted fols. (only the old leaves of the first part are written by Wellcome scribe: fols. 4r–104v) – 27.4 x 18.5 cm.
So-called ‘Petronell *Circa instans* manuscript’ (privately owned, European collector, unknown location); collection of Latin and German texts, written in 1482 in Wenna, upper Inn valley; the Latin herbal treatise ‘*Circa instans*’ written by the Wellcome scribe, a standard work of Salernitan herbal lore, is supplemented

¹ See PALMER (1990a), pp. 11–12, 27–28 (with further references) for the characterisation of the ‘Wellcome scribe’ and for the following overview, as well as for the dating of manuscripts (for deviations see below), and for the sigla C, W, P, B; the sigla Y and Z were newly assigned at this point. The term ‘pictorial texts’ (“Bildertexte”) used here according to PALMER (1990a), p. 12, refers to medial constellations of text and image, which are explained below, p. 9.

² The more recent dating of MSS W and Y according to HAMBURGER (2005), p. 92; see below, p. 5.

³ Cf. note 2.

by a German translation on interleaved pages; the manuscript also contains Isidore of Seville's 'De natura rerum' and Konrad of Megenberg's 'Buch der Natur', parts I–II (with interpolations: 'Petroneller Geburtsprognostik', 'Somniale Danielis').⁴ The part written by the Wellcome scribe is the direct model for MS B.

- MS B: Basel, University Library, MS K II 11

Parchment – 36 counted fols. – 33.5 x 25 cm.

So-called 'Basler Kräuterbuch' with the Latin text of the herbal treatise 'Circa instans', copy of MS P.

- MS Z: Basel, University Library, MS N I 1, p. 79

Parchment – 1 trimmed leaf (as book cover): city map of Jerusalem (detail), verso blank – 21.5 x 26.3 cm.

The existence and coherence of the manuscripts only gradually became known to experts. In the early days, research by the circle of the art historian Aby Warburg (1866–1929) played an important role: Fritz SAXL drew attention to MS C in 1927 with a detailed description.⁵ He provided a detailed description of the contents and an overview of the individual images, supplemented by references to similarities with Nuremberg woodcuts. In a later work from 1942, SAXL took up the subject again on the occasion of the discovery of MS W, which is closely related to MS C in terms of script, illustrations and subject matter and which had been acquired by the Wellcome Museum in London (now the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine) at an auction in 1931.⁶ SAXL characterised the two manuscripts in their relationship as "sister manuscripts" (p. 82). The MS C (in paper) and the MS W (in parchment) match in numerous text-image constellations, as SAXL demonstrated for illustrations of the virtues and vices, for various tree diagrams, and exempla. Only MS W has additional pictorial texts at the beginning with an annotated Apocalypse, an *Ars moriendi* and medical treatises, the latter with Latin and German text parts. Both manuscripts also contain illustrated sections on political prophecy (MS C, fols. 30v–32r; MS W, fols. 31v–32r). Details in the more elaborate description of MS C enabled SAXL to give an approximate date for this manuscript (pp. 87–95): He related the acronym *SALKVM* (MS C, fol. 31v, cf. also MS W, fol. 31v),⁷ inscribed (only) there as *Dictum Sibille*, to the initials of the imperial names Stephanus, Adalbertus, Ludwicus, Karolus, Wenczeslaus and 'Malignus', interpreting the latter as a derogatory cognomen for Emperor Sigismund (1411 king, 1433 emperor, d. 1437), who succeeded his half-brother Wenczeslas IV of Bohemia after Ruprecht of the Palatinate had been elected anti-king (the latter is in turn represented by an *R* inserted in smaller script between the *V* and the *M* of the acronym in both manuscripts). Further clues for SAXL's dating were the reference to a comet (from 1402) found only in MS C (on fol. 32r) and the nearby lament *ve ve ve scolaribus aut litteratis*, which can be related to the condemnation of scholarship by the Hussites (1402/03) and the exodus of German scholars from Prague (Decree of Kuttenberg, 1409). SAXL explained the illustration showing a *Dominus Kruscho* in attack of the fortress of *Aurimons* by military actions of the Hussite leader Hinko Krušina of Lichtenberg⁸ against the Lower Silesian town of Złotoryja/Goldberg (in 1427 and 1443 respectively). Based on these observations, he dated MS C "roughly between 1425 and 1440" (p. 90). For stylistic reasons, he characterised MS W as "one or two decades older" (p.

⁴ Cf. PALMER (1990a), manuscript description, pp. 4–10. The study appeared as an independent part of a publication written jointly with Klaus SPECKENBACH, who in turn devoted himself to the German dream books of the Middle Ages. The collaboration resulted from the fact that the 'Buch der Natur', included as the third part in the 'Petronell *Circa instans* manuscript', contains the insertion of a version of the dream book 'Somniale Danielis'.

⁵ SAXL (1927).

⁶ SAXL (1942).

⁷ The identical page numbers are due to the coincidence of subsequent pagination.

⁸ Cf. now in detail URBAN (2003), pp. 290–318, 477–485, with mention of the illustration in MS C on p. 291.

115). The mentality expressed in the two ‘sister manuscripts’ could be assigned to an anti-Hussite milieu.⁹ A further issue of the 1942 article was the categorisation of the illustrations in older iconographic traditions (including the ‘Liber Floridus’ and the ‘Hortus Deliciarum’), which SAXL described as ‘encyclopaedic’ (in which later research has not always followed him).¹⁰ In connection with an article by Warburg’s student Gertrud BING, published in the same journal volume and devoted to manuscript models of the Apocalypse blockbooks,¹¹ SAXL referred to the reception of pictorial motifs from MSS C and W in early prints (pp. 123–129). In addition, he studied the exempla contained in the ‘sister manuscripts’, based on the ‘Gesta Romanorum’ and especially on fictitious ekphrases in the ‘Moralitates’ by the Dominican Robert Holkot of Oxford and in the ‘Fulgentius metaforalis’ by the Franciscan John Ridewall, also of Oxford, both from 14th century England; in MS C there is also a pictorial representation of ‘Etymachia’ following the tradition of Prudentius complemented by texts in MS W (cf. pp. 101–105, 116, 122–123).¹² Otto KURZ added appendices, providing verse incipits and an overview of the medical illustrations contained in MS W (pp. 134–142).

SAXL’s research on the two ‘sister manuscripts’ was initially only taken up selectively. In 1965, Boyd H. HILL presented transcriptions of German-language medical texts from MS W.¹³ Frances A. YATES, another member of the Warburg circle, referred in her 1966 study on medieval and early modern mnemonics to the implementation of mnemonic procedures in the exempla representations based on Robert Holkot.¹⁴ In 1980, Leonie VON WILCKENS attempted to date MS C before 1414 (the beginning of the council of Constance) and located the codex in the anti-Hussite milieu of the University of Heidelberg, but her speculations were rejected in later research.¹⁵

An important new impetus was given by Almuth SEEBOHM-DÉSOUTELS, who dedicated her (unprinted) dissertation, completed at the Warburg Institute in London in 1982, to MS W, thus shifting the focus of interest for the first time since SAXL from MS C to this more extensive parchment manuscript.¹⁶ SEEBOHM presented precise codicological, palaeographical and iconological descriptions of both manuscripts and supplemented these with indices of the prose and verse texts in MS W. On this basis, she was able to determine the characteristics and relationship of the two ‘sister manuscripts’ more precisely: She assumed that in both manuscripts two hands could be identified, possibly by one and the same scribe (“a retardaire [!] pseudo-Gothic script”, “a tiny, scratchy early Humanistic script”, p. 102). She attributed the illustrations (coloured pen and ink drawings, in MS C partly grisaille) to a single artist (p. 105 et al.). In the layout, she recognised the pattern of a planned arrangement on facing double pages (e.g. in the political prophecy with the SALKVM acronym, in MS W and C on fols. 31v/32r, cf. pp. 109–110). Regarding text-image structures in which the text ‘clings’ to the outlines of the drawings, she was able to prove that the texts were usually written after the images had been made (p. 116 et al.). She showed that the parchment MS W has a planned overall structure (“W was laid out and assembled as a whole”, p. 134), while the

⁹ Cf. SAXL (1942), pp. 131–134, referring to the topic of the Antichrist (Antichrist-vita embedded in the Apocalypse of MS W, Antichrist-matter in the political prophecies).

¹⁰ Cf. SAXL (1942), pp. 117–120, and the criticism in SEEBOHM (1982), p. 136 (‘encyclopaedic’ as an anachronistic and inappropriate term, since the manuscripts did not convey universal knowledge).

¹¹ Cf. BING (1942).

¹² SAXL characterised the fact that the otherwise unillustrated exempla have pictures in MSS C and W as “unique” (p. 103).

¹³ Boyd H. HILL Jr (1965a) and (1965b).

¹⁴ YATES (1966, reprint 1997), p. 107.

¹⁵ Cf. VON WILCKENS (1980), pp. 39–40, 44. Criticised by SEEBOHM and LUTZ (see below); superseded by PALMER (1990a).

¹⁶ SEEBOHM (1982). As the author later also published without her second name, all her works are cited in the abbreviated form SEEBOHM.

paper MS C, enriched with a few parchment inserts, is a gradually growing collection (“C grew [...] as miscellaneous items were assembled”, p. 134–135). Nevertheless, she emphasised the close relationship between the two manuscripts due to the similarities in layout and script as well as numerous overlaps in content but rejected the idea of a direct interdependence in favour of a presumed common model (pp. 131–134). Regarding the combination of sacred and secular topics (particularly tangible in the medical sections of MS W) and the repeated insertion of vernacular texts, SEEBOHM concluded that there was a mixed clerical and secular audience for the manuscript and assigned the religious themes to possible settings of use in the context of medieval preaching (cf. esp. pp. 139–142). Detailed individual studies led her to the conclusion that a mnemonic picture of rhetoric (‘rhetorical man’, MS C, fol. 39r, fold-out parchment insert in large format; MS W, double page, fol. 48v/49r, with incomplete inscriptions and incoherent pictorial composition) follows the procedures of medieval *Ars memorativa* and that the picture of the ‘crucified monk’ (MS C, fol. 35v; MS W, fol. 63v) takes up textual models (e.g. by Caesarius von Heisterbach), which in turn continued to have an effect on printmaking well into the 19th century. Overall, a new state of research was achieved with SEEBOHM’s unprinted dissertation, which was followed by two individual articles (resulting on the chapters on the ‘rhetorical man’ and the ‘crucified monk’)¹⁷ and by an annotated colour microfiche edition of MS W.¹⁸

A further stimulus of research came from literary scholarship, once more triggered by the sale of a manuscript, MS P, that was acquired in 1985 by an anonymous European collector. The Oxford scholar Nigel F. PALMER, who had the opportunity to analyse the codex, called it the ‘Petronell *Circa instans* manuscript’ after its former location (the library of the Counts of Traun–Absberg at Petronell Castle near Vienna).¹⁹ In a comprehensive article in German from 1990, he demonstrated that the first part of the manuscript, containing the Latin illustrated herbal treatise ‘*Circa instans*’, is written by the same scribe as MSS C and W and is the direct model for the ‘Basler Kräuterbuch’ (MS B), which in turn has been written by the same hand.²⁰ On the basis of dispersed information in research literature,²¹ he was able to identify the six manuscripts mentioned above as a group belonging together, including a single parchment leaf with a map of Jerusalem (MS Z). PALMER assigned this group to a single responsible compiler and scribe, whom – with regard to MS W – he called ‘Wellcome scribe’ and who, he assumed, has also been the illustrator (pp. 11–12). A detailed palaeographical analysis led him to distinguish between two types of script: a *textura* and a *bastarda* (pp. 21–23).²² He also compiled the German texts contained in MSS P, B, C and W (pp. 13–20) and on this basis determined a Thuringian scribal dialect with a few Alemannic interspersions (pp. 28–35).²³ The result of the examination of the Wellcome scribe’s writing language was that he ‘very probably

¹⁷ See SEEBOHM (1985) and SEEBOHM (1996).

¹⁸ See SEEBOHM (1995).

¹⁹ PALMER (1990a).

²⁰ Cf. the facsimile edition of MS B by PFISTER (1961), with a short introduction superseded by PALMER’s analyses, as well as BLOME’s dissertation (1978) with transcription; both erroneously date MS B to the late 14th century. – According to PALMER (1990a), pp. 46–47, the fact that the Latin text of MS B is copied from MS P is proven by the incorporation of material (interlinear and marginal glosses as well as a marginal drawing) from MS P into the text-picture-ensemble of MS B.

²¹ In addition to the works already mentioned above on MSS B, C and W, cf. ESCHER (1917), Textband, p. 131, and VON WILCKENS (1980), p. 47, note 49, on MS Z; SEEBOHM (1982), pp. 103, 105–106, on MS Y and Z; SEEBOHM (1985), pp. 230–231, note 1.

²² *Textura*: MS B, fol. 1r; MS Z; MS W, fol. 2v–32r; inscriptions on the parchment leaves of MS C, fol. 14r/v, 27r/v, 39r; MS Y. *Bastarda*: MS B, fol. 1v–33v; MS C, all pages except fols. 14r/v, 27r/v, 39r; MS W, fol. 34r–69v; MS P.

²³ The tentative dialect definitions by art-historians (Middle German with Alemannic elements, SAXL [1942], p. 92, note 1; Rhine–Franconian, VON WILCKENS [1980], p. 39) were thus obsolete.

wrote in Thuringia for Thuringians' (p. 35). Watermark analyses enabled PALMER to date the two paper MSS of the Wellcome scribe to the years around 1440–50 (MS C, ox head) and around or shortly after 1450 (MS P, lily, on both pp. 27–28). The 'mingling of German and Latin [...], of texts and images' prompted him to look for the audience 'on the fringes of the universities or in the circle of university graduates (e.g. doctors, lawyers, town clerks, headmasters)' – a milieu that also had an affinity to the mendicant orders, which are represented in MSS C and W by the exempla of Robert Holkot and John Ridewall (p. 39).²⁴ In institutional terms, PALMER thought of the environment of a general studies programme or a university and, in view of the Thuringian writing language, he suggested that Erfurt would be one of the most likely places of origin (p. 40). In an appendix he edited the Latin and German texts of the 'Petronell *Circa instans*' (including later supplements added to the writings of the Wellcome scribe).²⁵

Also in 1990, Eckart C. LUTZ considered MSS C and W in his studies on Heinrich Wittenwiler's satirical didactic poem 'Der Ring' (Constance, c. 1408/10).²⁶ Using the two 'sister manuscripts' as models for interpreting the allegorical dimension of the 'Ring', he provided valuable observations, especially on MS C. In doing so, he was able to correct SEEBOHM's impression of a mere 'assemblage' in MS C to the effect that this manuscript – compared with MS W – sometimes presents the more coherent concepts. Thus, LUTZ asserted thematic principles of organisation, based on the structures of the quires in MS C: (1) the culpability and finiteness of human existence, (2) tree diagrams, especially on virtues and vices, (3) mystical-Christological themes, end times and judgement (pp. 389–392). He also aptly pointed out the pictorial composition, which is repeatedly more coherent than that in MS W: for example, in MS C the allegorical female depiction of the world ('figura mundi') and the lover of the world face each other, maintain eye contact and engage in lively gestures (fol. 2v), whereas in MS W they both look in the same direction without showing any proper interaction (fol. 46r).

Later works were devoted sporadically to the manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe.²⁷ An important impulse came from Jeffrey F. HAMBURGER, who in an exhibition catalogue of the New York Public Library in 2005 proposed a new dating for the New York MS Y and the London MS W: He traced the illustration of the Apocalypse transmitted in both textual witnesses back to blockbook versions, in particular to editions IV and V produced in Germany from 1460 onwards.²⁸ With this assumption of a reverse direction of influence compared to SAXL and BING, HAMBURGER provided an approximate dating of W and Y around 1470. This dating was confirmed by Britt B. HUNTER in papers from 2020 and 2024, in which she argues that the quantitatively more limited layout in blockbooks is also reflected in the handwritten illustrations, in such a way that more free space is left there.²⁹ HUNTER also pursues this approach in her as yet unprinted dissertation of 2022, which focusses on the pictorial traditions to be found in MS W.³⁰ The dating of Y and W to around 1470 would also reverse the relationship

²⁴ On Holkot's 'Moralitates', see also PALMER (1991), SLOTEMAKER and WITT (2016).

²⁵ Cf. PALMER (1990b) and the article in the 'Verfasserlexikon': PALMER (1989).

²⁶ LUTZ (1990), esp. pp. 236–237, 274–280, 384–396, with reference to PALMER (1989) on p. 386, note 18.

²⁷ Cf. HERKOMMER (1993), pp. 184–186, on the 'figura mundi' illustration; KIENING (1994), pp. 445–448, on transience concepts (Contemptus mundi); HARRIS (1994), pp. 32, 60–62, on the etymology of MS W; GREEN (2008), pp. 155–157, on gynaecological sections in the medical part of MS W.

²⁸ Cf. HAMBURGER (2005), pp. 89, 92; on pp. 93–96 a synopsis of the contents of the blockbook-Apocalypse, edition IV, and MSS Y, W, from which a disturbed sequence of pages 12–16 in MS Y is evident.

²⁹ Cf. HUNTER (2020), esp. pp. 110–113, and (2024), esp. pp. 71–74.

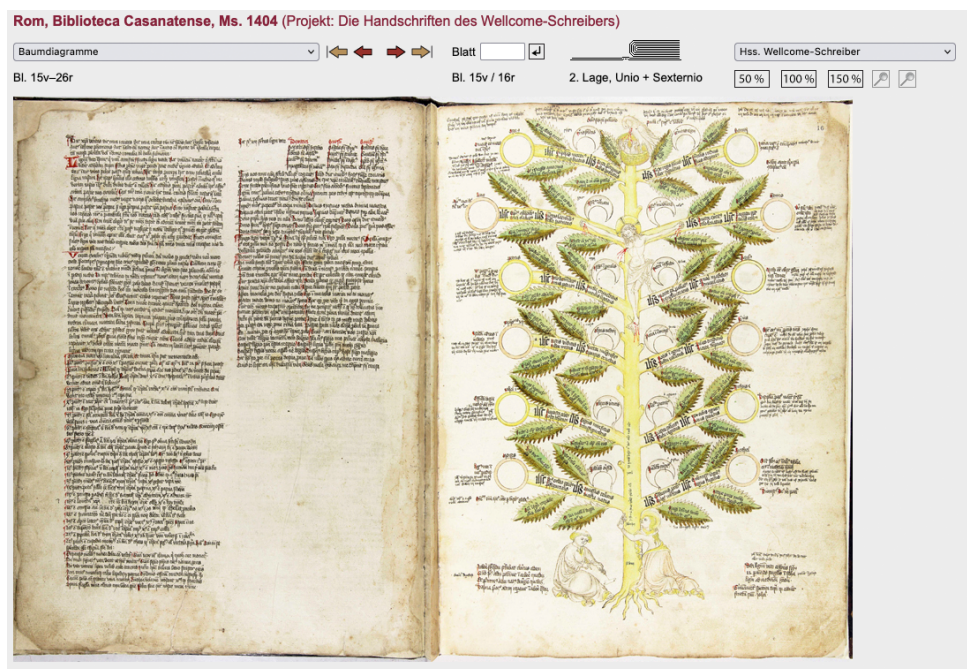
³⁰ HUNTER (2022). I am thankful to Mrs. Hunter for giving me the opportunity to read her work. It compensates for a deficit that had existed since SEEBOHM's dissertation (1982), in which the Apocalypse section, the Memento mori theme and the medical treatises were only marginally treated. HUNTER demonstrates that MS W, particularly in combining these themes, follows a planned principle of *ordinatio*, which can be observed in how the transitions between the diverse sections are made (cf. esp. pp. 103–111).

between the two ‘sister manuscripts’: MS C (which does not contain the Apocalypse and the sections on the *Ars moriendi* and medicine studied by HUNTER) could then be seen as the precursor to MS W.

In view of the work done so far on the manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe, the following research desiderata can be derived: Previous studies have concentrated on individual representatives of the manuscript group. The focus has been on MS W (especially in SEEBOHM, most recently in HUNTER), while MS C has received much less attention (in SAXL, LUTZ); only PALMER has achieved a synopsis, but for his part he was strongly focussed on MS P. Overall, the manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe have been considered too little in the exciting composition of their contents, neither in the internal structure of the individual codices nor in an overarching perspective of the thematic relationships between the diverse manuscripts. In these correlations, particularly the texts recorded in the manuscripts and the relationships between them and the corresponding images need to be interpreted. Such investigations, which are still pending for the manuscript group, are to be carried out in future research. They can be characterised by the dichotomy of ‘eschatology and care’, that is symptomatic of an ‘educated lay public’ of the 15th century (as PALMER [1990a], p. 39, has stated for the manuscript group) and which will be explained in more detail in section 3.

2. Setting up a digital edition

Based on his own research on the two ‘sister manuscripts’ C and W in the context of text-image representations of the *Artes liberales* in the Middle Ages,³¹ Michael STOLZ set up a digital edition of the whole group of manuscripts (without MS P, kept in an unknown location), accessible at the address wellcome-schreiber.unibe.ch:³²



³¹ Cf. STOLZ (2004), pp. 236–266, with codicological descriptions based on autopsy.

³² Based on models of the Parzival project; cf. the digital facsimiles available at parzival.unibe.ch/hsverz.html – among others the manuscript with a collection of courtly romance, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 857, and the Parzival manuscript from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. AA 91. – In agreement with the libraries, digital copies of the Wellcome manuscripts from London and New York could be obtained via existing websites; for those from Rome and Basel, the libraries kindly provided digital copies and authorised an internet publication.

All manuscripts can be accessed via the cover page. The individual interfaces offer, on the top left, a drop-down menu of thematic sections, followed by the relevant page indications. On the side, arrow symbols allow for browsing between pages and sections. In the middle, an input box for page search (“Blatt”) gives access to individual (double)pages, followed by the display of the current page number(s). Further on the right, a quire symbol together with specifications informs about the quire structure. Finally, a menu (“Hss. Wellcome–Schreiber“) makes it possible to change the manuscript. Below this, three buttons offer different display sizes (50% for double–page view, 100% and 150% for single–page view, magnifying glass symbols for further size levels). This digital edition enables studies on for instance the relationship of quires and text-image entries as well as on the parallel transmission of individual text-image ensembles, and groups in the manuscripts. By this, a solid basis for future research is provided.

3. Future research perspectives

As has been mentioned, the thematic programme developed in the manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe can be located in the polarity of ‘eschatology and care’. This is particularly evident in the composition of MS W: it starts with a text-image cycle on the Apocalypse featuring an embedded Antichrist vita (fols. 2v–28v), which is followed by an *Ars moriendi*, by topics of the *Memento mori* and by a political prophecy of the end times (fols. 29r–32r, quires 1–3). These two sections are followed by medical explanations with figures of bloodletting and other diagrams, among others on birth prognostics (fols. 34r–45v, quire 4). Further on, there are moralising pictorial texts with exempla, (tree) diagrams and depictions of the virtues and vices (fols. 46r–69v, quires 5–6). The topic thus moves between historical and individual ‘eschatology’ (‘consummatio saeculi’ [Mt 24,3] – ‘mortalitas’) on the one hand and spiritual and secular ‘care’ (‘salvatio’ – ‘cura’) on the other.³³

This polarity, particularly evident in MS W, also determines the programme of the other manuscripts written by the Wellcome scribe. It is revealed in the contents of the individual codices and in their association with each other: MS C begins with a diagram on penance and is followed by moralising pictorial texts on the themes of transience, *Memento mori* as well as virtues and vices (fols. 1r–13r, quire 1). This section is followed by a group of tree diagrams with different thematic orientations, including kinship, virtues and vices, heresy (fols. 13v–26r, quire 2). Another seemingly more unsorted unit contains a group of illustrations and pictorial texts with moralising themes, political prophecy and exempla (fols. 28r–37v, quire 3; fols. 38r–40r, quire 4). Three bound parchment leaves (fol. 14: kinship diagrams; fol. 27: etymachy illustration and map of the Holy Land; fol. 39: rhetoric, virtue diagram) make it clear that the manuscript has been tampered with. This impression is also reinforced by the fact that the boundaries between the quires have been manipulated at a later stage, for example by the fact that the tree diagram on fol. 14r (parchment leaf stitched in before quire 2) is explained by a text that was probably added on the last existing leaf of quire 1 (fol. 13v), or that the fold-out leaf 27r (parchment leaf bound in behind quire 2) with illustrations on etymachy is supplemented by a further diagram with a related theme, probably also added later at the end of quire 2 (fol. 26v). Nevertheless, the outlines of the programme, as it appears more completely in MS W, can be seen in this apparently disorganised compilation. What is missing in MS C are the Apocalypse, *Ars moriendi* and medical texts, the parts that make the tense polarity of ‘eschatology and care’ recognisable in MS W in the first place. However, it is precisely these components that are present, at least in part, in the other manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe known to date: the Apocalypse in MS Y, medicinal herbs in the herbaria of

³³ Similarly, HUNTER (2022), p. xix, asserts “a clear interest in eschatological knowledge, guidance on salvation, and general well-being”.

MSS B and P. This result suggests the need to look at the overall programme of the Wellcome scribe's manuscripts in order to draw conclusions about his intellectual profile.

Special attention should be paid to MS C, whose research has received comparatively little attention in recent decades, although it has been repeatedly observed that its microstructure – its illustrations and text–image ensembles – is far more coherent and complete than MS W.³⁴ The impression of disorder in the macrostructure – in the arrangement of the individual parts – may be related to the fact that MS C represents the creative process of a compilation 'in the making'. This would not only imply that it is a presumed precursor of MS W (as can be deduced from HAMBURGER's dating and HUNTER's conclusions, see above), but it would also be an analogue to the process of a plant growing the scribe literally stages in the numerous tree and plant patterns of his manuscripts.³⁵ In addition to the recurring motif of *arbor*, the key term here is *natura*, which, as a grammatical form (future tense) of *nasci*, *natus*, denotes nothing other than 'what will be born, will come into being'.³⁶

The potential of such an approach can be illustrated with an example: Only in MS C (not in MS W) is a depiction of the 'Lignum vitae' (after Bonaventura), entered on fol. 16r as the first of the series of tree diagrams following the kinship diagrams.³⁷ On the branches of the ramous tree verses on the redemption of Christ are written, each introduced by an IHS monogram; at the top, surmounted by the symbol of the pelican, sacrificing itself for its children, is a crucifix; at the roots, beside the figure of Mary Magdalene with a nimbus, embracing the tree, sits a cleric with tonsure, who is writing on a sheet of parchment with a pen. A conventional quatrain in hexameters, beginning with the verse *Arbore sub quadam scribebat clericus Adam*, calls the scribe by name and places him in a quasi–typological relationship to the 'first Adam', whose guilt was atoned for by the 'last Adam' Christ (*natus de virgine*).³⁸ It seems that the scribe of MS C is describing his own activity by inserting these widespread verses. Perhaps this illustration opened the quire on the original second leaf (now fol. 16), before the vellum leaf (now fol. 14) was inserted, and before the preceding leaf (now. fol. 15) was inscribed (such blank leaves are to be found at the beginning of the first quire of MS C, fols. I–II, as well as of the first quire of MS W, fols. 1r–2r). The scribal image would then represent a kind of stylised signature.³⁹ In any case, the illustration of the 'Lignum vitae' was probably only gradually supplemented by inscriptions. This can be seen in the vernacular inscriptions, which are placed beside the medallion-like outgrowths of the branches of the 'Lignum vitae': While the medallions themselves are inscribed with the names of prophets or apostles and supplemented by aphorisms assigned to them, the vernacular texts offer further statements in much smaller script, which in turn are assigned to biblical authorities. Further presumed additions can be found in the two-column entry on the adjacent leaf 15v, which ends in the centre of the second column. To name just two examples, the hymn *Dic Christi veritas* by Philip the Chancellor⁴⁰

³⁴ See MEIER (1980), pp. 497–498; SEEBOHM (1982), p. 154; SEEBOHM (1985), p. 205; LUTZ (1990), pp. 276–277, 387–388; STOLZ (2004), p. 243.

³⁵ Cf. also SAXL (1942), p. 113: "No manuscript of the classic centuries of the Middle Ages has such indiscriminate profusion".

³⁶ Cf. on the term SERRES (2004), p. 70.

³⁷ Cf. also SAXL (1942), pp. 108–113; on Bonaventura's 'Lignum vitae' SCHLOSSER (2012), on the German reception RUH (1978), col. 940, and (2004), col. 271; on the image type PREISINGER (2014).

³⁸ In the broad tradition, the first verse usually has the verb *dictavit* instead of *scribebat*; cf. the comprehensive analysis by PLACANICA (2006), on Hs C p. 164

³⁹ A proper identification, however, as SAXL (1942), p. 113, suggests ("the name of the Casanatensis scribe was Adam?"), seems erroneous. Yet it is striking that in the illustrated *h*-shaft of the IHS monogram on fol. 1r a similarly designed cleric is kneeling under the crucifix.

⁴⁰ Around 1198, also included in the 'Carmina Burana'. Cf. *Analecta Hymnica* 21, no. 181, pp. 125–126; VOLLMANN (1987), pp. 462–463, commentary *ibid.*, pp. 1117–1119.

and the hymn *Lignum vite querimus* appear at the beginning of the first column.⁴¹ This shows how the Wellcome scribe arranges his material: He selects from a wide range of predefined sources and presents these for meditative reading by combining texts, images and other media components (such as musical notation, see the previous footnote) to form an ensemble of ‘pictorial texts’ and diagrams.⁴² It would be worth comparing his approach with that in other contemporary manuscripts, such as the ‘Süddeutsche Tafelsammlung’ from around 1470.⁴³

The fact that the theme of *natura*, contained in the topic of the ‘Lignum vite’ and tangible in the depiction of the scribe ‘below the tree’, extends almost like a leitmotif through the programme of the ‘sister manuscripts’ C and W can be shown with the following examples: On fol. 17v in MS C (on fol. 66v in MS W) there is an allegorical picture of a vine with three branches illustrating that Christianity (*vitis baptizatorum*) as well as paganism (*vitis gentilium*) and heresy (*vitis hereticorum*) sprout from a single root – the *radix humane nature*.⁴⁴ Another tree in MS C on fol. 19v (in MS W on fol. 69v) correlates the human ages (on the left) with the Artes liberales (on the right) as *Arbor sapientie* with its branches; on the first branch near the root the ages begin with *natura*, whereas the Artes begin with *philozophia*.⁴⁵ An illustration summarising the ‘Anticlaudianus’ by Alan of Lille contains a personification of *natura naturata* in the lower right-hand panel of the picture in MS C on fol. 29r (in MS W on fol. 68r)⁴⁶ while the mnemonic picture of rhetoric has *natura*-inscriptions in MS C on fol. 39r (missing in MS W on fol. 48v), i.e. on the staff held by the three-headed male figure representing rhetoric and on the vine growing out of its heart.⁴⁷ These different models, following high medieval concepts such as those developed by the ‘School of Chartres’, express diverse types of the idea of *natura* that was widespread in the 15th century and the peculiarities of which still need to be decoded in the context of the Wellcome scribe’s programme.⁴⁸ Syntagmatic readings of individual terms extending through the manuscripts in this way have not yet been carried out; a systematic survey has yet to be undertaken.⁴⁹ By doing so, it will be possible to sharpen the intellectual habitus of the Wellcome scribe responsible for compiling the contents.

An important basis for the interpretation of the polarity of ‘eschatology and care’ will be provided by selected transcriptions of the Latin and German texts of MS C and other parts of the text from the other manuscripts. These will be produced in 2025 at the University of Bern using AI-supported manuscript recognition with programmes such as ‘Transkribus’ (www.transkribus.org/de) and ‘eScriptorium’ (escriptorium.inria.fr/). The script already analysed in detail by PALMER (1990a, pp. 21–23) is not easily legible in both versions (textura and bastarda) given

⁴¹ Cf. *Analecta Hymnica* 54, no. 132, pp. 203–204. Occasionally, as in MS C, fol. 4v, and MS W, fol. 30v, musical notations are to be found.

⁴² In this context, the term ‘pictorial texts’ (“Bildertexte”) used by PALMER (1990), p. 12, is intended to serve as a pragmatically useful instrument that can be verified in further research. Cf. also KIENING (2015) and KUPFER et al. (2020) on media constellations. For diagrams see the recent volumes edited by LUTZ et al. (2014) and HAMBURGER et al. (2022).

⁴³ Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, ms. no. 4, containing text-image representations on moral and medical topics. Cf. the monograph by CASTELBERG (2013) and the edition by CASTELBERG and FASCHING (2013).

⁴⁴ See also SEEBOHM (1982), pp. 272–276.

⁴⁵ Cf. STOLZ (2004), pp. 250–252; for further inscriptions in MS C, *ibid.*, p. 275.

⁴⁶ Cf. STOLZ (2004), p. 244.

⁴⁷ Not yet conclusively interpreted; cf. SEEBOHM (1982), pp. 163–169, and SEEBOHM (1985), pp. 212–214.

⁴⁸ See GRUBMÜLLER (1999), KELLNER (2017), KELLNER (2020), STOLZ (2022) on the medieval concept of *natura* and its reception in the vernacular. *Natura* refers to the forces and principles at work in man and his environment (GRUBMÜLLER [1999], p. 3), but can also be conceived – in the tradition of the ‘School of Chartres’ – as a ‘representative of God’ (*vicaria Dei*) entrusted with tasks of growth and decay (cf. KELLNER [2017], p. 126; KELLNER (2020), pp. 262, 272; STOLZ [2022], p. 376).

⁴⁹ For the methodology, see ANDRIST et al. (2013).

its small size and numerous abbreviations, but it is nevertheless extremely regular, so that – not least because it can be checked against existing transcriptions (complete to MS B, partial to MS W) – a high learning rate of the programme can be achieved.

4. Conference project at the Istituto Svizzero di Roma in April 2026

An international conference, organised at the Istituto Svizzero di Roma, titled “Eschatology and Care. The Manuscripts of the Wellcome–Scribe in Interdisciplinary Perspectives” has the aim to bring together the expertise currently available in medieval studies. The main idea is to analyse the manuscripts of the Wellcome scribe in their respective composition and trans-codical correlation. In this approach diverse ways of contextualisation are welcome, i.e. in the history of religion and of spirituality, of art and diagrammatic methods, of epistemology and learning, of literature and reading. Papers combining these fields are very desirable; they are scheduled for 30 minutes with 15 minutes for discussion. In agreement with the Institute’s management, the conference can be carried out from 13th to 16th April 2026 (in close proximity to the Casanatense manuscript). The conference languages are German, English and Italian. The proceedings of the conference will subsequently be published in a collected volume, the first part of which will contain analyses and transcriptions of MS C.

Please send your proposal by April 30th 2025 to Michael Stolz, University of Bern (michael.stolz[at]unibe.ch).

6. Bibliography

- Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, ed. by Guido M. Dreves et al., 55 vols., Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886–1926.
[Analecta hymnica]
- Andrist, Patrick / Canart, Paul / Maniaci, Marilena: La Syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013 (Bibliologia 34). [ANDRIST et al. (2013)]
- Bing, Gertrud: The Apocalypse Block-Books and their Manuscript Models, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942), pp. 143–158. [BING (1942)]
- Blome, Jürg: Transkription, Übersetzung und systematisch-botanische Bearbeitung der in der Basler Universitätsbibliothek aufbewahrten Kräuterbuch-Handschrift ›Circa instans‹ aus dem letzten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts, Diss.phil.-nat. (masch.) Basel 1978. [BLOME (1978)]
- Castelberg, Marcus: Wissen und Weisheit. Untersuchungen zur spätmittelalterlichen ›Süddeutschen Tafelsammlung‹, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, ms. no. 4, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2013 (Scriinium Friburgense 35). [CASTELBERG (2013)]
- Castelberg, Marcus / Fasching, Richard: Die ›Süddeutsche Tafelsammlung‹. Edition der Handschrift Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, ms. no. 4, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2013 (Scriinium Friburgense 34). [CASTELBERG and FASCHING (2013)]
- Escher, Konrad: Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven, 2 vols.: Textband und Tafelband, Basel: C.F. Spittler, 1917. [ESCHER (1917)]
- Green, Monica H[elen]: Making Women's Medicine Masculine. The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynecology, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2008. [GREEN 2008]
- Grubmüller, Klaus: *Nature ist der ander got*. Zur Bedeutung von *nature* im Mittelalter, in: Natur und Kultur in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Colloquium Exeter 1997, ed. by Alan Robertshaw et al., Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1999, pp. 3–18. [GRUBMÜLLER (1999)]
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F.: Apocalypse [...] NYPL MA 15, in: The Splendor of the Word. Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library, ed. by Jonathan J.G. Alexander et al., New York / London: The New York Public Library / Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005, pp. 89–97. [HAMBURGER (2005)]
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. / Roxburgh, David J. / Safran, Linda (eds.): The Diagram as Paradigm. Cross-Cultural Approaches, Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2022. [HAMBURGER et al. (2022)]
- Harris, Nigel: The Latin and German ›Etymachia‹. Textual History, Edition, Commentary, Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1994 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen 102). [HARRIS (1994)]
- Herkommer, Hubert: Frau Welt und Fortuna, Kreis und Quadrat. Weltbilder des europäischen Mittelalters. In: Weltbilder, ed. by Maja Svilar and Stefan Kunze, Bern et al.: P. Lang, 1993 (Collegium Generale Universität Bern, Kulturhistorische Vorlesungen 1991/92), pp. 177–228 (mit 28 Abbildungen). [HERKOMMER (1993)]
- Hill, Boyd H. Jr.: A Medieval German Wound Man. Wellcome MS 49, in: Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 20 (1965), pp. 334–357. [HILL (1965a)]

- Hill, Boyd H. Jr.: A Medieval German Pulse Tract, in: *Medical History* 9 (1965), pp. 72–76. [HILL (1965b)]
- Hunter, Britt Boler: Fifteenth-Century Picture-Book Apocalypses, in: *Picture Book of the Life of St John and the Apocalypse. Additional MS 38121*, ed. by Mónica Miró, Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 2020, vol. 2, pp. 93–119. [HUNTER (2020)]
- Hunter, Britt Boler: The Wellcome Apocalypse. Innovating Pictorial Traditions in the *Ordinatio* of a Late Medieval Multi-Text Manuscript, Diss.phil. masch., Florida State University 2022. [HUNTER (2022)]
- Hunter, Britt Boler: A Late Medieval Multi-Text Manuscript and Its Printed Precedents, in: *Customised Books in Early Modern Europe and the Americas. 1400–1700*, ed. by Christopher D. Fletcher and Walter S. Melion, Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2024 (*Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* 86), pp. 67–91. [HUNTER (2024)]
- Kellner, Beate: Allegorien der Natur bei Alanus ab Insulis – mit einem Ausblick auf die volkssprachliche Rezeption, in: *Schriftsinn und Epochalität. Zur historischen Prägnanz allegorischer und symbolischer Sinnstiftung*, ed. by Bernhard Huss and David Nelting, Heidelberg: Winter, 2017, pp. 113–143. [KELLNER (2017)]
- Kellner, Beate: Naturphilosophie als Vision und integumentale Erzählung. Die Dame Natur in Alanus’ ab Insulis ›De planctu naturae‹, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 54 (2020), pp. 257–281. [KELLNER (2020)]
- Kiening, Christian (unter Mitwirkung von Florian Eichberger): *Contemptus Mundi* in Vers und Bild am Ende des Mittelalters, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 123 (1994), pp. 409–457, 482. [KIENING (1994)]
- Kiening, Christian: Medialität, in: *Literatur- und Kulturtheorien in der Germanistischen Mediävistik. Ein Handbuch*, ed. by Christiane Ackermann and Michael Egerding, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2015, pp. 349–381. [KIENING (2015)]
- Kupfer, Marcia A. / Cohen, Adam S. / Chajes, J.H. (eds.): *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020 (*Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages* 16). [KUPFER et al. (2020)]
- Lutz, Eckart Conrad: *Spiritualis Fornicatio. Heinrich Wittenwiler, seine Welt und sein ›Ring‹*, Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1990 (*Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen* 32). [LUTZ (1990)]
- Lutz, Eckart Conrad / Jerjen, Vera / Putzo, Christine (eds.): *Diagramm und Text. Diagrammatische Strukturen und die Dynamisierung von Wissen und Erfahrung. Überstorfer Colloquium 2012*, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 2014. [LUTZ et al. (2014)]
- Meier, Christel: Die Rezeption des ›Anticlaudianus‹ Alans von Lille in Textkommentierung und Illustration, in: *Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1980, pp. 408–549. [MEIER (1980)]
- Palmer, Nigel F[enton]: ‚Petroneller Kräuterbuch‘, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters – Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd, completely revised edition, ed. by Kurt Ruh et al., vol. 7, Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1989, coll. 494–496. [PALMER (1989)]
- Palmer, Nigel F[enton]: Die Petroneller ›Circa instans‹-Handschrift und die lateinisch-deutschen Bilderhandschriften des Wellcome-Schreibers, in: Nigel F[enton] Palmer and Klaus Speckenbach: *Träume und Kräuter*.

- Studien zur Petroneller ›Circa instans‹-Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters, Köln / Wien: Böhlau, 1990 (Pictura et poesis 4), pp. 1–40. [PALMER (1990a)]
- Palmer, Nigel F[enton]: Das Petroneller Kräuterbuch [Textedition], in: Nigel F[enton] Palmer and Klaus Speckenbach: Träume und Kräuter. Studien zur Petroneller ›Circa instans‹-Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters, Köln / Wien: Böhlau, 1990 (Pictura et poesis 4), pp. 41–120. [PALMER (1990b)]
- Palmer, Nigel F[enton]: Das ›Exempelwerk der englischen Bettelmönche‹. Ein Gegenstück zu den ›Gesta Romanorum‹?, in: Exempel und Exempelsammlungen, ed. by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991, pp. 137–172. [PALMER (1991)]
- Placanica, Antonio: *Arbore sub quadam dictavit clericus Adam* (Walther, Initia, nn. 1409 et 1410), in: *Futur antico* 3 (2006) [*Tenuis scientiae guttula*. Studi in onore di Ferruccio Bertini in occasione del suo 65 compleanno, ed. by Marco Giovini and Caterina Mordegli], pp. 149–214. [PLACANICA (2006)]
- Pfister, Arnold (ed.): *De simplicibus medicina*. Kräuterbuch-Handschrift aus dem letzten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts im Besitz der Basler Universitätsbibliothek [Faksimile-Ausgabe], Basel 1960, 2., verbesserte Auflage, Basel / Zürich: Schwitser, 1961. [PFISTER (21961)]
- Preisinger, Raphaële: *Lignum vitae*. Zum Verhältnis materieller Bilder und mentaler Bildpraxis im Mittelalter“, Paderborn: W. Fink, 2014 [PREISINGER 2014]
- Ruh, Kurt: ‚Bonaventura (Johannes Fidanza)‘, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters – Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd, completely revised edition, ed. by Kurt Ruh et al., vol. 1, Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1978, coll. 937–947, vol. 11, Berlin / New York 2004, coll. 270–271. [RUH (1978) and (2004)]
- Saxl, Fritz: „Aller Tugenden und Laster Abbildung“. Eine spätmittelalterliche Allegoriensammlung, ihre Quellen und ihre Beziehungen zu den Werken des frühen Buchdrucks, in: *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, ed. by Arpad Weixlgärtner and Leo Planiscig, Zürich / Leipzig / Wien: Amalthea, 1927, pp. 104–121. [SAXL (1927)]
- Saxl, F[rutz]: A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 82–142. [SAXL (1942)]
- Schlosser, Marianne: *Bonaventura, Baum des Lebens*. Geistliche Betrachtungen, übersetzt und kommentiert von M. Schl., St. Ottilien: EOS, 2012. [SCHLOSSER (2012)]
- Seeböhm[-Désautels], Almuth: *Texts and Images in a Fifteenth-Century German Miscellany* (Wellcome Ms. 49), Diss. (masch.), Warburg Institute London 1982. [SEEBÖHM (1982)]
- Seeböhm[-Désautels], Almuth: An Early Fifteenth-Century Illustration of Rhetoric, in: *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1985), pp. 205–236. [SEEBÖHM (1985)]
- Seeböhm, Almuth (ed.): *Apokalypse – Ars moriendi – Medizinische Traktate – Tugend- und Lasterlehren*. Die erbaulich-didaktische Sammelhandschrift London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Ms. 49. Farbmicrofiche-Edition. Introduction to the Manuscript, Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin and German Texts and Illustrations, Index of Incipits, München: Edition H. Lengenfelder, 1995 (Codices illuminati medii aevi 39). [SEEBÖHM (1995)]
- Seeböhm, Almuth: The Crucified Monk, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996), pp. 61–102. [SEEBÖHM (1996)]

- Serres, Michel: Le Concept de Nature, in: *Études* 400 (2004), pp. 67–73. [SERRES (2004)]
- Slotemaker, John T. / Witt, Jeffrey C.: The *Moralitates*, in: Robert Holcot, ed. by John T. Slotemaker and Jeffrey C. Witt, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016 (Great Medieval Thinkers), pp. 233–249. [SLOTEMAKER and WITT (2016)]
- Stolz, Michael: Artes-liberales-Zyklen. Formationen des Wissens im Mittelalter, 2 vols., Tübingen / Basel: Francke, 2004 (Bibliotheca Germanica 47). [STOLZ (2004)]
- Stolz, Michael: Natura, Artes und Virtutes. Alanus ab Insulis in der spätmittelalterlichen ‚Intellectual History‘, in: Alanus ab Insulis und das europäische Mittelalter, ed. by Beate Kellner and Frank Bezner, Paderborn: Brill / Fink, 2022, pp. 361–414. [STOLZ (2022)]
- Urban, Jan: Lichtenburkové. Vzestupy a pády jednoho panského rodu, Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2003 (Slechtické rody Čech, Moravy a Slezska 2). [URBAN (2003)]
- Vollmann, Benedikt Konrad (ed.): Carmina Burana. Texte und Übersetzungen. Mit den Miniaturen aus der Handschrift und einem Aufsatz von Peter und Dorothee Diemer, Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987 (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 13; Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker 16). [VOLLMANN (1987)]
- von Wilckens, Leonie: Buchmalerei um 1410–40 in Heidelberg und in der Kurpfalz, in: Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1980, pp. 30–47. [VON WILCKENS (1980)]
- Yates, Frances A[melia]: The Art of Memory, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, reprint London: Pimlico, 1997 (Pimlico 64). [YATES (1966, reprint 1997)]