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PERFORMING FROM MEMORY AND EXPERIENCING THE SENSES
IN LATE MEDIEVAL MEDITATIVE PRACTICE

The Treatises *Memoria fecunda*, *Nota hanc figuram*,
and *Alphabetum Trinitatis*[*]

*Abstract*

This study explores the manuscript transmission of three anonymous 15th century treatises, with the incipit "Memoria fecunda", "Nota hanc figuram" and "Alphabetum Trinitatis", and their textual relationship to each other. Arguably, both the *Nota hanc figuram* and the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* are derived from an idea expounded in the art of memory called *Memoria fecunda*. The interrelation of these texts clearly shows the close connections between the art of memory and the meditative literature in the 15th century.

The long evolution of a culture of reading and interpretation based on the use of memory reached a climactic point at the end of the Middle Ages, just before, and almost contemporarily with the introduction of the printing press. Methods for recalling texts by heart without the aid of the written word have been widely known since Antiquity, and from the 12th century onwards several authors emphasized the importance of internalizing religious and lay knowledge by the aid of memory (e.g. Hugh of Saint Victor, or Boncompagno da Signa, just to give an example for both kinds of knowledge).[1] Still, the 15th century experienced a sudden revival and a boom in mnemonic literacy. While there are less than a dozen

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[1]  The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures. Ed. Mary Carruthers, Jan Ziolkowski. Philadelphia, Penn. 2004, pp. 32-70, 103-117; Kimberly Rivers: Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages. Turnhout 2010, pp. 27-71.

treatises known from before the year 1400 which deal with the tech-niques and methods of remembering things, their number experienc-es a sudden growth after 1400: up to now, more than fifty texts specifically dealing with the activation of memory processes have been unearthed from manuscripts by recent research, not to mention the treatises that were printed from 1470 onwards.[2] The reasons behind this sudden, Europe-wide interest in the methods of remem-bering and performing things by heart could be manifold: Be it because of the sharp rise in both lay and clerical literacy, the sudden growth of the European educational system (with the universities established around Central Europe from after 1350), or the informa-tion overload caused by the growing number of accessible books and by the rising activity of information centers (universities, public and private libraries), it is evident that the final result was a previ-ously unseen interest in the active use of memory in everyday life.[3]

Mnemonic activity is intrinsically connected to performativity. If the act of remembering is conscious and target-oriented in the Aristotelian sense of recollection (reminiscentia, ἀνάμνησις), it is always directed towards the perspective of reenacting and perform-ing the memorized material. Avoiding oblivion is not the aim, but only a prerogative of remembering: its purpose is fulfilled only when the memorized content is brought to life, produced and performed. In the following, I will examine how the performative dynamics of a written text could be enacted in various forms in different late medieval interpretative communities. The texts present-ed here were all created in the course of the first half of the 15th century.

In 1425, the earliest known copy of the *Memoria fecunda* treatise on the art of memory was written down in Bologna, beginning with

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[2]   Sabine Heimann-Seelbach: Ars und scientia. Genese, Überlieferung und Funktionen der mnemotechnischen Traktatliteratur im 15. Jahrhundert. Tübin-gen 2000. For East Central Europe, see Rafał Wójcik: Opusculum de arte memorativa Jana Szklarka. Poznań 2006.

[3]   The popularity of mnemonic tools is evident both in preaching aids (cf. Sarah Khan: Mittelalterliche Standespredigten und ihre Visualisierung. Köln 2007) and in the spread of pictorial Bibles (Susanne Rischpler: Biblia sacra figuris expressa. Mnemotechnische Bilderbibeln des 15. Jahrhunderts. Wiesbaden 2001).

the words of a prayer: "Let the Lord, our eternal Father, help me with the memory creating his Son [...] in my work". The treatise is generally known in secondary literature as *Memoria fecunda* because of the Latin incipit of the text ("Memoria fecunda Deus Pater eternus generativa [...] assit meo principio").[4] The anonymous author first gives a survey of the widely known methods of the *ars memorativa* for improving human memory, and then provides the readers with examples of the practical application of these methods. The surviving manuscripts of the treatise show that some of these artificial tools for memorization were put into actual use by the readers. One of the memory houses suggested by the treatise is actually a poem in hexameters (Fig. 1.). All three manuscripts surviving in the Benedictine Archabbey of Salzburg contain exactly the same mnemonic images associated with the objects mentioned in the poem. E.g. in the first line we read the following:

> *Aspergens agnus agilis arcus apoteca*[5]
> Aspersorium, lamb, agile, arch, pharmacy

The acting images (*imagines agentes*), noted with tiny letters above each object, are supposed to be the following: someone who sprinkles holy water ("facit aspersionem"), someone who slaughters a lamb ("mactat agnum"), a playing monkey ("simia ludit"), a Hungarian shooting with an arrow ("Ungarus sagittat"), and someone grinding herbs ("tondit herbas"). Later on, the word 'smell' has to be remembered by a toilet (olet — cloaca), the 'juggler' with puppets (ioculator — cum pupis), the 'black magic' by someone making a circle with a sword (nigromantia — facit circulum cum gladio), the 'nail' by someone scratching his face (unguis — dilaniat faciem). Although only two of the three manuscripts from Salzburg can be connected historically for sure to the Benedictine Archabbey

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[4] Roger A. Pack: An Ars memorativa from the later Middle Ages. In: Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age 54 (1979), pp. 221–275, here 229. For a list of mss., see Heimann-Seelbach (fn. 2), p. 28.

[5] The version edited by Pack (fn. 3), 234 is slightly different, starting with the words: "Asperges agnus anulus alembicus arcus".

of St Peter,[6] the identical mnemonic images prescribed for a list of words suggest that using artificial memory was a well-accepted and communal activity within the Benedictine monastery in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.[7] However, not all surviving manuscripts contain the entire text: e.g. the Ms. Olomouc M.I.271., copied in 1444, breaks off in the chapter describing the memorization of ambassadorial speeches, and the copyist or the author of this version claimed that he was less advanced in these studies, than he wished to be.[8]

At the end of the longer version of the treatise,[9] the author puts forward the idea of making a memory house, which would consist

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[6]  Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, b. III. 10. and b. VI. 22. Ms. b. III. 10. contains a number of texts directly connected to the monastery (ff. 172r-v: a short story concerning the conflict of the archbishop and the Benedictine monks in Salzburg in 1461 because of "Fraungarten"; f. 185r: the oath of the visitors to the monastery; ff. 191r-199r: rules of the monastery), while this portion of ms. b. VI. 22. was copied by Christian Grammätsch  (from 1437 rector scholae S. Petri, 1438: notarius publicus S. Petri, 1446: Pfarrer von Abtenau, +11.11.1468.). See Gerold Hayer: Die deutschen Handschriften des Mittelalters der Erzabtei St. Peter zu Salzburg. Wien 1982, pp. 5 and 309-310.

[7]  Also, another ms. containing this treatise, ms. Vienna, ÖNB., cod. 4444. belonged to a cleric near Salzburg in the 15th century (cf. the possessor's note on the inner cover: "Iste liber est domini Liebhardi plebani Sancti Viti vallis Pongaw"). See also Hermann Menhardt: Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Vol. 2. Berlin 1961, p. 1035.

[8]  Olomouc, SVK., M I 271., f. 15r: "quia ego minus in hac facultate non solido cibo, sed lacte puerilium dogmatum educatus meo considerationis oculo lumen tantae claritatis perspicaciter intuere nequibam, sed more nyctocoracis intensum lumen Solis ferre non potens, et in remisso lumine noctis volantis quaedam conscripsi [...]." On this manuscript in detail, see Sabine Seelbach: Wissens-organisation contra Gebrauchsfunktion? Zum Erkenntniswert von Überliefe-rungsgeschichte am Beispiel der Memoria-Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Olmütz. In: The Culture of Memory in East Central Europe. Ed. Rafał Wójcik. Poznań 2008, pp. 16-17. See also Lucie Doležalová: Fugere artem memorati-vam? The art of memory in 15th c. Bohemia and Moravia. In: Studia mediae-valia Bohemica 2 (2010), 221-260.

[9]  Sabine Heimann-Seelbach has gathered 15 mss., to which one can be added (New Haven/Yale, Beinecke ms. 306, ff. 347r-366v, hereafter Y). The dating ("Data est hec ars memorativa in scripto Bononie anno Domini 1425 die 19 mensis Iulii") found in Vienna, cod. 4444., f. 327v, is repeated in New Haven/-Yale, Beinecke ms. 306, f. 366v. Thus, it seems probable that the treatise itself, and not its copy, was written in 1425 in Bologna. A critical edition of this treatise of central importance would be welcome.

of three equally sized houses, which in turn would consist of four rooms. Each room would contain a notion central to Christian life (God, creation, vice, virtue, paradise, hell, etc.), and one could remember the most important ideas, quotations, sentences belonging to these subjects by allocating and distributing them to these rooms.

> And if we want to propose a house with twelve rooms, as the one we mentioned above, together with its equipment (*imponenda*), let us make a suitable and useful example for it, which would comprise essentially the contents of the Holy Scriptures by memory. This is the most devout kind of contemplation, indeed, therefore we might give the following title to it: "Twelve Things for Every Christian to Remember Each Day." These twelve things should stand in the middle of the rooms, written with red ink, and four other items should stand around them in the four corners of each room, which would explicate the central element. Thus, if there are five items in each room, there will be altogether sixty elements in one house with twelve rooms. The soul flies across these twelve rooms with its two wings, i.e. by intellect and by emotion, contemplating the good deeds of God with love, and his own sins with fear.[10]

A drawing of the house is added to this description in some manuscripts, which show the various attempts of the copyists at the visualization of this scheme (Fig. 2-3.).[11] Ideally, the schematic drawing consists of three squares of the same size, and each square is further divided into four smaller squares. These smaller squares are supposed to represent the twelve rooms, where twelve major

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[10] "Et pro figuracione domus suprascripte duodecim cellarum una cum imponendis ponemus tale dignum et utile nobis exemplum semper memorandum tocius Sacre Scripture substantialiter contentivum — ac etiam est devotissima contemplacio, unde et merito titulo ipsam prenotamus tali: 'Duodecim memoranda cuilibet Christiano cottidie': sunt ista que stant in medio sue celle rubeo descripta, et quattuor unumquodque istorum duodecim declarancia stant in giro secundum quattuor angulos cuiuslibet celle, et sic, existentibus in qualibet cella quinque rebus, secundum duodecies quinque in toto sunt sexaginta in una domo duodecim cellarum. Per ista duodecim anima volat cum duabus suis alis, scilicet intellectu et effectu [corr.: affectu], considerando beneficia Dei cum amore et propria malaficia cum timore." Pack (fn. 3), pp. 265–266.

[11] I have found the longer version and the final figure of the mnemonic house in the following mss.: New Haven/Yale, Beinecke ms. 306, f. 366r; Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, b. III. 10., f. 151r; b. V. 14., f. 269r; b. VI. 22., f. 269r; Vienna, ÖNB., cod. 4444,f. 327v.

notions are inscribed in the middle, and the four corners are filled with four minor notions in each room.[12]

The central notions in this twelve-room memory house are very closely related to the ones contained in an anonymous text which bears the incipit "Nota hanc figuram" or "Pro aliquali intelligentia", published in an incunable with the title *Ars vitae contemplativae* in 1473[13] and surviving in more than twenty manuscripts. The only exception is the middle section of the house, where instead of the notions of Angel, Time, Bad Deeds and Exile (*Angelus, Tempus, Maleficia, Exilium*) we find Virtues, Vice, Time and Exile (*Virtus, Vitium, Tempus, Exilium*). Nevertheless, the subsidiary notions attached to the central elements are in many cases identical in both texts.[14] The close relationship between this version of the *Memoria fecunda* tract and our treatise is further corroborated by the suggested illustrations that are noted in minuscule letters next to the central elements of the rooms in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Memoria fecunda* and these pictorial suggestions are identical to the actual drawings of our treatise in four cases out of twelve.

Structurally, the treatise consists of three major parts: in its most complete form, it starts with the figure of the twelve rooms (Fig. 5.), followed by a short introduction (inc. Nota hanc figuram) and a detailed compilation of authoritative citations (inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia) from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and other philo-

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[12]  The twelve notions are Deus, creatio, redemptio, revocatio; Maleficia, angelus, tempus, exilium; Mors, iudicium, infernus, Paradisus.

[13]  Ars vitae contemplativae. Nürnberg: Friedrich Creussner 1473, ff. 1v-14v. (GW 2672, ISTC ia01140000).

[14]  Interestingly, under the heading Maleficia/Vitium, "diabolus" had been exchanged for "deordinatio", a more theological notion of vice, and under the heading *Angelus/Virtutes* we find "ordinatio" instead of the "virtutes caeterae". For a more detailed description of the *Nota hanc figuram*, see Farkas Gábor Kiss: Memory, meditation and preaching. A 15th century memory machine in Central Europe (The text 'Nota hanc figuram composuerunt doctores ...' / 'Pro aliquali intelligentia ...'). In: The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages. Ed. Lucie Doležalová. Leiden 2010, pp. 49-78. For its meaning, cp. Nikolaus Henkel: Schauen und Erinnern. Überlegungen zur Intentionalität und Appellstruktur illustrierter Einblattdrucke. In: Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien. Hrsg. von Volker Honemann, Sabine Griese. Tübingen 2000, pp. 209-243.

sophical or theological authors, which one has to remember in association with the elements of this figure. Finally, a longer portion of the text explains the possible uses of such a collection of theological commonplaces.

The twelve images at the beginning of the treatise are grouped according to two principles. On the one hand, they are distributed according to the six possible uses of the texts, which are 'remembering theology', 'playing with the Holy Scripture', 'preaching fluently', 'artificial contemplation', 'overcoming sins', and 'remembrance of the final things'.[15] The exact meaning of these uses is explained at the end of the treatise: the text promises that we can remember the whole of theology with its help; we can play a game with the Holy Scripture (its exact nature remains in the shadows); it might help us in improvised preaching, in creating subjects for our contemplation, in overcoming temptations, and in meditating on the things to come. From this point of view, the six possible uses are not directly related to the images which fall under their columns.

The other partition of the twelve-image cycle is three by four. The first four images refer to the history of salvation (God, Creation, Revocation, Redemption), the second four to the circumstances of our present, earthly life (Virtue, Vice, Exile, Time), while the last four images are identical to the Four Last Things, i.e. images referring to one's fate in the life after death (Death, Judgment, Heaven, Hell). Each image, while having a central notion in the middle of the field, has four more subsidiary notions in its corners, and the subsidiary notions are generally closely related to the subject of the central image: the Godhead (*Deitas*), which is symbolized by the Sun (*Sol*) has Power (*Potentia*), Perfection (*Perfectio*), Goodness (*Bonitas*) and Wisdom (*Sapientia*); Vice (*Vitium*) is surrounded by Avarice, Luxury, Pride and Deordination. Each subject is highlighted by and has to be associated with several authoritative Biblical and theological quotations.

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[15] Recordatio theologiae, ludus sacrae paginae, promptitudo praedicandi, artificium contemplandi, temptationes superandi, rememoratio futurorum.

The textual transmission of the treatise shows great variations:
*Printed edition: Ars vitae contemplativae*, Nürnberg, Friedrich Creussner, 1473. ff. 1v-14v (GW 2672, ISTCia01140000).[16]

*Manuscripts:*

1. Basel, UB., A VII 8. 4r. Written and owned by Johannes Heynlin de Lapide, Basel, Carthusian monastery.
2. Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale (former Franciscan Library) 5, Cod. 277. 56r-64r. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia. The methodological part precedes the collection of theological commonplaces.
3. Cologne, Stadtarchiv, GB 4o 230. 99r-103v. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia. Written in 1460.
4. Dresden, SLUB., App. 2302. 419v-424v.[17] Including an unfinished drawing of the table (419v).
5. Erlangen, UB., 554. 75v-86v (illustrations), 110v-116v (textual part, fragmentary, as it lacks the second part dealing with the uses of the image).[18]

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[16] Most copies of the printed edition no longer contain the woodcuts, as they might have been torn out to be used in meditation. The single complete copy known to me is Munich, BSB., Xyl. 38. (digitized here: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00026400/image_1, accessed on 18.8.2013.). The surviving Central European copies (Budapest, Esztergom, Gdańsk, Martin, Poznań and all copies in Austria) lack the introductory woodcuts.

[17] Inc. "Nota hanc figuram ... et presens figura ideo est sue subtilitatis appellatia (!) speculum anime promptitudo predicandi thesaurusque omnium christi fidelium ... *Pro aliquali intelligentia*"; Expl. "ad faciendum bonum et dimittendum malum etc." Cf. Renate Schipke: Die mittelalterlichen Schneeberger Handschriften der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden: Bestandsverzeichnis aus dem Zentralinventar mittelalterlicher Handschriften. Berlin 1985, p. 45.

[18] On ff. 75v-86v, each of the images occupies an entire page, but the ms. lacks the depiction of the last concept, the Paradise. 110v: Inc. "Pro aliquali intelligentia", expl. "potest homo propter suam infirmitatem et dei dignitatem formare devotam et humilem oracionem." ("Finis etc. 1464.", f. 116v). Cf. Eberhard Lutze: Die Bilderhandschriften der UB Erlangen. Erlangen 1936, pp. 162-165; Hans Fischer: Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Vol. 2. Die Lateinischen Papierhandschriften. Erlangen 1936, pp. 207-211. The other Erlangen ms. (Erlangen UB 503, Irm. 775) was mistakenly cited as a textual witness in my previous study, as at the indicated place it contains a copy of an art of preaching (Inc. "Ars predicandi est sciencia docens de aliquo aliquid". Expl. "Explicit flos artis predicatorie"). See Kiss (fn. 13).

6. Křivoklát, Cod. 156 (I e 13). 71v-87v.[19] With an illumination of the twelve medallions (71r-74v).
7. Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Theol. 2° 88. ff. 9r-12v. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.
8. Mainz, Stadtbibl., Hs. I 183. ff. 313r-322r. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.
9. Melk, Stiftsbibl, Cod. 769. f. 134v. Ludus richinacie (!) recordatio theologiae promptitudo praedicandi... In monasterio Tegernseensi Anno 43o in vigilia pasche. Only the drawing with an inscription.
10. Melk, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 1567, pp. 181-189. Inc. Item de effectu figurae est sciendum ut iste consistit in titulo et articulis. Expl. de effectu et ordine figurae. A longer excerpt of the contents of the treatise.
11. Melk, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 1771, f. 96v. Speculum animae sive salutis. Recordatio theologiae, ludus sacrae paginae... A short excerpt of the contents of the treatise.
12. Melk, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 1835, p. 186. Speculum animae sive salutis. Recordatio theologiae, ludus sacrae paginae... A superficial drawing of the scheme.
13. Munich, BSB., Clm 3564. f. 382v. From Sigismund Gossembrot, Augsburg.
14. Munich, BSB., Clm 3590 (Aug. civ. 90). ff. 93r-99r. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia. From 1480.
15. Munich, BSB., Clm 4369 (Augsburg, St. Ulrich 69). f. 5r. Contemplatio Christi sub quater duodecim actibus comprehensa.
16. Munich, BSB., Clm 13410 (Ratis. Domin. 10). ff. 178rb-182ra.
17. Munich, BSB., Clm 28505. ff. 312r-315v. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.
18. Munich, BSB., Cgm 1586. ff. 13va-14rb. Only the image. The miscellany was prepared by Konrad Sartori, the librarian of the Tegernsee abbey, in 1510.
19. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Manuscript Library, Ms. 306, 387v-389r. This ms. includes the drawing, the table and the incipit (*Nota hanc figuram*) of the treatise, but not the text itself.
20. Olomouc, Státní vìdecká knihovna, M I 156. 267v-275v. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.[20]

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[19] Ff. 71v-74r: twelve figures; 74v: "Vigintiquinque dignitates dei". 75r-76r: "Contemplacio Ihesu". Inc. "Sequuntur nunc probaciones figurarum. Pro aliquali intelligencia prescripte figure est sciendum ..."; expl. "tercie quattuor terrent." Cf. Rukopisy Křivoklátské Knihovny. Soupis sestavil Jiří Pražák. Prague 1969, pp. 211-213.

[20] 267v: "Contemplacio Parisiensis in 12 articulis [per] quadrifarias meditaciones figurata hic declaratur". Inc. "Pro aliquali intelligentia"; expl. "devotam et humilem etc." Cf. Miroslav Boháček and František Čáda: Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz. Köln 1994, p. 62.

21. Prague, Národní a universitní knihovna v Praze, Ms. I. G. 11a. 17b-27b. This ms. combines the image and the following table of 25 virtues and vices into a single page. Closely related to the 1473 printed edition.[21]
22. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 870, 126v-131v.[22] A schematic figure and the text. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.
23. Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, Ms. b. VI. 16. 339r-342r. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.
24. Wien, ÖNB., Cod. 13855. 26r-36r. Inc. Pro aliquali intelligentia.

Many manuscripts transform or lack entirely the figure, with which the text starts, while others contain only the depiction of the twelve-room memory house without any explanations. The manuscripts lacking illustration often omit the introductory paragraph (*Nota hanc figuram*), which calls attention to the qualities of the image, and in this case, the text begins with the description of the central notion and the citations attached to them ("Pro aliquali intelligentia ...") A characteristic example of a sketch of the table, which was prepared for personal use, is contained in the Ms. 1835 of the Melk Benedictine Abbey. Evidently, the scribe had no intention of transcribing the entire text here: instead, only a sketch of the memory house was copied into the manuscript together with a figure demonstrating the position of the faculties of the human soul ("fantasia, estimativa, memoria") in the brain (Fig. 4.). In some manuscripts (e.g. Colmar, BM., Cod. 277), the instructions for the use of the figure precede the theological citations. Furthermore, long quotations from the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius, which appear only in later copies seem to have been systematically added to the first few

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[21] 17v-18r: "Figura contemplativae vitae". 19r-27v: Inc. "Hanc figuram ceterorum utilissimam composuerunt doctores alme universitatis Parisiensis ... Capitulum primum. In nomine domini, a quo omnis sapiencia est ..."; Expl. "de effectu et de ordine figure et cetera. Finitum per me Crucem de Telcz anno 1491 in Trzebon ex exemplari domini Mathei prepositi Lanczkronensis et electi iam abbatis Karloviensis". Josef Truhlář: Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur. Vol. 1. Prague 1905, pp. 285-287.

[22] Ff. 126v-131v. The drawing of the twelve figures is copied on ff. 126v-127r, the text itself starts on f. 127r (Inc. "Recordatio theologiae vita contemplativa ... Pro aliquali intelligentia"; Expl. "ad faciendum bonum et mittendum malum etc.") The previous and the following text in the ms. are dated to 1464 and 1465 (ff. 126v, 132r). Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Ed. Henry Stevenson, I. B. De Rossi. Vol. 1. Rome 1886, p. 311.

chapters of the collection of citations at some point of the transmission.[23] Recently, a vernacular descendant of this meditative-mnemonic figure has been discovered in the so-called *Berliner Skizzenbuch* of Michael Wolgemut (around 1475-90), where exactly the same twelve medallions occur with a short introduction, but without a detailed explanation.[24] It seems that at least portions of the text had been translated into German, as well:[25] a colored image with a fragment of a German translation has surfaced in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum. The title of the German text (*Der Selen spigel. Des menschen leben und die vier letzten zukünfft werden in diesen czwelff figuren hernach volgend begriffen*) seems to be a translation of a variant of "Speculum animae", the Latin title occurring in some manuscripts.[26] These attempts at translation prove the appeal of the mnemonic approach to a popularized form of theology for the vernacular audience, as well.

There was yet another, significant independent endeavor to conceptualize the table proposed in the *Memoria fecunda*. In two manuscripts (Cracow, Bibl. Jag., Cod. 471, ff. 252v-273r, and Erlangen, UB., Cod. 445, ff. 144r-162v),[27] we find a treatise fol-

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[23] Notably, in the version printed in the Ars vitae contemplativae (Nürnberg, 1473) and in Prague I. G. 11a. All citations of Lactantius are derived from the books 2 and 4 of the *Divine institutes*.

[24] See Stefan Matter: Die Vermittlung theologischen Wissens im Umfeld von Stephan Fridolins 'Schatzbehalter' Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Rezeption des Traktats 'Ars et modus contemplativae vitae'. In: Diagramm und Text. Diagrammatische Strukturen und die Dynamisierung von Wissen und Erfahrung. Hrsg. von Eckart Conrad Lutz, Vera Jerjen und Christine Putzo (forthcoming). I would like to thank the author for allowing me to consult his article in manuscript.

[25] Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HZ 386/Kapsel 1607. Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters. Begonnen von Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, fortgeführt von Norbert H. Ott und Ulrike Bodemann, ab 2009 von Ulrike Bodemann, Peter Schmidt und Christine Stöllinger-Löser. Vol. 6./1. Geistliche Lehren und Erbauungsbücher. Bearb. von Christine Stöllinger-Löser. München 2013, pp. 52-53. (Nr. 44.10.) For a detailed comparison of the German and Latin text, see Matter (n. 23), note 54.

[26] Melk, Cod. 1771, Cod., 1835, Munich. BSB., Clm 3564, Vienna, ÖNB., cod. 13855.

[27] Cracow, Bibl. Jag., Cod. 471, f. 252v: Inc. "Pro informacione et declaracion supradictorum 12 memorandorum seu supradicte memorandorum tali ordine

lowing a similar pattern, and one of the manuscripts includes the drawing of the memory house known from the *Memoria fecunda*, as well (Erlangen, UB., Cod. 445, f. 144r). Unlike in the *Nota hanc figuram*, the one and only aim of memorizing the central concepts here is to help meditation, and after describing the method of building a mnemonic house in much detail,[28] the text offers six examples for meditation based on the first six rooms of the house (Deus, Creatio, Revocatio, Redemptio, Maleficencia, Angelus). At the same time, a detailed discussion of the tables describing the "Twenty-five dignities of God" and the "Contemplation of the life of Jesus in 12 episodes" is included.[29] This text seems to be a direct descendant of the *Memoria fecunda*, as the list of central notions follows closely those found in this *ars memorativa*, not those of the *Nota hanc figuram*.[30] Nevertheless, this attempt at providing a meditative guide to the memory house designed in the *Memoria fecunda* was probably never finished, as both manuscripts break off at the same point, after the sixth room.

The manuscript evidence reveals that the figure of the *Nota hanc figuram* was at least on one occasion painted on a wall as a mural in the cloister of St Dorothy in Vienna,[31] and copied onto wooden tablets in two monasteries in and around Brno for meditational

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procedemus. Primo qua de causa ... Quo ad primum nota quod circa has 12 res generaliter versatur tota sacra scriptura"; Expl.: "vilissimi hominis praesentia facere non auderes. Tempus" (f. 273r). Erlangen, UB., Cod. 445, f. 144r: Inc. "In meditatione mea exardescat ignis. Contemplatio est delectacio exardescen-cie mentalis in meditante ..." 144v: "Quo ad primum nota quod circa has 12 res generaliter versatur tota scriptura". Expl. "vilissimi hominis presencia facere non auderes" (f. 162v).

[28]  The text follows closely the suggestions given by the *Memoria fecunda*. The Cracow ms. has been discussed in connection with the art of memory in Wójcik (n. 2.), pp. 58-59 and Teresa Michałowska: Średniowieczna teoria literatury w Polsce. Rekonesans. Wrocław 2007, pp. 197-198.

[29]  Cracow, Bibl. Jag., Cod. 471, ff. 264v-265r.

[30]  We find *Maleficia* and *Angelus* as elements of the second quartet instead of *Vitia* and *Virtutes*.

[31]  Prague, I. G. 11a, f. 18r: "Nota composicionem figure cum effectu aliquali 1491, descripta per me fratrem Crucem de Telcz subabbate Marco de Trebon et priore Johanne de Straz, depicta Wienne in monasterio nostri ordinis sancte Dorothee."

purposes.[32] Unfortunately, no such frescoes or wooden panels survive, although we might suppose that they looked similar to other 15th century devotional wooden tablets depicting the life of Christ, the virtues and vices, or seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.[33] The existence of the *Nota hanc figuram* in the form of frescoes or paintings on wooden panels proves at the same time that other surviving devotional panels can (and perhaps should) be interpreted as mnemonic spaces, where the spiritual message was memorized by the aid of artificial methods.

Interestingly, the *Memoria fecunda* never occurs in the same manuscripts with the *Nota hanc figuram*, while it is preserved at least four times (New Haven, Yale Beinecke Ms. 306, Salzburg St Peter's, Ms. b III 10; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 4444) in the same manuscript with the treatise entitled *Alphabetum Trinitatis virtutum dei et anime oratio canticum psalmus et officium virtutum*. This tract starts off with a short introduction which explains the main organizing idea of the following table, the alphabet.[34] The table itself is sup-

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[32]  Olomouc, M I 156, 275v: "Circuli 12 figure presentis picti sunt in quadam tabula lignea loci Brunensis et apud Carthusiam in Konigesfelt." Boháček and Čáda (fn. 19), p. 62. This sentence suggests that there existed actually two copies of this wooden tablet, one in the Carthusian monastery of Königsfeld (Královo Pole) near Brünn, and another one in the *locus Brunensis*, which might refer to the house of Observant Franciscans in Brünn, as the ms. belonged originally to the library of this convent.

[33]  The closest relatives of the image of the *Nota hanc figuram* are the winged altar of the cloister Stams in Tirol, the Corona Mariae of Wrocław, and especially the so called *Capestrano-table* of Bamberg. Cf. Ruth Slenczka: Lehrhafte Bildtafeln in spätmittelalterlichen Kirchen. Wien: Böhlau 1998, pp. 144-161, 276-285. On the Corona Mariae, see also Katarzyna Zalewska: Modlitwa i obraz. Średniowieczna ikonografia różańcowa. Warsaw 1999, pp. 75-104.

[34]  The alphabet is a popular tool in late medieval devotion. For some strikingly similar examples, see Henri Watrigant: Quelques promoteurs de la méditation méthodique au quinzième siècle. Enghien 1919, esp. pp. 46-47 and Johannes Donndorf: Das Rosetum des Johannes Mauburnus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit in der Windesheimer Klöstern. Erfurt 1929. On the late medieval practice of meditation in general, see Peter Dinzelbacher: Meditation. In: Lexikon des Mittelalters. Vol. 6. 1993, pp. 450-452 and Nikolaus Staubach: Die Meditation im spirituellen Reformprogramm der Devotio moderna. In: Meditatio — Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture. Ed. by Karl Enenkel, Walter Melion, Leiden 2011, pp. 181-207.

posed to offer the reader a permanent repository of nouns and adjectives, by which one can address God, Christ and other holy persons in prayer, forming sentences by the aid of the tools described in the treatise.[35] Three orders of virtues are listed starting with the 24 letters of the alphabet, and five more positive notions are listed under each virtue, thus making the number of virtues 432 (24x3+72x5). Vices are opposed to each of these 432 virtues, but these are not organized according to the alphabet anymore, instead, they are simple antonyms of the virtues. E.g. in the case of the letter E, the virtue *exultatio* is opposed to the vice *singultatio*, and below *electio* and *eternitas* are opposed to *reprobatio* and *caducitas*. The three orders of virtues are divided into categories of charity (*karitas*), wisdom (*sapientia*) and power (*potentia*), while the vices belong to the groups of malice (*malitia*), ignorance (*ignorantia*) and impotence (*impotentia*). Whereas the major virtues are only nouns, the subsidiary notions under the 72 virtues and vices can be nouns, participles and adjectives, as well, which makes their combination into syntactic structures easier. This wordlist is followed by a table of nouns, verbs and uses (*nomina, verba, utilitas*), which enumerates a list of words, by which one can form sentences out of the abstract notions: e.g. God, the creator, or the Redeemer (*Deus, creator, redemptor, revocator, pater, sponsus...*) can be the subjects of the sentences both in their literal or in their metaphorical form (e.g. God can appear as a philosopher, the creator as a master, the Redeemer as a doctor; God can be called metaphorically as heaven, the creator

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[35]  The actual incipit of the treatise is "Oratio communis ad deum et ad omnes sanctos est presens alphabetum sic: deus Ihesus Christus Maria sanctae quaelibet et virtuosae et virtus in te vel in vobis est Abc etc. Vel intellige et ora sic: Deus etc. Tu es mihi uel Amor agnicio actio et totum Abc, idem omnis virtus, formaliter vel effective et finaliter ideo per te vel per vos vincatur vel fugere nostrum odium et cetera vicia sub et opposita alphabeto." The title of the work appears only thereafter: "Alphabetum Trinitatis virtutum dei et anime oratio canticum psalmus et officium virtutum inquam 360..." As the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* is unedited yet, I quote the text from mss. using the ms. Frankfurt am Main, New Haven, Salzburg, Stuttgart and Vienna. (For the exact shelf-marks, see below.) The text is accessible online in the mss. of Frankfurt am Main (http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/titleinfo/4003527, accessed on 17.8.2013.) and New Haven (http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3444470, accessed on 17.8.2013.).

as kingdom, the Redeemer a city, or again as fountain, food and drink, respectively, etc.) Furthermore, a list of 36 verbs (*verba generalia*), categorized under six main headings (*est, habet, facit, concordat, dat, adiuvat*), is offered as an aid to create sentences, followed by the accidental circumstances of these sentences (*res, operatio, quaesitiva, utrum, ubi, responsiva,* etc.) Finally, a list of the twelve possible uses of the table is given (*utilitates*: *probatio, expositio, dilatatio*, etc.), which is later expounded in detail by the anonymous author in the prose part of the treatise.

The tabular part of the treatise is followed by musical notes, according to which the list of the alphabetic notions is to be sung to three different tunes (Fig. 6-7.). In the given example, the virtue "Amor" is sung together with its subsidiary notions to the first tune (*Amor, almus, ardens, affectus, alacris, animi, amoenitatis, appetibilis*), followed by the virtue "Exultatio" and "Iocunditas" and their subsidiary list of notions.[36] This is perhaps the most interesting and unique feature of this treatise. On one hand, the singing of virtues and vices helps the user remembering the order of the items in the list. On the other hand, the singing of a mental concept to an excogitated melodic pattern was in fact a realization of the unity of sensory experiences: a mnemonic design that was read and seen by the eyes in a manuscript, and then conceptualized as a mental image in the brain, became a floating wave of melody for the ears. To make the experience of a moral battle between virtues and vices even more penetrating, the anonymous author suggested that two choirs could be formed: the first one, called "chorus sanctorum" or "ecclesia triumphans" and personifying the saints in the heaven, could sing the virtues, while the other choir, called "ecclesia militans" and symbolizing mankind on earth, could respond with the list of vices in a deeper voice.[37] Other possible interpretations of

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[36] In fact, the virtues and vices starting with the letters *a, b, c, d, n, o, p, q* have to be sung to the first tune, *e, f, g, h, r, s, t, u* at the distance of a quart ("quartus tonus"), and *i, k, l, m, x, y, z, 9* (a supplementary letter where all the words begin with trans-) at the distance of an octave ("octavus tonus"). Some manuscripts (New Haven, Stuttgart, Vienna) call the second tune "septimus tonus" instead of "quartus".

[37] From Salzburg, St. Peter, b. III. 39, f. 273v and Stuttgart, WB., cod. theol. et philol. 4° 31, ff. 44v-45r: "Cantus alphabeti psalmi laudae cantici canticorum

the two choirs in dialogue include the conversation of the sinful Soul with God, which could be conceived as the Bridegroom talking to the Bride, or the Soul praising God.[38]

The moral significance of these virtues and vices are explained in an introduction discussing the structure of the table, and the following account about the twelve uses of the text (*duodecim utilitates*). According to these instructions, the list of these abstract notions can be used both in meditation and in an internal dialogue: "if one asks — what use, profit or gain will I receive, if I live spiritually, according to the Spirit, without the Flesh? — [...] if he turns to the present tool, thousands of reasons will occur to him, because every word gives a reason on its own: 'Because the spiritual life will make you amorous, beneficent, clement [...] according to the entire alphabet.'"[39] Using these methods, the continuous practice of meditation and prayer will keep the intellect focused on virtues and will

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officiique quivis secundum tres tonos. Et dirigitur ad deum et ad omnes sanctos intellectu diverso et modo cantici dragmatici: Primo ad ecclesiam triumphantem a militante, sic: unus chorus, puta sanctorum, scilicet ecclesia triumphans superius praecinat virtutes, quibus ascenderunt caelum deum laudantes nos invitando [Salzburg b. III. 39: ubi nos invitamur]. Alius chorus, puta nos, scilicet ecclesia militans inferius respondentes succinamus vitia, quibus impugnamur a militante [Stuttgart: malignante] ecclesia ad triumphantem suspirando [Salzburg b. III. 39: spirantes] per virtutes, ut nos adiuvent."

[38]   Stuttgart, WB., cod. theol. et philol. 4° 31, f. 45r: "Vel intelligite per modum soliloquii dei cum anima, tanquam sponsi ad sponsam dicentis: *In me est et ego sum tuus amor etc. In te <est> est odium* etc. Vel quod anima loquatur deum laudando dicens: *In te est et tu es meus amor* etc. Et se ipsam vilipendendo gemens: *in me est odium* etc." Salzburg b. III. 39 and Vienna 4444: "Similiter praesens canticum intellectu et affectu poteris dirigere ad Mariam matrem Dei et tuam, ad tuum angelum, ad sanctum quemlibet et sanctam, et ad quamvis virtutem."

[39]   "Si quis quaeret: dic mihi, quaeso, quam utilitatem, fructum seu effectum reportabo, seu consequar si vixero spiritualiter, sive secundum spiritum, et non secundum carnem? [...] sed si reduxerit se ad praesens artificium, occurrent sibi [rationes], quia quaelibet dictio est sibi propria ratio: Nam vita spiritualis efficit te amorosum, bonum, clementem, devotum [...] per totum a b c d." (Y, 374v-375r).

liberate it from vices, which would otherwise slowly ruin its capacities.[40]

The first and most important use of the table according to these instructions is "the approval of faith by the triple trinity" (*probatio fidei triplici trinitate*). In fact, the most important organizing idea behind the text is described here: "The first use is the approval of faith by the triple trinity, i.e. the trinity of God's virtues in three orders, which correspond to the three divine persons as attributes and to the three faculties of the soul, to the degree that they are appropriated by it. Thus, the first order of virtues belongs to charity, the Holy Spirit and to our will; the second to wisdom, the son of God and to our intellect, and the third to the power, the Father and memory."[41] These triple correspondences could be represented in a table in the following way:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Karitas* | *Spiritus Sanctus* | *voluntas* |
| *Sapientia* | *Dei filius* | *intellectus* |
| *Potentia* | *Deus pater* | *memoria* |

The idea behind these correspondences was first developed by St Augustine in his *De Trinitate* (7, 1-3.1-6; PL 42, 931-939), who attributed the virtues of charity, wisdom and power to the Holy

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[40]   "Nam quanto quis plus deficit ab effectu virtutum, tanto plus excaecatur intellectu, et quanto plus caecatur intellectu, tanto plus maleficiatur in affectu et degradatim ruit de malo in peius, de caecitate in amentiam, de miseria in maledictionem."

[41]   "Prima est probatio fidei triplici trinitate, scilicet Dei virtutum trinitas in tribus ordinibus qui attributi correspondent tribus personis in deitate, et appropriate tribus potentiis animae. Ita quod primus ordo virtutum correspondet caritati spiritui sancto et nostrae voluntati. Secundus sapientiae Dei filio et nostro intellectui. Tertius potentiae Deo patri et nostrae memoriae." (Vienna 4444, f. 332r; the text in Y is corrupt here). The Frankfurt ms. (f. 205r) explains the same correspondence in greater detail: "Unde sicut deus est unus in essentia et trinus in personis, sc. pater, filius et spiritus sanctus, sic creavit animam, quae est una in essentia et trina in potentiis, sc. memoria, intellectu et voluntate. Et sicut deus habet tres dignitates appropriatas tribus personis, sc. potentiam patri, sapientiam filio et karitatem spiritui sancto, quamvis nihilominus propter unitatem essentiae unaquaeque dignitas cuilibet personae conveniat et inest infinite, sic dedit animae tres dignitates appropriatas tribus eius potentiis, ut sit suo modulo potens memoria, sciens intellectu, et amans voluntate, quamvis propter unitatem essentiae quaelibet cuilibet inest et finite."

Spirit, Christ and the Father, and discovered the resemblance of these divine virtues in the faculties of the human soul (*De Trinitate* 14, 6.8).[42] In the 12th century, Hugh of Saint Victor claimed in his *De sacramentis* (1, 3, 26-28; PL 176, 227c-230c), that the three faculties of the soul (memory, intellect and will) are a sign of the Holy Trinity in men.[43] Richard of Saint Victor elaborated this scheme further in his own *De Trinitate* (6; PL 196, 967-994, esp. 979-980), in which he has paralleled the three virtues both to the faculties of the soul and to the divine persons, thus creating a "Trinitarian psychology" of man.[44]

Significantly, Jean Gerson (1363-1429), the chancellor of the University of Paris, became an ardent propagator of this idea in several of his works in the early 15th century. In the work of Jean Gerson, the Trinitarian psychology of man became an important tool of self-examination and self-understanding, and at the same time, a way of discovering the Trinitarian unity of God through our soul.[45] One can recognize the omnipotence of God after realizing that one has been created out of nothing, and this leads us to discover an important quality of God, his power (*potentia*). A powerful creator has to be omniscient as well, therefore God is the greatest wisdom

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[42]  The Augustinian idea became a theological commonplace through the mediation of Petrus Lombardus (Sent. 1 dist. 34, cap 3.) In general, see Kurt Ruh: Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik. Vol. 1. Die Grundlegung durch die Kirchenväter und die Mönchstheologie des 12. Jahrhunderts. Munich 1990, pp. 98-102.

[43]  See Louis E. Pascoe: Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform. Leiden 1973, p. 178, notes 10 and 12.

[44]  See also his other work: De tribus appropriatis personis in trinitate. PL 196, 994b. For other 12th c. authors on the theme, see Bernard of Clairvaux: serm. de diversis 45, 1 ("Beata illa et sempiterna Trinitas, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, unus deus, summa potentia, summa sapientia, summa benignitas, creavit quandam trinitatem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, animam videlicet rationalem, que in eo prefert vestigium quoddam illius summae Trinitatis, quod ex memoria, ratione et voluntate consistit", PL 183, 667) and William of St. Thierry, Meditationes 12, 14, (PL 180, 246D): "Reformatur enim anima sancta ad imaginem Trinitatis, ad imaginem eius qui creavit eam, etiam ipso modo beatitudinis suae. Nam illuminata voluntas, et affecta, id est intellectus et amor, et fruendi habitus, sicut de Trinitate Dei dicitur et creditur, quodammodo tres sunt affectionum personae."

[45]  See Pascoe (fn. 42), pp. 180-182.

(*sapientia*). After exploring all the gifts that God has given to mankind, we realize his liberality and his benevolence as signs of his *Bonitas*, and we might find all three qualities mirrored in the human soul in its mental faculties. These ideas appear both in his vernacular works, e.g. in his *Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate* (written in 1402 in Paris), where Reason explains these ideas to the Soul,[46] and in his Latin sermons, in the sermon *Apparuit gratia*, preached in Tarascon in 1404, or in the *Sermo bonus pastor*, preached in Reims in 1408.[47] Interestingly, Gerson expressly compares the image of the Trinity on the soul to a mirror or a painting: "Sweet sister — said Reason to the Soul — you are the most beautiful image, which God, the sovereign Master, wanted to prepare in order to put his power, his wisdom and his benevolence on display, and exactly as if we were regarding it in a neatly made picture, or in a clear and polished mirror or in sculpture, we realize that the Master, who made the picture or the mirror, was wise."[48]

The pictorial, imaginative approach to the Trinitarian concept of human psychology in Gerson's work might have contributed to the creation of a scheme-like, figurative representation of the virtues and vices contained in the soul. If the readers of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* memorized and internalized the Trinitarian divisions of virtues and vices, they would not only be capable of recalling a

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[46]  Jean Gerson: Oeuvres complètes. Intr. Palémon Glorieux. Vol. 7/2. L'oeuvre française. Sermons et discours. Paris, Tournai, Rome, New York 1968, pp. 1132-1134. See also closing prayer in his *La mendicité spirituelle*, (Gerson, o.c., vol. 7/1., 279).

[47]  Jean Gerson: Oeuvres complètes. Intr. Palémon Glorieux. Vol. 5. L'oeuvre oratoire. Paris 1963, pp. 69 and 125 ("[deus] det animam suam pro ovibus suis; utique animam quae imago est beatae Trinitatis secundum triplicem viam praenominatam. Relucet nimirum in suavi rationali sapientia seu veritas quae appropriatur Filio. Relucet in irascibili potentia se strenuitas quae appropriatur Patri. Relucet in concupiscibili benevolentia seu bonitas quae appropriatur Spiritui Sancto.")

[48]  "Belle suer, disoit Raison a l'Ame, tu es la tres belle ymaige laquelle Dieu le souverain Maitre a voulu faire pour monstrer son art par dehors, sa puissance, sa saigesse et sa benivolence; et tout ainsi comme en regardant une ymaige bien faicte, soit en ung miroir bien cler et poly soit par dehors en painture ou en tailleure, on a congnoissance du maistre qui a fait l'imaige ou le miroir qu'il estoit saige ...". Gerson (fn. 45), p. 1132.

dogmatic list of moral qualities, but they would be able to discover the inherent qualities of the Trinity, as it is imprinted onto their own soul.

Having created this structure, one can use it both in the quest for self-perfection and in public preaching, as we could observe already in the case of the *Nota hanc figuram* treatise. It can be used in the moralizing explanation of every word and sentence of the Bible (*secunda utilitas*): the words "Legem pone mihi, Domine, viam justificationum tuarum" of the Psalms (*Ps.* 118, 33) might be explicated by connecting words starting with L to "legem", or associating attributes to it from the list.[49] Furthermore, the scheme can be used to "widen the soul according to its powers" (*dilatatio animae secundum suas vires*), so that whenever we read in the Bible a word occurring in the list, we can enlarge the meaning of the Biblical sentence with other words from the table. Thus, the depth of the statement "Bonus es tu" in the Psalms (*Ps.* 118, 66) can be explored by discovering other virtues (love, wisdom, power, etc.) connected to the divine benevolence.[50] Another possible use is the combinatorial one, called "proverbiatio", which means that one can create and proclaim an infinite number of truthful sentences ('edictio sententiarum veritates infinitas de Deo, sanctis et virtutibus') with the aid of the three orders of virtues and adding some grammar: e.g. "odium ignorans pusillanimificat" or "devotio indiscreta non durat". There is a clearly recognizable Lullist character behind the combinatorial aspects of this table, and indeed, three manuscripts transmit this tract together with works of Ramón Llull,[51] but the

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[49] "Exponitur sic: sub L legem laetitiae, qua me tristem laetificas, legem habens, qua me tenebrosum illuminas, legem libertatis, qua me captivum liberas. Tamen aliter: legem amoris, agnicionis, bonitatis." (Y, ff. 376v-377r)

[50] "sub bonitate expresse intellige et amorosus, sapiens, potens, miserans, et iustus, et totum alphabetum es tu."

[51] Indeed, three manuscripts of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* have been included in the database of the manuscripts of Ramón Llull (Base de Dades Ramon Llull, http://orbita.bib.ub.edu/llull/obres.asp), citing it as a spurious work: Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, cod. 762; Munich, Clm 18445; Stuttgart, WL, cod. theol. et phil. 4° 31. Munich, UB., cod. 8° 296, which contains a copy of the *Memoria fecunda*, also includes a figure of the Lullian bonitas on 230v. Cf. Natalia Daniel: Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Oktavreihe. Wiesbaden 1989, p. 151.

significance of these variations and combinations is never presented
as an absolute path to finding knowledge, only as a method of self-
perfection and exploring one's own soul.

The mnemonic inspiration of the scheme and of the whole treat-
ise becomes clear in the ninth chapter about the uses of the text
('nona utilitas'), which is called "artificial reading and meditation by
artificial memory." Significantly, the purpose of using the art of
memory is not only to remember the table of virtues and vices, but
also to "read and meditate" (lectio et meditatio), i.e. to recall and
perform them in any context, "about God, Mary, any virtuous saint,
or virtue, or any sentence of the Scripture." It is in this chapter
where the exact source of the idea of creating such a meditative
table on virtues and vices with a mnemonic perspective is revealed.
A similar — but much shorter — list of opposing virtues and vices
is attached to the *Nota hanc figuram* treatise, with the title *Viginti
quinque dignitates dei et miseriae diaboli* (Twenty-five dignities of
God and miseries of the Devil). It is even more important to note
that charity, wisdom and power, the three major virtues of the
Trinity, appear in the first three corners of the depiction of God in
the *Nota hanc figuram*, followed there by the general notion of
perfection in the fourth corner. At the same time, we encounter the
same tripartite structure reflecting the Trinitarian psychology of man
in the opening prayer of the *Memoria fecunda*: "Lord, our eternal
Father, help me in my enterprise by the prolific memory generating
the intellectual Son, the Word of Wisdom, who is coeval with him,
by whom he has said everything, and everything was created, with
the Holy Spirit proceeding equally from both by the love of
will."[52] Besides, the list of words, which can be substituted as
subjects in the combinatorial sentences of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis*
(*Deus, creator, redemptor, revocator*, pater...) closely resembles the
first four elements of the overall structure of the *Nota hanc figuram*
(*Deus, Creatio, Revocatio, Redemptio*), and partly the terms used in
the *Memoria fecunda* to describe the 48 main stages of Christ's life

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[52] "Memoria fecunda *Deus Pater* eternus generativa *sui intellectualis Filii Verbi
Sapientiae* coaeterni, per quem dixit et facta sunt omnia, cum *Spiritu Sancto
voluntatis amore* ab utroque aeque procedente assit meo principio." Pack (fn.
3), p. 229. The grammatical structure of the Latin sentence is unclear.

(*Deus, creas, peccat*, prophetaris, annunciaris...).[53] Nevertheless, the most important proof that the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* has incarnated ideas that had been brought forth by the *Memoria fecunda* is the design of the mnemonic house where one has to store the virtues and vices:

*De domo imaginaria 12, 24 vel plurium cellarum.*
Tandem videtur utiliter addendum, quod si cui placuerit se magis mente recolligere et omnia memoranda coram se videre et tamquam in libro mentali legere absque diversione per domum et per cameras huc et illuc, poterit hoc facere per loca imaginaria, quae, quamquam sint difficiliora ad memorandum, tamen sunt magis spiritualia, iocunda et devota materialibus. Scilicet imaginare ante te domum habentem tria latera seu tres parietes, quorum unum tibi sit ad sinistram, secundum ad faciem, tertium ad dextram. Haec domus in mensura sit profunditatis 18 cubitorum, et latitudinis, sc. a sinistra ad dextram, sit cubitorum 24, et altitudinis 12, ubi sit pro tecto solarium planum, sicut est infra pavimentum. Deinde imaginare quemlibet istorum parietum esse interstitiatum, sic [on the margin: a drawing of a square, divided into 4 squares], protendentem se ex omni latere ad intra versus pavimentum commune per sex cubitos, et ita de communi pavimento remanebit domus 12 cubitorum profunditatis, 12 latitudinis et 12 altitudinis, quia ab altitudine nihil demitur. Inter talia igitur interstitia crucifera in tribus parietibus causantur ter quattuor, id est 12 celle [...] Et si tota materia non compre-

Nona utilitas:[54] lectio et meditatio artificialis memoria artificiali et alphabeto ordinata de deo, Maria, sancto quolibet virtuoso ac virtute qualibet ac dictione sacrae Scripturae. Memoria ergo artificiali qua virtutes et vitia cum omnibus significatis comprehenduntur.[55] Sic sit: imaginare ante te domum celestinam habentem tria latera seu tres parietes ante te patulam. Et primum latus tibi est ad sinistram, secundum seu medium ad faciem, tertium ad dextram, et quodlibet latus habet 48 [Y: 28] cubitos in altitudine et tectum planum in summitate sicut in pavimento, quo tecto tres parietes uniuntur in unam domum. Quae in longitudine ad intro sit 18 [Y: 48 corr. ad 18] cubitorum et in latitudine 24. Hec domus interstitiatur [Y: intersecatur] in medio altitudinis ita quod virtutes sint in superiori parte, et vitia in [*om.* Y] inferiori. Item pars inferior in medio suae altitudinis, scilicet post 12 cubitos interstitiatur <Vienna: et secundum tria interstitia> et similiter superior. Sic ergo in tota [*om.* Y] domo erunt tria interstitia, de quolibet interstitio ad aliud est altitudo 12 cubitorum. Et secundum tria interstitia, inter ea erunt quatuor mansiones in sursum et quaelibet mansio erit 12 cubitorum altitudinis, deinde quodlibet latus de uno interstitio ad aliud in se interstitiatur [Y:

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53   Pack (fn. 3), p. 256.

hendatur in iam dicto duodenario cellarum, imaginare alias duodecim insursum linealiter stare supra primas tamquam in alia domo iam dictae contigua. Similiter, si necesse est, imaginare tercium duodenarium pro complenda materia, etc. quot tibi placent, ipsa tamen domus talium plurium duodenariorum sit ita ordinata sive solariis intercise condistincta, ut te in pavimento stante inferius valeas omnia circumsita in cellis superius sine obstaculo contemplari. (*Memoria fecunda*, Pack, o.c., pp. 264-265.)

intersecatur] per modum crucis [On the margin: a drawing of a square, divided into 4 squares]. Et erunt quatuor cellae quae ex omni latere protendantur ad intro in domo [*om.* Vienna] per sex cubitos et sic quaelibet cella erit longitudinis ad intro sex cubitorum et latitudinis sex et altitudinis sex. Sit [Y: sic] igitur mansio quaelibet continens 12 cellas, et sic secundum quatuor mansiones in sursum principales erunt quater 12, i.e. 48 cellae de quibus inferiores 24 deputantur vitiis alphabeto suppositis, et superiores 24 cellae debentur virtutibus alphabeti. Imponuntur omnia incipiendo per modum scripturae progredi a sinistra tendendo versus dextram. Ita tamen quod prima cella sit ipsa quae est iuxta pavimentum, secunda supra primam, tertia collateralis et quarta primae tertiis lateribus, et impleto uno duodenario cellarum simili modo [Y: similiter] reincipe in alia superiori contigua mansione 12 cellarum reliqua collocare ut patet in figura. Interstitia etiam domus sic sint intercise ordinata ut te in pavimento domus in imo stante singula vitia et virtutes suprapositas valeas contemplari. Quia autem quaelibet cella etiam habet tria latera, ad sinistram collocatur principalis virtus vel vitium primi ordinis, ad faciem medii, ad dextram tertii in eadem cella tertiis. Condependentes vero aliae in te tenentur facilius et conferendo virtutes ad vitia unius cellae cum alia mens mirabiliter illuminatur, inflammatur et confortatur ex earum varia concordantia.

Apparently, the *Memoria fecunda* and the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* describe a memory house with the same interior design. The *Memoria fecunda* describes only the plan of a single floor and offers the example of filling it with the twelve episodes of the life of Christ, while the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* introduces three further floors with the help of three "interstitia", in order to be able to house all of its 48 virtues. Notably, even the description of the point of view of the memorizer (looking upwards from the ground floor) is identical in both texts. Interestingly, the Frankfurt manuscript of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis*, the earliest of all known manuscripts, refers explicitly here to "another book", in which the art of memory had been explained, and which was supposed to be present next to it in the same manuscript ('de qua in libro alio dictum est'). We may surmise that this "other book" was the *Memoria fecunda*, or some version of it. Indeed, we may presume that the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* was designed to contain exactly 48 virtues, because the mnemonic house described in the *Memoria fecunda* could accommodate twelve rooms or its multiples.[54][55]

The manuscript tradition of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* similarly points to its close relationship to the *Memoria fecunda*: from the thirteen manuscripts known to me, four contain both texts, often one after the other. One manuscript contains it together with the *Nota hanc figuram* (Křivoklát), another one (Trier) includes the contemplation of the life of Jesus in 48 acts, which generally appears together with the *Nota hanc figuram*, and once all three texts occur in the same manuscript (New Haven/Yale).[56]

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[54]  The text is edited here from Vienna Cod. 4444, with the collation of Frankfurt a. M., UB., Praed. 70 and New Haven/Yale (Y) Ms. 306. As the Frankfurt Ms. differs in many minor details, I quote only the extensive variants from it.

[55]  Frankfurt a.M., UB., ms. Praed. 70, f. 219rb: "Memoria ergo artificiali, de qua in libro alio dictum est, plenius possunt omnes virtutes et vitia sub ipsis comprehendi hoc modo."

[56]  I could not verify the exact contents of Göttingen UB., Theol. 146, ff. 1r-4r: inc. Alphabetum trinitatis habet 24 litteras et 72 virtutes et tot vicia eis opposita. Cf. Die Handschrifen in Göttingen. Bd. 2. Universitätsbibliothek. Geschichte, Karten, Naturwissenschaften, Theologie, Handschriften aus Lüneburg. Berlin 1893, p. 379. (Copied in Kempten, 1521).

1. Bern, Bürgerbibl., Cod. 762. 45r-49v.
2. Braunschweig, Stadtbibl., Ms. 103. 42v-46r. 1445.[57]
3. Frankfurt am Main Stadt- und UB., Praed. 70. 205ra-225r. (Explicit Alfabetum trinitatis uirtutum dei et anime cum 12 utilitatibus compilatum anno domini 1408o prope festum omnium sanctorum Bononie.)
4. Křivoklát Castle Library, Cod. 156 (I e 13). 49v-71r. Alphabetum Trinitatis; Nota hanc figuram.
5. Leipzig, UB., Ms. 594. 121ra-140rb. (Explicit Alphabetum trinitatis virtutum Dei et animae cum anno Domini 1408 prope festum omnium sanctorum Bononiae. Deo gracias.)
6. Munich, BSB., Clm 18445. 244r-253v. (Tegernsee 445.)
7. New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Manuscript Library, Ms. 306. Memoria fecunda; Alphabetum Trinitatis; a fragment of the Nota hanc figuram.[58]
8. Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, Ms. b III 10. 126r-151v. Memoria fecunda; AlphabetumT.
9. Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, Ms. b III 39, 268v-281r.
10. Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, Ms. b VI 22. 280r-292v. Memoria fecunda; Alphabetum Trinitatis. Copied by Christian Grammätsch in Salzburg around 1450.[59]
11. Stuttgart, WL., Cod. theol. et phil. 4° 31. 1r-45v. 1472.
12. Trier, Stadtbibl., Cod. 310. (1982, 4o). 42v-58v. 51r-v: Contemplatio Ihesu sub quater duodecim actionibus comprehensa.
13. Wien, ÖNB., Cod. 4444. 327v-335r. Memoria fecunda; Alphabetum Trinitatis.

The text seems to have been transmitted in two forms. The most widespread version, appearing in the Braunschweig, Křivoklát, New Haven, Salzburg (all three mss.), Stuttgart, and Vienna mss., in-

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[57] This manuscript, and especially the chant "Amor, almus, ardens..." has been mentioned by Peter Dronke (Medieval Latin and the rise of European Love-Lyric. Vol. 2. 2nd Ed. Oxford 1968, p. 491) as an example of the "epigrammatic definitions of love", claiming "that human and divine love seem to be invoked simultaneously" in this song. Obviously, when examined within the context of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis*, no trace of earthly love can be found in this alphabetic list of virtues sung to a tune. The explicit of the ms. reveals important details about the transmission: "Collegi a venerabili domino Thoma de Cornu Cervino medicine doctori (-e?) eximio Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis medico, anno domini 1445 ipso die Stephani Prothomartiris nec non aliorum confessorum, quorum inuencio reliquiarum sollempniter in sancta ecclesia agebatur."

[58] See http://brbl-net.library.yale.edu/pre1600ms/docs/pre1600.ms306.htm, accessed on 17.8.2013.

[59] Hayer (fn. 5), pp. 309-310.

cludes the chart of the virtues and vices, the musical notation, the drawing of a memory house and the list of its twelve uses. However, one of the earliest known manuscripts of this text, coming from the Frankfurt Dominicans (Frankfurt am Main, UB., Praed. 70, 205ra-225r), and the Leipzig UB. Ms. 594. both lack the alphabetic table, the musical notes and the drawing of the mnemonic house from the end. Instead, this version focuses on the twelve possible uses of the wordlist. We may presume that this copy is fragmentary, as it clearly refers to an alphabetic wordlist which is not preserved in this manuscript, but there is no reference whatsoever to the musical notes appearing in other manuscripts. Uniquely, the text ends here with a different table, which promises to combine the first and the twelfth utility of the alphabetic table.[60] The text bears an explicit, which dates the text to Bologna and to 1408, exactly the same place, where the *Memoria fecunda* was written, but to almost two decades later.[61] The description of the twelve uses of the alphabet as a tool of meditation is richer in details in these two manuscripts, than in the more widespread transmission of the text, as it includes such tables and methods, as well, which have disappeared from the later variant. Significantly, the section dealing with the description of the mnemonic house (the ninth use, *nona utilitas*), which proves the affiliation of the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* to the *Memoria fecunda*, is already present here.

Thus, there are several possible ways to explain the entangled textual relationship between the *Alphabetum Trinitatis*, which was compiled in its earliest form in Bologna in 1408, and the *Memoria fecunda*, which was put into writing in Bologna in 1425. Either the mnemonic house used for storing the virtues and vices of the "Alphabetum" was conceived earlier, and it was included as one exemplary idea in the *Memoria fecunda* later; or — more probably — that the *Memoria fecunda*, or some version of it, had existed

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[60] "Ut finem pie (?) concordia concludamus, scilicet utilitatem primam cum ultima, hoc est fidei probacionem cum virtutum operacione comprobantes ponimus in hac forma". Frankfurt am Main, UB., Praed. 70., ff. 224v-225r.

[61] "Explicit Alphabetum trinitatis uirtutum dei et anime cum 12 utilitatibus Compilatum Anno domini 1408° prope festum omnium sanctorum Bononie. Deo gracias." Frankfurt am Main, UB.. Praed. 70., ff. 224v-225r.

already before 1408.[62] We may suppose that its mnemonic teachings and ideas were orally transmitted in a closed circle of Bologna monks or clerics, who explored the potentials of the art of memory in the field of meditation and devotion, until the text was put into writing and crossed the Alps sometime after 1425. In both cases, we may suppose that mnemonic structures were used continuously between 1408 and 1425 in some intellectual circles of Bologna in order to memorize and produce prayers and sermons creatively, although we do not have sufficient evidence yet to define exactly which monastic orders or religious groups were the most active promoters of mnemonic literacy in the city.

In sum, the *Nota hanc figuram* and the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* seem to be two potential realizations of the mnemonic ideas outlined in the *Memoria fecunda*, the contents of which might have been orally transmitted before having been put into wiriting and summarized in 1425 in Bologna. Both cases of transformation show that the art of memory was creatively used and directly implemented into meditative practice in monastic circles from the beginning of the 15th century. This close connection between the *ars memorativa* and late medieval devotion might offer us a further explication as to why the art of memory experienced such an instant success throughout the 15th century. The visual and the auditory elements form an integral part of the creation of the meaning of the text. In the *Nota hanc figuram* the corresponding position within the image sets out the rules of reading, while in the *Alphabetum Trinitatis* the music provides a structuring element by pairing the virtues and vices that are to be meditated upon. Furthermore, the inherent Trinitarian organization of the treatise, which reflects the internal structure of the human soul, offers an elaborate and intuitive description of the process of reading, understanding and performance.

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[62] The second possibility seems more probable, as the note "memoria artificiali, de qua in libro alio dictum est" we have quoted from the ms. Frankfurt a. M. UB. Praed. 70, 219rb clearly refers to a preexistent book on the art of memory.
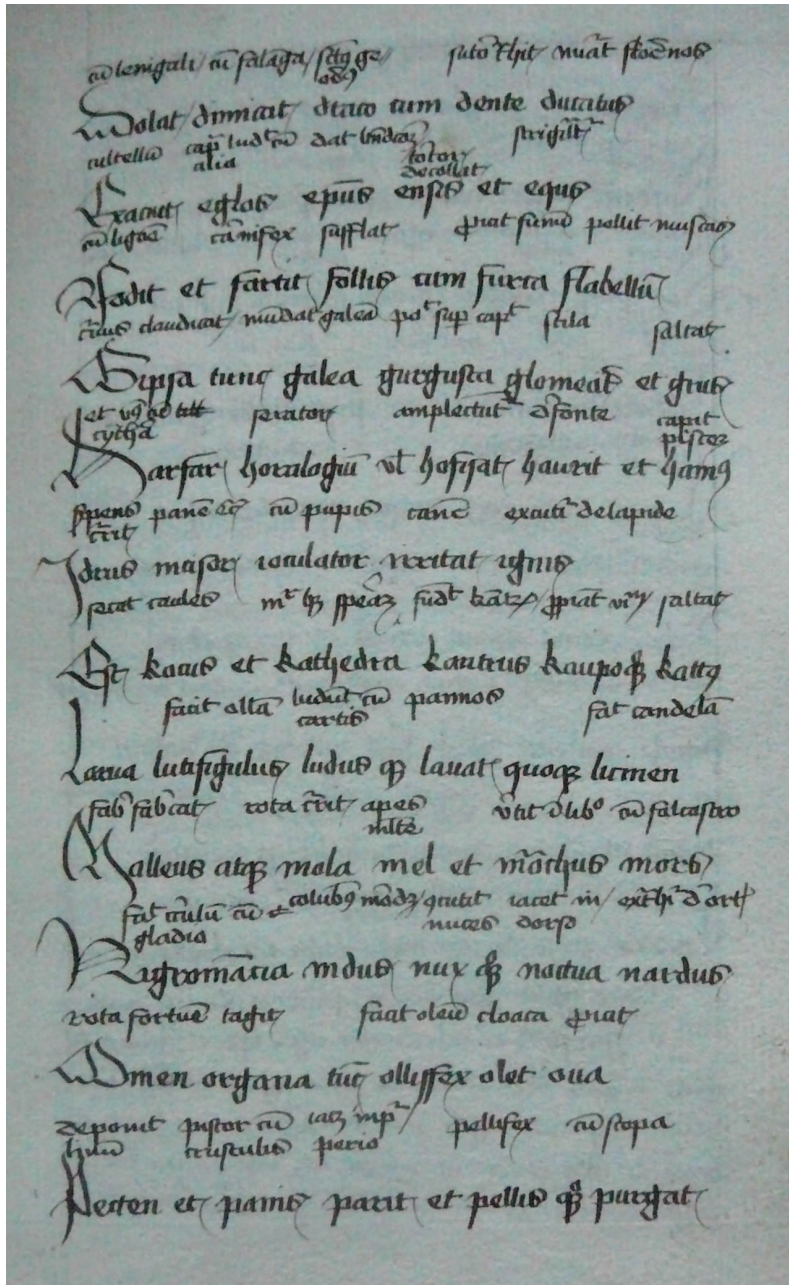
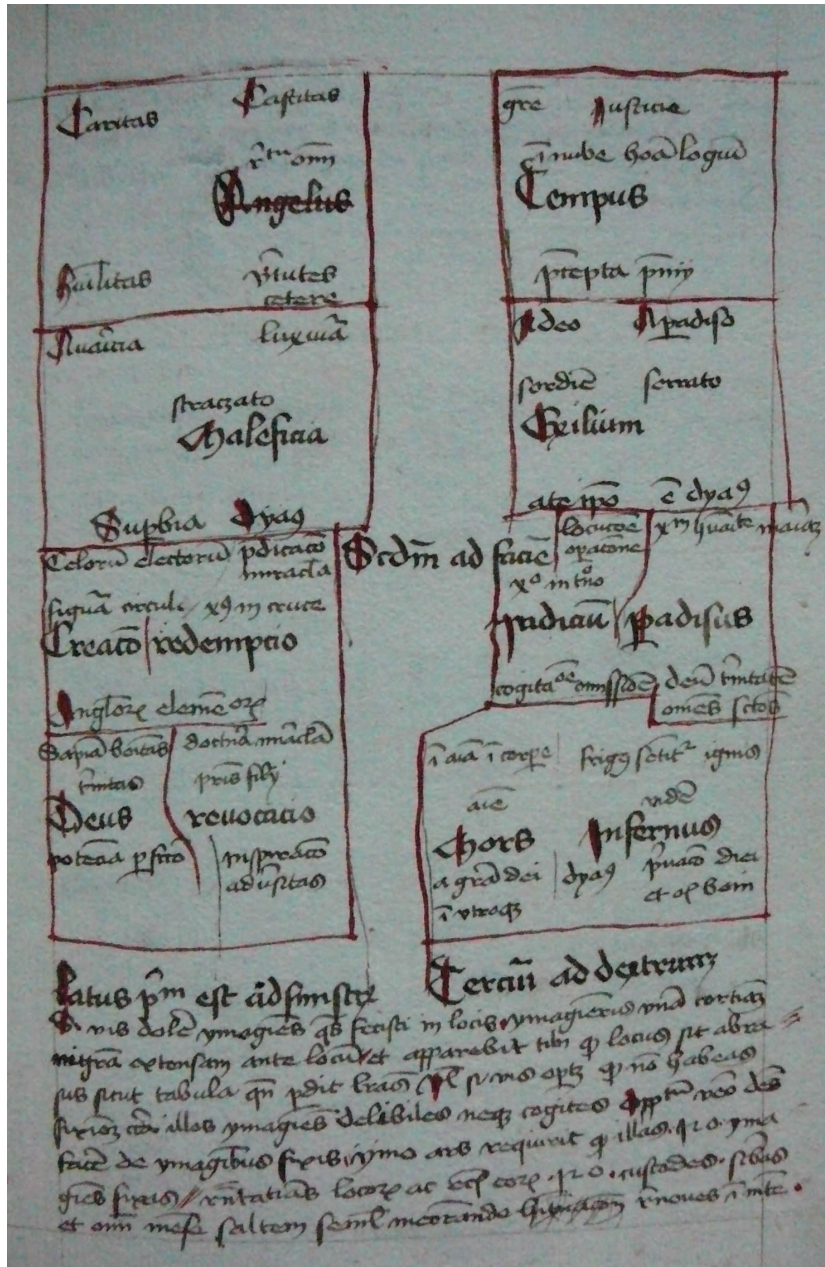Illustration 1:   Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, b. VI. 22. f. 257r. Photo: Sonja Führer.

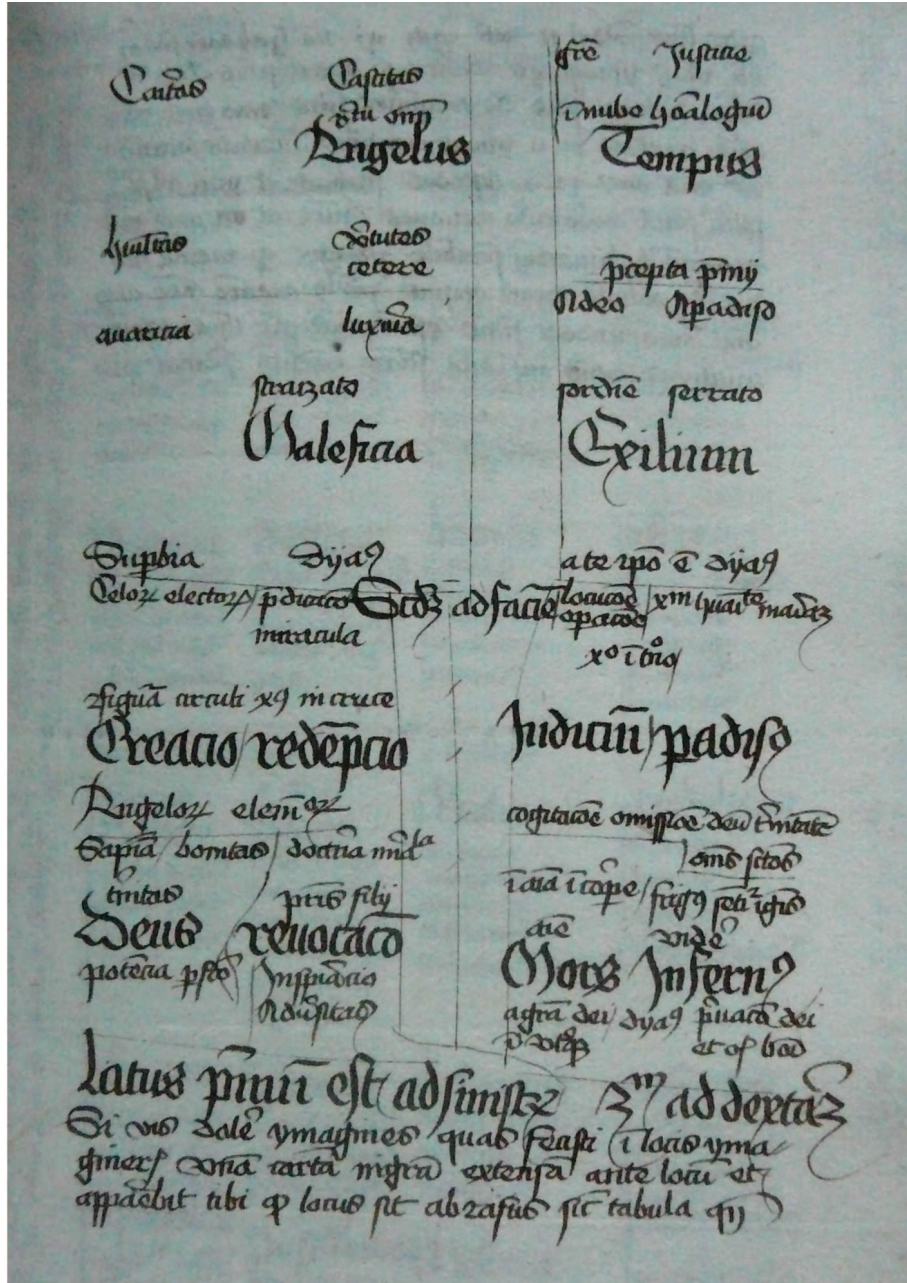Illustration 2: Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, b. III. 10. f. 151r. Photo: Sonja Führer.

Illustration 3:  Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, b. VI. 22. f. 279r. Photo: Sonja Führer.

Illustration 4: Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1835, p. 186. Photo: Dr. Christine Glassner.

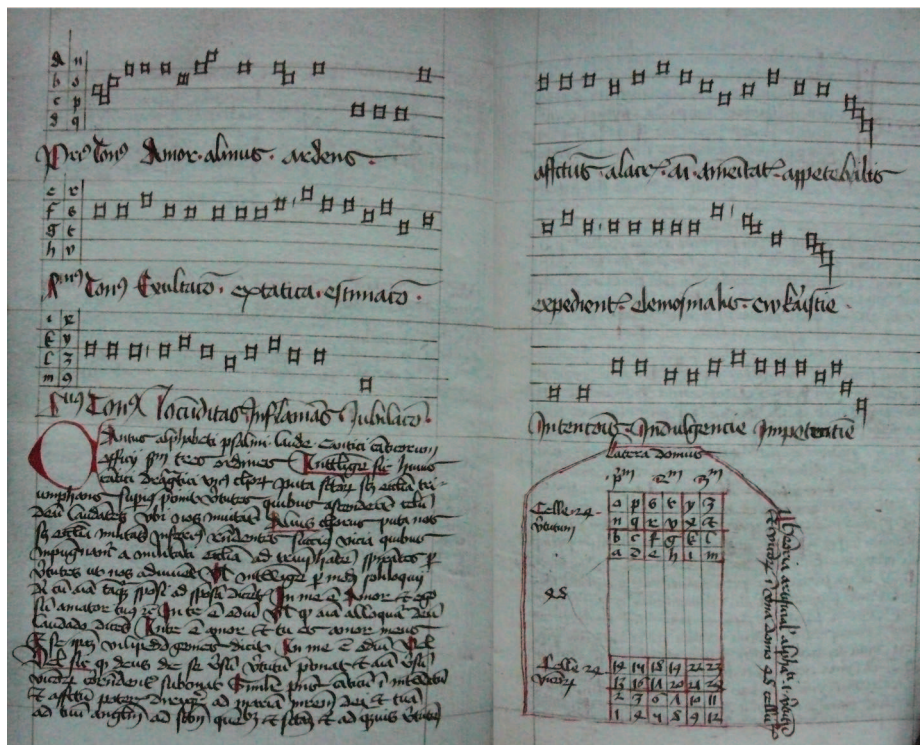Illustration 5:   Křivoklát, Cod. 156 (I e 13). ff. 71r-74v.

Illustration 6: Salzburg, St. Peter Erzabtei, b. III. 39. ff. 273v-274r. Photo: Sonja Führer.

Illustration 7:   Křivoklát, Cod. 156 (I e 13). f. 55r.