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sepulchrum lazari

portus  
vallis  
joseph

claustrum  
salomonis

portus auster

domus  
remembrance

templum s. e. anae

propheta  
isaias

calvarie monte

calvarie

sepulchrum  
dñi

portus sancti

stephani

mons

calvarie

portus

solus  
idus rex



# Looking Beyond Jerusalem: A Fifteenth-Century Exercise in Image Comparison

Hanna Vorholt

Critical image comparison is a widespread practice in art-historical teaching and is rooted in the history of the discipline. This essay considers how and to what end a Brabantine artist encouraged viewers to exercise this practice in the late fifteenth century. At the time, image production was rising exponentially, and hunger for material objects was putting ever more pressure on defining and regulating their appropriate use. The value of external and internal images was discussed extensively, as much as the need to move beyond them. Artists tested out the possibilities of visual media as means of transcending the visible world while simultaneously showcasing their very mediality. The high levels of self-reflexivity that characterise such images and concomitant texts about their use have engendered a particularly rich field of art-historical studies. This essay focuses on a little-known image that made a unique contribution to the fifteenth-century debates: it was designed to combine a twelfth-century map of Jerusalem with a fifteenth-century cityscape, and required the beholder to realise this combination in their minds. Points of similarity and difference between the two visual concepts presented an exercise ground for a carefully considered use of images in devotional practice. By exploring this complex composition, the essay uncovers a distinctive part of the long history of using image comparisons for the generation of knowledge and offers a new perspective to an argument recently made by Caroline Walker Bynum. While Bynum demonstrated that interrogation of the medieval concept of 'dissimilar similitudes' presents a productive model of thought for the choice of comparanda in scholarly practice today,<sup>1</sup> this essay shows that fifteenth-century viewers were educated about this concept by practising image comparisons for themselves. To develop this point, I will begin with the twelfth-century Jerusalem map that forms the basis of the fifteenth-century composition and itself incorporates an even earlier cartographic concept of a world map.

**Detail of Master of Johannes Gielemans, *Jerusalem*, c. 1486–87 (plate 5).**

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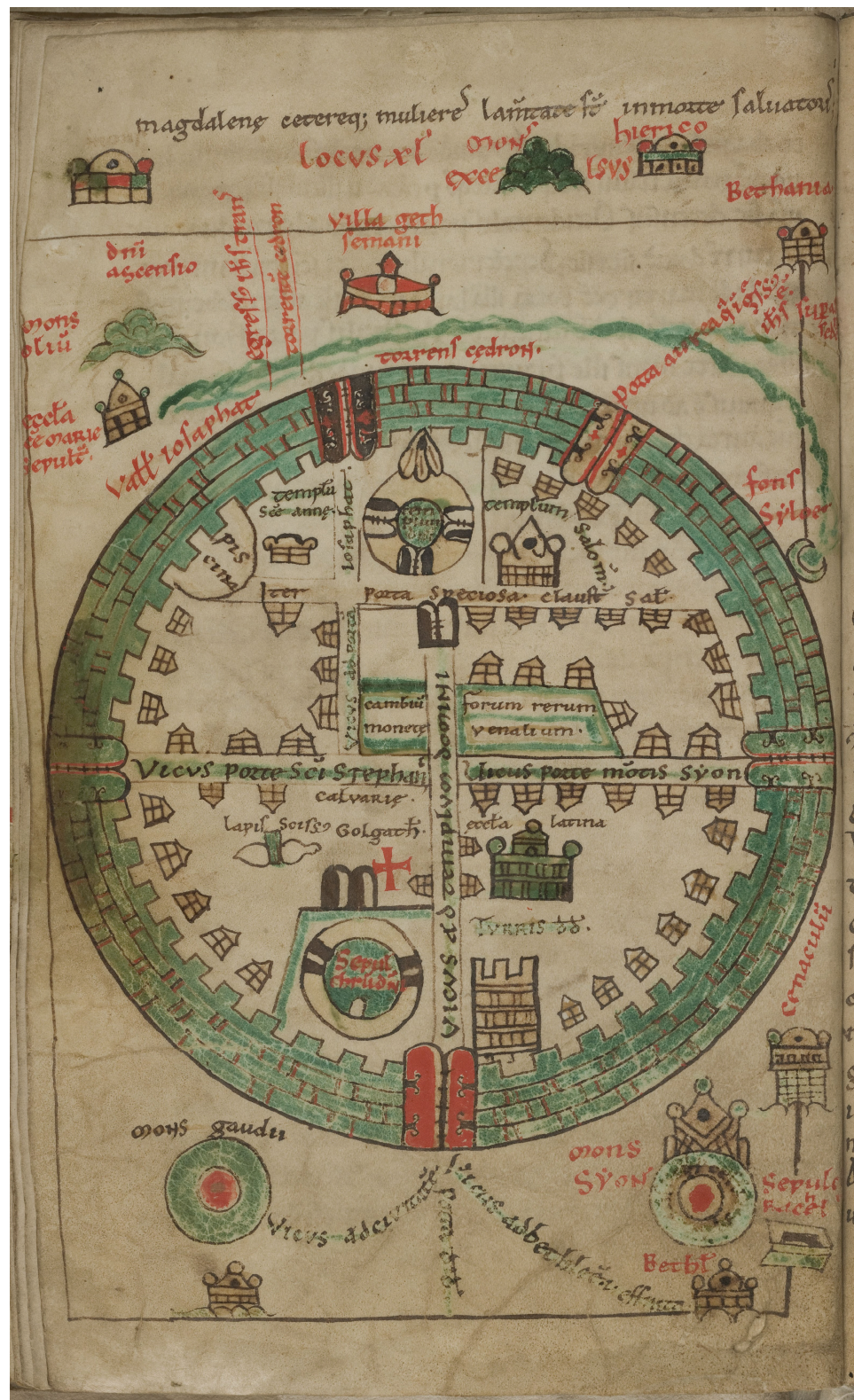
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## A Twelfth-Century Image of Jerusalem from Flanders

Just over 900 years ago, in 1121, Lambert, a canon at the collegiate church of Our Lady in Saint-Omer, made the last additions to his *Liber floridus*, one of the most important encyclopaedic compilations to survive from medieval Europe.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the earliest of the texts included by Lambert, and certainly the longest, was the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, a chronicle, based on Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, of the recent First Crusade and the early years of the Crusader Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> The *Gesta* contained a detailed guide to Jerusalem and its environs,



1 Map of Jerusalem, early twelfth century. Ink and pigment on parchment, 230 × 140 mm. Saint-Omer: Bibliothèque d'Agglomération (MS 776, f. 50v). Photo: BAPSO.



together with a map and an image of the Holy Sepulchre. The relevant section is now lost from Lambert's autograph manuscript, but is known through several copies.<sup>4</sup> Another early twelfth-century manuscript of the *Gesta* still at Saint-Omer testifies to a collaboration in the creation of this text between Lambert and the monks of the famous Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin nearby; this manuscript includes a similar



Jerusalem map as part of the detailed guide to Jerusalem (plate 1), and it is plausible that the map was a result of their collaboration, along with the text of the *Gesta* itself.<sup>5</sup> At least one other encyclopaedic compilation, preserved in a fragmentary state in London and recently rendered more legible through multispectral imaging, was created at the same time as the *Liber floridus*.<sup>6</sup> This includes another version of this map (plate 2), preceded by the guide to the city that formed part of the *Gesta* in the other two manuscripts.<sup>7</sup>

The Jerusalem map designed at Saint-Omer can be considered the earliest map of the city known to have been created in medieval Europe and the image is frequently discussed in current scholarship.<sup>8</sup> Although well known, it will be helpful here to consider its contents and layout briefly, using the earliest complete version as a basis (see plate 1). The map is orientated with east at the top and presents the city in idealised form, with a perfectly round ring of substantial, crenelated walls, three of the five gates situated at cardinal points, and an axial alignment of the city's two main thoroughfares. One of these (the ancient *cardo maximus*) connects St Stephen's Gate in the north and Sion Gate in the south, and the other (the ancient *decumanus maximus*) leads from David's Gate in the west towards the Temple Mount. Two further city gates – the Gate of Jehoshaphat and the Golden Gate, the latter

**2 Map of Jerusalem, early twelfth century. Ink on parchment, c. 74×85 mm. London: British Library (Cotton MS Fragments I, f. 19r (multispectral)). Photo: The British Library Board.**





coloured mimetically in light brown – are positioned on either side of the vertical axis, in the eastern part of the city wall. Prominent above the crossing of the main roads in the centre are the money exchange (*cambium monetæ*) and the marketplace (*forum rerum venalium*) – sites of economic activity and urban life that would surely have resonated with the inhabitants of Saint-Omer, itself an economically vibrant urban centre in the county of Flanders at the time.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the other features can serve to locate events in salvific history. In two instances, the disposition of texts even encourages the beholder to retrace with their eyes and re-enact with their mind two crucial movements of Christ in the week before his death, thereby following him in his Passion: the inscription upper



3 Lambert of Saint-Omer, T-O Map, early twelfth century. Ink and pigment on parchment, 310 × 210 mm. Ghent: Universiteitsbibliotheek (MS 92, f. 19r). Photo: Ghent University Library.



right, 'the Golden Gate, through which Jesus entered riding on a donkey', is written diagonally between the Gate and the village of Bethany, mirroring the route taken by Christ on the day that came to be celebrated as Palm Sunday; the inscription upper left, 'Jesus went forth over the brook Cedron', is set out vertically, bridging the river and marking Christ's route towards the Garden of Gethsemane.<sup>10</sup> While these two inscriptions, which occur in both the Saint-Omer and London versions of the map, enhanced the maps' potential to be used as tools for devotion, Lambert used accompanying texts to delineate larger frameworks of salvific history, and to showcase the pivotal role he ascribed to Godfrey of Bouillon as leader of the crusader conquest of Jerusalem and first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup>

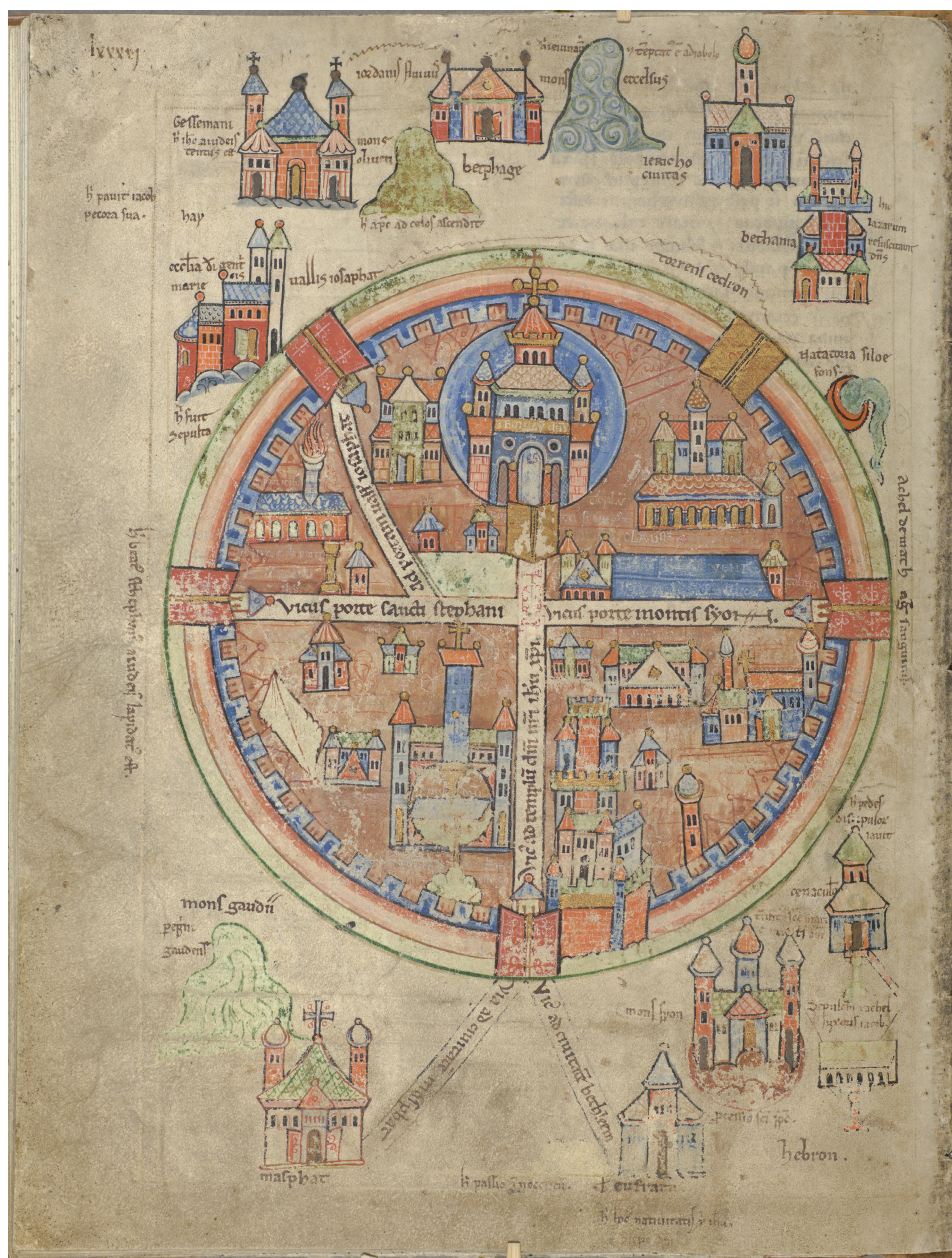
Monuments are visualised in elevation in these maps, with two exceptions: the Dome of the Rock in the east and the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the north-west are both depicted in plan. The octagonal outer shape of the Dome of the Rock and its two ambulatories are translated into a double circle, and the inscription appropriates the Islamic monument as the *Templum domini*, the Temple of the Lord, in reference to the former Jewish Temple, built by Solomon and later rebuilt, the latest incarnation of which featured as the site of several events in the life of Christ. The circular Anastasis Rotunda with its ambulatory around the tomb of Christ (*Sepulcrum domini*) is signified by the same shape, with the nearby site of the Crucifixion designated by a cross. Just as the *Templum domini* and the *Sepulcrum domini* mirror each other, they also echo the shape of the city, visualising an exchange of meanings that marked the Christian interpretation of these two buildings and their importance as signifiers for the city's pivotal role in salvific history.<sup>12</sup> With its orientation, perfectly circular shape, and regularised street-grid, the city's layout, in turn, corresponds to that of a T-O map, the most common type of medieval world map, which was also included by Lambert in his *Liber floridus* (plate 3).<sup>13</sup> Maps of this type are also usually orientated with east at the top, and present the known habitable parts of the northern hemisphere in diagrammatic fashion as a circle divided by a T, with Europe and Africa occupying the lower left- and right-hand quadrants and Asia the upper half. The conceptual blending between world map and city map not only conveys the city's universal significance, but is also closely connected to the apocalyptic vision of St John: 'Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth [...] And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God' (Apoc. 21:1–2). Since the earthly Jerusalem always prefigures the heavenly Jerusalem – itself often visualised in circular form, including by Lambert – this blending generates a palpable sense of the transition from this world to the next.<sup>14</sup>

### A Fifteenth-Century Reimagining from Brabant

This cartographic concept proved very successful, with copies created not only in the region, but also further afield, including in England and Iceland.<sup>15</sup> Many of them, such as that now at Uppsala (plate 4), date from the twelfth century, but copies were made until the fifteenth century, each modifying the design. The latest and most compelling version is included in the only extant manuscript of the *Hystoriologus Brabantinorum* (plate 5), itself a wide-ranging compilation conceived and written out c. 1486–87 at Rooklooster Priory by Johannes Gielemans, who was then subprior.<sup>16</sup> The Rooklooster is perhaps best known among art historians today because of the documented presence there of the painter Hugo van der Goes between 1476 and his death in 1482/83; the anonymous maker of the miniature in the *Hystoriologus* was probably based in nearby Brussels and is now known as the Master of Johannes Gielemans.<sup>17</sup> While another image may once have been included in the *Hystoriologus*, that of Jerusalem is now the sole miniature in the manuscript.<sup>18</sup> It is positioned



4 Map of Jerusalem, last quarter of the twelfth century. Ink, pigment and gold on parchment, 275 × 210 mm. Uppsala: Universitetsbibliotek (MS C 691, f. 39v). Photo: Uppsala University Library.



ahead of the prologue and is preceded only by a 'description of the modern city of Jerusalem', which is in fact a lightly adapted version of the very twelfth-century guide that preceded the map in the London fragments and was part of the larger *Gesta Francorum* text in the Saint-Omer manuscript and Lambert's *Liber floridus*.<sup>19</sup>

Almost all visual and textual components of the image in the *Hystoriologus* have equivalents in surviving maps of the Saint-Omer type. A particularly close relation among the extant versions is the one at Uppsala (see plate 4).<sup>20</sup> The Uppsala manuscript was likely created in northern France in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and it shares other texts with the *Hystoriologus*, which could suggest that Gielemans had this manuscript, or one similar to it, available to him as he was engaged in compiling his work.<sup>21</sup> While the components of the image have equivalents in maps of the Saint-Omer type, the Master of Johannes Gielemans reimagined the entire map as a cityscape, and rotated it by 45° counter-clockwise, so that the Golden Gate is now in the top centre position, and St Stephen's Gate and David's Gate at the lower left and



right. The rotation of the city has not been achieved mechanically: the *Templum domini* was kept in the vertical axis by moving it into the centre of the city, where it is now situated between the large market-place and the money exchange, which houses a man in a red cap taking out coins from a bag. The compositional changes obscure the potent T-O structure of the earlier cartographic concept, but new visual configurations arise from them. One is the central vertical alignment of the *Templum domini* with the Golden Gate, Mount Calvary,<sup>22</sup> and the figure of the first ruler of Latin Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, who also featured prominently in the texts that Lambert had associated with his map. He stands in full armour atop the city wall, is divinely crowned by an angel, and is denoted king ('Godefridus rex').

The *Sepulchrum domini* (here to the right of Mount Calvary) and the *Templum domini* still parallel each other as centrally planned structures, but the *Templum domini*



5 Master of Johannes Gielemans, *Jerusalem*, c. 1486–87. Ink, pigment and gold on parchment, 375 × 277 mm. Vienna: Austrian National Library (Cod. Ser. n. 12710, f. 2v). Photo: Austrian National Library.

stands out not only for its prominent position and size, but also on account of the sculpture of Moses holding the Tablets of the Law above the central archway and the twelve pinecones set atop the columns and upper arches. Moses can be understood here as the one who constructed the Tabernacle that preceded Solomon's Temple, and as representative of the Old Covenant, prefiguring Christ. The prologue to the *Hystoriologus*, on the facing page, highlights more specifically that 'among all the historiographers of the Old and New Testaments, holy Moses occupies the first place', as the one who described the beginning of the world, the marvellous events of the first and second ages, and the acts of the patriarchs.<sup>23</sup> Gielemans then situates himself and his own historiographical project as following in Moses's footsteps when he moves on to ask: 'But after the creation of the world, what more wondrous thing has been done, besides the mystery of the Saving Cross, than what has been accomplished in modern times, above all by the princes of Brabant?'<sup>24</sup> For, he continues, 'how many kings or princes could subjugate as many cities and fortresses [...] as our blessed people [...] whom God has chosen as his heir?'<sup>25</sup> It is relevant to note here that Gielemans in fact used the prologue from Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* as his own, replacing two key phrases: his phrase 'above all by the princes of Brabant' squarely replaces Robert's 'in this itinerary of our Jerusalem'; and his phrase 'our blessed people' replaces Robert's 'the blessed Frankish people'; Gielemans also added a short passage concerning Godfrey of Bouillon and Charlemagne.<sup>26</sup> Though minor in extent, the changes are significant indicators of the aim pursued by Gielemans in all his works: the promotion and glorification of Brabant as a blessed land, sanctified through the holiness and merits of the best of its people.<sup>27</sup> In the map, where the houses of Jerusalem, with their stepped gables, have a distinctly local idiom, the domestic environment has literally become the Holy Land, with the leading crusader Godfrey taking pride of place.<sup>28</sup>

Godfrey is not the only one staged as a prime Brabanter by Gielemans in the *Hystoriologus*. Even more pivotal is Charlemagne, whose holy lineage Godfrey is said to have aspired to enter, and who was considered a proto-crusader, defender of the Church, and restorer of the Empire.<sup>29</sup> It is here that the depiction of cones atop the *Templum domini* may be significant. While they can signify the cedar wood Solomon used in the construction of the Temple,<sup>30</sup> and their number, twelve, symbolises the Heavenly Jerusalem, they may also reference Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel in Aachen, the courtyard of which included a large bronze pine cone, likely in imitation of the *Pigna* in the atrium of Old St Peter's in Rome.<sup>31</sup> The Palatine Chapel was itself an evocation of Jerusalem with, among others, architectural similarities to the Dome of the Rock, identified as the Temple.<sup>32</sup> Significantly, the Chapel featured prominently as the site of the coronation of Maximilian I on 9 April 1486 as King of the Romans and future Emperor – an event that was contemporary with the making of the *Hystoriologus*, and which may even have motivated its creation. Gielemans, who could have met Maximilian during his visits to the Rooklooster, included an extensive record of the ceremony under the patriotic running header, 'Coronation of the Duke of Brabant as King of the Romans', setting aside all his other titles.<sup>33</sup> If the prominent representation of the *Templum domini* is understood as a two-fold reference, to the monuments in Jerusalem and Aachen, then the image's vertical axis not only connects Moses, Christ, and Godfrey, but also brings into view Charlemagne as well as Maximilian I. Whether or not Aachen is implied here, Maximilian's recent coronation and the hopes for his rule must certainly be encoded in the angelic coronation of Godfrey as the prime example of a virtuous Brabantian prince and a model crusader.





**6 Hans Memling, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, c. 1470. Painting on wood, 567 × 922 mm. Turin: Galleria Sabauda (inv. no. 8). Photo: Su concessione del MiC-Musei Reali, Galleria Sabauda.**

### Intermedial Compilation

There is a further dimension to the image's composition, which leads us away from contemporary politics and into the realm of devotion. The composition also references in complex ways another type of European Jerusalem translation – that of multi-episodic Jerusalem cityscapes, epitomised by Hans Memling's *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, which was created c. 1470 for Tommaso Portinari, head of the Medici bank in nearby Bruges (plate 6).<sup>34</sup> Memling presents buildings and landscape features as stage-like settings for the events of Christ's Passion, in ways that evoked the experience of local processions through Bruges, especially that of the Holy Blood relic.<sup>35</sup> The painting's brightly-lit focus is on the bleeding body of Christ in the Flagellation scene in the centre – the first time during the Passion that Christ shed blood. The Crucifixion and Entombment take place outside the city walls, as in the biblical account. Despite the different spatial frameworks that underpin Memling's *Passion* and the image in the *Hystoriologus*, there are a number of compositional parallels, which were achieved through the rotation of the city and other changes made in the process of copying the twelfth-century map. One example is the disposition of two city gates at the bottom left and right, the latter surmounted by a slim tower and framed by a rocky outcrop, which, in the *Hystoriologus* are identified as the Tower of David and the base for the Spring of Siloam. Another parallel is the showcasing of a central arcaded and domed structure, with the cross being built or standing in front of it. Various other motifs appear repeated or inverted: for example, the gold-on-red brocade behind Memling's Pilate – who is seated beneath a relief sculpture of Solomon, whose wise judgement acts as a contrast to his own – is echoed by the red-on-gold curtain inside the *Templum domini* beneath the sculpture of Moses; the man in a blue coat and red hat who is looking out from the right-hand side of a window onto the Flagellation scene finds an equivalent in the money-changer (plate 7 and plate 8);



7 Detail of Master of Johannes Gielemans, *Jerusalem*, c. 1486–87.



and the Roman soldier in the central foreground with his brightly shining armour returns in the guise of Godfrey holding up his sword.

From a practical point of view, borrowings should not surprise us, since Memling's work was part of a network of vibrant artistic exchanges, marked by frequent adaptations of compositions and motifs across different media.<sup>36</sup> The *Passion* is known to have been copied in its entirety and has been recognised as a source for other paintings. Although the initial location of the original remains obscure, the painting (or one of the copies) may have still been available at Bruges until the early sixteenth century;<sup>37</sup> it is feasible, therefore, that the Master of Johannes Gielemans saw this composition.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, assumptions about a straightforward relationship between Memling's *Passion* and the Rooklooster miniature are complicated by the fact that Memling's painting was neither the first nor the last Jerusalem cityscape with scenes from the *Passion* of Christ, and that other examples of these cityscapes also share motifs with the Rooklooster image.<sup>39</sup> One such image is a woodcut after Jean d'Ypres, created in Paris in the late fifteenth century, and known as the *Grande Passion* (plate 9).<sup>40</sup> In common with other Jerusalem cityscapes, and in contrast to Memling's painting, this presents Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, watched by Zacchaeus, who has climbed a large tree on a small mount, at the bottom left, and the Agony in the Garden with the kneeling Christ and the chalice at the top left; in



the Rooklooster image, a large tree (plate 10 and plate 11) and the chalice are located in similar positions.<sup>41</sup> The woodcut likely postdates the Rooklooster image by a few years and, if so, cannot itself have served as an exemplar, but it participates in a wider network of related episodic Jerusalem cityscapes. For example, a panel created c. 1470–90 in Brabant, perhaps even in Brussels, has the same disposition of these two scenes and also includes a relief sculpture of Moses in the upper centre (plate 12).<sup>42</sup> Such parallels suggest that Memling's painting may not have been the principal – or only – such image that is referenced in the Rooklooster image.<sup>43</sup>

What is more important for the purposes of my argument is that, from a conceptual point of view, the Rooklooster image emerges as a combination of two distinct types of visual concepts: a map devised in the early twelfth century, and a type of cityscape popularised in the fifteenth. The innovative potential of this combination becomes clearer through comparison with a near-contemporary painting now in Lisbon, which was probably produced in 1495–97 for Maximilian I's cousin, Queen Eleanor of Portugal (plate 13). The anonymous artist likewise combined



**8** Detail of Hans Memling, *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, c. 1470.



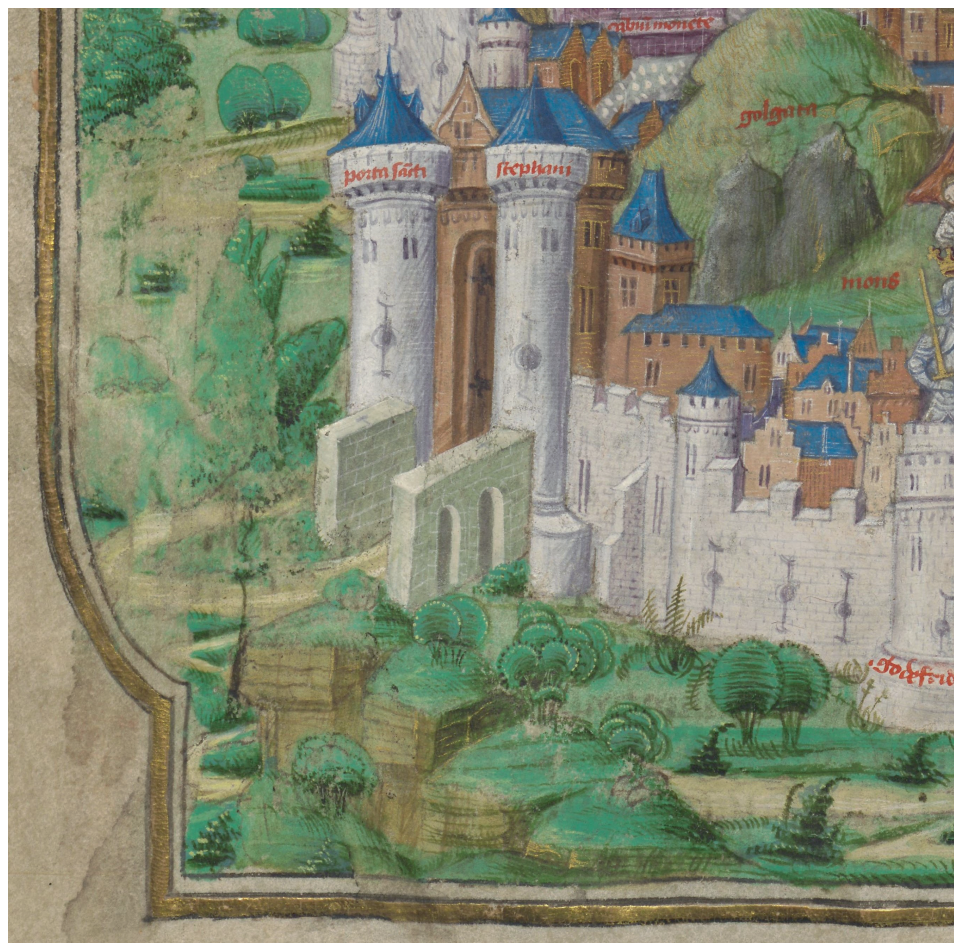
two distinct compositions into one, using parts of the central section of Erhard Reuwich's woodcut of the Holy Land as a stage for a multi-episodic rendering of the Passion, combined with Latin inscriptions (plate 14).<sup>44</sup> Reuwich's woodcut was published in 1486 in Bernhard of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* – a work dedicated to the Archbishop of Mainz, president of the college of the prince-electors, whom Breydenbach accompanied to the coronation of Maximilian I in Aachen.<sup>45</sup> We might recall here that Johannes Gielemans set out to write the *Hystoriologus* at this time: given the immense popularity of the *Peregrinatio*, which resulted in several new editions in quick succession, the prominent placing in Reuwich's woodcut of the Dome of the Rock, labelled *Templum Salomonis*, may have contributed to the prominent showcasing of the *Templum domini* in the Rooklooster image. In any case, it is not surprising that the maker of the Lisbon panel adopted the woodcut in his composition.



9 After Jean d'Ypres, *Grande Passion*, end of the fifteenth century. Woodcut, coloured and highlighted with gold, 500 × 353 mm. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie (Reserve EA-5 (11) - Boîte ECU). Photo: BnF.



10 Detail of Master of Johannes Gielemans, Jerusalem, c. 1486–87.



Reuwich's city was only sparsely populated, and not with biblical but rather with contemporary figures; the biblical narratives, along with the later histories of the sites and indulgences to be obtained, were evoked through its texts. But in presenting a panoramic view of the city, the woodcut corresponded – and likely responded – to the visual techniques employed in the multi-episodic cityscapes.<sup>46</sup> Conceptually, it was therefore just a small step for the maker of the Lisbon panel to adapt parts of the central section of the woodcut, and to people them with scenes from Christ's Passion. The resulting image is presented as the product of mental envisioning by Eleanor, who kneels at the lower left-hand side of the panel, with an open book in front of her, her eyes adopting the contemplative, 'disconnected' gaze that also characterises Tommaso Portinari and Maria Baroncelli in the lower left- and right-hand corners of Memling's *Passion*, as well as the portrait figures at prayer in many other early Netherlandish paintings.<sup>47</sup> As objects, however, these panels not only displayed the ideal, devout state of those for whom they were made, but also placed before their corporeal eyes a guide to spiritual pilgrimage that required prolonged looking and aided systematic navigation, enabling them to follow in the footsteps of Christ.

The *Hystoriologus*, as a contemporary inscription makes clear, was intended for the library ('pro libraria') of the Rooklooster, contributing to its rich and important holdings. The principal viewers of its image, then, must have been the canons at the Rooklooster. They would have consulted the book in the new library building that had been completed in 1485 and was located above the cloister, and – as well as reading the manuscript and reflecting on the image – could also have shown it





11 Detail of *After Jean d'Ypres, Grande Passion*, end of the fifteenth century.

to high-ranking visitors and drawn on it in their pastoral work, which included the *cura monialium*.<sup>48</sup> While their image is clearly not as refined in its visual articulation as the Lisbon panel, it presented a more complex conceptual challenge for both the artist and the viewers: as we have seen, the maker of the Rooklooster image reimagined a twelfth-century map of Jerusalem, and configured it in a way that would present compositional parallels to the contemporary multi-episodic Jerusalem cityscapes, bringing together two visual constructs of the city that were devised more than three centuries apart. Crucially, the image required the canons (and potentially other viewers under their guidance) to conjure up the scenes of the Passion in their own minds and offered the multi-episodic Jerusalem cityscapes – that is to say, external images recollected before the internal eyes – as a tool to achieve this.

### Recollection and Coins

Let us consider the process of recollection in more detail. While viewers of multi-episodic Passion cityscapes were inevitably drawn into the Passion narrative through the figural scenes and could easily follow Christ moving into and out of the city, beginning with the entry through the Golden Gate and ending with the entombment or post-Resurrection appearances, with the entire drama played out for them in great detail in between, viewers of the Rooklooster image had to bring



the setting to life themselves, and populate the buildings, streets, and landscapes in their imaginations. However, help was given to those who undertook this exercise in mental envisioning: not only did the image retain the map's inscriptions, which identified the places and principal events, but various motifs were introduced that presented vestiges of these events. For example, Christ's movements into and out of the city – the same ones that had been articulated in the Saint-Omer and London versions of the map through the disposition of the two inscriptions (see plate 1 and plate 2) – are conveyed here through visual cues: leaves are scattered on the street that leads through the Golden Gate into the city, as if Christ had just passed through; and to the left, a large wooden bridge leads across the Cedron into the gated Garden of Gethsemane, where atop the Mount of Olives the chalice pinpoints the pivotal moment of Christ's agony.<sup>49</sup> The chalice, in fact, is the first element one sees when reading the image like a text, from top left to bottom right; and the last is the Cenacle – the place of the Last Supper and Pentecost – marked by the altar-like empty table and the dove. While Christ is not seen here shedding his blood, the entire scene is therefore prominently bracketed by Eucharistic references. The Cenacle, in turn, is vertically aligned with Bethlehem, here marked by the large straw-covered stable that served in multiple contemporary paintings as the setting for the Nativity,<sup>50</sup> emphasising Christ's humanity. All these motifs point emphatically to absences, which the mind is invited to fill and embellish.<sup>51</sup>

In pursuing such clues, recalling the events of the Passion and using the imagination to enliven and experience them, the canons would have engaged in activities that fitted the meditation techniques encouraged by the *devotio moderna*,

**12** *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, c. 1470–90. Painting on wood, 101.9 × 148.6 cm. Leuven: Museum Leuven (inv. no. S/384/O). Photo: Dominique Provost ([www.artinflanders.be](http://www.artinflanders.be)).



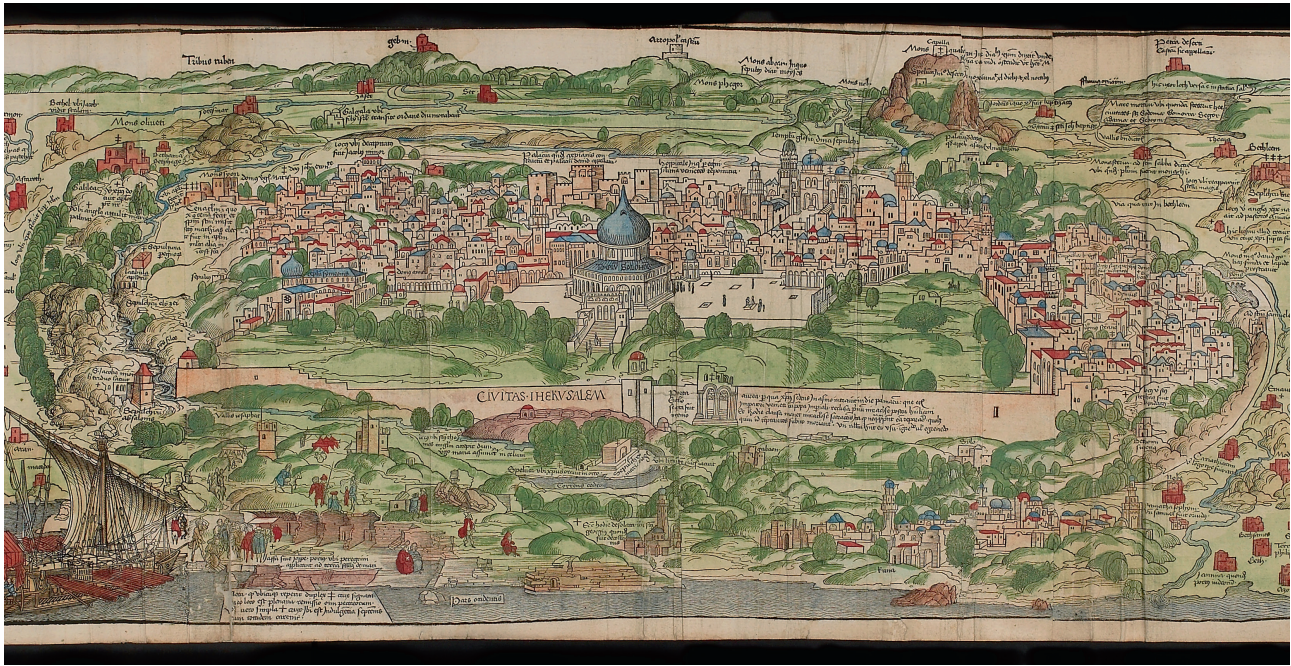


13 *Jerusalem Panorama*,  
c. 1495–97. Painting on wood,  
191 × 203.5 cm. Lisbon: Museu  
Nacional do Azulejo (inv. no.  
15). Photo: Museu Nacional da  
Azulejo/DGPC.

of which the Rooklooster, as part of the Windesheim congregation, was a firm proponent. Extensive meditation on the particulars of Christ's suffering was pivotal and at the beginning of such meditations the devotee needed to engage in a process of *rememoratio*, which involved calling to mind and reflecting in detail on Christ's life, as a preparation for affective participation and compassion, leading to the imitation of Christ.<sup>52</sup> The critical role of *rememoratio* can help explain the enigmatic depiction of the money-changer who is taking coins from a bag (see plate 7). At first, the figure might lead one to think of the Cleansing of the Temple or the Betrayal of Christ, two events in the Passion narrative where money-changing and a bag of coins feature prominently and with negative connotations.<sup>53</sup> However, when copying the guide to Jerusalem, which lists biblical events associated with the Temple, Gielemans significantly omitted the phrase 'from there he [Jesus] drove out the money-changers







**14 Erhard Reuwich, *View of the Holy Land* (central section), published in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, 1486. Woodcut, coloured, 29 x 128 cm. Oxford: Bodleian Library (Douce 223). Photo: Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.**

saying: my house shall be called a house of prayer', so it is unlikely that an association with this event was implied here.<sup>54</sup>

If we consider texts concerning the medieval art of memory, we arrive at a different and much more positive interpretation of the isolated money-changer figure in the Rooklooster image.<sup>55</sup> These texts recommend using a clearly ordered set of places (*loci*) in which one stores striking images (*imagines*) associated with a series of ideas, concepts, or other items one wishes to remember; the latter can then be recalled and elaborated upon when moving from one place to the other in the mind,<sup>56</sup> as if moving through an imagined museum-space that includes self-curated artworks.<sup>57</sup> In the prologue to his *Chronicon*, Hugh of St Victor explains:

Confusion is the mother of ignorance and forgetfulness, but orderly arrangement illuminates the intelligence and secures memory. You see how a money-changer who has unsorted coins divides his one pouch into several compartments, just as the cloister embraces many separate cells inside. Then, having sorted the coins and separated out each type of money in turn, he puts them all in their proper places, so that distinctiveness of his compartments may keep the assortment of his materials from getting mixed up, just as it supports their separation.<sup>58</sup>

We cannot ascertain whether this particular treatise was available at Rooklooster, but we do know that Victorine texts were copied by the followers of the *devotio moderna*,<sup>59</sup> and that the use of the well-ordered purse as a trope for a well-trained memory could have been familiar from a wider range of texts.<sup>60</sup> From this perspective, we can recognise in the money-changer, with his closeness to the cross and his disconnected gaze, an exemplar for advanced internal devotion. In retrieving his coins – stand-ins for the *imagines* impressed upon his mind like images on coins and ready to be retrieved as from a money-changer's purse – he models the viewer who recalls and recreates the events of the Passion in their own mind. Indeed, the coins are a particularly apt metaphor here. For one, the process of their



making speaks to the power of *imagines* not only to act as cues for the memory, but actually to transform the mind itself;<sup>61</sup> in the context of late medieval Passion devotion, this is particularly relevant to the ultimate aim of imitating Christ and being transformed and reformed in the process.<sup>62</sup> For another, the retrieval of coins from a bag as an image for practising devotion, also presents an intriguing comment on the close alliance between spiritual and monetary acts within an ever-burgeoning economy of salvation.

### External Images Internalised

In the art of memory, architectural structures were regularly used as mental frameworks, as Hugh did when referring to the cloister as a simile for the money-pouch.<sup>63</sup> Both the frameworks and the *imagines* placed in them are considered to be most effective when personal to the individual and generated by the mind, but of course external aids were also used. For example, pilgrim reports make clear that the fabric of the city of Jerusalem itself could act as such a set of spaces for recollecting memory images,<sup>64</sup> and that these mental images did not just derive from readings or the liturgy, but that contemplation at specific sites also led pilgrims to imagine the biblical scenes in the form of artworks familiar to them.<sup>65</sup>

In the Rooklooster image, the framework of the reimagined twelfth-century map could similarly have served as a ready-made memory space, and recollection of one of the many multi-episodic cityscapes could then have provided the mind with a supply of suitably striking *imagines* that brought the Passion to life in a familiar local idiom, ready to be contemplated and embellished in the mind's eye.<sup>66</sup> Crucially, however, the multi-episodic cityscapes themselves functioned as memory houses, with architectural spaces and niches framing the figural scenes.<sup>67</sup> And while in the Rooklooster image the map is compositionally aligned with that of the cityscape so that the two memory spaces look similar, they are simultaneously defamiliarised, since their *loci* did not share the same *imagines*. The central arcaded structure, for example, was the space to recall the events associated with the Temple in one case, and the Flagellation in the other. These spatial incongruities made it impossible to straightforwardly superimpose one onto the other in the mind.

Before I consider the significance of these spatial incongruities, it is relevant to note that Gielemans highlighted yet further difficulties in locating memory images: when he copied the twelfth-century guide that precedes the image, he moved one sentence from the middle of the text to its end, so that it comes to stand directly above the image and effectively acts as a caption for it: 'Within the city they also venerate the following: the Flagellation of Jesus Christ, his Crowning and Mocking, and the other things he suffered for our sake; but where they may have been is not now easily ascertained, especially since the city has been overthrown so many times since then'.<sup>68</sup> The Uppsala manuscript, which likewise included this sentence (in its usual position in the middle of the guide), is unique in depicting the column of the Flagellation – one of many additions and modifications that were made in the course of the map's transmission. The column is positioned to the left of the city, underneath the *Piscina Probatica* and is highlighted in gold with the accompanying (if now almost illegible) inscription 'here Jesus was flagellated'.<sup>69</sup> If the Uppsala map or one closely related to it was used as the exemplar for the Rooklooster image, it cannot be a coincidence that – in terms of its placement on the page – this column finds an equivalent in the little column that appears right next to the money-changer, who, as I argued, acts as a stand-in for the viewer in



recreating and thereby reliving the Passion in their own mind, following in the footsteps of Christ.

### Spatial Incongruities

To explore further the significance of the spatial incongruities between the two systems of *loci* that cannot straightforwardly be superimposed in the mind, let us consider them in the context of the multifarious debate over the role of devotional imagery which dominates late medieval theological discourse and presents a particularly rich field for art-historical enquiry.<sup>70</sup> Although written a century before the *Hystoriologus*, the treatise *De quattuor generibus meditabilium* is particularly relevant here, as it was composed by the founder of the *devotio moderna*, Geert Grote.<sup>71</sup> Grote considers images necessary aids to meditation: 'Difficult matters, not easily impressed upon our senses or understanding as such, are communicated to us by way of other corporeal or sensible things, that is, to men themselves corporeal and animal, who are thus enabled in some way to ascend from the visible to the invisible'.<sup>72</sup> Grote extends this both to external and to internal images: 'Just as the external eye cannot fix upon or see anything but solid and delineated objects, so the inner imagination requires something placed before it that is solid and delineated'.<sup>73</sup> However, he also warns of the dangers associated with images and suggests strategies for combating their illusionary character:

Just as negations are truer of God than affirmations, so dissimilar and disjoined similitudes about God and spiritual things are more useful [...] But when a person places himself imaginatively in the presence of Christ and his deeds, it is good at times to juxtapose something contrary to Christ's presence that may serve to recall us mentally for a moment, lest we become deceived in our actual sight by some image.<sup>74</sup>

Images are therefore useful 'so long as the mind does not cling to them but rather presumes them to be only something helpful and imagined'.<sup>75</sup> Moving between their benefits and limitations, it seems to him that images are 'signs of particular things and have in themselves nothing universal', and he asserts that 'those who are unable to transcend images' do not have any knowledge.<sup>76</sup>

In devising the page of the *Hystoriologus*, Gielemans and his illuminator did not merely echo Grote, but rather made their own distinctive – experiential – contribution in guiding the beholder in the proper use of images. By drawing attention to the Flagellation, Crowning, and Mocking through the prominent repositioning of a sentence from the twelfth-century guide to the city, and by compositionally referencing and thereby evoking multi-episodic Jerusalem cityscapes centred on those very scenes, the page actively encourages the user to visualise the events from the life of Christ before their mental eyes, and offers recollected external figural images as ready-made aids in that process. Importantly, however, the spatial incongruities that emerge in the process prevent the straightforward use of these external figural images as aids to devotion. As such, the Rooklooster image points to the non-universality of images and actively prevents their uncritical use, thereby becoming a sophisticated exercise ground for a carefully considered use of images, in particular of the popular multi-episodic cityscapes with their vivid figural images of Christ. The spatial incongruities, then, can be recognised not as a necessary compromise in trying to align two visual concepts, but rather as a purposeful, self-reflexive strategy that points to the constructedness of images. Self-reflexive



strategies are a wider phenomenon among the most celebrated artworks produced in the fifteenth century and have been the subject of extensive analysis, particularly with reference to Grote's treatise.<sup>77</sup> What is unique here is that these strategies are not encoded in one and the same artwork, but are to be experienced by the viewer when mentally superimposing and critically comparing one image which they see with their bodily eyes to another image that they conjure up before their mental eyes: the viewer is guided here to recognise dissimilar similitudes, or what Bret Rothstein described as 'the simultaneous congruence and lack thereof between image and referent',<sup>78</sup> through the intermediary step of reflecting on images that are dissimilar from each other. This demanded sophisticated visual literacy and also opened up new opportunities for addressing those central concerns about the right use of images.

### Modes of Seeing and Transcending Images

Rather than merely unmasking images as constructed and disrupting their use, the critical comparison between the Rooklooster image and multi-episodic cityscapes generates new synergies that could have functioned as productive tools for thinking about modes of seeing and for transcending images. To illustrate the point about seeing, we can look afresh at two examples noted above as indicative of parallels between the Rooklooster image and the multi-episodic cityscapes. The first is the money-changer, who finds an equivalent in Memling's *Passion* in the man leaning out of a window (see plate 7 and plate 8). What connects them are not just the formal similarities but also the fact that each is engaged in a process of seeing: the man in Memling's *Passion* observes the Flagellation in a voyeuristic manner with his corporeal eyes, while the money-changer, with his disconnected gaze, is engaged in mental envisioning, as I have proposed. A similar point emerges when we pursue the parallel between the lower left-hand side of the Rooklooster image and the *Grande Passion*. As noted, the latter includes – along with other images of the multi-episodic cityscapes – a large tree next to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem through the Golden Gate, from which Zacchaeus was able to see Christ with his bodily eyes. In a similar position on the page, but now next to St Stephen's Gate, the Rooklooster image also includes an unusually large tree, which the viewer is invited to ascend for themselves through a prominent step-like configuration of stone and grass leading up to it from the foot of the frame (see plate 10 and plate 11). To add a further level of complexity, in the twelfth-century maps, this was the site of the Mount of Joy (*mons gaudii*), from which pilgrims first saw the city of Jerusalem with their bodily eyes (see plate 1 and plate 4). Through mental superimposition of the compositions, these motifs inevitably engender reflection on the different modes of seeing that are jointly involved in looking at the image itself: it is ultimately not sight with the physical eyes, as employed by Zacchaeus when viewing Christ, or by pilgrims when viewing Jerusalem for the first time, but the interiorised view of the money-changer that is showcased as the model for the viewer to emulate and indeed that was required of them, even as they recalled external images.

This mode of interior seeing is connected, through the step-like configuration at the front of the Rooklooster image, to the idea of spiritual ascent, itself a common motif in contemporary sources. Paramount among those sources is the *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*, in which the author Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen uses the motif of steps to describe a complex spiritual ascent from *dissimilitudo* to *similitudo* with God. A critical passage is found in chapter twenty-seven, before a section that focuses in detail on the life and death of Christ: here Zutphen describes one step as



to rise through the humanity of Christ to a spiritual affection, and to gaze with mental eyes upon God himself through a mirror darkly, and thus to come through the humanity to a knowledge and love of the divinity [...] Through such gazing, clinging, and transforming of the mind, a man begins to become in a certain sense one spirit with God, to go beyond himself, to gaze upon the very truth, and thus to grow accustomed to union and adherence.<sup>79</sup>

Contemplation of Christ's life, ascent, vision, and union with God are all linked here.

This brings us finally to the most important aim of the strategies employed in the Rooklooster image, which was to provide practical instruction in focusing on what was signified through images and to lead viewers to transcend them. This crystallises in the synergies that emerge when considering again the arcaded structures in the very centre of the images: while in the Rooklooster image the arcaded structure frames an altar within the *Templum domini*, in both Memling's *Passion* and the *Grande Passion* it houses the naked and bleeding body of Christ in the Flagellation scene. By blending these internal and external images in the mind – the altar and the suffering



**15 Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin?) (after?), *Mass of Saint Gregory*, c. 1475–1500. Painting on wood, 85 × 72 cm. Brussels: Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (inv. no. 6298). Photo: J. Geleyns.**



Christ – the composite image could become a potent signifier for the bodily presence of Christ in the all-important Eucharist. As such, the resulting composite image may at first seem to evoke one of the most popular images of the fifteenth century in the region, known as the Mass of St Gregory, which presents Pope Gregory the Great experiencing a vision of Christ while celebrating Mass, Christ's nude body often surrounded by the *arma christi*, that is the instruments by which he suffered and signs for the events of the Passion themselves (plate 15).<sup>80</sup> However, our composite image functions in a contrasting manner, since the viewer is not witnessing another's vision, but is rather required to generate an image of Christ before their own mental eyes. As such, they are themselves experiencing – and even performing – what, by definition, cannot be perceived with the corporeal eyes: the transformation of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ at the altar during the celebration of the Eucharist, with the consecrated host being the very *corpus christi* itself. Here then, in focusing on the centre of the Rooklooster image and in contemplating the Eucharist, external and internal seeing, visibility and invisibility all work together, leading the devout viewer ultimately to transcend images and to see beyond them.

#### Notes

**This essay is dedicated to Albert Derolez, whose ground-breaking publications provide the key to understanding the *Liber Floridus*. An earlier version was presented as a lecture in his honour at the University of Ghent on the occasion of the nine-hundredth anniversary of the completion of the *Liber Floridus*. Thank you to Elizabeth Tyler and Wim Verbaal for inviting me to deliver the lecture; to Jeanne Nuechterlein, Jeremy Goldberg and Bianca Kühnel for inspiring this publication in different ways; and to Joseph Spooner, Lucy Bradnock, Sam Bibby, and the anonymous peer reviewers for their helpful comments on the text.**

- 1 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval Europe*, New York, 2020, 220 and *passim*.
- 2 For the *Liber floridus*, see Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript Ghent, University Library MS 92*, London, 2015.
- 3 For an edition, see *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols, Paris, 1844–94, here III, 491–543 (chronicle) and 509–512 (guide). For the relationship between the guide and the map, see Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History*, Oxford, 2019, 49–54; and Prina Arad, *Christian Maps of the Holy Land: Images and Meanings*, Turnhout, 2020, 33–47.
- 4 Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fols 110v–128r (digital facsimile at <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01%3A000763774/items/900000106992>). The section in question (a single quire) is lost from between fols 112 and 113. Two copies of the *Liber floridus* transmit this section with the map (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. Lat. Fol. 31, fol. 85r; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 8865, fol. 133r), and there is also a copy of Lambert's map on a single leaf now bound with other material (London, British Library, Add. MS 32343, fol. 15r). For the copies, see Hanna Vorholt, *Shaping Knowledge: The Transmission of the Liber Floridus*, London, 2017.
- 5 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776, fol. 50v (digital facsimile available at <https://data.bibliissima.fr/w/Item:Q205227>). See Albert Derolez, 'The Abbey of Saint-Bertin, the *Liber Floridus*, and the Origin of the *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*', *Manuscripta*, 57, 2013, 1–28.
- 6 London, British Library, Cotton MS Fragments I (images at [https://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc\\_100136133559.0x000001](https://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100136133559.0x000001)). I am grateful to Calum Cockburn (British Library) for allowing me to consult the multispectral images in advance of their publication. For the manuscript see Albert Derolez, 'Le "Liber Floridus" et l'énigme du manuscrit Cotton Fragments vol. 1', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 17, 1982, 120–129; Derolez, 'Codex Aldenburgensis, Cotton Fragments Vol. 1, and the Origins of the *Liber Floridus*', *Manuscripta*, 49: 2, 2005, 139–163; and Derolez, 'The Autograph Manuscript and the Sources of the *Liber floridus*', in *Time and Science in the Liber floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, ed. Patrizia Carmassi, Turnhout, 2021, 33–50. A further encyclopaedic compilation was likely created at the same time as the *Liber floridus* and the London fragments, see Hanna Vorholt, 'The Local, the Regional, and the Universal in Knowledge Compilations: Observations on the Codex Aldenburgensis', in *Between Encyclopedia and Chorography: Defining the Agency of 'Cultural Encyclopedias' from a Transcultural Perspective*, ed. Anna Boroffka, Berlin and Boston, 2022, 41–92.
- 7 The majority of the guide ('eo quod per eam ad vallem illam [...] a pueritia conversatus est longe') survives on fols 22v, 22r, 18v, and 18r, which were previously arranged consecutively in this order, followed by the map on fol. 19r.
- 8 The distinction between maps of Jerusalem and maps of the Holy Land is fluid; this is the earliest known map to focus predominantly on the city itself. For a sample of the scholarship on this topic, see n. 15 below.
- 9 Jeroen Deploige and Helena Vanommeslaeghe, 'Lambert's World. Saint-Omer up to the Early Twelfth Century', in *Liber Floridus 1121: The World in a Book*, ed. Karen de Coene, Martine de Reu, and Philippe de Maeyer, Tiel, 2011, 35–55.
- 10 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 776, fol. 50v: 'Porta aurea qua ingressus est ihesus super asinam sedens'; 'egressus ihesus trans torrentem cedron' (cf. John, 18:1). Further inscriptions lead the beholder from the Mount of Joy towards Jerusalem ('vicus ad civitatem'), and from there towards Bethlehem ('vicus ad bethleem id est effrata').
- 11 Two of the inscriptions Lambert associated with his map relate to Godfrey of Bouillon. One indicates the numbers of years from Adam to Solomon, from Solomon to Christ, and from Christ to the conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey ('Ab adam usque ad salomonem anni .iiii.c.lxx. computantur et a salomone usque ad Christum anni .m.xc. et a Christo usque ad captam iherusalem a Godefrido m.xcviii.'). The other indicates the total number of years from Adam to Godfrey ('Summa annorum ab adam usque ad Godefridum ducem anni vi.ccc. lvij.'). The inscriptions are here quoted from the copy of the *Liber floridus* in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. Lat. Fol. 31, fol. 85r). For the importance of Godfrey of Bouillon for Lambert, see Jay Rubenstein, 'Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First

- Crusade', in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager, Baltimore, 2012, 69–95.
- 12 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 3 vols, Cambridge, 1993–2007, here III, 6–72 and 397–417; Sylvia Schein, 'Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages', *Traditio*, 40, 1984, 175–195; Benjamin Z. Kedar and Denys Pringle, '1099–1187: The Lord's Temple (*Templum Domini*) and Solomon's Palace (*Palatium Salomonis*)', in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jerusalem and Austin, 2009, 133–149.
  - 13 This T-O map will be examined in a forthcoming article by the present author.
  - 14 Jay Rubenstein, 'Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem: The View from Twelfth-Century Flanders', in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, Turnhout, 2014, 265–276.
  - 15 For this group of maps, see, among others, M. Levy, 'Medieval Maps of Jerusalem', in *The History of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099–1250)*, ed. J. Praver and H. Ben-Shammai, Jerusalem, 1991, 418–507 [in Hebrew]; Hanna Vorholt, 'Touching the Tomb of Christ: Notes on a Twelfth-Century Map of Jerusalem from Winchcombe, Gloucestershire', *Imago Mundi*, 61, 2009, 246–257; Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Asa Simon Mittman, 'Seeing Jerusalem: Schematic Views of the Holy City, 1100–1300', in *Aspects of Knowledge: Preserving and Reinventing Traditions of Learning in the Middle Ages*, ed. Marilena Casario and Hugh Magennis, Manchester, 2018, 116–141; Arad, Christian Maps, 33–47; Kristin B. Aavitsland, 'Civitas Hierusalem famosissima: The Cross, the Orb, and the History of Salvation in the Medieval North', in *Tracing the Jerusalem Code*, vol. 1: *The Holy City: Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. Kristin B. Aavitsland and Line M. Bonde, Berlin and Boston, 2021, 424–453.
  - 16 Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Ser. n. 12710, fol. 2v (digital facsimile available at [https://manuscripta.at/hs\\_detail.php?ID=6577](https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=6577), with further bibliography). For a brief summary of the contents and of Gielemans's approach, see V. Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme: Glorification du Brabant dans l'œuvre hagiographique de Jean Gielemans (1427–1487)*, Turnhout, 2007, 69–70 and 81–115. A detailed outline of the contents is presented in [A. Poncelet], 'De codicibus hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans canonici regularis in Rubea Valle prope Bruxellas', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 14, 1895, 5–88, here 13–14 and 80–88. For the manuscript, see esp. O. Pächt and D. Thoss, *Flämische Schule II*, Vienna, 1990, 116–118. The image has rarely been considered in the scholarship. Among the few to comment on it are Maurits Smeyers, *Flämische Buchmalerei: Vom 8. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Welt des Mittelalters auf Pergament*, Stuttgart and Leuven, 1999, 270; Martine Meuwese, 'Representations of Jerusalem on Medieval Maps and Miniatures', *Early Christian Art*, 2, 2005, 139–148, here 147; and Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*, University Park, 2014, 170.
  - 17 For Hugo van der Goes at Rooklooster, see Noël Geirnaert, 'Van Vlaanderen naar Brabant: Hugo van der Goes, lekenbroeder in Rooklooster', in *In de voetsporen van Jacob van Maerlant: Liber amicorum Raf De Keyser*, ed. Raoul Bauert, Marjan De Smet, Brigitte Meijns, and Paul Trio, Leuven, 2002, 351–356. The 'Master of Johannes Gielemans' is responsible, among others, for the miniatures in *Johannes Gielemans's Hagiologium Brabantinorum* (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Ser. n. 12706, fol. Iiv and 12707, fol. IVv; digital facsimiles available at [https://manuscripta.at/hs\\_detail.php?ID=36593](https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=36593) and [https://manuscripta.at/hs\\_detail.php?ID=36594](https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=36594)); shared motifs (see n. 28) support the assumption that the miniature in the *Hystoriologus Brabantinorum* is by the same artist. For the Master, see *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, exh. cat., ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, London, 2005, 407–412 (cat. no. 96 [James H. Marrow]); and James H. Marrow, 'Le Maître de Johannes Gielemans', in *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, exh. cat., ed. Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt, Paris and Brussels, 2011, 202–203. More widely, see Christine Beier, 'Für Gottesdienst, Bibliothek und Verkauf – Buchausstattung im Rooklooster bei Brüssel', in *Wege zum illuminierten Buch: Herstellungsbedingungen für Buchmalerei im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christine Beier and Evelyn Theresia Kubina, Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 2014, 202–220.
  - 18 On fol. 1r there are traces of a border, which may suggest that the manuscript previously included another image.
  - 19 Fol. 2r–v, with the running headers 'Descriptio civitatis iherusalem moderne' and 'Descriptio civitatis moderne iherusalem'. This 'description' is written in a slightly smaller and more condensed script than the beginning of the main part of the *Hystoriologus* and in a single-column rather than a two-column format, but it is laid out with the same number of 46 lines and approximately the same dimensions of c. 280 × c. 190 mm for the text block.
  - 20 Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 691, fol. 39v (digital facsimile available at <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:porta:record-97967>). For the manuscript, see Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Monica Hedlund, and Håkan Hallberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. VI: *Handschriften C 551–935*, Stockholm, 1993, 298–301; for the map, see Milka Levy-Rubin, 'The Rediscovery of the Uppsala Map of Crusader Jerusalem', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 111, 1995, 162–167. It is also relevant to note here that there are links between manuscripts at Rooklooster and the *Liber floridus*; see Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 51n137 and 146; and Vorholt, *Shaping Knowledge*, 91n122 and 151.
  - 21 The texts included in both the Uppsala manuscript and the *Hystoriologus* are: Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* (fols 1r–37v in the Uppsala manuscript, fols 5r–40r in the *Hystoriologus*); the guide to Jerusalem (fols 37v–39v in Uppsala, fols 1r–v in *Hystoriologus*); *De nominibus locorum sanctorum et de situ eorum* (fols 50r–58v in Uppsala, fols 40r–48r in *Hystoriologus*); and a list of ecclesiastical and political leaders of Jerusalem and environs (fols 58v–59r in Uppsala, fols 96v–97v in *Hystoriologus*).
  - 22 Mount Calvary is presented as a hill surmounted by the cross. In the Uppsala manuscript, a similar hill appears below the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and is identified, according to Milka Levy, as the site of the Invention of the Cross: '[locus ubi] inventa est Dom[ini crux]' (Levy, 'Medieval Maps of Jerusalem', 463).
  - 23 Fol. 3r: 'Inter omnes hystoriographos veteris et novi testamenti, moyses sanctus obtinet principatum [...] mundi descripsit exordium et prime etatis ac secunde facta mirabilia, necnon et patriarcharum gesta nobis adduxit in medium.'
  - 24 Fol. 3r: 'Sed post creationem mundi, quid mirabilis factum est, preter salutifere crucis misterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est, maxime per principes Brabantinos?'
  - 25 Fol. 3r: 'Nam quis regum aut principum posset subigere tot civitates et castella [...] sicuti nostra beata gens [...] populus quem elegit in hereditatem sibi?'
  - 26 Robert the Monk had 'in hoc itinere nostrorum Iherosolimitarum' instead of 'maxime per principes Brabantinos' (for the context, see n. 24), and 'Francorum' instead of 'nostra' (see n. 25). The added passage is 'Hinc est quod, eorum facta laudabilia generationi venture recitare gestientes, exordium sumimus a Godefrido de Bullyon, qui terram orientem Christi domino ope chisticolarum subjugavit. Initium itaque laudum dux Godefridus occupant, qui, Eustatii comitis Boloniensis filius, proprioque excelsior genere, ad Karoli Magni spectabat lineam'. In the main part of the *Hystoriologus*, Gielemans copied the *Apologeticus sermo* and Books I–IX of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, omitting the prologue (see n. 21 above). For an edition of Gielemans's prologue, see Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme*, 503–505; for an edition of Robert's prologue, see D. Kempf and M. G. Bull, eds, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, Woodbridge, 2013, 723.
  - 27 For the concept of the 'terra beata Brabancia', see esp. Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme*; and Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Terra beata Brabancia. Genèse du concept dans la littérature historiographique et hagiographique brabançonne. Bilan et perspectives', in *Expériences religieuses et chemins de perfection dans l'Occident médiéval: Études offertes à André Vauchez par ses élèves*, ed. Dominique Rigaux, Daniel Russo, and Catherine Vincent, Paris, 2012, 105–118. See also Jacob Tigelaar, *Brabants historie ontvouwd: Die alder excellenste cronyke van Brabant en het Brabantse geschiedbeeld anno 1500*, PhD thesis, University of Utrecht, 2006, esp. 77–81; and Suzan Folkerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift: De overlevering en toe-eigening van de vita van Christina Mirabilis in de late middeleeuwen*, Hilversum, 2010, 162–170.



- 28 The southern gate (*porta australis*) and the garden in the nearby *claustrum Salomonis* also repeat prominent motifs from the frontispiece to the second volume of the *Hagiologium* (see n. 17 above), which deals with saints who were born or lived in Brabant, further entwining the *terra Brabantia* with the Holy Land.
- 29 See the passage quoted in n. 26 above. For Godfrey and Charlemagne in Gielemans's works, see Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme*, esp. 138–148 and 167–169.
- 30 1 Kings 6.
- 31 Heinz Cüppers, 'Der Pinienzapfen im Münster zu Aachen', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 19–20, 1960–61, 90–93; Margaret Finch, 'The Cantharus and Pigna at Old St Peter's', *Gesta*, 30, 1991, 16–26; Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800–1200*, New Haven and London, 1994, 11; and Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2016, 39–44.
- 32 Gustav Kühnel, 'Aachen, Byzanz und die Frühislamische Architektur im heiligen Land', in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp, Barbara Schellenwald, and Lioba Theis, Amsterdam, 1995, 39–57; and Bianca Kühnel, 'Jerusalem in Aachen', in *Monuments and Memory: Christian Cult Buildings and Constructions of the Past. Essays in Honour of Sible de Blaauw*, ed. M. Verhoeven et al., Turnhout, 2016, 95–105 (with further bibliography).
- 33 Fols 154r–160r: 'Coronatio ducis Brabantinorum in regem Romanorum'. The account itself is copied from an incunable printed in Mainz by Peter Schöffer (digital facsimiles available via <https://data.cerl.org/istc/im00384000>). See Franz Unterkircher, 'Maximilian I., "Dux Brabantinorum"', in *Historiologium Brabantinorum des Johannes Gielemans*, in *Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, 2 vols, Amsterdam 1972, II, 56–60; and Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme*, esp. 184–191, which includes discussion of Maximilian's recorded visits to the priory and surrounding area. In the *Historiologus*, the account of Maximilian's coronation is preceded by that of his election (fols 151v–154) and followed by panegyric texts relating to his role in the building of a nearby chapel (fols 160r–163v); several blank pages (fols 164r–167v) suggest that Gielemans expected to expand this part of his work.
- 34 For this painting, see, among others, Vida J. Hull, 'Spiritual Pilgrimage in the Paintings of Hans Memling', in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, Boston, 2004, 2 vols, I, 29–50; Tim Urban, 'Vom Nacheinander und Aufeinander der Bilderzählung. Die Erinnerungsräume der *Turiner Passion*', in *Techniken des Bildes*, ed. Martin Schulz and Beat Wyss, Leiden, 2010, 127–143; Heike Schlie, 'Das Mnemotop Jerusalem in der Prozession, in Brügge und im Bild: die *Turiner Passion* von Hans Memling und ihre medialen Räume', in *Medialität der Prozession: Performanz ritueller Bewegung in Texten und Bildern der Vormoderne*, ed. K. Gvozdeva et al., Heidelberg, 2011, 141–175; and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, *In the Footsteps of Christ: Hans Memling's Passion Narratives and the Devotional Imagination in the Early Modern Netherlands*, Turnhout, 2013.
- 35 Schlie, 'Das Mnemotop'; more widely, Kirkland-Ives, *In the Footsteps*.
- 36 See, more widely, Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Constraints on Pictorial Invention in Renaissance Illumination: The Role of Copying North and South of the Alps in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Miniatura*, 1, 1988, 123–135; Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth, 'Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships', in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, exh. cat., Los Angeles and London, 2003, 34–57.
- 37 For copies of the entire painting, see Julia Gerth, *Wirklichkeit und Wahrnehmung: Hans Memlings Turiner Passion und die Bildgruppe der Passionspanoramen*, Berlin, 2010, 113–114; and Kathryn M. Rudy, 'Virtual Pilgrimage through the Jerusalem Cityscape', in *Visual Constructs*, 381–393, 391. Dirk De Vos highlighted borrowings of individual motifs by the Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes and concluded that Memling's painting may still have been available in Bruges c. 1510–15. See Dirk De Vos, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works*, London, 1994, 108–109; and Barbara G. Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges*, Turnhout, 2009, 315–316.
- 38 One might mention here that Hugo van der Goes, who was based at the Rooklooster between 1476 and 1482/83 (see n. 17 above), completed a triptych for Tommaso Portinari c. 1473–75 (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. no. 1525). Any more concrete links cannot now be established. Earlier scholarship (e.g. Pächt and Thoss, *Flämische Schule*, 117; Smeyers, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 270) saw the Master of Johannes Gielemans associated with the circle of Loyset Liédet, who was based in Bruges around the time when Memling created the *Passion* for Portinari. (For Liédet, see Catherine Reynolds, 'Stories without Words: The Vocabulary of Loyset Liédet', in *New Perspectives on Flemish Illumination*, ed. Lieve Watteuw, Jan Van der Stock, Bernard Bousmanne, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, Leuven, 2018, 63–79.) Recent scholarship however (Marrow, 'Le Maître') has argued that the Master of Johannes Gielemans was based in Brussels c. 1460–85, dismissing the link to Liédet.
- 39 For such multi-episodic cityscapes and their relationship to Memling's *Passion*, see Ehrenfried Kluckert, 'Die Simultanbilder Memlings: Ihre Wurzeln und Wirkung', *Das Münster*, 27, 1974, 284–295; Maurits Smeyers, 'Analecta Memlingiana. From Hemling to Memling – From Panoramic View to Compartmented Representation', in *Memling Studies: Proceedings of the International Colloquium* (Bruges, 10–12 November 1994), ed. Hélène Verougstraete, Roger Van Schoute, and Maurits Smeyers, Leuven, 1997, 171–194; Hull, 'Spiritual Pilgrimage'; Gerth, *Wirklichkeit und Wahrnehmung*; and Rudy, 'Virtual Pilgrimage'.
- 40 For this image and Jean d'Ypres, see Veronique Vandekerckhove, 'De Grote Passie. Een houtsnede uit de Bibliothèque nationale de France (ca. 1490)', in *Hout in boeken, houten boeken en de fraaie kunst van houtdraaien*, ed. Luc Knapen and Leo Kenis, Leuven, 2008, 79–83; Kings, *Queens and Courtiers: Art in Early Renaissance France*, ed. Martha Wolff, exh. cat., New Haven and London, 2011, cat. no. 72 [Séverine Lepape]; Heike Schlie, 'Der bildmediale Parcours durch den Passionsraum. Immersive und operative Praktiken in dem Pariser Holzschnitt der *Grande Passion* und in Memlings *Turiner Passion*', in *Räume der Passion: Raumvisionen, Erinnerungsorte und Topographien des Leidens Christi in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Aurenhammer and Daniela Bohde, Bern, 2015, 233–267; *Mystérieux coffrets: Estampes au temps de la Dame à la licorne*, ed. Séverine Lepape, Michel Huynh, and Caroline Vrand, Paris 2019, cat. no. 10 and *passim*.
- 41 The area of the tree has been damaged by liquid, with some of the paint transferred to the facing page.
- 42 This is now Museum Leuven, inv. no. 3/384/0. For the panel, see Maurits Smeyers, 'Taferelen uit de Passie van Christus, Brabant 1470–1490', in *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410–1475): een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*, exh. cat., Leuven 1998, 485–488 (cat. no. 177); and Gerth, *Wirklichkeit und Wahrnehmung*, 115–119.
- 43 We might also note here that the *Grande Passion* is closely related to a contemporary series of woodcuts that focus on the individual scenes of the *Passion* (*Mystérieux coffrets*, cat. nos 11–18). These, in turn, may have been used as models for some of the images in the 1516 guide to the monumental Jerusalem site at Romans-sur-Isère, exemplifying how closely performative and imaginative pilgrimage practices were interconnected. A digital facsimile of the guide is available at <https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/viewer/26756>.
- 44 While the identification of Eleanor can be considered certain, the often-repeated claim that the panel was a gift from Maximilian himself is tenuous, as it goes back to a tradition reported for the first time in the eighteenth century. For the panel and its relationship to Reuwich's woodcut, see Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2011, 150–170. See also Marie-Léopoldine Lievens-De Waegh, 'La Passion du Christ dans le Panorama de Jérusalem', in *Le Musée National d'Art Ancien et le Musée National des Carreaux de Faïence de Lisbonne, Les Primitifs Flamands, Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, vol. 16, Brussels, 1991, 46–105 (with a transcription of all the texts and an account of the evidence concerning the date and patronage).
- 45 For the *Peregrinatio*, see Ross, *Picturing Experience*; and Kathryn Beebe, 'The Jerusalem of the Mind's Eye: Imagined Pilgrimage in the Late Fifteenth Century', in *Visual Constructs*, 409–420.
- 46 See Ross, *Picturing Experience*, esp. 132–139, 141–184; and Arad, *Christian Maps*, 62–83.
- 47 Foundational for this interpretation of the disconnected gaze is Craig Harbison, 'Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting', *Simiolus*, 15, 1985, 87–118. For a recent critique of this interpretation, see Ingrid Falque, *Devotional Portraiture and Spiritual Experience in Early Netherlandish Painting*, Leiden, 2019, esp. 16–18, 92–95, and 258–259 (with further literature).

- 48 The inscription 'pro libraria' is on fol. 289r. The upper margin of fol. 2 is perforated by holes. Those along the upper edge likely result from a textile curtain: similar curtains are still partially in place above the frontispieces to Gielemans's two-volume *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* for example (see n. 17 above) as well as many other medieval manuscripts. Further sets of holes, some in patterns of four, may be traces of pins which affixed the leaf to another surface. For the Rooklooster library and the priory's influence on other institutions, including through the *cura monialium*, see M. Smeysers, 'Domus sancti Pauli in Rubevalle (Rooklooster, Oudergem)', in *Monasticon Windeshemense*, Teil 1: Belgien, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Anton G. Weiler, Brussels, 1976, 108–130; and *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, 4: Provinces of Brabant and Hainault, ed. Albert Derolez et al., Brussels, 2001, 178–209. For the recipients of Gielemans's works see also Hazebrouck-Souche, *Spiritualité, sainteté et patriotisme*, 75–79.
- 49 For fifteenth-century interpretations of the bridge over the Cedron, see Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, 158.
- 50 For example, Memling's *The Seven Joys of Mary* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. WAF 668).
- 51 As such, these motifs function in ways similar to the *arma Christi*, and indeed partly overlap with them.
- 52 For these methods, see Fritz Oskar Schuppisser, 'Schauen mit den Augen des Herzens: Zur Methodik der spätmittelalterlichen Passionsmeditation, besonders in der Devotio Moderna und bei den Augustinern', in *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Tübingen, 1993, 169–210. For a different interpretation, which de-emphasises the role of recollection, see John van Engen, 'Memory and Manuscript in Personal Practice and Written Lives: The Case of the Modern-Day Devout', *The Medieval Low Countries*, 2, 2015, 215–250. More widely, see Koen Goudriaan, 'Empowerment through Reading, Writing and Example: The *Devotio moderna*', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, Cambridge, 2009, 407–419.
- 53 In fact, two figures in a similar position in the Jerusalem panorama in the Saluces Hours appear to be associated with the payment of Judas; see London, British Library, MS Add. 27697, fol. 210r (digital facsimile available at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_27697](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_27697)).
- 54 Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 691, fol. 38r: 'De quo etiam numularios eiciens, dixit: domus mea domus orationis vocabitur'.
- 55 For coins as metaphors in Christian thought, see Svein H. Gullbekk, Christoph Kilger, Steinar Kristensen, and Håkon Roland, 'Money and Religious Devotion in Medieval Northern Europe', in *Coins in Churches: Archaeology, Money and Religious Devotion in Medieval Northern Europe*, ed. Svein H. Gullbekk, Christoph Kilger, Steinar Kristensen, and Håkon Roland, Abingdon, 2021, 3–28.
- 56 See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 2008.
- 57 Cf. Peter Parshall, 'The Art of Memory and the Passion', *Art Bulletin*, 81, 1999, 456–472, here 456.
- 58 Hugh of St Victor, *Chronicon*: 'Confusio ignorantiae et oblivionis mater est, discretio autem intelligentiam illuminat et memoriam confirmat. Vides nummularium diversas monetas habentem, quemadmodum marsupium unum multiplici divisione intersepiat, ita ut unus ambitus plures intrinsecus cellas complectatur. Partita namque pecunia et monetis singulis ab invicem discretis, omnia suis locis servanda disponit, quatinus ipsa locorum distinctio rerum partitionem, sicut divisam suscipit, ita custodiat impermixtam.' Latin quoted from William M. Green, 'Hugo of St Victor: De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum', *Speculum*, 18, 1943, 484–493, here 488; English translation quoted from Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 339–344, here 339.
- 59 An early sixteenth-century catalogue of the library of Rooklooster records other texts by Hugh (see *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, 178–209). See also Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna: Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*, Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1999, 130; and Rudolf Goy, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor: Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1976, esp. 515–517, 562–563. The *Chronicon* itself was more widely copied than previously assumed, as demonstrated by Julian Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* in the British Isles', in Schreiber, Schenker: *Studien zur Abtei Sankt Viktor in Paris und den Viktorinern*, ed. Rainer Berndt SJ, Berlin, 2014, 263–292.
- 60 For this motif in Hugh of St Victor and beyond, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, esp. 45–46, 101, and 329; and Franklin T. Harkins, 'Fundamentum omnis doctrine: The Memorization of History in the Pedagogy of Hugh of St. Victor', *Pecia*, 14, 2012, 267–293, esp. 278–281.
- 61 Hugh of St Victor makes this point in his *Didascalicon*, I.1: 'We see how a wall receives a likeness when the form of some image or other is put upon it from the outside. But when a coiner imprints a figure upon metal, the metal, which itself is one thing, begins to represent a different thing, not just on the outside, but from its own power and its natural aptitude to do so. It is in this way that the mind, imprinted with the likenesses of all things, is said to be all things and to receive its composition from all things and to contain them not as actual components, or formally, but virtually and potentially' (quoted from *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor, New York, 1991, 47).
- 62 On later medieval discussions of the transformative power of mental images and related optical theories, see, for example, Thomas Lentz, 'Inneres Auge, äusserer Blick und Heilige Schau. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur visuellen Praxis in Frömmigkeit und Moraldidaxe des späten Mittelalters', in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus Schreiner with Marc Müntz, Munich, 2002, 179–220; Michael Camille, 'Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing', in *Visibility Before and Beyond the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Nelson, Cambridge, 2000, 197–223, esp. 209–211; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Seeing and Believing: The Suspicion of Sight and the Authentication of Vision in Late Medieval Art and Devotion', in *Imagination und Wirklichkeit: zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Krüger and Alessandro Nova, Mainz, 2000, 47–69, esp. 58–59.
- 63 See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 89–93 and *passim*; and Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images*, 400–1200, Cambridge, 1998, 7–24 and *passim*.
- 64 Carruthers pinpoints this process: 'the pilgrims thus came not to see something new, but to recollect things well known to them already' (*The Craft of Thought*, 40–44 and 269, here 43). See also Robert Ousterhout, '"Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination": Remembering Jerusalem in Words and Images', *Gesta*, 48: 2, 2009, 153–168.
- 65 Michele Bacci, 'Locative Memory and the Pilgrim's Experience of Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages', in *Visual Constructs*, 67–75, esp. 73. For such ideas in the related phenomenon of mystic visions, see Henning Langerud, '"And how could I find Thee at all, if I do not remember Thee?" Visions, Images and Memory in Late Medieval Devotion', in *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Northern Europe: Images, Objects and Practices*, ed. Henning Langerud, Salvador Ryan, and Laura Katrine Skinnebach, Dublin, 2016, 50–69.
- 66 For striking images and how these relate to Passion iconography, see Parshall, 'The Art of Memory'.
- 67 See Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages*, 150–170; and Schlie, 'Das Mnemotop'. Both the Lisbon and Leuven paintings include the letters of the alphabet, which could not only guide the viewer through the scenes of the Passion, but also serve as mnemonic devices in their own right.
- 68 Fol. 2v: 'Hec intra urbem venerantur: flagellatio Christi atque coronatio, ac derisio et cetera quae pro nobis pertulit; sed non facile ubi fuerint dinoscuntur nunc presertim cum totiens civitas ipsa postmodum destructa fuit.'
- 69 'His flagellatus est Ihesus'. See Levy-Rubin, 'The Rediscovery', 165–166.
- 70 Foundational contributions to this vast field include Sixten Ringbom, 'Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 73, 1969, 159–170; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Speculations on Speculation: Vision and Perception in the Theory and Practice of Mystical Devotion', in *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang: Neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte*, ed. Walter Haug and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, Tübingen, 2000, 353–408; Bret L. Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality in Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, 2005; and Falque, *Devotional Portraiture*.
- 71 For an edition, see Gerardo Groote, *Il trattato 'De Quattuor Generibus Meditabilium'*, ed. Ilario Tolomio, Padua, 1975. For an English translation, see *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, trans. and intr. by John van Engen,



- New York, 1988, 98–118. Unless otherwise indicated, the excerpts are quoted from this edition and translation. For the treatise, see Kees Waaijman, 'Beeld en beeldloosheid: een uitdaging aan de devotie', in *Geen povere schoonheid: Laat-middeleeuwse kunst in verband met de Moderne Devotie*, ed. Kees Veelenturf, Nijmegen, 2000, 31–42; Schuppisser, 'Schauen'; and Falque, *Devotional Portraiture*, 239–270.
- 72 '[U]t res difficiles nostro captui vel sensibus non impressibiles illis nobis signentur corporalibus et sensibilibus rebus, nobis inquam carnalibus et animalibus hominibus, quibus de visibilibus aliquantulum saltem ad invisibilia conscendere valeamus' (*Il trattato*, 52, 54); and *Basic Writings*, 101. Significantly, the words 'impressing', 'pressing', or 'imprinting' are all used by Grote to describe the making of memory images: 'Immo illa quae fortius menti adhaerent phantasmata fortius etiam illud quod per ea signatur spirituale imprimunt' (*Il trattato*, 102) – 'those images that stick more tenaciously to the mind also imprint all the more forcefully the spiritual realities signified through them' (*Basic Writings*, 113).
- 73 '[Q]uod sicut oculus exterior non nisi in solido et terminato figuratur vel speculatur, sic imaginatio intus aliquid obici sibi solido et terminati postulat' (*Il trattato*, 84); *Basic Writings*, 108.
- 74 '[S]icut negationes de Deo sunt affirmationibus veriores, sic dissimiliores similitudines et difformiores de Deo et spiritualibus rebus utiliores sunt [...] Sed tunc, cum quis se praesentem Christo vel actibus suis confingit, non est inutile aliquid negans Christi praesentiam aliquando iuxta ponere, quod nos, ne phantasmate cadente ad oculos decipiamur, mente ab actuali Christi praesentia et actuum suorum aliquantulum revocet' (*Il trattato*, 54); *Basic Writings*, 101. Grote draws here on Pseudo-Dionysius (Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, chapter 2; for the text see *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, intr., ed. and trans. by René Roques, Günter Heil and Maurice de Gandillac, *Sources chrétiennes*, 58, Paris, 1958, here 78–81). For the underlying concept, see Walker Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 48 and *passim*.
- 75 '[S]i non inhaereat mens, sed est quaedam assumptio iuvantium imaginabilium' (*Il trattato*, 58; *Basic Writings*, 102).
- 76 'Mihi videtur omne phantasma esse particularis rei signum et nihil universalis est in phantasmate' (*Il trattato*, 94; *Basic Writings*, 111); 'nec aliquam habent scientiam qui phantasmata [...] non valent transcendere' (*Il trattato*, 96).
- 77 See, for example, the analysis by Bret L. Rothstein of Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. no. 161.I) in his 'Vision and Devotion in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*', *Word & Image*, 15: 3, 1999, 262–276 and *Sight and Spirituality*, esp. 49–91. See also Hamburger, 'Seeing and Believing'; and Falque, *Devotional Portraiture*, 261 and *passim*.
- 78 Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality*, 74.
- 79 Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen, *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*, Deventer, c. 1483–85 (digital facsimiles available via <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/435603>): 'Tercius ascensus est iam per humanitatem christi ad spirituales affectum assurgere et iam ipsum deum per speculum in enigmate mentalibus oculis intueri et sic ex humanitate ad noticiam et amorem divinitatis pervenire [...] Et per huiusmodi mentis intuitum et adhesionem et transformationem incipit quodammodo homo unus spiritus cum deo fieri et extra seipsum transgredi et ipsam veritatem intueri et ad unionem et adhesionem abilitari.' English translation quoted from *Basic Writings*, 243–315, here 275. See also Schuppisser, 'Schauen', 195–200; Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk, 'Thematische meditatie en het beeld: visualiteit in *De spiritualibus ascensionibus* van Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen (1367–1398)', in *Geen povere schoonheid*, 43–66; and Falque, *Devotional Portraiture*, esp. 169–238, with a detailed consideration of how these ideas become manifest in early Netherlandish painting.
- 80 For the Mass of St Gregory, see Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, Princeton, 2006, 208–240; Andreas Gormans and Thomas Lentjes, eds, *Das Bild der Erscheinung: Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 2007; and Kathryn M. Rudy, *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts*, Leiden, 2017, 101–136. More widely, see Heike Schlie, *Bilder des Corpus Christi: Sakramentaler Realismus von Jan van Eyck bis Hieronymus Bosch*, Berlin, 2002.



# Looking Beyond Jerusalem: A Fifteenth-Century Exercise in Image Comparison

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Critical image comparison is a widespread art-historical practice. This essay explores why a Brabantine artist encouraged viewers to exercise it in the late fifteenth century. At the time, northern European artists tested out how images could be means of transcending the visible world while simultaneously showcasing their very constructedness. The self-reflexivity that characterises such images has engendered a particularly rich field of art-historical studies. This essay focuses on a little-known image which was designed to combine two visual concepts devised more than three centuries apart – a twelfth-century map of Jerusalem, and a cityscape popularised in the fifteenth century – and required viewers to realise this combination in their minds, using external images recollected before their internal eyes. In its complex conception, the image becomes a unique contributor to the vibrant debate about the right use of images in late medieval devotion, and to the long history of image comparisons.

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