



The Iconography of the Book of Tobit

in Western and Indian Miniatures
(1400-1600)

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I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

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1. Introduction

When I visited the exhibition *Gläubiges Staunen – Biblische Traditionen in der islamischen Welt* (Testimonies of Faith - Biblical Traditions in the Islamic World) in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin during the summer of 2017, there was one Mughal miniature that caught my eye. The museum suggested that the iconography of this miniature, depicting an angel holding a fish, was derived from the Tobias legend (Fig. 1.). As the title of the exhibitions stated, it dealt with biblical themes in the Islamic world, so it wasn't very hard to find out that the iconography of this Mughal miniature was actually derived from the biblical book Tobit. Since I have a great interest in both western and Islamic miniature art as well as artistic encounters between different cultures, this iconographical theme seemed a great topic for my master's thesis at the Catholic University of Leuven. The aim of this thesis is to research the iconography drawn from the Book of Tobit found in the art of illumination during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. This research will mainly focus on western manuscripts, with the exception of the Indian miniatures produced for the Mughal ruler Akbar (1542-1605) at the end of the sixteenth century. Non-western art often seems to be forgotten when it comes to European art historical research and even less often are non-western and western art linked to each other. This iconographical theme, which is depicted in two different cultures using the same medium, seemed the perfect case to recount a story, in which eastern and western art become connected. Although only miniatures will be discussed in this thesis, the transition of the iconography of Tobit from Europe to India happened with the use of a different medium, which makes this story of transition even more fascinating. This thesis exists of two separate parts. The first part deals with the iconography of Tobit in the western art of illumination, while the second part explores the afterlife of the iconographical theme in the miniature art of the Mughals. Nevertheless, both parts will be connected through a succinct explanation about the transition of the iconographical theme of Tobias and the angel that happened through European prints that were taken to India. The fact that it was European engravings that brought the iconographical theme of Tobias and the angel to India is the reason for the choice of the time period between 1400 and 1600.

Several works on the iconography of the Book of Tobit have been written, but none of them focus on the art of illumination. The more extensive works dealing with the iconography of Tobit in the western world are the dissertation of Hanne Weskott (1974), which is a study of the iconography of Tobit in the visual arts until the nineteenth century, and Elizabeth Philpot's publication on Old Testament apocryphal images in European art (2009), in which she

attributed one chapter to Tobit. They both deal with the topic in very broad strokes and although they mention manuscript illustrations depicting Tobit in their works, they don't delve any deeper into this topic. As for the Indian miniatures, Amina Okada (1988) published an article on the topic in which she touches upon many miniature examples depicting human figures and angels with a fish, describing all of them as expressions of the story of Tobit. She also mentions that this iconography reached the Mughals, who depicted them, through the copper engravings that the Jesuit missionaries brought with them to India. Since she doesn't discuss the possibility of the iconography of figures with a fish deriving from an Indian or Islamic tale, I will reevaluate her article by involving Gregory Minissale's opinion on the topic which can be found in his publication on *visuality in Islamic India between 1550 and 1750* (2007). The research on the iconography of Tobit in the art of illumination is thus still an under-researched field and with this thesis I want to chart it, but because this paper has to stay within the bounds of a master's thesis it won't be possible to cover the whole field. This paper is the initial step in covering this field and I hope that more research will be completed to achieve that goal. Since this is the first paper on this topic, it will not provide a ready-made answer to any one question. Instead, the conclusion of this thesis will recount the iconography of the Book of Tobit throughout miniature art in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, trying to uncover recurring elements in the iconography; as well as determining if some episodes of the story of Tobit were more popular than others to depict.

This thesis will first introduce the Book of Tobit. In the first chapter, the canonicity, provenance, original language and genre of the book, the place and date of the story, and the story of the biblical book itself will be treated. After this a short chapter about the iconography of the Book of Tobit before 1500 will follow, in which examples of the iconographical theme in different mediums will be given in order to create a broader introduction to the iconography of Tobit in the arts. Because the number of European illuminations depicting the theme is much larger than the Indian one, the focus of this research will mainly lie in western art. It must also be noted that most of the examples used in this disquisition date back to the fifteenth century. This is not due to the decreasing popularity of the iconography of Tobit in the sixteenth century, but to the fact that books with printed illustrations were surpassing illuminated manuscripts around the turn of the fifteenth century. Although the iconography of Tobit was still depicted in miniature art, it was mainly continued in prints and illustrations of printed books around this time.

As for the methodology, I created a large collection of illuminations depicting episodes from the story of Tobit. The miniatures that I researched for the chapter on western illuminations all derive from manuscripts that are accessible in digital libraries. A list of the databanks used for this research can be found in the first appendix of this thesis. The advantage of this method is that I could easily access the miniatures, which meant that I could research them in detail. The disadvantage of this methodology is that the books I used in my research do not guarantee a complete summary of all the manuscripts and book types that depict Tobit. When I started researching the miniatures depicting the iconography of Tobit, I found out that the story is used in more literary works than it is in the Bible. Miniatures and the text accompanying them are always inseparable in the western tradition and therefore, it seemed interesting to divide the collection of miniatures I worked with into different book types. The chapter that deals with the iconography of the Book of Tobit in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe is therefore divided into five parts. These five parts cover typological works, Bibles, Office books, other religious works and secular works. In each of these subchapters, the iconography of Tobit will be brought in connection with several book types that belong to these groups. The aim of this chapter is to explore in which way the story of Tobit is depicted in these literary types and if there are certain recurring patterns in the depiction of the Bible book. An important question that will be answered is if the iconography of Tobit had a fixed place in the manuscripts it was depicted in or if it was depicted rather randomly. After the chapters on western miniatures, the Mughal miniatures produced for Mughal ruler Akbar at the end of the sixteenth century will be treated. This chapter will explain how European prints reached the Mughal court, how Indian artists perceived them and how they dealt with them in their own artworks depicting the iconography of Tobias and the angel, which is the only episode of the Book of Tobit that seems to have reached Mughal India. Like I pointed out before, a critical analysis will be made of the literature that already exists on the iconography of Tobias and the angel in Mughal miniatures. After that, the Mughal miniatures, which according to my findings do deal with the Christian story of Tobias, will be discussed iconographically. The collection of images that was used to argue this part of my thesis mainly derives from the relevant literature available. Okada's article (1988) on Mughal miniatures depicting Tobias and the angel was especially helpful on this case.

2. The Book of Tobit

2.1. Canonicity of the Book of Tobit

The Book of Tobit is part of the Apocrypha and was included in the Septuagint along with fourteen other apocryphal books.¹ The early Church Fathers had different opinions about the Book of Tobit, but it was generally accepted as canonical by the Western Church. The text was often admired by these writers for its practical instructions and moral lessons and was used as a validation for several catechetical, polemical and doctrinal claims. They represented Tobit as a worthy example and symbol of Christian life. The patristic references to Tobit gave the book a role in the attempt of the early Church to define its relationship with the Old Testament. Later Christian authors such as Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) and Venerable Bede (c. 672-735) started interpreting the Book of Tobit in allegorical terms instead of historical terms.² In the Eastern Church, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215), John Chrysostom (c. 349-407) and Junilius (d. 549) accepted it, but some other important figures such as Origen of Alexandria (c. 184-253) and Jerome (347-420) did reject it. Nowadays the Book of Tobit is also canonical for the eastern Orthodox churches.³ During the Council of Trent in 1546, Tobit officially became a part of the canon and the Roman Catholics classified it under the heading deuterocanonical. The Book of Tobit was denied canonicity by the Protestants in the sixteenth century, but their stance towards it was ambivalent because they often included it between the Old and the New Testaments.⁴ Martin Luther (1483-1546) even described the book in his preface to his translation of it as “beautiful, wholesome and useful.”⁵ Jewish interest in the book was strong from early Judaism to the medieval period. During the rise of Jewish nationalism and the secularist rebellion against rabbinic authority in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the Book of Tobit was retrieved as Jewish literary heritage.⁶ Despite the popularity of the book in the Jewish community, they never regarded it as canonical.⁷

¹ Robert J. Litmann, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus* (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2008), xxv.

² Francis M. Macatangay, *The Wisdom of Instructions in the Book of Tobit* (Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 2.

³ Litmann, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, xxvi.

⁴ Elizabeth Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2009), 129.

⁵ “Vorrede auffs Buch Tobie (Martin Luther: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch. 2 Bände, München 1972),” Zeno.org Meine Bibliothek, accessed May 29, 2018, <http://www.zeno.org/nid/20005330076>.

⁶ Francis M. Macatangay, *The Wisdom of Instructions in the Book of Tobit*, 2.

⁷ Erich Zenger, ed. *Tobit*, trans. Helen Schüngel-Straumann (Freiburg/ Basel/ Vienna: Herder, 2000), 44.

2.2. Provenance and original language of the Book of Tobit

The manuscript evidence for the Book of Tobit is complex and the discovery of five Dead Sea scrolls that preserve the Book of Tobit in 1952 made the case even more complicated.⁸ Surviving manuscripts of the Book of Tobit exist in at least nine different languages with close to twenty variations.⁹ In a letter to Bishop Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 406/407) and Bishop Heliodorus of Altinum (332-390), Jerome described how he translated Tobit from “Chaldee,” an Aramaic language, with the help of a translator.¹⁰ The Aramaic text that Jerome used for his translation did not survive, but the fact that several Greek versions of the book contain Semitisms confirm Jerome’s claim that the book originally existed in a certain Semitic language. Nonetheless, it remains unclear whether the book was written in Aramaic or Hebrew. Scholars had to rely on the Greek translation of the book as well as on the Old Latin, Syriac, Vulgate and Qumran fragments to establish the text.¹¹ The book exists in three different Greek translations which formed the basis of the versions that were used until the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls in Cave IV at Qumran, when several fragments were found in Aramaic and Hebrew.¹²

2.3. Place and date of the Book of Tobit

The place of composition of the Book of Tobit is very difficult to locate exactly, but the most likely places are Mesopotamia, Egypt or Palestine.¹³ The story of Tobit is enacted in Assyria during the eighth century BC, when Assyrian kings ruled northern Israel. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the story was composed much later, in the third or second century BC.¹⁴ There are various reasons for this dating. First of all, the story includes several historical errors which indicate that the book was not composed at the same time as the events in it happened. There are also expressions of the main character Tobit and the author of the book himself that call for a postexilic date. Tobit for example, speaks of the prophetic writings of Amos and Nahum as if they were authoritative and the author often uses the expression “the Law of Moses.” The date

⁸ Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole and Loren Stuckenbruck, ed., *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions with Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac* (Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter, 2004), 3.

⁹ Micah D. Kiel, *The “Whole Truth:” Rethinking Retribution in the Book of Tobit* (London/ New York: T&T Clark International, 2012), 8.

¹⁰ Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, *Tobit* (Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter, 2003), 18-20.

¹¹ Geoffrey David Miller, *Marriage in the Book of Tobit* (Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 5-6.

¹² Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 129.

¹³ Miller, *Marriage in the Book of Tobit*, 12.

¹⁴ Fitzmeyer, *Tobit*, 50-51.

should thus be placed after the fourth century BC, when the Pentateuch already received an authoritative status. Because the five Dead Sea scrolls contain the Book of Tobit, the composition date of the Book of Tobit can also not be placed too late. The scrolls suggest that the book was at least written before the first century BC and because the author of the Book of Tobit doesn't seem to have been aware of the fact that Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215-164 BC) persecuted the Jews during the middle of the second century BC, the composition of the story can be situated between 225 and 175 BC.¹⁵

2.4. The genre of the Book of Tobit

The Book of Tobit was written during the Hellenistic period and can be placed under the category of Greek Romance. This genre is characterized by adventure and love. Stories that fall under the category of Greek Romance are characterized by a quest that requires travel. The hero must defeat dangerous obstacles and is opposed by divinities. The hero and heroine are usually kept apart until near the end of the story, but when they meet, the hero wins her over and returns to his own country. This is exactly the pattern that characterizes Tobias' adventure that leads to Sarah in the Book of Tobit.¹⁶ Furthermore, the biblical book also incorporates a number of passages that align it with Jewish wisdom literature.¹⁷ In any case, it is regularly regarded as fiction. This is due to the historical and geographical errors in the book, but also due to the fact that the story seems to be a compilation of several famous folk tales from the ancient world.¹⁸ The main characters of the Book of Tobit do not have a heroic status like other Apocryphal figures as Judith, Esther or Daniel. They are ordinary people who are committed to God and try to live their life in a righteous way. The Book of Tobit is a lesson which demonstrates how God helps those who keep his laws and encourages piety. The characters in it are able to overcome their enemies with the help of God.¹⁹

¹⁵ Miller, *Marriage in the Book of Tobit*, 10-12.

¹⁶ Litmann, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, xxxiii.

¹⁷ Fitzmeyer, *Tobit*, 34.

¹⁸ Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 11-14.

¹⁹ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 130-131.

2.5. The story of the Book of Tobit

Before we look at the representations from the Book of Tobit in western illuminations of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, it is necessary to recount the story of Tobit. The story starts with Tobit, a member of the tribe of Naphtali. During the reign of King Shalmaneser, he was deported from Thisbe in Upper Galilee into exile in Nineveh, the capital of Assyria. Tobit tells the reader that he performed many acts of kindness towards his family and the Jews who had gone into exile with him. He often went to Jerusalem to celebrate the religious festivals, taking many goods with him which he gave to the priests at the altar in the Temple. He also gave one tenth of his belongings away and ate according to the Law of Moses. This was unlike the rest of his family, who went to the city of Dan to offer sacrifices to the gold bull-calf which king Jeroboam of Israel had set up there. Tobit married Anna, a woman from his own tribe, and they had a son that they named Tobias. Tobit continued to consume the food of the Jews during his captivity in Nineveh, while his family ate the food of the Gentiles. God therefore made emperor Shalmaneser respect Tobit so that Tobit was placed in charge of purchasing all the emperor's supplies. For this reason, he made regular trips to Media and on one such occasion, Tobit left ten silver talents in trust with Gabael for safekeeping. Tobit carried out many charitable deeds towards members of his tribe. He gave food to the hungry, clothing to the naked and secretly buried the dead Israelites that were thrown outside the city wall by king Sennacherib, the successor of Shalmaneser. When one of the Ninevites reported Tobit for burying these dead bodies, Tobit fled away because he feared for his life. All his property was confiscated while he was gone. About six weeks later, Sennacherib was murdered and succeeded by his son, Esarhaddon. The new emperor appointed Akihar, Tobit's nephew, to be in charge of all the financial affairs of the empire. Akihar interceded for Tobit who was then able to return home to his wife Anna and son Tobias in Nineveh.²⁰

Tobit continues his story and tells how he asked his son Tobias to invite all the ones who were mindful of God during the feast of Pentecost. Tobias returned home with the news that he had found one more of their tribe members murdered by strangulation and thrown into the marketplace. Tobit left the dinner table before even touching his food, removed the body from the street and laid it in one of his own rooms until sunset. After that, he ate his food in sorrow, remembering the prophecy of Amos and wept. Tobit went out after the sunset, dug a grave and buried the body he found. His neighbors derided him for burying the dead, an act which he had

²⁰ Tobit 1:1-22 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

already been hunted down for. He slept by the wall of the courtyard with his face uncovered that night. There were swallows on the wall whose fresh droppings fell into Tobit's eyes, producing a white film. Tobit consulted several doctors, but they could not help him. Because Tobit became blind, his wife Anna supported the family by doing women's work. One day when she got her wages paid, the people who ordered her product also gave her a goat. When Tobit noticed she came home with a goat, he thought Anna stole it and became angry. Tobit wanted her to bring it back to the owners, but she told him she got it as a gift in addition to her wages. When he still didn't believe her, she answered "Where are your charities and your righteous deeds? You seem to know everything!"²¹ This made Tobit so embarrassed and ashamed that he began to weep. He asked God not to punish him for his sins and those committed by his ancestors, but to make him die instead. The narrative then shifts to Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, living in Ecbatana in Media. She had been married seven times, but the demon Asmodeus killed each of her husbands before the marriage could be consummated because he was in love with her. When her maids mocked her and suggested that she strangled her husbands herself, Sarah burst into tears and even thought about hanging herself. Reconsidering the matter, she decided against this action. She did not wish to distress her father, being his only child. She prayed to God asking him to take her life. God heard the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and sent the angel Raphael to help them.²²

Having asked God to let him die, Tobit remembered the money he once had left with Gabael at Rages in Media and decided to tell his son about it. He summoned Tobias and commanded him to give him a proper burial, honor his mother and bury her beside him when she would die. He also instructed Tobias on how to live a righteous life. Tobit then told Tobias about the large sum of money he left with Gabael.²³ Tobias asked him how he should obtain the money if he did not know Gabael, so Tobit gave him the receipt. He told Tobias to go out and look for a reliable person to accompany him to Media. Tobias found the angel Raphael and asked Raphael if he knew the way to Media, not realizing he was an angel. The angel Raphael answered he was familiar with the way and that he already stayed with their kinsman Gabael in Rages. Tobias went home and told Tobit about Raphael. Tobit wanted to meet Tobias' guide before they left and Raphael introduced himself as Azarias and told Tobit he was the son of the older Ananias, one of their relatives. Tobit promised Raphael to pay him the normal daily wage plus expenses

²¹ Tobit 2:1-18 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²² Tobit 3:1-17 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²³ Tobit 4:1-21 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

and even more if they would return in good health. After that, Tobit told the mourning Anna that the journey would be a successful one because “he will return safe and sound, and your eyes will see him. For a good angel will go with him; his journey will be successful, and he will come back safe and sound.”²⁴

Tobias and the angel Raphael left, together with Tobias’ dog. The first night they camped by the Tigris river. In the morning when Tobias was washing his feet in the river, a large fish jumped up from the water and tried to swallow one of his feet. Raphael told him to grab the fish and to not let it get away. Tobias did so and pulled it to the dry land. The angel instructed him to cut the fish open and take out its gall, heart and liver. After that, they ate the rest of it. As they continued on their way, Tobias asked the angel why they kept the gall, heart and liver of the fish. Raphael explained that he should burn the fish’s heart and liver to chase away a demon or evil spirit that was tormenting someone and that he should use the gall to treat someone whose eyes were covered with a white film. As they entered Ecbatana, Raphael told Tobias that they must spend the night at the house of Raguel and suggested Tobias to marry Raguel’s daughter Sarah. Tobias hesitated because he heard that all her previous seven husbands were killed by a demon on their wedding night. He was anxious as to how his parents would react to the death of their only son, but the angel Raphael had a solution and instructed Tobias to put some of the fish’s liver and heart on burning incense during his wedding night. The unpleasant smell of it would drive the evil spirit away and it would never come near to Sarah again. Before going to bed, Tobias and Sarah had to pray for their safety. Tobias listened to Raphael’s instructions. He was aware of the fact that Sarah was a relative on his father’s side of the family. Considering this, he started to fall in love with her and decided that he would marry her.²⁵

When they arrived at Ecbatana, they were well received by Raguel and his wife Edna. Raguel noticed the likeness between Tobias and her relative Tobit. When Tobias told him that he was his son, Raguel kissed him with tears of joy in his eyes. Raguel had one of his rams slaughtered for dinner and Tobias asked the angel Raphael when he was going to ask Raguel to let him marry Sarah. After they discussed the proposal, Raguel gave Tobias his daughter Sarah. A marriage contract was made up and after the ceremony, they began to eat the meal. In the meantime, Edna prepared the bridal chamber. She took Sarah into the room and Sarah began to

²⁴ Tobit 5:1-22 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²⁵ Tobit 6:1-17 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

cry, but Edna comforted her because she knew God was going to make her happy this time.²⁶ As soon as they finished eating, they took Tobias up to the bedchamber. Remembering Raphael's instructions, Tobias took out the fish's liver and heart from his bag and placed them on the burning incense. The smell of the fish drove the demon away and made him flee to Egypt. Raphael followed the demon and bound him, hand and foot. Once Sarah's parents left the room, Tobias told Sarah "Sister, get up, and let us pray that the Lord may have mercy upon us." In the meantime, Raguel believed that Tobias would die and dug a grave for his body. One of the maids had to find out if Tobias was still alive. She found Tobias and Sarah peacefully sleeping together. Raguel and Edna blessed God and then ordered the servants to go out and fill up the grave before dawn. Raguel made Tobias stay for two weeks, so they could celebrate the wedding. He immediately gave Tobias half of his possessions and promised him the rest of it upon his death.²⁷ Tobias called the angel Raphael and told him to take a servant and two camels with him to travel to Gabael at Rages in Media. He had to collect the money of Gabael, because Tobias had to stay with Raguel. Raphael went to Rages in Media and invited Gabael to the wedding feast. When Gabael arrived at Ecbatana, he blessed Tobias and his wife.²⁸

In the meanwhile, Tobit began to worry because his son had not come home yet. His wife wept and mourned because she was convinced that her son was dead and blamed herself for letting him leave. Tobit tried to reassure her that Tobias was all right, but she thought that he was deceiving her. She rushed out every day to watch the road Tobias had taken and in the evening when he had not returned, she cried all night long. When the fourteen days of wedding celebrations were over, Tobias asked Raguel for permission to return to his parents because he knew that they were worrying about him. Raguel wanted him to stay but Tobias insisted on leaving. Raguel gave Tobias his bride Sarah without further delay and sent him and Sarah on their way with his blessing.²⁹ As soon as they came near to Nineveh, the angel Raphael suggested that he and Tobias should go ahead of the others. He told Tobias to keep the gall from the fish ready and they went on ahead, while Tobias' dog followed them. Anna had been watching the road and saw them coming. She told Tobit "Behold, your son is coming, and so is the man who went with him!" When they arrived, Raphael told Tobias to smear the gall onto Tobit's eyes so that the white films would shrink and peel off, allowing him to see. Anna ran

²⁶ Tobit 7:1-18 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²⁷ Tobit 8:1-21 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²⁸ Tobit 9:1-6 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

²⁹ Tobit 10:1-12 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

in the arms of her son, while Tobit got up and stumbled out through the courtyard door. Tobias blew into his father's eyes and applied the medicine onto his eyes, making them smart. He peeled off the white films from the corners of his eyes and Tobit's sight was restored. When he saw Tobias, he embraced him and said "Blessed art thou, O God, and blessed is thy name for ever, and blessed are all thy Holy Angels. For thou hast afflicted me, but thou hast had mercy upon me; here I see my son Tobias!" He started to praise God. Tobias told his father about his successful journey to Media and Tobit went out to meet his son's bride at the city gate. He greeted Sarah and took her home. There was rejoicing among the Jews in Nineveh and they celebrated the marriage with another joyful wedding feast that lasted for seven days.³⁰

When the wedding celebrations were over, Tobit called his son Tobias and told him to pay the angel Raphael and give him a bonus. Tobias also decided to hand over half of everything that he had brought with him. After he paid the angel, the angel Raphael called Tobias and his father together privately and gave them advice on how to live a righteous life. He revealed himself, saying "I am Raphael, one of the seven Holy Angels who present the prayers of the Saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One." Tobit and Tobias had known him as Azarias during the whole adventure and they were frightened when they heard this news. They fell face down onto the ground. Raphael told them not to be afraid and that they would be safe if they would praise the Lord. The angel had disappeared when Tobit and Tobias stood up, so they confessed the great and wonderful works of God.³¹ When Tobit was one hundred and fifty-eight years old, he died and was interred in Nineveh. When Tobias' mother died, Tobias buried her next to his father. Tobias moved to Ecbatana and lived with his parents-in-law. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven and was a wealthy man, having inherited from both Raguel and Tobit. Before he died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, as predicted by Tobit.³²

³⁰ Tobit 11:1-19 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

³¹ Tobit 12:1-22 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

³² Tobit 14:1-15 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition - RSVCE).

3. The iconography of the Book of Tobit before 1500 AD

3.1. Depictions of the narrative of Tobit in early Christian art

The earliest images of the story of Tobit can be found in the catacombs in Rome and date from the third century to the mid-fourth century AD.³³ Three depictions of this kind, representing Tobias drawing a fish from the water, are preserved.³⁴ In this phase of early Christian art, only episodes from the Book of Tobit that are connected with the cult of the fish were depicted. The reason for this is that the fish was not merely a part of the story. The fish was seen as a symbol for Christ because of the interpretation of the letters of the Greek word for fish.³⁵ Each letter of the word *ICHTYS* is an initial letter of a Christian creed. The acronym stood for *Ièsous Christos Theou (h) Uios Sotèr*, which means Jesus Christ, Son of God [is] Savior.³⁶ Because the fish was a symbol for Christ, the act of Tobias pulling it on the land became an allegory for baptism. The fish, which had healing powers against blindness and demons in it, made Tobias who held it a prefiguration of Christ who heals the blind and is a savior. Augustine (354-430) for example, compared Christ with the fish that Tobias pulled out of the water. His heart burned by the pain of his passion and chased the devil away.³⁷ Furthermore, the story was also seen as an allegory for Christ in the Eucharist. An anonymous writer of the fourth or fifth century referred to the passage of Tobias and the fish as following: “These miracles of healing were wrought by the great fish, Christ, by his passion... From himself he satisfied his disciples on the seashore, offering himself as the fish to the whole world. By the healing flesh of the fish that was slain and cooked we are daily enlightened and fed.”³⁸ Tobit also suffered just like Job and Christ did, so he was classified as a man of sorrows. He was a servant of God and therefore seen as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ. Other episodes of the Book of Tobit were seldom depicted in early Christian times, because most images that could possibly derive from it were not considered funerary images.³⁹ One example that goes beyond the representation of Tobias catching the fish is the fourth-century Saint Sebastian sarcophagus, for it represents other

³³ They can be found in the catacomb of Domitilla and the catcomb of Vigna Massimo. Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 142.

³⁴ Ethel Ross Barker, “The Symbolism of Certain Catacomb Frescoes-I,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 24, 127 (1913): 49.

³⁵ Hanne Weskott, “Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas (von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert)” (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1974), 3.

³⁶ Louis Goosen, *Van Abraham tot Zacharia: Thema's uit het Oude Testament in religie, beeldende kunst, literatuur, muziek en theater* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1990), 237.

³⁷ Hanne Weskott, “Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas,” 3-5.

³⁸ Ethel Ross Barker, “The Symbolism of Certain Catacomb Frescoes-II,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 24, 128 (1913): 103.

³⁹ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 142.

narratives of the story of Tobit too.⁴⁰ Along with images on sarcophagi and in catacombs, early Christian depictions can also be found on three pieces of gilded glass dating back to the fourth century.⁴¹

3.2. Depictions of the narrative of Tobit from the early Middle Ages until 1500

The oldest remaining illustration of Tobias and the angel Raphael on their way to Media dates back to the ninth century. This iconographical theme would become one of the most frequently depicted images of Tobias. We find an example in the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 1, f. 297v), where the two travelers and a little dog are depicted in very small format next to the T initial at the beginning of the Book of Tobit.⁴² Another early and rather exceptional depiction of the story of Tobit can be found in a Bible with the Old Testament of the tenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 94). In a drawing on folio 18r of this manuscript, Tobit gives Gabael a charter, certifying the debt and offers him a cup of wine to seal the contract (Fig. 2). The younger Tobias is drawn on the background of this scene.⁴³ In the eleventh century, we find a similar depiction of the story of Tobit on a mural painting in the cathedral in Essen. This time, Raphael and Tobias are holding hands.⁴⁴ According to Elizabeth Philpot (2009), the book illumination of the story of Tobit began with two eleventh-century Bibles from a Catalan scriptorium, the Roda Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, v. 3 of MS. Lat. 6, f. 127r)⁴⁵ and the Ripoll Bible (Vatican, Vatican Library, MS. Lat 5729, f. 323v).⁴⁶ These bibles both contain one folio that depicts several episodes of the story of Tobit and like most medieval representations of the Book of Tobit, these manuscripts follow the biblical text closely.⁴⁷ Hanne Weskott (1974) situated the first sequences of images of the Book of Tobit in these two Latin codices. Several sequences of images such as these exist and depict different passages of the story. How many and which

⁴⁰ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*. Volume 2, part 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 321.

⁴¹ Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 3.

⁴² *Biblia* (the first Bible of Charles the Bald), 845-851. Paint and ink on parchment, 495 x 375 mm. "Latin 1," BnF Archives et manuscrits, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc8447n>.

⁴³ *Vetus testamentum (pars)* (Incomplete Old Testament), end of the tenth century. "Latin 94," BnF Archives et manuscrits, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc34024c>.

⁴⁴ Frits Lugt, "Man and Angel II," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 25 (1944): 323.

⁴⁵ *Biblia Sancti Petri Rodensis* (Volume 3), tenth to eleventh century. "Latin 6 (1-4)," BnF Archives et manuscrits, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc620519>.

⁴⁶ *Biblia sacra latine. Vetus et Novus Testamentum*, twelfth century. "Manuscript - Vat.lat.5729," Digital Vatican Library, accessed May 30, <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.5729>.

⁴⁷ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 142-143.

passages are depicted varies from manuscript to manuscript, but the tradition itself would last for centuries.⁴⁸ The Book of Tobit was depicted more often in the next century. Examples are the late twelfth-century carved capital of Tobias leaving his home in the church of Saint Andre at Besse-en-Chandesse, Puy-de-Dome and a stone capital from the first half of the twelfth century, showing two scenes and fragments of a third from the story of Tobias. The latter one was originally situated in the Benedictine Abbey church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine at Vézelay and depicts the archangel Raphael restraining the demon Asmodeus on the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah. The remaining fragments of the third scene show the vestiges of a small figure.⁴⁹ Furthermore, several scenes from the story were depicted in the Bible of Saint Bénigne (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon, MS. 2, f. 366v),⁵⁰ the Bible of Souvigny (Moulins, Musée de Moulins, MS. 2, f. 288v)⁵¹ and the Gumpert Bible (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, MS. 1, f. 255r),⁵² which can all be situated around the twelfth century.⁵³

The story of Tobit became even more popular during the thirteenth century. Proof of this are the medieval sculptures on the outer archivolt on the right portal of the north porch of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres (1194-1230) (Fig. 3).⁵⁴ Twelve scenes from the story of Tobit were depicted here and function as a frame for the cycles of Samson, Gideon, Esther and Judith. When this cycle is brought in connection with Saint Bede (c. 673-735), it comprises the sacraments of Christ and the Church and illustrates the final salvation of the Jews by them. Tobit serves as a symbol for Israel in this context.⁵⁵ Stained and painted glass played an important role in Western Europe from the twelfth to the sixteenth century and many biblical and apocryphal scenes were depicted on windows that decorated the architecture that was built during this time. A great example are the stained glass windows of the upper chapel of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, commissioned by Louis IX in 1243. The story of Tobit is illustrated

⁴⁸ Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 28.

⁴⁹ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 144.

⁵⁰ *Biblia sacra*, second half of the twelfth century. "MS 2," Manuscripts de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne, accessed May 30, 2018, [http://patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr/pleade/ead.html?id=FR212316101_saintbenigne&c=FR212316101_saintbenigne_Ms2#!{"content":\["FR212316101_saintbenigne_Ms2",false,""\]}](http://patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr/pleade/ead.html?id=FR212316101_saintbenigne&c=FR212316101_saintbenigne_Ms2#!{).

⁵¹ Latin Bible with prologues, end of the twelfth century. "Manuscrit: Moulins, BM, 001," Initiale Catalogue des manuscrits enluminés, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/2822>.

⁵² *Biblia sacra*, last quarter of the twelfth century. "Biblia sacra - UER MS 1," Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, accessed May 30, 2018, http://digital.bib-bvb.de/webclient/DeliveryManager?custom_att_2=simple_viewer&pid=3672120.

⁵³ Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 32-33.

⁵⁴ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 146.

⁵⁵ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (London/ New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964), 72-73.

in twenty-five episodes in one lancet window on the south side.⁵⁶ Episodes from the Book of Tobit were depicted next to windows with illustrations of the history of Judith and Job. They were placed in the adjoining windows as examples of persons who express piety and filial devotion and have a close relationship with their own people and God. Moral interpretations of the Bible played an important role in the scholastic doctrine of the thirteenth century. In this context, these stained-glass windows can be connected with the Parisian *Bibles moralisées* that date back to the mid-thirteenth century. These Bibles were the largest repertoires of biblical iconography in the Middle Ages and they depicted stories in the form of medallions, just like the episodes that were illustrated in the glass windows of the Sainte-Chapelle.⁵⁷

In the Middle Ages, typology would have a great impact on art. Important books that show this typological way of thinking are the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Tobit belonged to this tradition, which will be discussed in next chapter. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the depictions of the story of Tobit would increase. In this period, Florence became an important center for the output of paintings that depicted Tobias and the angel Raphael.⁵⁸ The most recounted theory to explain the sudden popularity of the iconographical theme in the sphere of early engravers and *quattrocento* painters is that the story of Tobit is about a business trip and that it would therefore be a meaningful story for Florentine business merchants who often sent their sons on business missions. Pictures of the journey of the angel Raphael and Tobias served as dedications or as *ex-votos*. They would have been commissioned by parents to ensure the safe travelling and safe return of their children, but there is no documented evidence to prove this.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the angel Raphael had thus become a well-known patron for young travelers by the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ He was worshipped for his role as a guardian angel and protector. A great example of this cult can be found in a fresco in the basilica of San Zeno in Verona that was painted around 1350, in which the angel Raphael is facing Tobias and points at the sky above them. Next to them, one can see a fresco depicting a *Madonna della Misericordia* (Madonna with the protecting coat) (Fig. 4).⁶¹

⁵⁶ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 145-146.

⁵⁷ Marcel Aubert, Louis Grodecki, Jean Lafond and Jean Verrier, *Les Vitreaux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959), 82-83.

⁵⁸ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 147-148.

⁵⁹ E.H. Gombrich, "Tobias and the Angel," in *Symbolic Images: Studies in the art of the renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 26-27.

⁶⁰ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 148.

⁶¹ Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 13.

4. The iconography of the Book of Tobit in western manuscripts (1400-1600)

4.1. Typological works

4.1.1. *The Biblia Pauperum*

Depictions of the story of Tobit were not used in a typological context as frequently as other apocryphal figures, but still belonged to this tradition and were therefore depicted in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*.⁶² The *Biblia Pauperum* (Bible for the Poor) was one of the most popular typological books of the Middle Ages. Typology was a way of thinking and interpreting the Bible, in which allegorical connections between the Old and the New Testaments were represented and systemized. The system is based on the idea that the events of the New Testament were prefigured by events recounted in the Old Testament, the so-called types or motifs. In this way, the Old Testament was connected with the life of Christ.⁶³ First of all, it was Christ himself that emphasized the interrelation between the Old and the New Testaments. The origin of typology can therefore be found in Christ himself. The Bible includes many examples in which Christ expresses that he came to earth to fulfill the Old Testament prophecies.⁶⁴ The first signs of typology are found in depictions of biblical figures in the early Christian catacombs or on the sarcophagi from this time, but works of art which emphasized the connection between the Old and the New Testament became more widespread in the twelfth century.⁶⁵ The *Biblia Pauperum* began to appear in the thirteenth century and its pictorial program illustrated the essential facts of salvation.⁶⁶ It became most popular in the German territories in Europe in the fourteenth century. The *Biblia Pauperum* of this century usually consisted of thirty-four groups of pictures and showed two groups on each page, but by the end of the century this original plan was no longer followed. Nevertheless, each chapter of this type of Bible consists of an image from the New Testament, an anti-type, that was placed between two Old Testament events which express the same idea. Often, one of the types used was an event from the period before the Law of Moses, while the other one was an event from the time after the Law of Moses.⁶⁷

⁶² Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 147.

⁶³ Elisabeth Soltész, ed., *Biblia pauperum: Facsimile Edition of the forty-leaf Blockbook in the Library of the Esztergom Cathedral*, trans. Lili Halapy (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1967), iv.

⁶⁴ An example of such an expression is “Think not that I am come to destroy the Law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.” (Matthew 5:17). Bert Cardon, *Manuscripts of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis in the Southern Netherlands (c. 1410 - c.1470): A Contribution to the Study of the 15th Century Book Illumination and of the Function and Meaning of Historical Symbolism* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1996), 1-2.

⁶⁵ Elisabeth Soltész, *Biblia pauperum*, iv.

⁶⁶ Juliane Matuszak, *Das Speculum exemplorum als Quelle volkstümlicher Glaubensvorstellungen des Spätmittelalters* (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1967), 13.

⁶⁷ Elisabeth Soltész, *Biblia pauperum*, v-vi.

Although the *Biblia Pauperum* is a picture Bible rather than a literary one, text can be found in the three *tituli* that explain each scene, the four banners beneath the depictions of the prophets and the two *lectiones* that briefly describe the Old Testament events with a typological explanation. Both Latin and German versions of the book circulated in the Middle Ages.⁶⁸ The name of this book, which means “Bible for the poor,” suggests that it was meant to help the lower classes to gain a better understanding of the Bible, but this Bible was actually meant to be a teaching tool for the *clerici pauperes*. These were the poor preachers for whose benefits *Biblia Pauperum* were produced. In order to understand the pictures in this Bible, the viewer had to possess previously acquired knowledge and, because most of the visual forms in this book were supplied with inscriptions in Latin, the preacher had to act as a mediator and explain the significance of the depicted images to the lay people.⁶⁹

Several episodes of the story of Tobit were illustrated in the *Biblia Pauperum*. Some events of the Book of Tobit were used as a prefiguration for Christ on the road to Emmaus. On folio 21r of an Austrian *Biblia Pauperum* that was dated around 1435 (New York, The Morgan Library, MS. M 230), Christ who reveals himself to his followers on the road to Emmaus is prefigured by Tobias that is greeted by Raguel, and by Isaac receiving Jacob’s blessing. The New Testament episode or anti-type is surrounded by the depiction of four prophets with banderoles. Beneath it, the two Old Testament scenes are depicted in two separate compartments. The text above the black ink drawing of Christ says *Die zwey iungen zu Emauss nöthigen den herren bey ihnen zu bleiben Lucae am 24* (The two young men in Emmaus invite the Lord to stay with them Luke 24), while the text beneath the drawing of Jacob cites Genesis 27 and the text beneath the drawing of Tobias cites Tobit 7. The latter Bible chapter deals with the episode in which the angel Raphael and Tobias visit Raguel. On the drawing depicting this scene, Raguel stands at the doorway of a building and welcomes the angel Raphael and Tobias (Fig. 5). On folio 21v of the same manuscript, both Joseph’s revealing himself to his brothers as well as the homecoming of Tobias prefigure an event of the life of Christ. They symbolize Christ who appears to his followers in Jerusalem. The text above the drawings on this folio says *Die iünger wurden froh dass sy den herren sahen Ion(nes) 20* (The young people were happy that they saw the Lord John 20). The description for the drawing of Joseph is a citation of Genesis 45, while

⁶⁸ There existed a close German translation of the Latin version, but also more freely translated versions. In these German editions, the *tituli* lack, but the *lectiones* are extended to long narratives with typological explanations. Hendrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum* (Stockholm: Thule-Tryck, 1925), 1-2.

⁶⁹ Anke te Heesen, *The World in a Box: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Picture Encyclopedia* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 66.

Tobias' homecoming is cited from Tobit 11. The miniature illustrates this happening with a depiction of Tobit and Tobias embracing each other. Both folios each depict four prophets and on each one, only Isaiah is identified. On folio 21r, Isaiah holds a scroll with a text cited as Isaiah 45 and on folio 21v, he holds a scroll with a text cited as Isaiah 9.⁷⁰

Another example is the German *Biblia Pauperum* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Germ. 155) that was dated ca. 1450, in which Jacob receiving Isaac's blessing again prefigures Christ on the road to Emmaus.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it is not Tobias and the angel who are visiting Raguel, but the angel that leads Tobias to Media, that was chosen to be the other symbol for Christ in this *Biblia pauperum*. This Bible uses the same structure as the previous one, so the episode of Christ's life is surrounded by four prophets, while the two types are placed next to each other beneath it. On folio 21r of this manuscript, a depiction of Isaac giving away his blessing is placed next to one of Tobit, Tobias and the angel in a green meadow with flowers. Both prefigurations are depicted in the same landscape, but divided by an architectural structure. They illustrate the non-recognition of a divine presence. The next folio shows events that are about recognition and reunion. Joseph reveals his identity to his father and his brothers, the Lord appears to his followers and Tobias comes home safely. The angel manifested his divine nature through his deeds, so his wings are visible this time. He is placed in a landscape again, watching Tobit and Tobias embracing each other. This time Anna is present too. In the text, the typological relationship is further elaborated. The fish that struck Tobias on the Tigris becomes the devil, from which the angel Raphael saves him. The angel and Tobias symbolize Christ, who was sent to the world by his father to overcome the devil (Fig. 6).⁷²

From these examples, we can conclude that the Book of Tobit was a steady part of the iconographical repertoire of the *Biblia Pauperum* and had a certain place in this book, although the episodes chosen from Book of Tobit were not exactly the same in the manuscripts discussed above. We can therefore conclude that smaller variations could be made in the choice of which scene would be depicted as the prefiguration of Christ on the road to Emmaus. Ofcourse the chosen scene still had to be suitable as a prefiguration for this Bible story. Although the previous

⁷⁰ Bible, c. 1435. "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M.230," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 5, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/77199>.

⁷¹ *Biblia Pauperum*, c. 1450. "Armenbibel in 48 Darstellungen - BSB Cgm 155," OPACplus Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?View=default&db=100&id=BV037258959>.

⁷² Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 5-6.

examples seem to indicate that the characters from the story of Tobit were only applied as prefigurations of Christ, this was not the only way the iconography of Tobit was applied in this book type. In a the Hague manuscript of 1470 (The Hague, RMMW, MS. 10 A 15), none of the episodes of the story of Tobit serve as prefigurations of the life of Christ.⁷³ Instead, Tobit is depicted as one of the four prophets surrounding the New Testament scene and its prefigurations. On folio 29r, he is a witness of Christ predicting his passion together with Jonah, Micah and Baruch and on folio 38r he witnesses Christ with the blessed in a sheet together with David, Joshua and Isaiah. Christ who predicts his passion is prefigured by Micaiah predicting king Ahab's death and king Jehoram visiting Elisha who prophecies plenty. Christ with the blessed in a sheet is prefigured by the feast of Job's children and the dream of Jacob. Tobit's banderole on folio 29r say *Tempus e(st) ut rev(er)tar ad eu(m) q(ui) misit me* (It is time to return to the one that has sent me) (Fig. 7) and *Et flere ceperunt pre gaudio* (And they started to cry instead of being happy) on folio 38r of this manuscript. This example proves that the story of Tobit was used in more than one manner to decorate the *Biblia Pauperum*.

4.1.2. *The Speculum humanae salvationis*

The *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Mirror of Redemption) was written in the early fourteenth century by an unknown author and from then on used by preaching monks and clerics.⁷⁴ This work, that tells the history of the fall and redemption, is compiled of text and images that are interwoven in such way that the book belongs to the tradition of typology.⁷⁵ The system of typology that was used for the *Speculum humanae salvationis* was borrowed from the early *Biblia Pauperum* or *Biblia Picta* manuscripts, but originally came from Asia Minor and the Greek Fathers. The concept influenced the Western Church through Father Augustine.⁷⁶ Bibles like the *Biblia Pauperum* thus used the same concept of typology. The difference was that they barely had a text accompanying the miniatures in it, while the *Speculum humanae salvationis* explained the illustrations in it extensively. Just like the *Biblia Pauperum*, the book needed a

⁷³ Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (fragment; I); Peter Pictor, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (II); Theobald of Troyes, *Summa Bibliae* (III) and *Biblia pauperum* (IV), c. 1470. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, RMMW, 10 A 15," *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+A+15>.

⁷⁴ Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324–1500* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ Oxford: University of California Press, 1985), 25-26.

⁷⁵ An example of such an expression is "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." (Mt 5:17). Cardon, *Manuscripts of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis in the Southern Netherlands*, 1-2.

⁷⁶ Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, 25.

preacher to practice the mediating position and to explain the significance of the examples in the book.⁷⁷ Complete manuscripts of this book consist of fifty-one leaves, including a prologue of two pages, a prohemium of four pages and forty-two chapters with a miniature above each of the four text columns, followed by three chapters of double the normal length. These were all illustrated by eight miniatures that required four pages each. The typological lessons were emphasized by parallel compositions of the four miniatures that decorated each chapter.⁷⁸ The first two chapters were devoted to the first age of the world. The next forty followed the typological pattern in which an image of a New testament event was accompanied by three prefigurations from the Old Testament, for which apocryphal events were often used. The last three chapters were not typological and contained miniatures that depicted the Seven Stations of the Passion, the Seven Sorrows, and the Seven Joys of Mary.⁷⁹ Several hundred copies of this script were made between c. 1325 and c. 1600. They mainly followed the pattern of the earliest remaining manuscripts that dated back to 1324.⁸⁰ The book was a compilation from adaptations of and commentaries on the Bible, which was a normal procedure for religious texts in the time it was composed. Typological books like this were considered just as important as the Scriptures themselves, because the Bible was a complicated book full of enigmas and could only be understood with the help of literature written by the Church Fathers. The Prologue of the *Speculum humanæ salvationis* says that the educated people can read from the Scriptures, but that the unlearned must be taught by pictures. Due to its popularity, the book was translated into German, French, English, Dutch, and Czech.⁸¹

Usually, two scenes of the legend of Tobit are depicted in the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*. First of all, the marriage of Tobias and Sarah is part of the iconographic program of this book. This scene is usually to be found in the sixth chapter of the *Speculum humanæ salvationis* and was used as prefiguration for the marriage of Maria and Joseph, together with the tower of Baris and the tower of David.⁸² Sarah was a virgin when she married Tobias, because her seven previous marriages were unconsummated. She was therefore likened to Mary, who was still a

⁷⁷ Te Heesen, *The World in a Box*, 66.

⁷⁸ Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, 27-28.

⁷⁹ J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: texte critique: les sources et l'influence iconographique principalement sur l'art alsacien du XIVe siècle* (Mulhouse: Imprimerie Ernest Meininger, 1907), 7.

⁸⁰ The *Speculum* was written sometime before 1324. This date which appears in two manuscripts that are kept in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9584 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. lat. 593) and were probably copied from an example which is now lost. Wilson and Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, 26.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁸² Edgar Breitenbach, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Eine Typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Strasbourg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1930), 116-118.

virgin when she married Joseph.⁸³ Furthermore, the tower of Baris stood for the blessed Virgin Mary in the scholastic history on the Maccabees. Only two guards were necessary to protect this tower,⁸⁴ which stood for Mary's personality.⁸⁵ The tower of David with its thousand shields was a also prefiguration of Mary, "because, the virgin is like a tower that guarantees the righteousness of hell, but above all because the virgin has victoriously resisted all temptations."⁸⁶ In the thirty-fifth chapter of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Mary with the *Arma Christi* (Instruments of the Passion) was prefigured by Anna that mourns for her son Tobias, Christ's parable of the lost coin and the story of Saul and Michal. In the parable of the coin, Christ compared a lost coin with a lost soul. A woman had ten coins and lost one. Although she still had the nine other ones, she was so joyful that she invited her friends and neighbors when she found it again. In the same way, there would be joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner who repents.⁸⁷ As for the story of Saul and Michal, Michal was the daughter of Saul and became the wife of David. After a while, Saul started to hate David and gave his daughter away to a man called Palti.⁸⁸ Depictions of these iconographic scenes can be found in most fifteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis*, like for example in two German manuscripts (The Hague, RMMW, 10 C 23⁸⁹ and The Hague, RMMW, 10 B 34),⁹⁰ an English one (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 766),⁹¹ a Spanish one (Oxford, Bodleian library, MS Douce 204)⁹² and two Flemish ones (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.385⁹³ and Oxford, Bodleian library, MS. Douce f. 4).⁹⁴

⁸³ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 148.

⁸⁴ Bernadette Kramer, *Een lekenboek in woord en beeld. De Spiegel der menschliken zalicheid* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 199.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁸⁶ Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 189-190.

⁸⁷ Luke 15:8-10 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition – RSVCE).

⁸⁸ 1 Samuel 25:44 (Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition – RSVCE).

⁸⁹ *Speculum humanae salvationis*, c. 1400-1500. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, RMMW, 10 C 23," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+C+23>.

⁹⁰ *Speculum humanae salvationis*. And other texts, c. 1450. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, RMMW, 10 B 34," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+B+34>.

⁹¹ *Speculum humanae salvationis*, c. 1400. "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M.766," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 5, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/131050>.

⁹² *Speculum humanae salvationis*, c. 1430-1450. "Speculum humanae salvationis: MS. Douce 204," Bodley's Luna, accessed April 12, 2018,

http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search/what/MS.%20Douce%20204?q==%22MS.%20Douce%20204%22&sort=Shelfmark,Folio_Page,Roll_

⁹³ *Speculum humanae salvationis*, mid-fifteenth century. "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M.385," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 5, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77328>.

⁹⁴ *Speculum humanae salvationis* (fragments), c. 1460-1470. "Speculum humanae salvationis: MS. Douce f. 4," Bodley's Luna, accessed April 12, 2018,

http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Douce%20f.%204%22&sort=Shelfmark,Folio_Page,Roll_#,Frame_#

In chapter six of these manuscripts, the marriage of Tobias is depicted as a prefiguration of Mary and Joseph. The couples are depicted in such way that they do not stand next to each other but both next to the person that marries them. In the case of Mary and Joseph, this is bishop Abiathar or Pontifex and in the case of Sarah and Tobias it is Sarah's father Raguel. In some of the drawings that decorate these *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts, spectators or architectural surroundings are added to this event. Most of the time, a short sentence describes what happens in the scene depicted. On folio 6v of The Hague manuscript 10 B 34, one can for example read the words *Maria desponsat(ur) Ioseph Mathei p(ri)mo* (Maria espouses Joseph Matthew 1) and *Sara t(ra)ditur Tobie Tobie 7* (Sarah marries Tobias Tobit 7) (Fig. 8). Furthermore, the characters' names are often indicated above them. The tower of Baris is usually depicted with two buglers or guardians in it and the tower of David is covered with shields and sometimes also arrows. In images that decorate chapter thirty-five of these fifteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis* manuscripts, a standing or sitting Mary is surrounded by various instruments of the passion that are often depicted in squares around her. This iconographical theme is usually depicted on the same folio as Tobias and the angel leaving Nineveh or returning safe from their journey. Tobit, Anna and Tobias are often part of the scene as well. In several depictions of this episode, banderoles give more information about the Bible story. The banderoles on folio 56v in Pierpont Morgan Library MS 766 for example, say *Noli flere salu(us) reuertetur ad te fili(us) tu(us)* (Do not weep, your son will return to you unharmed) and *Bac(u)l(u)m senectutis n(ost)re transtulisti a nob(is) nu(n)q(ua)m fuiss(et) pecunia illa p(ro) qua misti eum* (You have handed over the staff of our old age; that money you sent to him has never been ours) (Fig. 9). The parable of the silver coin is usually portrayed by a woman surrounded by nine coins, a woman with a heap of coins or by one coin that falls out of a woman's little suitcase. Sometimes this story is also depicted by a woman with a lamp, possibly in a forest, with several coins laying on the underground. Furthermore, the marriage of Michael and Palti is completed by Saul in these manuscripts. Just like in the *Biblia Pauperum*, the story of Tobit is part of a more or less severe applied sequence of images, but again it must be noted that not every *Speculum humanae salvationis* follows this precise iconographical cycle. The only depiction of the story of Tobit that MS. Douce f. 4 from the Bodleian library depicts is the marriage of Sarah and Tobias. The event on folio 3r is worked out more extensively in this manuscript than in the ones mentioned before. In front of the bishop, who marries Sarah and Tobias, stands a small cleric who holds a book. To the left of Sarah, one can see the seven heads

of her previous husbands with the devil that defeated them on top. Behind this event, one can see a large audience of which the angel Raphael is part (Fig. 10).

4.1.3. *The Bible moralisée*

Bibles moralisées are the most extensive manuscripts to illuminate the biblical narrative. They were made for the personal use of the kings and queens of France between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, so they were produced for a very small audience. The fact that their function was to impress and instruct, is the reason that they are usually of large format. These Bibles in the form of picture books are products of the best contemporary artists of Paris and exist in small quantities. They begin with an opening, but after that every folio of the *Bible moralisée* exists of eight small images that are arranged in two columns of four. One column shows four biblical images and next to each one of these, the reader can find a brief biblical text. The biblical texts are paired with a column of moralization texts and a column with moralization images. The most important characteristics of the *Bible moralisée* are their large collection of images and the fourfold interrelationship of the biblical and moralization texts and images.⁹⁵

The first example that will be discussed here is MS Français 166 from the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.⁹⁶ This Bible contains the Old Testament until the Book of Isaiah and exists of French and Latin texts.⁹⁷ It descends from the Bible of John II of France (1319-1364) (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Français 167) that was made in the fourteenth century.⁹⁸ This Bible is the youngest one of the core group of fully-illustrated *Bibles moralisées* that has survived. It is executed in a layout that is dominated by eight quite small images on every page, which makes it a true picture book. Although images of the most *Bibles moralisées* belonging to the core group are circular and the accompanying texts are in either Latin or French, the miniatures in MS Français 166 are rectangular and all the texts in it are both in Latin

⁹⁵ John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 1-2.

⁹⁶ *Bible moralisée*, Latin text with the French translation until Isaiah, fifteenth century. "Français 166," Bnf Archives et manuscrits, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc464559>.

⁹⁷ Alexandre de Laborde, *Étude sur la Bible Moralisée Illustrée* (Paris: Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 1911-1927), 102-103.

⁹⁸ *Bible moralisée*, fourteenth century. "Français 167," Bnf Archives et manuscrits, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc71760f>.

and French.⁹⁹ The production of the manuscript probably begun in 1402 for Philip the Bold (1342-1404), the duke of Burgundy. Its theological content has generally been seen as implying a learned Parisian house of Augustinian canons or one of mendicant friars.¹⁰⁰ The illumination of this manuscript was begun by the Limbourg brothers, but they never finished it. Various artists made attempts to continue the illumination of the manuscripts, but it was finally left unfinished in the 1490s.¹⁰¹ Although it was never finished, it contains a very extent number of miniatures. One full-page miniature and one thousand three hundred and forty small images decorate the manuscript.¹⁰²

The Book of Tobit is depicted from folio 94r up to folio 98v and with its thirty-seven miniatures illustrating the story of Tobit, it is far out the most extensive sequence of images to illustrate the Book of Tobit that will be discussed in this thesis. The reader starts to read a Bible fragment in the left upper corner, then reads the moralization of it in the left corner beneath and goes on to a new Old Testament fragment which is followed by a moralization beneath it. The characters of the story of Tobit are compared to apostles, Saints, martyrs, and many of the good deeds of Tobit are brought into connection with the life of Christ. Episodes of the life of Tobit for example, are placed parallel to episodes of the gospel of Matthew. King Sennacherib stands for Herod and Tobit who flees and comes back after the king's death prefigures Joseph and Mary who fled to Egypt and came back when Herod died (Fig. 11). Characters of the story of Tobit even become aligned to Bible figures such as Mary Magdalene and David that wrote the Psalms, but also to contemporary Christian, Saints and martyrs, and even to contemporary figures such as the king and queen of France. The moralizations are very varied and divergent and make this *Bible moralisée* an original work in which there seems to have been a lot of space for creativity. It has to be noted that the typology that was used here goes much further than the one used in the *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, in which only the Old and the New Testament were linked to each other. Although other *Bible moralisées* also depicted the story of Tobit in a large quantity of miniatures, they do not always exactly depict the same images and the details which are depicted in the episodes of the Book of Tobit always differ. A list of the episodes from the Book of Tobit that are depicted in this manuscript can be found down

⁹⁹ John Lowden, "'Bible Moralisée' in the Fifteenth Century and the Challenge of the 'Bible Historiale,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005), 75.

¹⁰⁰ Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Eberhard König, Tico Seifert and Guido Siebert, ed., *Bible moralisée. Prachthandschriften des Hohen Mittelalters – Gesammelte Schriften von Reiner Hausscherr* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009), 145.

¹⁰² Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 5.

below, but a summarization of the text of these eight *Bible moralisée* folios is to be found in the second appendix of this thesis. This appendix is meant to clarify the connection between the Book of Tobit and its moralizations and follows the original structure of MS Français 166. The text of this *Bible moralisée* deviates from the text of the biblical book Tobit, which is often changed into a whole new interpretation. The Bible verses that are given in appendix 2 are therefore merely indications which give information about the origin of the text of the *Bible moralisée*. The list that is written down below in this chapter describes the miniatures in this manuscript that depict a) scenes from the Book of Tobit and b) their moralization images.

1. a) Tobit stands in front of the captives of Shalmaneser
b) The young Christ stands in front of the Doctors of Law
2. a) Tobit worships God in the temple, but the other Jews worship another God outside
b) A group of people is captured; Christ is the only one that is not captured
3. a) Tobit stands in front of a group of Jews he visits
b) Christ stand in front of a group of people and preaches
4. a) Tobit hands over money to Raguel; Raguel is holding a signed contract
b) A rich men hands over money to his servants
5. a) Jews are beheaded while king Sennacherib is watching
b) The massacre of the innocent
6. a) Tobit buries a body
b) Joseph and Mary on their way to Egypt with Christ
7. a) Death of the king
b) Joseph and Mary return to Judea with Christ
8. a) A group of people at the dinner table of Tobit
b) A group of people at the dinner table of David; one person is leaving
9. a) Tobit carries a body with him
b) A compassionate Saint watches two men that are in a discussion
10. a) Tobit is sleeping beneath leaking swallow nests
b) A couple in a bed
11. a) Anna holds a lamb in her arms and Tobit points at her
b) A woman sits on the lap of an older man that holds her
12. a) Sarah and her maid argue
b) A personification of death attacks a group of men
13. a) Sarah prays next to her bed

- b) A cleric prays
- 14. a) Tobit stands in front of Tobias and points his finger at him
 - b) A child is being taught
- 15. a) Tobias introduces the angel to Tobit
 - b) Christ stands between two men
- 16. a) Tobit and the angel in conversation
 - b) Christ protects a group of men from a demon with his coat
- 17. a) Tobit and the angel in conversation
 - b) Christ in conversation with a man
- 18. a) Tobias and the angel on their way to Media
 - b) Christ tells the people goodbye
- 19. a) The angel watches Tobias who is sitting at a riverbank with his shoes next to him, while a fish swims by
 - b) A doctor watches a man who drives a group of people away
- 20. a) The angel watches Tobias catching the fish
 - b) Three men have a conversation
- 21. a) Tobias cuts the fish open; the angel stands next to him
 - b) A large group of people listens to a preacher
- 22. a) The angel and Tobias with the fish stand at Raguel's doorstep
 - b) A preacher stands in front of an audience
- 23. a) Raguel and the angel witness the marriage of Tobias and Sarah
 - b) A Holy Man reads the Bible and one can see God in his vision
- 24. a) Tobias and Sarah stand in a bedroom with a fireplace; the angel catches Asmodeus
 - b) A cleric is praying with a Bible on his lap in front of a church
- 25. a) Tobias and Sarah are praying, while kneeling next to their bed
 - b) A king and queen are praying, while kneeling next to their bed
- 26. a) Tobias and Sarah are sleeping in their bed; a maid comes in
 - b) A Holy Man and a woman (Mary Magdalene?) in conversation; with other people in the background
- 27. a) Raguel and his wife watch a servant digging a grave for Tobias
 - b) A man stands next to an empty grave and points at it, in front of a group of people
- 28. a) Raguel watches two servants slaughtering lambs in a barn
 - b) A man is beheaded in front of a preacher with a group of people behind him
- 29. a) A group of people at Raguel's dinner table

- b) A priest gives a wafer to converts in the church; he holds a beaker
- 30. a) Raguel and Tobias in conversation
 - b) Christ says goodbye to the disciples
- 31. a) The angel gives the signed contract to Gabael in Rages
 - b) A preacher points to heaven in front an audience; in the sky is a vision of God
- 32. a) Anna and Tobit are mourning
 - b) A group is mourning at the grave of Christ
- 33. a) Tobias and Sarah leave Raguel's house
 - b) Holy Apostles and Martyrs are discussing
- 34. a) Tobias and Tobit embrace each other; surrounded by Anna, Sarah and the angel
 - b) Ascension of Christ
- 35. a) Tobias applies the gall of the fish unto Tobit's eyes
 - b) A man lays on the ground in front of a group of people; a demon catches a naked man
- 36. a) The angel reveals himself to Tobit, Tobias, Anna and Sarah
 - b) Apostles read in front of an audience
- 37. a) Tobias and a group of people stand next to Tobit's bed when he dies
 - b) A group of clerics and a nun stand in front of a church

Except for this extent sequence of images that is allocated to Tobit in this *Bibles moralisée*, there also remain some fifteenth century *Bibles moralisées* with very few miniatures that only include the French text. Although their text corresponds to the French text in MS Français 166, they are no extend picture books. The example that will be discussed here is MS 76 E 7 from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague.¹⁰³ This Bible is linked to the Flemish workshop of Willem Vrelant and dated to the years between 1445 and 1460.¹⁰⁴ The extent to which this Bible and other similar ones are dependent on previous *Bible moralisées* varies and therefore reflect the special circumstances surrounding the production of such books. The texts for example, seem to have been recorded on a schedule that might have been in the possession of the person responsible for overseeing the production of these kind of *Bible moralisées*.¹⁰⁵ Folio 74v of The

¹⁰³ *Bible moralisée*, c. 1455-1460. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, KB, 76 E 7," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/76+E+7>.

¹⁰⁴ König, Seifert and Siebert, *Bible moralisée. Prachthandschriften des Hohen Mittelalters*, 157.

¹⁰⁵ Other similar illuminated Bibles are the mid-fifteenth-century London, British Library, Add. MS 15428; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 897 and the early fifteenth-century Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 141. John Lowden, "Under the Influence of the Bibles *Moralisées*," in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. John Lowden and Alixe Bovey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 177-178.

Hague manuscript 76 E 7 depicts the angel Raphael and Tobias on their way, hand in hand. Tobias holds a fish in his other hand and the angel Raphael is looking at it. They are depicted in a landscape with a river, fields and a cityscape in the distance (Fig. 12). This episode of the story of Tobit will prove itself popular in the context of manuscript illumination throughout this thesis.

4.2. Bibles

4.2.1. *Historiated initials depicting episodes from the Book of Tobit*

The Bibles in this corpus are subdivided according to the quantity of images that illustrate the narrative of the Book of Tobit in it. First of all, the iconography of Bibles with only a historiated initial depicting Tobit will be discussed. After that, Bibles with one single miniature depicting the story and Bibles with a sequence of images illustrating the Book of Tobit will be treated. Miniatures of Tobit that decorated the Bible were incorporated in the text of this biblical Book. Historiated initials are initials that include human figures and the scenes that are depicted in them are usually related to the texts that starts with the initial.¹⁰⁶ Many illuminated Bibles have a historiated initial depicting an episode of the Book of Tobit. The most frequently depicted part of the story in these initials is the episode in which Tobit sleeps outside and becomes blind because swallow droppings fall into his eyes. Four examples will briefly be discussed here. In an early fifteenth-century Bible from Prague (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 317, folio 318v), Tobit is depicted as an old man in a C initial. A swallow defecates in his eyes, while he is sleeping in a bed with his arms crossed over his abdomen.¹⁰⁷ An Italian Bible of the Vatican (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 13, f. 156r) depicts Tobit sleeping on a green flat underground in a round shaped T initial. Above him, three swallows are depicted in a nest.¹⁰⁸ The German Grillinger Bible (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15701, f. 171r) depicts Tobit sleeping beneath a structure of wood, with swallow nests hanging on it. Several swallows are flying in the sky above Tobit.¹⁰⁹ Another German bible of the second part

¹⁰⁶ Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 27.

¹⁰⁷ Bible, c. 1410. "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M. 317: fol. 318v," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/7/77420>.

¹⁰⁸ *Biblia: Testamentum vetus, liber Psalmorum et Testamentum novum*, before 1459. "Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 13," Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital, accessed April 12, 2018, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_13/0319/image.

¹⁰⁹ *Biblia veteris et novi testamenti*, 1428. "Biblia veteris et novi testamenti (Grillinger-Bibel) - BSB Clm 15701," OPACplus Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?View=default&db=100&id=BV036798648>.

of the fifteenth century (London, The British Library, Egerton 1895, f. 137) also depicts Tobit in a round shaped T initial. This historiated initial is more detailed than the previous ones. We see Tobit sitting in the courtyard of a building, on which three swallow nests are attached. The droppings of the swallow in the nest above Tobit's head fall into his eyes and Tobit grasps for his head (Fig. 13).¹¹⁰

Furthermore, several historiated initials that depict the story of Tobit in fifteenth-century Bibles show Tobit with the angel Raphael or Tobias. In a German Bible dated 1450 (Los Angeles, The Getty, Ms. Ludwig I 13, f. 162r) for example, Tobit is depicted while sitting next to the angel Raphael that points at him. Tobit is depicted with his eyes closed and a stick, which indicates that he is blind.¹¹¹ Another Bible of the Vatican (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1, f. 209r) depicts Tobit laying down, with his son Tobias standing next to him. God appears from behind the stem of the letter T that forms the initial (Fig. 14).¹¹² There are also examples of initials that depict the angel, Tobit and Tobias together. In both the Albergati Bible (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 407, f. 239r)¹¹³ and another Latin Bible (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 20, 149r) (Fig. 15),¹¹⁴ Tobit is depicted laying down while Tobias and the angel stand next to him. A swallow is depicted above them. There are also Bible initials that depict Tobit as a scribe (The Hague, KB, 78 D 38 I, folio 236r) (Fig. 16).¹¹⁵ An iconography that was used rather exceptionally to illustrate the story of Tobit, is the theme of the tribe members of Tobit worshipping the golden calf of king Jerobaom. A historiated initial depicting this image can be found in MS Pal. Lat. 1 that was made in Prague (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1, 184r) (Fig. 17).¹¹⁶ We can conclude that although miniaturists seemed to have some freedom in choosing the theme that would illustrate the initial

¹¹⁰ Old Testament (volume 1), Genesis to Ruth, with prologues, 1465. "Detailed record for Egerton 1895," Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=2752&CollID=28&NStart=1895>.

¹¹¹ Bible, c. 1450. "Initial T: Blind Tobit and the Angel," The J. Paul Getty Museum, accessed 30 May, 2018, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/2937/circle-of-stefan-lochner-initial-t-blind-tobit-and-the-angel-german-about-1450/>.

¹¹² *Biblia sacra*, 1454. "Manuscript - Vat.lat.1," Digital Vatican Library, accessed May 30, 2018, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1.

¹¹³ Latin Bible, 1428. "Albergati Bible," Beinecke Digital Collections, accessed May 30, 2018, https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3432849?image_id=1014796.

¹¹⁴ *Biblia sacra*, fifteenth century. "Manuscript - Vat.lat.20," Digital Vatican Library, accessed May 30, 2018, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.20.

¹¹⁵ History Bible, c. 1430. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, KB, 78 D 38 I," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/78+D+38+I>.

¹¹⁶ *Biblia: Testamentum vetus, liber Psalmorum et Testamentum novum*, fifteenth century. "Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1," Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital, accessed, May 30, 2018, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1/0379/image.

letter of the biblical book Tobit, the sleeping Tobit was the theme that was the most usual one to depict. The reason for this could be that the horizontal figure of the laying Tobit was easy to adjust to the form of the initial letters, but perhaps it was also just one of the most recognizable and colorful episodes of the story. When the readers saw the initial, they could see that the folio before their eyes was the start of the Book of Tobit in one glance.

4.2.2. Single miniatures depicting episodes from the Book of Tobit

In this chapter, the Bibles with a single miniature depicting scenes of the Book of Tobit will be discussed. The history Bible or *Bible historiale* was a French vernacular translation of the original Bible, expanded with the commentary of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and other biblical paraphrases.¹¹⁷ Two examples of such history Bibles of the first quarter of the fifteenth century depict Tobit laying in his bed. In the first one (London, British Library, Royal 19 D III, f. 222v), he is sleeping in his bed while a swallow flies over him.¹¹⁸ The second example (London, British Library, Royal 15 D III, f. 220v) depicts him laying down in his bed while Tobias and the angel Raphael are coming to heal him.¹¹⁹ A Dutch history Bible (The Hague, KB, 78 D 39, f. 261r) depicts two different episodes from the story in one miniature. First of all, the young Tobias leaves his father who is unhappily sitting next to his house. The second part of the story that is depicted is an older looking Tobias travelling with the angel Raphael (Fig. 18).¹²⁰ This way a narrative is told by means of only one miniature. The same method is also used in the two next examples. The first example is a miniature in a French *Bible du XIIIe siècle* (Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Widener 2).¹²¹ The *Bible du XIIIe siècle* was a French translation of the Bible that was undertaken in the thirteenth century, such as the name of it reveals.¹²² Folio 249v of this one shows Tobit burying the dead in the same setting as the marriage of Tobias and Sarah. The second example is a Latin Bible (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1, f. 213v) in which we can see several episodes of

¹¹⁷ John Lowden, "'Bible Moralisee' in the Fifteenth Century and the Challenge of the 'Bible Historiale,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005), 73.

¹¹⁸ *Bible historiale*, with various biblical books and Saints lives, 1411. "Detailed record for Royal 19 D III," Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7611&CollID=16&NStart=190403>.

¹¹⁹ *Bible historiale*, the early version, first quart of the fifteenth century. "Detailed record for Royal 15 D III," Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7246&CollID=16&NStart=150403>.

¹²⁰ History Bible, c. 1467. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, KB, 78 D 39," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed may 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/78+D+39>.

¹²¹ *Bible du XIIIe siècle*, 1475. "Bible du XIIIe siècle," Digital Collections Free Library of Philadelphia, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/1159>.

¹²² Eyal Poleg and Laura Light, ed., *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 313.

the story in one landscape. First of all, we see Tobit embracing Tobias and Anna shaking hands with Raphael in the foreground of the miniature. They're saying goodbye. On a road in the distance, the travelling Tobias and the angel are depicted. Further in the landscape, they can be seen crossing a river and even further one can see them sitting at a riverbank. This way, one can imagine them travelling further and further. On the right foreground of the miniature, we can see the travel companions returning with Sarah, another male person and two camels. Raphael and Tobias both carry a small box, perhaps containing the remedy for Tobit's blindness. The text beneath this miniature says *Tobias ex civitate et tribu* (Tobias out of the state and out of the group) (Fig. 19).¹²³ Finally, there are also Bibles with miniatures that depict Tobit as a scribe (Heidelberg, Universitat Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 21, f. 56v) (Fig. 20)¹²⁴ and a miniature showing Tobias and the angel Raphael on their way that decorates a Book of Tobit (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke MS 989, f. 5v).¹²⁵ As we see, miniaturists could probably chose freely from the large variety of iconographical themes that could derive from the Bible book. There does not seem to have been a focus on one iconography in particular in this case. Still, there is a tendency that can be noticed and that is the trend that several miniatures depicting the Book of Tobit in one miniature combine more than one episode of the story.

4.2.3. Sequences of miniatures depicting episodes from the Book of Tobit

Most sequences depicting the story of Tobit were spread over multiple manuscript folios. A very small sequence of miniatures depicting the Book of Tobit is to be found in a Dutch history Bible (London, The British Library, Royal 15 D I). On folio 18 of this manuscript, we see the interior of a house with Anna sitting by a fire, a servant maid and Tobit laying in a bed while a swallow defecates in his eyes. The front door and a piece of landscape outside the house are depicted, so we can see Tobias leading the angel Raphael inside the house. On folio 23, one can see Tobias, his dog and the angel Raphael at the bank of a river near a house (Fig. 21). One of Tobias' feet is in the water and is being bitten by a creature that looks more like a bear rather than a fish. The angel Raphael points at the scene.¹²⁶ Furthermore, a sequence of six, one of

¹²³ *Biblia sacra latine. Vetus Testamentum cum prologis et argumentis s. Hieronymi*, 1476. "Manuscript - Urb.lat.1," Digital Vatican Library, accessed May 30, 2018, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.1.

¹²⁴ Bible with the Old Testament, 1441-1449. "Cod. Pal. germ. 21," Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg21/0116/image>.

¹²⁵ Book of Tobias, c. 1470. "Book of Tobias," Beinecke Digital Collections, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3840286>.

¹²⁶ *La Bible Historiale*, part 4 (*Bible Historiale* of Edward IV), c. 1470 and c. 1479. "Detailed record for Royal 15 D I," Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7744&CollID=16&NStart=150401>.

nine, one of ten and one of eleven scenes will be discussed here. At the end of this chapter, a rather exceptional Bible with several drawings illustrating the story of Tobit divided in several compartments will also be discussed. A French history Bible of the Pierpont Morgan Library contains a sequence of six miniatures depicting episodes from the Book of Tobit (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 394, ff. 188r-190v). In the first miniature of this sequence that starts at folio 188r, we see the angel Raphael, Tobias, and his dog at the bank of the Tigris river. Tobias has one foot in the water and is slaying the fish with a sword. Remarkably detailed is the fact that he is wearing a sock on his right foot, while his left foot in the water is bare. Two miniatures are to be found on the next folio of the manuscript. In the first one on the left side of the folio, the angel Raphael walks in a landscape outside the city of Rages. He is going to reclaim the money of Tobit (Fig. 22). In the right column of this folio, another miniature depicts Tobit laying in his bed and the mourning Anna standing next to it. The next folio shows a miniature depicting the healing of Tobit done by Tobias with the angel Raphael standing next to Tobit's bed and another one depicting Raphael leaving the house. He wears a long white dress instead of a short pink one and his wings are gold instead of blue, indicating that he revealed his identity (Fig. 23). It also illustrates the fact that he got his wages paid. Next to him, we can see a house with Tobit and Tobias on the inside. The last miniature depicts the death of Tobit, who is still laying in his bed with two women and two men mourning in his room. The story is thus summarized by means of six miniatures in this manuscript.¹²⁷

The next sequence that will be examined here exists of nine miniatures that decorate a Parisian *Bible du XIIIe siècle* of the first quarter of the fifteenth century (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 395, ff. 1r-5r). On the first folio, we see a miniature with Tobit laying in his bed and two black birds flying over his head and a miniature of Tobit burying three bodies (Fig. 24). The next folio shows a miniature in which Tobit is mocked by three kinsmen, while he lays in his bed. The third folio of the manuscript shows Tobias standing next to his father's bed. He is instructed to start his journey. This miniature is followed by one in which the angel Raphael is questioned by Tobit before he starts travelling with his son, one in which Tobias and the angel are welcomed by Raguel who lives in a castle and one in which Tobias and Sarah lie in a bed, illustrating their wedding night (Fig. 25). The next miniature decorating the Book of Tobit in this Bible depicts Tobit standing up while he interacts with Tobias and the angel, probably about Raphael's wages due to his companion. Finally, Tobit's death is depicted by

¹²⁷ *Bible Historiale*, c. 1415. "Bible Historiale," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/112314>.

him laying down in bed while he is surrounded by a group of men and one woman that reads the Bible.¹²⁸ The next sequence, that exists of ten miniatures, is to be found in a German Bible from Stuttgart (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 17, ff. 233r-243v). This large sequence is remarkable because it depicts several scenes that are barely depicted in any other manuscript discussed in this thesis. These are the captivity of Tobit in Nineveh and a devil murdering Sarah's husbands. The miniature depicting the captivity shows a king and his servants in front of a large group of captives whose feet are locked in a sort of bench (Fig. 26) and the miniature of Sarah and the demon shows her sleeping in a bed, while Asmodeus demon is killing one of her husbands by cutting his throat. The bodies of Sarah's six previous husbands lay on the floor of her bedroom (Fig. 27). The other miniatures that decorate the story of Tobit in this manuscript depict Tobit carrying a dead Jew into his house, the blinding of Tobit, Tobias who meets the angel, Tobias catching the fish, Tobias' marriage to Sarah, Tobias and Sarah praying next to their bed during their wedding night, Tobias healing his father and the angel Raphael revealing himself.¹²⁹

The next manuscript to be examined is a Dutch history Bible from Utrecht (The Hague, KB, 78 D 38 I, ff. 236r-240v) depicting the story of Tobit in eleven scenes. On the first folio of the Book of Tobit in this Bible, we see a historiated initial of him sitting and reading at his desk while a heavenly light shines on him (Fig. 16). The second miniature depicts two episodes in one painting. We see Tobit secretly burying the dead and Tobit being blinded by a swallow's droppings, both on the foreground of the miniature. In the background, we see three people travelling. In the second miniature decorating the text, Tobit and Tobias sit in a landscape. Tobit tells Tobias to make the journey. After this miniature follow three miniatures depicting Tobias catching the fish in the company of the angel, Tobias removing the fish's heart, liver and gall and Tobias praying with Sarah next to their bed while the angel binds Asmodeus. The next illustration shows the wedding feast of Sarah and Tobias (Fig. 28) and the one after that shows Sarah and Tobias' return to Nineveh in the company of the angel Raphael, three men and two donkeys. The next miniatures depict Tobit welcoming the angel Raphael, Sarah, an older man,

¹²⁸ Bible, c. 1415. "Bible," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/110798>.

¹²⁹ Bible with the Old Testament, 1477. "Cod. Pal. germ. 17," Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0001/thumbs>.

Tobias and his dog and two donkeys; the angel Raphael revealing his identity to Tobit, Tobias and Sarah; and Tobit giving his last admonitions to a group of five men (Fig. 29).¹³⁰

A striking feature is that the story seemed to have been depicted in a lot of history Bibles and *Bibles du XIIIe siècle*. There is no iconographical theme that is depicted in each of these image sequences. The two episodes of the Book Tobit that were depicted in four of the five sequences discussed above are Tobit's blinding and Tobias and the angel at the riverbank. The miniatures of Tobias and the angel at the riverbank vary from depictions of Tobias catching the fish with his bare hands to slaying him with a sword. Sometimes he is also just being attacked by the fish and not fighting back yet. His little dog is often present. As for Tobit being blinded, he is depicted sleeping inside as well as outside and the reasons for his blinding are swallows or swallow nests every time. The second most depicted episodes are the angel Raphael leaving Tobit and his family and the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah. The angel that leaves Tobit and his family is depicted by the angel walking outside while Tobit and his son are still inside or the angel standing in front of Tobit, Tobias and one to three other family members. Although he was already depicted as an angel before his revelation, that takes place when he says goodbye to Tobit, the color of his clothes was changed in two of these three miniatures to indicate that he revealed his supernatural identity. Tobias and Sarah are depicted kneeling in front of their bed or sleeping in their bed during their wedding night. The miniature that depicts this scene in The Hague manuscript 78 D 38 I shows the scene more extensively. Tobias and Sarah are kneeling in front of their bed in an interior, but we can also see a landscape in which the angel Raphael is binding a rope around the demon Asmodeus.

At last, there is also Wetmore MS 1 of the Public Library in Providence. This Bible shows biblical stories in the form of little sketches that act as a rebus-like mnemonic device. Every biblical book in it takes up two folios, which usually are divided in ten compartments existing of rectangular and triangular shapes. The story of Tobit is depicted on folio 29v and folio 30r of the manuscript. It is depicted by little isolated drawings as well as larger, more elaborated ones. The more isolated drawings exist of a depiction of Tobias, a shovel (?), a hand holding two red ball-shaped objects, and three drawings of a little dog. Then there are more elaborated sketches of a hand grabbing for a fish, Tobit instructing his son, an angel with a staff, a handshake, an open grave, a pointing hand, a head with a bandage around it and the old Tobit

¹³⁰ History Bible, c. 1430. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, KB, 78 D 38 I," Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/78+D+38+I>.

laying in his bed. Not only the layout of this Bible is remarkable, it also depicts objects that are hard to connect with the story of Tobit.¹³¹

4.3. Office books

4.3.1. Breviary

The breviary originates from the eleventh century and is a compilation of various texts that contain the prayers of the Catholic Church.¹³² It contains the Psalms, parts of the Holy Scriptures, writings of the Church Fathers or the lives of the Saints, antiphons, and prayers that constitute the Divine Office for each day of the Christian Church year. The Divine Office comprises the daily prayers performed at eight canonical hours of the day arranged around the Psalms, so that all one-hundred and fifty Psalms were read each week. Extra Offices for certain occasions, for example the Office of the Dead and the little Office of the Virgin were sometimes added to the daily Office. A complete breviary usually includes the whole Psalter with its calendar and litany. Although the breviary was initially meant to be used by monks and priests, it was also used by the laity in the later Middle Ages.¹³³ Several richly illustrated breviaries were produced between the fourteenth and mid-sixteenth century. Their decoration often consisted of full-page miniatures, historiated initials, framed miniatures, and decorative borders. It must have been the increasing popularity of the Books of Hours, a devotional book for the laity, that stimulated the production of these luxury breviaries.¹³⁴ The decoration of breviaries had a structural, decorative and devotional function, but also meditative purposes.¹³⁵

The examples that will be given in this disquisition will lead to the conclusion that the iconography of Tobit was used rather freely in the context of breviary manuscripts. There doesn't seem to have been one typical episode of the story of Tobit that belonged more to the tradition of decorating breviaries than others. We will start discussing some fifteenth-century examples. The earliest one is the Dutch Egmont breviary (New York, The Pierpont Morgan

¹³¹ Bible, fifteenth century. "Providence, Providence Public Library, Special Collections, Wetmore MS 1," Digital Scriptorium, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://www.digital-scriptorium.org/xtf3/search?rmode=digscript;smode=basic;text=tobias;docsPerPage=1;startDoc=11;fullview=yes>.

¹³² Dom Baudot, *The breviary: Its history and contents*, transl. The Benedictines of Stanbrook (London/Edinburgh: Sands & Company, 1929), v.

¹³³ P. Hourihane, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 422.

¹³⁴ Hourihane, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 422.

¹³⁵ Brigitte Dekeyser, *Layers of Illusion: The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary* (Ghent: Ludion, 2004), 14.

Library, MS M.87) that was made for Arnold of Egmont (1423-1473) around 1440.¹³⁶ It exists of a calendar of the Carthusian Order, a standard breviary text with a psalter, and an Office of the Dead and the Hours of the Virgin meant for Carthusian use.¹³⁷ Folio 277r of this manuscript, which is the beginning of an antiphon and a lesson of the Book of Tobit for the first Sunday of October, shows two historiated initials. The N initial encloses a man, wearing a hat and holding a scroll, which probably portrays Tobit. The second initial encloses a praying cleric. On the next folio, one can see a miniature of Tobit and Anna (Fig. 30). The blind Tobit sits on a chair next to his bed, while Anna comes in with a lamb. This scene decorates the beginning of the first lesson in first nocturne in vespers on the first Sunday of October. The folio that follows is decorated with a historiated initial of a young man handing over a fish to an older man, which portrays Tobias giving the fish to Tobit. It also decorates the first lesson on the first Sunday of October.¹³⁸ The second breviary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 388) that serves as an example here, dates back to the third quarter of the fifteenth century and is Italian. On folio 267r of it, Tobias and the angel are depicted in the border of the title page to the Sanctorale of Saint Saturninus and Saint Andrew (Fig. 31). The angel is depicted as a large creature with wings, while Tobias is depicted as a small boy. Other figurative elements that decorate the border are a portrait of a king, the pope and several angels blowing trumpets.¹³⁹ A similar depiction of Tobias and the angel can be found in an Italian breviary for Austin friars (San Francisco, San Francisco State University, De Bellis La. 07). The two travelers are placed in a small roundel forming a border together with other roundels depicting God the Father, Nicholas of Tolentino (?), Monica (?), Mary Magdalene (?) and Augustine.¹⁴⁰ Another fifteenth-century example is the French Pierpont Morgan breviary (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 463).¹⁴¹ This book was dated around 1490 and folio 184v of it shows

¹³⁶ Michael Schauder, "Konrad Witz und die Utrechter Buchmalerei," In *Masters and Miniatures: Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht, 10-13 December 1989)*, ed. Koert van der Horst (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1991), 141.

¹³⁷ Henri L. M. Defor, Anne S. Korteweg and Wilhelmina C.M. Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch manuscript Painting* (Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1989), 112.

¹³⁸ Breviary, c. 1440. "Egmont breviary," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/76967>.

¹³⁹ Augustinian Breviary for the of Rome, third quarter of the fifteenth century. "Ms. canon. liturg. 388," Bodley's Luna, accessed April 12, 2018, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search;jsessionid=F4D3FD3BA8B6270FE27E75CE9063C3DE?q==%22MS.%20Canon.%20Liturg.%20388%22&sort=Shelfmark,Folio_Page,Roll_#,Frame_#.

¹⁴⁰ Breviary for Austin friars, 1450-1499. "San Francisco, San Francisco State University, J. Paul Leonard Library, De Bellis Collection, De Bellis La. 07," Digital Scriptorium, accessed April 25, 2018, <http://www.digital-scriptorium.org/xtf3/search?rmode=digscript;smode=basic;text=tobit;docsPerPage=1;startDoc=11;fullview=yes>.

¹⁴¹ Breviary, c. 1490. "Breviary," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/76929>.

a miniature in which the young Tobias is instructed by his father who is sitting in a chair.¹⁴² This breviary was written for the Cluniac abbey of Mosaic and was commissioned by one of the two abbots of the Carmaing family of Negrepelisse, whose family arms occur in many of the borders.¹⁴³ Then there are also fifteenth-century breviaries whose historiated initials depict Tobias and the angel on their way, such as the breviary for the use of Rome of the Houghton Library for example (Cambridge, Houghton Library, MS Typ 0219, folio 199v).¹⁴⁴

Several illustrations of the narrative of the Book of Tobit were found in sixteenth-century breviaries on the digital databases used for this thesis. This is not the case for many other book types discussed in this thesis, which is not due to the decreasing popularity of the iconography of Tobit but to the fact that books with printed illustrations were surpassing illuminated manuscripts around the turn of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁵ Although the iconography of Tobit was still depicted in miniature art, it was mainly continued in prints and illustrations of printed books around this time.¹⁴⁶ In a sixteenth-century Italian breviary for Cistercian use (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 343), dated around 1500, one can see Tobias and the angel on their journey in a roundel at the bottom of folio 112r. The angel carries a small bowl and is depicted taller than the little boy Tobias, who carries a small fish.¹⁴⁷ The story of Tobit also got allocated a full-page miniature in the Mayer van den Bergh breviary (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, MS 90563).¹⁴⁸ Curiously enough, it does not appear at the beginning of the text of Tobit. Instead, it is used as an illustration to Psalm twenty-six. The miniature on folio 41r depicts two scenes from the story of Tobit and accompanies the Psalm saying *Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea* (the lord is my light and my salvation) (Fig. 32). On the foreground of this miniature, one can see Tobias catching a huge, monster-like fish and the angel Raphael making a gesture with his arm. The background depicts Tobit and Anna welcoming the angel Raphael and their

¹⁴² "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts," The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/26/76929>.

¹⁴³ John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530 from American Collections* (New York/ London: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982), 82.

¹⁴⁴ Breviary for the use of Rome, 1450-1499. "Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 0219," Digital Scriptorium, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://www.digital-scriptorium.org/xtf3/search?rmode=digscript;smode=basic;text=tobias;docsPerPage=1;startDoc=4;fullview=yes>.

¹⁴⁵ Diane E. Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 97-98.

¹⁴⁶ Elizabeth Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 150.

¹⁴⁷ Breviary for Cistercian use, c. 1500. "MS. Canon. Liturg. 343," Bodley's Luna, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Canon.%20Liturg.%20343%22>.

¹⁴⁸ Breviary, 1501-1510. "Breviarium, genaamd van Mayer van den Bergh," BALaT Belgian Art Links and Tools, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=Z007016&objnr=90563&nr=13>.

son Tobias with the fish on his arm. The young woman next to Anna is probably Sarah.¹⁴⁹ Christ was seen as the fish that brought salvation and Tobias as is his prefiguration. Although the choice of illustration is appropriate for the text it accompanies, it is rather unusual for a Psalter. Usually this text was accompanied by an image of King David touching his eyes, showing that he has seen the light of the Lord, or by one in which David is anointed by Samuel, a reference to the *salus mea* verse of the Psalms.¹⁵⁰ A rarely depicted episode of the story of Tobit appears on a miniature on folio 167v of a French breviary (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 8) from 1511 (Fig. 33). It shows Tobit in captivity, placing a coin in the hand of the two beggars that approach him. The miniature is placed at the folio on which one can read the first lesson in first nocturne for Matins on the second Sunday of September.¹⁵¹ Contrary to the typological and biblical works we discussed, Tobit did not belong to one certain part of the text of the breviary. It was used to decorate lessons of the Book of Tobit and the Psalms, but also for other parts of the breviary. Although various and divergent episodes of the story of Tobit seemed to have been used as illuminations of this book type, the depiction of Tobias and the angel on their way seemed to be popular in the decoration of the borders of the breviary. It is probably no accident that several examples that depict this theme are Italian. The angel Raphael was worshipped for his role as guardian angel and protector from the mid-fourteenth century onwards and this cult especially developed itself in Italy.¹⁵² In this period, Florence became an important center for the output of paintings that depicted Tobias and the angel Raphael.¹⁵³

4.3.2. Antiphonary

Antiphons are the melodies and texts that are chanted and sung in Church before and after Psalm verses. The singing and chanting of them was originally done by alternating choirs.¹⁵⁴ The text of the antiphons usually referred to the meaning of the feast day or the Psalm and the tradition of singing it derived from Hebrew worship by the early Christian Church. It was introduced to the Western Church by Saint Ambrose (337-397) in the fourth century. Antiphons are mainly

¹⁴⁹ Hans Nieuwdorp and Brigitte Dekeyzer, *Breviarium Mayer Van den Bergh: Alle Miniaturen* (Gent: Ludion, 1997), 30.

¹⁵⁰ Dekeyzer, *Layers of Illusion: The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary*, 75-76.

¹⁵¹ Breviary, c. 1511. "Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M. 8 fol. 167v" The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/71/76862>.

¹⁵² Weskott, "Die Darstellung der Tobiasgeschichte in der bildenden Kunst West-Europas," 13.

¹⁵³ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 147-148.

¹⁵⁴ Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright Edward Yarnold and SJ, ed., *The Study of Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1978), 67.

found in the Canonical Hours or the Divine Office,¹⁵⁵ which are series of prayers that changed every day and that clerics recited daily. They did this by praying the texts from breviaries, but also by singing from large choir books that were called antiphonaries.¹⁵⁶ These liturgical books generally include the antiphons and antiphonal chants sung by cantor, congregation and choir at Mass, and at the Canonical Hours. They were often decorated with miniatures, just like other liturgical book types in the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁷ Only one miniature depicting the Book of Tobit was found in an antiphonary during this research, so the story of Tobit doesn't seem to be a typical iconography to decorate antiphonaries with. A depiction of the story of Tobit can be found in *pars quinta* of the great antiphonary of Vorst (Fig. 34). Both the scene in which Tobias with the fish and the angel Raphael are on their way as well as the scene in which Raphael heals Tobit's eyes are depicted in the same miniature. Interesting is the fact that Tobias and Tobit look exactly the same and both have the same name identification saying "thobie." This miniature was painted around the year 1500.¹⁵⁸

4.3.3. Other Office books

Furthermore, depictions of the Book of Tobit can also be found in Office books that are not breviaries or antiphonaries. Examples can be found in two Bodleian manuscripts. The first one (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 8) is a Flemish Office book that was made at the end of the fifteenth century. It contains prayers for private use and depicts Tobias with the fish and the angel Raphael on their way on folio 213v. Next to it, one can read a short prayer concerning Raphael and Tobias.¹⁵⁹ The other one (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. g. 5) is Flemish too and was made around 1500. It contains the Office of the Holy Ghost. The miniature on folio 154v (Fig. 35) accompanies a short prayer about Tobias and the angel and depicts exactly the same iconographical theme as the previous Office book. The theme of Tobias and

¹⁵⁵ "Antiphon," Britannica Academic, accessed May 10, 2018, <https://academic-eb-com.kuleuven.ezproxy.kuleuven.be/levels/collegiate/article/antiphon/7877>.

¹⁵⁶ Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 2001), 27.

¹⁵⁷ "Catholic Encyclopedia (1913)/Antiphonary," Wikisource, accessed April 12, 2018, [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Antiphonary](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Antiphonary).

¹⁵⁸ Antiphonary, 1500-1502. "Groot antifonarium van Vorst Pars Quinta," BALaT Belgian Art Links and Tools, accessed May 21, 2018. <http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=KM003380&objnr=87314&lang=nl-NL>.

¹⁵⁹ Offices with prayers for private use, end of the fifteenth century. "Offices, prayers for private use," Bodley's Luna, accessed May 21, 2018, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Douce%208%22&sort=Shelfmark,Folio_Page,Roll_#,Frame_#.

the angel on their way again proves itself to be a popular iconographical theme for devotional books.¹⁶⁰

4.4. Other religious works

4.4.1. *Book of hours*

The Book of Hours was the most popular book in the late Middle Ages.¹⁶¹ From c. 1225, when the first Books of Hours began to appear, until 1571, when Pope Pius V (1504-1572) prohibited the use of all existing Books of Hours during the Counter-reformation, it was produced and commissioned more than any other text.¹⁶² The book did not have an author, but its authority rested on the Catholic tradition of liturgy.¹⁶³ The book was based on the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which dates back to the ninth century at least. The Hours of the Virgin are a sequence of prayers that had to be prayed during the entire day and night and the Book of Hours played an important role in the late medieval cult of the Virgin. The prayers that were usually collected in Books of Hours helped to fulfill the spiritual needs of the owner. The Office of the Dead was recited to reduce the time of one's deceased beloved ones in the fires of purgatory and the Penitential Psalms were prayed to help to commit none of the Seven Deadly Sins.¹⁶⁴ The book was popular because of its content and although all Books of Hours were individually commissioned by wealthy owners that were part of the social elite during the first century of production, the laity would eventually become the most important audience for the Book of Hours.¹⁶⁵ Already during the thirteenth century and after, lay people started to commission prayer books that did not contain the cumber stone Psalter section but the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other parts instead. Texts such as the calendar, the Litany and the Office of the Dead therefore became part of the Book of Hours. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Book of Hours consisted of a Calendar, Gospel Lessons, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, the two prayers of the Virgin called the

¹⁶⁰ Office of the Holy Ghost, c. 1500. "Office of the Holy Ghost," Bodley's Luna, accessed May 21, 2018, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Shelfmark=%22MS.%20Lat.%20liturg.%20g.%205%22&sort=Shelfmark,Folio_Page,Roll_#,Frame_#.

¹⁶¹ Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, 27.

¹⁶² Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, ed., *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 5.

¹⁶³ Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18-21.

¹⁶⁴ Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), 9-10.

¹⁶⁵ Hindman and Marrow, *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, 5.

“Obsecro te” and the “O intemerata,” the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Office of the Dead, and a group of Suffrages. These texts became essential for the book type, but other supplementary prayers could also be added. The usual language for the Books of Hours was Latin, but at the beginning of the fifteenth century they also started to appear in vernacular languages.¹⁶⁶ Because these books were personal prayer books, they were not under clerical control and could be decorated in a way that fitted to the social and economic position of the owner. Biblical and secular decorative elements were often combined in Books of Hours and the free manner in which this happened cannot be found in any other type of medieval manuscript. The images used to decorate this book type had several purposes. They were simply decorative but also brought structure into the text by providing visual rubrics to it. They also had a devotional purpose and might have offered a focus for prayer or meditation.¹⁶⁷

In a Book of Hours from Bruges of 1475 (Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, mca1062542, f. 254v), a miniature depicting Tobias and the angel on their way was used to precede the Suffrage for Saint Raphael the Archangel. As usual, Tobias is depicted as a small boy with a fish, holding hands with the much larger angel as they are wandering through a landscape with a castle in the distance.¹⁶⁸ Another Book of Hours from Bruges that was made around the same time as the latter one (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1077, f. 189v) depicts Tobias and the angel in a similar way. They are standing still in a landscape and the angel holds a staff. Next to them stands a person with a nimbus, holding a staff with his right hand and a book in girdle binding with his left hand. This is probably Raguel, but it could also be Christ, and Tobias and the angel are greeted by him (Fig. 36).¹⁶⁹ Another French Book of Hours (Los Angeles, The Getty, Ms. 10, folio 186) also depicts Tobias and the angel. This time Tobias just pulled the fish on the land, the angel points at it and Tobias’ little dog watches it happening.¹⁷⁰

The early sixteenth-century Book of Hours called the Almagavar Hours (Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.420) shows a miniature in which Saint Michael is slaying the devil on

¹⁶⁶ Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, 9-10.

¹⁶⁷ Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*, 113-114.

¹⁶⁸ Book of Hours for the use of Rome, 1460. “Book of Hours, use of Rome,” Digital Collections Free Library of Philadelphia, accessed April 12, 2018, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/5666>.

¹⁶⁹ Book of Hours, ca. 1475-1485. “Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts: MS M.1077 fol. 189v,” The Morgan Library & Museum, accessed April 25, 2018, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/16/76824>.

¹⁷⁰ Book of Hours, 1478. “Tobias and the Angel,” The J. Paul Getty Museum, accessed April 12, 2018, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/2554/master-of-guillaume-lambert-tobias-and-the-angel-french-1478-based-on-date-included-in-easter-calculation/>.

folio 260v (Fig. 37). The angel Raphael and Tobias are depicted on the foreground, but take on the attitude of spectators. This Book of Hours was produced for a member of the Catalanian Almagavar family around 1510. Although the book is attributed to a Spanish origin because of its large number of feast days associated with Barcelona, the style of the decoration is obviously influenced by the Flemish manuscript production.¹⁷¹ Tobias and the angel also appear in the border decoration of another Flemish Book of Hours (Louvain-la-Neuve, Université catholique de Louvain, MS A4) that was made around the middle of the sixteenth century. One can see them travelling through a landscape in the border of folio 98r. The opposed folio shows a full-page miniature of the visitation in a Flemish landscape.¹⁷² Since the implementation of the Book of Hours was rather a consequence of personal choice, it is not surprising that iconographical themes were used freely and that they did not necessarily belong to a certain text in the book. That the artist or client could choose images freely, can be deduced from the unusual example in which the iconography of Tobias and the angel is combined with the one of Saint Michael slaying the devil. The general popularity of the theme of Tobias and the angel must have been the reason why it was the chosen episode of the story of Tobit in all of these examples.

4.4.2. *Le Chemin de Paradis*

The iconography of Tobit was also depicted in *Le Chemin de Paradis* (The Way to Paradise). This literary work was written in 1475 by Jean Germain (ca. 1400-1461), the bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy. The text is preserved in seven copies, but the Burgundian copy of the Free Library of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 210) is one of the only two illustrated manuscripts.¹⁷³ Germain was a counselor of Philip the Good of Burgundy and wrote works that concerned the fight against heresy within his own community, but also in the Islamic world. In his *Chemin de Paradis*, he explains a “way to paradise” that militant Christians should follow to reach salvation. The text is structured as the description of a triumphal procession, in which the Scripture and the interpretation of the Divine Word are depicted as a vehicle or wagon. This allegorical wagon is pulled by biblical and allegorical

¹⁷¹ Book of Hours, c. 1510-1520. “Walters Ms. W.420, Almagavar Hours” Digitalized Walters Manuscripts, accessed April 12, 2018,

<http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W420/description.html>.

¹⁷² Book of Hours in Latin and medieval Dutch, 1552. “Livre d'heures en latin et moyen néerlandais, selon l'usage de Rome,” BALaT Belgian Art Links and Tools, accessed May 21, 2018.

<http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=X013582&objnr=10152745&lang=en-GB&nr=34>.

¹⁷³ *Le Chemin de paradis*, 1475 “Le chemin de paradis (The way to paradise),” Digital Collections Free Library of Philadelphia, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/3780>.

figures. *Le Chemin de Paradis* was originally going to have a second part to explain the evils that threatened Christians from staying on the right path.¹⁷⁴ Germain's text can be seen as a variation of the system of typology that was used in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The six drawings on the parchment bifolia in MS Lewis E 210 are thought to represent the design for two tapestries, but these "*deux pans de la tapisserie chrétienne*" either never passed the design stage or are now lost. Germain had ordered a pattern that depicted several characters on two panels of tapestry, each containing several sections. The text he wrote was supposed to explain the allegory in the two tapestries, that he ordered for his cathedral.¹⁷⁵ The text does not merely discuss the allegorical figures he used and how they should be interpreted, but also offers advice for Christians. The five books that form this work give advice for managing a congregation and are a lesson in the progression of history from before the Law of Moses to the Council of Lyon in 1245. The text was a detailed guide and must have been a useful handbook for pastoral care.¹⁷⁶

The first illustrated bifolium of MS Lewis E 210 illustrates the act of preaching and Germain's advice to clerics. He explains the use and symbolic importance of each of the elements being prepared for the procession and teaches that every element is part of the Church's arsenal. The procession that follows throughout this book is a completion of this scene. After this miniature, the first one of the five openings in the manuscript shows a wagon on wheels, which represents the Holy Scripture conveyed on wheels. It is guided by four doctors of the Church, each one associated with one of the four senses of scriptural interpretation. Christ's blood runs from the "fountain of grace" at the foot of the cross and along the tongue of the wagon, which skates off the page and links all of the next drawings to each other by continuing on every illustrated folio. The drawings in the next three openings represent the era under the Natural Law, the era under the Law of Moses, and the era under the Law of Grace. All of these eras are represented by groups of people through which the blood of Christ runs. This blood is depicted by a red, continuous line. In the illustration that depicts the Law of Moses, Moses is seated on a hybrid creature and points to the tablets that contain the commandments. He is accompanied by Tobit, together with seven other Old Testament figures. These are David, Solomon, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Zachariah. The banderole Tobit carries says *Expectamus illam vitam*

¹⁷⁴ Elizabeth J. Moodey, "Unlikely Heroes in Jean Germain's Vision of Orthodoxy" *Essays in Medieval Studies* 29 (2014): 103.

¹⁷⁵ Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 1970), 119.

¹⁷⁶ Moodey, "Unlikely Heroes in Jean Germain's Vision of Orthodoxy," 104-108.

quam dominus daturus est hiis q(ui) fide(m) ha(b)ent in eum (We look forward to the life which God will give those who have faith in him). Tobit is part of the group of figures that were believed to carry out the commandment in deed or in prophecy (Fig. 38). The last two miniatures in the manuscript depict the Church under the Law of Grace and the Church Councils.¹⁷⁷ Although it is in a different context, Tobit is depicted like a prophet in this book, just like in a previous discussed *Biblia Pauperum* (The Hague, RMMW, MS. 10 A 15).¹⁷⁸

4.4.3. *La Cité de Dieu*

La Cité de Dieu (The City of God) is the Middle French translation of *De civitate Dei contra paganos*. This was the most important work of Augustine, the bishop of Hippo. It exists of twenty-two books comprising a first section devoted to the refutation of false doctrines and a second section about the positive teachings of the Church. The French text of the *De civitate Dei* is preserved in about fifty manuscripts that were produced between c. 1375 and c. 1600.¹⁷⁹ These books circulated in princely and courtly circles and were rather consulted as summaries of history and of classical mythology than for religious reasons.¹⁸⁰ The text was converted from Latin to French by Raoul de Presle (1316-1382), who translated it for the French king Charles V (1338-1380) between 1371 and 1375.¹⁸¹ In his translation, De Presle borrowed from earlier commentators. He gave a more thorough annotation to the myths and historical events that Augustine used to support his thesis saying that the fall of Rome was due to pagan decadence instead of the establishment of Christianity as state religion.¹⁸²

An example of such a *Cité de Dieu* depicting the story of Tobit is the Hague manuscript 10 A 11 (The Hague, RMMW, 10 A 11).¹⁸³ This codex is one of the three *Cité de Dieu* manuscripts

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 104-108.

¹⁷⁸ Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (fragment; I); Peter Pictor, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (II); Theobald of Troyes, *Summa Bibliae* (III) and *Biblia pauperum* (IV), c. 1470. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, RMMW, 10 A 15," *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed April 24, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+A+15>.

¹⁷⁹ Stéphane Marcotte, "La Cité de Dieu de saint Augustin traduite par Raoul de Presles (1371-1375)," *Perspectives médiévales* 36 (2015): 2.

¹⁸⁰ Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 214.

¹⁸¹ Sharon Dunlap Smith, "Illustrations of Raoul De Praelles' Translation of St. Augustine's City of God between 1375 and 1420," volume 1 (PhD diss., New York University, 1974), 1.

¹⁸² Sharon Dunlap Smith, "New Themes for the City of God around 1400 : The Illustrations of Raoul de Presles' Translation," *Scriptorium* 36, 1 (1982), 68-69.

¹⁸³ Augustine, *La Cité de Dieu* (Vol. I). Translation from the Latin by Raoul de Presles, c. 1475. "Full reference manuscripts: The Hague, RMMW, 10 A 11," *Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+A+11>.

of the Parisian Maître François (active between 1462 and 1480) and only comprises one of the two volumes of the original work.¹⁸⁴ On folio 18r of this manuscript, three different scenes are depicted. In the left upper corner one can see the old Jacob in bed with nine young men around him. He is blessing his sons. Right from this miniature, we see Tobit kneeling in front of a table with a book on it (Fig. 39). He is inside a building, but one can see a landscape with a cityscape in the distance. Tobit is depicted praying, after he took care of the body of a dead man and buried him. The banderole above him says *Q(ua)n(do) orabas et sepeliebas mortuos, ego or(ati)one(m) tua(m) tuli cora(m) D(omi)no* (When you held supplications and buried the dead, I held your speech in the presence of the Lord). The miniature beneath these two shows the Supper at Bethany, with Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's head. They are sitting at the dinner table with Christ's twelve apostles and two servants in the foreground. The manuscript containing these miniatures was commissioned by Jacques d'Armagnac (1433-1477), the duke of Nemours.¹⁸⁵

4.5. Secular works

4.5.1. *Confessio Amantis*

The *Confessio Amantis* is a late fourteenth-century poem dedicated to King Richard II of England (1367–1400) and Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400). John Gower (1330-1408) began to write it in 1386 and finished it in 1390. Judging by the forty-nine remaining manuscripts, one can say that the poem was very popular in its own time. The poem exists of a collection of exemplary tales of love placed within the framework of a lover's confession to a priest of Venus, named Genius. He instructs the poet Amans in both courtly and Christian love. The stories that Gower used are adaptations from biblical, classical and medieval sources.¹⁸⁶ The story of Tobias' and Sarah's wedding night is the last tale of chapter seven of the *Confessio Amantis* and is one of the stories that illustrates the virtue chastity.¹⁸⁷ The apocryphal story is placed in opposition with the tales of Lucrese and Virginia, because it is not concerned with the desire that threatens

¹⁸⁴ The other volume is to be found in the bibliothèque municipale in Nantes (MS. 8). François Avril et Nicole Reynaus, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures en France, 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion- Bibliothèque nationale, 1993), 52.

¹⁸⁵ Anne S. Korteweg, *Praal, Ernst & Emotie: De Wereld van het Franse middeleeuwse Handschrift* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2002), 129.

¹⁸⁶ John Gower, ed. Russell A. Peck, *Confessio Amantis* (Toronto/ Buffalo/ London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), xxxii-xxix.

¹⁸⁷ G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, volume 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), lxxxv-lxxxvii.

marriage but with the conflict between “lust” and “lawe” within marriage itself.¹⁸⁸ Of these three tales, it is the only one to have a male character as a positive example. The beautiful Sarah is popular amongst men, but every time she marries, her husband gets killed during the wedding night. The reason for this is that Sarah’s first seven husbands sought pleasure rather than a sacramental union in their marriage and this went beyond the “lawe” of marriage. Tobias was taught how to control his lusts by the angel Raphael and therefore rewarded by a successful consummation of his marriage. He listened to Raphael’s advice and placed God at the first place of his marriage by spending three days in prayer before he touched his wife.¹⁸⁹ This story is illustrated in the fifteenth-century Pierpont Morgan manuscript M. 126 (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M 126), a manuscript of the *Confessio Amantis* that was made for Edward IV of England (1442-1483) and Queen Elizabeth Woodville (c. 1437 -1492) around 1472.¹⁹⁰ Folio 184v of MS M. 126 shows Tobias and Sarah kneeling next to their bed, facing each other. One can see the dead bodies of her seven previous husbands laying on the floor (Fig. 40).¹⁹¹ In this secular context, Tobias became an example of self-control and wisdom. Because the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah is the only episode of the Book of Tobit this poem actually talks about, it is not surprising that it was chosen to decorate this part of the manuscript. Although the story of Tobias was used as an example in this literary text, MS M. 126 seems to be the only manuscript of this kind to depict it. This probably due to the fact that the text of the *Confessio Amantis* usually was not illuminated so extensively as in this case.¹⁹²

4.5.2. *Il Tesoro*

Il Tesoro is a translation of *Li Livres dou Tresor*, which was written by Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294) between 1260 and 1266. This work can be seen as an encyclopedia, for which Latini used chapters and paragraphs from the Latin literature that was available to him.¹⁹³ The work is a

¹⁸⁸ Peter Nicholson, *Love & Ethics in Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 364.

¹⁸⁹ Samantha J. Rayner, *Images of Kingship in Chaucer and His Ricardian Contemporaries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 31.

¹⁹⁰ Sonja Drimmer, “The Visual Language of Vernacular Manuscript Illumination: John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (Pierpont Morgan MS M.126),” (PhD diss., Columbia University, Columbia, 2011), 1.

¹⁹¹ Literary, c. 1470. “Literary,” The Morgan Library and Museum, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77039>.

¹⁹² The Morgan MS. M. 126 was decorated with 110 miniatures and this stands in great contrast with the customary maximum of two miniatures. Patricia Eberle, “Miniatures as evidence of reading in a manuscript of the *Confessio Amantis* (Pierpont Morgan MS. M. 126),” in *John Gower: Recent Readings*, ed. R.F. Yeager (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1989), 318.

¹⁹³ Francis J. Carmody, ed., *Li Livres dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini: Edition critique* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), xxiii.

compendium of essentially classical material originating from late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.¹⁹⁴ Latini himself called it a summary of the different branches of philosophy and structured the work into three books. The first section deals with the origin of the world, the founding of the first governments, astronomy, geography, and natural history.¹⁹⁵ This chapter is devoted to “wisdom” and the texts that Latini used for this chapter were the Bible, historical material from Solinus and others, a version of the *Mappamundi*, and a version of the *Physiologus*.¹⁹⁶ The second book was devoted to morality and it consists of two distinct treatises.¹⁹⁷ The first one is an excerpt of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, which is followed by a second part existing of aphorisms from Solomon, Seneca, Jesus Sidrach and many others. The first part of the third book was devoted to rhetoric and based on *De Inventione* of Cicero. In the last chapter, Latini dealt with the governance of cities according to the Italian practice. The many manuscripts and translations to other languages indicate that *Li Livres dou Tresor* were very popular during the Middle Ages.¹⁹⁸ *Il Tesoro*, the translation of this work by Bono Giamboni (c. 1240-1292), is not only based on the first edition of this book, but also on a manuscript of an interpolated family.¹⁹⁹ It brings with it its share of interpolations and additions. In this text, we can for example find details on the angels, on Absalon, on the order of the Carmelites, on fabulous animals, and three chapters of natural history, which are not found in the French text.²⁰⁰

A part of *Li Livres dou Tresor* says “The prophet Tobias’ name has the meaning of “Good is God.” He was the son of Ananias, of the lineage of Neptali, and he was born in the city of Chial in the region of Galilee. Salmanasar captured him, and for this reason he remained in exile in the city of Nineveh. He was just in all things. He gave what he had to the prisoners and to the poor. He buried the dead with his own hands. Then he became blind because of a swallow’s excrement which fell into his eyes, but in the end God restored his sight after ten years, and gave him great wealth. He was buried in Nineveh.”²⁰¹ This text can be found on folio 61r of Yates Thompson manuscript 28 of the British Library of 1425 (London, British Library, Yates Thompson 28) which contains *Il Tesoro*. Tobit is depicted here with a nimbus, while he is

¹⁹⁴ James J. Wilhelm and Lowry Nelson, ed., *Brunetto Latini: The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin (New York/ London: Garland Publishing, 1993), viii.

¹⁹⁵ P. Chabaille, ed., *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini* (Paris: Imperie Impériale, 1863), x-xi.

¹⁹⁶ Wilhelm and Nelson, *Brunetto Latini: The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, ix.

¹⁹⁷ Chabaille, *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini*, xvi.

¹⁹⁸ Wilhelm and Nelson, *Brunetto Latini: The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, ix-xvii.

¹⁹⁹ Carmody, *Li Livres dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini: Edition critique*, xxii.

²⁰⁰ Chabaille, *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini*, xxi.

²⁰¹ Wilhelm and Nelson, *Brunetto Latini: The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, 34.

burying a body. Above the depiction of Tobit on the same folio, one can see a miniature of Iaddo being devoured by a lion. Beneath the miniature of Tobit, there is another miniature of Nebuchadnezzar ordering the three children to be put in the furnace (Fig. 41). Because burying the dead is one of the characteristic deeds of Tobit in the Bible, it is not surprising that this image was chosen to accompany the text about Tobit. The iconography of Tobit was part of this encyclopedia because he was one of the Old Testament figures to which a short introduction text was allocated in *Il Tesoro*.²⁰²

4.5.3. *Trésor de Sapience*

Henry Suso's *Horlogium Sapientiae* was a very influential book in the devotional culture of the late Middle Ages. In this Latin text, readers were provided with a vivid and evocative scene of death, which engaged them in a visualization of dying that was widely appropriated in the Middle Ages. The text was often re-interpreted for its lay audience. In 1389 for example, Jean de Souhaube would translate the text from Latin into French. This French text was called *l'Horloge de Sapience* and was the first of many vernacular texts of Suso's meditation that would be spread over Europe since it was translated into Dutch, Italian, Swedish, Danish, German, Polish and Czech in the fifteenth century. Extracts from Suso's *Horologium* became known under the titles *Trésor de Sapience* and *Doctrine de Sapience*.²⁰³ From the beginning, extracts had been made from the original text making up a complete *Trésor de Sapience*. This was the first book in French literature that was both a mirror of the good life as well as a mirror of the good death.²⁰⁴

Walters manuscript 307 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS. 307) contains the *Trésor de Sapience* text, which chronicles an account from the creation of the world until 138 BC and in which secular and biblical themes are brought together in one work. The manuscript was most likely produced in Bruges around 1470 and is a good example of the type of secular book that was usually commissioned by aristocratic patrons in the southern Netherlands at the end of the fifteenth century. The text and miniatures deal with a very wide variety of themes, such as the

²⁰² Pseudo-Aristotle; Brunetto Latini, translated by Bono Giamboni; and others *Secreta secretorum*; *Il Tesoro* (translation of *Li Livres dou Tresor*) and miscellaneous texts, 1425. "Detailed record for Yates Thompson 28," *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed May 30, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8217&CollID=58&NStart=28>.

²⁰³ Ashby Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of death in Late Medieval Culture/ Visualizing the Middle Ages*, volume 9 (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2013), 35-36.

²⁰⁴ Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530*, 214.

history from the creation until Aod's slaying of King Eglon, the history of Thebes, the history of Troy, the birth of Obed, the history of Britain, the third age of the world, an overview of the Italian kings since Aeneas, the history of Rome, Alexander the Great and his predecessors, Julius Caesar, biblical themes, and Roman emperors through Hadrian. The iconography of Tobit is used to decorate the part about the history of Rome, which starts with the birth of Romulus and Remus and the foundation of Rome and ends with Marcus Valerius' victory over the Gauls, together with other miniatures depicting themes such as the birth of Romulus and Remus, Solomon's idolatry in old age, Judith preparing to put the severed head of Holofernes into a sack, and the victory of Camillus over Brennus. On folio 96v of MS. 307, one can find a miniature with a landscape with a building in it. Both the blinded Tobit laying on a riverbank with a sparrow flying above his head as well as the angel Raphael standing next to the kneeling Tobias, who caught the fish and is killing it, are depicted on this folio (Fig. 42).²⁰⁵ An iconographical theme of the story of Tobit is here again, just like in the *Il Tesoro*, part of an encyclopedia that combined biblical as well as historical and secular stories. Although the iconography of the Book of Tobit was thus depicted in manuscripts containing secular texts, it always stayed within the bounds of a Christian exemplary function.

²⁰⁵ *Trésor de sapience*, c. 1470-1480. "Walters Ms. W.307, "Trésor de sapience" (Creation to 138 CE)," Digitized Walters Manuscripts, accessed April 22, 2018, <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W307/description.html>.

5. Afterlife of the medieval manuscript illumination. The iconography of Tobias in Indian miniatures of the sixteenth century

5.1. The origin of prints and their role in the late Middle Ages and early renaissance

In the second part of this thesis, the iconography of the Book of Tobit in Mughal India will be explored. As previously mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, western books with illuminations depicting the iconography of Tobit probably never reached India. Although Indian artists translated them into miniatures, it was European prints that introduced the iconography of Tobias and the angel Raphael to the Mughal court at the end of the sixteenth century. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, Antwerp engravings exported to India increased exponentially and those prints specifically influenced the Mughal artist to depict and incorporate Christian themes in their artworks.²⁰⁶ To clarify why it was prints and not manuscript illuminations themselves that brought the iconographical theme of Tobias and the angel to the Mughal court, the origin of prints and their role in the fifteenth and sixteenth century will be briefly discussed in this chapter. Most of the examples that were discussed in the first part of this thesis were fifteenth-century manuscripts. The reason for this is that the production of illuminated and handwritten books started to decrease when woodcut illustrations were incorporated in printed books. This innovation made it possible to expand the market of book purchasing clients, who might have already been accustomed to single-leaf prints with devotional illustrations before.²⁰⁷

It is almost certain that woodblock prints were printed on paper by the late fourteenth century and became common throughout Europe within two or three generations. The early woodcut illustrations were more similar to the art of illuminators than they were to intaglio printing, which followed soon after the establishment of the woodblock prints and was apparently accomplished in Germany during the 1430s to afterwards spread over Europe rather rapidly.²⁰⁸ Early printed books of the fifteenth century simulated handwritten books, because the printers used the same visual characteristics clients were already familiar with for commercial reasons. To compete with the long tradition of book illumination, the books they printed depicted the same scriptural or devotional imaginary as depicted in illuminated manuscripts.²⁰⁹ By the

²⁰⁶ Jozef Jennes, *Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1943), 51.

²⁰⁷ Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*, 97-98.

²⁰⁸ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 1994), 1-3.

²⁰⁹ Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*, 97.

1470s, many new texts were written and they were published with multiple illustrations, which required the invention of many new compositions. The engravers' repertoire had to surpass the models that were available in manuscript illumination.²¹⁰ It was during this period that the so-called *peintre-graveurs* upgraded printed images to a finer art, which caused them to start being pursued as more precious objects. Engravings and woodcuts took on highly realistic forms, and by the end of the fifteenth century, the technique had become a fine art.²¹¹ Although medieval manuscripts and printed books continued to co-exist for some time, the printed book would eventually surpass illuminated ones because of the pricing. The clientele for hand painted manuscripts was reduced to wealthy patrons who could afford to pay for quality.²¹²

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the conditions of printmaking had changed again. Commercial publishers began to take over the print production in Italy in the late 1530s and 1540s. During those years, Antonio Salamanca (1479-1562) and Antonio Lafreri (1512-1577) established their atelier in Rome. They were followed by Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) who established himself as a publisher in Antwerp in the 1550s and truly commercialized the market by creating a greater availability of printed images. The interest in woodcuts decreased and artists that designed their own plates became fewer and fewer.²¹³ Although some prints were still seen as works of art and even were collector's items, cheap prints were at the same time distributed in extremely large quantities and used as a mass medium for propaganda.²¹⁴ This was done by the Jesuits who had connections in Antwerp and printed thousands of devotional and emblematic images which helped them to convert new followers. It would be those engravings of the Antwerp printmakers that influenced the Mughals through the Jesuits.²¹⁵ Since the theme of Tobias and the angel appeared to be a popular image to decorate devotional manuscripts such as the Book of Hours with, it is no surprise that it began to be printed for devotional reasons as well. Prints with themes drawn from the Book of Tobit were popular in the context of Dutch print production in the second half of the sixteenth century, and artists that played a particular role in the distribution of the theme were Barent van Orley (1487-1541), Jan

²¹⁰ Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, 33-34.

²¹¹ *Idem.*, 4-5.

²¹² Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *The Renaissance: The triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting In Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 30.

²¹³ Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, 1-7.

²¹⁴ Jeffrey Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders," in *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts 1540 – 1773*, eds. John W O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and Frank T. Kennedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 142.

²¹⁵ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton/ Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 190.

van Svart (?), Cornelis Matsys (1510-1562), Maerten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) and Georg Pencz (1500-1550).²¹⁶

5.2. Mughal painting under emperor Akbar

Since the Book of Tobit is a biblical story, it was originally not a part of the Indian culture. Therefore, I will first discuss the cultural encounter between the Jesuits and the Mughals and how Christian iconographical themes would come to influence the art that was produced at the Mughal court. The Mughal empire was an Islamic empire in India. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a group of Turco-Mongols invaded the north of India. Their leader Babur (1483-1530), who was a descendant of Tamerlane (1336 - 1405) and Genghis Khan (1162 – 1227), founded the dynasty of Great Mughals in Delhi in 1527. The founding of this new dynasty would drastically change the political structure of India, because his empire would engulf the former small principalities and kingdoms that formed India. The Mughal empire would become one of the best administered countries in that time and under the reign of emperor Akbar, the Mughal dynasty began to play an important role from an artistic point of view.²¹⁷ Mughal painting is a variety of Islamic painting practiced in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it was neither typically Muslim nor Indian.²¹⁸ Emperor Akbar (1542-1605) aimed to confront traditional Islamic attitudes with new concepts and caused an artistic transformation in Mughal art through his openness towards different religions. He developed a *Kitab Khanah*, after the Persian model of a courtly workshop and the artists in it developed a new eclectic style that was a synthesis of Persian, Mongolian, Indian and European artistic traditions.²¹⁹ The recognizable Mughal style that we nowadays know, was formed under his reign.²²⁰ Although Akbar was illiterate, he let others read books for him that were translated from Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Turkish and Arabic.²²¹ He had a library with more than twenty-four thousand manuscripts, of which many were decorated.²²² The paintings that were made at

²¹⁶ Philpot, *Old Testament apocryphal images in European art*, 150.

²¹⁷ Jean Soustiel, *Miniatures Orientales de l'Inde : les écoles et leurs styles* (Paris : Boulevard Haussmann, 1973), 8.

²¹⁸ J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 7.

²¹⁹ A.K.C., "Mughal Painting (Akbar and Jahangir)," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 16, 93 (1918): 4.

²²⁰ Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial painting in India 1600-1660* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978), 20.

²²¹ Khalid Anis Ahmed, *Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures (Mughal-Christian Miniatures)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 1995), 13.

²²² A.K.C., "Mughal Painting (Akbar and Jahangir)," 4.

his court displayed a great interest in nature and the portraiture of men, and religious subjects such as miniatures for Jain, Hindu and Buddhist manuscripts were also painted.²²³

5.3. A cultural encounter: Akbar and the Jesuits

Akbar was a Muslim, but invited leaders of different religions such as Islam, Jain, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity to debate with him.²²⁴ For this purpose, the emperor established the *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship) in 1575. Four years later, Akbar issued the Decree of Infallibility, granting himself the exceptional power to interpret the Islamic doctrine.²²⁵ In 1582, he eventually started his own eclectic religion called *Din-i-Ilahi* (Divine Faith).²²⁶ When Akbar had become the emperor in 1556, he first tried to consolidate his power in Northern India for several years. He finally turned his attention to Gujarat in 1572. A year later, while he had been engaged in the siege of Surat, Akbar received a Portuguese embassy headed by Antonia Cabral.²²⁷ He came into contact with the Jesuits through his connections with the Portuguese whom he had met during those years.²²⁸ In 1576, Akbar heard about some Jesuit priests that had given Portuguese merchants an admonition because of their greed and for giving a bad example by their failure to make many converts.²²⁹ This made Akbar curious to hear more about their religion. In 1578, he sent a delegation to request “two learned priests” to come from Goa, where the Jesuit Mission in India was based. They had to come to his court in Fatehpur to serve as representatives of Catholicism and to “bring with them Holy Books, especially gospels, which he earnestly desired to understand, and from which he hoped to gain the greatest comfort.”²³⁰ In 1580, three Jesuits reached the Mughal court and stayed there for three years until 1583, but at the end they were disappointed because Akbar did not convert to Christianity. After this, two other Jesuit missions followed in 1591 and 1595 on request of the emperor.²³¹ The last mission that was sent to the Mughal court had a longer existence, because

²²³ Ahmed, *Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures*, 16-22.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

²²⁵ Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), 16-18.

²²⁶ Maurice S. Dimand, “Mughal Painting under Akbar the Great,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12, 2 (1953): 46.

²²⁷ Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne LTD., 1932), 23.

²²⁸ Ahmed, *Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures*, 16-22.

²²⁹ John W. O’Malley, *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present* (Lanham/Boulder/ New York/ Toronto/ London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 44.

²³⁰ Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir’s Album in the State Library in Berlin* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2013), 82.

²³¹ Ahmed, *Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures*, 22.

the Jesuits had the freedom to build their own college and churches by then.²³² Although European art was already circulating at Akbar's court before these missionaries visited the Mughals for the first time, his contact with the Jesuits would change the Mughal arts.²³³

5.4. European artworks at the Mughal court

European influences in Mughal art can be noticed in manuscripts as early as the 1560s, before the Jesuits ever visited the Mughal court. Nevertheless, the major influence happened when the Jesuits came to Akbar's court.²³⁴ The first influential prints were German and were produced by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and his circle. They probably also reached India through Antwerp, since it was the major embarkation point for journeys to the East in this time.²³⁵ The second group of prints that were influential at the Mughal court were Antwerp prints of the later sixteenth century. These were probably sent out specifically in response to the increased missionary activity at the Mughal court after 1580 and would have an important influence on the arts in Mughal India.²³⁶ In the beginning, the Jesuits primarily donated artworks with religious themes to Akbar. The first Jesuit mission in 1580 brought a Polyglot Bible (1569-1573) in eight volumes. The Bible was decorated with engravings by Flemish artists of the Quentin Matsys school. They also gave him a painting of the Virgin Mary and one of Christ, which were copied by Akbar's own painters.²³⁷ Furthermore, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Egidius (1570) reached the court of Akbar.²³⁸

²³² Kühnel and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin*, 82.

²³³ European engravings were circulating at the Mughal court from at least 1550 probably arrived at the court through commercial ports in western India at that time. Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *kitabkhana*" in *Prints in Translation, 1450–1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward H. Wouk (London: Routledge, 2017), 211.

²³⁴ A painting from Basawan in the *Tutinama* that is dated c. 1560-65 proves that a European engraving depicting "Joseph telling his dream to his father" after Georg Pencz, dated 1544, had reached Akbar's court by at least the mid-1560s. The figure leaning on a crutch at the right of the western print was used as a model for a hunter into the Indian painting. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1986), 97.

²³⁵ Still, the portrayal of two Europeans in a miniature from a *Zafarnama* illustrated for Shah Tahmasp in 1529 makes it possible that European prints could have entered India via Iran, possibly as part of an artist's scrapbook. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, 97.

²³⁶ Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial painting in India 1600-1660*, 155.

²³⁷ The Bible contained illustrations by, among others, Jan Wierix and Philip Galle. Maurice S. Dimand, "Mughal Painting under Akbar the Great," 46.

²³⁸ Jennes, *Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indië, China en Japan tijdens de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw*, 44.

Letters written by the Jesuit missionaries show Akbar's great interest in European art.²³⁹ In 1595, father Jerome Xavier (1549-1617) wrote to the general of the Jesuit society that he should send a large picture of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity for Akbar and his son Jahangir and also some little pictures for the Christian converts. In 1598, father Xavier presented Akbar at Lahore with two pictures made in Japan, one of Christ and one of Saint Ignatius Loyola. He wrote that the king already possessed a picture of Christ at the pillar, "which he treated with much respect".²⁴⁰ The missions also brought many other Christian books and engravings, mostly done by Flemish artists of the Antwerp school such as Maarten de Vos (1532-1603) and the Wierix brothers and some of them were copies of Albrecht Dürer and other German artists' work.²⁴¹ Detached leafs from codices and individual prints with engravings by George Pencz, Philips Galle (1537-1612), Hans Sebald Beham (c. 1500-1550) and Raphael Sadeler (c. 1560-1628) also must have circulated at the court of Akbar.²⁴² Akbar welcomed these prints with enthusiasm and made the artist working at his *Kitbkhana* copy them to enlarge their visual language. Scholars have been able to identify the likely European sources of Mughal paintings in many cases.²⁴³ Still, it has to be noted that before Akbar moved his court to Fatehpur Sikri in 1571, European prints had a rather modest role in the Mughal collection. They were used as source material for his artists but not yet admired as precious objects in their own right.²⁴⁴ When examining the iconography of Mughal miniatures inspired by European prints more closely, one can notice it was not the religious content but rather their form and exoticism that attracted artists at Akbar's court. The appreciation for the mimetic character of European art was already part of the Islamic culture before the founding of the Mughal realm and sometimes even magic powers were assigned to European artworks.²⁴⁵ When Mughal artists copied western models, they did this in their own way, often only using the artistic elements they considered relevant and thus not following their original iconography.²⁴⁶ The separate elements they used were then

²³⁹ Kavita Singh, *Real Birds in Imagined Gardens: Mughal Painting between Persia and Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2017), 25-26.

²⁴⁰ Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 226.

²⁴¹ Dimand, "Mughal Painting under Akbar the Great," 47.

²⁴² Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *kitabkhana*," 211.

²⁴³ Kavita Singh, *Real Birds in Imagined Gardens*, 26.

²⁴⁴ Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, 97.

²⁴⁵ Still, the fact that there were similarities between the artistic tradition of the Mughals and European prints probably made it easier to accept them. European prints are similar to the Mughal *siyah qalam* (black ink drawings), a kind of drawing that came from a much older tradition than the Mughal one and can be traced back to fourteenth century Iran and Central Asia. Furthermore, Mughal painting was also a line-based medium and European prints were perceived as analog to the design that laid underneath the opaque watercolors of Mughal miniatures. Mughal artists were thus already familiar with tonal pictorial practices when the first European prints arrived there. Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *kitabkhana*," 202-206.

²⁴⁶ Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, transl. Deke Dusinberre (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 24.

transposed into a whole new context and combined with Indian and Persian elements, so that hybrid works, which are hard to understand, came into existence. Mughal artists were inspired by the European prints in a technical way, but they also enlarged their iconographical corpus with Christian and classical iconographical elements such as haloes and putti.²⁴⁷

5.5. The Mughal artists and the iconography of Tobias and the angel

5.5.1. *The angel Raphael or Jibrail?*

The Christian iconography of Tobias and the angel seems to have been a popular theme to depict during the patronage of Akbar, but it must be noted that the Mughals were already familiar with depictions of the fish before the Jesuits brought prints depicting this iconographical theme. The fish is attached to the Indian tradition of mythology, although that might be surprising since it was seen as *mukru*, unclean food which was not forbidden, but certainly not recommended.²⁴⁸ Although Gregory Minissale (2007) has the opinion that Mughal depictions of an angel and a fish were rather depictions of Jibrail (Gabriel) and the fish,²⁴⁹ other scholars such as Amina Okada (1988) believe that this iconographical theme derived from European prints depicting Tobias and the angel Raphael of the biblical book Tobit.²⁵⁰ The opinion of Okada favors the case of miniatures depicting an angel and a young boy with a fish, although it is likely that Mughal images depicting an angel holding a fish also could derived from different, non-Christian stories. It is possible that the arrival of the new theme of Tobias and the angel increased the popularity of the iconography of the fish at the Mughal court, so that the older theme of Jibrail with the fish started to be depicted more often during this time. Minissale pointed out that the angel never holds the fish in the western tradition of depicting Tobias and the angel, while the angel does this in the Islamic *Qisas al-Anbiya* (Stories of the Prophet).²⁵¹ The angel holding a fish is an iconography that illustrates the story of Namrud (Nimrod) in three illustrated *Qisas al-Anbiya* manuscripts.²⁵² Namrud was a defiant king who constructed a flying throne and floated up to fight with the God of Ibrahim because he failed to kill Ibrahim himself. The reason for this was that he didn't want his people to be converted to

²⁴⁷ Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, 26.

²⁴⁸ Gregory Minissale, *Images of Thought: Visuality in Islamic India 1550-1750* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 165-166.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁵⁰ Amina Okada, "Les peintres moghols et le thème de Tobie et l'Ange," *Arts Asiatiques* 43 (1988), 5.

²⁵¹ Gregory Minissale, *Images of Thought: Visuality in Islamic India 1550-1750*, 197.

²⁵² Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-Anbiya* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), 119.

monotheism anymore. After three days of flying, Namrud still hadn't found God and couldn't see anything anymore. In this desperate hour, he got frightened and began to shoot arrows towards the heavens before he flew back to the earth. The angel Jibrail covered an arrow that Namrud shot with blood and threw it back to him, causing him to celebrate the death of the God of Ibrahim. The *Qisas al-Anbiya* of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Naysaburi Tha'alabi, who lived in the eleventh century, connects the latter story with a story of a fish. He referred to two authorities to explain where the blood on the arrow came from. According to Kalbi, God sent Jibrail to pierce a fish in the sea with the arrow. Having covered it with the blood of the fish, he threw it into Namrud's flying box. According to "other sources," it was God himself who covered the arrow with blood because the fish was innocent and should therefore not be killed. After Namrud received the arrow with the blood, he showed it to his people. This made 500.000 people in Namrud's country who had converted to monotheism become infidel again because they believed God had died.²⁵³ Also the *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) of Firdawsi (ca. 940- 1030) describes a king that flies to the heavens. King Kay Kavus is seduced by the devil through a young, beautiful boy with roses. The boy tells Kay Kavus that he has reached his peak of earthly glory, but has yet to know the heavens that are full of secrets. The curious Kay Kavus flew to heaven, but when the birds who pulled his flying box died, he fell down and prayed until God forgave him for his sins. Some of the paintings illustrating the story depict an angel with a fish in its hand flying over the head of the king although they are not mentioned in the story.²⁵⁴ At a certain point, the mixture of different literary and pictorial traditions which influenced the multicultural Islamic environment for centuries must have turned Kay Kavus into Namrud who shot the fish in the hands of the angel Jibrail. These two examples make us able to conclude that the iconography of the angel and a fish was a widespread Persian theme.²⁵⁵

Although there are western examples of artworks depicting the angel Raphael holding the fish, they are more rare than the ones of Tobias holding it.²⁵⁶ It is therefore most likely that the Indian

²⁵³ Firuza Abdullaeva, "Kingly Flight: Nimrud, Kay Kavus, Alexander, or why the angel has the fish," *Persica* 23 (2009-2010): 12.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-6.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁵⁶ Several Italian paintings depict the archangel Raphael holding a fish up high. One example is the painting of Francisco Ribalta (1565-1628) depicting this theme. "An angel holding a fish, inspired by the Biblical story of Tobias and the Angel, India, Mughal, circa 1590-1600," Sotheby's: Arts of the Islamic World, accessed April 14, 2018, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/arts-islamic-world-116220/lot.44.html>.

iconography of an angel holding the fish (Fig. 43) indeed derived from the story of Namrud.²⁵⁷ This does not contradict the possibility that the iconography of the story of Namrud and the one of Tobias and the angel were mixed on their turn. On the contrary, this is very likely when we know the highly eclectic working method of the Mughal artists. A miniature from the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin (Fig. 1)²⁵⁸ for example, shows Jibrail, who is usually depicted in eastern clothes, in western ones. The figure could therefore partly derive from an example depicting Tobias with the fish. The fact that fish was seen as impure food in Mughal culture at the time, makes the suggestion of Annemarie Schimmel to bring the iconography of the Indian angel and a fish in connection with the iconography of the archangel Michael who in popular mythology distributes food to the world, very unlikely (Fig. 44).²⁵⁹ Assuming that only Mughal miniatures depicting the angel and a young boy do really derive from the Christian iconography of Tobias and the angel Raphael, some examples will be discussed here.

5.5.2. *Manohar's Tobias and a seated angel (c. 1590)*

Artist Manohar's miniature depicting Tobias and a seated angel was made around 1590 and combines European, Persian and Indian elements (Fig. 45) The angel is sitting on a rock, beneath which a pond is depicted. It has four large, colored wings which are obviously inspired by Persian painting and is wearing an Indian Bhil skirt made of leaves.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, the angel is holding a bunch of grapes in its left hand, while it reaches for Tobias with its right hand. Tobias' sex is only covered with a leaf and he offers the fish to the angel. Both are depicted with furry or feathered skin. This image depicts a Christian iconographical theme, but the details have been altered, which is a typical method for Mughal artists dealing with images that depict biblical or classical themes. This miniature is so different from the possible European sources of it, that it is likely that the artist did not misunderstand but rather consciously chose

²⁵⁷ Other examples of miniatures depicting this iconographical theme can be found in fig. 1, fig. 3 and fig. 4 in Odaka's article about Mughal painters and the theme of Tobias and the angel. Okada, "Les peintres moghols et le thème de Tobie et l'Ange," 7-9.

²⁵⁸ This miniature derives from the Polier album with inventory number 4601, that is a part of the collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin. It is to be found on folio 36r of this album and it was probably made at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Martina Müller-Wiener, Email to author, May 30, 2018.

²⁵⁹ She states that Mughal painter Husayn must have had a picture of the archangel Michael in mind for his miniature depicting an angel with a fish. Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 280.

²⁶⁰ Indian Bhil skirts were made of leaves and were traditionally worn by the Bhils. The Bhils were aboriginal tribes that established themselves in the mountainous regions of the Northern and central India. Their nocturnal hunting customs fascinated the Mughal painters. Okada, "Les peintres moghols et le thème de Tobie et l'Ange," 9.

to change the original iconography. The biblical iconography of this miniature seems to have been compounded with classical as well as Persian iconographies. The fact that the seated angel is female, the little Tobias has wings and both figures in this miniature are depicted almost completely naked, makes it possible that Manohar was inspired by the European iconography of Venus with Cupid at her feet. Numerous prints depicting this theme were produced in Europe during the renaissance and might have reached India in the sixteenth century. Several European artworks that depict the iconography of Tobias and the angel as well as Venus and Cupid, depict Venus or the angel sitting on a rock, accompanied by a youngster.²⁶¹ For this reason, it was not hard for the Mughal artist to confuse these iconographies with each other. Furthermore, there are also European prints that depict Venus as a winged figure.²⁶² Another European influence can be found in the feather-like skin of the figures in this miniature. European images occasionally depicted angels with suits of feathers, which possibly derived from costumes worn by late-medieval actors in religious dramas. Another possibility is that it was a depiction of Mary Magdalene that inspired Manohar. She was sometimes shown with furry skin in European works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lastly, the bunch of grapes held by the angel Raphael may originate from another biblical or classical story. Adriaen Collaert's engraving of Europe depicts a woman sitting in a landscape, holding a bunch of grapes in her left hand. Because of the manner in which she sits and her revealing outfit, she could easily be mistaken with Venus and therefore possibly have served as an example for this miniature (Fig. 46).

There is also another Persian literary sources that may have influenced the iconography of this certain miniature, namely the episode of the *Kalila wa Dimnah* (Fables of Bidpai) in which a fisherman offers a hermaphrodite fish to a seated king. Examples can be found in a *Humayun Nameh* of 1589 and a *Anvar-I Suhayli* from 1593 (Fig. 47).²⁶³ It is more likely that Mughal artist Husayn's miniature depicting a man offering a fish to a woman derives from a miniature

²⁶¹ An example of a European painting depicting Tobias and the angel this way is Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's (1480-1548). "Tobias and the Angel" of c. 1522. 2015, 6-10, London, Sotheby's, nr. 10.

²⁶² Examples are sixteenth century engravings of Daniel Hopfer (1470-1536) and Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550) depicting this theme. 2015, 6-10, London, Sotheby's, nr. 10.

²⁶³ Eleanor Sims, "16th-century Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of Animal Fables in Persia, Transoxiana, and Ottoman Turkey," in *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-I Suhayli, Iyar-I Danish, and Humayun Nameh*, ed. Ernst J. Grube (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991), 114-120.

depicting this story than engravings depicting the story of Tobias and the angel, which was suggested by John Seyller.²⁶⁴

5.5.3. *Manohar's Tobias and the Angel (c. 1610)*

The second miniature that will be discussed here, was made also by Manohar. It is a combination of European iconographies that derived from European prints and Indian sources. In this miniature, the main figure has also become female and this time it is not even an angel anymore, but a woman who lifts up her skirt (Fig. 48). Tobias is depicted as a small angel pulling a fish out of the water and is semi-nude, wearing a similar skirt as the angel in the previously discussed miniature of Manohar. It is most likely that Hans Sebald Beham's engraving depicting *Infortunium* and Maarten de Voss' design for *Luxuria* (Fig. 49) were sources for the figure of the angel Raphael in this miniature. Both these prints show a classical woman raising her skirt up her thigh. The two figures in this Mughal artwork are also related to images of Venus and it is therefore not surprising that the figure of Tobias again seems to derive from a Cupid or putto on a European print.²⁶⁵

5.5.4. *Keshav Das' A lady with the young Tobias in a landscape (c. 1575-80)*

The next example of a Mughal miniature depicting the story of Tobias and the angel is an early work of Keshav Das, one of the leading painters of emperor Akbar's *kitab khana* (Fig. 50). Here again, eastern and western iconographical elements are compounded into one eclectic composition that is similar to Manohar's *Tobias and a seated angel* of c. 1590. The small Tobias, without wings this time, is as good as naked and carries a fish to the angel. The angel is depicted as a female figure without wings, sitting on a rock. Both are placed in a landscape with a forest and a village in dreamy colors in the distance, a pervasive feature of paintings produced at Akbar's workshop. Likely European sources for this miniature are prints that depict Madonna and the child and Saint John the Baptist. In these, Mary is usually depicted seated with two small boys at her feet. Saint John is often depicted naked except for a loincloth of animal skin, which also is the case for Tobias in this Mughal miniature. The rich and voluminous drapery of the female figure that represents the angel Raphael is similar to those of

²⁶⁴ John Seyller, "A Mughal Code of Connoisseurship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 191.

²⁶⁵ 2015, 6-10, London, Sotheby's, nr. 19.

the figures in prints depicting the Virgin Mary or other Biblical or Classical figures. European printmakers of the sixteenth century produced series such as Women of the Old Testament, the Five Senses, the Seven Liberal Arts and Christian Virtues in which female figures dressed in classical garments are seated on rock plinths in landscapes settings. Many of these could have been an inspiration to Keshav Das.²⁶⁶

5.5.5. Basavana's Tobias and the angel (c. 1590-1595)

The last example to be discussed in this disquisition is a miniature depicting Tobias and the angel by the Mughal artist Basavana (Fig. 51). He was particularly fond of amalgam and made many works which were based on various studies of European engravings.²⁶⁷ Although the exact model that was used for the figure of the women at the left of this miniature is not known, it also appears in another drawing of Basavana.²⁶⁸ This drawing depicts a woman with an *ektar* (Persian string instrument), standing on the head of a monster, and probably derived from a European work depicting the Holy Marguerite. This Saint was usually depicted with a dragon at her feet.²⁶⁹ Basavana obviously was not interested in the meaning of these possible Christian sources and graced Tobias with the wings of the angel Raphael. This transposition of characteristics from one artwork to another is a good example of Basavana's attraction to a highly eclectic art.²⁷⁰ Jean Soustiel and Marie-Christine David (1986) suggested that the iconography of the work possibly derived from an engraving representing the annunciation with Mary and the angel Gabriel, which would explain why the wings are attributed to the figure of Tobias, as well as the eminently feminine aspect of the wingless angel standing upright. Still, the figure of Tobias visibly arrives from an engraving depicting Tobias and the angel. The reason for this is that he is accompanied by a small dog and his hands look like they are pulling something, although the fish was omitted leaving his hands empty in this depiction.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ 2015, 6-10, London, Sotheby's, nr. 3.

²⁶⁷ Okada, "Les peintres moghols et le thème de Tobie et l'Ange," 9.

²⁶⁸ Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, 89.

²⁶⁹ Amina Okada, "Cinq dessins de Basâwan au musée Guimet, » *Arts asiatiques* 41 (1986), 83.

²⁷⁰ Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, 89.

²⁷¹ Marie Christine David and Jean Soustiel, *Miniatures Oriental de l'Inde* 4 (Paris : Galerie Jean Soustiel, 1986), 8.

6. Conclusion

From this thesis we can conclude that the Book of Tobit must have been a popular Bible story to depict in western manuscripts through the Middle Ages and in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The reason for this is that there are many miniatures depicting various episodes of the story, in a great variety of book types. The story was not only depicted in a Christian context, but also in various secular books. Still, it must be noted that the depiction of scenes of the Book of Tobit decreased around the beginning of the sixteenth century and this is due to the fact that books with printed illustrations were surpassing illuminated manuscripts around the turn of the fifteenth century. Although the iconography of Tobit was still depicted in miniature art, it was mainly continued in prints and illustrations of printed books around that time. By the fifteenth century, the iconography of Tobit was incorporated in the typological tradition. As we saw in the case of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, several episodes of the story of Tobit had a fixed place in these popular works. Another typological book in which the story of Tobit is depicted is the *Bible moralisée*. *Bible moralisée* MS Français 166 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is the largest of the miniature sequences depicting the story of Tobit discussed in this thesis. Although Tobit did not have such a fixed place in the *Bible moralisée* as in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, the iconography of the Book of Tobit nevertheless belonged to the illustrative repertoire of this Bible. While the Book of Tobit merely prefigured New Testament stories in other typological books, the typology used in MS Français 166 goes beyond linking the story of the Book of Tobit with New Testament events and brings its characters in connection with the life of contemporary Christians, Saints and even the king and queen of France. Miniatures of the Book of Tobit decorating the Bible were incorporated in the text of this biblical book, meaning that they also had a fixed place. The theme that is most depicted within historiated initials decorating the biblical book Tobit is Tobit sleeping, while swallow droppings fall into his eyes. Reasons for this could be that the horizontal figure of Tobit laying down was easy to adjust to the form of the initial letters, or perhaps it was also just one of the most recognizable episodes of the story. When looking at Bibles that depict the story of Tobit in one miniature, we notice a tendency in many miniatures. Several episodes from the narrative are combined in one miniature, but there is no focus on one iconography in particular. In the Bibles with image sequences depicting Tobit, there also seemed to have been freedom in the choice of the episodes depicted. In the examples discussed, there was no iconographical theme that was depicted in all of the image sequences. The two episodes of the Book of Tobit that were most depicted and appeared in four of the five miniature

sequences are Tobit's blinding and Tobias and the angel at the riverbank. The second most depicted iconographical episodes are the angel Raphael leaving Tobit and his family, and the wedding night of Tobias and Sarah. A striking feature is that the story seemed to have been depicted a lot in history Bibles and *Bibles du XIIIe siècle*.

The iconography of Tobit was also applied in several types of Office books, in which the iconography of Tobit seemed to have varied from book to book. In the breviaries that were researched for this thesis, different episodes of Tobit decorate various chapters. Contrary to the typological and biblical works we discussed, the iconography of Tobit did not belong to one certain part of the breviary. It was used to decorate lessons of the Book of Tobit and the Psalms, but also for other parts of the breviary. Although various and divergent episodes of the story of Tobit were illustrated in this book type, the depiction of Tobias and the angel on their way to Media seemed to be popular in the border decoration. This is especially the case for breviaries that were produced in Italy, where the angel Raphael was worshipped as a protector and guardian angel from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. The antiphon doesn't seem to have been a typical book to depict the story of Tobit in, because only one example was found during this research. The remaining Office books depict Tobias and the angel on their way. Although various episodes of the story of Tobit were depicted in Office books, the theme of Tobias and the angel on their way proved itself to be a popular iconographical theme for clerical devotion.

This is also the case for the Books of Hours, that were made for personal devotion. Since the implementation of the Book of Hours was rather a consequence of personal choice, it is not surprising that iconographical themes were used freely and they did not necessarily belong to a certain text in the book. The fact that artists and clients could choose images freely, can be deduced from the unusual example in which the iconography of Tobias and the angel was combined with the one of Saint Michael slaying the devil. The popularity of the theme of Tobias and the angel must have been the reason why it was the chosen episode of the story of Tobit in so many of these examples. The iconography of the Book of Tobit was also applied in less common religious book types. In a manuscript containing the *Chemin de Paradis* of Jean Germain, the figure of Tobit is chosen to represent the Law of Moses, together with Moses and seven other Old Testament figures. He takes on the role of a prophet, just like he did in one example of the *Biblia Pauperum* (The Hague, RMMW, MS. 10 A 15). Although the

iconography of Tobit was usually used as a prefiguration for a scene of the life of Christ in the *Biblia Pauperum*, he also happened to be depicted as one of the four prophets surrounding it. In a fifteenth-century *Cité de Dieu*, Tobit is depicted while praying, on the same folio as two other miniatures depicting the old Jacob in bed with nine young men around him and the Supper at Bethany, with Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's head.

Furthermore, the story of Tobit was also depicted in secular works, of which three examples were discussed in this thesis. The first one is the *Confessio Amantis*, in which Tobias and Sarah are examples of how to deal with lust within marriage and how to consummate it successfully. The iconography used to decorate this story is the couple kneeling next to their bed, while one can see the dead bodies of Sarah's seven previous husbands lain on the floor. The reason that they died is that they sought pleasure rather than a sacramental union in their marriage. Although this story belongs to a book that also recounts classical and secular tales, Tobias functions as a Christian example. This is also the case in the *Il Tesoro* and the *Trésor de Sapience*, two encyclopedic works that combined biblical and secular stories as well. The characters of the Book of Tobit were never deducted from their religious role and always used in an exemplary context. For the western miniatures, we can conclude that the iconography of the Book of Tobit was applied in very various book types and although it had a fixed place in some typological works and in the Bible, it was often adapted freely in other religious and secular works. The most popular episodes to depict in manuscripts between 1400 and 1600 seem to have been Tobias and the angel on their way to Media and Tobit becoming blind.

What about the afterlife of this medieval book illuminations depicting Tobit? The iconography of Tobias with the fish and the angel reached India through the prints that the Jesuits brought to the Mughal court and would start a completely new life and take on new forms. The openness of emperor Akbar made it possible that the Jesuits visiting his court took printed books and copper engravings from Europe with them, which the emperor admired. Although prints already circulated in India before, it was the Jesuits that would make the prints have an influence on the workshop of Akbar. Akbar welcomed the prints from Antwerp with enthusiasm and made the artists working at his workshop copy them to enlarge their visual language. When examining the iconography of Mughal miniatures inspired by European prints more closely, one can notice it was not the religious content but rather their form and unusual look that attracted artists at

Akbar's court. They often only used the artistic elements they considered relevant and did thus not follow their original iconography. The separate elements they used were transposed into a whole new context, causing the existence of hybrid works, which are hard to understand. In the literature on the iconography of Tobias and the angel in Mughal miniatures, it is often assumed that every depiction of an angel with a fish or an angel and a young boy with a fish derives from the iconography of the Book of Tobit. Nevertheless, the Islamic *Qisas al-Anbiya* (Stories of the Prophet) recounts a story about an angel and a fish. This story was depicted in several Persian manuscripts and was therefore probably known to the Mughals before they became familiar with the western iconography of Tobias and the angel. Although it is likely that these two iconographies were merged together, I decided to only discuss miniatures depicting an angel and a young boy with a fish as true depictions of the story of Tobit. From the several examples that were discussed, we can conclude that the Mughal artist didn't attach any importance to follow their examples faithfully like the western miniaturists did. The iconography of the copper engravings that probably served as examples for the Mughals' depiction of Tobias and the angel, were combined with many other Persian, European and Indian iconographies. The results of this are odd and funny depictions, which are nevertheless beautiful miniatures giving the iconography of Tobias and the angel a new meaning because of their completely different iconographical interpretation. The attraction that the Mughal artists felt towards the exotic images that the Jesuits brought to them must have been the same attraction that I felt towards the miniature that I saw in the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin last summer. My curiosity towards it resulted in an instructive journey through two separate worlds whose connection is nevertheless immortalized in these Indian artworks. It has been a pleasure to dive deeper into the meaning of the Book of Tobit for the miniature arts.

7. Appendices

7.1. List of the used digital libraries

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek - Manuscripts and Rare Books

Belgian Art Links and Tools - Balat Kik-irpa

Bibliothèque nationale de France - BNF archives et manuscrits

Bodleian Library - Digital Bodleian

Digital collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Digital Scriptorium

Free Library of Philadelphia - Medieval Manuscripts

Heidelberg University Library - Manuscripts – digitized

Manuscripta Medaevalia

Morgan Library & Museum - Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts

Nationale Bibliotheek van Nederland - Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts

The British Library Digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts

The J. Paul Getty Museum - Manuscripts Collection

The Walters Art Museum - Digitized Walters Manuscripts

University of Cambridge - Medieval Manuscripts

Vatican Library - DigiVatLib

Yale University Library - Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

7.2. Summary of the text of manuscript Française 166 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (ff. 94r-98v)

Folio 94r	
<p>Nehemiah 8:9 Ezra, the priest of the Law, tells the people not to mourn or weep, because all the people had been weeping when they heard the Law.</p>	<p>Tobit 1:2 Tobit was taken captive in the time of Shalmaneser, the king of the Assyrians, but he stayed faithful to God. He passed the truth on to the next generation, so they would not have a bad childhood.</p>
<p>The prelates and preachers must comfort the people and say that it is not always time to cry because the thought of the paradise should make them rejoice.</p>	<p>Tobit stands for Christ, who didn't do anything bad in this world and whose doctrine was deputed to the doctors of Law when he was only a child of twelve.</p>
<p>Nehemiah 13: 23-24 Jews married foreign women and this caused half of their children to speak in a foreign language.</p>	<p>Tobit: 5-6 When all the other Jews worshipped the golden calf that Jeroboam, the king of Israel had made, Tobit worshipped God in the temple of Jerusalem.</p>
<p>This means that those who are greedy or covetous will not be fed and nourished by the Holy Language in the church.</p>	<p>This means that Christ would be the only one to escape from the scourge of the enemy, but that God fortunately forgives us if we ask him to.</p>

Folio 94v

<p>Tobit 1: 15 Tobit went to visit all the Jews who were captive and gave them salutary advice and comforted them.</p>	<p>Tobit 1:18 King Sennacherib, the son of Shalmaneser, was furious and killed many Jews.</p>
<p>This means that Christ would preach in cities, castles and synagogues, teach them, comfort them and heal them.</p>	<p>Matthew 2: 16 Herod gave order to kill all the innocent in Bethlehem.</p>
<p>Tobit 4: 20 Tobit deposited 10 talents with Gabael in Rages.</p>	<p>Tobit 1:19 When the emperor found out that Tobit was the one who had been burying his victims, he wanted to kill him and Tobit had to flee.</p>
<p>Luke 19: 12-13 Parable of the talents: A rich man went on a journey, called ten of his servants and gave them 10 talents to multiply.</p>	<p>Matthew 2: 13-14 Joseph and Mary fled to Egypt with their child.</p>

Folio 95r

<p>Tobit 1: 24-25 After forty-five days, the king was killed by his own sons. Tobias returned to his house, and all his substance was restored to him.</p>	<p>Tobit 2: 3-4 When Tobit found out that one of the children of Israel had been murdered, he left the dinner table. He carried the body to his house, so he could secretly bury it during the night.</p>
<p>Matthew 2: 19-21 When Herod died, Joseph and Mary returned to Judea with their child.</p>	<p>Saints become filled with compassion when they see others being murdered.</p>
<p>Tobit 2: 2 Tobit wanted to invite the people who were true to God at his dinner table for the festivities.</p>	<p>Tobit 2: 9-10 After Tobit returned from burying the body, he was blinded by swallow droppings that fell into his eyes while he was asleep.</p>
<p>This means, that what David said in the Psalms that he did not have the will to eat with the greedy because he wanted them to serve him.</p>	<p>This means, what happens if the desires of the flesh and recreation, blind the understanding of the ones who are tired and tormented.</p>

Folio 95v

<p>Tobit 2: 13-14 When Anna came home with a goat, Tobit blamed her for stealing it and she got angry at him.</p>	<p>Tobit 3: 10-11 After this, Sarah went upstairs and she prayed to the lord.</p>
<p>This means that the beloved apostle rebels against the spirit and the spirit against the beloved. The spirit, no matter how blind it is, fights against sin and sensuality. Tobit is the spirit and Anna the beloved one.</p>	<p>This means that prayer is sovereign refuge in all adversity as it appeared when David prayed for a number of people and in many other places in the Holy Scripture.</p>
<p>Tobit 3:7-8 The daughter of Raguel, in the city of Medes, received a reproach from one of her servant maids, because she had been given to seven husbands and a devil strangled all of them.</p>	<p>Tobit 4: 1-2 Tobit called his son Tobias and told him what he had to do.</p>
<p>These seven husbands stand for the disbelieving clerics and scholars that humankind had prior to Christ and who only thought of this temporal life that lasts for seven days, and both bodily and spiritual death killed them through the sin of not believing.</p>	<p>This teaches us that fathers and mothers must teach or have their children taught, because God will ask them for a reason.</p>

Folio 96r

<p>Tobit 5:9 Tobias found the angel Raphael and took him to his father Tobit, who started to question Raphael.</p>	<p>Tobit 5: 10-13 Tobit asked the angel what his name was and from which family he was. The angel Raphael him that he was Azarias, the son of the older Ananias. Tobit responded that he came from a good family.</p>
<p>This means that Christ had to find young men in the world, to which he appeared as purely human and whom he often asked if he was like Nathanael and the other young disciples.</p>	<p>This means that when many people asked Christ who he was and where he came from, he proved that he came from the great place of paradise and showed that he was the son of God by miracles.</p>
<p>Tobit 5: 16 The angel promised Tobit that he would bring his son home safely.</p>	<p>Tobit 5:16 Tobias said goodbye to his father and mother and started his journey with the angel.</p>
<p>This means that Christ says goodbye to his father in the Gospels. God guards everyone that's brave.</p>	<p>This means that Christ went all the way to Judea to tell everybody goodbye after his passion and resurrection, and his faith was conveyed to the people by the preaching of the apostles.</p>

Folio 96v

<p>Tobit 6: 1-2</p> <p>The first night they camped next to the Tigris and when Tobias wanted to wash his feet in the river, a fish tried to swallow it, but the angel Raphael helped him.</p>	<p>Tobit 6: 4-5</p> <p>Tobias cut open the fish and took out the gall bladder, heart and liver, like the angel told him to do.</p>
<p>This means that the apostles or other Holy Doctors wanted to know and convert the people at the beginning of the existence of the Christian Church. Their enemies were the tyrants who wished to destroy them, but they prayed to God who always helped them.</p>	<p>This means that the Holy Martyrs and Preachers ripped from certain tyrants and disbelievers the heart of bad will, the gall of wrath, and the gizzard of foolish love.</p>
<p>Tobit 6: 3</p> <p>The angel told Tobias to grab the fish and pull it on the land, so Tobias did.</p>	<p>Tobit 7:1-11</p> <p>The angel and Tobias went to Tobias' relative Raguel and Tobias asked Raguel if he could marry his daughter, like the angel told him to do. Raguel doubted this because her seven previous husbands died during the wedding night, but the angel told him not to doubt and to serve the Lord.</p>
<p>This means that Saint Martyrs and Apostles surmounted many tyrants by talking to God and His miracles.</p>	<p>This means that the non-believers startled themselves at the beginning of the preaching of the apostles and were shocked by how they left their nation of Judea to preach, but the perdurable life that the apostles led to serve the Lord brought them great joy.</p>

Folio 97r

<p>Tobit 7:13</p> <p>The marriage of Tobias and Sarah was confirmed. He took her to be his wife according to the teachings in the scripture.</p>	<p>Tobit 8: 4-8</p> <p>Tobias and Sarah prayed for three nights before they consummated their marriage.</p>
<p>This means that God the father married Christ to the Church according to the true Scripture of the Gospel.</p>	<p>To us is ensigned that good Christians should not marry due to fleshly desire and should pray to the Holy Law before their consumption of marriage. The king of France did this just like Tobias did.</p>
<p>Tobit 8: 1-3</p> <p>After the meal, Tobias and his wife went to the bedroom. Tobias took the fish's liver and heart and placed them on the burning incense. The smell made the demon flee to Egypt, but the angel caught him.</p>	<p>Tobit 8: 10-13</p> <p>Raguel doubted if Tobias was dead like the others before him and sent a servant maid to bury him before dawn, but she found him sleeping with the bride.</p>
<p>This means that the newly converted marries God by the sacrament and exchanges the spirit of worldly love for the love of God and by the virtue of the sacraments of the Holy Church the enemy disappears.</p>	<p>This means that there is no doubt in the faith of Christ for the glory that he prays for us. The sent chambermaid, who reported the good news, stands for Magdalena and the other apostles that saw miracles and confirmed the faith by their words.</p>

Folio 97v

<p>Tobit 8: 18 Raguel ordered his servants to fill up the grave that they dug to bury Tobias in before dawn.</p>	<p>Tobit 8: 19 Then they dined and started to prepare the wedding feast to celebrate.</p>
<p>This means that people who doubt the Holy Faith will become certain of the truth of the resurrection of Christ.</p>	<p>Those who are converted to God are joyful and feast when they see another person receiving the sacraments of the Holy Church with dignity.</p>
<p>Tobit 8:19 Raguel had two oxen and four rams slaughtered and invited all his friends for a big feast.</p>	<p>Tobit 10: 8-9 Raguel wanted to make Tobias stay but he wanted to return to his parents.</p>
<p>The two oxen stand for the apostles who carry the sweet milk of preaching and the four rams are the four evangelists who were slaughtered in order to spread the true faith.</p>	<p>The disciples who saw Christ after the resurrection were sad when he told them that he would go back to his father, just like the two disciples on their way to Emmaus who begged Christ to stay.</p>

Folio 98r

<p>Tobit 9: 5 After this, the angel Raphael went to Gabael in the city of Rages, gave him the signed document, and received the money. After this, they went to the wedding of Tobias.</p>	<p>Tobit 10: 10 Tobias didn't want to stay so Raguel gave him half of all his property. After his death Tobias would receive the other half.</p>
<p>The people who do good works and believed in God can go to heaven.</p>	<p>The Holy Apostles and Martyrs give a large part to Christ by sending Christians to God, leading a good life and preaching. After their death they give him another part of their miracles.</p>
<p>Tobit 10: 1-5 When the parents of Tobias noticed that Tobias was not back on the day he should be, they began to worry. Anna thought her son had died and began to mourn.</p>	<p>Tobit 11: 5 When Tobit knew his son Tobias was coming, he became joyful again.</p>
<p>When Christ was dead for three days, the apostles and his mother mourned while he was actually on a pilgrimage.</p>	<p>The Jews and other non-Christians will believe in Christ at the end of the world and this will bring great joy.</p>

Folio 98v

<p>Tobit 11: 12-14 Tobias applied the gall of the fish on his father's eyes to make him see again. When he was healed, Tobit started praising God.</p>	<p>Tobit 14: 10 Just before Tobit died, he sent for his son Tobias and told him to leave Nineveh as soon as he buried his mother.</p>
<p>The gall of this fish means the antichrist's sheer bitterness and malice, which, once the Jews have recognized and tasted it, and the Lord has taken it away from this world, they will be enlightened through faith.</p>	<p>The Holy Men have to leave the heart of this world and go to the land of paradise and desire for Christ's love.</p>
<p>Tobit 12: 15 The angel Raphael revealed himself to Tobit and Tobias. This way he made them have great mercy for God.</p>	<p>Judith 2: 21-25 Holofernes, the principal duke of Nebuchadnezzar, assigned to slay a city of the Jews.</p>
<p>The apostles read in front of everyone because it reveals the real faith and they made others have great mercy for God this way.</p>	<p>This means that the enemy often killed good preachers.</p>

8. List of images



Fig. 1. *Angel with a fish* (f. 36r), beginning of the 17th century. Material and dimensions unknown. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, part of the Polier albums, Inv.-Nr. 4601. Martina Müller-Wiener, Email to author, May 30, 2018.



Fig. 2. *Miniature depicting Tobit and Gabael sealing their contract* (f. 18r), 10th century. Ink on parchment, 340 × 260 mm (Full page). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Lat. 94. Available from: Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84260363/f43.image> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 3. *Sculpture of the angel Raphael capturing Asmodeus*, c. 1194-1230. Stone, dimensions unknown. Chartres, outer archivolt on the right portal of the north porch of the Cathedral of the Notre-Dame. Available from: Centre André-Chastel, <http://www.centrechastel.paris-sorbonne.fr/gallery/la-cathedrale-notre-dame-de-chartres> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 4. *Madonna della Misericordia (Madonna of the protecting coat) and Raphael and Tobias*, c. 1350. Fresco, dimensions unknown. Verona, basilica of San Zeno. Available from: Federico Zeri Foundation, http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda.v2.jsp?decorator=layout_resp&apply=true&locale=en&tipo_scheda=OA&id=6395&titolo=Anonimo%20veronese%20sec.%20XIV%20%09%09%09%20%09%09%20%20%20%20%20,%20Madonna%20della%20Misericordia%20;%20Tobia%20e%20san%20Raffaele%20Arcangelo (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 5. *Miniature depicting Raguel welcoming Tobias and the angel* (f. 21r), c. 1435. Ink on vellum, 387 x 285 mm (Full page). New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.230. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/41/77199> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 6. Manuscript folio depicting four prophets and Christ on the road to Emmaus prefigured by Isaac receiving Jacob's blessing and Tobias greeted by Raguel (f. 21r), c. 1450. Paint and ink on parchment, 399 x 275 mm. Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cgm 155. Available from: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0009/bsb00096308/images/index.html?fiip=193.174.98.30&seite=48&pdfseite=48> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 7. Detail of a miniature depicting Jonah and Tobit (f. 29r), c. 1470. Paint and ink on vellum, 262 x 190 mm (Full page). The Hague, RMMW 10 A 15. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_mmw_10a15%3A029r_5 (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 8. Miniature depicting the marriage of Maria and Joseph and another miniature depicting the wedding of Tobias and Sarah (f. 6v), c. 1450. Paint and ink on vellum, 295 x 210 mm (Full page). The Hague, RMMW, 10 B 34. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_mmw_10b34%3A006v (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 9. Detail of a miniature depicting the mourning Tobit and Anna and Tobias and the angel on their way (f. 56v), c. 1400. Ink on vellum, 330 x 240 mm (Full page). New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 766. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/69/131050> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 10. *Manuscript folio depicting the marriage of Sarah and Tobias* (f. 3r), c. 1460. Ink on paper, 170 x 135 mm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce f. 4. Available from: Luna, http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~3035~103100:Speculum-humanae-salvationis--fragm?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:tobit;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~1~1&mi=11&trs=14# (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 11. Folio of a Bible moralisée on which Tobit serves as a prefiguration of Christ, the episode in which Tobit deposits money with Gabael serves as a prefiguration for the parable of the ten talents and on which king Sennacherib serves as a prefiguration for Herod (f. 94v), 15th century. Paint and ink on vellum, dimensions unknown. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 166. Available from: Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105325870/f202.image> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 12. Part of a manuscript folio depicting Tobias and the angel on their way (f. 74v), c. 1455. Paint and ink on vellum, 291 x 207 mm (Full page). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 E 7. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_76e7%3A074v_min (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 13. Historiated initial depicting Tobit's blinding (f. 137r), 1465. Paint on parchment, 375 x 275 mm (Full page). London, The British Library, Egerton 1895. Available from: The British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=58797> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 14. *Historiated initial depicting Tobit laying down, with his son Tobias standing next to him and God appearing from behind the stem of the letter T* (Folio 209r), 1454. Paint and ink on parchment, 372 x 260 mm (Full page). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1. Available from: Digital Vatican Library, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1 (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 15. *Historiated initial with Tobit laying down while Tobias and the angel stand next to him* (149r), first half of the 15th century. Ink and paint on parchment, 434 x 280 mm (Full page). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 20. Available from: Digital Vatican Library, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.20 (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 16. *Historiated initial with Tobit sitting and reading at a desk* (236r), c. 1430. Paint and ink on vellum, 398 x 300 mm (Full page). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_78d38%3Adl1_236r_init (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 17. *Historiated initial with the tribe members of Tobit worshipping the golden calf of king Jerobaom* (f. 184r), c. 1400. Paint and ink on parchment, 430 x 310 mm (Full page). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1. Available from: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1/0379/image (accessed May 30, 2018).

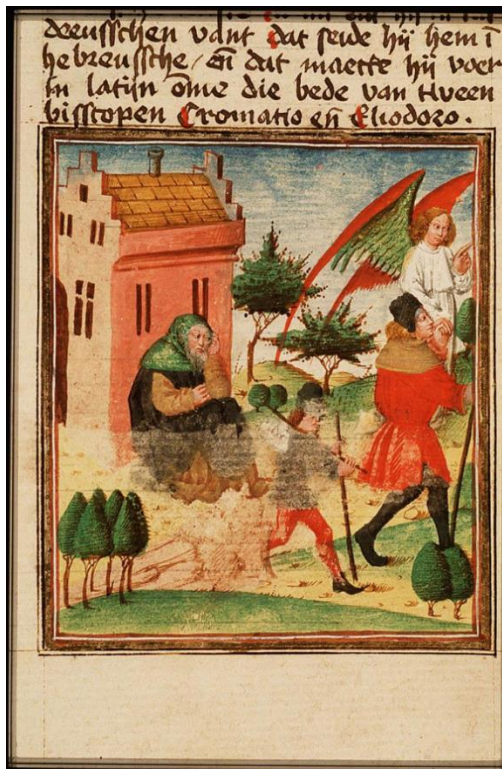


Fig. 18. *Folio showing the young Tobias leaving his father and an older looking Tobias travelling with the angel Raphael (261r), c. 1467. Paint and ink on paper, 368 x 325 mm. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 39. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_78d39%3A261r_min (Accessed May 30, 2018).*



Fig. 19. *Miniature depicting several episodes of the story of Tobit (213v), 1477. Paint on parchment, 598 x 441 mm (Full page). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1. Available from: Digital Vatican Library, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.1 (accessed May 30, 2018).*



Fig. 20. *Folio showing Tobit as a scribe* (f. 56v), c. 1445. Paint and ink on paper, 405 x 292 mm. Heidelberg, Universität Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 21. Available from: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg21/0116/image> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 21. *Miniature depicting Tobias' foot getting swallowed* (f. 23r), c. 1475. Paint and ink on parchment, 435 x 320 mm (Full page). London, The British Library, Royal 15 D I. Available from: The British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=35035> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 22. Miniature showing the angel Raphael on his way to reclaim the money of Tobit (189r), c. 1415. Paint and ink on vellum, 444 x 352 mm (Full page). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 394. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/195/112314> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 23. Miniature showing that the angel Raphael revealed his identity (f. 190r), c. 1415. Paint and ink on vellum, 444 x 352 mm (Full page). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 394. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/197/112314> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 24. *Miniature depicting Tobit burying the death* (f. 1r), c. 1415. Paint and ink on vellum, 444 x 330 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 395. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/110798> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 25. *Miniature showing Tobias and Sarah in bed* (f. 3v), c. 1415. Paint and ink on vellum, 444 x 330 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 395. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/6/110798> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 26. Miniature depicting the are the captivity of Tobit in Nineveh (233r), 1477. Paint and ink on paper, 396 x 273 mm (Full page). Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 17. Available from: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0473/image> (accessed May 30, 2018).

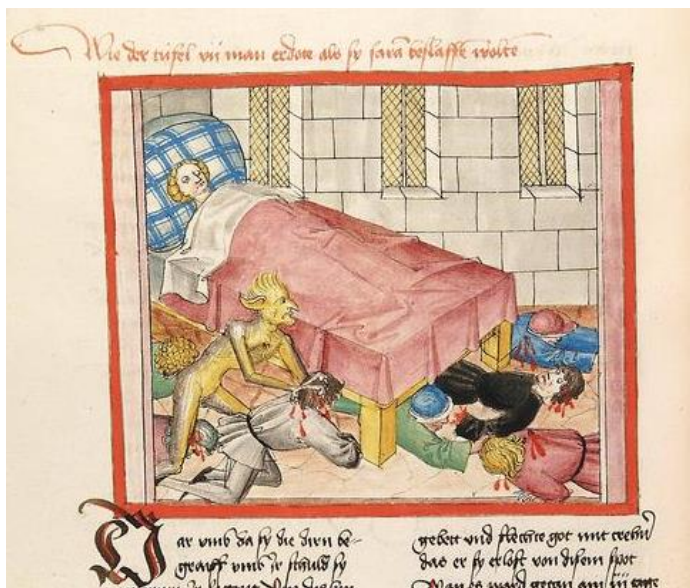


Fig. 27. Miniature showing Sarah sleeping in a bed, while Asmodeus demon is killing one of her husbands (f. 235v), 1477. Paint and ink on paper, 396 x 273 mm (Full page). Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 17. Available from: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg17/0478/image> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 28. *Miniature depicting the wedding feast of Sarah and Tobias* (f. 239r), c. 1430. Paint and ink on vellum, 398 x 300 mm (Full page). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_78d38%3Adl1_239r_min_a (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 29. *Miniature showing Tobit giving his last admonitions to a group of five men* (f. 240v), c. 1430. Paint and ink on vellum, 398 x 300 mm (Full page). The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 38 I. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_78d38%3Adl1_240v_min (May 30, 2018).



Fig. 30. *Miniature showing Anna taking home a lamb* (f. 277v), c. 1440. Paint and ink on vellum, 244 x 177 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.87. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/204/76967> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 31. Title page to the Sanctorale with depictions of St. Saturninus and St. Andrew and in the decorated border Tobias and the angel, the pope, a king and angels blowing trumpets (f. 267r), c. 1475. Paint and ink on parchment, 390 x 260 mm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 388. Available from: Luna, http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~37069~105953:Augustinian-Breviary--Use-of-Rome-?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:tobias;sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~1~1&mi=11&trs=20# (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 32. Folio showing two scenes of the Book of Tobit in one miniature, with a decorated border (f. 41r), c. 1505. Paint and ink on parchment, 224 x 160 mm. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Obj.-Nr. 90563. Available from: BALaT, <http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=Z007038&objnr=90563&lang=nl-NL&nr=13> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 33. *Miniature showing Tobit in captivity* (f. 167), c. 1511. Paint and ink on vellum, 219 x 152 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 8. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/71/76862> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 34. *Miniature depicting Tobias and the angel Raphael and Raphael healing Tobit's eyes*, c. 1500. Paint and ink and parchment, 600 x 400 mm (Full page). Westmalle, Abdij O.-L.-Vrouw van het H. Hart, Obj.-Nr. 87314. Available from: Available from: BALaT, <http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=KM003380&objnr=87314&lang=nl-NL&nr=10> (Accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 35. Folio with a miniature depicting Tobias and the angel on their way, with a decorated border, c. 1500. Paint and ink on parchment, 105 x 78 mm. Oxford Bodleian Library, MS.

Lat. Liturg. g. 5. Available from: Luna,

[http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~3351~103526:Office-](http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~3351~103526:Office-of-the-Holy-Ghost-)

[?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:tobit;sort:Shelfmar](http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~3351~103526:Office-of-the-Holy-Ghost-?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:tobit;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~1~1&mi=12&trs=14#)

[k%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~1~1&mi=12&trs=14#](http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~3351~103526:Office-of-the-Holy-Ghost-?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:tobit;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc:ODLodl~1~1&mi=12&trs=14#)
(accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 36. *Miniature depicting Tobias and the angel meeting Raguel(?)* (f. 189v), c. 1475. Paint and ink on vellum, 67 x 49 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1077. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/16/76824> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 37. Folio with a miniature depicting Saint Michael slaying the devil and Tobias and the angel, with a decorated border (f. 260v), c. 1510. Paint and ink on parchment, 189 x 129 mm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.420. Available from: The Digital Walters, http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W420/data/W.420/sap/W420_000524_sap.jpg (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 38. *Miniature illustrating the Law of Moses* (ff. 106v-107r), 1475. Paint and ink on parchment, 282 mm x 414 mm (Each page). Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 210. Available from: Digital Collections Free Library of Philadelphia, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/3780> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 39. *Miniature depicting the praying Tobit*, c. 1475. Paint and ink on vellum, 440 x 300 mm (Full Page). The Hague, RMMW, 10 A 11. Available from: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, http://manuscripts.kb.nl/zoom/BYVANCKB%3Amimi_mmw_10a11%3A018r_min_2 (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 40. *Miniature showing Tobias and Sarah praying during their wedding night, c. 1470.* Paint and ink on vellum, 440 x 320 mm (Full page). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M 126. Available from: The Morgan Library and Museum, <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/82/77039> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 41. *Folio showing three miniatures with Iaddo, Tobit, and Nebuchadnezzar (f. 61r), 1425.* Paint and ink on parchment, 245 x 110 mm. London, British Library, Yates Thompson 28 (*Il Tesoro*). Available from: The British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=7923> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 42. Miniature depicting the blinding of Tobit and the angel Raphael and Tobias catching the fish (f. 96v), c. 1470. Paint and ink on parchment, 314 x 437 mm (Full page). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS. 307. Available from: The Digital Walters, <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W307/description.html> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 43. *An angel holding a fish*, c. 1590-1600. Ink with use of colors and gold on paper, 148 x 83 mm (Drawing). Provenance unknown. Available from: Sotheby's, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/arts-islamic-world-116220/lot.44.html> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 44. Husayn, *The angel of Tobias*, c. 1590-1600. Material unknown, 188 x 132 mm. Paris, Musée Guimet, Inv.-Nr. 3619, H.a. From: John Seyller, "A Mughal Code of Connoisseurship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000). Fig. 16.



Fig. 45. Manohar, *Tobias and a seated angel*, c. 1590. Gouache heightened with gold on paper, 147 x 104 mm (Painting). Provenance unknown. Available from: Sotheby's, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/sven-gahlin-collection-115224/lot.10.html> (accessed May 30, 2018).



*Andispenatrici decorata EVROPA corona,
Orbem quo sedet ut solio regina superbo,*

*Cum numero populi haud posset superare vel auro,
Viribus (∞) valido sibi subdidit inclyta ferro.*

Fig. 46. Adriaen Collaert after Maerten de Vos, *Europe*, 1586-1591. Engraving, 216 x 258 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Obj.-Nr. RP-P-BI-6063. Available from: Rijksmuseum, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-BI-6063>.



Fig. 47. 121. *The Fisherman offers the “Hermaphrodite” Fish to the King* (f. 305r), 1593. Material and size unknown. Geneva, Chateau de Bellerive, Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, MS. Add.C.44.2. From: Sims, Eleanor. “16th-century Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of Animal Fables in Persia, Transoxiana, and Ottoman Turkey.” In *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-I Suhayli, Iyar-I Danish, and Humayun Nameh*, edited by Ernst J. Grube, 98-123. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991. Plate 121.



Fig. 48. Manohar, *Tobias and the Angel*, c. 1610. Brush and ink heightened with gold and color on paper, 110 x 65 mm (Drawing). Provenance unknown. Available from: Sotheby's, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/sven-gahlin-collection-115224/lot.19.html> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 49. Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos, *Luxuria*, c. 1590-1637. Engraving, 159 x 87 mm. London, The British Museum, Inv.-Nr. D,6.67. Available from: The British Museum,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1557049&partId=1.



Fig. 50. Keshav Das, *A lady with the young Tobias in a landscape*, c. 1575-80. Gouache heightened with gold on cotton, mounted on paper, 216 x 119 mm (Painting). Provenance unknown. Available from: Sotheby's, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/sven-gahlin-collection-115224/lot.3.html> (accessed May 30, 2018).



Fig. 51. Basavana, *Tobias and the angel*, c. 1590-1595. Brush and ink heightened with gold and color on paper, 157 x 107 mm. Private collection. From: John Seyller, "A Mughal Code of Connoisseurship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000). Fig. 17.

9. Abstracts

9.1. Abstract in English

Although the story of the biblical book Tobit is not very known, it has always been an inspiration for artists. This was already proved by authors such as Hanne Weskott (1974) and Elizabeth Philpot (2006), but there is no publication that focusses on the iconography of Tobit in miniature art. The goal of *The iconography of the Book of Tobit in Western and Indian miniatures (1400-1600)* is to research this niche within the time period between 1400 and 1600, using miniatures that are accessible online or in the literature on the topic. Episodes from the Book of Tobit were not only illustrated in the western art of illumination, but also in Indian miniature art. Although European book illuminators illustrated every episode of the book, the iconography of Tobias and the angel was the only theme that seems to have reached India. Both cultures depicted the iconography in miniature art, but the transition of it happened through the copper engravings and prints that the Jesuits took with them during their missions at the court of emperor Akbar (1556-1605). This thesis therefore exists of two parts in which prints take on the role as mediator. This disquisition deals with the various medieval book types in which and in which way the iconography of the Book of Tobit was depicted in them, but also researches how Mughals artists dealt with the western image of Tobias and the angel and how they blended it together with all kinds of Persian, Indian and other European iconographies in order to create hybrid images. Authors such as Amina Okada (1988) do not only describe miniatures with two figures, of which one is holding a fish, as Tobias and the angel. Miniatures with only one angel or human with a fish are also described as Tobias or Raphael. Gregory Minissale (2007) on the contrary thinks that angels with a fish are depictions of Jibrail (Gabriel) from the *Qisas al-Anbiya* (Stories of the Prophet). Because it is most likely that miniatures depicting an angel and a fish indeed derive from this Islamic story, only miniatures with two figures, of which one with a fish, are discussed in the thesis. The part that deals with the western art of illumination is divided in typological works, Bibles, Office books, other religious works and secular works. The second part about the Mughal miniatures is divided per miniature, because there are far less examples in this case.

9.2. Abstract in Dutch

Het verhaal uit het Bijbelboek Tobit is niet al te bekend, maar was toch al van vroeg af aan een inspiratiebron voor kunstenaars. Hoewel dit reeds aangetoond werd door auteurs zoals Hanne Weskott (1974) en Elizabeth Philpot (2006), bestaat er geen enkele publicatie die focust op de iconografie van Tobit binnen de miniatuurkunst. Het doel van *The iconography of the Book of Tobit in Western and Indian miniatures (1400-1600)* is om deze niche te onderzoeken in de tijdsperiode tussen 1400 en 1600, aan de hand van miniaturen die digitaal beschikbaar zijn of in de literatuur over het thema gevonden kunnen worden. Delen uit het Bijbelverhaal Tobit werden niet enkel afgebeeld in de westerse boekilluminatie, maar ook in de Indische miniatuurkunst. Ondanks dat de Europese boekilluminators zowat elk mogelijk thema uit het Bijbelboek Tobit afgebeeld hebben, blijkt het enige beeldthema uit Tobit dat de Mogols in India bereikte dat van Tobias en de engel Rafaël geweest te zijn. Hoewel het thema dus in beide culturen in de miniatuurkunst werd afgebeeld, gebeurde de transitie door de kopergravures en prenten die de jezuïeten meenamen tijdens hun missies aan het hof van koning Akbar (1556-1605). Deze thesis kan dus opgevat worden als een tweeluik waarin de prentkunst als overgangsmiddel dient. De uiteenzetting behandelt de verschillende middeleeuwse boektypes waarin en op welke manier de iconografie van het Bijbelboek Tobit erin werd afgebeeld, maar ook hoe de Mogols met het westerse beeld van Tobias en de engel omgingen en het met allerlei Perzische, Indische en andere Europese iconografieën samenvoegden om zo tot hybride voorstellingen te komen. Auteurs zoals Amina Okada (1988) beschrijven niet enkel miniaturen met twee figuren, waarvan één met een vis, als Tobias en de engel. Ook miniaturen met enkel een engel of een mens met een vis worden als Tobias of Rafaël beschreven. Gregory Minissale (2007) daarentegen neemt het standpunt in dat engelen met een vis afbeeldingen zijn van Jibrail (Gabriël) uit de *Qisas al-Anbiya* (Verhalen van de profeet). Omdat het waarschijnlijker is dat miniaturen die een engel met een vis afbeelden inderdaad uit dit Islamitische verhaal komen, worden enkel miniaturen met twee figuren, waarvan één met een vis, onderzocht in het tweede deel van de thesis. Het deel dat de westerse miniatuurkunst behandelt, is opgedeeld in typologische werken, Bijbels, boeken voor kerkdiensten, andere religieuze werken en seculaire werken. Het tweede deel over de Mogolminiaturen is opgedeeld per miniatuur, omdat er in dit geval veel minder voorbeelden bewaard zijn gebleven.