Scholastica (E.17: SS1.323a, with Richard of Saint-Victor, no donor, and erased at E.52: SS2.91); Heinrich Suso, *Orologium sapientiae* (O.3: SS1.945f, given by John Bracebridge); Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla litteralis* (E.28–9: SS1.334–5, no donor, and erased copies in SS2); Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* (M.9: SS1.742, given by William Fitzthomas, at Syon by 1428); John of Hildesheim, *Historia trium regum [The Three Kings of Cologne]* (M.15: SS1.748m-n, no donor; M.17: SS1.750g, in English, no donor; this volume interestingly also contains a "Declaracio Regule Cartusie" [SS1.750f]); Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (M.24: SS1.757b–c, in English, given by Fishbourn; erased at M.26: SS2.127a, no donor, and at M.110: SS2.147, no donor; the Latin translation by Thomas Fishlake is at M.25: SS1.758, no donor); *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (M.83: SS1.816a, given by Fishbourn; O.35: SS1.977l, given by Bracebridge); *Miracles of the Virgin*, though the contents of these collections varied widely (O.39: SS1.981d, given by Bracebridge). All the writings of the "approued women" included in the *Mirror* were demonstrably present at Syon: Bridget's revelations (M.64: SS1.797, now London, British Library, MS Harley 612, s.xv[1]; M.65: SS1.798, M.66: SS1.799, both were the gift of the first Confessor-General, Thomas Fishbourn [d. 1428]); Mechtild's *Booke* (M.47: SS1.780, no donor, perhaps in English, and M.94: SS1.827g, no donor); Elizabeth of Töss (in English and erased from the main catalogue at M.20: SS2.125); Catherine of Siena (M.71: SS1.804g, no donor, and of course through *The Orcherd of Syon*). There is even a copy of *Mandeville's Travels* at Syon (M.77: SS1.810g), but this appears to be a later, printed text given by Confessor-General Falkley, who died in 1497.

63. Without daring to suggest which is the Tortoise and which the Mock Turtle, I am deeply grateful to Dr. A. I. Doyle for his attempts to save me from heresy and vulgar error, and to Professor Jill Mann for the care and attention she has lavished on this essay. Being very dull, I of course remain solely responsible for the remaining errors.

6

The Visual Environment of Carthusian Texts

Decoration and Illustration in Notre Dame 67

JESSICA BRANTLEY

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, MS 67, RECENTLY ACQUIRED FROM the sale of the Foyle collection,[1] includes a rare Middle English devotional text: *A Mirror to Devout People* (ff. 1–108).[2] We know that the *Mirror* was composed by a Carthusian monk, for its preface refers to Nicholas Love's translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* as the work of "a man of our ordoure." But—just as important—this vernacular *Mirror* is addressed to the writer's "gostely sustre in Ihesu criste."[3] What is more, the Notre Dame copy seems to have been commercially produced for aristocratic readers.[4] So although the origins of the *Mirror* can be traced to the environment of the charterhouse, its later life and readership can be definitively located elsewhere. This sort of diffusion is not unusual for Carthusian texts, which circulated widely in late medieval England and were often read outside the charterhouse, indeed outside of any monastic community.[5] Notre Dame 67 thus represents in particular terms the general tangle of lay and monastic interests characteristic of vernacular devotional texts associated with the Carthusian Order. I will address one aspect of that

tangle here: the illustration and decoration of a Carthusian text in a manuscript made for the laity. Although this secular book might initially seem far removed from the austere surroundings of the charterhouse, the images in Notre Dame 67 work to negotiate the distance between the text's Carthusian exemplars and its new lay readership.

For a vernacular English book, this manuscript offers an unusual quantity of decoration. In addition to pen-flourishes and an accomplished full bar-frame border, there are three illuminated initials: a coat of arms (f. 1r; plate 1), the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist (f. 108r; plate 2), and a dying man, with a bishop in a separate picture-space below (f. 109v; plate 3). Although the figural paintings are simple, their inclusion demonstrates that images are important to the environment of the devotional text. One way of measuring the rarity of these pictures is to compare Notre Dame 67 to the one other witness to the *Mirror to Devout People*: Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 1. 6. The Cambridge copy of the *Mirror* is known to have come from the charterhouse at Sheen, for it was written by Sheen scribe William Mede, and its inscription identifies it as: "liber dominus Ihesu de Willielmus ordinis cartusiensis de Shene."[6] The Carthusian manuscript is a far less luxurious object, written on paper and boasting only occasional rubrication, with no figural illustration at all. It would be easy to conclude that the monastic manuscript contrasts with the lay manuscript in precisely the ways one would expect: one is humbly devout, while the other is showily aristocratic. But the reality is more complicated, for the Carthusian visual environment was not as barren as one might assume, nor was the aristocratic world entirely untouched by charterhouse piety. Were the pictures added to Notre Dame 67 only when the text was copied for lay readers? Or is it possible that the original Carthusian exemplar of the *Mirror to Devout People*, written for a "gostely sustre," included illustration of some kind?

Unfortunately, we can ask more questions than we can answer about this lost exemplar, and about its images. For the visual environment of late medieval Carthusians in England is not easy to imagine or to reproduce. The first difficulty, of course, is the iconoclasm of the English Reformation, which resulted in the destruction of most devotional art apart from manuscript painting. Very little remains of what was certainly a lively and rich national artistic culture; consequently, one can never know with certainty what buildings, sculptures, or paintings English monks might have made

(or even looked at), nor can one even draw definitive negative conclusions from negative evidence. Moreover, even on the Continent most extant Carthusian art is postmedieval; the canonization in 1623 of St. Bruno—the founder of the order—produced a great flourishing of baroque art and architecture in charterhouses, where relatively little had been produced before.[7] Accordingly, most scholarly attention to Carthusian art has focused on European rather than British examples, and those generally later than the fifteenth century.[8] But the most significant difficulty in investigating any kind of Carthusian art is more fundamental still: the Carthusian Order sought at its foundation to institute an extreme monastic asceticism, avoiding decoration of its churches and any sort of art object that could be considered *de luxe*. The earliest documents forbid precious ornament explicitly, and almost absolutely: for example, in his *Consuetudines* (1127) Prior Guigo I affirms: "We do not have any ornaments of gold or silver in the church, with the exception of the chalice and the reed by which the blood of the Savior is taken, nor do we have hangings or carpets."[9] The *Consuetudines* are the oldest codification of Carthusian life, but their prohibition of decoration is repeated, in varying forms, in the subsequent *Statuta Antiqua* (1259), *Statuta Nova* (1368), and *Tertia Compilatio* (1509).[10] It is difficult, given the strength of this early asceticism, to imagine that visual experience could have been very important for Carthusians of any time or place.

Yet even these early testaments from the charterhouses do not eschew the material world altogether; it is possible to detect in them a certain ambivalence towards the use of luxury materials. Guigo himself recognizes that gold and silver, in moderation, do honor to the furnishings of the Mass, and thus to the Lord whose sacrifice the Mass celebrates. The *Statuta Antiqua* loosen Guigo's strictures further to allow for some gold or silver, not exclusively on chalice and reed, but also on the priest's stole and maniple, and on bookmarkers.[11] In spite of the Order's basic asceticism, decorative extravagance seems to be admissible where it can be seen to do honor to God, rather than to reinforce the pride of man.[12] The pragmatic distinction implied here between acceptable and unacceptable forms of embellishment suggests that images can be used in this visually austere environment to further devotional purposes, and that, in practice, devotional art played a role in medieval Carthusian spirituality. As we explore the place of figural art in the charterhouse, it is worth remembering that the primary vocation

of the Carthusians is not poverty, as for the followers of Francis, but solitude within monastic community.[13] The contradiction between the severity of their rule and their patronage of art is accordingly less stark, but the implications for their visual environment—both in the church and in the cell—are perhaps more surprising.

The artistic practices of late medieval charterhouses generally drew on the ambivalence of the early statutes towards visual display rather than on their stricter forms of asceticism. We can learn what was commonly done not so much from the measured idealism of the foundational documents as from what the later rules felt the need to forbid. By the time of the *Statuta Nova* in the mid-fourteenth century, pictures in charterhouses appear to have become so commonplace that they had to be explicitly prohibited, and their removal ordered. The statutes legislate gently against what was obviously a frequent transgression: "Let us not use any kind of tapestry, or cushions decorated with pictures or other extravagances; but decorative pictures, too, should be scraped away from our churches and houses, if it can be done without giving scandal; and new ones should not be allowed to be made."[14] The general chapter of 1424 specified more precisely the removal of the "curiously" painted pictures that had appeared on some charterhouse altars, and of other paintings that contained coats of arms and figures of women.[15] This concern for the abuse of imagery is echoed in the early sixteenth-century *Tertia Compilatio*, where visitators are particularly advised to watch for decorative indiscretion in churches and houses of the Order.[16]

These admonitions are revealing, for they indicate that a surprising variety of imagery indeed found its way into the ascetic charterhouse. They also record qualified objections to pictures—only those that might be taken away "without scandal" are to be removed. But the statutes illuminate too the ultimate source of some of the Carthusian concern about imagery, for they record, more precisely, objections to "curious" pictures of life outside the charterhouse. The repeated admonition against "curiosity" implies a discomfort with the level of ornamentation in particular artworks; a "curious" image is one too elaborately wrought, to no purpose other than aesthetic and formal pleasure.[17] Simplicity is a hallmark of art meant to serve the ends of prayer. But of course the objection here goes beyond excessive luxury, to encompass also the particular subjects of these figurative images:

lay life outside the charterhouse. Secular coats of arms and images of women are a far cry from Guigo's golden chalice.

As the anxieties of the statutes suggest, it was often secular influences that led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to increased luxury—and more art—in the austere environment of the charterhouse. Monks increasingly prayed for the souls of wealthy benefactors, and also accepted those benefactors within the charterhouse walls, against all expectation of the Order's founders. In monasteries such as Champmol, Pavia, and Sheen, aristocratic (or even royal) founders demonstrated their piety, their wealth, and their power through their patronage of Carthusian art and architecture. At Champmol, in Dijon—perhaps the clearest example of the opulent effects of aristocratic patronage—Philippe de Bourgogne designed an elaborate artistic program to proclaim his associations with the fashionably eremitic order and to enhance the grandeur of his own burial-place.[18] The Charterhouse at Champmol was filled with art: from the High Altar retable carved by Jacques de Baerze and painted by Melchior Broederlam, to the *Martyrdom of St. Denis* painted by Jean Malouel and Henri Bellechose, to Claus Sluter's magnificent *Well of Moses* in the cloister, and finally Philippe's tomb itself, with its Carthusian mourners (see, for example, figure 6.1). Against the explicit direction of Guigo,[19] late medieval Carthusians allowed the tombs of their benefactors to be built in the monastic church, and the Duke of Burgundy symbolized his radical incorporation into the Charterhouse community by choosing to be buried in the habit of a Carthusian monk. Even (or especially) in death, the influence of aristocratic patrons on monastic churches was powerfully felt.

Less princely foundations responded to secular influences as well. The thirty-nine lay graves in the Coventry church, for example, contained men, women, children, and one executed felon.[20] As the Carthusians forsook their original remote "wildernesses," more numerous foundations in urban areas brought the monks into frequent contact with devout people of all kinds, and this contact, not surprisingly, had material consequences.[21] It is clear from the precision of the architectural wishes expressed in wills that lay people—even women—were inside Carthusian churches frequently.[22] As the laity worshipped in Carthusian churches, they exerted pressure on the form those churches took, instituting oratories and side-chapels that would serve their own devotional needs. Joseph A. Gribbin has explored

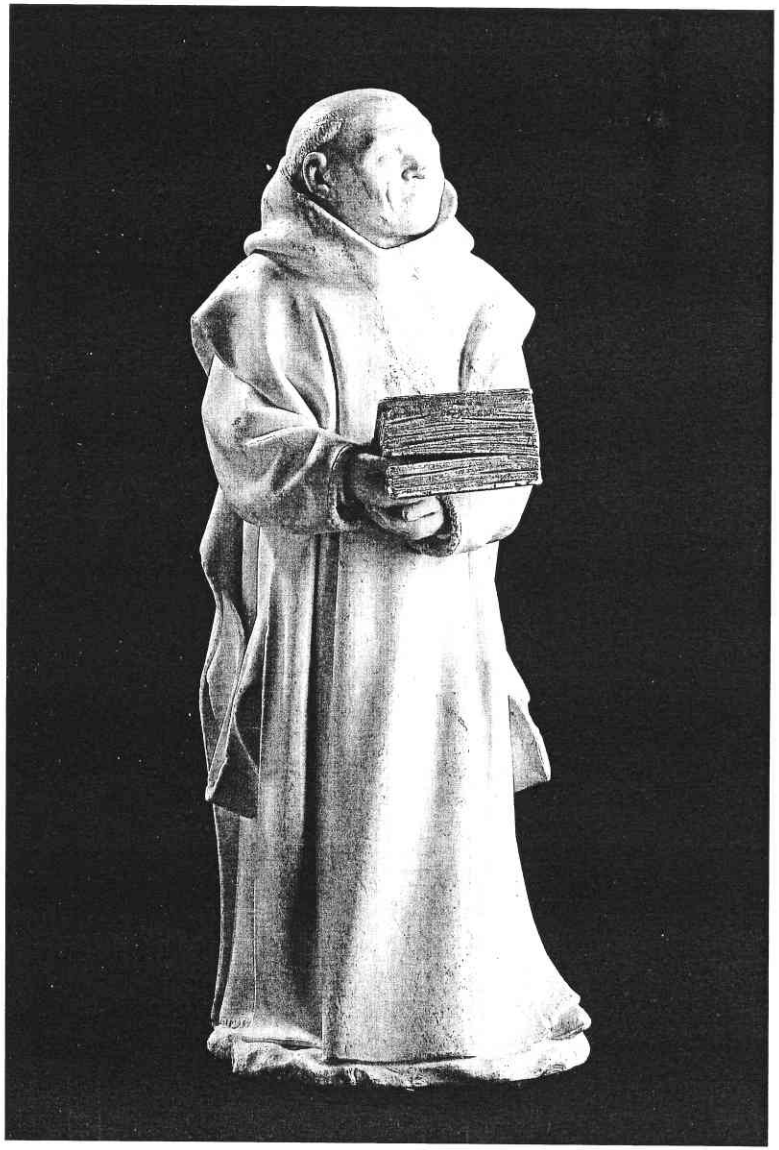

FIG. 6.1. A Carthusian mourner from the tomb of Philip the Bold, made for the Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon (France). Detail from Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, and Jean de Marville, *Tombeau de Phillippe le Hardi.* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (France). Photograph © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

the ways in which the liturgy in London was affected by such contacts, and has claimed that outsiders turned the Charterhouse there into a "liturgical workshop."[23] Reformation accounts of the furnishings of the London church indeed show it to be indistinguishable from parish churches, the visual environment of the Carthusians impossible to differentiate from that of any late medieval worshipper.[24] Carthusian spiritual practice in the late Middle Ages was deeply influenced by the needs of the pious laity; and, as a result, the visual environment of monastic devotion—at least in such venues as the charterhouse church—was to some degree directed by the designs of the surrounding community.

It is easiest to see the effects of lay involvement with Carthusian life in the public buildings of the charterhouse, such as the church. The cenobitic buildings welcomed the world in the form of visitors from outside, as well as in the form of public displays of imagery: architecture, sculpture, and even less monumental artworks, such as rich altarpieces, announced the close relations of the charterhouse to temporal wealth and power.[25] But the increased influence on Carthusian life from the world outside was not only seen in the relatively public buildings of the charterhouse—it was felt also within the privacy of the monks' cells.[26] Luxurious donations from aristocratic patrons served not only for the construction of tombs and oratories. Smaller donations were sometimes domestic objects, sometimes luxurious clothes,[27] but they also occasionally comprised figurative images, whether in manuscript or panel paintings. At Champmol, for example, Philippe de Bourgogne arranged for each cell to have a saint's image in a stained glass window, and a devotional painting for the oratorium, such panels perhaps including the Crucifixion images by Jean de Beaumetz now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (figure 6.2) and the Louvre.[28] Benefactions to Mount Grace included this from Sir John Depeden to the prior in 1402: "a picture of the crucifixion."[29] The questions sent by the English province to the general convocations at the Grande Chartreuse record increasing anxiety about the propriety of patrons' gifts. The general chapter consistently returns the answer—based on Guigo's *Consuetudines*[30]—that such gifts are not allowed, certainly not if given to particular monks for their individual ownership, but the continual questions suggest that the problem arose repeatedly.[31] The tolerance of some luxurious objects within the

FIG. 6.2. Jean de Beaumetz, French, active 1361–died 1396. *The Crucifixion with a Carthusian Monk*, 1390–1395. Tempera and gold on wood, 56.6 x 45.7 cm. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004. Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1964.454.

charterhouse for the purposes of individual consumption seems to have encouraged the temptations of private ownership.

But in spite of the opposition of the general chapter, individual use of some kinds of art objects served to clarify their purely devout purposes. Archaeological exacavations at Mount Grace have uncovered the most utilitarian of devotional images: an ivory head of Christ from the prior's cell and an indulgence with a picture of Christ as the Man of Sorrows from another.[32] Even Carthusian iconoclasts, defending their ascetic practice against the criticism of the orthodox,[33] make a place for devotional imagery in the cells while outlining their objections to art in public places. Guillaume d'Ivrée, author of the apologia *De origine et veritate perfectae religionis* (ca. 1313),[34] complicates our understanding of the visual asceticism of Carthusian life. He responds in this way to objections that the Carthusians have no painted images or sculptures:

> The Carthusians have in all their churches (and are bound to have, according to the institutions of their Order) one image of the Crucifixion in a solemn and eminent place, as well as many crosses over each altar. In the oratory of their cells they have generally had a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary, and also sometimes of other saints, according to the possibility and means that offer themselves. Their honest and poor religion mandates that they avoid expensive curiosities in painting and in sculpture and in varieties of grand and extravagant buildings, not consonant with the roughness of the solitary life. St. John Damascene taught that the images and pictures on the walls were as scriptures to the laity, and that those who did not know how to read in books, could understand through murals, as if through rough letters, what they could not understand in writing. And therefore it is commendable that such pictures should be made for churches where people frequently go, but would be useless and superfluous in Carthusian deserts where crowds (except for a few men) do not congregate. . . . Yet, as was said before, the Carthusians in their cells do not refuse nor reject devotional pictures, but accept and seek them freely and eagerly because they excite devotion and imagination, and augment devotional ideas.[35]

Guillaume cites John of Damascene as a defender of pictures for the instruction of the laity, but (as one might expect) he points out that such an argument does not apply so well to the devotion of learned, solitary monks. Pictures have a public life in "churches where people frequently go," but they should have no place in the Carthusian solitude. However, even Guillaume concedes the value of images in the monks' private meditations. A crucifix, an image of the Virgin, and images of particular saints are useful in individual devotion, not because of their didactic, but because of their affective, power. A photograph of a modern Carthusian monk at prayer, though clearly anachronistic, can give some idea of the ways in which artwork was used in the medieval cell to enhance private devotional experience (figure 6.3).[36]

The individual devotional experience pictured here is the subject, as well as the goal, of a surprising number of Carthusian medieval images, for the monks' representation of themselves in their art is both frequent and conspicuous. One might imagine that the monks were performing devotional acts by representing themselves at prayer, increasing their access to the divine by figuring it repeatedly in their pictures. As Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe has observed:

> No other order seems to have imposed its own image so confidently, to have been so insistent upon the representation of itself and upon its artistic translation.[37]

Her primary example is the altarpiece painted by Enguerrand de Quarton in the mid-fifteenth century, for the Carthusians of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. It is probably the most celebrated example of Carthusian panel-painting, both for its beauty and for the detailed copy of the artist's commission that has been preserved. That commissioning document calls clearly for a depiction of "the cross of our Savior, and at the foot a praying Carthusian," and indeed Quarton has painted a tiny monk in prayer beneath the splendid Coronation of the Virgin (figure 6.4).[38] But the imposing retable with its memorable Carthusian figure is only one manifestation of the tradition of self-representation, for the depiction of the monks themselves in connection with their divine visions is widespread. Not only public paintings such as Quarton's altarpiece, but more private artworks, as well,

FIG. 6.3. Dom Benedict Lambres praying at the oratory in his cell in the second Great cloister of the Charterhouse of Farneta, in 1949. Printed by permission of Jan de Grauwe.

FIG. 6.4. Detail of the *Couronnement de la Vièrge*. Enguerrand Quarton. Retable painted for the Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Musée de l'Hospice, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, France.

included images of Carthusians at prayer before divine figures. As we have seen, the panel paintings in the cells at Champmol included a picture of a Carthusian monk praying before the cross, joining supplicant with Savior in a personalized devotional aid.[39] And the Carthusian monk Jan Vos seems to have commissioned two paintings featuring his own image in similar scenes, one for public display and the other for private devotions. An altarpiece for the charterhouses where Vos was prior (Genadedal, 1441–50, and Nieuwlicht, 1450–58) shows the monk praying to the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saints Barbara and Elizabeth; a smaller panel ostensibly for the prior's personal use shows substantially the same scene, omitting only St. Elizabeth.[40] Just as Philippe de Bourgogne imagined himself in monastic community by wearing a Carthusian habit to his grave, individual Carthusians imagined themselves in divine community through images such as these.

The ways in which private images could construct community within Carthusian solitude brings us to the manifestation of visual art in the cell most important for our purposes: images in books. Books constituted an exception to, or an acceptable way around, the isolation of the cell, as in Guigo's famous pronouncement that, in lieu of preaching with their mouths, the silent Carthusians would "preach with their hands"—that is, they would write and copy devotional texts.[41] Similarly, Carthusian bookmaking could require exceptions to strict poverty, and we might deduce that if any trace of material wealth is to be found in medieval charterhouses, it is to be found in the library. An early anecdote well illustrates both the material demands aristocratic patrons put on the monks' simplicity and the bibliographical resolution that was sometimes found. Guibert de Nogent relates the story of a gift to the Grande Chartreuse from the Count of Nevers:

> Let me show you how jealously they guard their poverty. This very year the Count of Nevers, a man whose piety is equal to his power, paid them a visit, driven by his own devoutness and their excellent reputation. He warned them repeatedly to guard against the accumulation of worldly goods. Once he returned home he thought anew about their poverty, which he had observed; but he did not heed his own warnings and sent them some silver vessels, such as cups and

> dishes of very great value. But they did not forget what he had told them; for once he made his intentions known he found himself fully refuted with his own words. "We have decided," they said, "to keep no riches that might come to us from outside, whether for our own upkeep or for furnishing our church; and if we are not to use them for either of these two purposes, what would it avail us to accept them?" Ashamed to have made a proposal that contradicted his own words, the count pretended not to have heard their refusal and instead sent a new offering of oxhides and parchments in abundance, for he knew that they would inevitably make use of these.[42]

This revealing episode demonstrates both the appeal of Carthusian asceticism to pious laypeople, as we have already seen, and the temptations to decorative extravagance offered by even the most well-meaning benefactors. But the story shows, too, that such external pressures were relieved—in this one case, at least—through the monks' determined bookishness. The gift of rich vessels from a wealthy outsider was accepted only when it was changed into oxhides and parchments, precious materials properly diverted towards devotional—and specifically literary—uses.

But if books themselves were acceptable luxury objects, the nature of Carthusian manuscript-painting remains as difficult to assess as other kinds of Carthusian art. Evidence of actual charterhouse illumination is more plentiful than other signs of artistic practice; we know that the monks sometimes decorated books, as well as wrote them, but it is difficult to attribute particular images securely to Carthusian illuminators, and their efforts did not usually go far beyond ornamented initials and rubrication.[43] Of course, illustrators who were not Carthusians also influenced Carthusian devotional experience. But the range of criteria by which books are linked to the Order is broad; simply identifying the volumes that reflect the imaginative life of the cell can be as difficult as understanding how they do so. Because books—as opposed to monumental sculpture—are easy to transport, it is particularly difficult to pin down their place of origin. It is unclear what kinds of internal evidence are significant, whether a marginal note recording the ownership of a charterhouse, for example, signifies more than, for example, pictures of Carthusian monks or the inclusion of Guigo's *Consuetudines*.[44] Nor is it obvious what to make of external signs of Carthusian book-ownership, such as a manuscript donation recorded in a will. Some "Carthusian books" were made by Carthusians, and so show the stamp of monastic piety as a reflection of their creation. Some were made for or given to them, and so reflect the interests either of Carthusians as readers or of their patrons in the secular world. These complications are important to keep in mind as we examine a few examples of manuscript illustration that—for one reason or another—can be called "Carthusian."

We have already seen that the late-medieval vogue for the Order among aristocrats led to the production of remarkably luxurious objects meant to celebrate monastic austerity—and illuminated books are no exception to this tendency. The most remarkable example is probably the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry, a sumptuous book made ca. 1408–9. The manuscript contains a series of beautiful paintings by the Limbourg brothers, which relate the story of St. Bruno's foundation of La Grande Chartreuse.[45] The series begins with the miraculous warnings of the theologian Diocres from beyond the grave and continues with the prophetic dream of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, finally illustrating Bruno's response to these marvels: his establishment of a monastic community in the wilderness.[46] These images represent the Carthusian foundation-narrative, but they suggest important aspects of the Order's vocation, as well. For example, the scene of Bruno and his companions leaving the city (figure 6.5) balances as eloquently as any written testament the double commitment of the Carthusian monk to solitude within monastic community and to monastic community within the solitude of wilderness. A hermit in his cave and a lonely sepulchre on the hillside represent the death to life in this world that is the eremitic life, but the ecclesiastical edifice in the distance symbolizes—in an oddly proleptic way—the monastic community that would become the Grande Chartreuse. So although this series was commissioned by and for an aristocrat, and therefore gives little impression of how the monks themselves might have pictured their calling, it offers, nonetheless, an important perspective on Carthusian life.

Similar cycles adorned the walls of late medieval charterhouse churches, refectories, and cloisters,[47] and occasionally appear in books that can be more confidently located in monastic milieux. A version of the foundational narrative made its way, in the humbler form of a woodblock print, into a Carthusian book as practical and as widely disseminated as the 1510 Bâle edition

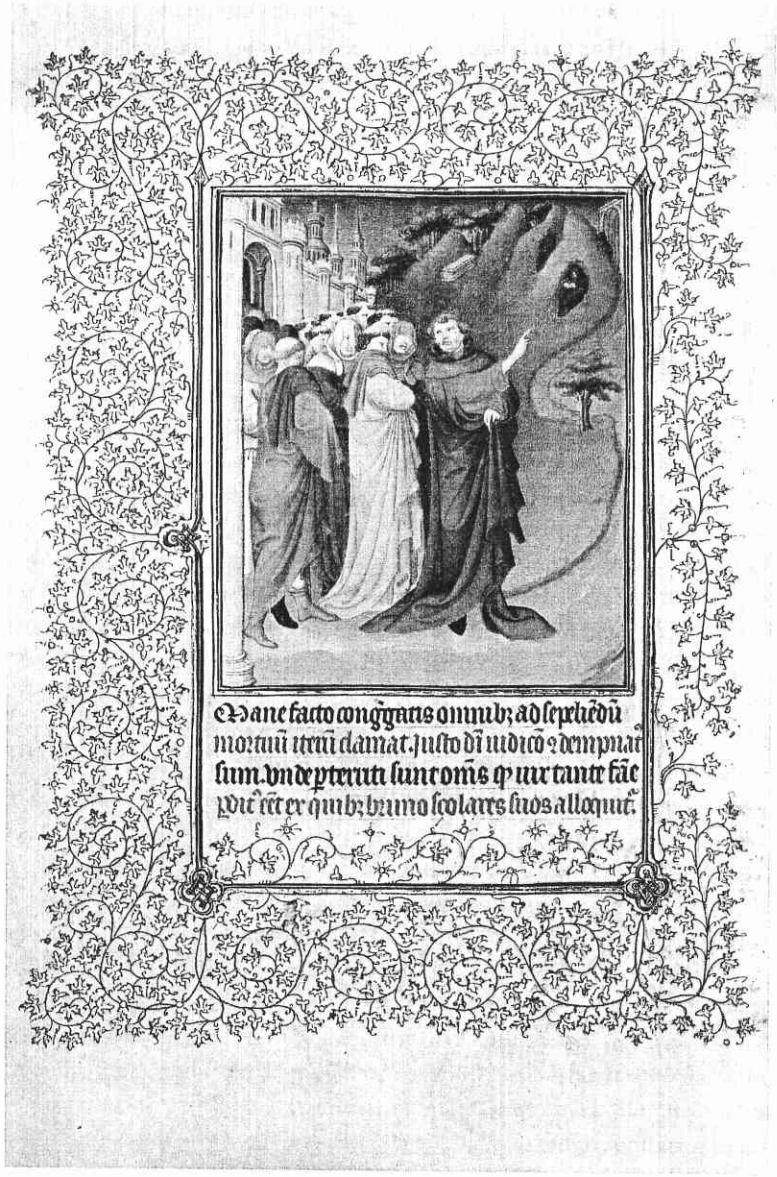

FIG. 6.5. St. Bruno leaving the city for the wilderness. *Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, f. 95v. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954.

of the *Statutes* (figure 6.6).[48] The same narrative stands behind the illustrations of London, British Library, MS Additional 25042, a fifteenth-century Middle Dutch volume that describes and illustrates Carthusian ways of life, seemingly for the monks themselves.[49] The Dutch pictures are rougher and less accomplished than those of the Limbourgs, but they offer a more clearly Carthusian vision of their own history. The prophetic stars of the bishop's dream are pictured, for example, but they are juxtaposed with what must be a group of contemporary Carthusian monks (figure 6.7).[50] From this conflation of the Order's history and its present to the architectural specificity with which the cloister and the cells of the charterhouse buildings are depicted, these pictures do seem to reflect a Carthusian, rather than aristocratic, perspective. They offer not so much a fantastic myth of origins—although allusions are made to that compelling story—as a practical vision of what late medieval charterhouse life was like.

Although this second set of Carthusian manuscript images seems much more likely to have been seen by monks than Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures*, neither of these series was necessarily used in that way. A more certain (though less tangible) kind of evidence for Carthusian use of particular manuscripts derives from booklists.[51] There is definitive evidence of a close connection between a set of illustrated manuscripts and a specific Carthusian reader, for example, recorded in the list of items taken by the English chartermonk Thomas Golwynne from London to Mount Grace in 1519. This list includes a number of codices, some boasting "fayer" illuminations:

> Item a fayer wrytten yornale made by the cost of Master Saxby havynge a claspe of sylver and an Ymage of seynt Jerome gravyn theryn: the second lef. of Advent. begynneth *Jersalem Alleluis*; this boke standyth in makynge iij *li.*
>
> Item a fayer wrytten Sawter with a fayer ymage of seynt Jerome theryn in the begynnynge; the ijde lef of the sawter begynnyth *te erudimini.*
>
> Item a boke wrytten conteynynge certeyn masses with the canon of the masse and a kalender in the begynnynge of the boke with a fayer ymage of Jhesu standynge be for.

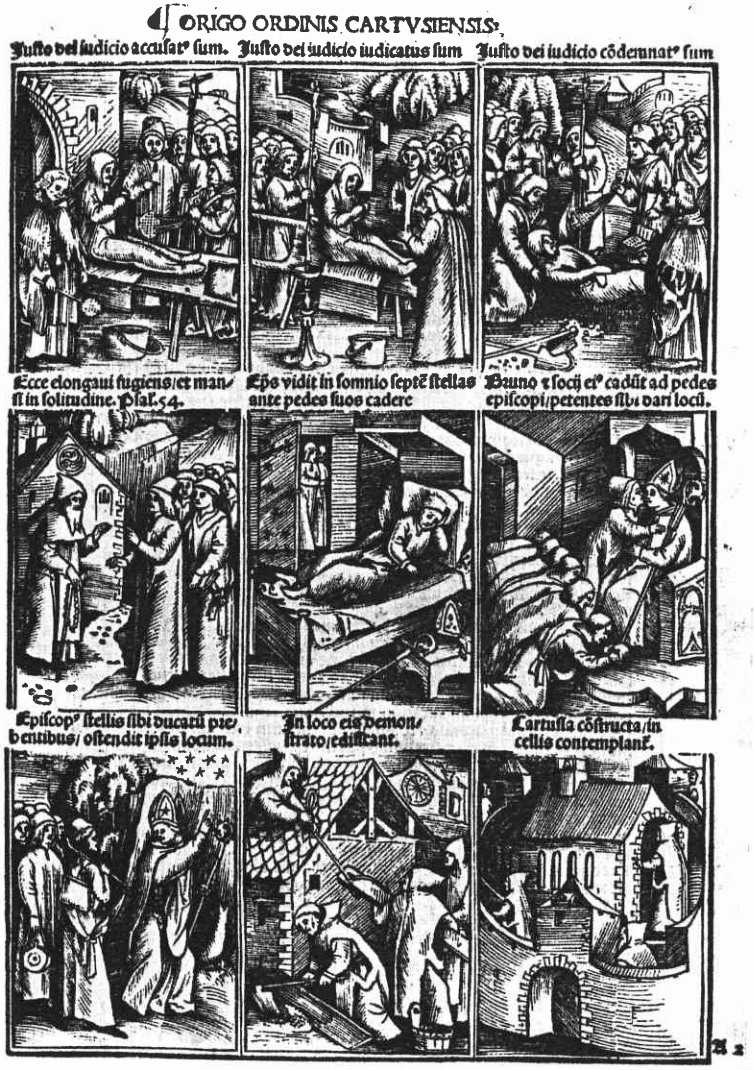

FIG. 6.6. Frontispiece narrating the foundation of the Carthusian Order. *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis* (Bâle, 1510). British Library shelfmark 704.h.21. Reproduced by permission of The British Library.

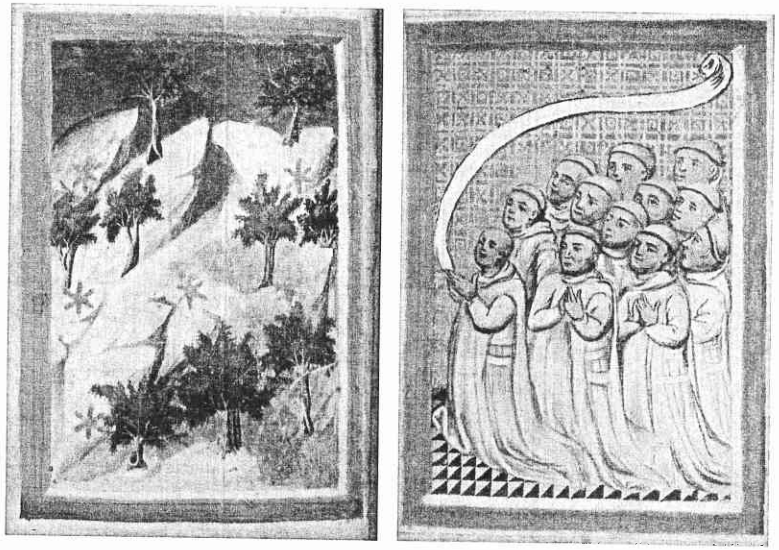

FIG. 6.7. Carthusians and the vision of the Seven Stars. London, British Library, MS Additional 25042, ff. 10v and 11r. Reproduced by permission of The British Library.

> Item a wrytten boke of prayers of diuerse seyntes with ymagys lymyd, and dirige wrytten theryn.
>
> Item a wryten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of Ars moriendi theryn.[52]

It is not remarkable, of course, to find a fair image of Jesus among Golwynne's books. Nor is it especially surprising that his collection contains two manuscript images of St. Jerome, who was the patron saint of hermits, and so perhaps especially beloved by the eremitic Carthusians.

But the last item on the list is particularly suggestive: "Item a wrytten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of Ars moriendi theryn." Although the identity of Golwynne's book could never be undisputed, the book as briefly described is similar to a Carthusian miscellany we know, if it is not the very volume. This book is London, British Library, MS Additional 37049: a miscellaneous Middle English manuscript written "of papyr" that

certainly contains a multitude of "diuers storyes."[53] It also contains a number of texts that could be styled *Artes moriendi*, with memorable pictures of grinning skeletons. One example is the "Disputation between the Body and Worms," in which the dead body, still wearing its fashionable headdress from life, now debates with worms.[54] And there are several examples here of the late medieval *transi* tomb: a beautiful effigy above and a decomposing body below.[55] Finally, several deathbed-scenes offer tableaux in which a host of angelic and devilish figures vie for a human soul (figure 6.8).[56] The connection is weak, the identity unlikely, not least because Golwynne's description of this "wryten boke" makes no mention of illustrations.[57] But if Additional 37049 is not Golwynne's book, his booklist demonstrates that such a volume is not absolutely singular.

This richly illustrated miscellany is probably our most certain testimony to the activity of a Carthusian illustrator. It does not offer the certainty of a charterhouse colophon, but internal evidence both textual and visual points strongly to Carthusian use, and even to Carthusian production. A poem on the founding of the Carthusian Order praises it to the detriment of all others and is illustrated with a pictorial narrative—including the bishop's dream, his meeting with Bruno *et alios*, the movement into the wilderness, and the occupation of the completed charterhouse—related to the kind of series we saw earlier, in the *Belles Heures*.[58] The second image accompanying this poem depicts a Carthusian monk holding a book—a reference, it seems, to the bookmaking activities of the scribe and artist of this manuscript.[59] And the book is littered with numerous pictures of Carthusian monks at prayer: among them, a tiny monk gazing up at an enormous Crucifixion (f. 45r), a slightly larger monk meditating on Christ and his bleeding heart (f. 67v), and a remarkable image in which a monk prays before a Crucifixion-tableau growing quite literally out of the Holy Name (f. 36v). Like the small figure in Quarton's altarpiece, these images of readers respond meditatively to the devotional material they are reading, mirroring the activities of the monastic readers and viewers of the manuscript as they perform devotional acts. But—remarkably—even the strong evidence here for Carthusian production and use has not gone entirely unquestioned; other monastic orders and secular figures are also pictured in Additional 37049. In fact, the manuscript confuses the issue quite pointedly

FIG. 6.8. "Debate for the Soul." London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 19r. Reproduced by permission of The British Library.

by representing monks and laypeople in precisely the same roles, as when the praying layman illustrating the lyric "O man vnkynde" on f. 20r is replaced by a praying Carthusian in the illustration of the same text, repeated on f. 24r (figures 6.9–6.10).

The difficulty of clearly distinguishing Carthusian from lay artifacts, even in this extreme case, brings us at last back to the images in Notre Dame 67. For, even though I have been describing visual culture in the late medieval charterhouse, it must be reiterated that the particular images that concern us here are "Carthusian" in only the most distant way. That is, Notre Dame 67 contains a Carthusian text, decorated and illustrated for lay readership. This is not a book that was read in the Sheen Charterhouse, where the text was probably composed, nor was this volume seen by the text's first audience, probably nuns in the Bridgettine monastery at Syon. Is there any reason then to think that the visual environment of the charterhouse, or of Carthusian books, was translated into this manuscript?

It would seem unlikely, at first glance, since in addition to the Carthusian *Mirror to Devout People*, the manuscript contains other texts that have no explicit connection to monastic devotion: the Latin prayer *O intemerata* (ff. 108r–109r) and *The Craft of Dying* (ff. 109v–126), the latter a popular didactic work on the proper manner of embracing death, surviving in this version in fourteen other copies.[60] Even though *The Craft of Dying* is apparently not elsewhere connected to the Order, it nonetheless reveals some connections with known Carthusian interests. Because medieval Carthusians spent most of their time in solitude, they, even more than other monks, thought of the profession of their vows as a kind of "death" to the world. We saw an emblem of this in the mountainside tomb towards which Bruno and his followers move in the illustration from the *Belles Heures*. And we have also seen a decided morbidity in the assortment of texts and images filling Additional 37049: threatening skeletons, decomposing bodies, deathbed struggles.[61] But if this text's interest in death is not inconsonant with Carthusian spirituality, similar interests are too widespread in late medieval England to provide a strong connection with charterhouse life. Two other manuscript copies of *The Craft of Dying* reflect its mortal preoccupations in pictorial terms, including a threatening figure of Death holding a spear and a bell, the ominous word "dethe" written repeatedly in the space around him (see Figure 6.11).[62]

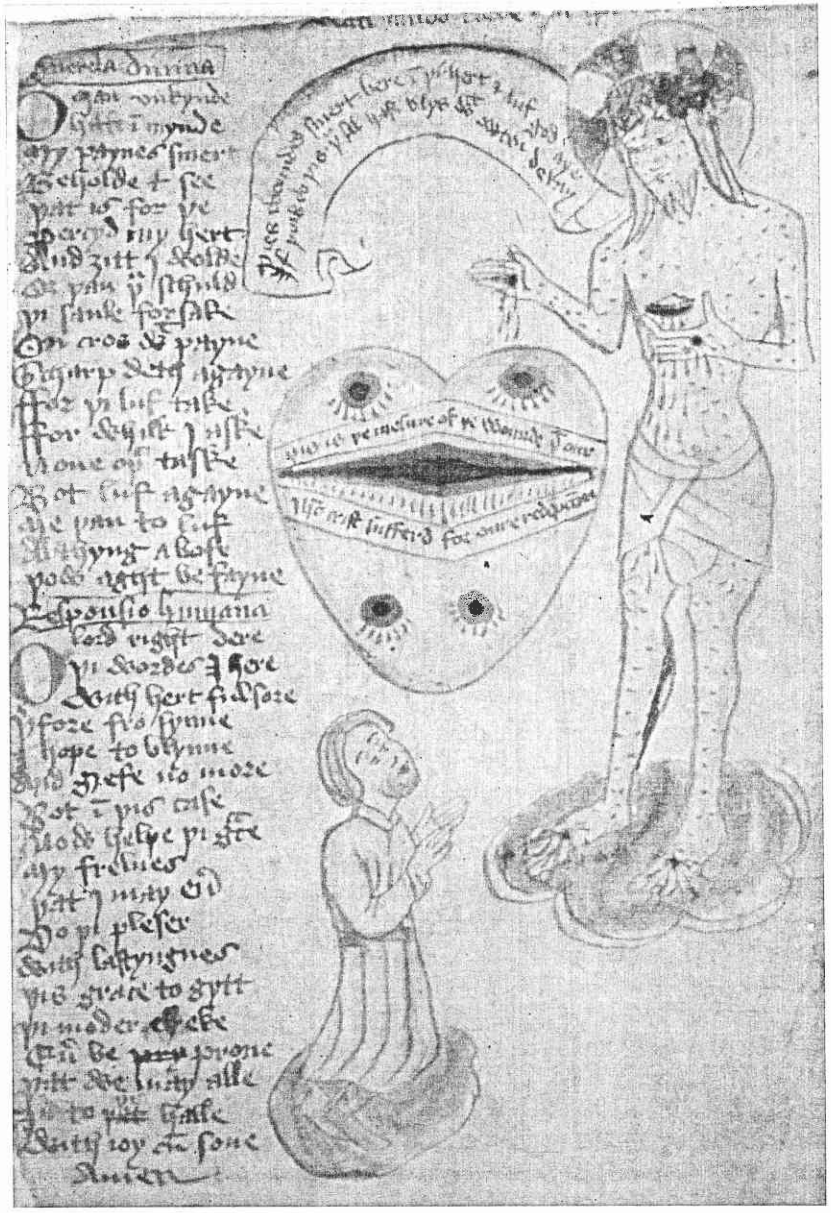

FIG. 6.9. *Querela divina-Responsio humana*; with Christ, wounded heart, and praying layman. London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 20r. Reproduced by permission of The British Library.

FIG. 6.10. *Querela divina*; with Christ, wounded heart, and praying Carthusian monk. London, British Library, MS Additional 37049, f. 24r. Reproduced by permission of The British Library.

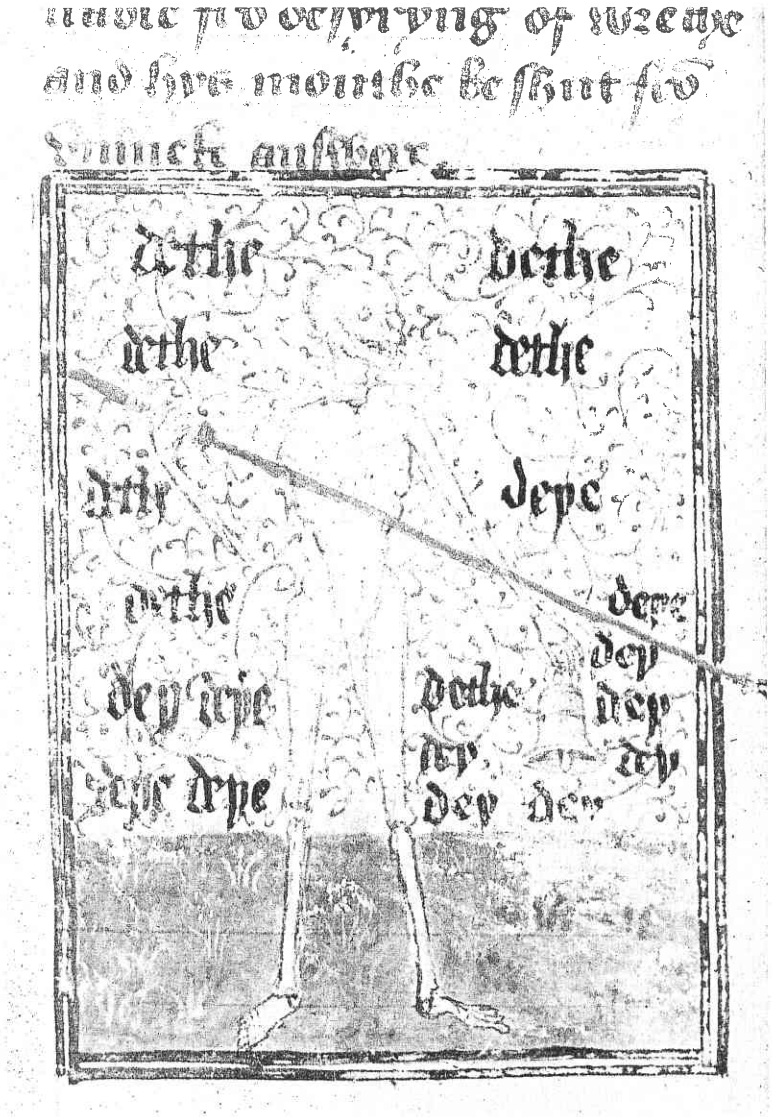

FIG. 6.11. Death with bell and spear. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, f. 19v. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

In Notre Dame 67, this common fascination with envisioning death is manifested in two small illustrations that preface the *Craft of Dying* (Plate 3): in the first, a dying man lies peacefully in bed, hands clasped in prayer. One can almost make out a beatific smile crossing over his face. The focus of this historiated initial is entirely on the conduct ("the craft") of the dying person, and he seems to have absorbed well the instruction of the text that follows. Although the text mentions the terrible torments that will arrive in a person's last moments,[63] the deathbed scene from Additional 37049 comes far closer to representing that struggle (cf. figure 6.8). The Notre Dame image—in which death is entirely indistinguishable from sleep—reassures its readers of the text's primary emphasis: that one can die well, and peacefully, in perfect spiritual health. Below this initial is another small image: a bishop redirects our attention to the upper picture-space, in a visual demonstration of the way in which spiritual directors can guide the attention of a dying person towards his salvation. Although the majority of this treatise is concerned with preparing the dying person himself for the event, several chapters are devoted to the right conduct of friends, family, and religious advisors.[64] An historiated initial illustrating the text in Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322 also seems to represent this community (f. 27r; see figure 6.12).[65] If these pictures, simple as they are, do not establish a strong pictorial tradition surrounding *The Craft of Dying*, they do, nevertheless, reflect and interpret some of the crucial emphases of the text.

The prayer dividing the *Mirror to Devout People* from *The Craft of Dying* also opens with an historiated initial (plate 2). The text celebrates the intercessory powers of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, and most often appears as an accessory prayer in books of hours.[66] In Notre Dame 67, it is added to the end of the *Mirror*, as the culmination of the author's Marian interests, and his "speciale commendacioun of the worshipfull apostell Seynte John euangeliste" (f. 96v).[67] The historiated initial depicts a Virgin and Child with St. John, who holds a chalice and what appears to be the palm of martyrdom. Although the Virgin and John are particularly important in the text of this prayer (and in the text of the *Mirror*), their depiction here is nonetheless relatively unusual. *O intemerata* usually addresses both the Virgin and John, but it is almost always illustrated by images representing the Virgin alone or the Virgin with her son—most often, a pietà.[68] The inclusion of John here, and the iconography that represents him,

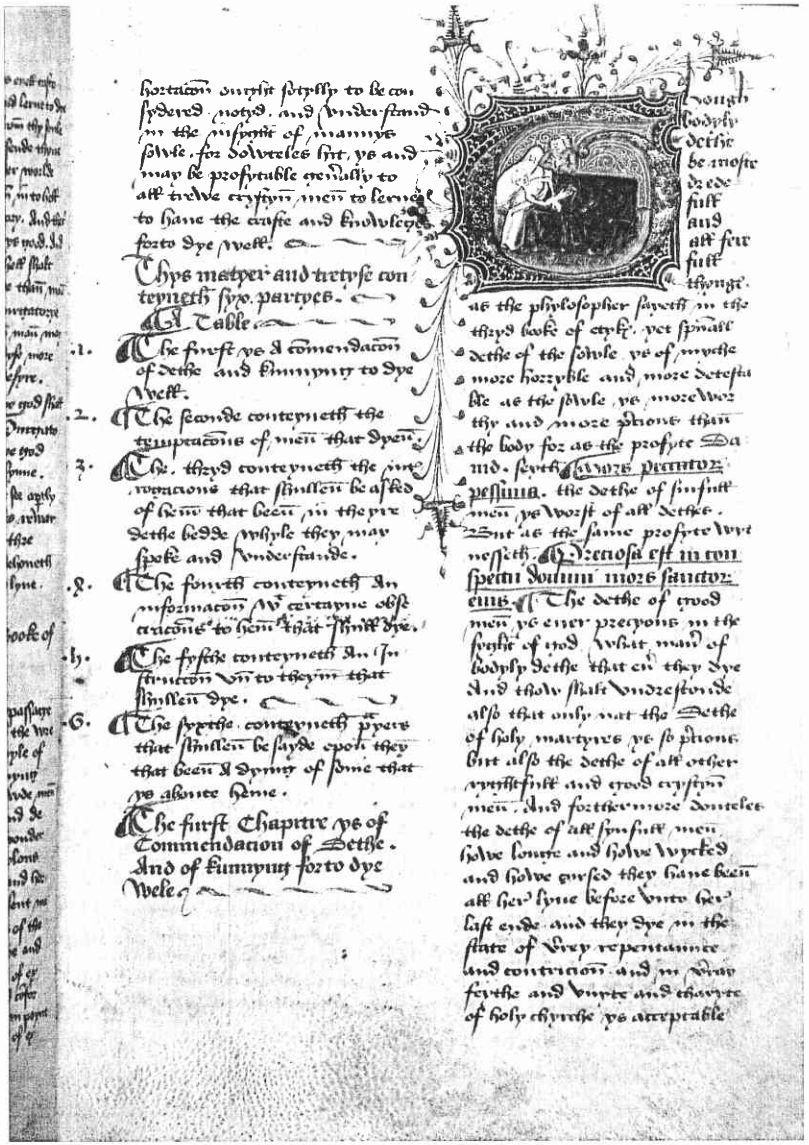

FIG. 6.12. Deathbed scene. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, f. 27r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

require further explanation. His chalice, though it does not contain the usual serpent, probably symbolizes the poisoned cup given to him by priests of Diana at Ephesus (or, in some legends, by Domitian). But the palm is a greater mystery, for John was not strictly a martyr. According to legend, he escaped death twice: once when he drank unharmed from the poisoned chalice, and once when he was merely refreshed by a bath in a cauldron of boiling oil outside the Latin Gate in Rome. Even though John was known to have died peacefully in his old age, these miraculous events transformed him into a martyr in popular imagination.

The *Mirror* reflects this belief in John's figurative martyrdom, explaining that he is praised "for þe redynes of soule þat was in hym to suffre martyrdome when he was caste in to þe forseide tonne [barrel]," and concluding "þerfore it is approuede and worshepede of holy chirche for a martyrdome" (f. 104v).[69] But one would expect an image of John in boiling oil to suggest this aspect of his legend, and indeed such pictures do appear in the iconographic tradition surrounding him.[70] An alternative explanation for the palm in the Notre Dame illustration derives from John's role as *Virginis custos*—the appointed guardian of Christ's mother, who was entrusted to him from the cross. In Christ's words, as reported by the *Mirror*, "Lette a virgyne take tente to a vyrgyne, John to Mary and Mary to John" (f. 102r). As the Virgin's surrogate son, John was often represented with the palm of paradise given to him by angels at her death, which he carried in her funeral procession.[71] So, rather than suggesting his own martyrdom, it is possible that the palm points towards his special relationship with her, a relationship that structures the text of the prayer *O intemerata*. Where one might have expected a conventional copy of a familiar exemplar—a standard pietà illustrating this standard prayer—one finds instead what looks like artistic innovation dependent on interpretation of the text. Whether it is the text of the *Mirror* that suggests John's martyrdom, or the text of *O intemerata* that suggests his role as guardian of the Virgin, the image seems to have developed from this artist's attention to the particular context of Notre Dame 67.

The final illustration to consider in Notre Dame 67 is the first, the illustration of the Carthusian *Mirror to Devout People* (plate 1). This "Carthusian" picture accompanying a Carthusian text is not illustrative, in the sense that the historiated initials are. It could more properly be called decoration, for it consists only of an armorial initial and a border of acanthus leaves. But if not truly pictorial, this decoration is nonetheless informative.

The mere presence of such an elaborate border indicates something about the prestige both of the book and of the text, for it dignifies a vernacular "myrrour" with ornamental loveliness that might have been reserved for other, Latinate uses. And the style of the border can help in dating and localizing the book, for it resembles those made in London in the mid-fifteenth century. Of the dated and datable borders surveyed by Kathleen Scott, the Notre Dame example most resembles a London copy of the *Nova statuta Angliae*, from 1445/6 (figure 6.13).[72] Both manuscripts show full bar-frame borders intertwined with pink and blue acanthus clusters, which are shaded with white striations. The spraywork between acanthus clusters is slightly more ornate in the *Nova statuta*, where floral motifs are organized by sections, and pinecones appear among the gold, green-lobed balls. Scott calls it "at the same time conventional and representative of first-rate London work in the favoured style at this period." If the Notre Dame border is less detailed, it seems to come from the same aesthetic environment. The figural style corroborates this provenance, for, though the figures are simple, they show similarities with contemporary metropolitan work. A comparison of the Marian initial with illustrations in a *Brut* chronicle now in private hands, for example, shows analogous figures seated in initials, and comparably plain lines in the facial features.[73] These comparisons indicate that Notre Dame 67 was decorated most probably by commercial artists working in London in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The decoration and illustration of Notre Dame 67 points to a London origin for the book, but a less accomplished volume in Scott's survey of borders provides an equally revealing comparison: a Sheen copy of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (figure 6.14).[74] This book was written by the Carthusian scribe Stephen Dodesham in "the yer of Kynge Edwarde the iiij^{the} xiij^{the}," i.e., 1475, and although there is no certainty that the artist was also a Carthusian of Sheen, it seems likely that he was. The full border on f. 3v shows some of the standard features of English work: a bar-frame wrapped in acanthus leaves, spraywork with gold balls and green lobes. But this Sheen border has an archaic look, and if one didn't know the date of the manuscript one might have placed it three

FIG. 6.13. *Nova statuta Angliae.* London, Public Record Office E 164/10, f. 44r. Reproduced by permission of the National Archives, Kew.

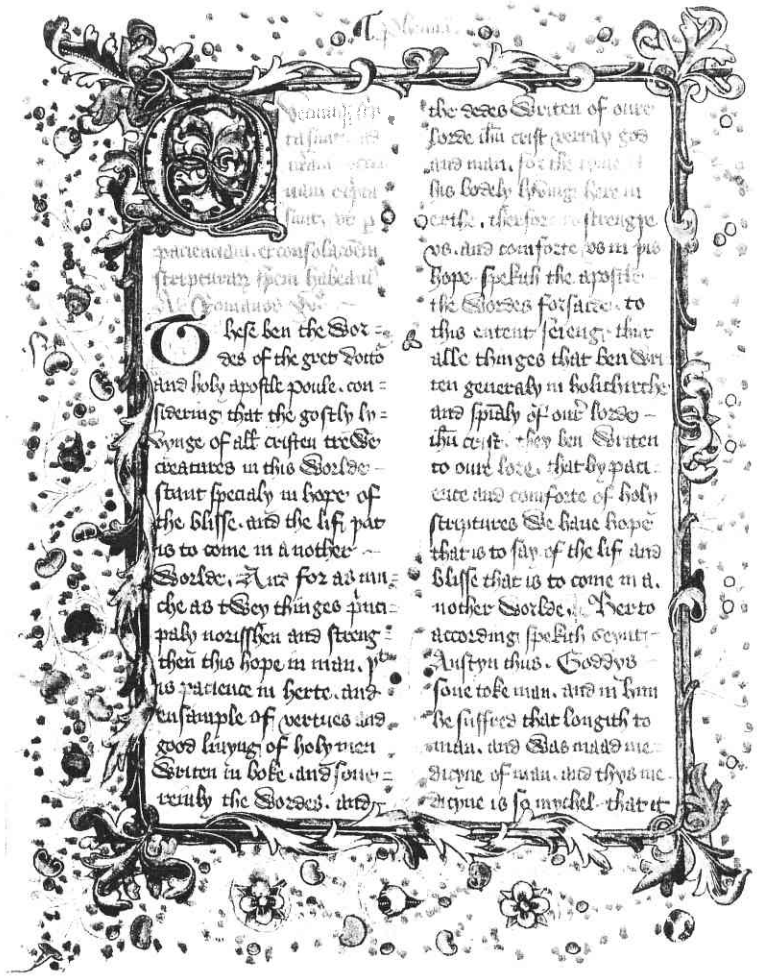

FIG. 6.14. Nicholas Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ.* Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f. 3v. Reproduced from Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections

decades earlier. This example alerts us that Carthusian manuscripts might follow London bookshop fashions, albeit many decades late. I will not suggest that Notre Dame 67 is also a late Sheen manuscript following London fashions, but the possibility of such imitation reminds us, once again, that not all monastic manuscripts are clearly segregated from secular ones.

The arms accompanying the Notre Dame *Mirror to Devout People* are even more informative than the border, for they indicate, in all likelihood, for whom and by whom the book was commissioned. It seems probable that John, fourth Baron Scrope of Masham (d. 1455) had the book made for his wife, Elizabeth: their arms (Scrope impaling Chaworth) are the two shown on the manuscript's opening page.[75] That these secular arms in this urbane book are connected with a Carthusian text may show simply that—as we have already repeatedly seen—late medieval aristocratic interest in Carthusian spirituality was often reflected in art objects. Notre Dame 67 confirms the multiple audiences that the *Mirror* itself expects, and its pictures, rather than replicating the visual environment of the charterhouse, represent the new lay environment in which the Carthusian text finds itself. But they have some relevance, too, to ways in which Carthusian devotion typically imagined itself in visual terms. The Scrope/Chaworth arms show an incorporation of the reader within the book not so different in kind—if very different in form—from the small figures of the praying monk that we have seen populating a more properly "Carthusian" manuscript. If the small monks at prayer in Additional 37049 bring the Carthusian reader into his book, making a visual emblem of the connection between text and audience, the images in Notre Dame 67 do precisely the same. Of course, secular arms do not replicate the meditative mechanisms of the monks at prayer; instead, they proclaim the importance of the owners, and only incidentally the piety of the readers. But both represent the self materially in the environment of a devotional text.

This representation of the lay self in the context of the charterhouse is not unique: one might think of Philippe de Bourgogne dressing his corpse in a Carthusian habit, or the "curious" pictures of women or coats of arms that the Carthusian general chapter objected to in 1424. Notre Dame 67 recalls that particular prohibition, for it incorporates the coats of arms of both a layman and a laywoman—Elizabeth Scrope—who was probably among the book's first readers. A. S. G. Edwards has noted that Elizabeth's

partial ownership of this book is an interesting sign of things to come: the rise of female reading of vernacular devotional books.[76] Her ownership might be taken as a sign, too, of how far this manuscript has come from the text's Carthusian origins. Elizabeth Scrope's arms represent an intrusion inverted from the one that worried the general chapter, for instead of lay images threatening to trouble a monastic environment, here a Carthusian text seems anomalous in its secular setting. But even the monastic *Mirror* was originally designed for a "gostely sustre," and lay women occasionally entered the charterhouse church, an interaction of communities not so different from the interaction symbolized by Elizabeth Scrope's arms decorating this manuscript.

The visual association of the Scrope/Chaworth family with the *Mirror to Devout People* demonstrates in emblematic fashion the strong connection of Carthusian texts with lay reading that is crucial to understanding devotional Middle English literature. This illustrated book bears out in one particular instance what is crucial to the late medieval Carthusian visual experience in general: the continual oscillation between monastic meditation and lay piety. In spite of the monks' dedication to the solitary religious life, Carthusian spirituality also included a surprisingly public face. Connections between Carthusians and the laity in the late medieval period were crucial, both for the monks themselves and in very important ways for the aristocratic world. Notre Dame 67—although it was in all likelihood neither made nor used by Carthusian monks—forms a part, nonetheless, of the broad bibliographic and visual culture of the charterhouses. In spite of the monks' ascetic, eremitic goals, one cannot isolate Carthusian visual experience from the world around it, and that is what this manuscript finally shows.[77]

NOTES

1. For a summary description of the manuscript, see the auction catalogue: Christie's, London, *The Library of William Foyle, Part I: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Tuesday 11 July 2000* (London, 2000), 221–23; see also the appendix to A. S. G. Edwards's essay in this volume.

2. *The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen*, ed. James Hogg, 2 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 12–13 (Salzburg, 1973–74).

3. Since there were no Carthusian nuns in medieval England, the female addressee must have been either a nun of another order or a pious laywoman. For an argument that the treatise was written for a nun of Syon, see the essay by Vincent Gillespie in this volume.

4. For a consideration of the people and books connected to the manuscript's lay readership, see the essay by A. S. G. Edwards in this volume.

5. A. I. Doyle was among the first to call attention to the movement of Carthusian books, in his much consulted Ph.D. thesis; see "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and Early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Cambridge, 1953). See also such foundational studies as Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ,"* Analecta Cartusiana 10 (Salzburg, 1974); Michael Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976): 225–40; and Vincent Gillespie, "*Cura pastoralis in deserto,*" in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England,* ed. Michael Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 161–81. Doyle and others have in more recent years cautioned against assuming too great a Carthusian influence on vernacular devotional reading; see, e.g., A. I. Doyle, "Carthusian Participation in the Movement of Works of Richard Rolle between England and other Parts of Europe in the 14th and 15th Centuries," in *Kartäusermystik und -mystiker,* vol. 2, Analecta Cartusiana 55 (Salzburg, 1981), 109–20. But although the mechanisms of transmission resist generalization, it remains true that late medieval Carthusian texts were widely read outside of charterhouses.

6. For a discussion of Mede and other Carthusian scribes, see A. I. Doyle, "Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (*c.* 1375–1530)," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence,* ed. L. L. Browning (Los Altos Hills, 1990), 1–19, esp. 13–15.

7. Seventeenth-century Carthusian painting includes works by Zurbaràn and Carducho in Spain, and—most famously—Le Sueur's series of the life of St. Bruno painted for the Carthusians of Paris (1645–48). For an overview, see Joan Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970), 32–34. For a more specialized study of post-medieval imagery in a particular Charterhouse, see Sabine Fischer, *Das barocke Bibliotheksprogramm der ehemaligen Kartause Marienthron in Gaming,* Analecta Cartusiana 58:3 (Salzburg, 1986).

8. For a short introduction to medieval Carthusian art in France, see Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987–1498* (Oxford, 1948), 150–57. See also Augustin Devaux, "La décoration des chartreuses médievales," in *L'architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux,* Analecta Cartusiana 146 (Sélignac, 1998), 119–41; and the short section concerning "Beaux Arts" in Albert Gruys, *Cartusiana: Un instrument heuristique,* 3 vols., (Paris, 1976), 1:34. In addition, several essay-collections devoted to Carthusian art show a decided Continental focus: Danel Le Blévec and Alain Girard, eds., *Les Chartreux et l'art: XIVe–XVIIIe siècles; Actes du Xe colloque internationale d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, 15–18 septembre 1988)* (Paris, 1989); James Hogg, ed., *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians,* Analecta Cartusiana 130:13 (Salzburg, 1997); and (though not strictly devoted to the visual arts) James Hogg, Alain Girard, and Daniel Blévec, eds., *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit,* 3 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 157 (Salzburg, 2001).

9. "Ornamenta aurea vel argentea, preter calicem et calamum quo sanguis domini sumitur, in ecclesia non habemus, pallia tapetiaque reliquimus." See Guigues 1er, *Coutumes de Chartreuse,* Sources Chrétiennes 313 (Paris, 1984), XL.1. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

10. For a facsimile reprint of the Carthusian statutes (Bâle, 1510) see James Hogg, *The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the Consuetudines Guigonis to the Tertia Compilatio,* Analecta Cartusiana 99:1–4 (Salzburg, 1989). There is no modern critical edition, but a useful consideration of the editorial history of the *Statutes* can be found in Hubert Elie, *Les éditions des Statuts de l'Ordre des Chartreux* (Lausanne, 1943).

11. *Statuta Antiqua,* Part 2, XXXII. Cited by E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), 184.

12. An emphasis upon the devotional utility of Carthusian art underscores most apologetic treatments of the subject; see, e.g., Alain Girard, "De l'image en Chartreuse," in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians,* ed. Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 130:3 (Salzburg, 1995), 145–55. For a consideration of general monastic attitudes to art, see Conrad Rudolph, *The 'Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990).

13. See Bernard Bligny, "Les premiers chartreux et la pauvreté," *Le moyen âge* 57 (1951): 27–60. Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe points out that the Carthusians had as great an influence on later art as the Franciscans did in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but that such influence remains largely unexplored; see her "Conclusions," in *Les Chartreux et l'art,* ed. Le Blévec and Girard, 395–402, at 402.

14. *Statuta Nova,* Part 2, 1.7. "Tapetia universa et cussini picturati vel alias curiosi in usu apud nos non habeant: sed et picture curiose ubi sine scandalo fieri poterit de nostris ecclesiis et domibus eradantur: et nove de cetero fieri non permittant." Cf. Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 129; I differ somewhat in my understanding of this passage. I am grateful to Traugott Lawler for advice concerning this translation.

15. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.318, transcribed in Michael Sargent and James Hogg, eds., *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, Analecta Cartusiana 100 (1983), 2:77–223. Rawlinson MS D.318 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413 are cited by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 266.

16. *Tertia Compilatio*, III.5.

17. Rudolph translates "curiosus" as "unusually distractive," *'Things of Greater Importance'*, 176n.473. For an interesting discussion of the insistent use of the adjective, see Elie, "Appendice: le sense cartusien de l'adjectif *curiosus*," in his *Les éditions*, 193–200.

18. The involvement of so many known and accomplished artists in the decoration of Champmol makes it a particularly interesting—if not exactly representative—case in which to examine the visual environment of Carthusian spirituality. See Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "Accounting for the Status of Artists at the Chartreuse de Champmol," *Gesta* 41.1 (2002): 15–28. The standard study of Champmol is Cypren Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon*, 3 vols. (Tournai, 1898–1905); see also Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "Patronage, Piety, and Politics in the Art and Architectural Programs at the Charterhouse de Champmol in Dijon (France)" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1995), and Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol: Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge, 1364–1477* (Munich, 2002). For a study of Champmol's most significant sculptor, see, e.g., Kathleen Morand, *Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy*, photographs by David Finn (Austin, Tex., 1991).

19. A single chapter of the *Consuetudines* (XLI) contains the prohibition against incorporating the "tombs of strangers" and the prohibitions against accepting gifts from and saying prayers for outsiders—multiple manifestations of the single problem of external influence on Carthusian life.

20. For a survey of burials in all English houses, see Glyn Coppack and Mick Aston, *Christ's Poor Men: The Carthusians in England* (Stroud, 2002), 65–68.

21. Guigo himself drew an analogy between cities and wealth: "Considera quomodo paupertas et vilitas in mediis urbibus solitudinem praestent, divitiae turbis heremos impleant." Guigues 1er, *Les Méditations (Recueil de Pensées)*, Sources Chrétiennes 308 (Paris, 1983), 307. ["Consider how poverty and squalor create solitude in the middle of cities, and wealth fills the desert with crowds." *The Meditations of Guigo I, Prior of the Charterhouse*, trans. A. Gordon Mursell, Cistercian Studies Series 155 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1995).]

22. The General Chapter in 1438 reflected a concern about women in Carthusian churches, refusing to allow women to enter the church at Mount Grace for the burial of an important benefactor: "Priori domus Assumptionis Beate Marie in Monte Gratie non fit misericordia. Et sepulturam quam petit concedimus, sed feminarum introitum denegamus." See Hogg and Sargent, *Chartae*, 3:27. See also Sherry C. M. Lindquist, "Women in the Charterhouse: The Liminality of Cloistered Spaces at the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon," in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Aldershot, 2003), 177–92.

23. Joseph A. Gribbin, "'Ex Oblatione Fidelium': The Liturgy of the London Charterhouse and the Laity," in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, ed. James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 130:5 (1996), 83–104, at 85. See also Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England* (Salzburg, 1995).

24. The description of decoration and furnishings at London, made by Dr. Thomas Legh and Dr. Francis Cave in 1539, includes a number of paintings, as well as carvings in ivory and alabaster; see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Man*, esp. 53–55. See also Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 182–84, and W. H. St. John Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse from its Foundation until the Suppression of the Monastery* (London, 1925).

25. Marc Venard suggests that the common spaces of the charterhouses were the spaces deliberately given over to things of this world, and so were more likely spaces in which to display art objects; he even suggests that the Carthusians thought of their communal spaces as "sacrificed" to the world, a sacrifice made to preserve the privacy of their cells. See his "Conclusions," in *Les chartreux et l'art*, ed. Le Blévec and Girard, 403–10, at 409.

26. Observers, both medieval and modern, disagree on this point; cf. Daniel Le Blévec, "Les chartreux et l'art," in *Les chartreux et l'art*, ed. Le Blévec and Girard: "Alors que les murs de l'église et des chapelles, ceux de la salle capitulaire, de réfectoire, de l'hôtellerie se couvraient de tableaux, les ermitages des pères restaient, quant à eux, le refuge de l'austerité primitive" (14). An eighteenth-century monk upheld the distinction between what is appropriate in the church and what in the cell, warning his brothers: "We should avoid the childish weakness of those who decorate their cells like chapels." ("On doit éviter la faiblesse puérile de ceux qui ornent leur cellule comme des chappelles," quoted in Venard, "Conclusions," 408.) But even this condemnation (*pace* Venard and Le Blévec) testifies to some monks' tendencies towards private visual display.

27. For example, the inventory made in 1519 by the monk Thomas Golwynne of items he took with him on a journey from London to Mount Grace includes: "Item a wyde sloppe furryd to put over all my gere, of the gyfte of my Lady Conway," "Item a newe pylche of the gyft of Mr. Saxby," "Item a newe mantell by the gyfte of Syr John Rawson knyght of the Roodes," "Item a lytell brasyn morter with a pestyl gevyn by the gyfte of a frende of myne," "Item a new chafyngdysshe of laten gevyn to vs," "ij new tyne botylles gevyn by a kynsman of owrs," and "Item a

brasse panne of a galone gevyn to vs lyke wyse" (the full list is quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 326–28); see also James Hogg, "Everyday Life in a Contemplative Order in the Fifteenth Century," *Kartäuserliturgie und Kartäuserschriftum*, Analecta Cartusiana 116:4 (1989), 95–109, esp. 100–101.

28. For these conjectures, see Charles Sterling, "Oeuvres retrouvées de Jean de Beaumetz, peintre de Philippe Le Hardi," *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts* 4 (1955): 57–82. I am grateful to Sherry Lindquist for this reference.

29. "I tabulam cum crucifixione pictam" (quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 236).

30. "If clothing or another gift of that kind has been sent to one of us, converse or monk, by a friend or relative, it is not given to him, but rather to another, so that he does not seem to have something to himself alone." ("Si alicui nostrum sive laico sive monacho, ab aliquo vel amico vel propinquo vel vestis vel aliquid huiusmodi missum fuerit, non ei sed alii potius datur, ne quasi proprium habere videatur," *Consuetudines* LIX.1).

31. For example, this question of individual ownership was addressed from London to the Grande Chartreuse in 1494: "If anyone wished to give an old book or other thing to a particular person for life, might a prior license the latter to receive it?" (quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 274). The answer was no. For other questions of this sort, see Joseph A. Gribbin, ed., *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions, Dubia, and Supplications to La Grande Chartreuse from the English Carthusian Province in the Later Middle Ages*, Analecta Cartusiana 100:32 (Salzburg, 1999).

32. See Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, 93. It is not known whether these items were gifts, but they do confirm the presence of private devotional imagery in the Carthusian cell.

33. There were other objections to the extremities of Carthusian asceticism: the monks' vegetarianism, for example, was feared to impede the treatment of the sick. See Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 104.

34. For a thorough discussion of this tract, and questions surrounding its authorship, see James Hogg, "Guillelmus de Yporegia: *De Origine et Veritate Perfecte Religionis*," Analecta Cartusiana 82:2 (Salzburg, 1980), 84–118.

35. "Certum est enim quod Cartusienses in omnibus ecclesiis suis habent, et habere debent ex Ordinis sui institutis, imaginem Crucifixi in loco solemni et eminenti, et super pluria altaria plures cruces; in oratoriis quoque cellarum suarum generaliter consueverunt habere Crucifixum et imaginem Mariae Virginis, et etiam aliquando aliorum Sanctorum secundum quod se offert possibilitas et facultas. Honestati vero et paupertati Religionis attestatur ipsorum, si refugiunt curiositates sumptuosas in picturis et sculpturis et varietatibus aedificiorum solemnium et

mirabilium, quae rusticitati vitae solitariae non concordant. Secundum enim doctrinam Joannis Damasceni, imagines et picturae murorum sunt quasi quaedam scripturae et literae laicorum, ut qui in libris legere non noverunt, in murorum picturis quasi quibusdam literis grossis intelligunt, quae ipsi illiterati intelligere nequeunt in scripturis. Et ideo tales picturae laudabiliter fieri possunt in ecclesiis ubi concurrit frequentia populorum, quae frustra et superflue fierent in desertis Cartusiensium quo non consueverunt populi, licet aliquando pauci viri, convenire. . . . Ideo et praedicti Cartusienses in cellis suis, sicut praedictum est, devotas picturas non renuunt nec recusant, sed ad excitationem devotionis et imaginationis, et augmentum devotae conceptionis, easdem libenter et affectuose recipiunt et requirunt." See C. Le Couteulx, *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1887–1891), 1:276–77. Paraphrased from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549 (ff. 25–85v) by Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 106.

36. For a Charterhouse museum that reconstructs the artistic environment of the medieval and modern cell, see Michael Koller and Jürgen Lenssen, *Kartäusermuseum Tückelhausen: ein Museum der Diözese Würzburg* (Lindenberg, 1997).

37. "Aucun autre ordre ne paraît avoir aussi sûrement imposé sa propre image, avoir été aussi exigeant sur la représentation de lui-même et sur sa traduction artistique," Carbonell-Lamothe, "Conclusions," 400–401.

38. "La croix Nostre Seigneur, et au pié d'icelle aura ung priant chartreux." See Charles Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: le peintre de la Pietà d'Avignon* (Paris, 1983). Quarton was also a sometime painter of manuscripts, for example, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 358 (*Heures*); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 2661 (*Missel de Jean des Martins*).

39. Hans Belting claims that the cell paintings at Champmol "always depicted the Crucifixion but also included a portrait of the cell's occupant"; see his *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 417. While this claim may seem unduly sweeping, it testifies to the regularity with which Carthusians depicted themselves at prayer.

40. The larger panel is 19 x 24 1/2 in., while the smaller one is 7 5/8 x 5 1/2 in. See Marian W. Ainsworth, with contributions by Maximilian P. J. Martens, *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York, 1994); and Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-century Flemish Painting* (University Park, 1990).

41. "Libros quippe tamquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus," *Consuetudines* XXVIII.3 ["We desire that the books be made with the greatest attention and kept very carefully, like perpetual food for our souls, so because we are not able to preach the word of God with our mouths, we may do so with our hands"].

42. "Intantum, inquam, suae sunt custodes inopiae ut, hoc ipso quo agimus anno, Nevernensis comes, vir omnino religiosus et potens, eos, causa devotionis et optimae, quae hinc emanat, opinionis, inviserit multumque super seculari eos cupiditate, ut caverent inde, monuerit, cumque, regressus ad sua, eorum indigentiae, quam viderat, meminisset, et monitorum, quae eis intulerat, nequaquam memor esset, nescio quae argentea, sciphos videlicet et scutras, precii plurimi eis misit. Sed eorum quae dixerat illis nequaquam obliviosos invenit: communicato namque mox consilio, quaecumque dixerat ad integrum refutata recepit. 'Nos,' inquiunt, 'neque in expensis nostris neque in ecclesiae ornamentis, exterarum quippiam pecuniarum retinere delegimus. Et si in horum alterutro non expenditur, ut quid a nobis suscipitur?' Puduit itaque praevaricatoriae contra suum sermonem oblationis comitem et tamen, dissimulata aspernatione eorum, boum tergora et pergamena plurima retransmisit, quae pene inevitabiliter ipsis necessaria esse cognovit." See Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), 68–70; *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert de Nogent*, trans. Paul J. Archambault (University Park, Pa., 1996), 32.

43. Few studies and exhibitions have addressed the question of Carthusian illumination directly, but see Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence: Enquête codicologique sur les manuscrits du XIIe siècle provenant de la Grande Chartreuse* (Saint-Étienne, 2004), esp. 48–49, 116–21, 134–42, and 192–240; Françoise de Forbin, "Les manuscrits de la chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon," in *Les chartreux et l'art*, ed. Le Blévec and Girard, 39–63; Margrit Früh, "Die Illustrationen in Guigo Engelherrs Manuskripten," in *Mystical Tradition*, Hogg, 35–69, Analecta Cartusiana 130:13; Christian de Merindol, "Les premières bibles peintes cartusiennes," in *La naissance des Chartreuses*, ed. Bernard Bligny and Gérald Chaix (Grenoble, 1986), 69–106; Musée de Dijon, *La Chartreuse de Champmol: foyer d'art au temps des ducs Valois* (Dijon, 1960); Pierre Vaillant, *Les enluminures des manuscrits cartusiens* (Grenoble, 1958); and Pierre Vaillant, *Les manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse et leurs enluminures* (Grenoble, 1984). On English Carthusian illumination in particular, one will soon be able to consult Julian M. Luxford, "Precept and Practice: The Decoration of English Carthusian Books," in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Julian M. Luxford (Turnhout, forthcoming). I thank Dr. Luxford for allowing me to see his essay in an early version.

44. The difficulties have been eased by A. I. Doyle's useful essay, "English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked With a Charterhouse," in *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning; Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, and Katharine Simms (Aldershot, 1998), 122–36.

45. For a facsimile of the *Belles Heures*, now in the Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, ed. Millard Meiss and Elizabeth H. Beatson (New York, 1974). Previous to this manuscript cycle, only four single scenes from Bruno's life are known.

46. The cycle consists of eight scenes: Diocres expounding the Scriptures (f. 94r), Diocres crying out from his bier (f. 94v), the burial of Diocres (f. 95r), Bruno's departure for the monastic wilderness (f. 95v), Bishop Hugh of Grenoble dreaming prophetically of seven stars (f. 96r), St. Hugh's audience with Bruno and his six companions (f. 96v), the new monks entering the Grande Chartreuse (f. 97r), and a view of the Grande Chartreuse itself (f. 97v).

47. The fourteenth-century paintings in the Paris charterhouse no longer survive, having been replaced in the seventeenth century by Le Sueur's grand twenty-two-part set, now in the Musée du Louvre. There were fifteenth-century cycles at Basel and Cologne. For a complete survey, see Margrit Früh, "Bilderzyklen mit dem Leben des Heiligen Bruno," in *La naissance des Chartreuses* 161–78; see also Werner Beutler, "Die beiden Brunozyklen der Kölner Kartause St. Barbara," *Die Kartäuser und ihre Welt: Kontakte und Gegenseitige Einflüsse*, Analecta Cartusiana 62:3 (Salzburg, 1993), 118–212; and Rudolf Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartäuse," in *Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, vol. 3, *Die Kirchen, Kloster und Kapellen*, ed. Casimir Hermann Baer (Basel, 1941), 577–94.

48. For the version in the Basel *Statutes*, see Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes*, and Elie, *Les éditions*, esp. 50–58.

49. This manuscript contains a series of images that tell the Carthusian foundation-story, but also a series that appears to offer scenes from everyday monastic life. It contains a version of the Carthusian rule, which, though in Dutch rather than in Latin, suggests monastic readership. For a full description, see Willem de Vreese, *De Handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's Werken* (Ghent, 1900–1902), 518–24. See also British Library, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1854–75*, vol. 2 (London, 1877) for a somewhat less detailed account.

50. The number of monks is too great to represent Bruno and his companions.

51. On Carthusian library booklists, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 313–34; and J. A. Large, "The Libraries of the Carthusian Order in Medieval England," *Library History* 3 (1975): 191–203; both now superseded by A. I. Doyle, "The Carthusians," in *Syon Abbey*, edited by Vincent Gillespie, with *The Libraries of the Carthusians*, edited by A. I. Doyle, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 (London, 2001), 607–52. An important single list is John Blacman's donation, recorded in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Laud misc. 152 and 154; see Roger Lovatt, "The Library of John Blacman and Contemporary Carthusian Spirituality," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992): 195–230.

52. Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 328. See also n. 27 above.

53. BL MS Add. 37049 forms the subject of my book-in-progress, *Reading in the Wilderness: Devotional Performances in a Late-Medieval Carthusian Miscellany.* Most of the folios in the manuscript have been published in James Hogg, ed., *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany, British Library London MS Additional 37049: The Illustrations*, vol. 3, Analecta Cartusiana 95 (Salzburg, 1981).

54. BL MS Add. 37049, f. 33r. For editions of this text, see Karl Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgeschichte," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 167 (1935): 20–35; and John W. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology* (East Lansing, Mich., 1991), 50–62.

55. This sort of image appears on ff. 32v and 87r of Additional 37049. Francis Wormald relates the design to sculptural *transi* tombs, such as the tomb in Lincoln Cathedral of Bishop Richard Fleming, d. 1431. See Francis Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures and their Rich Relations," in *Miscellanea pro Arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965* (Düsseldorf, 1965), 279–85, at 283–84. Further, see Kathleen Cohen, *The Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973); Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049," *Viator* 33 (2002): 310–54; Klaus P. Jankovsky, "A View into the Grave: *A Disputacion Betwyx þe Body and Wormes* in British Museum Ms. Ad. 37049," *Texas A & I University Studies* 7 (1974): 137–59; and Marjorie Malvern, "An Earnest 'Monyscyon' and 'þinge Delectabyll' Realized Verbally and Visually in 'A Discputacion Betwyx þe Body and Wormes,' A Middle English Poem Inspired by Tomb Art and Northern Spirituality," *Viator* 13 (1982): 415–43.

56. Such scenes appear twice in the manuscript: on f. 19r, where the Virgin and the crucified Christ intercede with God on behalf of the dying soul, and on f. 28v, where a single monk represents the forces of good.

57. It is possible that "storyes" here could refer to pictorial or sculptural representations, as well as texts; s.v. *MED* storie (n.1), 3. The specificity with which Golwynne's list describes other manuscript illuminations makes this interpretation unlikely, however.

58. See R. H. Bowers, "Middle English Verses on the Founding of the Carthusian Order," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 710–13.

59. The close physical connection of text and image suggests that in this manuscript scribe and artist were probably the same.

60. See *Boke of Craft of Dying*, in Robert R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung, vol. 7 (New Haven, Conn., 1986), XX.216.

61. See Hennessy, "Royal Dead," and James Hogg, "A Morbid Preoccupation with Mortality? The Carthusian London British Library MS Additional 37049," in *Zeit, Tod, und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur*, Analecta Cartusiana 117:2 (Salzburg, 1986), 139–89.

62. London, British Library, MS Harley 1706 (f. 19v), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322 (f. 19v).

63. See especially chapter 2, which concerns "the temptacions of men that dyene." For an edition of the text, see C. Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers* (1895; repr. Cambridge, 1976, 1999), 406–20.

64. Chapters 3 and 6 are particularly addressed, not to the dying man, but to "som man that is abowt him."

65. See Kathleen L. Scott, ed., *An Index of Images in English Manuscripts from the Time of Chaucer to Henry VIII, c. 1380–c. 1509. The Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 2 (London, 2001). The *Index* describes the image on f. 27r as "nude woman in bed with arms crossed; man beside bed with arms crossed" (39).

66. On the complex textual history of *O intemerata*, see A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin* (Paris, 1932), 474–504. For a translation of the text, see Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), 164.

67. See the essay by Gillespie in this volume.

68. An alternative text omits to mention St. John; see Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 493–5. Among the most popular subjects for illustrating *O intemerata* are the Holy Family; the Virgin herself, perhaps crowned, holding a book, or weaving; the Virgin with saints and angels; or a Pietà. See Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 95–96, and Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1997), 86–90.

69. The *Mirror* does not, however, mention the episode of the poisoned chalice.

70. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris, 1955–59), 3.2:708–20.

71. Ibid., 3.2:712.

72. London, Public Record Office E 164/10, f. 44r; Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders, c. 1395–1499* (London, 2002), 64, pl. 18.

73. The *Brut* manuscript is in the library of Professor Robert G. Heyneman, in Chapel Hill, N.C. For a description of it, see Kathleen L. Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), no. 77. The comparison is suggested by the Christie's sale catalogue.

74. Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f. 3v; Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 95, pl. 31b.

75. For a full discussion of the Scropes and their books, see the essay by Edwards in this volume.

76. See the essay by Edwards in this volume.

77. I would like to thank Jill Mann for her learned and generous assistance with this essay at all stages.

7

The Knight and The Rose

French Manuscripts in the Notre Dame Library

MAUREEN BOULTON

COMPARED TO SPECIALISTS IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH, students of medieval French literature are not nearly as well-served with facsimiles of important manuscripts. The University of Notre Dame is therefore particularly fortunate to have in its possession two actual manuscripts preserving medieval French literary texts of considerable interest. The two volumes date from the same period—the second half of the fifteenth century—but otherwise present striking contrasts. One (now designated University of Notre Dame, MS 51) contains a version of a verse chronicle in the form of an epic poem composed in the late fourteenth century, and based on events of the Hundred Years' War. The other (now University of Notre Dame, MS 34) contains a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, composed in two different periods of the thirteenth century, and from the time of its appearance until the early sixteenth century one of the most influential literary works in any language. In addition to containing significant texts, both manuscripts are interesting paleographically. I shall examine each of these manuscripts in turn, discussing both their contents and their form.