

DIONYSII CARTUSIENSIS BIBLIOTHECA ET MANUSCRIPTA:

PROLOGUE AND QUERIES

by

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I have begun a long-term study of the manuscript tradition of the works of Denys of Ryckel<sup>1</sup> (Dionysius Cartusius, 1402-1471). In the following study I shall report some findings of my initial research in libraries in the Low Countries, Germany, and Austria.<sup>2</sup> Through this report, I seek information and advice from other scholars who doubtless know of manuscripts which have not yet come to my attention.

I. *Denys of Ryckel and his Writings*

Rightly did J. Huizinga give a prominent place to Denys of Ryckel, Carthusian of Roermond, in his *Herbst des Mittelalters*.<sup>3</sup> For Denys was certainly a harvester of the literary culture of the Middle Ages. His learning encompassed the writings of Christian fathers, monks, scholastic doctors, and canonists, as well as pagan and non-Christian sages:

et multos legi auctores...et quidquid naturalium Philosophorum habere potui, Platonis, Procli, Aristotelis, Avicennae, Algazelis, Anaxagorae, Averrois, Alexandri, Alphorabi, Abubatheris, Evempote, Theophrasti, Themistii, ac aliorum.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Modern Rijkel, in Limburg near Sint Truiden. The forms Rickel, Rykel, Rikel, alias de Leuwis, Leewis, Lewis appear in the manuscripts. The Latin form which appears in the manuscripts is almost invariably Dionysius Cartusius; Dionysius Cartusianus becomes current with the printed editions. The epithets used for Denys are *frater*, *venerabilis pater*, *magister*, *divus*, depending upon the provenance of the manuscript. For Denys' genealogy, see Jozef Nicolaers, *Levens der H. Ida Van Leeuw (De Lewis): Dionysius Van Leeuw (De Lewis) bijgenaamd den Karthuizer*, II (Tongeren, 1914).

<sup>2</sup>I wish to acknowledge the constant encouragement and help of Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller, Dr. Raymond Macken, ofm, and Dr. Adriaan Pattin, omi. The research reported in this paper was funded by the American Council of Learned Societies. The project was conceived in 1979, in the Summer Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Pennsylvania, in a seminar directed by Dr. David Dumville, Cambridge University.

<sup>3</sup>J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden* (Stuttgart, 1953).

<sup>4</sup>*Doctoris Ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, cura Monach. s. ord. Cart., 42 in 44 vols. (Montreuil, Tournai, Parkminster, 1896-1913, 1935), *Protestatio ad superiorem suum*, I, pp. LXXI-XXII. Henceforward, this edition will be cited *Opera omnia*.

Denys' reading was not only among more ancient writers. He was acquainted with some humanist authors, whose writings were beginning to exert influence in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century. One may remark a certain periodic quality in Denys' Latin style, and in many instances a neo-Latin diction. However, the authenticity of these stylistic features cannot be determined until the work of Denys' sixteenth-century editors is studied more thoroughly. In fact, Denys cultivated a plain and simple style. He read and praised the *De vita solitaria* of Petrarch, *poeta egregius*, but in reporting the teaching of that work, Denys states: "Sed quoniam stilus Francisci rhetoricus est atque difficilis, sensum potius quam formam verborum Francisci inducam".<sup>5</sup> Denys similarly "translated" the works of John Cassian *ad stilum facillimum*.<sup>6</sup> These formulae, contrary to the idea of ornateness, echo a stylistic preference notable among certain northern humanists. As part of his reform of dialectic and rhetoric, Rudolph Agricola (1444-1485) urged a plain and "perspicuous" style whereby words were immediately transparent to things.<sup>7</sup> Agricola's reforms were themselves influenced by the pedagogic practice of some teachers associated with the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, and were already influential in the fifteenth century in the Low Countries and Germany.<sup>8</sup> Agricola's sixteenth-century editor, Alardus Amstelredamus (1491-1544), related Agricola's reform of the verbal arts to Augustine's teaching concerning the priority of "things" over "signs".<sup>9</sup> Alardus wrote *encomia* for the printed edition of Denys' works; suggestively, he praised Denys' *stylus simplex*, because it so aptly conveyed the *res* of his doctrine.<sup>10</sup>

Whatever his stylistic merits, Denys was possibly the most prolific writer of the Middle Ages. He was accustomed to make lists of his writings, primarily because, as he said himself, "multa mihi adscribuntur opuscula, quae

<sup>5</sup>*De vita et regimine principum*, III. a. 53, *Opera omnia* XXXVII, p. 495.

<sup>6</sup>*Opera omnia* X.

<sup>7</sup>*De inventione dialectica libri... per Alardum Aemstelredamum accuratius emendati* (Cologne, 1539), II, 3, p. 196, II, 25, p. 316, *et passim*.

<sup>8</sup>See T. Heath, "Logical Grammar, Grammatical Logic, and Humanism in Three German Universities", *Studies in the Renaissance*, XVIII (1971), 9-64.

<sup>9</sup>B. DeGraaf, *Alardus Amstelredamus (1491-1544)* (Amsterdam, 1958); A. J. Kolker, *Alardus Amstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus: Twee Amsterdamse Priester-Humanisten* (Nijmegen, 1963).

<sup>10</sup>*Encomium D. Dionysii Carthusiani, cognomento doctoris extatici, autore Alardo Amstelredamo*, in *Operum minorum tomus primus* (Cologne, 1532).

non feci". In one of these, Denys gives the internal marks by which one may recognize his authentic writings. First, nearly all of them conclude with a formulaic *exordium*: "Qui est super omnia Deus sublimis et benedictus. Amen". Secondly, his works proceed *per articulos*. Finally, one may discern his writing *ex stilo, item tenore et forma*.<sup>11</sup> In 1466 Denys made a list of his works for the monks of the Charterhouse in Bruges. This list, a copy of which exists in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson c. 564, names 118 titles.<sup>12</sup> Another list which Denys made, a copy of which exists in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 631/1562<sup>40</sup>, 227r-229v, comprises 141 titles.<sup>13</sup> After Denys, others made lists of Denys' works. The monastic erudite Trithemius cited 144 titles.<sup>14</sup> A *registrum* of authors and titles, compiled in the sixteenth century at the house of the Canons Regular at Rooklooster near Brussels, deriving largely from Trithemius, ascribes 146 works to Denys. This list, especially valuable because it notes the location of manuscripts, may now be found in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) SN 12694, 106r-107v. The conflated list made by Dietrich Loher for the Cologne edition of Denys' works, reprinted by the Carthusian scholar Theodorus Petreius in 1609, swells to over 180 titles without enumerating "varia item alia Carminum genera: Epistolae & solutiones dubiorum sine numero".<sup>15</sup>

Not only is the number of Denys' works large, their variety is great and the size of many of them is huge. Denys wrote in almost every genre of religious literature. First, he wrote the kinds of works immediately pertinent to his monastic vocation. These would include his ample commentaries on each book of Scripture,<sup>16</sup> his commentaries on the hymns and other items of the liturgy, and his composition of little offices. A great number of his treatises concern the traditional topics of monastic life. Denys' mystical works, treating the final end of the contemplative vocation, would seem to be the treatises towards which all of his other literary efforts were directed. Among these one should include Denys' commentaries on all of the writings of pseudo-Dionysius.<sup>17</sup> Since pseudo-Dionysius was thought to have apostolic

<sup>11</sup>*Opera omnia* I, pp. XLIX-L.

<sup>12</sup>I have not consulted this manuscript. See *Opera omnia* I, p. L n. 1. The list is printed in A. Mougel, *Dionysius der Karthäuser* (Mülheim a.d. Ruhr, 1898), pp. 106-109.

<sup>13</sup>This list is printed in P. Teeuwen, *Dionysius de Karthuizer en de filosofische-theologische Stroomingen aan de Keulsche Universiteit* (Brussels-Nijmegen, 1938), pp. 101-108.

<sup>14</sup>See *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel, 1494), cited in *Opera omnia* I, p. L n. 1.

<sup>15</sup>For Loher's list see *Opera omnia* I, pp. XLIX-LXX; Theodorus Petreius, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana, sive Illustrium sacri Cartusiensis ordinis scriptorum catalogus* (Cologne, 1609; Gregg repr. 1968), pp. 49-80.

<sup>16</sup>*Opera omnia*, I-XIV.

<sup>17</sup>*Opera omnia*, XV-XVI.

authority, Dietrich Loher and Petreius appropriately list these commentaries immediately after the commentaries on Scripture.<sup>18</sup> Denys also commented on the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus and paraphrased works of John Cassian.<sup>19</sup> These two authors were sources of the eremitic tradition of which the Carthusians considered themselves to be the legitimate heirs.

Secondly, and less typically, Denys composed scholastic philosophic and theological works. In Denys' mind, these served the primary intent of his studies, "sacram Scripturam exponere".<sup>20</sup> As a student at the University of Cologne, Denys wrote a treatise on the topic (urgent among followers of the *via antiqua*) *De ente et essentia*.<sup>21</sup> Denys carried his scholastic training with him back to the monastery in Roermond. There he wrote massive commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, about which we shall say more. Besides these, Denys composed several works which either avowedly or in fact paraphrase works of Thomas Aquinas.<sup>22</sup> The repeating or reformulating of the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas was a common practice among followers of the *via antiqua*. Denys' allegiance to this school is evident in two more unusual works. Denys composed an *Exhelecosis ex Summa D. Guilhelmi Antisiodorensis*, unfortunately now lost.<sup>23</sup> Frequently followers of the *via antiqua* revived the works of the earliest scholastic doctors, whose realism was without ambiguity. Denys also produced a large commentary on Boethius' *De consolacione philosophiae*.<sup>24</sup> For the schoolmen of the thirteenth century, the *Consolatio* was somewhat old-fashioned. However, interest in this work was revived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when questions concerning God's omnipotence, foreknowledge, providence, and predestination came to the forefront.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup>*Opera omnia* I, pp. LIV-LV; Petreius, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup>*Opera omnia*, XXVII-XXVIII.

<sup>20</sup>*Protestatio ad superiorem*, p. LXXI.

<sup>21</sup>See Teeuwen, p. 34. This treatise is now lost, and has not been printed. The incipit given in Loher's list is "Quemadmodum Aristoteles profitetur, rerum aliqua sunt universales, aliquae particulares".

<sup>22</sup>See Teeuwen, pp. 27-32, 108-135, *et passim*.

<sup>23</sup>Incipit given by Loher: "Prooemium: Sicut vera dilectione diligitur Deus super omnia".

<sup>24</sup>*Enarrationes in V libros De consolacione philosophiae B. Severini Boetii*, *Opera omnia* XXVI. See P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967), pp. 328-29.

<sup>25</sup>See Léon Baudry, *La Querelle des futurs contingents (Louvain 1465-1475)* (Paris, 1950).

Finally, Denys did not confine his literary efforts to the contemplative life of the monastery, which the speculations of the doctors arguably serve. A large proportion of Denys' writings fall under the rubrics of works "quibus formatur status hominem", and "quae praemissos status in felicem dirigunt finem".<sup>26</sup> As is well known, Denys, like many in his time, was constantly concerned with the reform of the whole Church in head and members. To this end he composed *specula* or *vitae* for the various estates of Christian vocation,<sup>27</sup> and personal letters of counsel *sine numero*.<sup>28</sup> Few of the latter, apparently, survive; among the lost letters, according to a modern historian, is a large correspondence with Margaret of York, the mother of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>29</sup> We are not surprised that Denys wrote complete sequences of sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* for religious; he did the same as well for those outside the monastery.<sup>30</sup> These sermons, and perhaps some other writings directed towards Christians outside the monastery, may have been urged upon Denys by the Franciscan preacher, Jan Brugman.<sup>31</sup> Denys also joined the most lively juridical and apologetic issues of his day, composing treatises on simony, the relation between Pope and General Council,<sup>32</sup> and against Islam.

<sup>26</sup>See the lists of Dietrich Loher and Petreius.

<sup>27</sup>But not to be included among these are the five *Specula omnis status humanae vitae*, printed by Dietrich Loher and the modern editors (*Opera omnia* XLII, pp. 647-847). These are sometimes attributed to Denys in manuscripts. Their author is now known certainly to be another Carthusian, sometime from Roermond and a friend of Denys, Jacobus van Gruitrode. See M. Verjans, "Jacobus van Gruitrode. Karthuizer. (+1475)", *Ons geestelijk Erf*, V (1951), 435-70.

<sup>28</sup>See the list made by Denys in Teeuwen, p. 108.

<sup>29</sup>Luc Hommel, *Marie de Bourgogne ou le grand heritage* (Brussels, 1945), p. 85.

<sup>30</sup>*Opera omnia*, XXIX-XXX. In this edition, the *sermones de tempore* for both religious and seculars are printed together in one volume, and the *sermones de sanctis* for both religious and seculars are printed together in another. These sermons travelled differently in manuscripts, where the sequences for religious were copied separately from the sequences for seculars. See Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, 1133-1135, 2r-189v (*sermones de tempore hyemali pro religiosis; sermones de sanctis hyemales*). J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, III (Brussels, 1903), n. 1942, pp. 205-206. See also Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 195 (I L 19) (*Sermones de sanctis per hyemen; sermones de tempore hyemali pro religiosis*).

<sup>31</sup>W. Moll, *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer Vaderen*, I (Amsterdam, 1854), pp. 70-81; A. Stoelen, "Denys le Chartreux", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, III (Paris, 1957), 433, thinks that among other works, Denys' sermons for seculars were written at Brugman's request.

<sup>32</sup>For an excellent survey and classification of the extensive conciliar literature, which mentions Denys in passing, see Francis Oakley, "Natural Law, the *Corpus Mysticum*, and Consent in Conciliar Thought from John of Paris to Matthias Ugonius", *Speculum*, LVI (1981), 786-810.

Having listed all of his titles, Denys says that there are "alia multa opuscula quorum nomina nunc non occurrunt memorie".<sup>33</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, Denys' later admirers uncovered many more; prodigious as Denys' memory was, and as indefatigable as subsequent editors have been, it is possible that there are still more.

The usual question attends Denys' enormous literary production. A later scholar said that if he had not seen them in the author's own hand, he could not have believed one man to have written so many works.<sup>34</sup> Denys himself attributed his production to the goodness of the Holy Spirit.<sup>35</sup> His reputed sturdy health surely helped. None the less, the question still remains: how did Denys, a Carthusian monk obliged to recite the office for many hours a day, and to other appointed duties as well, find time to write so much? Certainly, Denys wrote in times set aside for reading and meditation; Petreius places Denys' writing within the context of the traditional fourfold exercise of the Carthusian monk, "legendi, *scribendi*, orandi, meditando, contemplandi".<sup>36</sup> Anselm Stoelen informs us that the fifteenth-century Carthusian observance was different from the modern, and that Denys would have had an hour between lauds and prime and a few more before matins unavailable to the modern monk.<sup>37</sup>

Stoelen's note, although instructive, does not satisfactorily resolve the question. The problem enlarges when one remembers that unlike Bernard of Clairvaux or Thomas Aquinas, Denys did not have secretaries. He not only authored his works, he wrote and copied them himself. And he not only wrote them once; because his superiors wished to retain copies of his works in the library, and to have others for circulation, Denys often made two copies of many of his texts.<sup>38</sup> A further question concerning Denys' literary production arises. Where did he obtain the texts of the many authors whom he quotes, paraphrases or alludes to in his writings? Light may be shed over this matter when the *Catalogus Carthusianorum* from the Roermond Charterhouse is again available for public scrutiny.<sup>39</sup> However, no matter how extensive

<sup>33</sup>See the list printed by Teeuwen, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup>Peter Blomeveen, quoted in *Opera omnia* I, p. XIV.

<sup>35</sup>*Protestatio ad superiorem*, p. LXXI.

<sup>36</sup>Petreius, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup>Anselm Stoelen, "Denys the Carthusian", *The Month*, n.s. XXVI (1961), 218-19.

<sup>38</sup>See A. Mougel, *Denys le Chartreux, 1402-1471, sa vie, son rôle, une nouvelle édition de ses ouvrages* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1896), p. 85.

<sup>39</sup>This catalogue is housed in the Archives in Roermond, Swalmerstraat 12. See there M. van Tulden, *Inventaris van de archieven van de parochie St. Christoforus, 1797-1945*, no. 651. However, Mr. van Tulden informs me that the catalogue is temporarily in the private use of Mr. J. Geurts, Nijmegen.

the library of the Charterhouse of Roermond may have been, it is doubtful that a monastic library owned all of the books Denys read.<sup>40</sup>

Denys' massive commentaries on the *Sentences*<sup>41</sup> may provide a clue to his method of literary production. In these Denys records, usually by means of paraphrase, the opinions of many doctors on each question, adding here and there a comment of his own. Clearly, these commentaries were not written to fulfill any university requirement. In Denys' time, *abbreviaciones* of the *Sentences* which stated conclusions but omitted argumentation were popular among monks and other religious who lived far from university centers. These seemingly served non-academic purposes, such as classifying material for and aiding the memory in meditation.<sup>42</sup> At first glance, Denys' large commentaries would seem to be the opposite to such abridgements. And yet, in enumerating the titles of his works, Denys indicates that he conceived his commentaries on the *Sentences* as an abridgment or "reduction":

Super quatuor libros sentenciarum scripta doctorum scholasticorum reducendo in unum videlicet alexandri de halis, sancti thomi, alberti magni, sancti bonaventure, egidii de roma, petri de tharentasia, richardi de media villa, wilhelmi parisiensis, domini anthiodorensis, henrici de gandavo, ulrici, Scoti et hanybalis (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 631/1562<sup>40</sup>, 228r).<sup>43</sup>

Further, Denys distilled the matter of these commentaries in *compendia* of philosophy and theology similar in design to the widely read *Compendium theologiae veritatis* (1268) of Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg.<sup>44</sup> The same relation

39 (cont'd) Eventually, it will be returned. I wish to thank Mr. van Tulden for his generous help in Roermond.

<sup>40</sup> Surely Denys was sent books for use from elsewhere. One wonders if he had some access to the library of Nicholas of Cusa.

<sup>41</sup> *Opera omnia*, XIX-XXV (2).

<sup>42</sup> On *Sentences* abbreviations, see Martin Grabmann, "Handschriftliche Mitteilungen über Abbreviationem des Sentenzenkommentars des seligen Papstes Innozenz V. (Petrus de Tarantasia O.P. +1276)", *Divus Thomas* (Freiburg, Switzerland), XXIV (1946), 109-12; Z. Alszeghy, "Abbreviaciones Bonaventurae. Handschriftliche Auszüge aus dem Sentenzenkommentar des hl. Bonaventura in Mittelalter", *Gregorianum*, XVIII (1947), 474-510; Nicholas H. Steneck, *Science and Creation in the Middle Ages. Henry of Langenstein (d.1397) on Genesis* (South Bend, 1976), pp. 9-10, 18, 25, 190 n. 2; Paulus Venetus, *Super primum Sententiarum Johannis de Ripa lecturae abbreviatio, Prologus*, ed. Francis Ruello (Florence, 1980). The *abbreviaciones* were put to various uses; all seem related to memory.

<sup>43</sup> See Teeuwen, p. 103.

<sup>44</sup> See Denys' *Elementatio philosophica, seu compendium philosophiae*, and *Elementatio theologica, seu compendium theologiae*, *Opera omnia* XXXIII. Hugh Ripelin's work is printed among those of Albert the Great, *Opera omnia*, ed. Borgnet, XXXIV, pp. 1-306. On this text see Martin Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, I (repr. Hildesheim-New York, 1975), pp. 175-85.

holds between Denys' expansive scriptural commentaries and his *Epitome ... totius Bibliae*, which condenses and arranges the *nobiliores sententiae* of each book.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps this pattern of *amplificatio-abbreviatio* pertains in some way throughout Denys' corpus. In any case, one suspects that Denys' commentaries served him personally as storehouses of matter topically arranged (according to an order of questions or to the *historia* of Scripture) from which might be invented material for diverse other compositions. Such a ready method would ease the burden of composition considerably.

Indeed, methods of invention, classification, and arrangement are a striking feature of the fifteenth century in general, and were applied to the spiritual life in particular.<sup>46</sup> Wessel Gansfort (+1489) used Agricola's methods of topical invention to assemble his encyclopaedia of meditation,<sup>47</sup> and his techniques in turn influenced the encyclopaedia of Jan Mombaer (c.1460-1502).<sup>48</sup> In his *Rosetum* Mombaer also used Gerson's *Monotessaron*, which reduces the four gospels to one.<sup>49</sup> For the moment, we shall note that Gerson's work anticipates Denys' *Monopanton*, which reduces all of the Epistles of Paul to one. Interestingly, the vogue for the *ars* of Ramón Lull, so evident in the sixteenth century, was already current during the time of Denys' life at the University of Cologne.<sup>50</sup> Lull's art was frequently employed as a means for topical invention and encyclopaedic classification.<sup>51</sup> It is worth remembering that the two most

<sup>45</sup>*Opera omnia* XIV, pp. 539-707.

<sup>46</sup>F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), 82ff.

<sup>47</sup>Gansfort, *Scala meditationis*, *Opera omnia* (Gronigen, 1614), pp. 194-412. See the comments of Gerhard Ritter, "Romantic and Revolutionary Elements in German Theology on the Eve of the Reformation", in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. Steven E. Ozmont (Chicago, 1971), pp. 41, 48-49, n. 47. Ritter thinks the influence might in fact go the other way. On Agricola's relation to religious culture in general, see Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 20-40.

<sup>48</sup>See H. Watrigant, "La Méditation méthodique et l'école des Frères de la vie commune", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, III (1922), 134-55; "La méditation méthodique et Jean Mauburnus", *RAM*, IV (1923), 13-29.

<sup>49</sup>See Pierre Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles, Abbé de Livry: Ses écrits et ses réformes* (Louvain, 1927), p. 34. On Gerson's *Monotessaron*, see Garry E. Haupt, ed. Thomas More, *Treatise on the Passion, Treatise on the Blessed Body, Instructions and Prayers, The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XIII (New Haven, 1976), pp. xxvi-clxxii, *passim*.

<sup>50</sup>In the teaching of Heymeric de Campo, the Albertist who influenced Nicholas of Cusa, and perhaps Denys as well. See E. Colomer, *De la edad media al renacimiento (Ramón Lull - Nicolás de Cusa - Juan Pico della Mirandola)* (Barcelona, 1975), pp. 109-223, *passim*.

<sup>51</sup>See Paolo Rossi, *Clavis universalis: Arti mnemoniche e logica combinatoria da Lullo a Leibniz* (Milan-Naples, 1960); Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Peregrine ed., 1969), pp. 175-96.



original philosophers of the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa and Pico della Mirandola, were, like Denys, bibliophiles;<sup>52</sup> in one respect, their central philosophic principles are instruments whereby to reconcile the opinions of many authors found in the library.

If there should be some method of invention underlying Denys' composition, it can only be discovered by a careful study of Denys' writings as a whole, something not yet attempted. Moreover, study of the manuscripts of Denys' works (at least the autographs and direct copies), of their means of disposition, rubrication, annotation, and cross-reference, would greatly illumine such an aspect of Denys' thought. The printed editions of Denys' works, evincing the modern value of uniformity, tend to smooth over these "uneven" features of manuscript books.

## II. *The Autograph Manuscripts and the Printed Editions*

Since Denys penned his own works, and sometimes copied them twice, one might expect that despite the usual turns of fortune, a good number of autographs would be extant. Unfortunately, the known remains are scant.

The history of the autograph manuscripts is closely associated with the printed editions of Denys' works. Although a few of Denys' works were printed before 1500,<sup>53</sup> the first major edition was achieved at the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne in the sixteenth century. This edition of Denys' *Opera* was accomplished almost single-handedly by Dietrich Loher. Through correspondence Dietrich acquired the sums needed for the project, and sought manuscripts of Denys' works. He transcribed and edited the texts, and saw them through the hazards of printing. Between the years 1521 and 1538 he produced fifty-seven volumes of Denys' works.<sup>54</sup>

Dietrich had the good fortune seldom met by editors: for his edition, with few exceptions, he was able to acquire autograph manuscripts, most of which had been kept at the Charterhouse of Roermond. Dietrich's good fortune, however, did not guarantee the precision of his undertaking. His first concern was practical. Denys' writings were needed urgently by a weakened Church

<sup>52</sup>See J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Bernkastel a./Mosel* (Trier, 1905); Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936).

<sup>53</sup>See, e.g., M. Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Brussels, 1978), I: 947, 948, pp. 608-610; II: 1304, 1305, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, pp. 51-54; IV: 3877, pp. 187-88.

<sup>54</sup>J. Greven, *Die Kölner Kartause und die Anfänge der Katholischen Reform in Deutschland* (Münster, 1935), pp. 50-85; Heinrich Rüthing, "Loher (Dirk, Dietrich, Thierry)", *Dict. de spir.*, IX (Paris, 1976), 462.

justly chastized by the evils of the Reformation. Clearly, Dietrich worked rapidly. One doubts that even if Denys' corpus were smaller, Dietrich would have labored longer over the fewer works at hand. Moreover, Dietrich found Denys' writing - a cursive bookhand<sup>55</sup> - difficult. He complained that he had needed to divine the sense (with the aid of the Holy Spirit) where Denys' writing was illegible.<sup>56</sup> Anselm Stoelen, who looked at some of the manuscripts, judged that Dietrich's efforts were as good as they could be.<sup>57</sup> However, the opinion of K. Swenden seems equally, or more, probable:

L'écriture difficile du Chartreux, le mauvais état de conservation de certain manuscrits, le besoin d'argent, le manque d'application des imprimeurs, les déficiences techniques de l'imprimerie et aussi les singulières conceptions critiques de Loër sont autant d'éléments qui diminuent la valeur de l'édition colonaise et en déparent la présentation typographique.<sup>58</sup>

For the most part, the modern edition of Denys' *Opera omnia* (1896-1935) simply reprinted the sixteenth-century edition, making a few tacit emendations, and presenting the works in a visually more readable format. The modern editors did consult some manuscripts, and as we shall see, printed some treatises not printed before. When this edition, inspired in part by the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII,<sup>59</sup> was first conceived, the Carthusian fathers asked the scholar A. M. P. Ingold<sup>60</sup> to search the autograph manuscripts.

Ingold already knew of one autograph located in the library of Nicholas of Cusa in Bernkastel-Kues. Ingold was soon alerted to several manuscripts of Denys' works possessed by the University Library in Louvain: numbers 127, 130, 213, 214, and 233. One of these, 213, containing Denys' commentaries *super Jeremiam, Baruch, Threnos, and Ezechielem* bore the inscription *Ad domum Carthusiens. Ruremund.*, and indications that the manuscript had been used for the

<sup>55</sup>Photographed specimens may be found in *Opera omnia* I, and in Mougél, *Denys le Chartreux*.

<sup>56</sup>Mougél, *Denys le Chartreux*, p. 85 n. 3.

<sup>57</sup>Stoelen, "Denys le Chartreux", 432.

<sup>58</sup>K. Swenden, "Denys le Chartreux", *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, XIV (1960), 258.

<sup>59</sup>As a young man, Leo XIII read a translation of Denys' *Quatuor hominis novissimis*, and in 1884 wrote verses in Denys' honor. See *Opera omnia* I, pp. IX-X. Reputedly, Pius XII had retreats based on Denys' spiritual doctrine. Apparently Denys has retained his influence among people in high places.

<sup>60</sup>Ingold's findings are reported in a series of small articles: "A la recherche des manuscrits de Denys-le-Chartreux", *Extrait du Messager des sciences historiques de Belgique*, LXIX (1895), 1-5; A pamphlet, 2 fasc., *A la recherche des manuscrits de Denys le Chartreux I. Ruremonde, Cologne, Bruxelles, Vienne. II. Louvain, Cues - Trevès. III. Nouvelles découvertes à Bruxelles, Vienne, etc.* (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1896). Number III was also printed separately in *Bulletin critique*, 2<sup>e</sup> ser. II (1896), 351-57.

printed edition in 1533. When he compared the manuscript with the manuscript in Bernkastel-Kues, Ingold was delighted to find that the handwriting and paper were the same. On the basis of this identification, Ingold was able to determine that 233, containing commentaries *super epistolas canonicas* and on the *Scala paradisi* of John Climacus, was also an autograph.<sup>61</sup>

Ingold's findings at Louvain little avail us. All five manuscripts, two autographs and three copies, were destroyed in the fire of 1914.<sup>62</sup> They did not share the good fortune of another manuscript from the Charterhouse of Roermond, D.320, housed at Louvain and likewise thought to have been destroyed in the fire of 1914. This manuscript, containing the copy of Ulrich of Strasbourg's *Summa de Bono* used by Denys himself, had in fact been removed to Strasbourg before the fire. It was subsequently destroyed in Louvain during World War II, but not before a microfilm had been made by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, where it still exists.<sup>63</sup> Today only one manuscript containing a work of Denys may be found at Louvain. This manuscript was transferred from the library of the Grand Séminaire in Mechelen. Besides several treatises by Thomas a Kempis and other writers, it contains a copy of the *Speculum conversionis peccatorum magistri dyonisi de leuwis alias rikel ordinis carthusiensis*.<sup>64</sup>

Lists of Denys' writings mention "Epistolae multae ad Car. Nico. de Cusa Leg."<sup>65</sup> There are today no remnants of a correspondence between these two important theologians of the fifteenth century. However, the association between them is otherwise documented. Denys accompanied Cusanus for part of the Cardinal's legation through Germany and the Low Countries in 1451-52.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Ingold, *A la recherche* II, pp. 8-12. One finds here a photograph specimen of Denys' *In Jeremiam*.

<sup>62</sup>See E. de Moreau, *La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain 1636-1914* (Louvain, 1918), nos. 63-67, pp. 66-67.

<sup>63</sup>See Francis J. Lescoe, *God as First Principle in Ulrich of Strasbourg* (Critical Text of 'Summa De Bono' IV,1) (New York, 1979), pp. 70-73. This manuscript contains a treatise *de homine* thought once to be Ulrich's, but now attributed to the fifteenth-century John of Mechelen. See A. Pattin, *Le "Tractatus de homine" de Jean de Malines: Contribution à l'histoire de l'Albertisme à l'Université de Cologne* (Leuven, 1977).

<sup>64</sup>See C. De Clercq, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Grand Séminaire de Malines* (Gembloux-Paris, 1937), p. 93: *Cod. 34, 67v<sup>a</sup>-75r<sup>b</sup>*. This manuscript is now in Leuven, Bibliothek-Faculteit der Godgeleerdheit. I wish to thank Dr. E. D'Hondt for his kind help.

<sup>65</sup>*Opera omnia* I, p. LXVIII, n. 171; Petreius, p. 79.

<sup>66</sup>For this legation, see Donald Sullivan, "Nicholas of Cusa as Reformer: The Papal Legation to the Germanies, 1451-1452", *Mediaeval Studies*, XXXVI (1974), 383-428. For Denys see E. Ewig, *Die Anschauungen des Kartäusers Dionysius von Roermond über den christlichen Ordo in Staat und Kirche* (Bonn, 1936) pp. 7-8.

Denys addressed two of his works to Cusanus, the *Monopanton*<sup>67</sup> and an *Epilogatio in librum Job: Tractatulus de causa diversitatis eventuum humanorum*.<sup>68</sup> The latter, written "ad instantiam Reverendissimi D. Cardinalis de Cusa", treats questions concerning the influence of divine justice, fortune, and the stars in human affairs. Scholars relate other works of Denys, his *De auctoritate summi pontificis et generalis concilii*<sup>69</sup> and *Contra perfidiam Mahometi*,<sup>70</sup> to his friendship with Cusanus. Lynn Thorndike observes that the subject of Denys' *Contra vitia superstitionum* was a major concern of the Cusanus legation.<sup>71</sup>

Three manuscripts of Denys' authentic writings still exist in Cusanus' library at St. Nikolaus-Hospital, Bernkastel-Kues.<sup>72</sup>

1. Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, 12.<sup>73</sup>

This book binds together several manuscripts. Folia 75r-114v bear Denys' *Monopanton*, or as the preface states, the "epistolas beatissimi pauli apostoli quasi in unam redigendo epistolam" (75r). The handwriting, paper, etc. confirm this as the autograph which Ingold knew. The work is addressed "Reverendissimo in cristo patre ac domino Domino Nicolao de cusa sacrosancte romane ecclesie cardinalis preclaro et nunc sancte ac apostolice sedis legato de latere per angliam atque almaniam. . . in sincerissime caritatis visceribus cordialissime predilecto Frater Dionysius Carthusiensis" (75r). This epistolary preface suggests that the work was composed about the time of the legation in 1451-52. A note in Cusanus' hand on 75r, although not directly referring to the work, gives a date of thirty-five years after the Nativity, 1419, that is, 1454. Denys' *Monopanton* would seem to be a fitting gift for Cusanus. In Nicholas' own terms, it is a *complicatio omnium*, a folding together of all Paul's epistles into one. Perhaps this autograph is extant precisely because it was sent away from Roermond.

2. Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, 197.<sup>74</sup>

This manuscript contains two works against Mohammed. The first of these, 1r-193v, comprises four books, 1) *contra legem machometi* (1r); 2) *tractatus contra errores Alchoranum* (30r); 3) *contra doctrinam machometi* (116v); 4)

<sup>67</sup>*Opera omnia* XIV, pp. 465-537.

<sup>68</sup>*Opera omnia* V, pp. 45-80.

<sup>69</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXVI, pp. 525-674 (3 books).

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 231-442 (4 books).

<sup>71</sup>Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, IV (New York, 1934), pp. 291-94.

<sup>72</sup>I wish to acknowledge the kind help of Rektor Dr. Otto Hunold, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, Bernkastel-Kues.

<sup>73</sup>J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>74</sup>J. Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung*, pp. 106-107.

*de ewangelicis documentis* (163r). Neither the manuscript nor the modern cataloguer identifies the author. However, Cusanus in a note on 108v (book 2) remarks that the work seems to agree with that of "dionysius cartusiensis", excepting that the second book in this manuscript seems to be lacking four chapters "in libro meo". The work is indeed a copy of Denys' *Contra perfidiam Mahometi*. The text of the second book, despite Cusanus' remark, has forty-eight chapters, just as the printed editions. Cusanus' note suggests that he owned another manuscript of the work, perhaps even an autograph.

3. Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, 263.<sup>75</sup>

This single manuscript in one hand contains a treatise *de potestate papae et concilii generalis* (1r-46r) with a "supplement" (46r-63r). Neither the manuscript nor the modern cataloguer identifies an author. The text proves to be a copy of the first two books of Denys' *De auctoritate summi pontificis et generalis concilii libri tres*. The unnumbered forepage recto bears the following inscription in Cusanus' hand: "Hunc librum donavit mihi magister gotfridus habitans in collegio s. Jeronimi colonie 1445 in die s. florini". Interestingly, nothing in this manuscript indicates that Cusanus knew this to be Denys' work.

The modern catalogue of Cusanus' library wrongly assigns another work to Denys, the *cordiale tractans de quatuor novissimis*, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, 64, 169r-189v.<sup>76</sup> This is a common misattribution to Denys of a work composed in the fourteenth century, widely circulated thereafter, by Gerard van Vliederveen. This confusion seems to have arisen because the title of Gerard's work conflates the titles of two of Denys' works, the *Cordiale sive praecordiale* and *De quatuor hominis novissimi*.<sup>77</sup>

Dietrich Loher had gathered 141 autograph manuscripts for his printed edition.<sup>78</sup> These manuscripts, however, did not remain in Cologne. Petreius in 1609 noted that they had been returned to the monastery in Roermond.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72 n. 16.

<sup>77</sup>*Cordiale sive praecordiale*, *Opera omnia* XL, pp. 445-65; *De Quatuor hominis novissimis*, *Opera omnia* XLI, pp. 489-594. See B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits Latin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I (Paris, 1890) p. 344; S. Axters, *Bibliotheca Dominicana Neerlandica Manuscripta 1224-1500*, pp. 290-91; J. A. Mulders, "Gérard de Vliederveen", *Dict. de spir.*, VI (Paris, 1967), 283.

<sup>78</sup>Lucidius Verschueren, *De Bibliotheek der Kartuziers van Roermond* (Tilburg, 1941), p. 68, n. 63.

<sup>79</sup>Petreius, pp. 50-51: *Quippe cum omnia propria conscripserit manu, sicuti eandem etiamnum videre licet ex ingentibus aliquot voluminibus, Ruramundam hinc (cum aliquin nobis iure typographico debebantur) paucis ante annis asportatis.*

Petreius' testimony, at least in regard to the manuscripts' departure from Cologne, seems reliable. No autograph manuscripts of Denys' works exist in Cologne today. Moreover, no autographs are recorded in the catalogue of St. Barbara's library compiled in the late seventeenth century;<sup>80</sup> nor do the studies of modern scholars indicate that any remained in Cologne.<sup>81</sup> Finally, a manuscript now in Cologne, which may have been copied directly from an autograph, likewise seems to confirm Petreius' testimony. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln GBf<sup>o</sup> 8<sup>82</sup> contains a copy of Denys' commentary on Climacus' *Scala paradisi* (2r<sup>a</sup>-186r<sup>b</sup>), made at the convent of the Croziers<sup>83</sup> in Cologne in 1482 (188r<sup>b</sup>). An inscription on the top of 2r in a seventeenth-century hand

<sup>80</sup>See the *Katalogen der Kölner Kartäuserbibliothek* in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln. Although the large register indicates no autographs, it does give signature-entries for several manuscripts of Denys' works. Some of these are to be found in the Historisches Archiv today, sometimes rebound and separated from other works with which they were originally bound.

<sup>81</sup>Richard Bruce Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1974); Joachim Vennebusch, "Die Bücher der Kölner Kartäuser. Zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek (1431-1794)", in *Die Kartause in Köln (Festschrift der Evangelischen Gemeinde Köln zum 50. Jahrestag der Einweihung der Kartäuserkirche in Köln zur Evangelischen Kirche am 16. September 1978)*, pp. 77-104.

<sup>82</sup>Joachim Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln I: Die Folio-Handschriften der Gymnasialbibliothek* (Cologne-Vienna, 1976), pp. 18-20. I wish to thank Dr. Vennebusch and Dr. Manfred Groten of the Historisches Archiv for their generous assistance. I wish also to thank Dr. Roland Hissette and Dr. Kurt Rössler for their kind help in Cologne.

<sup>83</sup>The Croziers in the Rhineland were frequent copiers of Denys' works. See also Historisches Archiv GB4<sup>o</sup> 257, 135r<sup>a</sup>-228v<sup>b</sup> "Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram et perfectam dei et proximi dilectionem" (Denys' *De perfectione caritatis dialogus*, *Opera omnia* XLI, pp. 347-417). This manuscript was copied at the house of the Croziers in Cologne (Ir); see Joachim Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln II: Die Quart-Handschriften der Gymnasialbibliothek* (Cologne-Vienna, 1980), pp. 262-63. Historisches Archiv GB4<sup>o</sup> 182, 109r-137v (Denys' *Speculum de conversione peccatorum*, *Opera omnia* XXXIX, pp. 395-420). See forepage verso, "Pertinet cruciferis in colonia", and Vennebusch, II, pp. 203-205. Another manuscript copied by the Croziers in Cologne is to be found in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4931, 1r-58v, *De symonia vitanda* (*Opera omnia* XXXIX, pp. 283-329). See Ir. The manuscript, 61r-83v, also contains a treatise *contra* Denys' work. See, *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, III (Vienna, 1869), pp. 424-25. A number of manuscripts containing works by Denys, made by the Croziers, are to be found today in Liège. See Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, 358C, 141r-153v<sup>b</sup> (Denys' *exhortatorium noviciorum*, *Opera omnia* XXXVIII, pp. 523-45). This manuscript is discussed in J.-P. Depaire, *Le Bibliothèque des Crosiers de Huy, de Liège et de Namur*, II (1969-70), p. 62. Depaire, II, pp. 126, 139-40, 143-44, 232, cites other manuscripts containing works by Denys and copied by the Croziers now in Liège, Grand Séminaire. As yet, I have not been able to gain access to this collection. Generally, the Crozier books I have seen are workmanlike, middle-grade manuscripts.

states that "Commentaria hec conscripta sunt et elucubrata per D. Dionysium Carthusianum, monachum Carthusiae Ruremundensis ubi et huius originalia as-servantur". The autograph of this work, we shall remember, was destroyed by fire at Louvain in 1914.

Hoping to find more autographs, and on Petreius' word having surmised that the manuscripts were returned to Roermond from Cologne, Ingold turned his attention to the history of the library of the Charterhouse in Roermond. Evidently none of the manuscripts were destroyed in a fire of 1554, for over one-hundred years later in 1665 the Bollandists noted that 150 volumes of Denys' works, "ab illo composita ac propria mana exarata", were to be found in the Roermond Charterhouse. Shortly after this testimony, in the same year, the Charterhouse in Roermond again suffered fire; but since at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Carthusians stated their intent to make a new edition of Denys' works from the Roermond manuscripts, and since they did not allude to any destruction of them, Ingold presumed that most of the manuscripts were still extant in Roermond at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

From that time until 1783 Ingold lost sight of Denys' manuscripts, a significant lacuna as we shall see. From 1783 Ingold was able to draw an outline of the subsequent history of the Roermond manuscripts. In 1783, the Emperor Joseph II suppressed many religious houses in the Low Countries, and the libraries of most of these houses, including the Charterhouse of Roermond, were apprehended. At first, the library of the Charterhouse was entrusted to the Bollandists, who made a list of its holdings. This list shows twenty-five manuscripts containing works by Denys.<sup>85</sup> In 1785, at least some of the holdings were sold to the *Chambre Héraldique* in Brussels, which was attempting to rebuild its library recently destroyed by fire. The Roermond manuscripts seemingly stayed in the library of the *Chambre Héraldique* until 1794, when the French invaded the Low Countries. At that time, Baron M. Beydaels de Zittaert was commissioned to transport the manuscripts of the library out of Brussels to safety. Following a route through Düsseldorf, Würzburg, Ratisbon, and Linz, Beydaels carried the manuscripts to Vienna. After several years of negotiations, Beydaels turned over the manuscripts he had transported to the Emperor's agents. From a vague list made by Beydaels, Ingold guessed that Beydaels had transported fifteen manuscripts of Denys' works, and he concluded that all of these entered the private library of the Emperor. Although he did not investigate manuscripts in Vienna, Ingold judged that two manuscripts listed in

<sup>84</sup>Ingold, *A la recherche* I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>85</sup>This list is published in Lucidius Verschueren, *De Bibliotheek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, pp. 41-64.

Becker's catalogue of the Emperor's private library were manuscripts of Denys' works from Roermond.<sup>86</sup> At this point Ingold's researches of Denys' manuscripts ended.

In a study of the library of the Carthusians in Roermond published in 1941, Lucidius Verschuieren resumed and refined Ingold's research. Like Ingold, Verschuieren did not find documented evidence that the Roermond manuscripts had been destroyed in the fires of 1554 and 1665. Verschuieren also determined that although the Charterhouse of Roermond was plundered by the Protestants in 1572, and books in the library were scattered and damaged, the monks later were able to regather and repair the manuscripts of Denys' works.<sup>87</sup> Further, Verschuieren published the list made by the Bollandists in 1783, and found modern locations of some of the manuscripts. Verschuieren identified two of the manuscripts on the list, containing works by Denys, as those discovered by Ingold at Louvain and destroyed in 1914. Verschuieren thought that another manuscript on the Roermond list, an autograph of Denys' *Sermones de tempore cum expositione Evangeliorum et Epistolarum Dominicalium*, was also destroyed at Louvain in 1914.<sup>88</sup> By means of catalogues, Verschuieren located four other manuscripts of Denys' works, recorded on the list of 1783, in Vienna. Three of these he judged to be autographs: Becker 9393, containing *Expositiones litterales et mysticae super Genesim et Exodum* (signaled by Ingold); Becker 9714 (sic), containing several small treatises, some of them autographs (signaled correctly by Ingold as Becker 7914); Wien, ÖNB 14809 (Suppl. 2632), containing the *Translatio et explicatio Cassiani de Collationibus Patrum*.<sup>89</sup>

More recently, in 1967, E. Persoons made a survey of manuscripts from the suppressed religious houses in the Low Countries now located in Vienna. To the three supposed autographs from Roermond Persoons added a fourth, Wien, ÖNB SN 12798 (Becker 9387), which he labeled "Dionysius Rikel, Opera", and which he matched rather broadly with items 3-12 on the list published by Verschuieren.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Ingold, *A la recherche* III, pp. 3-6; *Bulletin critique*, 351-55. M. Becker, *Die Sammlungen der vereinten Familien und Privat Bibliotheken Sr. M. Der Kaisers*, I (Vienna, 1873), 7914, 9393.

<sup>87</sup>Verschuieren, *De Bibliothek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 7 (Louvain 213), n. 13 (Louvain 233). Verschuieren, pp. 43-44, n. 17, matched the manuscript of the *Sermones de tempore* with another destroyed in the fire at Louvain, De Moreau, p. 67, n. 66 (Louvain 127). Ingold, however, had seen this manuscript, and said that it came from the Charterhouse near 's Hertogenbosch. See *A la recherche* II, p. 9.

<sup>89</sup>Verschuieren, *De Bibliothek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, pp. 41-43, nn. 1, 19, 21.

<sup>90</sup>E. Persoons, "Handschriften uit Kloosters in de Nederlanden in Wenan", *Archief - en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, XXXVIII (1967), 84-86, nn. 169, 199, 180, 182. Persoons matches 179 (ÖNB SN 12798) with Verschuieren, p. 42, nn. 3-12.



All of these items, commentaries on Scripture, were reputed by Verschueren to be autographs. Strangely Persoons did not remark that Verschueren had already identified one of these (item 7) with a manuscript burned at Louvain.

On the basis of the findings of Ingold, Verschueren, and Persoons, one should have expected to find four autograph manuscripts of Denys' works in Vienna. However, only two of the manuscripts cited contain autographs.

1. Wien, ÖNB 14089 (suppl 2632).<sup>91</sup> Verschueren n. 19.

This manuscript contains one work, 1r-145r, *D. Dionysii Carthusiani in translationem suam opusculorum Ioannis Cassiani presbyteri* (1r); *D. Dionysii Carthusiani in translationum. . . Collationum patrum* (43r). (These rubrics are a different hand from the text). The script of the text, rubrication, paper, etc. show this to be an autograph, as Verschueren suspected. Further, an inscription, partially effaced, on a parchment leaf pasted to the inside front cover reads: "liber Carthusiensis in Ruremunda q(ui) continet in eo Translacio Liborum Cassiani ad stilum facillimum (?) deuoti p(atris) dyonisi Carthusiensis in Ruremunda manu sua propria. . .".

2. Wien, ÖNB SN 12836 (Becker 7914). Verschueren n. 21.

This book binds together several separate manuscripts written by at least five different hands. The contents of the book match those cited by Verschueren in the Roermond list. Verschueren had already determined that the *Devota meditatio super psalum In te domini speravi* (75r-78r) was a work by Savonarola, not Denys, and the *Oratio devota abbatis Efferem super Psalmum Misere mei* (78v-81v) was not Denys' either. Neither is the *speculum peccatorum* (71v-74v), which an annotation to the incipit identifies as a work of Augustine (71v), and the explicit as "editus a beato iheronimo secundum quosdam vel a beato augustino secundum alios" (74v).<sup>92</sup> The manuscript contains another work entitled *Speculum peccatorum* (65r-71r); however, notes in the manuscript identify the work as Denys' *Speculum amatorum mundi*. Indeed, this work corresponds to the text of that name on Dietrich Loher's list and printed in the modern edition.<sup>93</sup> Surprisingly, however, there is evidence that this attribution is spurious (See Appendix). The manuscript contains other works of Denys about which there is no doubt: *De vita laudabili coniugalium* (2r-56r);<sup>94</sup> *inflammatorium divini amoris* (82r-102v);<sup>95</sup> *de vita et regimine presulum* (104r-

<sup>91</sup> *Tabulae codicum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina*, VIII (Vienna, 1893), p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Incipit: "Quoniam karissimi in via huius seculi fugientis sumus dies nostri sicut umbra. . ."

<sup>93</sup> *Opera omnia* XXXIX, pp. 485-93.

<sup>94</sup> *De laudabili vita conjugatorum*, *Opera omnia* XXXVIII, pp. 55-117.

<sup>95</sup> *Opera omnia* XLI, pp. 315-44.

144r);<sup>96</sup> *de vita militari* (145r-156v);<sup>97</sup> *De vita laudabili viduarum* (157r-180v);<sup>98</sup> *De custodia cordis* (181r-210r).<sup>99</sup> Now, different scribes wrote 2r-81v, 82r-102v, 104r-144r, 157r-180v, and 181r-210r. The manuscript 157r-180v bears the colophon "Scriptus per manus (sic) Ade rolans seu welwis presbiteri Anno domini 1459 sexto kalendis octobris In oppido Ruremundis" (180v). This scribe frequently copied Denys' works.<sup>100</sup> 104r-144r is a separate manuscript, comprising three quires of twelve folia, and one quire of six folia. 144v is blank; the last leaf of the quire has been torn out. The manuscript containing the *de vita et regimine presulum* is the only one in the whole book written by Denys himself.

3. Wien, ÖNB SN 12806 (Becker 9393). Verschueren n. 1.

As Verschueren says, this manuscript contains Denys' commentaries *in librum genesis* (7r<sup>a</sup>-235v<sup>b</sup>).<sup>101</sup> But the manuscript is not written in Denys' hand. In fact, it is not from Roermond. On the parchment forepage (Ir) one may discern an inscription which has been erased. Under ultraviolet light the inscription reads: "Pertinet Carthusien. domus Sop(h)ie prope busc(û)duc(e)". In other words, this manuscript was copied at the Charterhouse of S. Sophia in Vught, near 's Hertogenbosch, where Denys was the first rector.<sup>102</sup> The forepage Iv bears an old number 18.B.8; on the spine of the binding one finds the numbers 5 M s.s., 28.

4. Wien, ÖNB SN 12798 (Becker 9387). Persoons n. 179.

This work, which Persoons said contained scriptural commentaries by Denys, in fact contains no works by Denys at all. Instead it contains copies of four

<sup>96</sup> *Opera omnia* XXXVII, pp. 7-57.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 565-83.

<sup>98</sup> *De laudabili vita viduarum*, *Opera omnia* XXXVIII, pp. 119-42.

<sup>99</sup> *De perfectu spirituali et custodia cordis*, *Opera omnia* XL, pp. 467-502.

<sup>100</sup> See Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 2670-2682, 1r-116v ". . . scriptus per manus Ade rolants seu weluis presbyteri anno domino 1459" (116v); 117r-125v (1548); 149r-174r, "Scriptus per manus Ade Dweluwiers seu weluis anno domini 1454ta" (174r), 189r-218v (1455); 218v-227v, "Scriptus per manus Ade Dwelueres presbiteri Welwis Anno domini 1455" (227v). See F. Masai and M. Wittek, *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*, III (Brussels-Ghent, 1974), nn. 296, 343, 375. See note 140 below.

<sup>101</sup> *Opera omnia* I-II.

<sup>102</sup> See Lucidius Verschueren, "De Bibliotheek-Catalog der Kartuize S. Sophia te Vught", *Historisch Tijdschrift*, XIV (1935), 372-402; XV (1936), 7-58. Verschueren, of course, does not cite this manuscript in the articles, since he had already matched it with the first item on the Roermond list. The site of the old monastery in Vught is 72-74 Taalstraat, where a villa now stands. The ancient gate, restored, bears the inscription A<sup>o</sup> 1471- Domus Sophia - A<sup>o</sup> 1848 Sophiaberg. I wish to thank Mr. William van Hoff and Mme. Francine Cattle van Stratum for helping me to locate the site.

old Testament books, Tobie, Iudith, Ester, Iob. Nor does the manuscript correspond to any of the Roermond books on Verschueren's list.

Although there are other known manuscripts of Denys' works in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,<sup>103</sup> none of them is an autograph. Thus, where one had thought to find at least four autographs in Vienna, there are only two, 14089 and *SN* 12836.

These findings in Vienna are provoking. At each point of the history of the Roermond manuscripts sketched by Ingold and Verschueren the number of Denys' manuscripts diminishes. There is a great discrepancy between the 150 volumes mentioned by the Bollandists in 1665 and the twenty-five manuscripts noted by their successors in 1783. The first figure may be unreliable. But the Rooklooster *registrum* (Wien, ÖNB, *SN* 12694) has otherwise proved to be reliable, and its compiler testifies to 146 titles of Denys' works, "omnis in ruremunda", in the beginning of the sixteenth century (106r-107v). Verschueren has extracted from this list eighty-five titles which do not appear on the list of 1783.<sup>104</sup> If these were not destroyed by fire or plundering, where did they go before 1783? Did all of the manuscripts apprehended in 1783 go to the *Chambre Héraldique* in 1785, or were some sold or dispersed to other collectors? If, as Ingold opines, Beydaels transported fifteen manuscripts of Denys' works, what happened to the ten more on the list of 1783? Were some lost or dispersed during the journey from Brussels to Vienna? Did Beydaels negotiate to keep some from entering the Emperor's private library?<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup>Wien, ÖNB, 13900 (suppl. 2678), as Verschueren thought (*De Bibliothek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, p. 45, n. 25), is a manuscript from Roermond, but not an autograph. 1r-189r was copied "per me Johannem heÿsen de grama fratrem ordinis carthusiensis in ruremunda" in 1483 (189r; 181r, 28r). The manuscript contains two works by Denys, *De gravitate et enormitate peccati* (1r-28r), and "Tractatus de venerabili sacramento fratris dyonisii", 192r-235r (in a second hand). The *excepciones de sentenciis quorundam patrum catholicorum et gentilium*, 30r-181r, is not, as Verschueren thought it might be, Denys' *De exemplis et documentis authenticis*, but simply a *florelegia* of various fathers on different vices and virtues. See *Tabulae codicum*, VII (Vienna, 1875), p. 281.

We are able to identify another Roermond manuscript that contains a work by Denys. Wien, ÖNB 15228 (Suppl. 2663), 68ra-94vb, are excerpts "Ex illuminatorio saluatoris sciencie" (see *Opera omnia* XXXIX, pp. 7-242). On 2r is a small fragment from Denys' commentary on Climacus. Verschueren, pp. 55-56, n. 139, did not cite these pieces.

I wish to thank Dr. Eva Irblich of the ÖNB for her generous assistance to my research there.

<sup>104</sup>*De Bibliothek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, pp. 64-68.

<sup>105</sup>Beydaels' affairs have been well-scrutinized by students of manuscripts from the Low Countries. See, for example, Jean Deschamps, *Medieval Manuscripts from the Low Countries in Facsimile I: The Vienna Manuscripts of the 'Second Part' of the 'Spiegel Historiae'* (Copenhagen, 1971), pp. 79-84. Nevertheless, in regard to Denys' manuscripts at least, the documents of Beydaels' journey and negotiations will again need to be studied.

In any case, only four Roermond manuscripts of Denys' works can be found in Vienna, where they were supposed to be; only two of these contain autographs, and only one of them is in the Emperor's private collection. It seems clear that the Roermond manuscripts were dispersed in ways undetected by Ingold and Verschueren. Further, I think we must reconsider Ingold's surmise that the manuscripts at Louvain had wended their way back from Austria. Possibly, they took another route from the Charterhouse in Roermond; unfortunately, we shall probably never know how they arrived in Louvain.

At least not every door is closed, for an autograph manuscript has come to light in Belgium.

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, II. 1037.

This is a small manuscript, 14.0 x 10.5 cm, 2 + 88 folia. An inscription on Br states: "Liber Carthusiensis in Ruremunda. . . Liber de laudibus superlaudabilis dei venerabilis et devoti patris dyonisii Carthusiensis in Ruremunda manua sua".<sup>106</sup> Indeed, the manuscript was written by Denys himself, as the script, rubication, etc. matches the other known autographs. The manuscript contains only a single work, Denys' paradoxical encomium of God through divine names. However, if this manuscript corresponds with one of the two possible Roermond manuscripts listed by Verschueren,<sup>107</sup> this work may have been bound at one time with two others, Denys' *Horae de Sancta Trinitate et Deitate*, and his *Horae devotissimae de Passione Domini*.<sup>108</sup> The recent provenance of the manuscript may prove to be revealing. On Br, one finds the familiar stamp and initials of Sir Thomas Phillipps (Sir T.P.) with the number 4066. The manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale from the Phillipps collection in 1888.<sup>109</sup>

We intend, of course, to pursue this thread through the maze of the Phillipps collection. For now we are able to verify only four autograph manuscripts of Denys' works:

1. Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., II. 1037.
2. Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital, 12, 75r-114v.
3. Wien, ÖNB, 14089 (suppl. 2632).
4. Wien, ÖNB, SN 12836, 104r-144r.

<sup>106</sup> *Opera omnia* XXXIV, pp. 410-536.

<sup>107</sup> *De Bibliothek der Kartuziers van Roermond*, p. 45 n. 23, but see also n. 24.

<sup>108</sup> *De laudibus sanctissimae et individuae Trinitatis, per modum horarum*, and *Horae de passione domini*, *Opera omnia* XXXV, pp. 133-53, 311-26.

<sup>109</sup> The acquisition information is from the card catalogue of the Bib. Roy.

III. *Lost and Unknown Works*

A number of titles on the lists of Dietrich Loher and Petreius are said to be lost.<sup>110</sup> Denys' modern editors made some efforts to recover lost works. They found a few which Loher had not found, and printed them either in a volume of *opera inedita*,<sup>111</sup> or inserted them in other volumes according to their overall arrangement of Denys' works.

Among Denys' *opera inedita* the modern editors printed two sermons, entitled *Sermo ad religiosos (de nomine monachi)* and *Sermo alter ad religiosos (de temerario iudicio vitanda)*, which they discovered in a manuscript, Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 2231-2245.<sup>112</sup> This manuscript may be consulted today, and its evidence corroborates the editors' judgment.

Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 2231-2245.

This manuscript, written by at least five scribes, is a monastic miscellany dating from the fifteenth century. The table of contents (1r) bears the inscription "Liber Carthusiensis in Ruremunda". Two ancient numbers are pasted on the forepage recto, ch. 69 Rur. and (?) 129. The two sermons printed by the modern editors are found in folia 105r-110v. The first (105r-108r) has the title *Sermo utilissimus ad religiosos de nomine monachi. inc. "Videns ihesus ciuitatem iherusalem fleuit super eam* Luce 19 Carissimi fratres cur dominus ihesus saluator noster ingrati ac perfidam urbem defleuit aduertamus ne et nos simus similiter deplorandi et inter illos reprobos computandi" (105r). A note in the left margin of 105r, written in different hand than the text, states "scriptus per venerabilem patrem fratrem dyonisium". The second sermon (108r-110v) has no title, but begins with the text "*Pharizeus stans hec apud se orabat deus gracias ago tibi non sum ceteri homini* luce 18. Carissimi fratres prebet michi causam atque materiam ut aliquid loquar vos de temerario iudicio pharizeus iste". In the right margin of 108r a note by the annotator reads "Ab eodem dyonisio carth".

Having come to this manuscript, the editors could have uncovered more. Folia 98r-105r contain another sermon, entitled *Sermo in festo omnium sanctorum de octo beatitudinibus inc. "Videns ihesus turbas ascendit in montem (?) mathei V* Carissimi fratres legitur quod alexandro nato pater eius putat (?) philipus rex macedonum *aristoteli* scripsit natus est michi filius". A note in

<sup>110</sup>Not counting letters, *solutiones*, etc., nearly thirty works are missing, according to these lists.

<sup>111</sup>*Opera omnia* XLII.

<sup>112</sup>Printed in *Opera omnia* XLI, pp. 627-37. See Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, III, n. 2198.

the right margin of 98r written by the annotator of 105r is effaced but readable under ultraviolet light. It states "fratrem p<sup>o</sup> dy(ii) Carth". Although the erasure of the note is suspicious, and the abbreviation has too many possibilities, this attribution to Denys would seem to have as much authority as the other two. This sermon is not to be found in the printed editions. Folia 110v-113v contains a "*Capitulum utilissimum de modo iudicandi et corripiendi pro religiosis* Tercio de vita domini ihesu christi volumine frater ludolphus ordinis nostri" (110v). This work corresponds to the work listed in the table of contents (1r), *Capitulum utilissimum de modo corripiendi et iudicandi religiosi ex ludolpho Carthusiensis*. The subject *de modo iudicandi et corripiendi* was more than once treated by Denys. It is the subject of a sermon for religious for the third Sunday of Advent;<sup>113</sup> it is likewise the subject of one of Denys' *solutiones*.<sup>114</sup> The excerpts in the manuscript, drawn from Ludolph of Saxony, are of course not either Denys' sermon or *solutio*. The latter is a fully developed treatise in twenty articles. Curiously, however, both the excerpts in the manuscript and the treatise have the same explicit, with Denys' identifying signature: "et in iudicando ac corripiendo non offendamus ut ipse finaliter cum gloria suscipere nos dignetur qui est super omnia deus sublimis et benedictus Amen deo gracias" (113v). A note by the annotator in the left margin of 110v may answer the riddle: "compilatum per fratrem dyonisium". Again, Denys seems to have invented his matter in the books of other authors, and stored it topically for use on various occasions. This seems a reasonable practice, for Denys says in his *solutio* that the question concerning the right manner of judging and correcting is proposed to him frequently.<sup>115</sup>

Besides the two sermons for religious the modern editors printed some more ample treatises not printed before, which they presumed to match titles on the various lists. One of these, entitled *De passione domini salvatoris dialogus*,<sup>116</sup> they judged to correspond to a work *non inventum* on Dietrich Loher's list, *meditationes sive de modo recordationis dominicae passionis*. The editors discovered this work in a Carthusian manuscript from the sixteenth century, "No. 41, bibliothecae Argentinensis seminarii". I have not yet been able to seek this manuscript, at the time of the edition in Strasbourg. How-

<sup>113</sup> *Sermo primus, Dominica III Adventus, Opera omnia* XXIX, pp. 69-70.

<sup>114</sup> *Opera omnia* XL, pp. 7-49.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. Concerning the subject of his treatise, Denys says: Et quoniam materia ista latissima est atque difficilis ac salubris, eam dilatare intendo; et ea quae pro utraque quaestiones solutionem procedam (p. 9).

<sup>116</sup> *Opera omnia* XXXV, pp. 263-309. See note, p. 269.

ever, the text as printed meets Denys' criteria for authenticity, since it is arranged *per articulos* and concludes with the identifying *exordium*.

Another treatise printed by the modern editors for the first time is less certain. In 1914, D. D. Waffelaert in Bruges discovered a small work "inter alia variorum Auctorum scripta, in codice quodam manuscripto bibliothecae nostrae episcopalis". Although the manuscript did not indicate an author for the work, although the work had no distinct title, and although the identifying *exordium* was absent, Waffelaert on the basis of the treatise's general subject matter and arrangement in "paragraphs or articles" concluded *sine ulla dubitatione* that the treatise was composed by Denys.<sup>117</sup> Waffelaert matched the treatise with the *De triplici via* said to be *non inventum* by Dietrich Loher. The modern editors accepted Waffelaert's conclusion, and reprinted the work under that title among Denys' *opera inedita*.

Waffelaert's vague notice did not make it easy to find the manuscript. However, through the kind help of others,<sup>118</sup> I have been able to locate it.

Brugge, Groot Seminarie, 405.

This is a messy book, binding together many different manuscripts. The book contains a miscellany of works, and seems to be of Carthusian provenance. The parchment first recto bears the inscription "Liber Carthusium (sic) prope dulmaniam"; on 109r one finds a *registrum* (of books) "missum de Colonia uni Ruremundi carthusie et ille ultimus misit fratribus dauentriensis". The treatise printed in the modern edition is found on folia 134r-141v (140v blank). This is a separate manuscript in one quire of ten folia, written in a low-grade, fifteenth-century script, nearly cursive. The manuscript does not indicate an author; the title is discursive: *Quomodo cristo competat racio triplicis vie* (134r). Unlike almost all manuscripts of Denys' works, the divisions of the text (the word "articles" does not appear) are not clearly rubricated. In short, there is nothing in the manuscript that strengthens Waffelaert's weak arguments. Surely, the subject of the threefold way is not distinctive to Denys in the late Middle Ages. This work must be considered dubious.

The modern editors noted that a sermon of Denys for the feast of St. Francis had served as a preface to a conference he had written for a General

<sup>117</sup>D. D. Waffelaert, "Dionysii Carthusiani opella inedita: *De triplici via*", *Collationes Brugensis*, XIX (1914), 81-97, 153-62. The text is reprinted in *Opera omnia* XLII, pp. 475-85, and Waffelaert's conclusions are quoted there.

<sup>118</sup>I wish to thank Dr. Claudine Lemaire of the Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles, and Kan. Paul Declerck, President, Grootseminarie te Brugge, for helping me to identify this manuscript. Kan. Declerck died on 17 December, 1981.

Chapter of the Franciscans held at Mechelen in 1464.<sup>119</sup> Denys himself mentions this "Collacio missa capitulo generali fratrum minorum de observancia", and Dietrich Loher marks the work as lost.<sup>120</sup> The modern editors, however, were alerted to a codex "ms. 9068, 12<sup>o</sup>, bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, in quo reperiuntur fragmenta hujus Collationis".<sup>121</sup> I have not yet been able to investigate this manuscript in Munich. Moreover, another manuscript pertaining to the Chapter of the Franciscans in Mechelen in 1464 has come to light. A recent notice cites a manuscript in Washington, D.C., Holy Name College, 27 (sig. Wa 1), which among other things contains "une lettre de Denys de Ryckel à Jean Brugman à l'occasion du chapitre général tenu à Malines en 1464".<sup>122</sup> This may well be one of Denys' many lost letters, or even the conference itself. I hope to determine this soon.

Most of the works cited as lost by Dietrich Loher and Petreius have never been found. One hopes that some of these will reappear, since there are many interesting titles among them. Perhaps also authentic works never mentioned by Denys, or never before attributed to him by scholars, will be discovered. Indeed, such a work, included in a manuscript of musical treatises once owned by Raphael De Marcatellis, has recently been attributed to Denys.

Gent, Rijksuniversiteit, 70.<sup>123</sup>

This is a beautiful parchment manuscript, including many elaborate diagrams among the musical treatises it contains. The manuscript has been well-described by Albert Derolez. Derolez says that one of the items in this manuscript, a *De arte musicali* (77v-123v), is "one of the numerous treatises by the well-known Flemish encyclopaedic scholar Denis the Carthusian". This attribution is puzzling, since no such work is referred to by Denys or his later editors. However, one should not judge out of hand that Denys did not compose a *De arte musicali*. He did attempt to comprehend the liberal arts, and the Pythagorean and Boethian lore that characterizes the first part of the treatise

<sup>119</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXII, pp. 465-69.

<sup>120</sup>See Teeuwen, p. 108; *Opera omnia* I, p. LXVIII, n. 170.

<sup>121</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXII, p. 472. This would seem to be München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 9068. See C. Halm and G. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II, pt. 1 (Munich, 1874), p. 80.

<sup>122</sup>See the notice in "Bulletin codicologique", *Scriptorium*, XXV (1971), 333, n. 727, for Esser (Kajetan). "Ein bedeutsames Fragment der 'Regula non bullata' des hl. Franziskus", *Franziskanische Studien*, LII (1970), 92-119.

<sup>123</sup>This manuscript is described in Albert Derolez, *The Library of Raphael De Marcatellis, Abbot of St. Bavon's, Ghent, 1437-1508* (Ghent, 1979), pp. 227-34. I wish to thank Dr. Derolez for his assistance.



was within his ken. Further, Denys seems to have had a practical musical bent, and he did write commentaries on liturgical hymns and a treatise *De modo psallendi*.<sup>124</sup> None the less, the work is wholly unknown, and no author for the treatise is named in the manuscript.

Derolez was not the first to assign this treatise to Denys. He based his attribution on a notice made by Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre.<sup>125</sup> They in turn were directed by the attribution made in the nineteenth century by Baron Jules De St. Genois:

ce traité est divisé en deux parties: l'une *theoretica*, l'autre *practica*. D'après le prologue, il paraîtrait que Denis Lewis de Ryckel, au pays de Liège, chartreux à Ruremonde, serait l'auteur de ce traite ou tout au moins du prologue susmentionné.<sup>126</sup>

De St. Genois' guess was not unintelligent. He seems to have based his opinion on a text from the prologue which immediately follows a passage concerning the praise of the angelic hierarchies:

Quod et ego loquens attestor: pro parte sacri ordinis nostri Cartusienensis experientia doctus quia dum nos per musicam velut in cantico novo: quidem sancti patres nostri nos docuerunt typo videlicet et exemplo quatuor animalium que stant ante thronum dei et agni: / et dant gloriam in conspectu viginti quatuor seniorum requiem non habentia: pro modulo nostro benedictum deum in donis suis: et sanctum in omnibus operibus suis: omnium equidem visibilium et invisibilium conditorem et plasmatorem mirabilem quantum fragilitas humana suppetat: die ac nocte benedicamus: laudamus et glorificamus et divinum officium per quod ad gloriam sempiternam vocamur et ducimur (79r<sup>b</sup>/79v<sup>a</sup>).

Interestingly, in a treatise entitled *Contra destabilem cordis inordinationem*, treating the proper "Laus Cartusiana id est, qualiter bonus cartusianus. . . maxime in septem horis canonicis, Deum devota, stabili attentaque mente laudare debet", Denys too considers the music of the angelic hierarchies as an exemplar of monastic praise.<sup>127</sup> The prologue of the *De arte musicali* has an *exordium* which differs from Denys' customary one:

et finaliter nos et animas nostras quantum possumus in holocaustum offerimus: ei qui potens est: depositum nostrum servare in extreme retributionis diem. Justus iudex / Ihesus cristus dei filius dominus noster. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus. Per infinita secula Amen (79v<sup>a</sup>-b).

However, Denys does not in every instance conclude his work with the usual

<sup>124</sup> *Expositio hymnorum aliquot ecclesiasticorum*, *Opera omnia* XXXV, pp. 9-132; *Tractatulus de modo devote psallendi*, *Opera omnia* VI, pp. 695-708.

<sup>125</sup> Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 699.

<sup>126</sup> J. De St. Genois, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville et de l'Université de Gand* (Ghent, 1849-52), pp. 300-301, n. 421.

<sup>127</sup> *Opera omnia* XL, pp. 190-259; see p. 194, and a. 2-11, pp. 197-208.

formula:

Nunc ergo simul laudemus, adoremus, benedicamus, et totis viribus veneramur Deum verum et vivum. . . quoniam ipsum solum decet omnis laus, hymnus et gloria, honor, magnitudo et latria. Cujus nomen sit benedictum per saecula infinita.<sup>128</sup>

These formulae, of course, are commonplace, but the possibility that the *De arte musicali* - or at least its prologue - is by Denys cannot be excluded simply because it wants the usual *exordium*. None the less, the internal evidence of this text is not strong enough to overcome the lack of external evidence, or to justify the attribution of a new work to Denys of Ryckel.

#### IV. *Manuscript Copies of Denys' Works*

I shall not attempt here to say something about every manuscript copy of works by Denys I have seen. Rather, I shall remark general patterns of dissemination which have so far emerged, signal a few copies not identified in standard catalogues, correct some misidentifications, and indicate copies of special interest.

The two largest single collections of manuscripts of Denys' works known to me are in Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, and Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale. The Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, has catalogued twenty-three manuscripts containing works by Denys. Fourteen of these were made in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at the Charterhouse in Bloemendael near Utrecht.<sup>129</sup> Most of the others in the collection were made in religious houses in or nearby Utrecht.

The manuscripts from the Charterhouse near Utrecht are as typical in their contents as they are untypical in their production. Eight of them contain biblical commentaries, another sequences of sermons for religious, and three others devotional and practical monastic treatises.<sup>130</sup> We shall speak

<sup>128</sup> *Dialogion de fide catholica, Opera omnia XVIII*, p. 530.

<sup>129</sup> For manuscript production in this Charterhouse, see J. P. Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher in frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 1974). Since the copies of Denys' works were made late in the century, they generally fall outside of Gumbert's consideration.

<sup>130</sup> Biblical commentaries are found in 186 (III D 7), 187 (III H 9), 188 (III B 6), 190 (II C 1), 191 (III D 14), 192 (II F 2), 193 (I H 10), 194 (IV C 14). 195 (I L 19) contains sermons for religious; 197 (I L 4), 199 (IV E 2), 236 (III E 13), devotional works. In these citations, the first number is the number in the catalogue, P. A. Tiele and A. Hulshof, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Traiectinae*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1887-1909). The signature in parentheses is the current shelf-mark; but since these are subject to change, the Library prefers scholarly citation by catalogue number. I wish to thank Drs. R. Pyls and K. van der Horst for their courteous cooperation in the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. I wish also to thank Dr. Jan De Kok, ofm, for his assistance to my research in Utrecht.

of the two remaining manuscripts presently. Here we should note that not only in Utrecht but elsewhere Denys' biblical commentaries, sermons, and practical devotional works have the greater frequency among surviving manuscripts.

By far the greater number of manuscript copies of Denys' works which I have seen - and his autographs as well - are written on paper in middle to low-grade scripts. Most copies are bound in codices with works by other authors. The seven manuscripts which I have investigated from the Charterhouse near Utrecht differ markedly from this general pattern.<sup>131</sup> All are written on parchment in carefully pricked and ruled double columns, with clearly marked quires. With one exception, each is written by a single scribe in a hand which emulates a formal, gothic textual.<sup>132</sup> The manuscripts are regularly ornamented with filled and pen-flourished initials. The uniform, high-grade, and somewhat old-fashioned production of these books suggests that the Carthusians near Utrecht were attempting to make a display collection of Denys' *opera*. If this is true, it is possible that other works were copied for the collection, and that some of these might eventually appear somewhere. One wonders if the Carthusians near Utrecht borrowed autographs from their brethren in Roermond for copying; one cannot determine this easily, since none of the works in the extant Utrecht manuscripts corresponds with any in the known autographs.

Two of the manuscripts from the Charterhouse near Utrecht are especially noteworthy for their contents.

1. Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 196 (I M 4).

This manuscript contains three works by Denys: *libri de contemplatione* (5r<sup>a</sup>-125v<sup>a</sup>); *de mortificatione viuifica et reformatione interna* (127v<sup>b</sup>-157r<sup>a</sup>); and *dialogus inter ihesum et puerum* (157r<sup>a</sup>-173r<sup>a</sup>).<sup>133</sup> Although Denys' teaching on contemplation is scattered throughout his writings, the first treatise of this manuscript, as Anselm Stoelen says, offers "l'exposé systématique le plus complet que Denys nous ait donné de sa doctrine mystique".<sup>134</sup> This manuscript

<sup>131</sup>185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 196, 198.

<sup>132</sup>The scribe identifies himself in five of these manuscripts. Three are written throughout "per fratrem wermboldum de leydis", 185 (155r<sup>b</sup>), 186 (113r<sup>b</sup>-1482, 207v<sup>b</sup>-1483), 187 (205r<sup>b</sup>-1494). Another is copied "per fratrem laurentium leydis", 188 (140r<sup>a</sup>, 172r<sup>b</sup>-1480). 198 is written in two distinct scripts. Folia 1r-45r<sup>a</sup> are written in a carefully formed hybrid script; from 45r<sup>a</sup>-110r<sup>a</sup> the textual gothic of Wermboldus resumes. Wermboldus finished the manuscript in 1510 (108v<sup>b</sup>); possibly he took over for another scribe, or possibly, late in his career, he was experimenting in the early part of the manuscript with a new script. For Wermboldus, see Gumbert, pp. 39, 286, 309.

<sup>133</sup>*Opera omnia* XLI, pp. 133-289; XL, pp. 83-116; XXXVIII, pp. 185-207.

<sup>134</sup>"Denys le Chartreux", 439.

contains the only copy I have found of Denys' *De contemplatione libri tres*, so esteemed by his modern students.

2. Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 198 (IV E 7).

This manuscript, the greater part of which was copied by Wernboldus de Leydis in 1510,<sup>135</sup> contains two works: *de passionibus anime* (1r<sup>a</sup>-48r<sup>a</sup>),<sup>136</sup> and *de divina essentia* (48r<sup>a</sup>-110r<sup>a</sup>). Denys wrote two works entitled *De divina essentia*; one is lost,<sup>137</sup> and the other is alternatively titled *De lumine christianae theoriae*.<sup>138</sup> The *de divina essentia* of this manuscript, however, is neither of those, but rather a copy of Denys' treatise *De natura aeterni et veri dei*.<sup>139</sup>

This latter manuscript is significant because it is one of the seemingly few which contain properly speculative, or "philosophic", works by Denys. I have discovered only two<sup>140</sup> others. Leiden, Universiteitbibliotheek, Maatschappij der Ned. Letterkunde, 352, a Carthusian manuscript from St. Sophia in Vught,<sup>141</sup> contains one text, Denys' *dyalogion inter theologum et philosophum de fide catholica ... octo libri* (1r-191r).<sup>142</sup> Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1036/1275<sup>80</sup>, 1r-49v, contains a copy of Denys' philosophic *compendium*, the *Elementacio philosophica*. Denys' treatise is here bound with several Lullist works, including a *de arte memoria* attributed in the manuscript to a Joannes Froweyis (51r-58r), and an "*Epithoma Inventionum . . . De inventione rerum et verborum in dicendo*" (79r-105) attributed to Lull in the manuscript. This latter treatise includes several diagrams (81r, 84v, 88r, 91r). In light of what we have remarked concerning the organization of Denys' corpus, these sur-

<sup>135</sup>See note 132.

<sup>136</sup>*Opera omnia* XL, pp. 321-92.

<sup>137</sup>See *Opera omnia* I, p. LVIII, n. 64, for Loher, who gives the incipit "Omnis processio", and Petreius, p. 66, who gives none. In the list of his works (Teeuwen, p. 194), Denys distinguishes this title from the *De lumine christianae theoriae* and *De natura aeterni et veri dei*, the two other works associated with the same title. On this matter, see A. Stoelen, "De Chronologie van de Werken van Dionysius de Kartouizer. De eerste Werken en de Schriftuur-kommentaren", *Sacris erudiri*, V (1953), 363-66.

<sup>138</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXIII, pp. 233-513.

<sup>139</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXIV, pp. 7-97.

<sup>140</sup>Unless one wishes to include Denys' *De distantia perfectionis divinae et humanae*, *Opera omnia* XXXIV, pp. 255-89, in this category. This work is copied in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 2670-2682, 174r-189r, a fifteenth-century manuscript from Roermond. See Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, III, n. 2181, pp. 329-30.

<sup>141</sup>See Lucidius Verschuieren, "De Bibliotheek-Catalogoog der Kartouize S. Sophia to Vught", *Hist. Tijd.* XIV, 395-97. I wish to thank Dr. J. Biemans for his help in the Universiteitbibliotheek, Leiden.

<sup>142</sup>*Opera omnia* XVIII, pp. 269-530.

roundings to his treatise are suggestive. Denys' treatise in the manuscript, once owned by the Abbey of St. Matthias in Trier, has been the object of repeated confusion. First, although the copier of the text knew its author, a later annotator crosses out Denys' name and replaces it with "Raymundi" (1r). This annotator was as much confused by the entry in the table of contents as he was by the other works in the manuscript. There (forepage recto) he again crosses out "dionisii Carthusiensis Rurmund(ensis)" and replaces the phrase with "Raymundi". Secondly, a sixteenth-century cataloguer of the library of the Abbey of St. Matthias assigns the work to Denys, but gives it a wrong title: "Elementatio phisica Dionisii carthusiensis ruremundensis".<sup>143</sup> Finally, the modern catalogue of the Stadtbibliothek fails to attribute the work to Denys.<sup>144</sup>

The dearth of copies of Denys' philosophic works suggests that his renown was not that of a scholastic doctor, or even a speculative mystic. Of course, one must not presume too early, for manuscripts of Denys' scholastic and speculative works may turn up. In any case, the collection of manuscripts in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale<sup>145</sup> follows the same pattern as the collection in Utrecht. The card catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale cites twenty-one Latin manuscripts containing works by Denys of Ryckel. Nearly all of the works copied in them may be defined as specifically monastic, ascetical, or devotional. Some manuscripts have Carthusian provenance; several others were

<sup>143</sup>This sixteenth-century (1535) inventory is printed in Josef Monte-baur, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bibliothek der Abtei St. Eucharius-Matthias zu Trier* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931). For the "Elementatio phisica", see p. 109, n. 577. This inventory cites many titles for Denys, most of which are now lost. However, P. Petrus Becker, osb, "Notizen zur Bibliotheksgeschichte der Abtei St. Eucharius-St. Matthias", in *Armara Trevirica: Beiträge zur trierer Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Trier, 1960), pp. 37-56, has been able to trace the modern location of many works on the old inventory. I wish to thank Dom Becker for his assistance in Trier.

<sup>144</sup>See G. Kentenich, *Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, VII (Trier, 1910), p. 122, n. 1036, item 1. Similarly, Kentenich fails to attribute the *De arta via salutis et contemptu mundi* in Stadtbibliothek, 689/251<sup>80</sup>, 104-140, to Denys. See *Handschriften*, VI (1910), pp. 34-38, item 15. The *contra pluralitatem beneficiorum* in Stadtbibliothek, 681/878<sup>80</sup>, 162-186, is also a work by Denys. Kentenich, *Handschriften* VI, pp. 24-25, item 3, assigns the authorship to the scribe, Wilhelmus de Brede.

<sup>145</sup>I wish to thank Dr. J. Deschamps for his assistance in the Bibliothèque Royale. I wish also to thank Drs. Werner Verbeke and Marcel Haverals of Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, and Fr. A. Ampe, sj, and Dr. F. Hendrickx, Ruusbroec Genootschap, Antwerpen, for their aid in locating manuscripts from the Low Countries.

made in houses of the Windesheim Congregation.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, a survey of the collection in the Bibliothèque Royale reveals that as Denys had been influenced by teachers of the *devotio moderna*,<sup>147</sup> so he in turn instructed its later followers. Prominent among the Brussels collection of Denys' works are biblical commentaries,<sup>148</sup> although one commentary ascribed to Denys in the card catalogue of the Bibliothèque Royale is in fact not his.<sup>149</sup> However, if Denys is deprived one commentary, he gains another. Bibliothèque Royale, II. 1405, a book once belonging to the Friars Minor in Leiden (1r), contains a copy of Denys' *In secundam quinquagenam Psalterii* (3r<sup>a</sup>-132r<sup>b</sup>). The author is not identified in the manuscript itself, nor is he identified in the catalogue of Van den Gheyn.<sup>150</sup>

My efforts to discover all of the extant manuscripts of Denys of Ryckel's works have just begun. In 1896, Dom Mougel, who apparently had a list, stated that he knew 140 manuscript copies, 40 in Belgium, 33 in Germany, 31 in the

<sup>146</sup> See *Het Intellectueel Leven in de Windesheimse Kloosters in België (15de - 18de Eeuw)* (Werkgroep "Het Geestesleven in de Late Middeleeuwen" van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) (Leuven, 1976), p. 127, Bethlehem te Herent (Bib. Roy. 891); p. 227, Korsendonk te Oud-Turnhout (Bib. Roy. 862); pp. 241-42, Sint-Maartensdal te Leuven (Bib. Roy. 920-922, 1261; see also Leuven 214, and Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 482, pp. 245-46). Bib. Roy. 11894-11901, and 11817-11840, containing fragments of works by Denys, are also from Sint-Maartensdal. Dr. Marcel Haverals advised me of these two manuscripts.

<sup>147</sup> After Denys left the abbey school of the Benedictines in Sint-Truiden, he entered the school of the Brethren at Zwolle, under the Rector John Cele. See K. Swenden, "Dionysius van Rijkel, Biografische nota", *Ons geestelijk Erf*, XXIV (1950), 170-81. Albert Gruys, *Jean de Schoonhoven (1356-1432). Son interpretation de I Jean 2,15 "N'aimez pas ce monde, ni a qui est dans ce monde". De contemptu huius mundi. Textes et études*, III (Nijmegen, 1967), pp. 36-40, has shown that Jan van Schoonhoven's treatise directly influenced Denys' *De arcta via salutis ac mundi contemptus*. This treatise is among the most frequently copied of Denys' works.

<sup>148</sup> Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 862 (*super ysiam prophetam*, 1r-208r); 920-922 (*super septem epistolas canonicas apostolorum*, 1r-242r; *super apocalipsim beati Johannis*, 242r-346r); 1120-1121 (*in euangelio sancti luce*, 1r-231v). For II.1405, see the body of the paper. For 920-922, see Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue*, III, n. 2180, p. 329; for 1120-1121. *ibid.*, n. 2185, p. 334.

<sup>149</sup> Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 605 contains a large commentary on the Apocalypse which does not correspond with Denys'. The error seems to go no further than the nineteenth-century rebinder. I have not yet identified the text.

<sup>150</sup> J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, I (Brussels, 1901), n. 241, p. 117. The entry for this commentary under Denys' name in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, II (Madrid, 1950), n. 2095, pp. 268-69, does cite Brux., Bib. Roy., II 1405 (241).

Netherlands, 10 in France, 6 in England, 4 in Switzerland, 2 in Italy, and "about" 12 in Austria.<sup>151</sup> So far my studies have been limited to libraries in the Low Countries, Germany (four libraries), and Austria, but I have already seen half Mougel's total, and have citations for as many more throughout Europe. And it is certain that I do not know each of the manuscripts Mougel knew. When Dietrich Loher first assembled manuscripts of Denys' works, he defined his labors as herculean: when he sought the manuscript of one work, those of three others would appear.<sup>152</sup> My experience has been similar, at least in regard to manuscript copies. But the greatest treasures - Denys' autographs and manuscripts of lost works - have for the most part eluded my net, as they did the researches of previous scholars.

Dionysius contemplator eximius, et scriptor uberrimus,  
in otio negotiosus, et in negotio otiosus esse scivit.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup>Mougel, *Denys le Chartreux*, p. 88.

<sup>152</sup>*Opera omnia* XLII, p. 471.

<sup>153</sup>Arnoldus Bostius Carmel., quoted *Opera omnia* I, p. VI.

APPENDIX. Denys of Ryckel and the  
*Speculum amatorum mundi*

In his list of Denys' works, Dietrich Loher makes the following entry, repeated by Petreius in 1609:

*Speculum amatorum mundi*. Prooemium. Videte quomodo caute ambuletis: non quasi insipientes: redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt (Ephes. V.).<sup>1</sup>

Dietrich Loher printed this treatise in 1530, and the modern editors reprinted the text among Denys' *Opera minora*.<sup>2</sup>

The title *Speculum amatorum mundi*, however, does not appear on the lists made by Denys himself. Nor does the early-sixteenth century compiler of the Rooklooster *registrum*, who claims to have seen Denys' manuscripts in Roermond, cite the title. One wonders, then, how Dietrich Loher came to attribute the treatise to Denys. The *exordium* of the text, as printed, is not exactly Denys' signature. Its concluding couplet could cause an admiring editor to overcome scruples; or it might be, as we shall see presently, an editorial touch:

Fugiat ergo qui salvari disiderat, ut poenas intolerabiles et horribiles declinet et evadat, et regnum coelorum amoenum et jucundum cum Sanctis et electis, eorum meritis et precibus possideat. Quod nobis tribuere dignetur Jesus Christus in saecula sublimis et benedictus. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

As previously noted, a manuscript of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* from Roermond exists in Vienna. The information of this manuscript deserves careful consideration.

Wien, ÖNB, *SN* 12836 (Becker 7914).<sup>4</sup>

This book from the Charterhouse in Roermond binds together separate manuscripts written by at least five different scribes. The book contains several treatises, some by Denys, including an autograph of *de vita et regimine presulum* (104r-144r), and some by others. (See the body of this study for the book's contents). Among its various treatises, the book includes two bearing the title *Speculum peccatorum*. One of these (71r-74v) was copied in 1462; the scribe attributes the work to either Jerome or Augustine. The other treatise with the same title (65r-71r), copied by the same scribe in 1462 (71r), is the text entitled *Speculum amatorum mundi* in the printed editions:

<sup>1</sup>*Opera omnia* 1, p. LXVI, n. 140; Petreius, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>*Opera omnia* XXXIX, pp. 485-95.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 495.

<sup>4</sup>See Verschueren, *De Bibliotheek der Kartuizers van Roermond*, p. 44, n. 21.



(incipit). *Videte quomodo caute ambuletis non quasi insipientes sed ut sapientes redimentes tempus quoniam dies mali sunt Propterea nolite fieri imprudentes sed intelligentes que sit voluntas dei* Apostolus paulus *consciens conciliorum dei* sciens quod infinite sunt celestis patrie deliciae quas nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit que nec pro multitudine et magnitudine in cor hominis ascenderunt (65r).

(explicit). Fugiat ergo qui salvari desiderat ut penas eternas horribiles declinet et evadat ut regnum celorum et iocundum cum sanctis et electis eorum meritis et precibus possideat Quod nobis concedat ihesus cristus in secula benedictus *Amen*

The scribe of this text does not name an author; he begins simply "Incipit speculum peccatorum" (65r), and ends "est finis anno domini mccccclxiii" (71r). However, in each of these places an annotator makes an addition. On 65r, he continues the rubricated incipit directly in a black ink: "vel rectius Dyonisii Carthu. Speculum amatorum mundi". Likewise, between the "finis" and "anno" of the scribe's last line the annotator inserts by means of caret "speculum amatorum mundi" (71r).

The same annotator makes comments on and adds to the original table of contents (1r). The original table of contents, written in a light brown ink, corresponds with the works of the first 81 folia of the manuscript book, that is, with the work of the first scribe. The first entry in the table is "De vita laudabili coniugalium" (2r-56r) in the manuscript. Interestingly, in the line beneath this entry the title "Speculum conuersionis peccatorum" is crossed out. Both of these are bracketed, and the hand of the original table notes "Editus a venerabili ac deuoti fratre domino dyonisio Rikel". The second item of the original table is "Duo specula (peccatorum)" (this last word is crossed out). A bracket divides the two incipits "Videre quo caute ambuletis etc" and "Quoniam karissimi in via huius seculi etc". Beneath each of these our annotator amplifies. Under the first he writes in black ink "Quod editum est a dyonisio Carth et vocatus Speculum amatorum mundi". Under the second, in order to distinguish the two *specula*, he writes "Quod speculum peccatorum dicitur". Besides the two *specula* entered here and copied in full the first manuscript contains fragments of a third. On the last folio of the manuscript (81v), one finds a table of eight articles. These articles are taken from Denys' *Speculum de conuersione peccatorum*, the title crossed out in the original table of contents. Perhaps the scribe intended to copy this work, but was unable to complete the task. In any case the annotator of the manuscript recognizes the articles: "Nota quod hec prescripta cum articulis sunt de speculo peccatorum a dyonisio Carthu. quod hic non habetur" (81v).

At this point we should observe that whereas the writer of the table is careful to name Denys as the author of two works, including the work never actually copied, it is the annotator alone who names Denys as the author of the

*Speculum amatorum mundi*, and gives it this title. As we have indicated, the original table ends with the final contents of the first manuscript bound in the book. The annotator fills out the table with the contents of the book's four other manuscripts. His entry in the table comprises five titles:

Item Inflammatorium divini amoris<sup>5</sup>  
 De vita regimine presulum<sup>6</sup>  
 De vita militum condecenti<sup>7</sup>  
 De vita laudabili viduarum<sup>8</sup>  
 De custodia cordis<sup>8</sup>

The annotator brackets all of these with the note "Editi a venerabili ac devoto patre Dyonisio Rikel Carthusiensis in Ruremunda" (1r). Since the four manuscripts bound with the first contain nothing but texts by Denys, it would seem that the assembler of the separate manuscripts intended a convenient volume of Denys' works. That assembler might very well have been the annotator.

The composition of this book raises important questions. Why did the annotator attribute the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys, inasmuch as Denys left no record of the treatise, and the manuscript does not ascribe it to him? Where did the annotator find the title he bestows upon the treatise? Did the annotator base his identification on subject matter, a subject matter similar to that of Denys' *Speculum de conversione peccatorum*, a work which the annotator knew well enough to recognize eight article titles? One will remark that the text in the manuscript lacks even the curtailed *exordium* "sublimis et benedictus" that appears in Dietrich Loher's printed version. One might also remember that because of a similarity of subject matter Jacobus van Gruitrode's five *Specula omnis status humanae vitae* were commonly attributed to Denys, and that one of these was a *Speculum hominum mundanorum*.<sup>9</sup>

Another manuscript extant in Vienna further complicates the problem.

<sup>5</sup>82r-102v. This text is in a separate manuscript of two quires, one of which has 12 folia the other 10. 103r-v are blank.

<sup>6</sup>104r-144r. This is Denys' autograph manuscript.

<sup>7</sup>145r-156v. This is a separate quire of 12 folia.

<sup>8</sup>These two texts 157r-180v, 181r-210r, comprise one manuscript. There are six quires of eight folia, and one of six. The first quire of the second text (181r-186v) was originally eight folia, but its first two have been torn out. Two different scribes copied the two texts; the first text was copied by Ade rolans seu welwis in 1459 (180v).

<sup>9</sup>*Opera omnia* XLII, pp. 763-94.

Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek; cod. 35/36.<sup>10</sup>

This book, belonging to the Dominicans in Vienna (219v), binds together two fifteenth-century manuscripts (4r-183v; 184r-219v). Several scribes contributed to the book's production, three of whom did most of the copying (4r-176r; 184r-200r; 200v-216r). The book contains a miscellany of treatises, one of which is titled *Speculum amatorum mundi* (141r-148v), and another *Speculum peccatoris* (184r-188v). These are the two *specula* found in ÖNB SN 12836. The manuscript does not name an author for the *Speculum amatorum mundi*, but the treatise is the one printed in the editions of Denys' works.<sup>11</sup>

As stated, the manuscript including this treatise was written by one scribe (4r-176r). A colophon giving a date follows the first work in the manuscript, excerpts from a commentary on the decretal of Lateran Council IV (1215), *Firmiter credimus* (54-65r):

Explicit tractatus multum utilis et fortis pro defensione ecclesie et fidei catholica Editus per venerabilem doctorem Benedictum Abbatem marsilie Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>XXIII<sup>o</sup> (63r).

Although one would wish clarity, this colophon is ambiguous at every crucial point. Since neither scribes nor authors are wont to call themselves venerable doctors, and since the rubric at the head of the treatise states that "Hec sunt collecta et excerpta ex summa Benedicti abbatis marsilie super capitulo Firmiter credimus" (4v), one can presume that the person named in the colophon is the author and that the copyist is someone else. The identity of Benedict, Abbot of Marseille is obscure. The most likely candidate to be found among those recorded in standard reference works - and this is far from even probable - is a certain Benedict (+1427), successively Bishop of Marseille (1397-1418), Fondi (1418-1422), and Veroli (1422-1427). In 1397, while Bishop of Marseille,

<sup>10</sup>There is a typewritten catalogue of this library: *Verzeichnis der Handschriften des Dominikanerkonventes in Wien bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Bearbeitet von Dr. Felix Czeike (1952). See pp. 32-34. I wish to thank Dr. Julian Plante, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn., for supplying me what information he had concerning this manuscript.

<sup>11</sup>Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek, cod. 35/36: (incipit). Videte quomodo caute ambuletis non quasi insipientes sed ut sapientes redimentes tempus quoniam dies mali sunt propterea nolite fieri imprudentes sed intelligentes que sit voluntas / Apostolus paulus Conscius consiliorum dei sciens quod infinite sunt delicie celetis patrie que nec oculus vidit nec auris audiuit que nec pre magnitudine et multitudine in cor hominis ascenderunt (141r-v). . . (explicit). fugiat ergo qui saluari desiderat ut penas eternas intolerabiles et horribiles declinat et euadet (sic) ad regnum celorum amenum et iocundum cum sanctis et electis eorum merito et precibus possideat ordinis nos prestare dignitur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per infinita secula seclorum AMEN (148v).

Benedict was given charge of the Benedictine Abbéy of St. Clement in Tivoli. However, it is not known whether Benedict was an abbot, or even a Benedictine, and there is no record of his having written a commentary on the decretal of Lateran IV. Further, this Benedict did not live in Marseille after 1423.<sup>12</sup> But if this person should be the author of the commentary, the date in the colophon could refer to the year in which he composed the text, and the manuscript could have been copied anytime after that within the century.

However, if--as seems more likely according to customary practice--the colophon refers to the date of copying, Denys' authorship of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* is prejudiced by the manuscript. For Denys then must needs have written the work before he was twenty-one or twenty-two, and probably earlier. In 1421 Denys matriculated at the University of Cologne, and for the next two years he was busy fulfilling requirements for his master's license. He did not enter the Carthusians in Roermond until 1424-25. Further, Denys himself says that his first *opusculum* was his *Contra detestabilem cordis inordinationem*, and according to the chronology established by Stoelen, this work was written shortly before 1430.<sup>13</sup> Yet another fact prejudices Denys' authorship of the *Speculum amatorum mundi*. The same treatise, entitled *Speculum peccatorum de contemptu mundi* or *De speculo peccatorum*, is printed in editions of the works of Bernardine of Sienna (+1444).<sup>14</sup>

In light of this circumstantial evidence,<sup>15</sup> and until stronger evidence

<sup>12</sup>See the entry in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, VIII (Paris, 1935), 270.

<sup>13</sup>A. Stoelen, "De Chronologie van de Werken van Dionysius de Kartouizer", 361-72. Stoelen significantly does not mention the *Speculum amatorum* in the fuller chronology in "Denys le Chartreux", where he cites all works "qui permettent une indication chronologique" (432).

<sup>14</sup>*Sancti Bernardini Senensis ordinis seraphici minorum Opera omnia*, ed. J. De la Haye (Paris, 1635; new ed. Venice, 1745), III, pp. 431-40. Bernardine scholars are not sure the work is his. See J. Heerinckx, "Bernardin de Sienna", *Dict. de spir.*, I (Paris, 1937), 1519.

<sup>15</sup>I have seen one other manuscript of the work, a tiny seventeenth-century book copied for devotional use: Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, W\*69, 241r-274v. The work is attributed to Denys here, but it may well have been copied from the printed edition. See the handwritten catalogue of the Historisches Archiv, *Handschriften: Meditationes, Livres d'heures, Gebetbücher*. 222 IV. I have notices for three other manuscripts. (1) Bibliothèque de Colmar, ms. 28 (195), 104-122. This is a fifteenth-century manuscript from the Abbey of Marbech. The catalogue attributes the work to Denys. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: LVI. Colmar* (Paris, 1969), p. 14. (2) Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, 3237, 139-146. A fifteenth-century manuscript; see O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, IV (Wolfenbüttel, 1900), p. 294. (3) Oxford, Bodleian Library, 29397 (now Ms. Add. A. 280). Copied in Erfurt, 1459. See F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which Have Not Hitherto Been Described*, V (Oxford, 1905), pp. 613-14. The catalogue assigns the work to Denys.

to the contrary is brought forward, I think we must label the *Speculum amatorum mundi* doubtful. And although he evidently saw another manuscript,<sup>16</sup> it seems probable that Dietrich Loher attributed the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys because of the annotations in ÖNB SN 12836, since he obtained his manuscripts from Roermond, and this one includes an autograph.

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<sup>16</sup>In the small examples we offer, one will note that some readings present in Dietrich Loher's text but missing in ÖNB SN 12836 are justified by Dom. Kon. Bib. c.35/36. We do not presume, of course, that Dietrich saw the latter manuscript, simply another one.

With best wishes,

Kent Emery Jr.

Annalecta Cartusiana, 1982

Corrigenda

For "exordium" (!) read "explicit":

page 121, line 3.  
page 141, line 2; line 8.  
page 143, line 8 up.  
page 144, line 8.  
page 150, line 12.  
page 152, line 6 up.

For "hominem" read "hominum":

page 123, line 4.

For "(1548)" read "(1458)":

page 136, note 100, line 3.

For "destabilem" read "detestabilem":

page 143, line 12 up.

For "1462" read "1463":

page 150, line 2 up.

For "(54-65r)" read "(4r-63r)":

page 153, paragraph 2, line 4.

KE, jr.