The Writing on the Wall: Inscriptions and Descriptions of Carthusian Crucifixions in a Fifteenth-Century Passion Miscellany

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TYPOLOGY, LATE MEDIEVAL PASSION piety, the record of responses to images, monastic patronage, literature and spirituality in the fifteenth century, the relationship of German to Netherlandish painting, not to mention little known or overlooked illuminated manuscripts: these are just a few of the many areas in which James Marrow has made fundamental contributions in the course of his career. It is rare, however, that all these topics come together between the covers of a single manuscript. A late-fifteenth-century devotional miscellany from the Carthusian monastery of St. Margaretha in Basel (Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37) is just such a work. Unpublished apart from its brief description in Konrad Escher's catalogue of illuminated manuscripts in the library's collection, published in 1917, the manuscript is of greater interest for the history of late medieval painting than its single miniature, a *Crucifixion*, might initially indicate (fig. 1).[1] In ways that could be taken as exemplifying the relationship between text and image in numerous manuscripts, the inscriptions that cover the Crucifixion both record and seek to dictate the viewer's response. They also enter into a continuum with other texts in the manuscript, which comprehends not only pious tracts on the Passion, but also a record of inscriptions and *tituli* on wall paintings that once formed part of the visual environment in which the manuscript was both written and read. The miniature is but one in a series of images whose location can be reconstructed with precision and that structured the spirituality of their Carthusian viewers with the same rigor that characterized all other aspects of the Carthusian rule.[2]

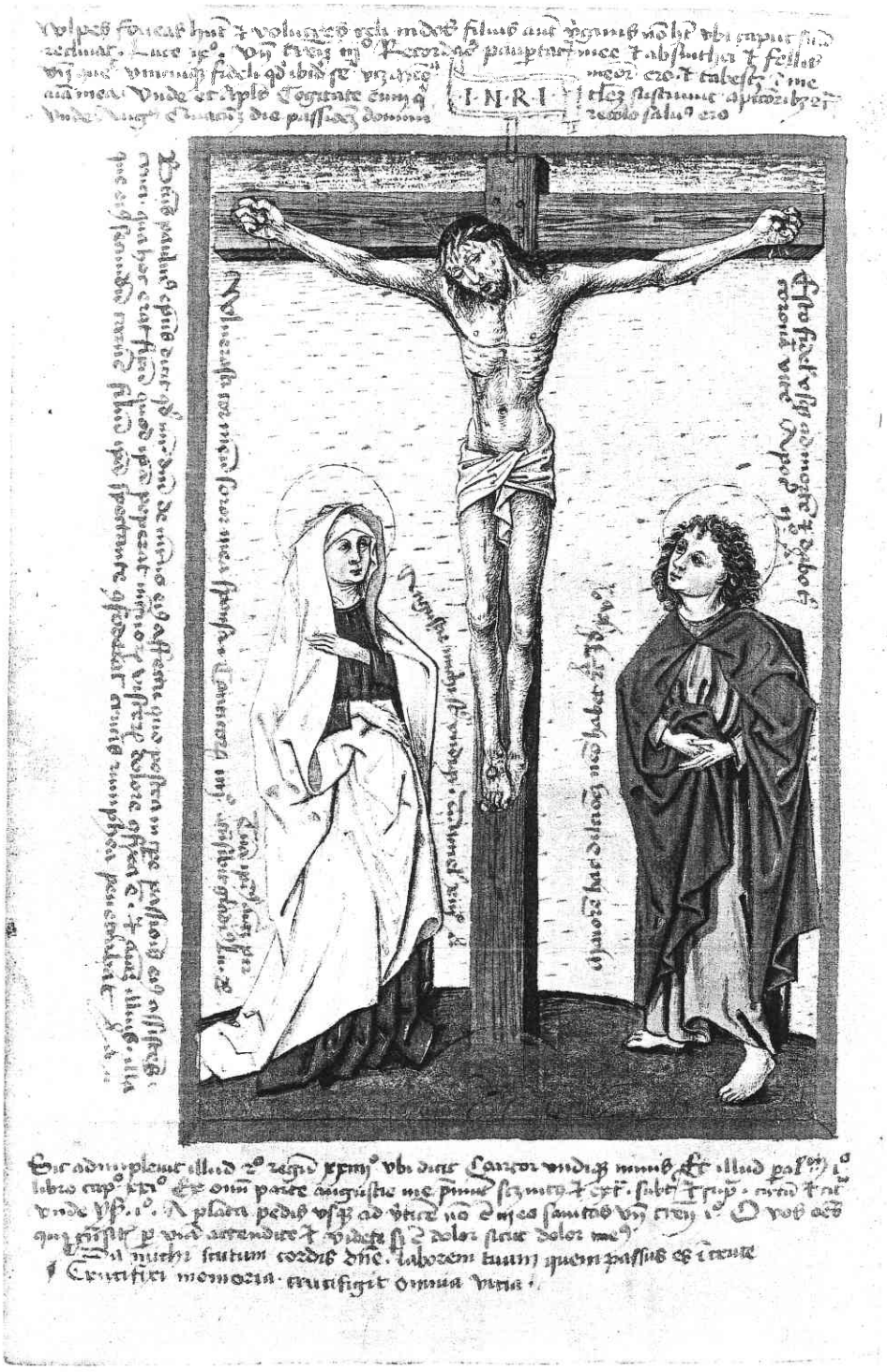
The miniature of the Crucifixion is inserted on a single leaf of parchment (fol. 57v) in the midst of a series of Passion devotions composed by the Carthusian Heinrich Arnoldi von Alfeld (1407–1487). Arnoldi's meditations were copied by a fellow Carthusian, Johannes Gipsmüller, one of as many as six scribes who contributed to the compendium.[3] Arnoldi also served as the manuscript's corrector.[4] More than most monks, Carthusians defined themselves as closed communities, and the manuscript testifies to a close collaboration among various members of the

1. K. Escher, *Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen, und Archiven* (Basel, 1917), 199, no. 268, plate LXXI.

2. For Carthusian patronage of the arts, see the essays in *Les Chartreux et l'art, XIVe–XVIIIe siècles: Actes du Colloque de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon*, ed. D. le Blévec and A. Girard (Paris, 1989), and A. Girard, "Le décor en Chartreuse: La place de la chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon dans le développement de l'image," in *Le décor des églises en France méridionale (XIIIe–milieu XVe siècle)*," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 28 (1993): 363–84.

3. E. Hillenbrand, "Arnoldi, Heinrich, von Alfeld," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. K. Ruh et al., 11 vols. (Berlin, 1977–2000), vol. 1, cols. 488–89, with additional bibliography. The attribution to Gipsmüller stems from the typescript catalogue of manuscripts in the A series, housed in the manuscript room in Basel. Escher (*Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken*, 199 [as in note 1]) identifies as many as six separate scribes in the manuscript. For further examples of the handwriting of Arnoldi and Gipsmüller, see A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Denkmäler Schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, 14 vols. (Geneva, 1935–78), vol. 10, 81–94, and B. M. von Scarpatetti, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*, 3 vols. (Dietikon and Zurich, 1977–91), vol. 1, 257 (Georgius Carpentarius), 259 (Heinricus Arnoldi de Alvedia).

4. For example, on folios 119r, 129v, 130v, again, according to typescript catalogue (as in note 3).



1. *Crucifixion*, late 15th century. Miniature inserted into a miscellany from the Carthusian monastery of St. Margaretha, Basel. Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37, fol. 56v.

monastery, raising the question as to whether the miniature itself might also be the work of a monastic craftsman. After a stint in Rome at the papal curia, Arnoldi acted as a notary at the Council of Basel, after which, in 1436, he entered the city's Carthusian community of St. Margarethental, of which he became prior in 1449, a post he held until his resignation for reasons of poor health in 1480. Jacob Louber, his successor (1480–1500), also left his mark on the manuscript in the form of a shelfmark (E xxxiij) on the front flyleaf (ar). Louber himself was not a significant author, but nonetheless systematized the work of his predecessor according to five categories: writings on Christology (e.g., *De passione Domini*, *De vita Christi*, *De mysterio redemptionis humanae dialogus inter Jesum et Mariam*); on Mariology (*De conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, *Lectiones et officia de visitatione BMV*, *Sermo de compassione BMV*, *Meditationes BMV*); prayers; meditations organized according to the liturgical calendar; and writings on monastic life, which include a chronicle of the Carthusian monastery in Basel.[5] The text into which the miniature is inserted bears the title *Passio domini una ex quattuor cum excerptis patrum necnon suffragiis* (fols. 13r–69v). In combining Passion sequences from the four Gospels with excerpts from patristic authors, distributed according to the liturgical hours, even as it contrasts monastic *theologica mystica* with scholastic learning, the little treatise adheres to two of Louber's categories. The miniature itself sits in the midst of the texts for the hour of sext.

Perhaps added as an afterthought, the miniature nonetheless represents an intelligent insertion. In keeping with the authorities embedded in the surrounding text, one of its many inscriptions stems from a patristic source, a letter sent by Paulinus of Nola to Augustine of Hippo about 410. The text frames the Crucifixion in terms of penetrating vision: "Does this [Simeon's prophecy] relate to her maternal feelings when she later at the time of the Passion stood by the cross where the child of her own womb was nailed, and was herself pierced by the anguish of a mother's heart? Was the sword that pierced her heart that sword formed by the cross, which before her very eyes had transfixed her Son of the flesh?"[6] The inscriptions in the upper and lower margins carry the commentary further and are, for the most part, typological in character. The annotations in the upper margin combine two quotations, of which the first identifies itself as an excerpt from Luke 9:58: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." As noted by James Marrow in his definitive study of Passion narrative and its biblical sources, this passage had been illustrated as early as the patristic period, the most famous example being a small scene in the Gospels of Saint Augustine of Canterbury.[7] Marrow further observes that related imagery became especially common beginning in the fourteenth century, following the dissemination of the *Vita Christi* by the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony.[8] The continuation of the inscription in the upper margin derives from Lamentations 3:19 ("Remember my poverty, and

5. For the chronicle, see *Basler Chroniken*, vol. 1, ed. W. Vischer and A. Stern (Leipzig, 1872), 233–306.

6. Paulinus of Nola, *Epistola* 50, chap. II, Quaestiones ad apostolo, PL 61, col. 415B: "Beatus Paulinus episcopus dicit quod mater domini de materno eius affectu, quo postea in tempore passionis assistens cruci, qua hoc erat fixum quod ipsa pepererat, maternorum viscerum dolore confixa est. et animam illius illa, quae eius secundum carnem filium, ipsa spectante, confoderat, crucis rhomphaea penetrabat." For brief commentary and context, see D. E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999), 16, 203, 227, 237. For the translation, see *Letters of Paulinus of Nola*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by P. G. Walsh (Westminster, Md., 1966–67), vol. 2, 288.

7. For the Gospels of Augustine of Canterbury, see F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine, Corpus Christi College Ms. 286*, The Sandars Lectures in Bibliography 1948 (Cambridge, 1954). For the passage's impact on later Passion iconography, see J. H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Ars Neerlandica 1 (Kortrijk, 1979), 167–70.

8. Marrow, *Passion Iconography* (as in note 7), 168.

transgression, the wormwood, and the gall"), which was interpreted as referring to Christ's abjection and suffering at the Crucifixion, in particular, the offering of the sop of vinegar.[9]

The inscriptions in the lower margin likewise offer a typological gloss on the image at the center, drawing on 2 Kings 24:14, 1 Chronicles 21:13, Isaiah 1:6, Lamentations 1:12 and 3:65 (see appendix 1). Of these quotations, the second—"I am on every side in a great strait: but it is better for me to fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are many, than into the hands of men"—is, as the scribe duly notes, a paraphrase of the first. Marrow observes that the third quotation ("From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein: wounds and bruises and swelling sores: they are not bound up, nor dressed, nor fomented with oil") "represents perhaps the most important prophecy dealing with [Christ's] wounds per se."[10] Familiar to modern readers from Handel's *Messiah*, not to mention the liturgy of Holy Week, the excerpts from Lamentations ("O all ye that pass by the way, attend, and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow; Thou shalt render them a recompense, O Lord, according to the works of their hands") represent "a first person affirmation of sorrow without equal" that "figures prominently in late medieval devotional literature."[11] At the very bottom of the folio, an added tag ("Crucifixi memoria crucifigit omnia vitia") sums up the purpose of the image, indicating that meditation on the crucified Christ itself crucifies all vices.

In comparison to the garrulous Passion narrative of the later Middle Ages that Marrow, drawing on the work of Kurt Ruh and F. P. Pickering, demonstrated could be derived from Old Testament prophecies, the static *Crucifixion* in the Basel miscellany displays remarkable restraint.[12] Instead of a "crowded Crucifixion" of a kind common in German art from the beginning of the fifteenth century, it is an image of striking simplicity.[13] In a manner reminiscent of large-scale sculptural groups, the composition reduces the *Crucifixion* to a minimum, in keeping with the suprahistorical character denoted by the many inscriptions. Although the Evangelist's lifted left leg suggests that he strides toward the cross, his stiff right leg and the columnar quality conveyed by the broken, tubular folds of his garments lend him monumental stability. Other than the far end of Mary's outer garment, which disappears behind the edge of the frame, no element in the picture (other than the *titulus*) transgresses the border. The space indicated by the curving hillock is remarkably shallow; the short shadows suggest a strong source of illumination from above, which further flattens the stage on which Christ's sacrifice is enacted. Most of the shadows cluster around the cavities and contours of Christ's emaciated body, whose careful, graphic delineation contrasts with the dazzling white broad planes of the Virgin's mantle.

Within this carefully calculated image, the *titulus* stands out as anomalous. Not only does it protrude from the otherwise self-contained image, it is more casually drawn in light brown ink than the rest of the composition. Were it not for the inscription in the upper margin, which is integral to the image yet leaves room for the *titulus* lettering, one could conclude that the latter represents an addition. Such could be the case, however, only if the inscriptions had been added still later; but they are written in the same red pigment employed for the frame. This integration of text and image implies a corresponding identity of

9. Ibid., 154 n. 514 on Lamentations 3:14 and 3:16.

10. Ibid., 44, 47–50, 51, 54, 117–18, 121, 135, 140, 141, and 196.

11. Ibid., 61, 65–66, and 209.

12. See K. Ruh, *Der Passionstraktat des Heinrich von St. Gallen* (Thayngen, 1940) and F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1970), 223–307. Ruh's study, the only part of his dissertation to be published, is one of the very few books that I have ever been able to give Jim that he did not already own.

13. See E. Roth, *Der Volkreiche Kalvarienberg in Literatur und Bildkunst des Spätmittelalters*, 2nd rev. ed., Philologischen Studien und Quellen 2 (Berlin, 1967).

Christ's crucified body with the Logos to which Scripture is a living witness. The painter employs the same red pigment as the scribe, not only for the frame, but also for the bold, blood red of John's cloak and the wounds on Christ's body. In contrast to the brilliant yellow of the otherwise transparent nimbi crowning Mary and John, Christ's halo takes the form of three triple rays of red. Delicate flecks of blue on the otherwise unpainted parchment surface prevent the inscriptions within the frame from disturbing the overall sense of surface pattern and hint at the delicate atmospheric perspective suggested by the more pronounced application of blue in the narrow strip of sky above the horizontal arm of the cross. Although Mary and John both turn inward toward the corpus at the center, the fanning of their garments outward in polygonal patterns at either side of their bodies creates a simultaneous impression of frontality that is virtually symmetrical with respect to the picture plane. In addition to the *titulus*, which forms part of the same visual field as the inscription in the upper margin, the annotations in the margins are aligned, like the arms of the cross, according to a strict grid, a sober contrast to the curling banderoles found in many fifteenth-century paintings.

The inscriptions within the frame are similarly aligned and imply a comparable integration of image and text, the continuity of Christ's corpus with the words in which it is embedded. In contrast to the inscriptions outside the frame, most of which come from the Old Testament, those within the privileged space of the frame include quotations from the New Testament and reproduce words either spoken by or about Mary and John (at least as construed by Christian exegesis) or words spoken to or about them by God, an angel, and the High Priest Simeon. To the right of the Virgin Mary, we read, "Thou has wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse" (Song of Songs 4:9), a quotation that Christian exegesis commonly assigned to Christ himself, in reference to the wound in his side, but which in this instance applies equally well, regardless of gender, to the Virgin, who, in Simeon's words, was pierced as if by a sword, so great was her sorrow at the sight of Christ's crucifixion. There follows the most famous Gospel passage referring to Mary's sorrows: "And thy own soul a sword shall pierce" (Luke 2:35). The mutual applicability of the inscription defines in a nutshell Mary's compassion with Christ, which, as noted by Otto von Simson, was elaborately developed in Carthusian spirituality.[14]

The importance of Mary's compassion in Carthusian writings easily explains the mix of texts in the miscellany, which combines Marian devotions and exempla with those focused on the Passion. For example, an excerpt from the *Stimulus divini amoris* (fols. 71r–73r), which immediately precedes the miniature, has its reader declare: "I will follow the steps of his most sweet mother, whose soul the sword of her son's Passion pierced; and being myself wounded, I will henceforward boldly speak unto her, and induce to do whatsoever I will have her."[15] The reader puts himself in the place of the Christ Child suckling at Mary's breast: "And I will not only appear crucified with her Son, but, going to the manger, I will there lie like a little infant with him, that by that means I may suck of her breasts with her Son. I will there mingle the mother's milk with the Son's blood, and I will therewithal make a most delicious and delicate drink for me."[16] What, one is compelled to ask, might an illustration of this passage have

14. O. G. von Simson, "Compassio and Co-Redemptio in Roger Van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*," *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 9–16. Inscribed in the narrow space between the Virgin and the vertical beam of the cross, and written as if proceeding from her mouth, a quotation from Daniel 13:22, originally spoken by Susanna as she is confronted by the elders, reads: "I am straightened on every side."

15. *Stimulus divini amoris, that is, The Goad of Divine Love*, trans. B. Lewis and the Widow of Mark Wyon in 1642, revised by W. A. Phillipson (London, 1907), 5–6. See F. Eisermann, "*Stimulus amoris*": *Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzungen, Rezeption*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 118 (Tübingen, 2001), 74.

16. *Stimulus divini amoris* (as in note 15), 6.

looked like? Late medieval representations of the Nativity commonly include an onlooking donor who joins Mary in her devotion, but none goes so far as to place the worshipper in the crib with Christ.[17] Texts such as the *Stimulus divini amoris* serve as a reminder that, at least as far as a history of response is concerned, medieval onlookers saw more than meets the modern eye.

A further reminder of this sort confronts the reader right at the front of the miscellany, which opens with a paraphrase of Jordan of Quedlinburg's *Expositio dominicae passionis*, among the most popular Passion meditations of the later Middle Ages.[18] Jordan's meditations begin with the injunction given by God to Moses (Exod. 25:40): "Look and make it according to the pattern, that was shewn thee in the mount" [Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est]. In Exodus, this command to shape and structure vision according to an example given by God forms part of the instructions concerning the fabrication of the Tabernacle, the Ark, and the other liturgical implements for the Temple. These were all considered archetypal images, and medieval justifications of imagery commonly appeal to their precedent.[19] According to the typological pattern established by the inscriptions on the miniature, Mount Sinai becomes Golgotha and the exemplar to which the viewer's attention is directed, the crucified Christ. In keeping with Paul's words in Hebrews 10:19–20 ("having therefore, brethren, a confidence in the entering into the Holies by the blood of Christ; A new and living way which he hath dedicated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh"), the opening of Christ's wounds renders obsolete the veiled Holy of Holies.[20]

In the miscellany in Basel, however, the compiler merely appropriates the opening of Jordan's meditation to introduce his own instructions on how to avoid the dangers posed by images. The perils and pitfalls that he has in mind include more than just the phantasms of the imagination, which Carthusian novices were regularly warned could distract and lead them astray.[21] In terms reminiscent of the premises of negative theology, the reader is admonished to think of God as being neither this nor that (fol. 2r), not "big or small, large or short, white or black, here or there, existing in such a place or in another" [ita ut non cogitet rem magnam aut paruam, largam aut breuiter, albam aut nigra, hic aut ibi, in tali qui alio loco existentem]. Nonetheless, in speaking of "how to pray in spirit without images" [qualiter orandum sit spiritu sine ymaginibus (fol. 2r)], the compiler focuses on visual images of the kind included in the manuscript and described in its pages. Among his greatest concerns is that the image of the naked Christ on the cross might arouse impure thoughts in the viewer.[22] In Italy, the fifteenth cen-

17. See F. O. Büttner, *Imitatio pietatis: Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung* (Berlin, 1983), 77–85.

18. According to the unpublished typescript catalogue (as in note 3). For Jordanus of Quedlinburg, see J. F. Hamburger, "Enluminure et incunable: L'exemplaire alsacien des Soixante-cinq articles de Jourdain de Quedlinbourg," *Revue de l'art* 145 (2004): 5–18.

19. J. F. Hamburger, "The Medieval Work of Art: Wherein the 'Work'? Wherein the 'Art'?" in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.-M. Bouché and J. F. Hamburger (Princeton, 2005).

20. See J. F. Hamburger, "Body vs. Book: The Trope of Visibility in Images of Christian-Jewish Polemic," in *Die Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren: Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne*, ed. D. Ganz and T. Lentes, Kultbild: Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne 1 (Berlin, 2004), 112–45.

21. See, e.g., the texts discussed by H. Rüthing, *Der Kartäuser Heinrich Egher von Kalkar, 1328–1408*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 18, Studien zur Germania Sacra 8 (Göttingen, 1967), 216–17.

22. For the text on folios 3v–4r that follows a marginal gloss, "Pericula quae eueniunt orationibus cum ymaginibus," see appendix 2b. For related issues concerning the control of perceptions of images of the crucified Christ, see V. Groebner, "'Abbild' und 'Marter': Das Bild des Gekreuzigten und die städtische Strafgewalt," in *Kulturelle Reformation: Sinnformationen im Umbruch, 1400–1600*, ed. B. Jussen and C. Koslofsky, Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck Instituts für Geschichte 145 (Göttingen, 1999), 209–38; V. Groebner, "Der öffentliche Leichnam, reproduziert: Der Gekreuzigte und die Medien städtischer Gewalt," *Il cadavere (The Corpse)*, *Micrologus* 7 (1999): 383–403; and R. Mills, "A Man is Being Beaten," *New Medieval Literatures* 5 (2002): 115–53; and, for the larger subject of arousal by images, D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, 1989), 329–30, 350–53, 355–56, 358–59. Similar concerns regarding images occur frequently in the work of reform-minded authors of the fifteenth century; see, e.g., the sources discussed in J. F. Hamburger, "Seeing and

tury witnessed the production of crucifixes in which Christ's corpus was indeed naked. Regardless of whether he had such images in mind, the author's concerns were not entirely abstract.[23] He is at pains to make clear that he is not an iconoclast: "We nevertheless do not wish by this to reject visualizations of the work of our redemption, of the capture, shackling, mocking, spitting upon, flagellation, and Crucifixion of our lord Jesus Christ."[24] At issue is not the legitimacy of images per se, but rather how they should be viewed. In effect, what matters is that the viewer see beyond the body to the truth that lies behind it. As a model for this manner of seeing, the author points to the eucharistic Host, which appears to be one thing (a round wafer of white bread) but which the believing participant knows in faith to be another (the *corpus Christi*).[25] The ultimate aim of images is to serve as stepping stones from the visible to the invisible: "And from these visible things we learn to pass in the mind to invisible things, from corporeal things to things spiritual."[26]

The viewer of the Basel miniature is confronted with a contradiction. The miniature represents both a distraction—hence, perhaps, the striking lack of illumination in most Carthusian manuscripts—and an exemplar.[27] Its inscriptions serve as yet further instructions designed to keep the mind of the monk in his cell from wandering. Complementing the inscriptions to either side of the Virgin, another pair frames John the Evangelist. Of these, the first employs words spoken to John in Apocalypse 2:10 by the "great voice, as of a trumpet" ("Be thou faithful unto death: and I will give thee the crown of life") that refer to the mysterious moment in John's Gospel (21:23) when Christ informs his beloved disciple that he "should not die," but rather "remain till I come."[28] In evoking this verse, the miniature takes on an eschatological dimension that implicitly extends to all believers. Further testimony to Christ's sacrifice comes in the form of his words as reported in John 15:13: "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his soul for his friends."

The inscriptions in the miniature in Basel form a continuum with the texts in the rest of the manuscript. Following the meditations on the Passion by Heinrich Arnoldi appears a series of exempla (fols. 70r–74v) on the Passion, some of which are taken from the early-thirteenth-century *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach. More than edifying stories, the exempla make the contents of the manuscript relevant to the experience of its monastic readers. The exempla are followed, in turn, by a separate series of twenty-one prayers on the Passion (fols. 77r–84r). Between these two sets of texts, written in several hands, the reader encounters a diptych (fols. 75v–76r), made up not of images but of texts,

Believing: The Suspicion of Sight and the Authentication of Vision in Late Medieval Art," in *Imagination und Wirklichkeit: Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bilder in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. A. Nova and K. Krüger (Mainz, 2000), 47–70.

23. See, e.g., I. Lavin, "The Sculptor's Last Will and Testament," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 35 (1977–78): 4–39, esp. 24ff., and P. P. Fehl, "The Naked Christ in Santa Maria Novella in Florence: Reflections on an Exhibition and the Consequences," *Storia dell'Arte* 45 (1982): 161–64. For rare examples of the naked Christ in medieval manuscript illumination, see J. F. Hamburger, *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven and London, 1990), 73 and 267 n. 35.

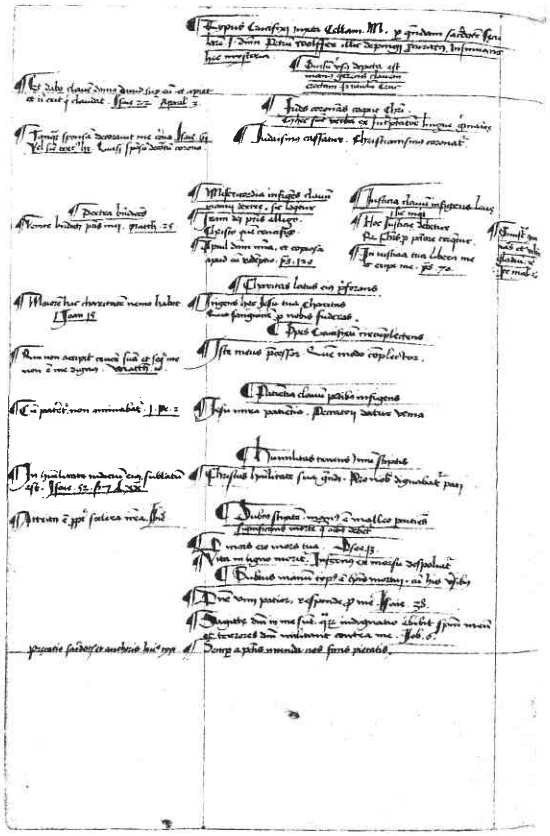
24. Folio 2v: "Nolumus tamen per hec reprobare ymaginaciones de opere nostre redemptionis, de captione, alligatione, calperhis, sputis, flagellatione, crucifixione domini nostri Ihesu Christen.

25. For the text of folio 3r–3v, see appendix 2a. For related issues, see C. W. Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye* (as in note 19), 208-40.

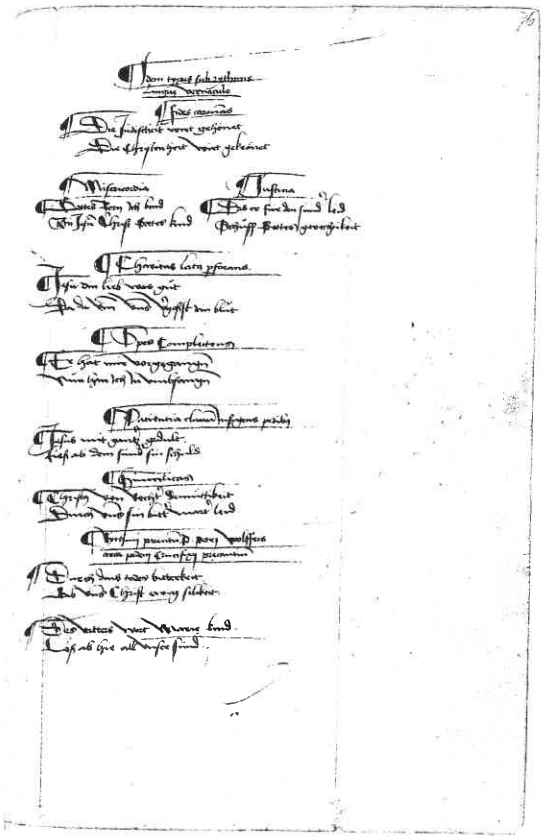
26. Folio 4r: "Et discamus ab hiis uisibilibus mente transire ad inuisibilia, a corporalibus ad spiritualia. Ille namque est finis ymaginum."

27. For Carthusian books and libraries, see, most recently, *Bücher, Bibliotheken, und Schriftkultur der Kartäuser: Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Edward Potkowski*, ed. S. Lorenz, Conturbernium 59 (Wiesbaden, 2002).

28. For the interpretation of John 21, see J. F. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 147 and 178, and B. R. Gaventa, "The Archive of Excess: John 21 and the Problem of Narrative Closure," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smity*, ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black (Louisville, 1996), 240–52.



2. Georg Zimmermann, transcription of the inscriptions in the mural of the Living Cross commissioned by Peter Wolfer, early 16th century. Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37, fol. 75v.



3. Georg Zimmermann, transcription of the inscriptions in the mural of the Living Cross commissioned by Peter Wolfer, early 16th century. Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37, fol. 76r.

written on the internal opening of an inserted bifolium (figs. 2–3).[29] The text comprises many short passages, scattered across the surface. Most are quotations from Scripture. The remainder are in verse, German as well as Latin. The uppermost text on the opening verso identifies the entire ensemble as a transcription of the bilingual inscriptions that elaborated an image that once decorated one of the monastery's cells. The paired pages mark a hiatus in the approximate middle of the manuscript, which in its entirety has 130 folios. Whereas the folios that precede the textual diptych are all devoted to the Passion, most (if not all) of those that follow take up other, related topics: in addition to the Passion prayers, a set of meditations on the Seven Joys of the Virgin (fols. 85r–100v); a Marian exemplum, also Cisterican in origin (fol. 100v); an *Ars moriendi* (fols. 101r–116v), in which the reader, having meditated on Christ's mortality, can meditate on his own; and, finally, after a break of two folios (fols. 117r–118v), a short *Tractatus de cottidiano holocausto spiritualis exercitii.*[30]

The treatise, which the miscellany assigns

29. For a transcription of folios 75v–76r, see appendix 1.

30. The Marian exemplum, which is drawn from Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculum*, ed. Josephus Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, Bonn, and Brussels, 1851), vol. 2, bk. VII, chap. 50, 70–71, is in accord with the *ars moriendi* text that follows in that it relates "de monacho, quem sancta maria deosculabatur ante

(erroneously) to Henry Egher of Kalkar (1328–1408), one of the most prolific Carthusian authors of the fourteenth century, initiates novices in the spiritual life.[31] The work is included, first, on account of its recommendation that the worshipper withdraw to a quiet place [ad locum quietam et occultissimum] where he can pray on the model of the penitent Mary Magdalen, and second, because it advises that the reader should feel free to employ his mother tongue [materna lingua] rather than the Latin in which its model prayers are written: "Et incipiat sic, vel quocumque modo melius sibi placuerit, loqui humillime sua materna lingua, vel meditari, si taedet loqui."[32] The concession to the vernacular takes on added interest in light of the extent to which the Carthusians in Basel were involved in translating Latin into German, not only for the city's publishers, with whom they had a close working relationship, but also for their own lay brothers.[33] To its enormous holdings of Latin codices (well over two thousand manuscripts), the monastery under its last prior, Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin (1501–36), added a separate library for the lay brothers. Housed in their dormitory, it alone contained approximately two hundred volumes.[34] The treatise defines itself as a "formula spiritualiter viuendi edita pro nouiter conuersis ad religionem a uenerabili patre heinrico de kalkar prior ordinis Cartusiensis" (fol. 119r). Even if the miscellany itself was not intended for novices, its contents were intended to aid in their instruction. The same holds true for the inscriptions in the image that the central opening transcribes: whereas those on the left "wing" (i.e., the verso) are exclusively in Latin and reproduce the inscriptions that one Peter Wolfer commissioned from a secular priest and that were included in a *Crucifixion* that stood next to the cell that he paid for [Typus Crucifixi iuxta Cellam Monachus per quendam sacerdotem secularem s. dominum Petrum Wolfer illic depingi procuratus insinuans hec mysteria], those on the right "wing" (i.e., the facing recto) identify themselves as the same types elaborated in vernacular rhymes [Idem typus sub rythmis Linguae vernaculae]. The manuscript not only documents or comments on the mural, it echoes its bilingual character.

In fact, the content of the two folios is not identical, though this is implied by the inscription at the head of folio 76r.[35] To begin with, the inscriptions on the verso are far more extensive than those on the facing recto. There are also linguistic differences. Although the inscriptions on the verso refer to the presence of the vernacular, indicating that in the original from which they were copied, they were, at least in part, accompanied by translations or glosses in German [cum hec sunt

mortem." For an English translation, see Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, 2 vols., trans. H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929), vol. 1, 535–36.

31. See H. Rüthing, "Egher, Heinrich, von Kalkar," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (as in note 3), vol. 2, cols. 379–84, with additional bibliography. For the *Tractatus*, see Rüthing, *Der Karthäuser Heinrich Egher* (as in note 21), 150–54. The text is printed in *Doctoris ecstatci D. Dionysii Carthusiani Opera Omnia* (Tournai, 1913), vol. 42.

32. Denis the Carthusian, *Opera Omnia* (as in note 31), vol. 42, 626.

33. For the relationship between Latin and German in Carthusian writings, see W. D. Sexauer, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartäuserbibliotheken: Untersuchungen zur Pflege der volkssprachlichen Literatur in Kartäuserklöstern des oberdeutschen Raums bis zum Einsetzen der Reformation*, Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 1, Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik 247 (Frankfurt a.M., 1978), 181–92, and V. Honemann, "Deutsche Literatur in der Laienbibliothek der Basler Kartäuse, 1480–1520," Habilitationschrift, typescript (Berlin, 1983). For Lucas Moser, the most active translator associated with the community, see H. Kraume, "Ludwig Moser," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (as in note 3), vol. 6, cols. 705–10. More generally, see the essays in *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter, 1100–1500: Regensburger Colloquium 1988*, ed. N. Henkel and N. F. Palmer (Tübingen, 1992).

34. See Honemann, "Deutsche Literatur" (as in note 33), esp. 19–22; M. Burckhardt, "Klassiker der Weltliteratur als Quelle pro studio humanitatis: Der Testfall der Basler Kartause," in *De captu lectoris: Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert dargestellt an ausgewählten Handschriften und Drucken*, ed. W. Milde and W. Schuder (Berlin and New York, 1988), 51–66; and P. Ochsenbein, "Gebet- und Andachtsbücher für die Laienbrüder der Basler Kartause," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (as in note 3), vol. 2, cols. 1126–28, with additional bibliography.

35. For a full transcription of the text, which is itself a transcription, see appendix 1.

verba ex Interpretatione lingue germanice], all the transcriptions are in Latin, the majority from scriptural sources that, as in the miniature on folio 57v, are largely typological in content. In contrast, on the more sparsely inscribed facing folio in vernacular rhyme, Latin tags are expanded in German couplets. For example, the label "Fides coronans" [Faith crowning], which characterized the action of a personification of Faith in the image, is glossed in German as "Die Judischeit wirt gehönet / Die Christenheit wirt gekrönet" [Judaism is scorned, Christianity is crowned].

This anti-Jewish verbal imagery, to which the actual images lent a sharper, anti-Semitic edge, combined with the indication of a personification of a Christian virtue engaged in the activity of crowning, immediately identifies the image from which the inscriptions were taken as a previously unrecorded example of a relatively rare iconographic type known as the Living Cross.[36] Excluding the lost mural in Basel, thirty-eight examples have been identified.[37] Images of this type, which appear to have originated in the fourteenth century, perhaps in Italy, prior to having been disseminated north of the Alps, show the Crucifixion, not as a narrative, but rather as a eucharistic allegory of salvation, with the cross serving as a divider between personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga and, more generally, the blessed and the damned.[38] The cross, far from being a prop, takes an active role in the form of hands bearing attributes that emerge from all four of its extremities.

No two extant examples of this image are identical, and the lost example in Basel appears to have been no exception. This variability itself gives the lie to accepted notions of an iconographic type. The type is at best a formula that allows or invites variations on a theme. Elements common to many, if not all, incarnations of the image, however, are the actions of the hands. The hand appended to the bottom of the vertical beam hammers the door to hell. The miscellany in Basel describes this action as "beneath the trunk, the hand and hammer striking signifying death by which all things are bound" [Subtus stipitem manus et malleo percutiens significans morte qui omnibus debet] and reproduces a short tag from Hosea 13:14, "O death, I will be thy death," which can also be found in other examples of the image.[39] The hands that are grafted onto the left and right extremities of the horizontal beam batter Synagoga and crown Ecclesia. The right hand [Dextra benedicens] takes Ecclesia as its bride [Tanquam sponsam secoratvit me corona. Isaie 61. Vel sicut textus huius quasi sponsum decoratum corona]. In contrast, the inscription accompanying the left hand on the "sinister" spells out Synagoga's doom: "the left threatening and brandishing the sword" [Sinister iminans et vibens gladium].

In his recent article on the iconography of the Living Cross, which he aptly characterized as the "avenging crucifix," Achim Timmermann suggests that "of the many late medieval visual allegories centered on the crucifix, that of the so-called Living Cross [*Lebendes Kreuz*] probably required the least theological erudition."[40] Timmermann's assertion requires qualification. In the Carthusian mural in Basel, the inclusion of German transla-

36. See R. L. Füglister, *Das Lebende Kreuz: Ikonographisch-ikonologische Untersuchung der Herkunft und Entwicklung einer spätmittelalterlichen Bildidee und ihrer Verwurzlung im Wort* (Einsiedeln, 1964); L. Kretzenbacher, *Wortbegründetes Typologie-Denken auf mittelalterlichen Bildwerken*, Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Jahrgang 1983, no. 3 (Munich, 1983); E. Guldan, *Eva und Maria: Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz and Cologne, 1966), 136–43, nos. 152–55; J. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1988), 388–414 and fig. 35; and A. Timmermann, "The Avenging Crucifix: Some Observations on the Iconography of the Living Cross," *Gesta* 40 (2001): 141–60, with additional bibliography.

37. Timmermann ("The Avenging Crucifix") lists the seven examples discovered since the thirty described by Füglister in *Das Lebende Kreuz* (both as in note 36).

38. Timmermann, "The Avenging Crucifix"; these relationships were discussed to some extent by O'Reilly, *Iconography of the Virtues and Vices* (both as in note 36).

39. Füglister, *Das Lebende Kreuz* (as in note 36); see, e.g., p. 75.

40. Timmermann, "The Avenging Crucifix" (as in note 36), 141.

tions and paraphrases of the Latin inscriptions suggests that no matter how familiar its component parts, taken as a whole, its arcane, unfamiliar imagery required explanation. The inscriptions do not correspond with those found in any of the other surviving examples, none of which, in turn, reproduces another. A remarkably labile image, the staurological allegory of the Living Cross, rooted in exegesis of Ephesians 3:18 ("You may be able to comprehend with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth"), was readily adaptable to the requirements of various contexts, be it a monastery or a parish church. If anything, the image is characterized by a kind of inscribed overdetermination: it seeks to explain too much.

As noted by Timmermann, the violence embodied in and enacted by the allegory of the Living Cross was aimed at perceived enemies of Catholicism, principally Jews and heretics.[41] The inscriptions from the Carthusian mural ally it with this insidious invective and give a particular inflection to the quotation from Lamentations 3:65 that provides part of the gloss on the miniature of the Crucifixion ("Thou shalt render them a recompense, O Lord, according to the works of their hands"). The Living Cross, however, was also a strongly penitential image.[42] This may have been especially true of the Carthusian example, which, as its inscriptions clearly indicate, combined the iconography of the Living Cross with that of Christ crucified by the Virtues.[43] Only one other extant example combines these two equally rare iconographic types, a drawing in the so-called "spiritual encyclopedia" in Rome (Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 1404, fol. 28v).[44]

Like the allegory of the Living Cross, the conceit of Christ crucified by the Virtues was also variable, be it in the number and disposition of Virtues or in the inscriptions that defined their actions. To judge from the inscriptions, in the mural from St. Margaretha in Basel, Mercy perversely drove the nail into Christ's right hand [Misericordia infigens clavum manui dextree], saying [sic loquitur], as she did so, "Iram dei patris alligo / Christo quem cenafigo" [I shackle the anger of God the Father, I transfix with Christ]. Justice nails Christ's left hand, fastening the nail lightly [Iusticia clavum infigens leve sic inquit; Christus pro pectore torquitur]; Christ was tortured on account of sin. Inspired by the same verse in the Song of Songs 4:9 in the manuscript's miniature of the Crucifixion [Vulnerasti cor meum], Charity thrusts the lance into Christ's side [Charitas latus eius perforans. Irigens hec Iesu tua charitas / Qua sanguinem pro nobis sudexas (Charity piercing his side, O Jesus, your charity flooding this / With the blood that you perspired for us)]. Hope appears to have beaten Christ's body [Spes Crucifixum trecumplectens. Iste meus processor / Quem modo complector (Hope beating the crucified)]. Patience nailed

41. Ibid.

42. Witness its kinship with the image of the "Mönch am Kreuz," based, in part, on an exemplum in Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (as in note 30), vol. 2, bk. VIII, chap. 19 (De crucifixione religiosorum), 96–97, which, based on Galatians 2:19 ("Christo confixi sumus cruci"), defines the virtues that constitute adherence to the monastic rule as a form of *imitatio Christi*. See K. Dziatzko, "Bibliographische Untersuchungen, 1: "Mönch am Kreuz" (Einblattdruck)," in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift-, Buch- und Bibliothekswesens* 3 (Leipzig, 1896), 1–8; L. Kretzenbacher, "Der Mönch am Kreuz: Ein Meditationsbild der frühen Mönchaskese in Ost und West," in *Bilder und Legenden: Erwandertes und erlebtes Bilder-Denken und Bild-Erzahlen zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendlande*, Aus Forschung und Kunst 13 (Klagenfurt, 1971), 129–49; and F. Eisermann, "Medienwechsel–Medienwandel: Geistliche Texte auf Einblattdrucken und anderen Überlieferungsträgern des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Das illustrierte Flugblatt in der Kultir der Frühen Neuzeit: Wolfenbütteler Arbeitsgespräch 1997*, ed. by W. Harms and M. Schilling, Mikrokosmos 50 (Frankfurt a.M., 1998), 35–58, esp. 53ff.

43. See Heike Kraft, "Die Bildallegorie der Kreuzigung Christi durch de Tugenden," Inaugural-Dissertation, Freie Universität, Berlin (Frankfurt a. M., 1976).

44. See Füglister in *Das Lebende Kreuz* (as in note 36), 32–35 and plate VI. For the localization of the manuscript in Rome to Erfurt ca. 1440–1450, see Nigel F. Palmer and Klaus Speckenbach, *Träume und Kräuter: Studien zur Petroneller, Circa instans'-Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters*. Pictura et Poesis, vol. 4 (Cologne and Vienna 1990), 24–28.

Christ's feet to the cross [Patientia clavum pedibus infigens. Ihesu vinea patientia / Peccatori datur venia (Patience driving the nail into the feet)], while Humility held Christ tightly [Humilitas tenens Iesum stipatis. Christus humilitate sua grandi / Pro nobis dignabatur pati (Humility holding Jesus by the trunk / he was worthy to suffer on our account)]. The German verses and the Latin tags to which they are attached characterize these actions and would have been supplemented further still by devotional texts such as those found in the Passion miscellany.

An additional inscription, placed along the horizontal ruling line at the bottom of folio 75v [Semper a peccatoris mundi nos fons pietatis], identifies itself as the prayer of the priest who authored the typological verses [praecatio sacerdotis et authoris huius typi] and further suggests that the image may also have incorporated elements of yet another iconographic type, that of the cross as a *fons pietatis*. Images of this kind usually showed the cross emerging from a fountain, rather like a baptismal font, which identified the cross as the source of salvation. Finally, the mural appears to have included around the base of the cross portraits of the patron's family, praying for their salvation [Rythmi parentum D. Petri Wolfers circa pedem Crucifixi praecantium. Durch dins todes bitterkeit / Gib vnns Christ ewig selikeit]. To the extent that the arrangement of the transcriptions on folios 75v–76r reflects their original disposition within the mural, they provide a guide to its layout and organization.[45] Nonetheless, just how all these elements were combined in a single image is difficult to imagine.

The transcriptions stem from the same hand that glossed the miniature of the Crucifixion. On the basis of comparison with other manuscripts from the library of the Carthusians in Basel, the scribe can be identified as Georg Zimmermann of Bruges, or Georgius Carpentarius, as he referred to himself in his Latin works, which include the continuation of the chronicle commenced by Heinrich Arnoldi (*Continuatio chronicorum Carthusiae in Basilea minori*) and a separate account of the fate of the monastery during the Reformation (*Narratio rerum, quae reformationis tempire Basileae et in circumjacentibus regionibus gestae sunt*).[46] Born about 1487 and trained at the University of Basel, Carpentarius entered the monastery in 1509, remaining until 1528, during which time he wrote numerous books, many of which, as he himself records, entered the public collection of the city, where they can still be found today [plurimos libros scripsit, quos citat existentes in bibliotheca Carthus., numeris suis; jam forsan sunt in nostra publica].[47] His will, written in 1510, the year in which he offered up his vow and hence died to the world, lists a great many titles, most, but hardly all, in theology, that he brought with him on his entry into the community.[48] Carpentarius was also an assiduous translator, *inter alia*, of Erasmus, and, like many other members of the Carthusian community, collaborated with printers in Basel.[49] Carpentarius's role as librarian and in-house historian may explain why he took such care in recording the inscriptions from the mural. It appears that he acted not only out of reverence for the donor, but also as part of his effort to preserve the historical record

45. Kraft ("Die Bildallegorie der Kreuzigung Christi" [as in note 43]) mentions one example of a Crucifixion of Christ by the Virtues that was juxtaposed, but not combined, with an image of the *fons pietatis* and that included donors at the base of the cross. For the iconography of the *fons pietatis*, see M.-B. Wadell, *Fons pietatis: Eine ikonographische Studie* (Göteborg, 1969) and E. M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchor Prieto von 1622*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Zweite Reihe 15 (Münster, 1972), 293–340.

46. See *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 241–490. For Carpentarius, see Sexauer, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartäuserbibliotheken* (as in note 33), 193–99; Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica* (as in note 3), vol. 10, 86–87; and von Scarpatetti, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz* (as in note 3), vol. 1, 257. See also P. Ochsenbein, "Eine neuentdeckte Fortsetzung der Aufzeichnnugen einer Basler Kartäuser aus der Reformationszeit," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterstumkunde* 75 (1979): 51–87.

47. *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 379, lines 15–16.

48. Ibid., 518–20.

49. See the introduction to the chronicle in *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 309–19.

of his institution, which, within his lifetime, was dissolved, along with its library. Murals, miniature and inscriptions, as well as the miscellany that records their existence, all form part of a close-knit scribal and textual community in which text and image are seen as part of a continuum that extends from the objects to those that commission and produce them.

Both the miniature and the transcriptions represent separate, yet related, recordings of large-scale wall paintings from within the monastic precinct, a subject about which all too little is known, at least as far as northern Europe is concerned, precisely because so little has survived.[50] If, in addition to the lost mural, the miniature offers a visual record of a lost panel painting in oil, it would add to the already considerable corpus of important paintings associated with Carthusian patronage, above all, in Burgundy, the Netherlands, and the Rhineland.[51] Rogier van der Weyden's monumental *Crucifixion,* now in the Escorial, which appears to have been among those that he painted for the Carthusian monastery of Scheut and which hung in the community's choir, at least in the sixteenth century, offers a point of comparison (fig. 4).[52] The kinship is more of type than of style, although in the miniature, the figures' statuesque qualities, in particular, their angular, faceted drapery, and the elegant, even sinuous, elongation of their fingers, suggest a relationship at several removes from a *Crucifixion* by the Flemish painter. The relevant context, however, should not be construed too narrowly. Given that the lost mural of the Living Cross incorporated elements of the iconographic type known as Christ crucified by the Virtues, it can be connected to a work that has always seemed anomalous in its own immediate context, the fresco of Christ crucified by the Virtues in cell 23 at San Marco in Florence, painted by an assistant to the Dominican Fra Angelico.[53] This mural has been invoked as a possible source, not only for the composition, but also for the coloration, of Rogier's Carthusian *Crucifixions.* The miniature in Basel should not be construed as a reflection of a missing link, even if the Councils of Constance and Basel, with which the Carthusians of Basel were closely involved, brought together clerics and artists from all over Europe, north and south of the Alps. It does suggest, however, that the works of these artists be considered apart from their affiliation with a particular order and within the broader context of monastic patronage and piety in which painting and prayer were closely connected.

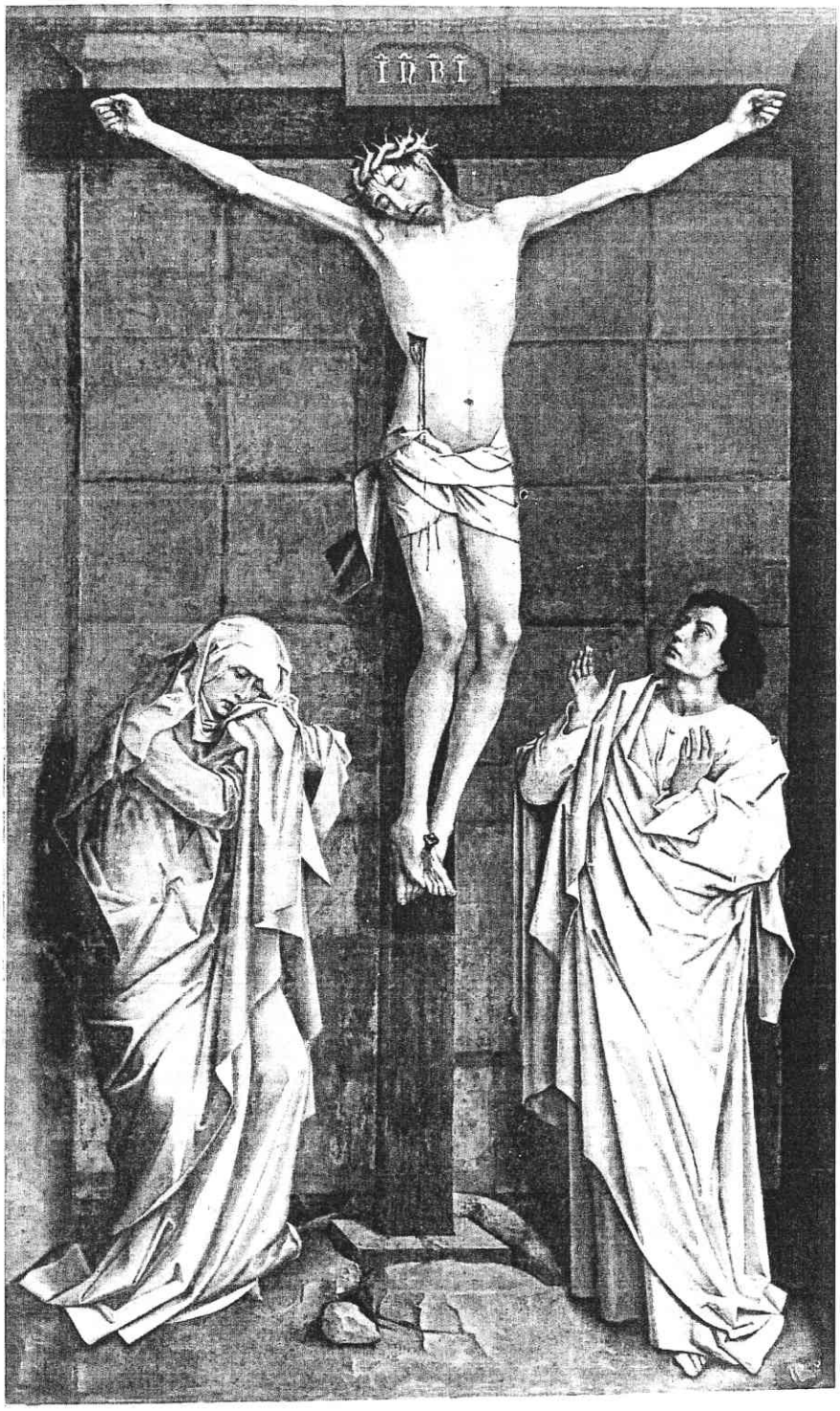
To painting and prayer one should add placement as well. Fra Angelico's paintings for San Marco cannot be adequately understood without taking into account their location within the larger monastic complex, the local liturgy, the inscriptions found in the corridors, and, not least, the prayer gestures and corporeal attitudes of the friars who provided their primary audience.[54] The

50. For records of paintings from the monastery, none of which, however, offer close comparisons in terms of style, see R. Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause," in C. H. Baer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt,* vol. 3, no. 1, *Die Kirche, Klöster, und Kapellen (St. Alban bis Kartause),* Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz (Basel, 1941), 577–94; Riggenbach, however, makes no mention of the paintings referred to in the manuscript under discussion. The principal paintings consisted of a cycle devoted to the history of the founding of the Grande Chartreuse, a cycle similar to that found, e.g., in the *Belles Heures of Jean, duc de Berry.* Riggenbach also reproduces remnants of a *Crucifixion* and an *Annunciation* from the choir screen, attributed to Niklaus Rüsch, gen. Lawlin, painted in 1438 (fig. 335).

51. In addition to the literature cited in note 1, see R. van Luttervelt, "Schilderijen met Karthuizers uit de late 15de en de vroege 16de eeuw," *Oud Holland* 66 (1951): 75–92. A new study of Carthusian patronage in the fifteenth-century Low Countries is urgently needed.

52. See, most recently, D. De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York, 1999), 291–94, no. 23, and A. D. Hedeman, "Roger van der Weyden's Escorial *Crucifixion* and Carthusian Devotional Practice," in *The Sacred Image East and West,* ed. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker, Illinois Byzantine Studies 4 (Urbana, 1995), 191–203.

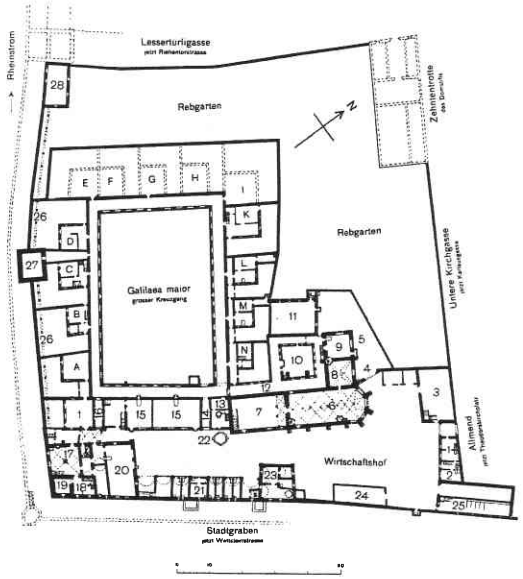
53. For Fra Angelico's painting, see W. Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven, 1993), 224, fig. 223; and for the proposed relationship to Rogier, P. H. Jolly, "Rogier van der Weyden's Escorial and Philadelpha Crucifixions and Their Relation to Fra Angelico at San Marco," *Oud Holland* 95 (1984): 113–26.



4. Rogier van der Weyden, Scheut *Crucifixion*, ca. 1454–55. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial, inv. 100014602 (photo: © IRPA-KIK, Brussels)

lost mural in Basel also acquires greater resonance once one reconstructs its original setting. A document entitled *De cellis Carthusiae Basiliensis* allows one to identify and locate the cell donated by the same Peter Wolfer recorded in the inscriptions as having commissioned the painting.[55] The document records that cell M, which formed part of the larger of the monastery's two cloisters, was founded by Ulrich Eberhart, a citizen and merchant of the city of Basel, and that it was completed by his blood relative [*cognatus*], the cloth merchant Peter Wolfer, who was buried in the monastery (figs. 5, 6).[56] Wolfer's tomb is lost, but its appearance is recorded in a drawing by Emanuel Büchel of about 1770 (fig. 7).[57] The tomb records the date of Wolfer's death as January 3, 1483.[58]

As a patron of the community, Wolfer would have found himself in good company. Among the other donors whose generosity was commemorated in images was Isabella, duchess of Burgundy and wife of Philip the Good, who paid for cells E and F, in addition to various liturgical furnishings.[59] A handsome bronze plaque records her donations, which it dates to the year 1438 (fig. 8).[60] The plaque, which originally was located in the church on the northern section of the west wall near the choir screen, resembles another recorded as having come from the Chartreuse de Champmol and portrays Philip the Good and Isabella to either side of a Pietà.[61] The duke is accompanied by Andrew, the patron of the Burgundian house, and his eventual heir, Charles the Bold; Isabella, by her patron saint, Elizabeth of Hungary, as well as her two deceased sons, Anthony (d. 1431) and Josse (d. 1433). Undoubtedly a Burgundian import, the plaque testifies to the artistic com-



5. Plan of the Carthusian monastery in Klein-Basel, ca. 1775 (scale 1:1000) (after C. H. Baer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, vol. 3, no. 1, *Die Kirche, Klöster, und Kapellen*, 481).

54. See W. Hood, "Fra Angelico at San Marco: Art and the Liturgy of Cloistered Life," in *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and religious imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. T. Verdon and J. Henderson (Syracuse, N.Y., 1990), 108–31; and W. Hood, "St. Dominic's Manners of Prayer: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Frescoes at S. Marco," *Art Bulletin* 67 (1985): 195–206.

55. *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 496–98. The documents provide the principal support for the chronology provided by Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause" (as in note 49), 449–594.

56. *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 498: "Fundavit dominus Ulricus Eberhart civis et mercator Basiliensis, quam dominus Petrus Wolfer cognatus ipsius ac haeres, prope ipsam sepultus, complevit."

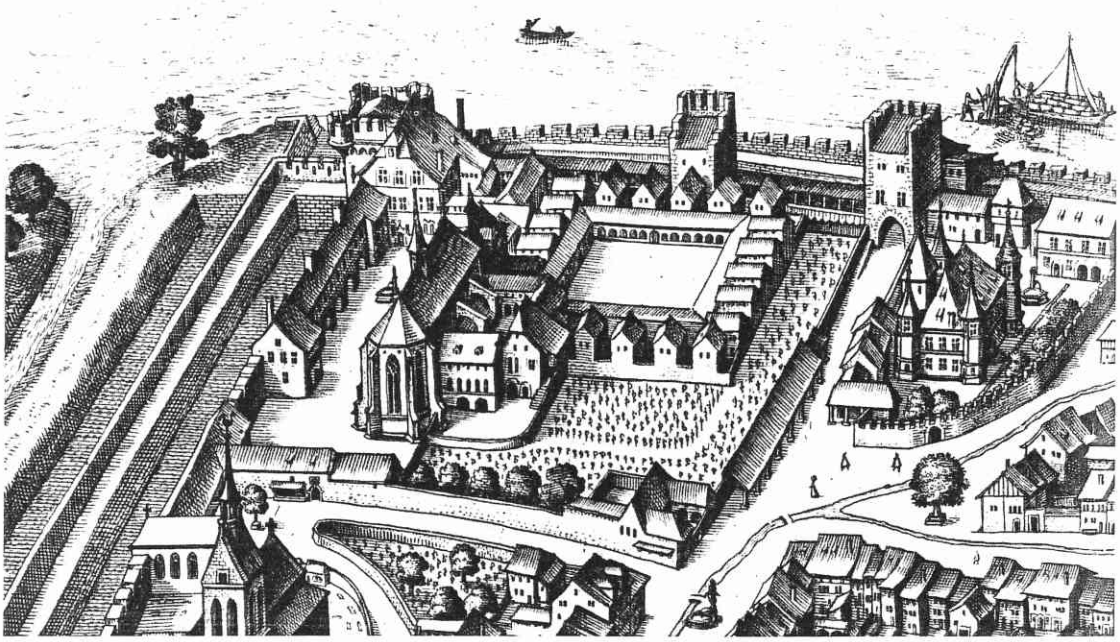
57. Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause" (as in note 50), 549.

58. According to a note on a slip of paper added to the manuscript between folios 75v and 76r by L. Sieber, dated February 28, 1877, which refers to Büchel's drawing, the inscription on the tombstone reads: "Hic quiescit corpus honesti uiri petri wolfer ciuis Basiliensis cuiis anima requiescat in pace. ob. anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIII. tertia mensis. ianuar."

59. See *Basler Chroniken* (as in note 5), 597, and Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause" (as in note 50), 480 and 531–35.

60. For a complete description, see Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause" (as in note 50), 531–35; also P. Quarré, "Plaques de fondations d'Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne, aux Chartreuse de Bâle et de Champmol-les-Dijon," *Historisches Museum Basel: Jahresbericht und Rechnungen* 1959, 29–38; and L. Saurma-Jeltsch, "Burgund als Quelle höfischen Prestiges und Hort avantgardistischer Kunstfertigkeit: Zur Entfaltung der 'ars nova' am Oberrhein," in *Zwischen Habsburg und Burgund: Der Oberrhein als europäische Landschaft im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. K. Krimm and R. Brüning, Oberrheinische Studien 21 (Ostfildern, 2003), 61–93, esp. 80–81.

61. See R. Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol: Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge, 1364–1477* (Berlin, 2002), 63, fig. 29. The plaques are major works of art worthy of a study in themselves.



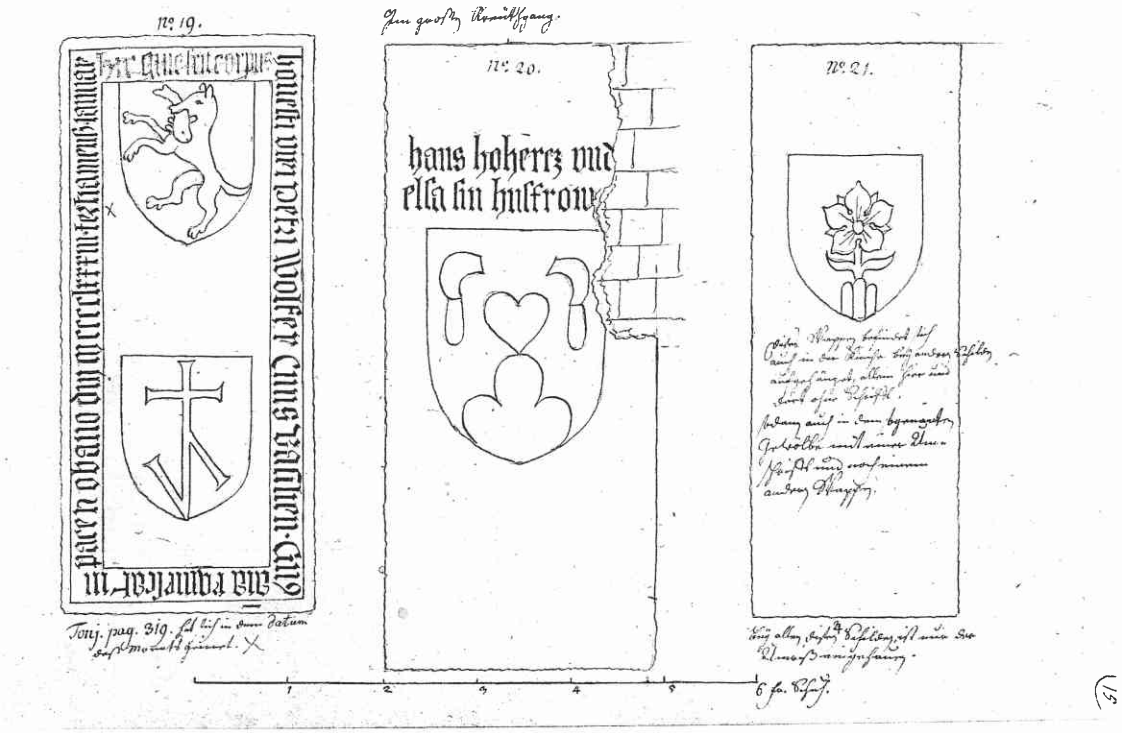
6. Carthusian monastery in Klein-Basel, detail from Matthaeus Merian's "Vogelschauplan der Stadt Basel von Norden," 1615 (after Baer, 455).

merce between Basel and Burgundy. As one of the wealthiest cloth merchants of the city of Basel, with agents in both Italy and Bruges, Peter Wolfer participated in the same cosmopolitan web of commerce and artistic exchange.[62]

Cell M itself was built about 1432–34, as part of a construction campaign on the large cloister that began in 1429 and continued until 1441. The painting commissioned by Wolfer came later, but it must have been completed prior to his death in 1483.[63] The inscription recording his donation formed part of a much denser textual fabric, as each of the sixteen cells in the large cloister was identified, not only by a letter, but also by a record of its donor and a quotation from Scripture. In the case of cell M, the inscription over the lintel came from John 13:34: "A new commandment I give unto you: That you love one another, as I have loved you, that you also love one another," a message that would have complemented the maxim from John 15:13 inscribed on the miniature of the Crucifixion in the miscellany: "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The inscriptions on the mural made clear that this spirit of charity did not extend to the Jews: "Die Judischeit wirt gehönet /

62. R. Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Basel, 1916?), 552 and 87*. For a detailed study of patrician patronage of a Carthusian community in Cologne, see W. Schmid, "Burgerschaft, Kirche und Kunst: Stiftungen an die Kölner Kartause (1450–1550)," in *Die Kölner Kartause um 1500: Aufsatzband*, ed. W. Schäfke (Cologne, 1991), 390–425; and W. Schmid, *Stifter und Auftraggeber in spätmittelalterlichen Köln*, Veröffentlichungen des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums 11 (Cologne, 1994).

63. For reconstruction of chronology of buildings, see Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder der Kartause" (as in note 50).



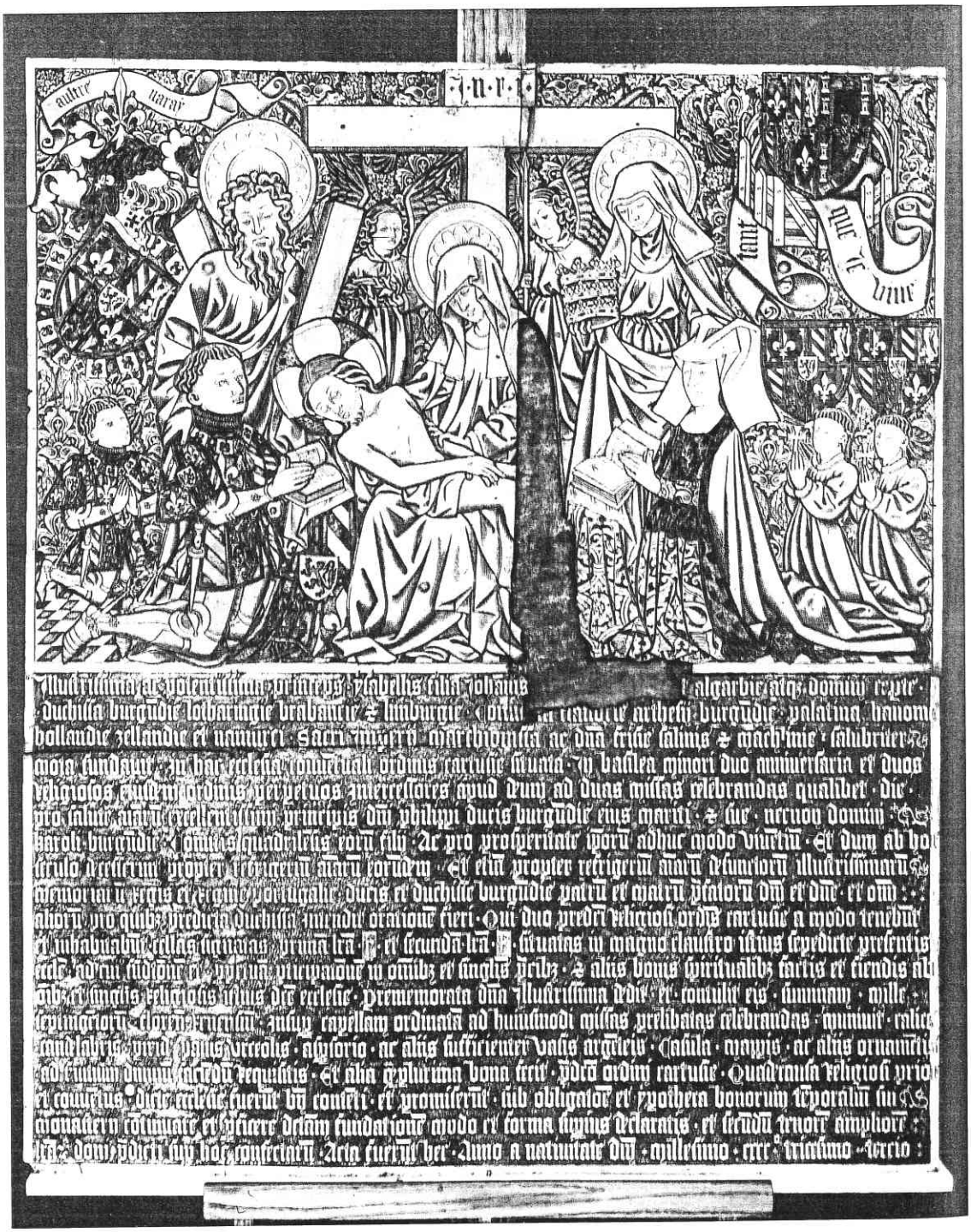
7. Emanuel Büchel, drawing after the tombstone of Peter Wolfer in the Carthusian monastery in Klein-Basel. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung, Ms. A 107, no. 19, fol. 15.

Die Christenheit wirt gekrönet." Constructed in terms of binary opposites, the mural showed Charity acting, if not with a double-edged sword, then with a lance that conveyed a message that was poisoned as well as pointed. Miscellanies, murals, and other forms of inscription combined to form part of a dense discursive fabric that structured the monks' daily routines in ways that were anything but abstract.[64]

By the late Middle Ages, the incorporation of texts into images was so commonplace that in some contexts the exclusion of writing for the sake of purely pictorial communication can be what is most striking about an image. Pictures were like books, not just in the sense elaborated by Gregory the Great, that is, as a substitute and supplement for those who could not read, but most literally in that they too offered the onlooker a great deal of reading matter.[65] The miscellany from the Carthusian monastery of St. Margaretha in Basel not only records an interesting and otherwise lost monument of late medieval mural painting, it also offers a textbook example of how such an image was read by the monks who lived with it

64. For discussion of the evolution of cells and their role in shaping subjectivity in the cloister, but with relatively little discussion of images, see T. Lentes, "*Vita perfecta* zwischen *Vita communis* und *Vita privata*: Eine Skizze zur klösterlichen Einzelzelle," in *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne*, ed. G. Melville and P. von Moos (Cologne, 1998), 125–64.

65. For early examples of German-language inscriptions in images, see R. Neumüllers-Klauser, "Frühe deutschsprachige Inschriften," in *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter* (as in note 33), 178–98. See also J. Kliemann, "Programme, Inschriften, und Text zu Bildern: Einige Bemerkungen zur Praxis in der profanen Wandmalerei des Cinquecento," in *Text und Bild, Bild und Text: DFG-Symposion 1988*, ed. W. Harms, Germanistische Symposien: Berichtsbände 11 (Stuttgart,1990), 79–95; and P. Philippot, "Texte et image dans la peinture des Pays-Bas aux XVe et XVIe siècles," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 34–37 (1985–88): 75–86.



8. Votive plaque of Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, 1438. Without frame 121 x 100 cm. From the church of the Carthusian Monastery in Klein-Basel. Basel, Historisches Museum, inv. 1870.673 (photo: © HMB M. Babey).

day in and day out. In addition to providing images and reading matter, it offers explicit instructions not only on what to look at, but also on how to look. In this instance, what has, in reference to modern art and film, come rather awkwardly to be called "intermediality" takes on anything but a seamless character.[66] As indicated by the anxious musings of the tract placed at the head of the miscellany in Basel, in which the author speculates about the dangers of meditating on the image of a naked man on the cross, inscriptions served, not only to stimulate, but also to channel and check the viewer's imagination. Whoever added the inscriptions to the manuscript's sole miniature would no doubt have agreed with Paulinus of Nola, who, in his own words, provided paintings with "inscriptions, so that the script may make clear what the hand has exhibited."[67] The texts in the manuscript, however, offer anything but a clear-cut commentary on the images it includes and describes. They not only seek to explain the images, they also attempt to direct the ways in which their viewers responded. More than a mere assemblage, the miscellany represents a self-conscious construction that, to paraphrase one of James Marrow's most memorable formulations, was designed, like the images it describes and seeks to control, to "structure experience and interpretation."[68]

Appendix 1. Transcriptions of Inscriptions on or about Images in Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37

Folio 57v

[UPPER MARGIN]
vulpes foveas habent et volucres caeli nidos Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet Luce ix° [Luke 9:58] vii trey iii° Recordare pauperitatis meae absinthii et fellis [Lam. 3:19] unde convenit unicuique fideli quod ibidem sequitur memoria memor ero et tabescet in me anima mea [Lam. 3:20] Vnde et Apostolus: Cogitate qui talem sustinuit a peccatoribus etc. Unde Augustinus Quicumque die passionem domini et recolo salus ero.

[TO EITHER SIDE OF JOHN THE EVANGELIST]
Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitae Apoc ii° [Apoc. 2:10]
Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut Jo xv° [John 15:13]

[TO EITHER SIDE OF THE VIRGIN MARY]
Wulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa Canticorum iiii° [Song of Songs 4:9] Tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius Lu. 2° [Luke 2:35]
Angustae michi sunt indique Danielis xiii etc. [Daniel 13:22]

[LEFT MARGIN]
Beatus paulinus episcopus dicit quod mater domini de materno eius affectu, quo postea in

66. See, e.g., J. E. Müller, *Intermedtalität: Formen moderner kultureller Kommunikation*, Film und Medien in der Duskussion 8 (Münster, 1996), *Intermedialität: Vom Bild zum Text*, ed. T. Eicher and U. Bleckmann (Bielefeld, 1994), and *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, ed. P. Wagner, European Cultures 6 (Berlin and New York, 1996).

67. Carmen XXVII, lines 580ff., quoted by H. L. Kessler, "Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-Century Churches," *Studia Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis* 2 (1985): 17–31, reprinted in *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy*, Collectanea 17 (Spoleto, 2002), 15–44, esp. 21–22.

68. I borrow this trenchant formulation from James Marrow's seminal article, "Symbol and Meaning in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance," *Simiolus* 16 (1986): 150–69, esp. 168.

tempore passionis eius assistens cruci, qua hoc erat fixum quod ipsa peperat, maternorum viscerum dolore confixa est. et animam illius illa, quae eius secundum carnem filium, ipsa spectante, confoderat, crucis rhomphaea penetrabat. [Paulinus of Nola, Epistola 50, chap. 2, Quaestiones ad apostolo, PL 61, col. 415B]

[LOWER MARGIN]
Sic adimpleuit illud 2° regum xxiiii° ubi dicit Cantor undique nimis Et illud paral. i° libro capitulo xxi° Ex omni parte angustiae me premunt sed melius et cetera [cf. 1 Chron. 21:13] subter et supra circum et sicut unde Ys. i° A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas [Isaiah 1:6] O vos omnes qui transitis per viam adtendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus [Lam. 1:12] Da mihi scutum cordis domine. Laborem tuum quem passus es in cruce [Lam. 3:65] Crucifixi memoria. crucifigit omnia vitia.

Folio 75v

¶ Typus Crucifixi iuxta Cellam Monachus per quendam sacerdotem secularem s. dominum Petrum Wolfer illic depingi procuratus insinuans hec mysteria.
¶ Sursum versus depicta est manus gerens clavem erectam santum titulum crucis.
¶ Fides coronans caput christi.
cum hec sunt verba ex Interpretatione lingue germanice
¶ Iudaismus cassatur. Christianismus coronatur.
¶ Misericordia infigens clavum manui dextree. sic loquitur
¶ Iram dei patris alligo / Christo quem cenafigo.
¶ Apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio. psalmus 129 [Ps. 29:7]
¶ Iusticia clavum infigens leve sic inquit.
¶ Hoc Iusticiae debetare. R. Christus pro pectore torquitur.
¶ In iusticia tua Libera me et eripe me. psalmus 70.
¶ Sinister iminans et vibens gladium vel. Item mal. 2
¶ Charitas latus eius perforans
¶ Irigens hec Iesu tua charitas /Qua sanguinem pro nobis sudexas.
¶ Spes Crucifixum trecumplectens
¶ Iste meus processor /Quem modo complector.
¶ Patientia clavum pedibus infigens.
¶ Ihesu vinea patientia / Peccatori datur venia.
¶ Humilitas tenens Iesum (?) stipatis
¶ Christus humilitate sua grandi / Pro nobis dignabatur pati.
¶ Subtus stipitem manus et malleo percutiens significans morte qui omnibus debet.
¶ O mors ero mors tua. Osee 13 [Cf. Hosea 13:14]
¶ Vita in ligno moritur. Infernus ex morsu despoliatur.
¶ Subtus manus typus est hominis mortui cum his versibus
¶ Domine vim patior responde pro me. Isaie 38. [Isaiah 38:14]
¶ Sagittae domini in me sunt quarum indignatio ebibit spiritum meum et terrores Domini militant contra me. Job 6. [Job 64]
¶ Et dabo clavem domus David super umerum eius et aperiet et non erit qui claudat Isias 22. Apocal. 3 [Isaiah 22:22]
¶ Tanquam sponsam secoratvit me corona. Isaie 61. [Isaiah 61] Vel sicut textus huius quasi sponsum decoratum corona [Isaiah 61:10]
¶ Dextra benedicens
¶ Venite benedicti patris mei [Matt. 25:34]
¶ Maiorem hac charitatem nemo habet. Joan. 15 [Cf. John 15:13]
¶ Qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur me non est me dignus. Mattheus 10 [Matt. 10:38]
¶ Cum pateretur non comminabatur 1 Petrus 2 [1 Peter 2:23]
¶ In humilitate iudicium eius sublatus est. Secundum LXX [Cf. Isaiah 53:8]
¶ Adtritus est propter scelera nostra. Ibidem. [Isaiah 53:5]
praecatio sacerdotis et authoris huius typi. Semper a peccatoris mundi nos fons pietatis. [added in a later hand]

Folio 76r

¶ Idem typus sub rythmis
Linguae vernaculae
¶ Fides coronans
¶ Die Judischeit wirt gehönet / Die Christenheit wirt gekrönet.
¶ Misericordia
¶ Gottes Zorn ich bind / Am Jesu Christi Gottes kind.
¶ Justicia
¶ Das ex fine den sunder leid / Schůff Gottes gerechtikeit.
¶ Charitas latus perforans
¶ Iesu din lieb was gůt / Da du vom vns vergoßt din blůt.
¶ Spes Complectens
Er hat mir vorgegangen / Nün han ich in umbfangyn.
¶ Patientia clavis infugens pedibus
¶ Jesus mit gantz gedult / Ließ ab dem sünd sin schuld.
¶ Humilitas
¶ Christus von rechten Demüttikeit / Durch vnns sin bitter marters leid.
¶ Rythmi parentum D. Petri Wolfers
circa pedem Crucifixi praecantium
¶ Durch dins todes bitterkeit / Gib vnns Christ ewig selikeit.
¶ Des vatters wort Marie kind / Löß ab hie all vnser sünd.

Appendix 2a. Text of Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37, Folio 3r–3v

Et ne uideatur impossibilter totaliter, licet appareat inexpertis difficile aliqualiter, id quod dicius, sumamus exemplum de uenerabili sacramento dominici corporis. Quod tu uidemus in manibus sacerdotis oculis corporis adoramus deuote, sicut rerum deum et hominem, humani generis redemptorem angelorum domini et demonum expugnatorem, propter hoc quod ibi uidemus oculis cordis. Nec moramur cum cogitatu nostro diu ciurca illud quod exterioribus apparet. Oculis ut pote circa albedinem, rotunditatem, et paruitatem sacre huius hostie, sed cogimus quasi uiolenter cognitionem nostrum, ut ab illis uisibilibus speciebus se auertat, et conuertat se ad inuisibilia que oculus mentis per lumen sancte catholice fidei ibi uidet et credit ueracissime, quasi diceremus cogitacionibus nostris. Id quod oculo corporis uobis cernitur non est deus noster, sed id quod ibi oculo cordis cernitur, est dominus deus noster. Hic ergo cogitate, et in hoc uos figite. Aliud exemplum prout applicari de puero extra patriam posito, qui nunquam uidit patrem suum, et cio pater mittit uictum et amictum, et ali- [3v] a necessaria, salutatque dulciter sepius per medios nuncios eundem. Non dubium quin puer iste, licet presentia? suum non uideat, moueatur naturaliter quodam amoroso affectua ad diligendum hunc presentium, et ad cogitandum sepius cordialiter de eo, et qui libenter esset apud eundem, ad uidendum ipsum sicuti est. Quia nescit an sit longus aut breuis, an albus aut niger, et sic de aliis corporalibus circumstantiis, ergo eciam in cogitando patrem suum, qualescumque humaniori corporee ymaginationes occurrerint, non in eis quiescit, sed repellit, tamquam deceptorias et inutiles.

Appendix 2b. Text of Basel, Öffentliche- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A VIII 37, Folios 3v–4r

Itaque iuxta promissa discat persona deuota: in filibus similiter agere, alioquin in orationibus et meditationibus suis non solum pertinnescerer habet promissa pericula, sed etiam inconmoda grauia aloa. Poterit enim contingere, dum homo nimis cogitat cum ymaginibus et de rerum corporalium circumstantiis ut propter fantasie flexibilitatem et inuisible hoste illudente et cooperante deueniat a deuotis et piis cogitatibus ad cogitatus turpes et impios, a puris affectionibus ad immundas, a spiritualibus ad carnales, et non-

numquam a sanctis cogitationibus ad execrande blasphemie cogitaciones. Prout nonnullis deuotis personis in hiis incautis conpertiem quoque est in ipsa ueneranda etiam ymagine crucifixi ex nimis fix consideratione circa corporis dominici nuditatem, eiusque femoralia et cetera. Qui casus sicut mulierculis est ualde possibilis, sic uice uersa poterit rasus iste et uiris esse non impossiblis si nimis figantur eorum cogitatus, erga [sic] sanctarum uirginum etiam ipsius uirginis uirginum que tamen puritatis mater est. Ymagines corporeas prout etiam experientia nonnullus docuit. Caueamus igitur dum [4r] cogitare uolumus nudum crucifixum ne incaute id fiat. Alioquin contingere poterit, domini memoria crucifixum de cruce nobis euanescere, nosque cum latronibus non tantum hiis qui cum domino crucifixi sunt. Sed et illis inuisibilius illic insidiose contra nos latitantibus solos remanere, qui et despoliantes cogitationibus et affectionibus puris et sanctis et plagis turpium et execrandarum inpositis vix femininos nos sub scruce reliquunt. Demiuiuos et feminmortuos namque nonnumque deuoti simplices se putant. Cum ex humaniori corporalium speciorum incauta et nimia ymaginacione ueniunt a sanctis cogitationibus in suis meditacionibus et oracionibus ad cogitaciones nefarias spiritu nequam sepius cooperante estimantes cum quadam desperatione, se a deo derelictos et reprobatos propter humaniori turpitudines cogitatu eorum occurentes et per consequens, se in anima a dei grata mortuos fore et unde uita corporis uiuere quod tamen falsissimum est. Ecce ad quanta peruenitur pericula ex nimio forti ymaginum corporalium rerum fantasia et ex antiqui hostis cooperationem malitiosa. Nemo tamen propter promissa credat sanctorum ymagines sicut quidam heretici senserunt esse contenendas, sed sunt potius reuerenter tractande et ea intentione qua ecclesia dei eas instituit, digne honorande. Et discamus ab hiis uisibilibus mente transire ad inuisibilia, a corporalibus ad spiritualia. Ille namque est finis ymagine.

For help on various fronts, I am grateful to Volker Honemann and Nigel Palmer. Above all, my thanks go to Jim Marrow, whose teaching first introduced me to the art of the Middle Ages and whose inspiring example made a convert out of me. Having exchanged drafts with him over decades, it was with real regret that in this one instance I was compelled to do without his criticism and insight.