

# Lovers of the World and Lovers of God and Neighbor\*

*Spiritual Commonplaces and the  
Problem of Authorship in the Fifteenth Century*

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Since Denys of Ryckel (Dionysius Cartusienis, 1402-1471) was a prolific writer, and wrote works treating all of the themes of medieval religion, it is not surprising that several treatises which he did not write have been attributed to him. Thus the *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*, composed by Gerardus of Vliederveen in the fourteenth century, was frequently attributed to Denys; the title of Gerardus' enormously popular work conflates the titles of two separate treatises later composed by Denys, the *Cordiale sive praecordiale*, and *De quatuor hominis novissimis*.<sup>1</sup> Likewise the sequence of *Specula omnis status humanae vitae*, written by the Carthusian Jacobus of Grutrode (†1475), was also attributed to Denys in manuscript and incunabulum, and was published among his works in the sixteenth-century Cologne edition.<sup>2</sup> Denys too wrote a series of *vitae* for states of Christian living.

Manuscript evidence determines conclusively that two other works attributed to Denys and published by Dirk Loër (†1554), *Speculum amato-*

\* Originally published in: Jan De Grauwe (ed.), *Historia et spiritualitas Cartusienis. Colloquii quarti internationalis Acta, Gandavi – Antverpiae – Brugis, 16-19 Sept. 1982*, Destelbergen 1983, 177-219. More recent literature: Emery 1991a & Emery 1991b. Revised by the author.

<sup>1</sup> See Mulders 1967; Hauréau 1890, 344; Axters 1970, 290-291. For Denys' *Cordiale*, see Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 40, 46-65. For Denys' *De quatuor hominis novissimis*, see Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 489-594. For a partial list of manuscripts of Gerard's popular work, see Bloomfield et al. 1979, 263-264 (no. 3057).

<sup>2</sup> See Verjans 1931; *GW*, vol. 7, 445 (no. 8419). The *Specula omnis status humanae vitae* are printed in Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 42, 647-847. Seynaeve has pointed out that Gerardus of Schiedam may have contributed something to the writing of the *Specula* (see Seynaeve's paper in this volume, *infra*, 410).

*rum mundi*<sup>3</sup> and *De perfectione caritatis dialogus*<sup>4</sup>, were not composed by him. This manuscript information is otherwise interesting, inasmuch as it illumines features of fifteenth-century book production and spirituality.

### ***Speculum amatorum mundi***

The short treatise usually titled *Speculum amatorum mundi* enjoyed great popularity in the fifteenth century. Appended to this study is an inventory – which does not pretend to be complete – of 107 manuscripts of the work (Appendix A). This number is six to seven times greater than the number of extant copies of any one of Denys of Ryckel's most popular works.<sup>5</sup> In most instances the *Speculum amatorum mundi* circulated anonymously. However, scribes and librarians have ascribed the work to Bernardino of Siena (†1444), among whose collected works the treatise was printed<sup>6</sup>; to Henricus de Hassia of Langenstein (1325-1397), who wrote similar treatises entitled *Speculum animae* and *Epistola de contemptu mundi*<sup>7</sup>; to Nicolaus of Dinkelsbühl (1360-1433)<sup>8</sup>, and to the Carthusian Jacobus of Jüterbog.<sup>9</sup> This list of authors suggests how authoritative the teaching of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* was considered by fifteenth-century readers. However, modern students of the forenamed authors in each case classify the work as dubiously ascribed.

In a previous inquiry, I cast doubt over the possibility that Denys of Ryckel authored the *Speculum amatorum mundi*.<sup>10</sup> Dirk Loër did not find the title on the lists which Denys made of his own works, nor did he find the title on the list compiled by Trithemius.<sup>11</sup> The probable source of Dirk Loër's attribution is a manuscript book from Roermond now in Vienna (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 12836).<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 39, 485-495. This text was first published among Denys' works at Cologne, 1530. See Chaix 1981, vol. 2, 486, 31.1/1.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 345-417. This text was first published among Denys' works in Cologne, 1534. See Chaix 1981, vol. 2, 31.1/1.

<sup>5</sup> An inventory of the extant manuscripts of Denys' authentic works is found in Emery 1991a, 161-217.

<sup>6</sup> Pacetti 1945, 60-61 (no. 4). In various editions of Bernardino's works, the treatise is published under the title *Speculum peccatorum de contemptu mundi* or *De speculo peccatorum*.

<sup>7</sup> Vandenbroucke 1969.

<sup>8</sup> Madre 1965, 297 (no. 6).

<sup>9</sup> Meier 1955, 87 (no. 125).

<sup>10</sup> Emery 1982, 150-155.

<sup>11</sup> The lists of Denys' works are discussed in *Ibidem*, 121; the various lists are edited in Emery 1991a, 54-118. For Trithemius, see Trithemius 1531, fol. 147r-149r.

<sup>12</sup> This manuscript is listed in Becker 1873, no. 7914. It is listed in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ven. P.P. Cartusianorum Ruraemundensium* (1740), a manuscript owned by the Gemeentearchief Roermond (see there M. van Tulden, *Inventaris van de archieven van de parochie St.*

scribe who copied the *Speculum* (*Speculum peccatorum*, fol. 65r-71r) in this manuscript does not name an author in the table, heading, or dated colophon (1463). However, in all three an annotator inserts Denys' name as the author of the treatise. Presumably he did so because the book contains many other works by Denys, including an autograph of *De vita et regimine presulum* (fol. 104r-144r), and article titles from Denys' *Speculum de conversione peccatorum* (fol. 81v; table on fol. 1r).

In the same inquiry, I discussed another manuscript copied and still owned by the Dominicans in Vienna (Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek, cod. 35/36). Neither does this manuscript name an author for the *Speculum amatorum mundi* (fol. 141r-148v). The section of the book containing the *Speculum* also contains another work copied by the same scribe and bearing a dated colophon. This work excerpts from a *Summa* based on the decretal of Lateran Council IV (1215), *Firmiter credimus*. The scribe names a certain Benedictus, Abbot of Marseille, as the author of the work. The colophon to the treatise (fol. 4r-65r, 63r) is somewhat ambiguous: it is not clear whether the date given (1423) refers to the time when the treatise was composed, or to the time when it was copied.<sup>13</sup> In my earlier inquiry, I was not able to identify the author of the work, although I mentioned that it was possibly, if improbably written by a Benedictus sometime of Marseille who died in 1427. I have since discovered the author of the text. The excerpts in the Dominican manuscript are taken from the *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores super titulum De summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica / in decretalibus* (incipit: *Firmiter credimus*), composed by Benedictus of Alignan, Benedictine abbot and later Bishop of Marseille. This Benedictus died in 1268.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, the date in the colophon (1423) refers to the time of copying; this date, as I have shown, is too early for Denys to have composed the *Speculum amatorum*

*Christoforus*, 1797-1945, no. 651). See the *Index Manuscriptorum Venerabilis Patris nostri Dionysii* (1742), item 23; the entry does not specify Denys as the author of the *Speculum peccatorum* contained in this manuscript. I wish to thank A. Geurts and P. Nissen of Nijmegen for giving me a transcription of the *Catalogus*. The manuscript is also listed among those appropriated by the authorities from Roermond when Joseph II suppressed Low Country convents in 1783. See Verschueren 1941, 41-64, no. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek, cod. 35/36, fol. 4v-5r: *Hec sunt collecta et excerpta ex summa Benedicti abbatis marsilie super capitulo: Firmiter credimus de summa trinitate et fide catholica additis paucis alijs contra diversos errores impugnationem fidem catholicam ecclesie sancte Romane* (this follows the table, fol. 4r-v) and fol. 63r (Colophon): *Explicit tractatus multum utilis et fortis pro defensione ecclesie et fidei catholice Editus per venerabilem doctorem Benedictum Abbatem marsilie Anno domini M° CCCC° XXIII°*. A description of this manuscript is made in the typewritten catalogue by Czeike 1952, 32-34.

<sup>14</sup> See Petit-Radel 1838.

*mundi*, which accompanies Benedictus' treatise in the manuscript. Nevertheless, this evidence is not final, since the dated colophon is not attached to the *Speculum*.

It is necessary, then, to explore further evidence concerning the *Speculum amatorum mundi*. Several old library catalogues cite the title. The catalogue (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) of the library of the Augustinian Canons in Rebdorf lists several works which it assigns to *Dionysius, Cartusienensis in Ruremund.*, including his *Speculum conversionis (Speculum sive dialogus de conversione peccatorum)*<sup>15</sup>, and the *Quinque specula, scilicet prelatorum, subditorum, sacerdotum, secularium, penitencie* in truth belonging to Jacobus of Gruitrode. This catalogue assigns another work to Denys, *Opuscula, que ad theoriam misticam egregie instituunt*, which is in fact a resumé of Henricus Herp's (†1477) *Directorium contemplatorum*. This small work is likewise attributed to Denys in manuscripts from Cologne and Trier.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the Rebdorf catalogue does not

<sup>15</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 39, 395-420.

<sup>16</sup> (1) See Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 659/231 8°, fol. 177v-180r: *Dionysius Cartusienensis, Directorium breve et utile ad vite perfectionem consequendam*. (Incipit) *Quicumque post rudes vite activae decursus*. Kantenich 1910, 4.

(2) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 683/245 8°, fol. 178r-181r: *Dionysius Cartusienensis, Tractatulus directivus in misticam theologiam*. Kantenich 1910, 26.

(3) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 761/309 8°, fol. 96v-100r: *Incipit directorium perfectionis venerabilis patris Dyonisii de Ruremunda ordinis Carthusiensis vel alterius boni viri, quod inter libros Dyonisii iste tractatus non reperitur*. Kantenich 1910, 87.

(4) Trier, Seminarbibliothek, Hs. 60 (R.111.12), fol. 191r-193r: *Directorium brevissimum utile multum ad vite perfectionem consequendam dyonisii Rurmondani*. Marx 1912, 50.

(5) Another manuscript in Trier assigns the work to Henricus Herp. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 621/1561 4°, fol. 278v-287r: *Tres collaciones v. memorie patris Henrici Herp ad christianae religionis perfectionem pervenire cupientibus accomodatissime*. Keuffer 1900, 78.

(6) Marks 1974, 263 assigns the work to Denys in Köln, Historisches Archiv, W\*13, fol. 22r-31v. This manuscript, copied by Peter Blomevenna, contains also Herp's *Duodecim mortificationes* (fol. 5r-21r), and *Liber intitulatus edenuym contemplatorum* (fol. 31v-150v). Despite Marks' attribution, the manuscript does not name Denys as the author of *Tres collaciones pro volentibus perficere ad perfectionem et contemplacionem* (fol. 22r). Nor does Marks cite the following information. After *Expliciunt tres notabiles collaciones pro volentibus proficere in vita contemplativa et ad perfectionem*, a note in a smaller hand different from the scribe's continues: *venerabilis patris henrici herp ordinis minorum de observancia* (fol. 31r). This manuscript is dated 1494 (fol. 150v). The Carthusians of St. Barbara's in Cologne published a Latin edition of Herp's works in 1538. The *Directorium quoddam ... ad consequendam vite perfectionem* was already printed separately and assigned to Herp by Guy Marchant, Paris, ca. 1499. See Polain 1932, 393-394 (no. 1863). The work is surely Herp's; see Mees et al. 1969. In a handwritten work, *Scriptores Cartusienses*, S. Autore remarks the problem of Denys' authorship of this work. See the note in Autore 1993, 114. Interestingly, Autore discusses this text in relation to the *Dialogus de charitatis profectu* and *Dialogus de perfectione charitatis*, the other titles under discussion in this study (Autore 1993, 115). For a full study of the transmission of the *Directorium*, with full descriptions of the manuscripts and an edition of the text, see now Emery 1991b, 702-779.

list the *Speculum amatorum mundi* under Denys' name, but cites the work as anonymous.<sup>17</sup> The old catalogue of the Abbey of Tegernsee also ascribes the *Sp(ecula) quinque statuum humane vite* to *Dionisius Rickel Cartusienis*, but gives the *Sp(eculum) amatorum mundi* to *Nicolaus Dinkelspuhel*.<sup>18</sup> The catalogue of the library of the Carthusians in Basel, compiled by Urbanus Moser in 1510, like the Rebdorf catalogue ascribes its many copies of the *Directorium contemplatiuorum* to *dionysius de Leuwis alias rickel ordinis Cartusienis*. But whereas the Basel Carthusians owned copies of the *Speculum amatorum mundi*, the catalogue does not list the title under Denys' name.<sup>19</sup> In short, even though these old catalogues make common misattributions, none of them attributes the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys.

There is at least some fifteenth-century scribal authority for attributing the *Speculum* to each of the other writers named as possible authors of the treatise. Such is not the case for Denys of Ryckel in the 106 manuscripts I have seen or found described in modern catalogues. As stated, the ascription to Denys in the Roermond manuscript is the work of an annotator. The Mainz Carthusians owned four copies of the *Speculum*; in three of these the work is anonymous. In another (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 316), a later annotator inserts both the title of the treatise and Denys' name in the heading of the text (fol. 4r). The original copyist, however, knows neither the printed title nor the author: *Explicit Sermo de vanitate seculi editus a quodam ordinis Cartusienis* (fol. 14v).<sup>20</sup> The later annotation in this manuscript perhaps may be accounted for. The Mainz Carthusians seem to have become aware of Denys' writings only after the appearance of the printed edition in the sixteenth century. The two Mainz Carthusian manuscripts bearing Denys' name (collections of sermons) were copied from the printed edition by the same scribe in the late six-

<sup>17</sup> Printed from Eichstätt, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Seminars, Cod. 116<sup>a</sup>, in: Ruf 1932, 257-316; see 275, 304.

<sup>18</sup> See Lehmann 1962, 81-83.

<sup>19</sup> See *Repertorium vniuersale Veteris ac noue librerie, Carthusien. minoris basilee, diligenti labore collectum per ... Vrbanum Moser de Abbatisella ...* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.R.I.4<sup>a</sup>, fol. 91v). A *Registrum pro antiqua bibliotheca* (A.R.I.2), and *Registrum pro noua bibliotheca* (A.R.I.3), make correspondences to the main catalogue. I wish to thank Dr. Max Burckhardt for showing me these catalogues.

<sup>20</sup> See the handwritten catalogue in the Library, *Cat. cod. Mainz*, vol 1, 8-9 (Hs. I 33), 73 (Hs. I 316), 74-75 (Hs. I 320), 95 (Hs. I 471<sup>a</sup>). Hs. I 187, 50, also contains the text. The catalogue, guided either by the note of Hs. I 316 or the printed editions or both, assigns the work to Denys; however, Denys' name has been inserted after the original entries in the catalogue.

teenth or early seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> A third manuscript attributing the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, W\*69, fol. 241r-274v), was copied from the printed edition in the seventeenth or perhaps even eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

The eleven manuscripts of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* now in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek reflect well the universal and continuous interest in the work in the fifteenth century. Moreover, one of these provides the final evidence that eliminates Denys as the author of the treatise. In all but one of the Munich manuscripts, the *Speculum* is anonymous. *Clm* 15186 (fol. 79r-86r), from the Library of the Canons Regular in Rebdorf, was copied late in the century, probably in 1493.<sup>23</sup> The copy of the *Speculum* in *Clm* 17634 (fol. 299ra-303ra), from the monastery of Semanshausen, may be dated 1476.<sup>24</sup> Although the copy of the work in *Clm* 16226 (fol. 134v-142r), from the monastery of St. Nicholas near Passau, may not be dated exactly, other texts in the book are dated 1465 and 1469 (fol. 20r, 76r, 85v).<sup>25</sup> The *Speculum* in *Clm* 2509 (fol. 230vb-233va), copied

<sup>21</sup> Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 17, *Dionysii Carthusiani totius anni sermones dominicales* (paste down, inside front cover), 284 fol.; Hs. I 78, *Sermones D. Dionisii Carthusiani et Johannis Lanspergii de sanctis* (fol. 1r), 2 + 300 + 1 fol. See Schreiber 1927, 115-116. Schreiber incorrectly cites Hs. I 17 as 'Moguntinus 13'.

<sup>22</sup> See the handwritten catalogue in the Historisches Archiv, *Handschriften: Meditationes, Livres d'heures, Gebetbücher*, 222 IV.

<sup>23</sup> Halm et al. 1878, 8-9 (no. 42). The colophon to a question *Utrum quilibet vir cum qualibet muliere possit contrahere* (fol. 188r-205v) reads: *Finitus die post festum pasce* (rubricated) *Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup> lxxii finitus per me Georgium hazel de wëysenburg*; a colophon earlier in the book (fol. 40v) gives the date 1493, *frater wolfgangus dictus Aygelspeck*. This last scribe, it appears, is the copyist of the:

(Incipit) fol. 97r: *Speculum amatorum mundi, in christo ihesu domino nostro* (rubricated) *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 conscius consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 86r: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen.*

<sup>24</sup> Halm et al. 1878, 111-112 (no. 901). The date of the treatise is given on the spine of the binding as 1476, although a colophon (fol. 215v<sup>b</sup>) dates the manuscript 1466.

(Incipit) fol. 299r<sup>a</sup>: *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 Appostolus [sic] paulus Consciis consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 302r<sup>a</sup>: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen. Explicit speculum amatorum mundi.*

<sup>25</sup> Halm et al. 1878, 62-63 (no. 476).

(Incipit) fol. 134v: *Idete quomodo caute ambuletis | non quasi insipientes | sed vt sapientes redimentes tempus quoniam dies mali sunt | propterea nolite fieri imprudentes sed intelligentes | que sit voluntas dei Vnde apostolus paulus conscius conciliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 142r: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum amen.*

by the Carmelites in Abensburg, bears the date 1458.<sup>26</sup> The text in *Clm* 17241 (fol. 266v-270v), a book once belonging to the monastery library in Scheffarn, was probably copied in 1456.<sup>27</sup> The *Speculum* copied in *Clm* 23837 (fol. 21va-27ra, origin undetermined) bears a date before mid-century: 1443.<sup>28</sup> *Clm* 24804 (origin undetermined) contains the earliest manuscript of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* (fol. 221r-228v) known to me. On the first leaf of the text one finds this rubricated note: *anno domini millesimo CCCC°XVIII° in crastino beati marci ewangeliste* (fol. 221r).<sup>29</sup> This unambiguous early date excludes Denys of Ryckel's authorship of the *Speculum amatorum mundi*. In 1419, Denys was seventeen years old; he did not profess among the Carthusians in Roermond until 1424/25. By his own testimony, Denys' *primum opusculum* was his *Contra detestabilem cordis inordinationem, vel laus Cartusiana*, which Stoelen estimates was written about 1430, but in any case was written after Denys made his profession.<sup>30</sup> At the same time that the date of the Munich manu-

<sup>26</sup> Halm et al. 1894, 1-2 (no. 9).

(Incipit) fol. 230v<sup>b</sup>: *Incipit Speculum amatorum mundi Videte quomodo caute ambuletis non quasi insipientes sed ut sapientes redimendi tempore [sic] quoniam dies mali sunt propterea nolite fieri insipientes [sic] sed intelligentes que sit voluntas dei Apostolus paulus conscius consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 233v<sup>a</sup>: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen ... Explicit speculum amatorum mundi per me leonardum puechlerum tunc tempore Rectori ecclesie beate christi matris in Abens ... Anno etc. 1458.*

<sup>27</sup> Halm et al. 1878, 91 (no. 731). On the top of the first page of the treatise (fol. 266v) in blue ink is the inscription *Ihesus Christus Maria - 56* (1456?).

(Incipit) fol. 266v: *Incipit speculum amatorum mundi* (rubricated) *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 conscius consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 270v: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur etc. Explicit speculum amatorum mundi* (rubricated).

<sup>28</sup> Halm et al. 1881, 99 (no. 964).

(Incipit) fol. 21v<sup>a</sup>: *Incipit Speculum amatorum mundi 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 Appostolus [sic] paulus. conscius consiliorum dei.* (fol. 21v<sup>b</sup>) *dei.*

<sup>29</sup> Halm et al. 1881, 143-44 (no. 1471).

(Incipit) fol. 221r: *anno domini millesimo CCCC°XVIII° in crastino beati marci ewangeliste exivi or. .X.* (rubricated) *Incipit Speculum amatorum mundi utile valde legendibus* (rubricated) *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 palus [sic] conscius consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 228v: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen.*

<sup>30</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 40, 191-259; see 194. See also Stoelen 1957, 434. For a study of this treatise, see Emery 1983.

script precludes Denys' authorship of the *Speculum*, it might strengthen the case for an earlier writer such as Nicolaus of Dinkelsbühl (1360-1433). Indeed, the only Munich manuscript which names an author for the work attributes it to Nicolaus under the title *Speculum prelatorum*.<sup>31</sup>

It is doubtful, however, that the author of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* can ever be determined certainly. One reason for this is suggested by the title-heading to the work in a manuscript now in Wolfenbüttel: *Speculum amatorum mundi de contemptu mundi per doctorum auctoritates horribiliter compilatum*.<sup>32</sup> As these words declare, the *Speculum*, like so many works popular in the fifteenth century, is a compilation. It is composed almost wholly of extracts from the most obvious monastic sources, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostom, the *Vitas patrum*, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

Moreover, the theme extracted from these authors and punctuated by the compiler – the evil of the world and the need for penance – was emphasized by nearly every pious writer in the late Middle Ages, including Denys of Ryckel in his most-often copied works (*Speculum de conversione peccatorum*, *De arcta via salutis ac mundi contemptu*, the compilation *De exemplis et documentis authenticis*<sup>33</sup>, *Exhortatorium novitiorum*<sup>34</sup>, and *De quatuor hominis novissimis*<sup>35</sup>). Like so many of his fellow writers in the time, the author of the *Speculum* judged his own age especially corrupt. If we consider, he says, the lamentable, miserable, and damnable 'course or state of the world at the present time',

<sup>31</sup> *Cm* 3409, fol. 149r-158v. See Halm et al. 1894, 78 (no. 590). This manuscript, *ex bibliotheca canonice B. Mariae V. et S. Felicitatis in Au*, gives the treatise an alternative title: *Incipit speculum praelatorum mundi mag. Nic. de Dünckelspüchel*. Madre, 297, cites this manuscript. Among other reasons, Madre doubted Nicolaus' authorship because of the late date of the manuscripts he saw. However, as stated, the 1419 date is a good one for Nicolaus. A copy of the *Speculum* is found in another Munich manuscript, *Cm* 26706 (fol. 180r<sup>a</sup>-183r<sup>a</sup>), *ex bibliotheca publica Ratisboni in Monacensum a. 1876 translatus*. See Halm et al. 1881, 205 (no. 2228).

(Incipit) fol. 180r<sup>a</sup>: *Speculum amatorum mundi brevis* (rubricated) *Videte quomodo caute ambuletis non quasi insipientes sed quasi sapientes redimentes tempus | quoniam dies mali sunt | propterea nolite fieri imprudentes Sed intelligentes | que sit voluntas dei Apostolus paulus conscius omnium consiliorum dei.*

(Explicit) fol. 183r<sup>a</sup>: *et precibus possideat prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit | et regnat | per infinita secula seculorum Explicit speculum amatorum mundi.*

<sup>32</sup> 1.7.8. Aug., fol. 261r-262r. See Heinemann 1890, 42 (no. 1611). There are only two works in this manuscript; the other, *M. Roberti dicti Holkoth ... expositio (vel postilla) libri sapientie Salomonis* occupies most of the pages (fol. 1r-260v). The *Speculum* seems here, as in other instances, to be filler for left-over blanks.

<sup>33</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 39, 395-420, 421-484, 573-621.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 38, 523-545.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 41, 489-594.



proh dolor! quod cum dolore dicendum est, tam in capitibus quam in membris, tam in clero quam in populo, tam in religiosis quam in saecularibus, tam in senibus quam in juvenibus, tam in masculino quam in feminino genere; et sic, heu ! corrupta est via universae carnis.<sup>36</sup>

In modern times, the author continues, the number of fools who follow the broad and spacious way to perdition is infinite; few are those who choose the narrow path and will be saved. Nearly all neglect the future joys of their eternal destiny for the delights of the world; but as Bernard says, after such great pleasures, what great wretchedness.<sup>37</sup> The remedy to the evils of the times is twofold: penance and recollection of the last things. Of penance, the author exclaims: *O felix poenitentia! conversio matura, quia securus.*<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the author continues, the faithful Christian should place the future judgment before his eyes and accumulate good works at all times, every hour of the day; in this way he may return what he owes to God.<sup>39</sup> Alas, however, because of a spiritual pride caused by 'the dust of earthly cupidity, the fire of fleshly concupiscence, and the swelling of pride', men seldom remember the brevity of this life, or set their hearts on eternal joy and glory; consequently, they are destined to the intolerable pains of hell which cannot be expressed.<sup>40</sup> Those who would attain the joys of heaven and avoid the pains of hell must, as Scripture enjoins, 'flee from the midst of Babylon' (Jer. 51,6). Whither should they go? Clearly enough to a surer, narrower way, *ad vitam religiosam, quae tutior et salubrior est via, ut verius creditur et experimento quotidiano experitur.*<sup>41</sup>

The essentially Augustinian<sup>42</sup> therapy of this treatise was thought worthy by readers and copyists of grave and learned spiritual physicians, of a Carthusian, another Carthusian once a Cistercian, a Franciscan, and secular masters. The therapy was received by Carthusians, Benedictines, Augustinian Canons, Dominicans and others throughout Europe, from Scandanavia in the north to Italy in the south, and as far east as Bohemia and Poland. And the *Speculum amatorum mundi* was scarcely the only prescription of its kind. In manuscripts it was frequently accompanied by another small treatise titled *Speculum peccatoris*. Like the *Speculum amatorum mundi*, this latter work, composed no earlier than the twelfth century and probably after, usually circulated anonymously. However, where-

<sup>36</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 39, 487.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, 488-489.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 490.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, 491.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, 493-494.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 495.

<sup>42</sup> The theme of *caritas/cupiditas* is especially clear in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*. Martin 1962.

as the *Speculum amatorum mundi* could not be attributed to Augustine because it excerpted him and later writers, the *Speculum peccatoris* often was.<sup>43</sup> Occasionally, it found other authors: one manuscript assigns the work to 'a certain Carthusian'<sup>44</sup>, another to Richard Rolle.<sup>45</sup>

Like its companion, the *Speculum peccatoris* preaches the vanity of the world, penance, and the need to consider the last things. The author says that because our path runs in the midst of fleeting time, we must never forget our fragility and mortal weakness.<sup>46</sup> If even Samson in his strength, David in his caution, and Salomon in his wisdom could fail, what of us? As in a mirror, therefore, we must keep ever before our eyes the knowledge of our fragility, remembrance of our sins, and corruptibility of our flesh, and heedful of the last things, we must always meditate upon our imminent death and the pains of hell.<sup>47</sup> One who does so pursues true knowledge, not the science of the worldly man

cui plus placet ars Aristotelis, plus codex Platonis, quam liber divinus: quem nulla lectio laetificat, nulla scientia aedificat, nullus sermo sapit, nisi fuerit grammaticae conceptus, dialectice immaginatus, rhetorice purpuratus.<sup>48</sup>

The author himself is not averse to grammatical conception and rhetorical coloring when they are directed to a good end, such as depicting man's final hour:

Quando enim homo fit non homo, hoc est, quando aegrotescit, aegrotando aegritudo crescit, peccator expavescit, cor contremiscit, caput obstupescit, sensus evanescit, virtus exarescit, vultus pallescit, facies nigrescit, oculus tenebrescit, auris surdescit, nasus putrescit, lingua

<sup>43</sup> The *Speculum peccatoris* is printed among Augustine's works in: *PL* 40, 983-992. See Bloomfield et al. 1979, 414-415 (no. 4918). Bloomfield cites over 150 mss. of this work; the *Speculum amatorum mundi* might well accompany the treatise in some of these.

<sup>44</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Clm* 26139, fol. 44r-46v; see Halm et al. 1881, 175 (no. 1846). On fol. 44r, a note in a hand different from the text states, *Speculum peccatorum per quondam karthusiensem ad fratres suos*.

(Incipit) fol. 44r: *Quoniam karissimi in via huius vite fugientis sumus nostri dies sicut umbra pretereunt Necesse est igitur corde sollicito sepius memorare quod nostra fragilitas.*

(Explicit) fol. 46v: *ut per hec eternam dampnationem euadatis et cum domino ihesu christo vitam eternam possideatis Qui cum spiritu sancto viuit et regnat in secula seculorum Amen Explicit speculum breue et optimum peccatorum.*

<sup>45</sup> Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 685/247 8°. This manuscript contains a number of Latin works by (or ascribed to) Richard Rolle. The *Speculum peccatorum secundum R.H. (Richardum heremitum)* is found in fol. 140r-144v. The section of the manuscript (fol. 57r-150v) which contains works by Rolle is barely readable, since the ink has blotted through the pages. See Kantenich 1910, 30-31 (no. 685). This manuscript belonged to the Carthusians in Trier; see fol. 151r: *liber domus sancti Albani iuxta treuerim ordinis Carthusiensis*.

<sup>46</sup> *PL* 40, 984.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, 985-986.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, 988.

fatiscit, os obmutescit, corpus tabescit, caro marcescit: tunc carnis pulchritudo fetor efficitur et putredo, tunc homo solvitur in cinerem, et vertitur in vermem.<sup>49</sup>

Only if one has prepared himself 'through discipline, correction of behavior, satisfaction of penance, contrition of heart, and purification of conscience' can he overcome the horror of this moment.<sup>50</sup>

As we have noted elsewhere<sup>51</sup>, the two *specula* travelled together in the Roermond manuscript now in Vienna, and in the manuscript made by the Vienna Dominicans. The two works are also found together in two of the manuscripts in Munich; in one of these they are pieces in a sequence of three works: *Speculum maius peccatorum* (the text discussed here), *Speculum minus peccatorum*, and *Speculum amatorum mundi*.<sup>52</sup> Another manuscript in Munich containing the *Speculum amatorum mundi* also contains, appropriately enough, the *Cordiale quatuor nouissimorum* of Gerardus of Vliederveen.<sup>53</sup>

Frequently – together or singly – the two *specula*, because of their brevity and universal appropriateness, served as convenient fillers of left-over space in a gathering or book. At other times they served as set-pieces of anthologies including other similar works. For example, Colmar, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 195, a book composed of several separate manuscripts assembled in the fifteenth century at the Abbey of Augustinian Canons in Marbach, presents the two treatises in a small anthology of short treatises mainly by Augustine or ascribed to him. Leaves 87r-188r, collected in eight gatherings of twelve leaves and a final gathering of eight, form a separate manuscript written by a single scribe in a clear cursive script. Like the Munich manuscript to which we have referred (*Clm* 15186), this one presents, as its first three works, the sequence *Speculum peccatorum editus*

<sup>49</sup> *PL* 40, 987-988.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 988.

<sup>51</sup> Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12836, fol. 65r-71r, 71r-74v. Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek, cod. 35/36, fol. 141r-148v, 184r-188v. See Emery 1982, 150-155.

<sup>52</sup> *Clm* 26706, fol. 180<sup>r</sup>-183<sup>r</sup>, 348<sup>r</sup>-352<sup>r</sup>. See Halm et al. 1881, 205 (no. 2228). *Clm* 15186 (see note 23 above) contains the three treatises in fol. 71r-77v, 77v-79r, 79r-86r.

(Incipit) fol. 71r: *Incipit speculum maius peccatorum* (rubricated) *Quoniam karissimi in via huius seculi fugientis sumus dies nostri sicut umbra pretereunt. Necessè est igitur corde sollicito memorari sepius quod nos tra fragilitas.*

(Explicit) fol. 77v: *Ut per hec eternam dampnationem euadas, et cum domino ihesu christo vitam eternam possideas. Quod tibi concedat ille qui est in secula benedictus amen.*

(Incipit) fol. 77v: *Speculum minus peccatorum* (rubricated) *Redite preuaricatores ad cor vacate et videte quia sum deus ysaie x l vi<sup>o</sup> Ineffabilis divine bonitatis dignacio.*

(Explicit) fol. 79r: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum amen.*

For this last treatise, see Bloomfield et al. 1979, no. 5119.

<sup>53</sup> *Clm* 17634, fol. 216<sup>r</sup>-234<sup>r</sup> (*cordiale*), 299<sup>r</sup>-303<sup>r</sup>. See note 24 above.

a *beato Augustino* (fol. 87r-101r), *Minus speculum peccatoris* (fol. 101v-104r), and *Speculum amatorum mundi* (fol. 104r-121v). These are followed immediately by the pseudo-Augustine *De triplici habitaculo* (fol. 122r-133r), another work which often joins the *specula* in anthologies.<sup>54</sup>

A book made by the Dominicans in Basel (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VIII.24) likewise presents the two *specula* as set-pieces of a small anthology. Leaves 110r-171v in this book constitute a separate manuscript written in a good *bastarda* hand. Besides two small treatises by Gerson, the manuscript contains, in order, a *Tractatus de quinque floribus mundi* (fol. 139v-152r); the *Speculum peccatoris ... a beato augustino compilatum*, dated 1442 in its colophon (fol. 152v-161r); and the *Speculum amatorum mundi* (fol. 161v-170v; 171r-v are blank). This separate manuscript is adjoined to a preceding one, the last text of which is Gerardus of Vliedervoven's *De quatuor novissimis*, copied in 1440 by the Dominican Albertus Löffler de Rinfelden.<sup>55</sup>

That the works we have cited formed a basic anthology is indicated best by two manuscripts produced by the Carthusians in Basel, Basel,

<sup>54</sup> See *Cat. cod. Colmar* 1969, 14-15 (no. 28). This catalogue ascribes the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys of Ryckel ('Denys le Chartreux'). For the provenance of the book, see the paste-down, inside front cover: (*liber Tomus Sancti Augustini In Marpach*. Besides the three *specula*, the manuscript section we speak of contains, as said, *Augustinus de triplici habitaculo Tria sunt sub omnipotentis manu habitacula ... laudabunt deum omnipotentem benignum et misericordem cui honor et gloria per seculorum secula* (fol. 122r-133r; printed in: *PL* 40, 991-98; *sermo beati augustini de vanitate seculi* (fol. 133r-140v); *Augustinus super versum psalmi c. 18 Bonitatem et disciplinam* (fol. 140v-144v); *Augustinus de timore domini* (fol. 144v-146v); *Sanctus Augustinus de humilitate et obediencia* (fol. 146v-150v); *Libellus qui dicitur occupacio deuotorum* (fol. 150v) ... *Alio nomine dicitur speculum anime* (fol. 188r) (fol. 150-188r). For the *De triplici habitaculo*, see Bloomfield et al. 1979, 526 (no. 6082).

<sup>55</sup> A description of this manuscript may be used in the Universitätsbibliothek in the fascicule *Beschreibungen A VIII*. The *Speculum amatorum mundi* ends in the usual formula: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen Explicit Speculum amatorum mundi* (fol. 170v). The colophon on fol. 161v (rubricated) gives a date: *Explicit speculum peccatoris. Anno 1442 a beato augustino compilatum*. For the *Tractatus de quinque floribus mundi* (Incipit) *Quicumque uoluerit esse amicus huius mundi inimicus dei constituetur iacobi 4° Tot sunt negocia huius mundi ...* (Explicit) *Ad quam nos peruenire faciet ihesus christus in secua seculorum Amen* (fol. 139v-152r), see Bloomfield et al. 1979, 402 (no. 4761). As stated, Gerard van Vliedervoven's treatise, contained in a different manuscript section of the composite book, bears a dated colophon: *Et sic est finis quatuor nouissorum scripta per me Alberchtum loefler de Rinfelden Anno domini 1440* (fol. 101r). See Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 69 (no. 185) & 251 (Albertus Löffler de Rinfelden). For samples of Albert's writing, see Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 2, 93 (Abb. 227-229). I wish to thank Dr. Scarpatetti for his generous help in Basel. Another manuscript owned by the Dominicans in Basel, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.118, also contains the *Speculum amatorum mundi Sermo* (rubricated) with a variant formulaic ending *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui est benedictus in secula Amen* (fol. 303r-306r). A note on the top of fol. 303r indicates that the work was copied *In Erphordia*. For a description of the manuscript, see Binz 1907, 156-169.

Universitätsbibliothek, A.VII.20 is a high-grade quarto volume (21 x 14,5 cm), written by one scribe on paper in single columns (14.5 x 8.5-9,5 cm, 29 lines). The fine Basel catalogue of dated manuscripts says that this manuscript was copied by Heinricus Hermanni de Vullenhoe (1403/04-1467?), who was originally from the diocese of Utrecht and later professed among the Carthusians in Basel. However, the current but carefully formed hybrid-textual script of this manuscript differs from the other known examples of Heinricus' writing.<sup>56</sup> Even so, Heinricus, who was a calligrapher, seemingly had a hand in making this book. For now we shall remark that the manuscript contains a number of blue and red initials at the beginning of treatises, the letter design, letterfill, and flourishes of which resemble closely those to be found in many manuscripts made by the Carthusians near Utrecht.<sup>57</sup>

As its table states (fol. 1v), this manuscript is a *Rapularius*. Many of the texts which it contains, by the Carthusians Henricus of Kalkar (1328-1408) and Jacobus of Jüterbog, by Gerson, Petrus Alliacus, Arnaldus of Villanova, and William of St. Thierry, in sum form an *apologia* for and encomium of Carthusian asceticism.<sup>58</sup> These treatises follow a group of other treatises, most of the titles of which we shall now recognize. The first six works in the collection are the *Tractatus de quinque floribus mundi* (fol. 3r-12r), *Speculum peccatorum* (fol. 12r-19r), *Cordiale de quatuor nouissimis* (fol. 19r-73v), *Tractatus deuotus de contemptu mundi* (fol. 73v-98r), *Vocatorium ad Christi refectorium* (fol. 98r-116v), and *Ex tractatu augustini de triplici habitaculo* (fol. 117r-118v). The last treatise of the

<sup>56</sup> Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol 1, 259 and vol 2, 56 (Abb. 154: A.VII.20). Dr. Scarpatetti concurs with my judgment concerning the script. For the initials, see fol. 12r, 19r, 235v, etc.

<sup>57</sup> See Emery 1982, 144-146, where I refer to some of these manuscripts produced at the Charterhouse in Bloemendael near Utrecht in the late fifteenth century.

<sup>58</sup> *Ortus et decursus ordinis carthusiensis editus a venerabili patre henrico de Kalker* (fol. 118v-139v); *Tractatus magistri Arnoldi de villa nova ... contra detrahentes carthusiensibus propter perpetuam eorum ab esu carniū abstinenciam* (fol. 140r-145r); *Tractatus magistri et domini petri cameracensis ... de hoc quod fratres carthusienses racionabiliter abstinent ab esu carniū perpetue* (fol. 145r-162v); *Epistola beati bernardi [sic] abbat̄is ad fratres de monte dei ordinis cartusiensis* (fol. 176v-182); *Opusculum epistolare magistri Iohannis gerson ... de Religionis perfectione et moderamine, ad instanciam cuiusdam cartusiensis editum et compilatum* (fol. 187v-199r); *Tractatus de ordinis cartusiensis excellencia, editus per Reuerendum patrem Iacobum quondam abbatem monasterij paradisi ordinis cisterciensis ... postmodum hunc ordinem quem laudauerat intrauit* (fol. 200r-228v); *Tractatus de approbacione religionis cartusiensis et statutorum eius per sedem apostolicam editus per prefatum dominum Iacobum* (fol. 228v-235v). The manuscript also contains small excerpts concerning the excellence of religious life (fol. 162v-176v, 199r-v), and privileges bestowed on the Order (fol. 182v-187v). For a description of the manuscript, see the fascicule in the Universitätsbibliothek, *Beschreibungen A VII*.

book, as if framing the specifically Carthusian matter, is the *Tractatus de vanitate seculi* (fol. 235v-244v), that is, the *Speculum amatorum mundi*.<sup>59</sup>

The intent of this collection, made in 1467, and the care taken in its composition and production is expressed amply in a preface to the whole book written in red letters and set off by blue paragraph markers:

Nouerint vniuersi et singuli librum hunc visuri et lecturi quod nos fratres carthusienses habemus in statutis nostris scriptum Quia verbum dei ore predicare non possumus saltem manibus illud predicemus videlicet scribendo libros edificatorios exhortatorios et deuotos Sperantes a domino mercedem pro omnibus qui per eos vel de errore correpti fuerint vel in catholica veritate profecerint pro cunctis eciam qui vel de suis peccatis et viciis compuncti. vel ad desiderium patrie celesti fuerint accensi Illo igitur respectu et statuto permoti conscripsimus rapularium istum per diuersos auctores compilatum In quo habentur plura bona documenta et exhortaciones efficaces, atque exempla notabilia que merito possunt hominem bone voluntatis mouere ad compunctionem et ad vite sue emendacionem. Rogamus igitur instanter et seriose monemus quoscumque legentes eundem ut diligenter caueant. ne ipse maculetur vel destruat quia reuera non sine notabili labore et studio est collectus et conscriptus Et postquam fuerit a desiderantibus sufficienter perlectus tunc nobis caritatiue restituitur.

Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup> lxxvij<sup>o</sup> circa festum epiphannie domini. completur hoc opus apud carthusienses in basilea minori (fol. 2v).

This preface, written in a hand more formal than that of the rest of the manuscript, was apparently penned by Heinricus Hermanni de Vullenhoe, since the exact text, in the same format and same hand, prefaces another Carthusian manuscript, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A.VI.14. Here the colophon to the preface states:

Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup> lxx<sup>o</sup> circa festum purificationis virginis marie completur hoc opus per fratrem heinricum Vollenhoe Traiectensis dyocesis Carthusiensium professum in basilea minori. Deo Gracias (fol. 1v).

This high-grade folio volume (29 x 21.5 cm), written on paper in single columns (20 x 14.5 cm) in the fine bastarda script of Heinricus<sup>60</sup>, has the same styled initials as the one made two years later. Presumably, Heinricus wrote, rubricated, and ornamented the earlier manuscript, but left the copying of the text to someone else in the later one, which he also rubricated and ornamented. Furthermore, as the preface implies, Heinricus seems to have chosen and arranged the texts of the two manuscripts, for both, with only a few insignificant differences, contain the same works in

<sup>59</sup> Here the *Speculum amatorum mundi* has the formulaic ending: *Quod nobis omnibus misericorditer prestare dignetur. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuuit et regnat dominus noster ihesus christus per infinita secula seculorum Amen* (fol. 244v). The titles of the treatises in the manuscript are rubricated.

<sup>60</sup> See Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol 1, 48 (no. 132) and vol 2, 78 (Abb. 189: B.I. 13a, 1463) for a specimen of Heinricus' writing most similar to this one.

the same order.<sup>61</sup> In these collections, the anthology of works against the world provides the contextual rationale for the others which defend and commend austere Carthusian practice. The aptness of this anthology for Carthusian life was perceived in another Charterhouse. A manuscript now British Library, Additional ms. 41618, begins with the same five texts, in the same order, as the Basel manuscripts, omitting only the extracts from the *De triplici habitaculo: Tractatus de quinque floribus mundi* (fol. 2r-12r), *Speculum peccatorum* (fol. 12r-19v), *Cordiale de quatuor nouissimis* (fol. 19v-71r), *Tractatus deuotus de contemptu mundi* (71-92v) and *Vocatorium ad Christi refectorium* (fol. 92v-109v). These are soon followed by the *Tractatus de uanitate seculi* (fol. 120-129v) (*Speculum amatorum mundi*). Besides these treatises, this manuscript, copied in the Charterhouse of Buxheim in 1469, contains several others touching Carthusian matters contained as well in its Basel counterparts.<sup>62</sup>

Dirk Loër's attribution of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* to Denys of Ryckel is in many ways explicable. Elsewhere the treatise, all the more esteemed for being commonplace, tended to acquire for its author the nearest pious authority. Clearly, the work was deemed suitable for Carthusians. Further, Loër knew that Denys, in the list of his works which he made, said that he had forgotten the titles of many of them.<sup>63</sup> If Loër found the treatise in a Roermond manuscript containing mostly works by Denys, he could easily presume that the *Speculum* was one which Denys forgot. However, Denys did set down criteria for identifying his authentic works. Denys says that his works proceed *per articulos*; the *Speculum*, however, is so brief as not to require text division. Further, Denys says, one may identify his works *ex stilo, item tenore et forma*. Now the *Specu-*

<sup>61</sup> *Tractatus de quinque floribus mundi* (fol. 1r-7r); *Speculum peccatorum* (fol. 7r-11v); *Cordiale de quatuor nouissimis* (fol. 11v-43v); *Tractatus deuotus de contemptu mundi* (fol. 43v-56v); *Vocatorium ad christi refectorium* (fol. 56v/57r-66v); *Ex libro augustini de triplici habitaculo* (fol. 67r-68r); *Ortus et decursus ordinis carthusiensis ... a ... heinrico de kalker* (fol. 68r-79v); *Tractatus magistri Arnoldi de villa nova ... contra detrahentes carthusiensibus ...* (fol. 79v-82v); *Tractatus ... petri episcopi cameracensis ... de hoc quod fratres carthusienses rationabiliter abstinent ab esu carniarum* (fol. 82v-92v); *Epistola beati bernardi abbatis ad fratres de monte dei* (fol. 100r-103v); *Opusculum epistolare magistri iohannis gerson ... de Religionis perfectione et moderamine* (fol. 107r-113v); *Tractatus de ordinis cartusiensis excellencia editus per Reuerendum patrem dominum Iacobum ...* (fol. 114r-130r); *Tractatus de approbacione religionis cartusiensis ... editus per prefatum dominum Iacobum* (fol. 130-133v); *Sermo de uanitate seculi* (*Speculum amatorum mundi*) (fol. 134r-139v). For the other contents, some of which differ from those in A.VII.20, see the description in the Universitätsbibliothek.

<sup>62</sup> See *Cat. cod. London* 1959, 92-94 (no. 41618). The manuscript was purchased in the Munich sale of Buxheim manuscripts, 1883. I have not seen the book first hand.

<sup>63</sup> Denys says this in the list of his works found in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 631/1562 4°, fol. 227r-229v, printed in: Teeuwen 1938, 101-108. See 108 (fol. 229v).

*lum* is composed mainly of excerpts from other authors; moreover, although like all of Denys' works it has a scriptural incipit, it lacks a *prooemium* which usually begins Denys' writings. Finally, Denys says that his writings almost invariably end with the formula, *Qui est super omnia Deus sublimis et benedictus*.<sup>64</sup> The treatise as printed in the Cologne edition ends with a curtailed version of this formula: *Quod nobis tribuere dignetur Jesus Christus in saecula sublimis et benedictus. Amen*.<sup>65</sup> The Roermond manuscript (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12836, fol. 71r), although variant, may supply the germ of the ending in the printed text: *Quod nobis concedat ihesus cristus in secula benedictus*. I have seen only one other ending to the work similar at all to these: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui est benedictus in secula Amen* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.118, fol. 306r).<sup>66</sup> Otherwise, the text in manuscripts ends, with the usual slight variants: *Quod nobis prestare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum Amen*.<sup>67</sup> In no instance does Dirk Loër's *sublimis* appear. Did Loër insert the phrase *sublimis et benedictus* into the ending-text of his manuscript in order to make the work conform, in one point at least, to the identifying marks of Denys' other works? There would be little reason to suspect that Loër did, excepting that there is evidence of more serious tampering in another work which he assigned to his author.

### ***De perfectione caritatis dialogus***

The works which we have so far discussed emphasize one pole of medieval spiritual life as defined by Augustine: cupidity. The work we now discuss emphasizes the opposite pole: charity. On the list of his works which he himself made, Denys of Ryckel names two with a similar title: *Dyalogus de caritatis profectu*, and *Dyalogus de perfectione caritatis*.<sup>68</sup> In his list of Denys' works, Trithemius cites only one with a title resembling these, *De perfectione charitatis*; here the title lacks the short incipit usually given for a work by Trithemius.<sup>69</sup> In his conflated list of Denys' works, Dirk Loër cites both titles. One – *Dialogus de caritatis profectu* – Loër lists as 'not yet

<sup>64</sup> For Denys' statement of criteria, see Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 1, XLIX-L.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 39, 495.

<sup>66</sup> See note 56 above.

<sup>67</sup> See notes 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 55 above. There are, of course, slight variations among these, but no *benedictus* or *sublimis*. In no case do I know of another instance of *sublimis*.

<sup>68</sup> Teeuwen 1938, 106.

<sup>69</sup> Trithemius 1531, fol. 148v.



found'. Under the second title – *Dialogus de perfectione caritatis* – Loër printed a treatise in his edition of Denys of Ryckel's works.<sup>70</sup>

The text which Dirk Loër printed appears with a different title in manuscripts and old catalogues. The work is copied with one other, the *Liber spiritualis gracie* of Mechtilde of Hackeborn (fol. 1ra-134vb), in a manuscript produced by the Crosiers in Cologne in the 1490s (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, GB4° 257, fol. 135ra-228vb).<sup>71</sup> In this manuscript, the work is anonymous. The rubricated title-*incipit* reads:

Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram et perfectam dei et proximi dilectionem habens fundamentum ex theologia mistica Et licet sit pro religiosis et aliis deuocioni deditus | multum utilis potest nichilominus deseruire et ceteris catholice fidei professionibus eundem ad dilectionem teneamur Editus a quodam cartusiensi ad dei laudem et aliorum edificatio || Incipit prologus in eandem materiam (fol. 135r<sup>a</sup>).

The text appears in an incunabulum, printed by M. Wenssler in Basel, with the same title formula found in the Cologne Crosier manuscript:

Tractatus de modo p[er]veniendi ad vera[m] et [per]fecta[m] dei et p[ro]ximi dilectionem. Habens || fu[n]damentu[m] ex theologia mistica. Et lic[et] sit || p[ro] religiosis alijs deuoc[i]oni deditus, multu[m] utilis potest nichilominus deseruire et cet[er]is catholice fidei p[ro]fessorib[us] cu[m] omnes ad dilectione[m] dei et p[ro]ximi teneamus. Editus a quoda[m] cartusie[n]si ad dei laude[m] et alio[rum] edificac[i]o[n]e[m] Incipit p[ro]logus in eandem materiam.<sup>72</sup>

Under a slight variant of this title (*De dilectione Dei et proximi*), without the name of an author, a manuscript of the work is cited in a fifteenth-century library catalogue from Deventer. Likewise (*Modus perveniendi ad veram charitatem Dei et Proximi a quodam Carthusiano*) a manuscript of the work is listed in an eighteenth-century (1795) Liesborn catalogue.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 1, LXVIII (nos. 164-165). 165: *Dialogus de perfectione caritatis. Prooemium: Super omnia caritatem habete*, etc. See *Ibidem*, vol. 41, 345-417.

<sup>71</sup> See Vennebusch 1980, 262-263. The *Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram et perfectam dei et proximi dilectionem* is found in fol. 135r<sup>a</sup>-228v<sup>b</sup>.

(Incipit) fol. 135r<sup>a</sup>: *Prologus: Caritas excellentissima satis in diuino commendatur eloquis et in sanctorum doctorumque scriptis Ut ibi Deus ca[ri]tas est.*

(Table) fol. 136r<sup>a</sup>: *Tabula capitulorum.*

(Incipit) fol. 137r<sup>b</sup>: *Incipit de caritate materia Caritatis lex ut in corde scribatur petitur Capitulum 1 (rubricated) Amator meus amor meus amantissime amabilissime domine ihesu christe deus meus saluator meus Qui amore venisti ad homines incarnatione factus homo.*

(Explicit) fol. 228v<sup>b</sup>: *Impetra ergo nobis hanc quesumus o mater et domina nostra gloriosissima post deum nostrum unica spes nostra ac tota beatitudo consolacio et salus nostra Amen – Id est ita est Fiat ergo veraciter o maria pro ut confidimus desideramus et petimus Et ignosce presumptioni etc.*

<sup>72</sup> See Hain 1831, vol. 2, pt. 1, 453 (no. 11491). This *incunabulum* might well have been printed from one of the manuscripts from the Basel Charterhouse which we mention presently in this study. The title *incipit* of the *incunabulum* is rubricated.

<sup>73</sup> Obbema 1973, 164 (D11b); Rose 1905, 1439-1444 (n. 1443, no. 96): *Catalogus bibliothecae Liesbornensis ... anno 1795.*

As printed, Dirk Loër's text possesses all the marks of Denys of Ryckel's authentic writings. First, it has a scriptural incipit and a *prooemium*. Secondly, it is further divided into fifty-one *articulos*. Thirdly, it ends triumphantly with at least essential elements of Denys' customary formula: *in aeternum et ultra vivens, regnans et imperans, super omnia benedictus in saecula. Amen.*<sup>74</sup> We should note here, however, that this ending does not correspond at all with that found in the Cologne Crosier manuscript<sup>75</sup>; we shall discover the reason for this presently. Lastly, the treatise conforms broadly to the 'tenor and style' of other works by Denys. The last chapters of this dialogue constitute an introductory treatise on mystical theology. The author develops traditional formulae also developed by Denys in his various mystical writings. The formulae of the dialogue are inherited from the standard late medieval library of mystical theology: the works of pseudo-Dionysius as read through the lens of Augustine's doctrine of love by Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Thomas Gallus, Bonaventure, Hugh of Balma, Rudolph of Biberach and other writers.

The dialogue about charity takes place between the Lord and his Disciple. The Disciple wishes to know the path to unitive love. The Lord answers in terms echoing Richard of St. Victor and Bonaventure: *compunctionem cum tremore, admirationem cum stupore, et exultationem cum fiducia seu delectatione*. These affects correspond with three attributes of God – power, wisdom, and goodness – and three powers of the soul – irascible, rational, and concupiscible.<sup>76</sup> The Disciple next asks the differences among *contemplatio, meditatio et cogitatio*. Observing that his Disciple clearly knows little about scholastic theology, the Lord frames his response in the terms of mystical theology. The whole of the Lord's answer depends upon a conventional distinction between the two theologies,

<sup>74</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41,

347: *Prooemium: Super omnia caritatem habete, quod est vinculum perfectionis. Coloss. 111, 14. Caritatis excellentia in divino Eloquio, in sanctorum Patrum Doctorumque scriptis uberrime commendatur. Unde Joannes ait apostolus: Deus caritas est.*

349: (Incipit, 1) *Articulus Primus: Adspirationes ad Deum pro lege caritatis, ut in corde scribatur. Amator meus, amor meus, amantissime, amabilissime Domine Jesu Christe, Deus meus, Salvator meus, qui amore venisti ad homines in incarnatione, factus homo.*

417: (Explicit) *Quod praestare digneris misericorditer tu, summa potentia, aeterna sapientia, infinita bonitas, gloriosissima Trinitas et indivisa Unitas. Domine Deus meus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, in aeternum et ultra vivens, regnans et imperans, super omnia benedictus in saecula. Amen.*

<sup>75</sup> See notes 71 and 74 above.

<sup>76</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 398-399 (art. 40). See Richard of St. Victor, *Benjamin major*, V, 5, in: *PL* 196, 174-175. Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, Prologus, 4; IV, 3; VII, 2, in: Bonaventura 1891, 296, 307, 312.

made notably by Hugh of Balma in his famous *quaestio unica*.<sup>77</sup> The Lord explains that in mystical theology, as opposed to scholastic theology, affection precedes understanding, taste precedes vision, practice precedes theory. Now in mystical theology, although contemplation, meditation, and cogitation are one *in re*, they are distinct *in ratione*. In terms which he borrows from Richard of St. Victor<sup>78</sup>, the Lord asserts that in cogitation the mind wanders, in meditation it inquires, and in contemplation it wonders. Cogitation wanders about without labor and without fruit; meditation goes forward with labor and yields fruit; contemplation flies around (*circumvolat et circumfertur*) without labor, yet is the most fruitful.<sup>79</sup>

The Lord's distinction between scholastic and mystical theology is less extreme than Hugh of Balma's. Like Richard of St. Victor, Bonaventure, and Denys of Ryckel he stresses the reciprocity of intellect and affection in contemplation. The Lord distinguishes speculative and mystical theology in various, analogous ways. One pertains to the intellect, the other to the affections; one has for its object the true, the other the good; one merits the name *scientia*, the other *sapientia*; one is acquired through investigation, the other through penitence; one is learned in the study of letters, the other in the school of religion. Strictly speaking, contemplation resides in the intellectual powers of the soul; however, true contemplation is never attained unless it be mediated by ecstatic and unitive love in the affective powers. Hence, in contemplation the threefold, hierarchical order of affective powers – the sensual appetites, the rational appetite or will, and *synderesis or apex mentis* – acts in accord with the threefold, hierarchical order of rational powers – sensible cognition, reason, and *intelligentia*. Like Hugh of St. Victor and Bonaventure, the Lord equates the soul's three degrees of power with the soul's three eyes, carnal, rational, and spiritual above reason.<sup>80</sup> Thus, as Richard of St. Victor, Bonaventure and many others teach, three degrees of contemplation correspond to the three degrees of spiritual power: *per Dei vestigium corporale et temporale creaturarum*; *per Dei imaginem in mente humana*; *per contemplationem*,

<sup>77</sup> Hugh of Balma, *Mystica theologia*, in: Bonaventura 1596, 726-730. See Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, I, 7, in: Bonaventura 1891, 298.

<sup>78</sup> Richard of St. Victor, *Benjamin major*, I, 3-5, in: *PL* 196, 66-69). See I, 3 (66-67): *Contemplatio autem omnia circumvolat, et cum voluerit se in summis librat. Cogitatio est sine labore et fructu. In meditatione est labor cum fructu. Contemplatio permanet sine labore cum fructu. In cogitatione evagatio, in meditatione investigatio, in contemplatione admiratio.*

<sup>79</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 399-400 (art. 41).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, 401-402 (art. 42). See Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, I, pt. 10, 2, in: *PL* 176, 329-330); Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, II, 12, in: Bonaventura 1891, 230.

*supra creaturas*. These three in turn correspond with degrees of being outside, within, and above the soul.<sup>81</sup>

The author of the dialogue does not cite his sources; after all what he says was already common doctrine before the fifteenth century.<sup>82</sup> The Lord goes on to divide the three degrees of contemplation into six according to an ascending sixfold order of powers in the soul specified by Richard of St. Victor and adopted by Bonaventure: sense, imagination, reason, intellect, intelligence, and *apex mentis* or *synderesis scintilla*. As does Bonaventure in a memorable way, the Lord symbolizes these degrees by means of the image of the six-winged Seraph.<sup>83</sup> The remaining eight articles of the treatise, as set forth in the Cologne edition, are arranged according to the basic threefold ascent of contemplation. The Lord speaks next of meditation on the Passion, the crucial middle term of spiritual ascent through which one must pass lest he be a robber. In meditation on the Passion one enters the divine as through a gate, finding pasture without in Christ's humanity, and within in his divinity. This scriptural motif (John 10,9) is expounded amply in the same way by, among others, Rudolph of Biberach.<sup>84</sup> After expressing the usual cautions about meditation on the Passion (one should not linger in the humanity, etc.)<sup>85</sup>, the Lord instructs the Disciple in praying the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* affectively, in a manner similar to that recommended by Hugh of Balma.<sup>86</sup> Moving from meditation to prayer, the text follows the conventional monastic order of *meditatio*, *oratio*, *contemplatio*.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, the last two articles in Dirk Loer's printed text recapitulate the six degrees of contemplation. Here the author follows Bonaventure; concerning the two highest

<sup>81</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 402 (art. 43). See Richard of St. Victor, *Benjamin minor*, 74, in: *PL* 196, 53; Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, I, 2 and 4, in: Bonaventura 1891, 297.

<sup>82</sup> That these ideas are commonplace is evident from their presence in Jean Gerson's *De mystica theologia* (ed. Combes 1955). See e.g. I, pt. 5, 26 (Combes 1955, 66-67), *de tribus oculis anime et tribus affectionibus correspondentibus*; 27 (*Ibidem*, 67-70), *Tribus prenominate cognoscendi modis, qui cogitatio, meditatio, contemplatio*; I, pt. 6, 28-30 (*Ibidem*, 70-80), *differentiam inter theologiam mysticam et speculativam*.

<sup>83</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 403 (art. 43). See Richard of St. Victor, *Benjamin major*, 1,6, in: *PL* 196, 70-72; Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, I, 6, in: Bonaventura 1891, 297. For the six-winged seraph, see *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, VII, 1, in: *Ibidem*, 312.

<sup>84</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 403 (art. 44). See Rudolph of Biberach, *De septem itineribus aeternitatis*, in: Bonaventura 1596, Prol., dd. 1-6, 145-150.

<sup>85</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 405-408 (art. 46-47).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, 408-415 (art. 48-49). See Hugh of Balma, *Mystica theologia*, II, 2, in: Bonaventura 1596, 704-710, and II, 3, in: *Ibidem*, 710-711.

<sup>87</sup> See Guigo II the Carthusian, *Epistola de vita contemplativa (Scala claustralium)*, in: Colledge & Walsh 1970, 81-123.

degrees of contemplation he paraphrases chapters five and six of the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*.<sup>88</sup> The fifth degree of contemplation, accomplished through a light from above sealed in the mind, reveals God as 'the first and principal being, but not as the highest good'. The latter is reserved for the highest degree, wherein God is viewed as self-diffusive goodness, a goodness which generates three persons in its essential unity. This goodness expresses itself without in the mystery of the Incarnation, which no creature can penetrate sufficiently. This mystery is the source of the human soul's ultimate ecstasy.<sup>89</sup>

At one place or another in his treatises on contemplation and mystical theology, Denys of Ryckel employs all of these conventional, authoritative terms and orders of the spiritual life.<sup>90</sup> Thus, if there were not conflicting evidence, there would be no strong reason for doubting that this dialogue concerning charity was his. Denys too composed by compiling. However, Dirk Loër was not the only modern editor to print the treatise. Unaware of Loër's edition, and therefore having no knowledge that the dialogue had been ascribed to Denys, the eighteenth-century bibliophile from Melk, Bernhard Pez (1683-1735), published the work in his many-volumed anthology of forgotten treasures.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, V, in: Bonaventura 1891, 308-310 (*De speculatione divinae unitatis per eius nomen primum, quod est esse*); VI, in: *Ibidem*, 310-312 (*De speculatione beatissimae Trinitatis in eius nomine, quod est bonum*).

<sup>89</sup> Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 415-416 (art. 51).

<sup>90</sup> See, for example:

*De donis spiritus sancti*, in: Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 35, 202-203 (lib II, art. 32): *De distinctione et convenientia inter dona sapientiae et intellectus*; 223-227 (lib. III, art. 20-23): *De dono scientiae*.

*De contemplatione*, in: Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 41, 154-156 (lib. I, art. 19): *Quomodo triplici via ad contemplationem perducimur*; 165-166 (lib I, art. 26): *De speciebus contemplationis, triplex theologia*; 240-241 (lib II, art. 5): *De contemplatione secundum Hugonem*; 241-244 (lib. II, art. 6): *De contemplatione et speciebus ejus secundum Richardum de S. Victore*; 245-247 (lib II, art. 8): *De contemplatione et speciebus secundum Doctorem devotum ... dominus Bonaventura*; 257-258 (lib. III, art. 3): *De differentiis inter theologiam speculativam ac mysticam*.

*Elementatio theologica*, in: Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 33, 119-120 (*Propositio 12*): *theologia symbolica ... de intelligibilibus ... mystica*.

*In librum De mystica theologia*, in: Dionysius Cartusianus 1896-1935, vol. 16, 442 (*Praefatio*): *Denique de hac supergloriosissimi Dei contemplatione, non utique naturali, informi, insipida, philosophica, intellectuali tantum, speculativa atque scholastica sed supernaturali, formata, suavi, theologica, affectiva, infusa, in hoc libro tractat theologus*; 491-492 (art. 3. *Absolutiones breves ac necessarie*): *Quae mysticae theologiae definitio sit, itemque subjectum atque objectum*.

<sup>91</sup> Pez 1723-1740, vol. 6, 2-214. The dialogue is found in the second volume of the reprint (original vols. 5-8).

The manuscript of the dialogue which Pez found in his Abbey library<sup>92</sup> said only that the work was written by 'a certain Carthusian'. At first Pez assigned the treatise to Nicolaus Kempf of Strasbourg. Later, however, he found a title in Trithemius, *De commendatione charitatis*, the two-word incipit of which (*Charitatis excellentia*) matched that of the work in his manuscript.<sup>93</sup> Trithemius listed the work among those of Heinricus Arnoldi de Alveldia (ca. 1407-1487), Carthusian of Basel, and Prior of that Charterhouse from 1449 to 1480.<sup>94</sup> With his text of the dialogue, Pez printed the commendation of its author which he found in Trithemius. This commendation praised Heinricus Arnoldi as a *vir religione devotus, ingenio clarus, affectu sincerus, moribus gravis, eloquio dulcis, conversatione affabilis, pius, mansuetus, exemplo fulgidus, in sacris litteris plurimum exercitatus & Pontificii Juris non ignarus*.<sup>95</sup> Pez was now confident; surely the matter of the dialogue befitted one so described. On the basis of this judgment and the two-word incipit, Pez ascribed the treatise to Arnoldi. Of course, he had earlier decided that the treatise was worthy of the character of Nicolaus Kempf; doubtless he would have found it worthy of Denys of Ryckel. On the authority of Trithemius and Pez, a few modern scholars have attributed the dialogue on charity to Heinricus Arnoldi.<sup>96</sup>

Pez printed the dialogue under the title also found in old library catalogues, in the Cologne Crosier manuscript, and in the Basel *incunabulum: Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram & perfectam dei & proximi dilectionem*. Indeed, the title formula in Pez's text is the same found in the Cologne manuscript and Basel *incunabulum*.<sup>97</sup> A comparison of the texts

<sup>92</sup> Pez 1723-1740, vol. 4 (in reprint: vol. 1) regarding *Nicolaus de Argentina: Hunc ex Codice Mellicensi, signato litt. O num. 35*; vol. 6 (in reprint: vol. 2): *Editus nunc ex MS. Cod. Monasterii Mellicensis*. Pez also knew a ms. in Ottobeuron.

<sup>93</sup> See *Ibidem*, vol. 4.

<sup>94</sup> Trithemius 1531, fol. 158v. For Arnoldi de Alveldia, see Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 259.

<sup>95</sup> Pez 1723-1740, vol. 6 (in reprint: vol. 2); Trithemius 1531, fol. 158v.

<sup>96</sup> Ray 1937, 893. Autore 1925, 2338-2339. Martin 1979, 259-260. Martin 1981, 106. Martin 1992, 307-308. The arguments of these authors are circumstantial; they are persuaded by the anonymous Basel *incunabulum* and Pez's assertion that the work is Arnoldi's and not Kempf's or Denys'. These scholars apparently were unable to consult Basel manuscripts. Ray 1937 mentions A.IX.6 as containing the *Liber meditationum et orationum* of Heinricus, but this is only a register, not the collection (See Appendix B). Ray also cites A.VII.30 for several titles, but not for the *Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram et perfectam Dei et proximi dilectionem*. If Ray had seen A.VII.30, he would have found the autograph. Nor has Martin, who follows Ray and Autore, seen the Basel Manuscripts, and thus he does not know the autograph.

<sup>97</sup> Pez 1723-1740, vol. 6 (in reprint: vol. 2):

*Incipit Tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram & perfectam dei & proximi dilectionem, habens fundamentum ex Theologia mystica. Et licet sit pro Religiosis & aliis devotioni deditis multum utilis; potest nihilominus deservire & caeteris Catholicae fidei professoribus; cum omnes ad*

printed by Pez and Dirk Loër reveals other significant differences besides the titles. First, where Loër's text has a *prooemium*, Pez's has a *prologus*; Pez's prologue lacks the scriptural incipit to be found in Loër's *prooemium*. Secondly, Pez's text is divided into fifty-one 'chapters', not 'articles'. In Pez's text, as in the Cologne Crosier manuscript, a table of chapters follows immediately after the prologue; this table is absent in the Cologne printed edition. Thirdly, whereas the *personae* of the dialogue in the Cologne printed version are called *Dominus* and *Discipulus*, they are called *Dominus* and *Ego* in Pez's. Finally, and most significantly, the order of the last eight chapters in the two texts differs considerably. As we have shown, these chapters in Dirk Loër's text progress from the topic of meditation on the Passion, to aspirative prayer, to contemplation, according to a conventional, hierarchical order of discursive thought, affection, and vision. Pez's text nearly reverses this order, treating the six degrees of contemplation first, next meditation on the Passion, and finally the two chapters on the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*.<sup>98</sup> If there is a principle behind the

*dilectionem dei, & proximi teneantur; Editus a quodam Carthusiensi ad dei laudem, & aliorum aedificationem.*

*Incipit Prologus in eandem materiam. CHARITATIS excellentia satis in divino commendatur eloquio, & in Sanctorum Patrum Doctorumque scriptis, ut ibi, Deus charitas est (3-4).*

*(Table): Sequuntur Capitula hujus Libri sequentis (7-12).*

*(Incipit, ch. 1): Incipit Liber Pulcher, et Valde Utilis de Charitate Materia. Cap. 1. Charitatis lex, ut in corde scribatur, petitur. ego. Amator meus, amor meus, amantissime, amabilissime Domine jesu Christe, Deus meus, Salvator meus, qui amore venisti ad homines, in Incarnatione factus homo (13).*

*(Explicit): Impetra ergo (214) nobis hanc, quaesumus, o Mater & Domina, nostra gloriosissima, post Deum nostrum unica spes nostra, ac tota beatitudo, consolatio & salus nostra. Amen. Id est, verè ita est, & fiat ergo veraciter o MARIA, prout confidimus, desideramus & petimus; & ignosce praesumptioni. Anno Domini MCCCCLVII. Lege MCCCCLXXV (213). See note 71 above.*

<sup>98</sup> In the following table, the first column provides the article heading and number in Dirk Loër's edition (indicated by 'DL'), the second the chapter heading and number in Bernhard Pez's (indicated by 'Pez').

<i>Quomodo tribus modis debeat se quis exercere in meditatione dominicae passionis (44; Pez 46).</i>	<i>De quatuor primis contemplationis distinctis gradibus (44; DL 50).</i>
<i>Passionis Domini septem effectus ostenditur (45; Pez 47).</i>	<i>De aliis duobus contemplationis gradibus (45; DL 51).</i>
<i>De cautela in meditationibus habenda (46; Pez 48).</i>	<i>Tribus modis potest quis se exercere in Passione Domini (46; DL 45).</i>
<i>De cauta conversatione contemplativi (47; Pez 49).</i>	<i>Passio Domini septem magnos habet effectus, quos ostendit (47; DL 45).</i>
<i>Affectus Deum orandi ut pater consulitur, et dominica Oratio elucidatur (48; Pez 50).</i>	<i>De cautela in Meditationibus &amp; Orationibus, ipsis devotis necessaria (48; DL 46).</i>

order of the final chapters in Pez's text, it is not so much hierarchical as a progress from theory to practice. As a consequence of the different chapter order, the ending of Dirk Loër's text is to be found in Pez's chapter forty-five; there it lacks the terms of Denys' customary signature.<sup>99</sup>

Unluckily, I have not been able to consult the manuscript in Melk from which Pez printed his text. Nevertheless, the Cologne Crosier manuscript and other manuscripts justify Pez's disposition of the text. Three manuscripts of the work made in the Charterhouse of Basel, Arnoldi's monastery, are extant.<sup>100</sup> Two of these, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.69 and A.X.83, are closely related. The quarto size and single column page format of both are nearly identical; each was written by a single scribe in a *bastarda* script. Both are rubricated in the same places, and the red initials in both are similarly formed and have the same white inlay design. Both manuscripts bear rubricated colophons on the final written leaf, each giving the same date, 1472. One of these names the Carthusian scribe.<sup>101</sup>

*Modus orandi beatissimam virginem Mariam et Salutatio angelica explicatur* (49; Pez 51).

*De quibusdam gradibus contemplationis sublimioris qui comitari solent meditationem devotionemque* (50; Pez 44).

*De duobus aliis contemplationis gradibus* (51; Pez 45).

*De cauta conversatione contemplativi & devotioni vacare volentis* (49; DL 47).

*Affectus Deum orandi ut Patrem consulitur, tanquam utilior* (50; DL 48).

*Conclusio operis cum Ave MARIA, ut Domina charitatem impetret* (51; DL 49).

<sup>99</sup> Pez: *Quod praestare digneris misericorditer tu summa potentia & aeterna sapientia, & infinita bonitas, gloriosissima Trinitas & indivisa unitas, Domine Deus meus, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus in aeternam & ultra vivens, regnans & imperans feliciter* (183). See note 74 above.

<sup>100</sup> See Steinmann 1982, 426: *tractatus de modo perveniendi ad veram et perfectam dei et proximi dilectionem*.

<sup>101</sup> The manuscripts are:

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.69, 160 fol. (paper); 21 x 14,5 cm, single col. 13,5 - 14 x 8 cm, 25 lines per col., 1 hand, *bastarda*. Colophon, fol. 160r (affixed to *Exhortatio de sancta humilitate*, fol. 126v-160r): *deo gracias anno M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>lxxii*. Provenance (fol. 1v): *Liber carthusiensium in Basilea* (and elsewhere). Old number: E CIX (fol. 1v). See Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 99 (no. 265); vol. 2, 218 (Abb. 542). See *Beschreibungen A.X.41-70*.

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.83, 215 fol. (paper); 20,5 x 14 cm, single col. 13,5 x 9 cm, 25 lines per col., 1 hand, *bastarda*. Colophon, fol. 215r: *tractatus deuotus de reformatione virium*. Fol. 149v-215r: *Finitur Anno domini 1472<sup>o</sup> per manus fratris johannis gipssmüller. Etatis tunc temporis 32*. Provenance: *Liber Carthusiensium Basilee* (fol. 27v, 29r, 215v). See Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 264 (*Johannes Gipsmüller O. Cart., 1439/40-1484*), 102 (no. 273); vol. 2, 188 (Abb. 465) and also 189 (Abb. 466).

One might usefully compare the letter form, inlay design, and marginal tails of the red initial (A)s in A.X.69., fol. 5v (6 line), and A.X.83, fol. 32r (6 line – here the initial is filled and blocked with a simple silver-gray ink design).



Furthermore, but for one interesting exception, the two manuscripts contain the same works. A.X.69 contains two works. The first of these (fol. 2r-124v), wanting the name of an author and entitled simply *materia de caritate* (fol. 2r), *de caritate materia* (fol. 5v), proves to be the text printed by Pez and Dirk Loër. The second work in the manuscript is a sequence of small items grouped under the heading *scripta de humilitate* (fol. 126v-160r). A.X.83 likewise contains these two texts, but reverses their order; here the *scripta de humilitate* comes first (fol. 1r-27v), followed by (fol. 28r-v blank) the treatise (fol. 29r-142v) *materia de caritate* (fol. 29r). The treatise in this manuscript also wants the name of an author. To these two works, this manuscript adds a third (fol. 149v-215v), *tractatulus deuotus de reformatione virium Qui intitulatur Homo quidem* (fol. 149v). In a rubricated note, the scribe states that the author was *Gerhardus de sotphania. vir magne litterature habitans inter clericos in communi viuentes* (fol. 151v). A second rubric to this treatise might apply to all of the works we have been studying: the scribe says that although Gerardus' treatise will be useful for all, it is most useful for religious who in the reformation of their souls *sunt defectuosi. et non perfecti* (fol. 151v).

In both of these manuscripts, the material concerning charity conforms to the pattern of Pez's text. Both follow the same order of prologue, table, and chapters; the *personae* in both are called *Dominus* and *Ego*. In both the ending of chapter forty-five, which concludes the whole work in Dirk Loër's edition, lacks the terms of Denys of Ryckel's signature.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Comparison:

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.69.

(Incipit, Prol.) fol. 2r: *Prologus in materiam de caritate* (rubricated) *CAritatis excellentia satis in diuino commendatur eloquio et in sanctorum patrum doctorumque scriptis. Vt ibi Deus caritas est.*

(Table) fol. 3r-5r: *Tabula Capitulorum* (rubricated) ... (fol. 5r) *De quatuor contemplationis distinctis gradibus Capitulum xliiii De aliis duobus contemplationis gradibus Capitulum xlv Tribus modis potest se quis exercere in passione domini. Capitulum xlvi Passio domini septem magnos habet effectus. quos ostendit. Capitulum xlvii De cautela in meditationibus et orationibus. ipsis deuotis necessaria. Capitulum xl viii De cauta conuersatione contemplatiui. et deuotio- ni vacare volentis Capitulum xlix Affectus de-*

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.83

(Incipit, Prol.) fol. 29r: *Incipit prologus in materiam de Caritate* (rubricated) *Caritatis excellentia satis in diuino commendatur eloquio. et in sanctorum patrum et doctorumque scriptis. Vt ibi. Deus caritas est.*

(Table) fol. 30r-31v: *Sequitur Tabula Capitulorum* (rubricated) ... (fol. 31v) *DE quatuor primis contemplationis distinctis gradibus. xliiii. DE aliis duobus contemplationis gradibus .xlv. TRIBUS modis potest se quis exercere in passione domini .xlvi. PASSIO domini septem magnos habet effectus quos ostendit .xlvii. DE cautela in meditationibus et orationibus ipsis deuotis necessaria. xlviii. DE cauta conuersatione contemplatiui et deuo-*

These two manuscripts evince the same methodic, careful production we have seen in other books of the Basel Charterhouse. A third book containing the material concerning charity is less artfully executed. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VII.30 is a composite quarto volume (21 x 14,5 cm) binding together one parchment and two paper manuscripts, as well as four printed texts. The first manuscript is a parchment gathering of ten leaves, written in one column in a well-formed hybrid textual and bearing an elaborate red, blue, and green initial on its first recto (fol. 1r). Interestingly enough, this manuscript is a copy of the *exhortatorium nouitiorum venerabilis deuotique patris Dyonisii Cartusiensis. domus bethleem in Ruramunda* (fol. 1r-10v; 10v). The paper manuscript which follows is different altogether, written in a current, generally cursive hand, and wanting any rubrication. This section of the book contains a number of devotional works, all anonymous, including the *de caritate materia* (fol. 39r-86v). This paper manuscript is followed by four printed texts (fol. 126r-224r); the first of these, printed in Basel in 1476, is a litany against the Turks (fol. 126r-129v). Its author, according to the book's colophon, is Heinricus Arnoldi. The book's final paper manuscript, a single gathering of twelve leaves (fol. 226r-236v) also contains a work explicitly attributed to Arnoldi. The colophon to the work entitled *De beati Brunonis origine*

*um orandi et patrem | consulitur. tanquam vtilior Capitulum quinquagesimum Conclusio cum ave maria | ut domina caritatem impetret. Capitulum li.*

(Incipit, ch. 1) fol. 5r: *Incipit de caritate materia Caritatis lex ut in corde scribatur petitur capitulum 1 (rubricated) Amator meus. amor meus. Amantissime. amabilissime. domine ihesu christe. deus meus. saluator meus. Qui amore venisti ad homines in incarnatione. factus homo.*

(Ending, ch. 45) fol. 105v: *Quod prestare digneris misericorditer | tu summa potentia | et eterna sapientia | et infinita bonitas | gloriosissima trinitas | et indiuisa vnitas | domine deus meus | pater | et filius | et spiritus sanctus | in eternam et vltra | viuens | regnans | et imperans feliciter.*

(Explicit) fol. 124v: *Amen Id est vere ita est. fiat ergo veraciter. (o maria) prout confidimus | desideramus. et petimus Et ignosce presumptioni.*

See notes 71, 74, 98, 99 above.

*tioni vacare volentis .xlix.*

*Affectus deum orandi ut patrem consulitur tanquam vtilior. Capitulum. L.*

*Conclusio cum Ave maria. ut domina caritatem impetret. Capitulum li.*

(Incipit, ch. 1) fol. 32r: *Caritas lex ut corde scribatur petitur. Capitulum primum (rubricated) Amator meus. amor meus. amantissime, amabilissime. domine ihesu christe. deus meus. saluator meus. Qui amore venisti ad homines. in incarnatione. factus homo.*

(Ending, ch. 45) fol. 124r: *Quod prestare digneris misericorditer. tu summa potentia. et eterna sapientia. et infinita bonitas. gloriosissima trinitas et indiuisa vnitas. domini deus meus. pater. et filius. et spiritus sanctus. in eternum et vltra viuens. regnans et imperans feliciter.*

(Explicit) fol. 142v: *Amen. Id est vere ita est. Fiat ergo veraciter o maria prout confidimus. desideramus. et petimus. Et ignosce presumptioni etc Explicit opus de caritate (rubricated).*

*genere et nobilitate cum scientia* states that it was copied by Ludouicus Moser, Carthusian monk of Basel, in 1486 *ex cirographo venerabilis patris domini heinrici de Alueldia eiusdem domus quondam prioris* (fol. 236r).<sup>103</sup>

There are, however, more than two works by Arnoldi in this book. A manuscript register of Arnoldi's writings, to which we shall turn shortly, discloses that all of the items in the first paper manuscript (fol. 12r-122v) – including the *de caritate materia* – were composed by him. Moreover, not only does this manuscript contain works by Arnoldi, it was also written by him.<sup>104</sup> A note to the *Oratio pro caritate impetranda a domino ihesu fundata aliquantulum super via purgatiua illuminatiua et vnitiua seu perfectiua* (fol. 37r-38v), written in the same hand as the text, confirms that author and writer are the same:

Istam oracionem feci primum deinde tractatum sequentem Et oracio ista quasi nucleus materie de caritate Sed ante omnia prius feci. oracionem magnam de humilitate in forma scripti minoris Et tali ordine deberent hec tria conscribi pro excopiantis etc videlicet primum de humilitate 2° de caritate 3° tractatus de caritate (fol. 37r).

Besides revealing that the manuscript is an autograph, this note explains why the order of the *scripta de humilitate* and *materia de caritate* is reversed in the two other, otherwise similarly conceived Basel manuscripts. One copyist knew the author's instructions (A.X.83), the other (A.X.69) did not.

As we have suggested, there is sure external testimony to Heinrich Arnoldi's authorship of the treatise which Dirk Loër printed under the title *De perfectione caritatis dialogus*. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.IX.6 (fol. 44r-58v) contains a register *super opusculis Hainrici Arnoldi Cartusiensis* (fol. 46r). A transcription of this register is appended to the present study (see Appendix B). This register, at one time attached to a single collection of the works which it lists<sup>105</sup>, was compiled and here written by

<sup>103</sup> For a description, see *Beschreibungen A VII*. For Ludovicus Moser, Paludianus O. Cart. (1442-1510), see Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 269. The sample in *Ibidem*, vol. 2, 58 (Abb. 368: B.VII.19) most resembles Ludovicus' hand in A.VII.30.

<sup>104</sup> See Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 58 (no. 161); vol. 2, 236 (Abb. 586). The date in the colophon (fol. 122v), 1483, written by a second hand, cannot refer to the date of composition for Heinrich's *opus de caritate*. As we have seen, this work had already been copied in 1472.

<sup>105</sup> The author of the list, Jacobus Louber, says that he has collected Arnoldi's works into one volume 'with the greatest labor' (fol. 46r). Presumably this list served as a table to the manuscript which Louber mentions, since folio numbers correspond to the titles on the list. Ray 1937, 893, cites three volumes, listed in Rosenthal's sale catalogue for manuscripts from the Charterhouse of Buxheim (Munich, 1893), which contained the collected works of Arnoldi. At the time of Ray's article, these codices were lost. Recently they have been traced. Achten 1983, reports that these three manuscripts now reside in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theo. lat. qu. 324 (1, 2, 4). These three codices, copied after 1505, contain the first three parts (see Appendix B) of the five-part collection of Arnoldi's writings assembled by Louber. The two codices containing

Jacobus Louber (1440-1513)<sup>106</sup>, one-time prior of the Basel Charterhouse and reorganizer of its library. Louber considered himself a personal ‘disciple’ of Arnoldi’s. Among the many titles which Louber lists in his register, the following is especially marked with a nota bene hand: *Tractatus profunde speculationis / de Charitate dei et proximi quinquaginta vnum capitula continens* (fol. 47r).

Louber’s text yields a further fact. His commendation of Heinricus Arnoldi is the same one printed by Trithemius and reprinted by Pez. Trithemius probably copied Louber, for his text stops while Louber’s continues, and his list of Arnoldi’s works looks like an abbreviation of Louber’s. In any event, it is clear that editors and bibliophiles, like their authors, traded commonplaces.

Finally, we must point out that Heinricus Arnoldi’s autograph, as all the other manuscripts we have seen, sanctions Pez’s text against Dirk Loër’s on every essential point where they differ.<sup>107</sup> Along the way, someone changed the original text of the treatise *de caritate materia*. This person was probably Dirk Loër. Loër was an enthusiastic searcher of Denys of Ryckel’s lost works. In my judgment, when he came upon an

the two last parts are still lost. Dr. Achten and I have compared our findings. The codices in Berlin may have been copied from the original which Louber may have taken to Buxheim (where he was later prior) after leaving Basel. – [See also Achten 1984, 121-128. – EDS]

<sup>106</sup> For Louber, see Scarpatetti et al. 1977, vol. 1, 261.

<sup>107</sup> Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VII.30.

(Incipit, Prol.) fol. 39r: *Prologus in materiam de caritate Caritatis excellentia satis in diuino commendatur eloquio. et in sanctorum patrum doctorumque scriptis Vt ibi. Deus caritas est.*

(Table) fol. 39v-40v: *Tabula Capitulorum ... (40v)*

*De quatuor primis contemplationis distinctis gradibus Cap. xliiii De aliis duobus contemplationis gradibus Cap. xlv*

*Tribus modis potest se quis exercere in passione domini Cap. xlvi Passio domini septem magnos habet effectus quos ostendit cap. xlvii*

*De cautela in meditationibus et orationibus ipsis deuotis necessaria Cap. xl viii De cauta conuersatione contemplatiui et deuotioni vacare volentis Cap. xlix Affectus deum orandi ut patrem consulitur tanquam vtilior Cap. L Conclusio cum Ave maria ut domina caritatem impetret Cap. Li.*

(Incipit, ch. 1) fol. 42r: *Incipit de Caritate materia Caritatis lex ut in corde scribatur petitur Cap. I Amator meus. amor meus. amantissime. amabilissime. domine ihesu christe. deus meus. Qui amore venisti ad homines. + in incarnatione factus homo + [text inserted].*

(Ending, ch. 45) fol. 80r: *Quod prestare digneris misericorditer. tu summa potentia. et eterna sapientia. et infinita bonitas. gloriosissima trinitas. et indiuisa vnitas. domine deus meus. pater et filius et spiritus sanctus in eternum et vltra. viuens. regnans. et imperans feliciter.*

(Explicit) fol. 86v: *Impetra ergo nobis hanc quesumus. o mater et domina. nostra gloriosissima. post deum nostrum vnica spes | nostra tota beatitudo consolatio et salus nostra Amen. Id est vere ita est fiat ergo veraciter. o maria prout confidimus. desideramus. et petimus. Et ignosce presumptioni etc.*

See above, notes 71, 74, 99, 100.

anonymous treatise, the contents of which so suitably fit a lost title, he altered its words and form so that it would meet the requirements of authenticity. This judgment, if it should eventually prove incorrect, in the meantime raises a frightful spectre for the student of Denys' writings. If Loër altered one text in this way, why not others? In light of the findings of this study, the authenticity of every work of Denys' listed by Dirk Loër but not mentioned by Denys himself must now be established independently. The difference between the two lists comprises over forty titles.

On the other hand, the attribution of spurious works to Denys is understandable. Denys did write a *Speculum* of sinners; like Gerardus of Vliederhoven, he wrote a *De quatuor novissimis*; like Jacobus of Gruitrode, he wrote *specula* for various states of Christian living; and like Henricus Arnoldi, he wrote a dialogue about charity. In fact, he wrote two such dialogues, both of which must now be presumed lost. Like so many authors in his time, Denys was a compiler; moreover, it is clear that he tailored his thought to the pattern of widely used conventional genres. Not only spiritual writers followed such practices of composition. The English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, for example, was a notable thief and compiler, and his intent in the *Canterbury Tales* was to speak in the voice of every established popular genre. This intent did not deter but rather perfected Chaucer's invention. I would argue the same for Denys of Ryckel. None the less, a convention-bound and compiling method of composition raises difficulties for the modern historical scholar, who seeks different things than the medieval monk in the texts he reads. The difficulty is particularly great when one attends such texts as we have discussed which develop the over-arching commonplaces of a thousand years of religious culture. These texts are specimens of the *vin ordinaire* of medieval religious life. One might add that this wine is a robust *vin rouge*, colored by the scarlet of sin and the brilliant flame of seraphic love.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> The research for the original essay was made possible by a fellowship from the Newberry Library, Chicago, and a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

## Appendix A. An Inventory of Manuscripts of the *Speculum amatorum mundi*

The following inventory does not pretend to be complete; it represents manuscripts I have consulted, or for which I have found citations. The preponderance of manuscripts from the Germanic countries in this list may simply reflect the focus of the investigator's research; it is evident, in any case, that the *Speculum amatorum mundi* was especially popular in these areas.<sup>109</sup>

See also the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, Schoenberg\_62610, which records a copy of the *Speculum amatorum mundi* from the Abbey of St. Peter in Erfurt, dated 1450, in a sale catalogue of 1831.

1	Aachen, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Stadt Aachen, Ms. 46 [Dutch translation]	1595	Mentzel-Reuters 1992, 70
2	Arnsbach, Staatliche Bibliothek (Schloßbibliothek), Ms. lat. 19, fol. 199ra-204vb	1437	Keller 1994, 59-66, esp. 62
3	[Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 295, fol. 106ra-110rb]	[ca. 1450]	[Emery 1991b, 586; Gehrt 1989, 62-64, esp. 64]
4	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.1.2° 12, fol. 38r-43ra (attributed in MS to Nicolaus de Dinkelspuhel)	15th c. (3rd quarter)	Hägele 1996, 126-128, esp. 127
5	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.1.2° 47, fol. 279va-286rb	ca. 1470	Hägele 1996, 221-229, esp. 226
6	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 104 (B.IV.35), fol. 292r-297r	1464	Leitschuh & Fischer 1903, 486-489, esp. 488 (no. 104)
7	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 4 (Q.II.22), fol. 262r-266r	14th/15th c.	Leitschuh & Fischer 1903, 558-559, esp. 559 (no. 4)
8	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 106 (Q.III.31*), fol. 260r-265v	15th c.	Leitschuh & Fischer 1903, 666-671, esp. 669 (no. 106)
9	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VI.14, fol. 134r-139v ( <i>Sermo de uanitate seculi</i> )	1465-1466	Scarpattetti et al. 1977, Text, 48 (no. 132); Abbildungen, 78 (Abb. 189)
10	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VII.20, fol. 235v-244v ( <i>Tractatus de vanitate seculi</i> )	1467	Scarpattetti et al. 1977, Text, 56 (no. 154)
11	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.VIII.24, fol. 161v-170v	1440 (45r, 101r) 1442 (161v)	Scarpattetti et al. 1977, Text, 69 (no. 185)
12	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.X.118, fol. 303r-306r	1440, 1441, 1445	Binz 1907, 156-169, esp. 167

<sup>109</sup> [Additional manuscripts as well as catalogue information have been added between brackets by the editors, primarily based on Emery 1991a & Emery 1991b, and by the author in revising this essay in 2011. – EDS]

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|----|---|------------------------------|---|
| 13 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. lat. qu. 663, fol. 274r-282r]           | [1456]                       | [Emery 1991b, 585, 587 & Theele 1913, 187-188]                    |
| 14 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms.theol. lat qu. 165, fol. 290r-296r]      | [from Erfurt; ca. 1425-1450] | [Emery 1991b, 585, 587; Achten 1979, 77-86, esp. 85]              |
| 15 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. qu. 311, fol. 2r-11r]       | [ca. 1455-1460]              | [Emery 1991b, 586-587; Achten 1984, 90-94, esp. 9]                |
| 16 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. qu. 348, fol. 197r-203v]    | [ca. 1450]                   | [Emery 1991b, 586-587; Achten 1984, 176-181, esp. 180]            |
| 17 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. qu. 354, fol. 209r-215v]    | [ca. 1475-1500]              | [Emery 1991b, 586-587; Achten 1984, 192-195, esp. 194]            |
| 18 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. fol. 510, fol. 336vb-342rb] | [ca. 1450-1500]              | [Emery 1991b, 586-587; Boese et al. 1966-1972, 91-93, esp. 92]    |
| 19 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. fol. 525, fol. 52va-56ra]   | [1426/1427]                  | [Emery 1991b, 586-587; Boese et al. 1966-1972, 103-104, esp. 103] |
| 20 | [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz,<br>Ms. theol. lat. fol. 649, fol. 307v-311v]   | [ca. 1460]                   | [Emery 1991b, 587; Becker & Brandis 1985, 142-148, esp. 147]      |
| 21 | [Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Ms. c. 34]  |                              | [Emery 1991b, 586, 587]   |
| 22 | [Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára (University Library),<br>Ms. A 18]                 | [17th c.]                    | [Emery 1991b, 586, 587; Kristeller et al. 1989, 674a]             |
| 23 | Cambridge, Cambridge University Library,<br>Additional ms. 5358, fol. 147r-                           |                              | Bloomfield et al. 1979, 556 (no. 6443)                            |
| 24 | Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale,<br>Ms. 195, fol. 104r-121v   |                              | <i>Cat. cod. Colmar</i> 1969, 14-15 (no. 28)                      |
| 25 | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek,<br>Hs. 762, fol. 400va-405va                    | 15th c. (2nd quarter)        | Staub 2001, 89-93, esp. 93  |
| 26 | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek,<br>Hs. 767, fol. 71rb-74vb                      | 15th c. (1st half)           | Staub 2001, 95-98, esp. 96  |
| 27 | [Edinburgh, University Library,<br>Ms.112 (D.b.I.13), fol. 304v-310v]                                 | [1457]                       | [Emery 1991b, 585, 587; Borland 1916; Theele 1913, 187-188]       |
| 28 | [Edinburgh, University Library,<br>Ms.113 (D.b.V.6), fol. 304v-310v]                                  | [1445; from Erfurt]          | [Emery 1991b, 585, 587; Borland 1916]                             |

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|----|---|----------------------------|--|
| 29 | [Edinburgh, University Library,<br>Ms.138 (Laing 48), fol. 296r-310r]   | [ca. 1453;<br>from Erfurt] | [Emery 1991b, 585; Borland<br>1916]                          |
| 30 | Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Cod. st 449, fol. 235vb-240ra   | 1455                       | Keller 1999, 246-252, esp.<br>249-250                        |
| 31 | Erbsdorf (Kreis Uelzen), Klosterbibliothek,<br>IV.20, fol. 47v-49v  | 1480s                      | Giermann & Härtel 1994,<br>110-118, esp. 113                 |
| 32 | [Gandersheim, Stiftsbibliothek,<br>Hs. 261, fol. 1r-4v]   |                            | [Emery 1991b, 586, 587;<br>Härtel 1978, 49-57]               |
| 33 | Graz, Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Ms. 655, fol. 97v-103r   | [1436<br>(188r)]           | Teetaert 1943, 58; [Kern<br>1942, 394]                       |
| 34 | Graz, Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Ms. 712, fol. 1r-4v  | [15th c.]                  | Teetaert 1943, 58; [Kern<br>1942, 432]                       |
| 35 | Hamburg, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Petri 26, fol. 76r-81r   | 1455                       | Brandis & Maehler 1967, 58-<br>60, esp. 59                   |
| 36 | Harburg, Schloss,<br>Cod.II.1, fol. 12, 38r-43r.  |                            | Madre 1965, 297 (no. 6)                                      |
| 37 | Hildesheim, Dombibliothek,<br>Hs. 674, fol. 363ra-365va   | 15th c. (2nd<br>half)      | Stähli et al., 1991, 102-106,<br>esp. 105.                   |
| 38 | Hildesheim, Dombibliothek,<br>St. God. Nr. 34, fol. 102ra-105rb   | 15th c. (1st<br>half)      | Giermann et al., 1993, 141-<br>145, esp. 143.                |
| 39 | [Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek,<br>Cod. Ms. Bord. 30, fol. (2nd ser.) 1r-23v]  |                            | [Emery 1991b, 587]   |
| 40 | Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv,<br>Best. 701 Nr. 151, fol. 52r-61v<br>(attributed in MS to 'Bernardinus')   | ca. 1485                   | Meckelnborg 1998, 281-289,<br>esp. 284                       |
| 41 | København, Kongelige Bibliotek,<br>Gl. kgl. S. 78 fol., fol. 269v-272v<br>(with <i>Speculum peccatorum Bernardi</i> , fol. 265v-<br>268r, and <i>Minus speculum peccatorum</i> , fol. 269r-<br>269v)  | 1449 (257v)                | Jørgensen 1926, 116-120                                      |
| 42 | København, Kongelige Bibliotek,<br>Gl. kgl. S. 92 fol., fol. 176v-181r  | 1434 (316v)                | Jørgensen 1926, 113-114                                      |
| 43 | København, Kongelige Bibliotek,<br>Thott 111 4°, fol. 36v-41v<br><i>(Explicit speculum amatorum mundi conscriptum<br/>per me Johannem Wusterhusen in Hildensen anno<br/>Domini 1424 ibidem in Carthusia et uisitau in<br/>schola sancti Andree)</i> | 1424                       | Jørgensen 1926, 160  |
| 44 | [Köln, Historisches Archiv,<br>GB fol. 46, fol. 251v-259r]  | [1511/1512]                | [Emery 1991b, 587;<br>Vennebusch 1976, 39-44,<br>esp. 41-42] |
| 45 | [Köln, Historisches Archiv,<br>GB oct. 61, fol. 67v (fragment)]   | [ca. 1450-<br>1500]        | [Emery 1991b, 587;<br>Vennebusch 1983, 50-56 ,<br>esp. 51]   |



46	Köln, Historisches Archiv, W <sup>s</sup> 69, fol. 241r-274v.		[Vennebusch 1989, 28-30, esp. 29]
47	[Latrobe, Penn. St. Vincent's Abbey, Ms. 1, fol. 206v-212r]		[Emery 1991b, 587]
48	London, British Library, Additional ms. 41618, fol. 120-129v ( <i>Tractatus de uanitate seculi</i> )	1469 (133r)	<i>Cat. cod. London</i> , 1959, 92- 94
49	[Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. theo. lat. 166, fol. 173r-180v]		[Emery 1991b, 586, 587; Cranz 1987, Reel 106]
50	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek Hs. I 33, [fol. 231r-234r]	[15th c.]	[List & Powitz 1990, 74-78, esp. 77]
51	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 187, [fol. 8r-16v]	[15th c.]	[List 1998, 160-162, esp. 160]
52	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 316, fol. 4r-14v		<i>Cat. cod. Mainz</i> , 73 (Cart. 562)
53	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 320		<i>Cat. cod. Mainz</i> , 74-75, esp. 74 (Cart. 568)
54	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I 471 <sup>a</sup>		<i>Cat. cod. Mainz</i> , 95 (Cart. 417)
55	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 211, fol. 770r-777r (names Iodocus de Hailprunna, †1457, as author)	1457	Madre 1965, 297 (no. 6)
56	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 836, fol. 254r-244v [fragment]	15th c. (4th quarter)	Schneider 1984, 545-553, esp. 553
57	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 3974, fol. 66ra-69va	15th c. (2nd third)	Schneider 1991, 504-519, esp. 512
58	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2509, fol. 230vb-233va.	1458	Halm et al. 1894, 1-2 (no. 9)
59	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3409, fol. 149r-158v ( <i>Incipit speculum prelatorum mundi mag. Nic. de Dünckelspüchel</i> )		Halm et al. 1894, 78 (no. 590)
60	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5191, fol. 142r-153v ( <i>De regimine sacerdotum</i> )	1432 (1- 141), 1468 (178r)	Halm et al. 1894, 271 (no. 1660)
61	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15186, fol. 79r-86r.	1493 (40v)	Halm et al. 1878, 8-9 (no. 42)
62	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16226, fol. 134v-142r	1465, 1469 (20r, 76r, 85v)	Halm et al. 1878, 62-63 (no. 476)
63	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17241, fol. 266v-270v	1456	Halm et al. 1878, 91 (no. 731)

64	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17634, fol. 299ra-303ra	1476	Halm et al. 1878, 111-112 (no. 901)
65	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23837, fol. 21va-27ra	1443	Halm et al. 1881, 99 (no. 964)
66	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 24804, fol. 221r-228v	1419	Halm et al. 1881, 143-144 (no. 1471)
67	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26139, fol. 44r-46v	1471	Halm et al. 1881, 175 (no. 1846)
68	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26706, fol. 180ra-183ra		Halm et al. 1881, 205 (no. 2228)
69	München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 138, fol. 189ra-193ra ( <i>Speculum peccatorum sive amatorum mundi</i> )	1455-1457	Daniel et al. 1974, 245-249, esp. 248
70	[München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 678, fol. 132va-136rb]	[ca. 1450]	[Emery 1991b, 588; Daniel et al. 1979, 167-170, esp. 170]
71	München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 680, fol. 186va-190vb	mid-15th c.	Daniel et al. 1979, 173-176, esp. 174
72	München, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. ms. 30, fol. 82r [fragment]	1410-1412	Reuter 2000, 40-46, esp. 43
73	München, Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod. ms. 350, fol. 51r-58v (attributed in the MS to Augustinus)	15th c. (last third)	Daniel 1989, 173-177, esp. 175
74	Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 18526, fol. 153r-175v [German translation]	1488-1490	Kurras 1974, 76-77, esp. 77
75	Olmütz, Wissenschaftliche Staatsbibliothek, M.II.220 (Cat. 327), fol. 319v-322v	15th c. (1st half)	Boháček & Čáda 1994, 566- 574, esp. 573
76	Oxford, Bodleian Library, 29397, now Ms. Add. A. 280 [fol. 1r-7v]	Erfurt, 1459	[Emery 1991b, 585, 588; Madan 1905, 613-614; Watson 1984, vol. 1, 40 (no. 116) & vol. 2, no. 557]
77	[Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, Ms. 574/379]	[17th c.]	[Emery 1991b, 588]
78	Praha, Universitní Knihovna, Cod. IX.B.7, fol. 279r-283v	15th c.	Truhlář 1906, 7-8 (no. 1693)
79	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 917, fol. 275r-287r	15th c.	Scherer 1875, 343-344
80	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Ms. A. 200, fol. 70r-77r	[1413-1415] From Erfurt	Bloomfield et al. 1979, 556 (no. 6443); [Emery 1991b, 585, 588]
81	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Ms.0.70, fol. 17r-22r ( <i>compositum ab egregio doctore Nic. Dünckehel- spühel</i> )	1462	Madre 1965, 297 (no. 6); [Garand et al. 1965, 401]

82	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.I.31, fol. 112rb-116va	1456	Autenrieth & Fiala 1968, 48-51, esp. 48
83	Trier, Dombibliothek, Hs. 38		Sauerland 1890-1891, 55r-56r, esp. 56r
84	[Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 526, fol. 40r-46r]	[ca. 1450-1500]	[Emery 1991b, 584-585, 588; Andersson-Schmitt et al. 1992, 326-328, esp. 328]
85	Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 10051 [fol. 1r-7v]	15th c.	Vattasso & Carusi 1914, 407-408; [Emery 1991b, 588]
86	Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Reg. lat. 261, fol. 61r-66v ( <i>Sermo de contemptu mundi</i> )	middle or late 15th c.	Wilmart 1945, 28-33, esp. 30
87	Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 683 [fol. 244vb-249ra] ( <i>Mag. Nicolai de Dinkelspuchel speculum amatorum mundi</i> )	15th c.	Stevenson & De Ros-si 1886, 242-243; [Emery 1991b, 588]
88	[Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, Ms. qu. 45, fol. 204r-220v]		[Emery 1991b, 585, 588; Theele 1913, 187-188]
89	Wien, Dominikaner Konvent Bibliothek, cod. 35/36, fol. 141r-148v	1423?	Emery 1982, 153-155
90	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 12836, fol. 65r-71r (annotator: <i>Dionysii Carthu. Speculum amatorum mundi</i> )	1463, Roermond	Emery 1982, 135-136, 150-152; [Emery 1991b, 586, 588]
91	Wien, Bibliothek des Schottenstiftes, Hs. 125 (114), fol. 199v-203r (names Henricus de Hassia as author)		Madre 1965, 297 (no. 6)
92	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1.7.8.Aug., fol. 261r-262r	15th c.	Heinemann 1890, 42 (no. 1611)
93	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 20.9.Aug.4°, fol. 139r-146r	15th c.	Heinemann 1900, 294 (no. 3237)
94	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 207.2 Extravagantes, fol 34v-41v	15th c. (1st half)	Butzmann 1972, 99-100, esp. 99.
95	[Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 419 Helmst., fol. 109r-124v]		[Emery 1991b, 588]
96	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Akc. 1948/714, fol 219ra-224vb	15th c.	Gemoll 1900, 36-39 (Hs. A.36)
97	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cod. I.F.280 (attributed here to Jacobus of Jüterbog).		Meier 1955, 87
98	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cod. I.F.293, fol. 87r-92r (attributed to Augustine)	15th c. (1st quarter)	<i>Göber-Katalog</i> , vol. 1 (I.F. 226-229), 186-191 Nr. 311

99	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cod. I.Q.412, fol. 106ra-114rb	1423	<i>Göber-Katalog</i> , vol. 17 (I.Q. 381-482), 251-253 Nr. 1253
100	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f. 208, fol. 81v-86v	1417-1439	Thurn 1986, 61-62, esp. 61
101	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. o. 25, fol. 2r-40r	ca. 1481	Thurn 1973, 184-186
102	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. q. 51, fol. 108r-113v	17th c. (1st half)	Thurn, 1973, 162-164, esp. 163
103	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. q. 140, [fol. 99v-104r]	[1481-1482]	Bloomfield et al. 1979, 556 (no. 6443); [Thurn 1990, 161-165, esp. 164]
104	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. q. 432, fol. 198r-208v	15th c. (2nd quarter)	Thurn 1990, 119-121, esp. 120
105	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2 an: I.t.f. CCLXXIV (Hubay, Nr. 1192/3), fol. 29v- 33v	mid-15th c.	Thurn, 1990, 296-297, esp. 297
106	Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift Bibliothek, Hs. 340, fol. 149r-157v ( <i>mag. Nic. de Dinkelspuel</i> )		Madre 1965, 197 (no. 6); [Ziegler & Rössl 1997]

## Appendix B.

### A Register of the Writings of *Heinricus Arnoldi de Alvelidia* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.IX.6, 44r-58v)

#### Description

This is a paper manuscript, 20,8 x 15 cm, 60 fol. The manuscript is bound in a parchment cover; it bears the writing of seven hands (fol. 1r-6r, 16v, 17v, 18r-25r, 26r-39v, 41r-43v). Two pieces of the manuscript, fol. 6v-15v and 44r-58v, are written in the distinctive cursive of Jacobus Louber.<sup>110</sup> On fol. 6v-15r, Louber copies *De distinctione horarum | et Temporibus pulsandi per totum annum* (fol. 6v); the colophon on fol. 15v reads: *Valete In domino | per Me fratrem Jacobum priorem. anno domini 1492 | infra octauas Natiuitatis domini saluatoris nostri ihesu Christi*. Fol. 44r-58v contain the register which we transcribe here.<sup>111</sup>

Jacobus Louber's handwriting requires some comments. Louber capitalizes irregularly. The capital form of some letters is distinguished clearly from the lower case form (b, c, e, g, i, l, sometimes m, q, r, s, t.). In other instances (a, d, f, h, k, sometimes m, n, o, p, u/v) the capital is distinguished from the lower case only by its relative size. Louber abbreviates often; usually his abbreviations are unambiguous. There is, however, one notable ambiguity. The end abbreviation with loop and sharp descender usually signifies the inflection, *-is*. Sometimes it signifies generally grammatical agreement with the rest of the phrase or clause. Where it does so, I shall signify by parentheses. This double use of the end abbreviation presents an ambiguity for the word *suffragi-*. Louber writes out both singular and plural: *cum suffragio*, *cum suffragijs*. When he does the latter, I transcribe *-ijs*. When he abbreviates with the looped descender, I resolve in favor of the plural *-iis*, since this

<sup>110</sup> Scarpatetti et al. 1977, Text, 76 (n. 202).

<sup>111</sup> For a complete description of the manuscript and its contents, see Binz 1907, 129-130.

is the standard resolution, and in many places Louber distinguishes immediately between the singular *suffragio* and the abbreviated form. – NB. means *Nota bene* (hand in the margin).

**Transcription**

- 44r Liber Meditationum et Orationum et Aliorum Opusculorum Patris Heinrici Arnoldi de Allueldia Cartusiensis | quondam Prioris Cartusie Basiliensis
- 44v (blank)
- 45r Breuis Commendatio predicti patris et suorum opusculorum | per quendam Cartusiensem de filijs professionis | ac discipulis suis<sup>112</sup> | Venerabilis pater Hainricus Arnoldi de Allueldia | Natione Saxo | professione monachus Cartusien- sis, domus Basiliensis | vir religione deuotus | ingenio clarus | affectu sincerus | moribus grauis | elo- quio dulcis | conversatione affabilis | pius mansuetus | exemplo fulgidus | in artibus liberalibus et sa- cris litteris plurimum exercitatus | et pontificij iuris non ignarus | Qui | cum officio Notariatus in sa- cro Concilio Basiliensis Et antea in vrbe multis annis fungeretur | fidelis | iustus prudens ac circum- spectus cunctorum testimonio inuentus est probatus | Hic tandem omnia cernens esse vanitatem | vniuersa pro christi amore contempsit Clausuram Cartusiensium eligens et durante Concilio Basilee ingrediens Vbi Triginta annis prior ac pater | subditos sibi monachos ac Conuersos ceterosque pa- terno prosequens affectu in pace et tranquillitate laudibiliter rexit Scripsit<sup>113</sup> que familiari stilo | et aperte sermone | pro fratrum suorum et aliorum in Christo pie viuere volencium edificacione | quedam plena doctrine virtutum et deuotionis zeli et Charitatis opuscula In quibus diligens lector tanquam in quodam viridario | in eynem würgarden<sup>114</sup> | inueniet copiose spiritualium geninum et aromatum delicias | ad oblectandum
- NB. 45v oculus mentis | et ad pascendum desideria cordis | Ibidemque (NB.) discent Clerici et Religiosi ministri Christi in commissis officijs exhibere diligenciam | dignitatis sue seruare moribus excellenciam | salutaribus lucere exemplis | feruere in diuinis | vitare castrimargiam | id est superfluitatem<sup>115</sup> | diligere castitatem | lucra spiritualia solerter querere | temporalia pro ne- cessitudine prudenter dispensare | animarum zelum facto ostendere | ad ea que pia sunt affectum gerere | disciplinam in cunctis |
- NB. deuocionem in ecclesiasticis | Discent eciam procuratores et ceteri officiales sic transire per bona temporalia | ut non amittant eternal sicque hoc mundo vti prouide | Ne a gracia dei contingat exci- dere | in aduersis non murmurare | in prosperis non presumere | dubijs in rebus nil temere agere | in arduis procedere strenue | deferre honorem maioribus | non iniuriari equalibus et minoribus | dei timorem nunquam negligere et amori dei conditoris nostri nichel antepone |
- Nota In hoc principatum in suis opusculis tenens inter omnes quos legimus deuotarios | Quod docendo orat | et orando docet Meditandoque narrat | et deuotissime supplicando concludit Sicque scripta et deuocionalia sua multum deseruiunt omnibus ecclesiasticis deuote orare et celebrare desiderantibus | ita quod quasi per excessum mentis dicere possit | Quod expurgent mentem | intellectum illumi- nent inflammentque affectum | Idem pater hainricus obiit quinta die mensis iunij anno domini 1487 in Cartusia Basiliensi prescripta sepultus<sup>116</sup>  
Sequitur | diuisio operis | et Registrum
- 46r Et quamquam hoc totale opus laboriosissime in vnum collectum principaliter contineat Meditati- ones et orationes deuotas | Poterit tamen non inconuenienter in quinque partes diuidi | In prima agitur de Mysterio incarnationis et passionis totaque vita christi In secunda de felici ortu beatissimi virginis marie | insignisque ipsius gloriosissimis et vite sue octo statibus premissis humilitatis et Ca-

<sup>112</sup> This title is written on a label pasted onto the leaf. Dr. Martin Steinmann, Universitätsbibliothek, Basel, kindly lifted the label for me. Underneath one finds an original title, crossed out with thick lines, and a rubric with paragraph marker: *Breuis accomoda predicti patris et suorum opusculorum commendatio cuiusdam fratris Cartusiensis discipuli sui*. This was written by Jacobus Louber.

<sup>113</sup> So far Trithemius in: Trithemius 1531, fol. 158v.

<sup>114</sup> The phrase *in eynem würgarden* is written above the line.

<sup>115</sup> The phrase *id est superfluitatem* is written above the line.

<sup>116</sup> This is a note in the bottom margin. This *commendatio* has been printed in Vischer & Stem 1872, 508-510.

- ritatis preconij | In Tercia | orationum et meditacionum de Tempore et Sanctis | pars hyemalis | incipiens a die Natiuitatis domini In quarta orationum et meditacionum de tempore et sanctis | pars Estiualis | a penthecoste incipiens | In quinta de diversis agitur exercicijs spiritualibus | ad inuocandum diuinum auxilium in nostris varijs necessitatibus | Letanie pro pace | Contra Teucros | et ad visitandum obsessum | Notabilia pro directione procuratorum ceterorumque officialium | denique multa pro nouicijs temptatis et afflictis consolatoria | prout plenissime subsequens Registrum explanabit |
- Registrum super opusculis Hainrici Arnoldi Cartusienis in hoc volumine contentis | Et primum super prima parte voluminis
- Libellus eiusdem patris | continens | vite domini nostri Iesu christi meditationes et orationes deuotissimas fo 1 et 41
  - Articuli passionis domini nostri ihesu christi triginta | cum totidie missis celebrandis pro consolatione in quibuscumque aduersis fo 46
  - Passio domini nostri ihesu christi | vna ex quatuor commixta cum glosulis suis | fo 54
  - Dialogus ihesu et marie | de Mysterio redemptionis humane | in tres partes diuisus | fo 75
  - Orationes ad quinque vulnera christi latine | fo 91 | et Theutonice | fo 92
  - Orationes XXII | ad honorandum omnia christi vulnera fo 92 | efficacissime |
  - Oratio de septem verbis domini vltimis in Cruce | fo 97 |
  - Orationes ad horas canonicas dicende | complectentes quasi totam domini passionem | fo 97 |
  - Orationes siue meditationes | ante | et post Missam | et in missa | breues et efficacissime | fo 100 | Super secunda parte voluminis Registrum |
  - Formula religiose viuendi | tradita in modum orationis de sancta humilitate | Sine humilitate namque nemo erit bonus religiosus | Nec humilitatem veram obtinebit | Nisi qui eam continue querit oratione et exercitacione | Folio 102 |
  - Exhortacio efficax de sancta humilitate | fo 110 |
  - Nucleus quasi humilitatis | per modum orationis ad beatissimam virginem mariam | sine cuius auxilio | nemo humilis erit salubriter | fo 112 |
  - Mons sancte humilitatis cum suis vij gradibus | ex libro de similitudinibus beati Anselmi extractus fo 120 |
- 47r
- Summa summarum humilitatis | Sperrere se sperni | se sperrere | sperrere nullum | fo 120
  - Via monachi in celum | fo 120 | Et gradus humilitatis secundum Benedictum |
  - Via monachi ad infemum | fo 121 | Et hij sunt xij gradus superbie | secundum Bernhardum
  - Conditiones veri humilis | fo 121 secundum Bernhardum
  - Humilitas vera cognoscitur per x signa | fo 122 pafnucius
  - Vnde anima possessionem humilitatis acquirere possit | Et experimentum | an sis uere humilis | fo 122 |
  - Oratio pro Caritate impetranda a domino ihesu | fo 122 |
  - Oratio de dilectione dei | et proximi | paucis uerbis | multa complectens | fo 124 |
- NB.
- Tractatus profunde speculationis | de Charitate dei et proximi | quinquaginta vnum capitula continens | fo 125 |
  - Trecenta quinque gaudia | seu Septem quinquagene gaudiorum | de gloriosissima virgine maria | fo 182 |
  - Quinquagena de Compassione | seu de quinquaginta gladijs anime | gloriosissime matris dei semper virginis marie | fo 193
  - Carmen graciaram actionis per comparationes de beatissime virginis marie veneranda compassione | cum addimenta eciam | folio 199 |
- 47v
- Septemplificata septem gaudia | beatissime dei genetricis semper virginis marie | fo 201 |
  - Orationes de virgine gloriosa maria | pro eo ut assit morienti in agone | fo 211 |
  - Gaudia celestia septem magne efficacie fo 212 |
  - Orationes de amicis et cognatis gloriose genetricis dei marie virginis | fo 212 |
- Super Tercia parte Registrum
- De Natiuitate domini nostri ihesu christi | Oratio fo 215
  - De sancta Anastasia virgine et martire | Orationes fo 216
  - De sancto Stephano prothomartire | Meditacio et suffragio fo 217 |
  - De christi ihesu dilectissimo discipulo | iohanne beatissimo Euangelista et apostolo | nobile dictamen | et dulce Canticum fo 218 |
  - Item alia de sancto iohanne deuota laudacio cum suffragio | fo 219 | et fo 220 | Alia oratio de sanctis iohanne Baptista et Euangelista | fo 221 |
  - De beatissimis innocentibus martiribus | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 227 |
  - De sanctissimo Thoma Cantuariense archiepiscopo et martire Meditacio cum suffragio fo 228

- 48r
- De sancto Siluestro papa Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 229 |
  - De Circumcisione domini| Oracio fo 230 |
  - De Apparitionibus | siue Epiphanijs domini |Oratio fo 231 |
  - De sancto Erhardo Episcopo Meditacio | Oratio | et suffragium | fo 231 |
  - De sancto paulo primo heremita | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 232 |
  - De beatissimis tribus Regibus | Meditacio et oracio | pro impetrando eorum patrocinio | fo 234 |
  - De sancto Hilario Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 235 |
  - De sancto felice in pincis confessore | Oratio fo 236 |
  - De sancto Marcello papa et martire | Oratio | fo 237 |
  - De sancto Anthonio abbate Meditacio fo 237 | Et exclamaciones septem cum orationibus ad eundem sanctum Anthonium vitam ipsius aequaliter tangentes | fo 239 | Et suffragium quotidianum de sancto Anthonio | fo 240 |
- NB.
- Item legenda breuis de sancto Anthonio | ex diuersis historijs per eundem patrem hainricum comportata fo 240
  - De sancta prisca virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 255 |
  - De beato fabiano Martire atque pontifice | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 256 |
- 48v
- De gloriosissimo martire sancto Sebastiano | Meditacio | oratio et suffrag[ium] | fo 256 |
  - De Agne beatissima virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio fo 259
  - De sancto vincencio martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 260
  - De sancto paulo | vide infra in commemoratione eius | fo 424 |
  - De sancto Policarpo Episcopo et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 262 |
  - De sancto iohanne Chrisostomo Episcopo | Meditacio | Oratio | cum suffragio | fo 263 |
  - De sancta Paula vidua | septem orandi puncta | fo 264 | Item Oratio breuior cum suffragio | fo 265
  - De purificatione Marie | et filij eius oblatione in templum | fo 265 | Et vide supra vij gaudia fo 207 |
  - De sancto Blasio martire atque pontifice | Meditacio Oracio cum suffragio fo 266 |
  - De sancta Agatha virgine et martire Nouem gaudia cum suffragio | fo 267 |
  - De sancta Dorothea virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio| fo 268 |
  - De sancta Appolonia virgine et martire | Septem gaudia cum suffragiis | Et Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 269 |
  - De sancto Valentino martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 271
- 49r
- De sancta iuliana virgine et martire | Meditacio | Oratio | et suffrag(ium) | fo 272 |
  - De sancto Mathia apostolo | Oratio secundum historie continenciam | Et alia oracio breuior cum suffragiis | fo 273 et sequenti |
  - De sancto Fridelino Abbate confessore | Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 275 Et legenda abbreviat(a) per eundem patrem facta est | forte alicui Basilee accomodata | quia inuenire nequicumque |
  - De sancto Thoma de aquino confessore | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 281 |
  - De dulcissimo doctore Gregorio papa beatissimo | meditacio longa et pulcherrima | cum suffragiis fo 282 |
  - De sancta Gertrudi virgine preclara | Meditacio longa cum suffragio | fo 290 |
  - De beato Anshelmo Cantuariensi ArchiEpiscopo | Meditacio | Oratio | et Suffrag(ium) | fo 293 |
  - De beatissimo Patriarcha ioseph | Nutricio domini | ac Sponso domine nostre virginis marie | Novem magnalia cum suffragiis | fo 294 | et sequentibus |
  - De hoc quod ioseph Nequaquam habuerit sinistram suspitionem de domina nostra | cum eam dimittere decreuerat | Auctoritates pregnantes | fo 297 |
  - De Sanctissimo abbate Benedicto | Meditacio bona cum suffragiis | fo 298 |
  - De annunciatione beate Marie virginis | Meditacio cum suffragio fo 299 | Vide eciam vij gaudia | folio 205 Item Sermone de annunciatione fo 565
- 49v
- De sancto Hugone Episcopo Cracionopilitano | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 300
  - Opusculum per modum Sermonis de veneranda Compassione seu anime martirio | genericis dei semper virginis marie | premissio prohemio | fo 301 | Item quinque Sermones de Compassione beate virginis | fo 322 et sequentibus
- NB.
- Item Quinquagena gaudiorum de Compassione seu de Quinquaginta gladijs anime Gloriosissime matris dei semper virginis marie | folio 193 |
  - De sancta Theodosia virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 329 |
  - De sancta Maria Egiptiaca | Meditacio | Oratio cum suffragiis | fo 331 |
  - De sanctis martiribus | Tiburcio Valeriano et Maximo | meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 332 |

- De dominica palmarum | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 333 | Et in vita christi fo 20
  - De Cena domini | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 333 | Et in vita christi | fo 20 | et 36 et sequentibus |
  - De sacratissima die Parasceues | meditacio cum suffragio | fo 334 | Et vita christi | in fo 21 |
  - De sancto Ambrosio Episcopo | Supplicationes seu Meditationes cum suffragiis | fo 334 |
  - De Solemnitate paschali | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 337 Et in uita christi fo 29 et sequentibus |
- 50r
- De beata virgine maria tempore paschali | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 337 |
  - De sancto Georgio martire | Meditacio per xi notulas quasi per spirituale ducacordum psalterium Jubilans | cum aliquali historie moralizatione per modum orationem subiuncta | Eciam Oratio breuior | de eodem cum suffragiis | fo 338 et sequentibus
  - De sancto Marco Euangelista | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 340 |
  - De sancto Vitale Martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 341 |
  - De sancto Petro martire ordinis predicatorum | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 341 |
- NB.
- Abbreuiatum ex legenda admirande virginis Beatissime Katherine de Senis | fo 342 | Soror(um) de penitencia
  - De laudibus eiusdem beate virginis | Oratio sumpta ex eius vita secundum xxij litterarum ordinem eciam fo 348 | Alia breuior de eadem per vij gaudia | fo 349 |
  - Item Meditacio deuota de Exemplari vita eiusdem beate virginis Katherine de Senis | folio 349 et sequentibus |
  - De sanctis apostolis philippo et iacobo | Meditationes et orationes cum suffragijs Folio 355 et sequentibus | de sancto iacobo habes aliquid | fo 213 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Alexandro Euencio et Theodulo | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 358 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Gordiano et Epimacho Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 357 |
- 50v
- De sanctis martiribus Nereo Achilleo et Pancracio | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 359 |
- NB.
- De sancto Seruacio Episcopo | Meditacio longa deuotaque Orationes cum suffragiis premissa prefacione | fo 359 et sequentibus |
  - Item legenda de beatissimo Seruacio Episcopo per patrem Hainricum ex diuersis historijs comportata et abbreviata | fo 363
  - De Ascensione domini | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 375 | Et in vita christi | fo 32 |
  - De sancto Vrbanus papa et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio 375 folio |
  - De beatissimis Sororibus duabus Maria iacobi et Maria Salome xiiij gaudia cum suffragijs permissa prefaciuncula | fo 376 et sequentibus |
  - De venerabili patre Beato Beda presbitero | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 382 |
  - De Marcellino et petro martiribus meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 383 |
  - De sancto Erasmo martire atque pontifice | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 383 |
  - De sanctis Primo et Feliciano martiribus Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 384
- Sequitur Registrum super  
Quarta parte voluminis
- 51r
- De Solemnitate Penthecostes Meditacio cum suffragio fo 385 | Et in vita christi | fo 34 |
  - De Gloriosissima Trinitate | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 386 |
  - De Sacratissimo Misterio Corporis et sanguinis christi | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 386 | Et in vita christi | fo 36 |
- NB.
- Doctrina de Spirituali manducacione corporis christi fo 387 |
  - De sancto Barnaba apostolo | meditacio cum suffragio | fo 391 |
  - De sancto Onufrio heremita confessore | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 392 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Basilide Cirino et Nabore | meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 393 |
  - De sancto Vito | et socijs eius martiribus | Meditacio valde deuota | cum Exclamacione et oratione et suffragiis | fo 393 | et sequentibus folijs |
  - De sanctis Iulita et filio eius Quirico martiribus | meditacio cum suffragiis fo 398 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Marcelliano et Marco | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 398 |
  - De sanctis Geruasio et prothasio martiribus Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 399 |
- 51v
- De sancto Albano martire atque Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragio | fo 399 |
- NB.
- De sanctis martiribus decem milibus militum | deuota meditacio per 19 puncta distincta | premissis prologo | Et oratio cum suffragiis fo 400 |
  - Item legenda de eiusdem martiribus | ex diuersis historijs renouata | premissis prologo | fo 402 |
  - De sanctissimo iohanne Baptista Meditacio deuotissima | cuius radix sumpta est iuxta triplex testimonium sanctitatis iohannis baptiste | quod est ex parte | dei | angelorum | et hominum | cum suffragijs | fo 221 et sequentibus |
  - Item Sermo de x honoribus specialibus sancti iohannis baptiste | fo 413 |



- De sanctis martiribus iohanne et paulo | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 419 |
  - De sancto Leone papa | Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 420 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Hijreneo | et socijs eius | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 421 |
  - De Beatissimis apostolis petro et paulo coniunctim et diuisim Orationes et meditationes cum suffragiis | folio 421 et sequentibus |
  - De Solemnitate Visitacionis gloriose virginis marie Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 425 | Et vij gaudia fo 206 | Et duos sermones fo 566
- 52r
- De sanctis martiribus Processo et Martiniano Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 425 |
  - De sancto Vldarico Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 426 |
  - De sancta felicitate cum septem filijs martiribus. In festo vij fratrum | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 427 |
- NB.
- De sancto Heinrico imperatore | Orationes siue meditationes valde notabiles | cum suffragijs fo 427 |
  - De sancto Heinrico Glorioso imperatore legenda fo 4311 et sequentibus |
  - De sancta Margareta virgine et martire Patrona speciali Cartusie Basiliensis | Meditacio deuota | et oracio per vij gaudia cum suffragiis | (NB.) fo 449 et sequentibus
  - Item Sermones quatuor ad populum seu Capitulares de eadem patrona sancta Margareta | fo 453 et sequentibus |
  - Item Legenda de sancta margareta virgine et martire per eundem patrem heinric[um] renouata | et per Capitula distincta premissio prologo | fo 463 et sequentibus |
  - De sanctis virginibus et Martiribus Margareta et Katherina Alexandrina Notabilis ac pia comparatio | fo 484 |
  - Textus passionis beate Margarete ex maiori eius legenda abbreviatus per paragraphos distinctus fo 486 |
  - Sermo egregius de sancta Margareta pro lectionibus et Refectorio in eius festiuitatibus collectus | fo 489 |
- 52v
- De sancto Alexio confessore | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 501 |
  - De sanctis virginibus praxede et potenciana suffrag(ium) et Meditacio fo 502 |
  - De sancta Maria Magdalena | Meditationes diuerse cum suffragiis fo 502 et sequentibus | Primo per xij gaudia | Secundo de v tristicijs et v gaudijs | Tercio de quinque vulneribus |
  - De sancta Brigitta vidua deuotissima | Sponsa singulari christi | Meditacio valde deuota fundata principaliter super sua legenda cum suffragiis fo 508 et sequentibus |
  - De sancto Appollinare Episcopo et Martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 515 |
  - De sancta Christina virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 516 |
  - De sancto iacobi maiori apostolo | Meditacio super eius legenda fundata | Oratio cum suffragiis fo 517 |
  - De Excellentissimo martire sancto christofero | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 519 |
  - De sancta Anna matre genetricis dei | Salutaciones per vij aue pulcherrime | Oratioque cum suffragiis | Folio 521 | Item Miraculum solempne de Beatissima Anna Folio 573 et sequentibus |
  - De sanctis martiribus Nazario Celso et Panthaleone | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 523 |
- 53r
- De sanctis martiribus Felice simplicio Faustino et Beatrice | Meditacio cum suffragiis 524 | folio |
  - De sancta Martha hospita christi | deuota Meditacio et oratio cum suffragiis | fo 524 et sequentibus |
  - De sancta Marcella ancilla sancte Marthe | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 526 |
  - De sanctis martiribus Abdon et Sennen | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 527 |
  - De sancto Germano Episcopo fo 527 | Meditacio cum suffragiis |
  - De sancto Stephano papa et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 528
  - De laudibus Beatissimi patris sancti dominici Ordinis predicatorum patriarche | Carmen per modum supplicacionum primum historialiter | postea comparatiue | et de inde attributiue | fo 528 et sequentibus |
  - De sancto Sixto papa et martire | cum Socijs eius felicissimo et agappito | Meditacio et Oratio cum suffragijs ad singulas horas | fo 531 |
  - De sancta Afra martire | Meditacio Oratio cum suffragiis folio 533 |
  - De sancto Cÿriaco Martire | Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 534 |
  - De Gloriosissimo martire sancto Laurencio Meditacio Oratio cum suffragiis fo 535 |
- 53v
- De sancto Tiburcio martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 536 |
  - De sancta Clare virgine | Septem gaudia cum suffragiis | folio 536 |
  - De sancto ypolito martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 537 |

- De sancto Eusebio confessore | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 538 |
- De Assumptione Gloriose virginis marie | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 538 | Et septem gaudia fo 209 | Et Sermones tres fo 576 et sequentibus |
- NB. • Item Miraculum nouum et pulchrum de beata maria que quendam Sacerdotum antiquum sibi deuotum iuuenili etati restituit fo 570 et sequentibus
- De sancto Agapito martire Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 539 |
- De sancto Ludowico Episcopo Tholozano ordinis minorum | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 539 |
- De Mellifluo doctore sancto Bernhardo abbate deuotissime | meditacio | Orationes | et suffrag(ium) fo 540 |
- De sanctis martiribus Thimotheo et Simphoriano | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 544 |
- De sancto Bartholomeo apostolo Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 545 |
- De sancto Augustino Episcopo | ecclesie doctore | Meditationes et Supplicationes | Et de laudibus eius summaria Orationes | cum suffragijs | folio 546 et sequentibus |
- De sancto hermete martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 548
- 54r • De sancta Sabina virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio fo 549 |
- De sanctis martiribus felice et adaucto | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 549 |
- De sancto Lazaro Episcopo et martire Meditacio et orationes cum suffragiis fo 550 | et historia ipsius fo 581
- De sancta Verena virgine | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 551 | et ibidem oratio breuis |
- De sancto Egidio abbate | Meditacio et oratio cum suffragio | fo 552 |
- De Natiuitate gloriose virginis marie | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 554 | Et vide septem gaudia fo 202 |
- De sanctis martiribus Gorgonio et Dorotheo meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 554
- De sancta Künigunde virgine imperatrice vij gaudia et oratio cum suffragiis fo 555 et sequentibus |
- Item legenda de eadem illustri virgine fo 558 | et sequentibus (NB.)
- NB. • De sancto Nicolao de Tolentino confessore ordinis fratrum sancti augustini de heremo | historia abbreviata folio 584 et sequentibus
- Item Carmen laudis | de eodem glorioso confessore sancto Nicolao de Tolentino fo 590 | Item orationes Et septem gaudia cum suffragiis fo 591 et sequentibus
- De sanctis martiribus protho et iacincto meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 592 |
- De sancta Cruce | de quatuor lignis | Orationes folio 593 |
- 54v • De sancta Cruce Dialogus Inter Sanctam Margaretam et Seruum ipsius occasione conuersionis eius ad Religionem folio 594 et sequentibus
- NB. • De sancta Cruce pulcherrima Sequencia fo 597 |
- De sancto Cornelio papa et Martire | Meditacio cum Suffragio fo 597 |
- De sancto Cipriano Episcopo et martire | Meditacio cum suffragio fo 598 |
- De sancto Nicomede martire | Meditacio cum suffragio fo 599
- De sanctis martiribus Lucia et Geminiano Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 599 |
- De sancta Eufemia virgine et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 600 |
- De Beato Patriarcha Ioachim patre gloriose virginis marie | Meditacio per quindecim salutationes cum suffragiis fo 600 |
- De beato Matheo Apostolo et Euangelista Meditacio oratio cum suffragiis | fo 604 |
- De sanctis martiribus | Mauritio et socijs eius | Meditacio et oratio cum suffragijs | fo 606 |
- De sancta Tecla virgine | Meditacio cum suffragio | folio 607 |
- De sanctis martiribus Cosma et damiano | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 608 |
- De Beatissimis Angelis | Meditacio deuotissima primo
- 55r generaliter ad omnes | secundo specialiter ad proprium cum suffragiis | folio 609 |
- De sancto Hieronimo presbitero ecclesie doctore illuminatissimo meditacio pulcherrima | Oratio cum suffragijs fo 618 |
- De sancto Remigio Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 624 |
- De Sanctissimo Confessore Francisco Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Patriarcha et Fundator | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 625 |
- De sancta Fide virgine et Martire | Meditacio cum Suffragiis fo 628 |
- NB. • De beato Brunone | patriarcha ordinis Cartusiensis | Meditacio Oratio cum suffragiis fo 628 et sequentibus
- Item legenda beati Brunonis ordinis Cartusiensis fundatore et patriarcha | fo 630 |
- De sancto Marco papa | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 641 |
- De sancto Dyonisio martire ac socijs eius | Meditacio et oratio cum suffragiis | fo 642

- De sancto Calixto papa et martire fo 643 Meditacio cum suffragiis
  - In Solemnitate Dedicacionis ecclesie Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 644 Que in die Galli in Cartusia Basiliensi habetur
  - De sancto Gallo Monacho et confessore | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 644 |
  - De sancto Luca Euangelista | Meditacio | Oratio cum suffragiis | folio 646 |
  - De xj millesimo virginum martirum | Meditacio | Oratio cum suffragiis folio 647 et sequentibus |
  - De sancto Hilarione Monacho | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 651
  - De sancta Maria Salome | vide Circam Mariam Iacobi folio 376 et sequentibus |
  - De sanctis martiribus Crispino et Crispiniano | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 651
  - De sancto Amando Episcopo | Meditacio et oratio cum suffragiis | folio 652 |
  - De sanctis apostolis Symone et iuda | Meditacio | Oratio cum suffragiis folio 653 |
  - De sancto Wolfgango Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 654
  - De omnibus sanctis in eorum solemnitate et per octauas | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 656 |
  - De sancto Cesario martire | Salutacio cum suffragiis folio 657 |
  - De sancto Eustachio martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 657 |
  - De sancto leonardo confessore | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 659 |
  - De sanctis quatuor coronatis cum eorum socijs martiribus Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 660
- 56r
- De sancto Theodoro Martire Patrono ecclesie parochialis Minoris
- NB.
- Ciuitatis Basiliensis | deuote orationes cum suffragiis | Et legenda abbreviata folio 661 et sequentibus |
  - De sancto Martino Episcopo Septem gaudia | super eius historia cum suffragiis | folio 666
  - De sancto Menna martire et heremita | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 666 |
  - De sancto Brixio Episcopo | Meditacio cum suffragiis | folio 667 |
  - De sancto Hugone Episcopo linconiensi ordinis Cartusiensis deuotissime Meditationes Orationes cum suffragiis | folio 668 |
- NB.
- De sancta Elizabeth vidua Regis vngarie filia eciam deuota Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 674 et sequentibus
  - De presentacione beatissime virginis marie in Templum Meditacio cum suffragio folio 682 | (NB.)
  - Item septem gaudia cum suffragiis folio 203
  - Item Sermo egregius de Solemnitate presentacionis gloriose virginis marie in Templum | folio 682 et sequentibus |
- NB.
- Item Omelia super Euangelio Extollens vocem quedam mulier eciam valde notabilis pro eodem festo | folio 691 | Eiusdem patris hainrici | qui fuit fidelis sollicitator pro Ereccionem Solemnitatis eiusdem in Germania Et presertim in ordine nostro Cartusiensi
- 56v
- Item vide Confirmationes et Approbationes eiusdem festi per dominos Hermannum Episcopum Constanciensem Et Adolphum archiEpiscopum Moguntinum fo 697 et ceteris
  - Item Sermones septem de presentacione beate marie virginis in Templum folio 700 et sequentibus
  - De sancto Columbano abate | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 711 |
  - De sancta Cecilia virgine et martire | Meditacio Oratio cum suffragiis folio 712
  - De sancto Clemente papa et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 713 |
  - De sancta felicitate cum septem filijs martiribus | Meditacio cum suffragiis fo 714 |
  - De sancto Crisogono martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 714 |
  - De sancta Katherina virgine et martire | Meditacio pulcherrima super eius legenda fundata | Et Oratio Epilogatis cum suffragiis fo 715 et sequentibus |
  - De sancto lino papa et martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 723 |
  - De sancto Conrado Episcopo Constanciensi Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 724 |
  - De sanctis Agricola et vitale martiribus | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 725 |
  - De sancto Silea<sup>117</sup> apostolo Meditacio cum suffragiis | fo 725 |
- 57r
- De sancto Saturnino martire | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 726 |
  - De Quadruplici aduentu domini | Meditacio cum suffragiis folio 726 |
- NB.
- De sancto Andrea apostolo. longa et deuota meditacio cum suffragiis. quem idem pater hainricus singulariter dilexit quia ipsius apostolus fuit | folio 727 et sequentibus |

<sup>117</sup> See Acts 16, 29; 17,10.

- De sancta Barbara virgine et martire | Meditatio passionem eius percurrens | et Oratio cum suffragiis folio 739 |
  - De sancto Nicolao Episcopo | Septem gaudia cum suffragiis folio 740 Item alia Oratio | folio 741 |
  - De sancta Conceptione beate Marie Matris dei Meditatio cum suffragiis folio 742 | (NB.)
  - Et Septem gaudia cum suffragiis folio 201
  - Item laudes et preconia de sancta Conceptione virginis marie folio 743 | et sequentibus
  - Item plures Sermones de sancta Conceptione virginis marie | folio 741 et sequentibus |
  - NB. • Item Exhortaciones | Questiones | Decisiones Consilia et Autoritatum discussiones | de sancta et immaculata Conceptione Gloriosissime genetricis dei virginis marie atque eiusdem Solemnitatis celebrande | folio 777 et sequentibus |
  - De sancta Eulalia virgine et martire | Meditatio cum suffragiis folio 791 |
  - De sancta lucia virgine et martire | Meditatio cum suffragiis | folio 791 |
  - 57v • De sancta Odilia virgine illustri | Meditatio longa cum suffragiis folio 792 |
  - De sancto ignacio Episcopo et martire | Meditatio oratio cum suffragiis folio 794
  - De sancto Thoma | Apostolo | Legendam eius tangens Meditatio oratio cum suffragiis | folio 796 |
- Sequitur Registrum super quinta et ultima  
parte huius voluminis |
- Ad honorandum principales patronos Altarium in Ecclesia Suffragia pro indulgencijs consequendis | folio 797 | et sequentibus
  - Orationis breues ad communicandum pro non celebrato | Et post Comunione | folio 799
  - Orationes breues ante celebrationem | et post celebrationem | folio 799 |
  - Oratio in Eleuatione hostie consecrate | fo 800
  - Oratio in Eleuatione Calicis salutaris fo 800 |
  - De Faciei domini in Veronica Origine | eiusque historia | folio 800 |
  - Oratio de facie domini seu veronica | fo 802
  - Oratio de sancta veronica vidua | que domini saluatoris nostri sanctam faciem de iherusalem Romam produxit in sudario | folio 803 | Meditatio cum suffragiis |
  - NB. • Recommendacio infirmancium | cum suffragiis fo 803
  - 58r • Comendaciones quatuor ad modum exhortacionis in obitu Cartusienso fo 804 et sequentibus |
  - NB. • Ad inuocandum diuinum auxilium in varijs necessitatibus | Et specialiter | pro Sex | pro pluua | Serenitate | Contra grandines | Contra pestem et alias infirmitates | Contra famem et Caristiam | Contra inimicos et pro pace | folio 807 et sequentibus |
  - Pro pace letania cum suffragiis | folio 808 |
  - NB. • Contra Teucros specialis letania et preces | flexis genibus dicende | fo 809 et sequentibus |
  - Ad visitandum obsessum Modus | et suffragia | folio 813 et sequentibus
  - Suffragium generale | Et Specialia | ad patronos | folio 816 | et sequentibus |
  - NB. • De Beneficijs dei dialogus in Capitula distinctus | folio 824 et sequentibus
  - Dialogus de Exercicijs spiritualibus partitus in tres partes et per capitula distinctus | folio 828 | et sequentibus |
  - Amor dei loquitur ad animam deuotam fo 837 |
  - Aliqua Consolotaria cui grauis est solitudo in ordine folio 840 |
  - De Confirmatione ordinis Cartusienso folio 842 | et sequentibus |
  - Regule bone pro directione procuratoris alicuius monasterij folio 845
  - 58v • Memoriale pro procuratore Cartusienso fratrum | fo 846 |
  - NB. • Viginti Regule bone pro informatione Nouelli monachi Folio 847 |
  - Alia Regule pro directione Nouellorum fo 849 |
  - Considerationes septem | ad Respondendum petentibus Beneficia spiritualia | pro temporalibus | folio 852 |
  - NB. Ex quo pacta in Beneficialibus reprobantur Coram doctoribus aliqua dubia fuerunt mota | et per eosdem decisa | vide breuem decisionem et notabilem folio 854 | et sequentibus | Conclusio operis | cum Oratione deuota et pulcherrima | pro felici statu (NB.)  
sancte matris ecclesie Maxime pro conseruatione sacri Ordinis Cartusienso | Aliarumque Religionum | Dignitatum et Statuum | Efficassima fo 856 et sequentibus | Deo gracias  
Explicit Registrum tocus operis