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AN APOLOGUE FROM *BARLAAM ET JOSAPHAT*
UTILISED BY HEINRICH SEUSE OP
AND ITS REPRESENTATION
IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH ART

BY
PETER ROLFE MONKS

Research has barely commenced on the iconography of the christianised legend of the Buddha, known in Europe as *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Josaphat or Joasaph is derived from Bodhisattva, the name of Siddhartha before he became Buddha. Complete programmes of illustrations in several Greek codices were published before the Second World War by Der Nersessian as a magnificent set of sepia-toned plates.¹ The Greek text was ascribed to Saint John Damascene (c. 675 - c. 749). It was rendered into Latin in the late tenth century, its usual title being *Liber gestorum Barlaam et Josaphat*, although alternative nomenclature, *Historia Barlaam et Josaphat* and *Vita sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat*, occurs in the manuscript tradition.²

In the western versions a pagan king is warned by advisers that his son Josaphat will become a Christian. In spite of continual persecutions in his father's realm and his upbringing away from the world, Josaphat meets the hermit Barlaam as the result of

¹ See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration du Roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, 2 vols., Paris, De Boccard, 1937. Representations of the Four Caskets in the Byzantine tradition are reproduced in pl. VI, fig. 19; pl. LV, figs. 211-212; pl. XCV, fig. 383.

² On the numerous Latin versions and epitomes, see J. Sonet, *Le Roman de Barlaam et Josaphat. Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite latine et française*, Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1949; H. Peri, *Der Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende, ein Motiv abendländischer Dichtung. Untersuchung, Texte, Bibliographie der Legende*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1959; and his "La plus ancienne traduction latine du roman grec de *Barlaam et Josaphat* et son auteur," *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, 6/7 (1959), 169-89. For these textual references I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. K.V. Sinclair of James Cook University.

a subterfuge. The anchorite commences the process of conversion, extolling the deeds of the martyrs and the virtues of the saints and employing Biblical parables and exemplary tales in the homiletic tradition. Josaphat eventually embraces Christianity and dies a hermit like his mentor. The structure of the legend comprises three elements, a biographical narrative interwoven with theological exegesis and ten apologues.

The second apologue may be summarized in this manner:

A king has four caskets made; two are filled with bones and rotting flesh, but the exteriors of the containers are covered and sealed with gold. The other two are stuffed with priceless pearls, precious stones and quality perfumes, while the outsides of the boxes are coated with pitch and bitumen. The great and noble of the realm, who had earlier remonstrated with their monarch for an act of humility shown to ascetics,³ were summoned by him to place a value on the caskets and their unknown contents. All declared the gold ones to be the richest. The king lost no time in upbraiding them for their shallow perception. The gilded boxes were opened first and the stench was overpowering. "There is the image," said the king, "of those who wear sumptuous finery and whose glory and power shines forth, but who, within themselves, are corrupt and filled with putrefaction." It was then the turn of the pitch-sealed caskets. Once the lids were removed, the power of sweet scent and dazzling jewels filled everyone with pleasure. The king continued: "There you behold the image of these humble folk clad in rags before whom I prostrated myself in adoration and prayer. God allowed me to see by my inner perception the dazzling beauty of such persons and I valued them more than my royal purple and my crown."

The anchorite Barlaam next identifies his own Lord as Jesus Christ and proceeds to inform Josaphat about the Creation, the Fall, the Birth of Christ, the Passion and the Resurrection.⁴

The *Liber* was transcribed as a separate work or was gathered into collections of saints lives such as the anonymous *Legendaria*.⁵ A study of the illustration series for these Latin versions is still

³ This adventure is the subject of the preceding apologue called *The Trumpet of Doom*.

⁴ I have paraphrased the narrative in Sonet, *Recherches*, 23-4.

⁵ See the manuscripts of the *Liber* in Sonet, *Recherches*, 69-87. A synopsis of the Old French redactions is supplied by P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 33 (1906), 328-458, 630-1, esp. 391; this information was updated in Sonet, *Recherches*, 134-95 and complemented by Félix Lecoy in *Romania*, 71 (1950), 403-8.

needed, although articles have appeared on elements in some of them. For the hagiography in isolation or in *Legendaria*, one thinks of Wormald, Réau and Brenk.⁶

A Lombard artist embellished in c. 1473 a copy of an Italian rendering of *Barlaam and Josaphat* with a series of colour wash drawings for Bonne of Savoy, wife of Galeazzo Maria Sforza.⁷ Other programmes of miniatures may be viewed in Italian texts contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Nouv. Acq. It. 1537 and in Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, ms. 89.⁸ The legend of the caskets occurs also in isolation in the *Decameron*, X, 1, but its iconographic representations are beyond the scope of this paper.

The *Liber* was adopted by encyclopædists of the stature of Vincent of Beauvais O.P. In his *Speculum Historiale* the legend appears in Book XVI and the apologue of the *Four Caskets* may be found in chapter X.⁹ However, it is the version translated into French by Jean de Vignay that has attracted some attention. Patricia Gathercole's 1981 paper is valuable as a conspectus of the pictorial programmes in manuscripts of the *Miroir Historial*.¹⁰ Duke Jean de Berry's copy of the encyclopædia has survived and is rich in illuminations. Its ownership by prominent collectors in recent times, such as Henry Yates Thompson and A. Chester Beatty, has ensured that its iconographic contents were analysed and documented.¹¹ It contains a programme of twenty-three

⁶ Cf. F. Wormald, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of Lives of the Saints," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 33 (1952-1953), 248-66; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. III in 3 parts, *Iconographie des saints*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1955-1959, part I, 177-8 (the *Unicorn* is the only apologue discussed); B. Brenk, "Le texte et l'image dans la *Vie des saints* au moyen âge: rôle du concepteur et rôle du peintre," in *Texte et Image. Actes du colloque international du 13 au 15 octobre 1982*, Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1984, 31-9, pls. IX-XI.

⁷ Now Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, ms. AC XI 37; see S. Samek Ludovici, "Auguste ascendenze del libro a stampa (Il codice braidense della leggenda di Josaphat e di Barlaam)," *Linea Grafica*, 5 (1952), 68-71; *Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. Mostra di codici miniati, 24 giugno-15 luglio 1970*, ed. S. Samek Ludovici, Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, 1970, 48-9, no. 54 (bibliography updated); C. Berelli, "Bibliophilie savoyarde chez les Visconti," in *Fondation Humbert II et Marie José de Savoie, Les Manuscrits enluminés des comtes et ducs de Savoie*, Turin, Allemandi, 1992, 121-5 (selective bibliography).

⁸ Sonet, *Recherches*, 127-8, and Caterina Santoro, "Le illustrazioni di un codicetto trivulziano," *Arte Lombarda*, 8, 2 (1963), 83-6.

⁹ Details in Sonet, *Recherches*, 88.

¹⁰ Patricia M. Gathercole, "An Insight into Medieval Times: *Le Miroir Historial* of Jean de Vignay," *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 4 (1951), 79-86.

¹¹ After passing through the hands of Henry Yates Thompson and Chester Beatty, Jean de Berry's copy was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, where its shelfmark is Nouv. Acq. Fr. 15939-944. See the notice by M. Thomas,

illustrations in the *Liber* section, but the subject matter of the *Four Caskets* is not one of them.

An epitome of the early Latin hagiography, including its *Four Caskets*, was also incorporated by Jacobus a Voragine O.P. into his celebrated *Legenda Aurea*.¹² Karl's study in 1929 is one of the few devoted to illuminations in copies of the Latin version.¹³ Jean de Vignay's translation into French of Voragine's compilation has fared better among art historians. The artistic symbolism mirroring the textual passages and the number of miniatures in thirty-two surviving manuscripts have been studied in two recent papers.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the subject matter of the hundreds of illustrations was not described. The number of the extant copies was based on earlier published codicological research.¹⁵

"Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale pendant les années 1969-1971," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 130 (1972), 493-577, esp. 542-44. Earlier accounts are more informative: S.C. Cockerell in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (nos 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, the Notices contributed by Various Hands, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1902, II, 193-206, esp. 200-1 (no. 79); *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, ed. E.G. Millar, 6 vols., London, privately printed by Oxford University Press, 1927-1930, II, 160-211 (ms. 75 in two volumes).

¹² *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea*, ed. T. Grässe, Osnabruck, Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969, (being a photographic reprint of the 3rd ed. Breslau, 1890), 811-23, chap. 180 (175) *De sanctis Barlaam et Josaphat*. See also, Sonet, *Recherches*, 89-92. I thank the Rev. Dr. Simon Tugwell O.P. for advising that a provisional ed. of the *Legenda Aurea* version was published by G. P. Maggioni, *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della "Legenda Aurea"*, Spoleto 1995, 495-516.

¹³ L. Karl, "Les Vies des saints par l'image," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2 (1929), 185-205 discusses the portrayal of the saints attributed to Nicolas of Bologna in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Latini 8541. An iconographical assessment awaits the descriptive process of some thousand copies of Voragine's work. See Barbara Fleith, "Le Classement de quelque 1000 manuscrits de la *Legenda Aurea* latine en vue de l'établissement d'une histoire de la tradition," in *Legenda Aurea. Sept Siècles de diffusion*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, Montreal, Éd. Ballarmin & Paris, Vrin, 1986, 19-24. For the influence of Voragine's compilation on a format of the iconography of the Virgin, see P. Verdier, "Les textes de Jacques de Voragine et l'iconographie du Couronnement de la Vierge," *Ibid.*, 95-99.

¹⁴ Both are by Hilary Maddocks, "Illumination in Jean de Vignay's *Légende dorée*" in *Legenda Aurea. Sept Siècles*, 155-70, and "Pictures for Aristocrats: the Manuscripts of the *Légende dorée*", in *Medieval Texts and Images. Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret M. Manion & B.J. Muir, Chur, Harwood Academic Publishers & Sydney, Craftsman House, 1991, 1-23. The *Barlaam et Josaphat* hagiography is not illustrated in two fifteenth-century copies of Vignay's French text I have examined: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, mss. Fr. 244-245, and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, ms. 9282-85.

¹⁵ See Richard Hamer & Vida Russell, "A Critical Edition of Four Chapters from the *Légende dorée*," *Mediæval Studies*, 51 (1989), 130-204; Vida Russell, "Evidence for a Stemma for the De Vignay Manuscripts: St Nicholas, St George, St Bartholomew and All Saints," in *Legenda Aurea. Sept Siècles*, 131-54.

By the second quarter of the thirteenth century, if not before, the *Liber* had become popular with preachers composing sermon-books. Jacques de Vitry, a famous Crusader who became Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 1240), employed material from *Barlaam et Josaphat* in his *Sermones Vulgares*. The apologue of the *Four Caskets* is one excerpt he retained, but he reduced the number of *archas* to two for his homiletic purposes.¹⁶ Dominican preachers in particular valued the *Liber* as a fount of anecdotes and parables. Peraldus comes to mind; his *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* utilises in places the *Liber*.¹⁷ Early in the fourteenth century an unidentified Dominican in Germany compiled an *exemplarium* of over three hundred tales for use when preaching. A source of inspiration for him was likewise the *Liber*.¹⁸ Humbert of Romans O.P. (d. 1277), a most influential General of the Order of Preachers, turned to account the *Liber* for his *De dono timoris*, also known as the *De habundancia exemplorum*.¹⁹ Further, he included the *Liber* among texts recommended for reading by novices.²⁰

In the ensuing century it is highly probable that, by the time the German Dominican mystic, Heinrich Seuse, alias Suso (c. 1295-1366) joined the Order of Preachers, a reading of the *Liber* was still demanded of novices. We wish to suggest this textual continuance, because a reminiscence of the *Four Caskets* can be found in Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, dated c. 1334.²¹ The identification of the apologue was not made by scholars who published the first critical edition of Suso's work.²² It is, of course, premature to identify the version or epitome of the *Liber* which inspired him.

¹⁶ *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T.F. Crane, London, Published for the Folklore Society by D. Nutt, 1890, 18-19 and 153-4, chap. XLVII. Nicole Bozon, a fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman Franciscan also reduced the number of caskets to two in his version of the apologue, see *Les Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, frère mineur*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith & P. Meyer, Société des anciens textes français, Paris, Didot, 1889, 105-6, 263-4.

¹⁷ Cf. J.T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge*, Paris & Toulouse, Guitard, 1927, 168; Sonet, *Recherches*, 102-3.

¹⁸ Zwettl, *Stiftsbibliothek*, ms. 138; see Welter, *Exemplum*, 263-5.

¹⁹ Welter, *Exemplum*, 72; Sonet, *Recherches*, 102.

²⁰ Humbertus de Romanis, *Instructiones de officiis ordinis*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, Rome, 1889, II, 213-33, esp. 230: "... *Passiones et Legendae sanctorum ... Liber Barlaam, Tractatus de vitiis et virtutibus, et similia*," cited by R. Creytens O.P., "L'Instruction des novices dominicains au XIII^e siècle d'après le ms. Toulouse 418," *AFP*, 20 (1950), 114-93, esp. 149, n. 110.

²¹ *Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae. Erste kritische Ausgabe unter Benützung der Vorarbeiten von Dominikus Planzer O.P.*, ed. P. Künzle O.P., Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 1977, 385-6.

²² *Ibid.*, 84-104. I find no mention of Suso's borrowing in critical discussions of versions of the *Liber*.

The apologue is recalled in Book I, second *materia* or chapter, whose rubric reads: *Quomodo Christi passio sit præambula ad cognitionem divinitatis, et qualem formam Christus contraxerit ex passionis suæ acerbitate*.²³ At this point in the treatise Sapiencia, representing the Logos, is instructing her Disciple, a young Dominican novice, in the theological and moral import of the Passion. She has just expounded on the concepts of beauty and true love attached to Christ. The Disciple is quick to observe: "It is not the case with the Crucified Christ. For he was so disfigured and rendered obscene through the torments of the Cross and the harrowings of Death that he carries no sign of beauty on His body for which one should love Him, to my way of thinking." Thereupon, Sapiencia draws three morals: lovers pay no attention to rose thorns, provided they succeed in plucking the flower; wise people do not prefer an attractive-looking chest to a dilapidated one;²⁴ wives, however beautiful they appear to paramours, can in the end be poison.

Barlaam's morality has clearly been adapted by Suso for his own purposes. Sapiencia combines both the pedagogic role of the hermit and the pagan king's role of remonstrance. Both instructors present an image of poverty and wretchedness as concealing true strength of character and divine attributes.

The unnoticed French illustration of the apologue of the *Four Caskets* occurs in a manuscript of the translation of Suso's *Horologium* rendered by an unknown Franciscan for Demenge de Port, *licencié en droit civil et canon*, in Lorraine.²⁵ The volume in question is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, ms. IV 111, where the *Horloge de Sapience* has been furnished with a total of one hundred and eight illustrations, each of which is for the most part complex in visual structure.²⁶ The illuminator is an important painter of the mid fifteenth century and is known to modern critics

²³ Cf. Künzle, 383.

²⁴ Suso's words in Künzle, *Horologium*, p. 385 read: *Nec vere sapientes scrina pulchra et deaurata quæ tamen in se vilia continent, capsulis vilissimis præferunt, quæ pretiosissima ornamenta inclusa abscondunt* "Nor indeed do the wise prefer beautiful gilded chests which contain filth within, rather, they prefer the ugliest ones which hold, unrevealed, objects of great beauty."

²⁵ Cf. P. R. Monks, *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience, Iconography and Text of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV 111*, Leiden, Brill, 1990, 31-33. Hereafter I abbreviate the title as Monks, *HS*.

²⁶ Two pages containing six scenes of the Torments of Hell have been removed from the codex since the completion of the iconographic programme, see Monks, *HS*, 33-9, 50-124.

as the Master of Jean Rolin II.²⁷ Art historians are fortunate in this instance in having not only the Latin and French texts which may have inspired the artist but also a contemporary commentary on the subject matter of all the miniatures, introduced by the rubric *Déclaration des histoires*.²⁸

On fol. 24 the viewer may study a tableau (fig. 1) usually designated *Sapientia and the Disciple behold Christ Carrying the Cross*.²⁹ A pavilion of romanesque architectural inspiration encloses in a stage-like arrangement the space in which the visual scene of the apologue is set. Employing the technique of a plunging overview, the Rolin Master may well have intended the illustration to mirror the milieu and spatial bounds of a mystery play viewed from a stand or scaffolding in the manner of public theatre in his day.

Six figures act out their respective roles in the tableau. On the left, Sapientia and the Disciple declaim with elegant and mannered gestures. Their two figures are counterbalanced on the right by the violent and discordant postures of Christ's individual persecutors who vilify Him and shout obscenities.

In the background, through a wide and open span of the pavilion, appears an expansive view of countryside and a distant city. Rolling green terrain enhanced with stately trees and a noble castle atop a craggy mount, are meticulously captured by the painter's brush. He gradates the sky with minute horizontal strokes; dark blue at its zenith, white at the horizon. This scene with its delicately coloured palette contrasts dramatically with the painter's bolder and more robustly applied pigments for the deep pink of the wall hanging, and the matt-gold, ochre, grey and tawny shades deployed on the romanesque structure itself. Refinement

²⁷ The bibliography is extensive. The most recent opinions are those expressed by Monks, *HS*, 20-7; C. Sterling, *La Peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300-1500*, 2 vols., Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987-1990, II, 176-89; Nicole Reynaud in *Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale & Flammarion, 1993, 33-45; P. R. Monks, "Master of Jean Rolin," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, 34 vols, London, Grove, 1996, XX, pp. 700-1; P. R. Monks, a monograph on the artist and his work, which is in the press.

²⁸ See Monks, *HS*, 40-9.

²⁹ I thank the Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Brussels for providing the photograph which is fig. 1. The multi-narrative format we describe here does not appear in other illustrated copies of the French text, see P.R. Monks, "Pictorial Programmes in Manuscripts of the French Version of Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*," *AFP* 57 (1987), 31-43 (2 figs).

of pigment and its application is also noteworthy on the garments of the figures. Sapientia's white volumetric gown tinted with mauve, stands out in particular.

Placed boldly on the delineations of a geometrical strategy of perspective in the formalized pattern of the floor tesseræ, is an unadorned coffer, its open lid revealing the treasure within. Behind it, Sapientia with her left hand, lifts a cloth-of-gold from another casket. Contained in this one is a suppurating corpse, and a writhing hiatus of maggots hastens the progress of its putrefaction. If the artist was totally inspired by Suso's *Horologium*, he would have also endeavoured to portray wives with glamorous images but poisonous dispositions. He does not do so. One observes that in the French *Horloge*, the sentence relating to the second parable about wives and their lovers is missing, and one may conclude that the painter was following the narrative of the translation.

Secondly, Suso's statement put in the mouth of Sapientia that "Lovers pay no attention to rose thorns provided they succeed in plucking the flower", has received very cryptic treatment. The artist portrays her in the act of holding a briar with thorns manifest at all points. It is not at all clear from the visual imagery that she is a "lover" or that the Disciple is expected to overcome the thorns in order to commune with her spirituality.

Thirdly, Suso's text has been abandoned when it comes to interpreting the concept of the "Crucified Christ". We see Christ carrying the Cross and displaying the Five Wounds before He has been placed on the instrument of death. The effect of this is to vitiate the received chronological narrative of the Passion.

It is difficult to know why the iconography is out of step with Suso's narrative. There appears to be no diagrammatic basis, when one considers the order of the formats in the total programme of the *Horloge*. One may well have expected a portrayal of Christ Crucified or a Man of Sorrows, since these have the capacity to emphasise more pointedly the "torments of the Cross and the harrowings of Death," as Suso puts it. Perhaps it was felt that such subjects, being somewhat stereotyped in iconographical terms and providing a display *inter alia* of the Instruments of the Passion or crowd scenes, would eclipse any visual impact of the secondary theme concerning the parables.

The viewer may be forgiven for thinking that the miniature captures the moment when Christ loads the Cross on to His shoulders, and in the presence of mockers, sets out from the

prætorium on the way to Calvary. But, on reflexion, one realises that the departure is a symbolic movement in this instance. The selected posture of a figure that is already pitiful and hapless, with brow bound by thorns, and with anticipated marks of the Crucifixion on hands, feet, and right side, is not really betokening a Station of the Cross. The figure reflects more profound symbolism: however unsavoury or odious appearances are, they hide a wonderous inner beauty waiting to be uncovered. It seems probable that the religious counsellor of the artist suggested a concentration on the subject of Christ carrying the Cross. The imagery of Christ's sorrow merges with the less important motifs of the attractive and repellent caskets.

In his *Déclaration* the contemporary expositor describes the miniature and explains how the picture of Christ carrying the Cross is relevant and complements the allegory of the caskets, being in effect the christianised element of the ugliness-beauty equation.

The eighth illustration occurs in this same second chapter where the paragraph *De tant comme je semble* begins. The reason for the picture is as follows: a little earlier, the Disciple asked and begged his dearly beloved Sapientia to show herself to him in the quite pitiful and endearing likeness and manner she assumed at His most unmerciful Passion. And she appeared to the Disciple in the most compassionate likeness and form possible to imagine, the charity and love of Our Lord Jesus Christ: namely completely naked and wounded, spat upon and buffeted, and carrying the Cross on His shoulders. When the Disciple heard about all this, he was in dismay, saying that such was not a loveable likeness or form. Then Sapientia replied, using several similitudes: true lovers do not desire what is visible on the covering outside but rather what is within, like the two chests, one being old and worm-eaten, yet filled with jewels, the other covered with a cloth of gold and full of rotting flesh.

Furthermore, because of the rose's sweet scent, the wordly wise do not fear the prick of the thorn. And this is what is contained and represented in this illustration. Behold sweet Jesus, dragged, buffeted, wounded and spat upon, totally naked, bearing the Cross; and Sapientia shows the Disciple two chests, as is said, while holding a briar with all its thorns and roses.³⁰

³⁰ Monks, *HS*, 150-1.

The *Déclaration* offers a rare instance of an attempt to provide a complete *raison d'être* for a tableau. The argument advanced does not paraphrase the textual statement.

Judging from what is known about the history of the representation of the *Four Caskets* in earlier French art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it would seem that the Rolin Master had no precedents to follow. The inclusion of two and not four caskets is clearly modelled on Suso who did not require the addition of two other caskets to elucidate the moral point. This mid-fifteenth-century visual rendition is a noteworthy pictorial record conveying through the Christian ages an apologue which had its beginnings in Buddhist legends.

La. Vm^e. hystoire.



Sapience. **E**tant comme le semble & appers
plus palle plus trouble & plus
mortifiee par force d'amour & par la dou

MASTER OF JEAN ROLIN II. *Apologue of Barlaam & Josephat.*
Sapientia & Disciple behold Christ Carrying the Cross, fol. 24.
MS. IV 111. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}. Phot. Bibl. Royale.