

“The City is a Prison, the Desert Paradise”: Hagiographic Promotion of Carthusian Monasticism in the *Belles Heures*

Carla Funk

The *Belles Heures*, illuminated by the Limbourg Brothers during the first decade of the fifteenth century, is one of many exquisite Books of Hours commissioned by the Valois prince, Jean, the Duke of Berry (1340-1416).¹ Today the book, which is roughly 8 x 5 inches in size, belongs to The Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and is displayed appropriately alongside other Books of Hours commissioned by French nobles. Books of Hours normally consist of a calendar, readings from the four gospels, prayers to the Virgin, prayers for the dead, and short prayers for various saints. These standard prayers are usually embellished with other illustrations and each book is personalized for its owner in some way.² The *Belles Heures* is extraordinary in that it contains eight special pictorial cycles, six of which are devoted to the lives of saints, based not on prayers but on texts from the *Golden Legend*.³

While scholars have noted the novelty of these special additions, none have examined the thematic relationship between the hagiographic cycles. This paper will discuss the thematic emphases of the four longest hagiographic cycles—the Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria (fols. 15-20), the Life of St.

Bruno and the Founding of the Carthusian Order (fols. 94-97v), the Life of St. Jerome (fols. 183-189v), and the Lives of Ss. Anthony and Paul the First Hermit (fols. 191-194)—and demonstrate how the *Belles Heures*, like the larger and more famous *Très Riches Heures*, with its portraits of the Valois family castles, also illustrated by the Limbourgs for the Duke, reflects the Duke's private interests and promotes the glories of his Valois lineage.⁴ The saints chosen by the Duke for depiction in the *Belles Heures* each represent ideals of studious piety with which the Duke wants to be associated. Continuing a Valois tradition of manuscript patronage, the Duke proclaims his own piety and that of his lineage through images of sanctity.⁵

In the *Belles Heures*, this is most obvious in the presentation of Carthusian monasticism as a port of spiritual perfection. The Carthusians and their charter foundation, the Grande Chartreuse, depicted in the *Belles Heures*, were very important to the Duke of Berry and his Valois family (Figure 1). The connection between the Grande Chartreuse and the French royal family began when Louis the Pious, esteemed ancestor of the Duke of Berry, donated a chapel to the foundation in the thirteenth century. The Grande Chartreuse and the region it occu-

This article first took shape as a paper for Cynthia Hahn's "Saints in Art" seminar and evolved into a Master's thesis which provides a more thorough and detailed account of its argument. I would like to thank Cynthia Hahn for guiding me through all stages of this project and providing me with insights and inspiration.

¹ Almost all of the miniatures are reproduced in color in Millard Meiss and Elizabeth Beatson, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York: Braziller, 1974). In *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (New York: Braziller, 1967) and *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (New York: Braziller, 1974) Meiss has written most of the definitive scholarship concerning the Limbourg Brothers and the artistic patronage of the Duke of Berry. The more recent, Raymond Cazelles, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (New York: Abrams 1988), also provides good information on the Duke and new insights on the atelier of the Limbourgs, but Cazelles' focus is the later *Très Riches Heures*.

² Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified* (New York: Braziller, 1988) provides a good overview of Books of Hours. See also, Marcel Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York: Braziller, 1988), J. Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977) and Cazelles 203-7.

³ Specifically, the offices are the four gospel lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and Holy Spirit, two extra prayers to the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead, and numerous suffrages to various saints. The extra cycles in the *Belles Heures* depict the lives of St. Catherine, the Procession of St. Gregory, Bruno and the Founding of the Carthusians, Heraclius, St. Jerome, St. Anthony and St. Paul the First Hermit, St. John the Baptist, and Sts. Peter and Paul. Meiss and Beatson 13-16 discuss the make-up of these "novel cycles." The cycles are discussed at greater length in Meiss, *The Limbourgs* 112-13. The imagery of the cycle of St. Catherine is examined by Alexandra Givens, "Contemplative, Corporeal and Charismatic: St. Catherine of Alexandria in the *Belles Heures* of Jean, the Duke of Berry." B.A. thesis, New College, 1993.

⁴ Jonathan Alexander, "Labeur and Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin* 72 (Sept. 1992):436-52 and Cazelles provide analyses of the *Très Riches Heures* which link that manuscript's imagery to the Duke's promotion of the Valois dynasty.

⁵ Joan Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History* 17 (Dec. 1994):585-605 and Margaret Manion, "Art and Devotion: The Prayer Books of Jean de Berry," *Medieval Texts and Images*, eds. Margaret Manion and Bernard Muir (Sydney: Craftsman, 1991):179-80, discuss how images of St. Louis were employed in various Valois manuscripts as both models of behavior and declarations of dynastic piety.

pies, the Dauphiné, came into the possession of the Valois during the mid-fourteenth century.⁶ Thus, the monastery symbolized the strengthening and legitimation of the Valois dynasty. Accordingly, the Duke and many members of his family supported the Carthusians financially and helped in the rebuilding of the Grande Chartreuse when it was destroyed by fire in 1371; for example, Margaret of Burgundy gave money to restore the clock tower and the Duke's brother, Charles V, founded a chapel and sent an alms of 4000 florins.⁷ In return for their support, the Valois were prayed for by the Carthusians night and day, ensuring their salvation.⁸ In the miniature of the Grande Chartreuse, visible at the tip of the tallest spire, in the very center, is a swan, the emblem of the Duke, a clear reference to his patronage of the monastery (Figure 1).

The inclusion of the obscure story of Bruno and the founding of the Carthusian Order among the more well-known lives of saints indicates that the Duke was promoting the importance of the Carthusians and also the canonization of their founder Bruno of Cologne (c. 1030-1101), a saint who was never formally recognized by the Vatican until the sixteenth century.⁹ Because he was a learned Parisian scholar, Bruno and his followers were praised by many prominent humanists, including the influential Petrarch, whom the Duke of Berry admired.¹⁰ Bruno's aim when founding the Carthusian order was a synthesis of Eastern eremitism within a traditional Western monastic setting that emphasized continual study.¹¹ By associating himself with the Carthusians, the Duke ensured not only the prayers of the order, but also respect as a truly pious and scholarly man.

The pictorial cycles of the Life of St. Catherine, the Life of St. Jerome and the Lives of Ss. Anthony and Paul the First Hermit all complement the cycle of St. Bruno and the Founding of the Carthusian Order by projecting a continual theme of studious living and idyllic seclusion from the urban environ-

ment. Because of the thematic similarities between these cycles and that of Bruno, it appears that Carthusian ideals of pious scholarship are given higher status through association with these more established Early Christian saints. Throughout the imagery of the cycles of St. Catherine, St. Jerome and the hermit Ss. Paul and Anthony, there are emphases and deviations from the text which enhance the scholarly and monastic aspects of the saints' lives.

The longest of the special pictorial cycles are devoted to Catherine and Jerome, two saints whose cults have well-known associations with scholarly pursuits.¹² Both of these pictorial cycles open with images that establish the saints' devotion to books and knowledge. As patroness of the University of Paris and also recipient of French royal patronage, St. Catherine was represented on the seal of the University and students of theology and philosophy regularly made processions to her priory church, St. Catherine des Ecoliers.¹³ The illustrations of her life make up the very first pictorial cycle in the book and establish the scholarly tone maintained throughout the *Belles Heures*. The introductory miniature to the Life of St. Catherine portrays the unprecedented scene of Catherine studying (Figure 2). The text explains that she was a beautiful princess who lived during the time of the Emperor Maxentius and was well versed in all of the liberal arts. To emphasize the extent of her learning, an elaborate book stand with a variety of texts, is given a prominence that rivals the figure of Catherine herself.

This portrayal of Catherine's scholarly devotion is immediately followed by a scene of Catherine refusing to worship idols in the city of Alexandria (Figure 3). Catherine's study, re-emphasized visually by the inclusion of a book in her hand, has taught her that such worship is false. Recoiling from the idol, Catherine stands apart from the group of pagans both compositionally and philosophically. The text of the miniature explains

⁶ *History of the Great Chartreuse*, trans. Edward Hassid (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1934):39, 176. The land was bequeathed to Jean le Bon in 1349 on the condition that the king's eldest son bear the title of Dauphin.

⁷ *History* 43-6, 174-5.

⁸ *History* 182-3. The Carthusian Order relied heavily on this type of patronage and through it their numbers grew from 46 foundations in 1223 to 150 in 1371; other well-known Carthusian foundations supported by royal patronage were the Certosa di Pavia, founded by the Visconti family, and the Chartreuse de Champmol, founded by the Duke of Berry's brother, Philip the Bold. Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972) 116-20, provides good, basic information about these institutions.

⁹ The best source for information on Bruno's life is Bernard Bigny, *Saint Bruno, le premier chartreux* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1984). See also, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 561-78. Bruno was never officially canonized, but his cult was approved by the Vatican in 1514.

¹⁰ The Duke's interest in Humanism and the writings of Petrarch is well-documented and discussed by Meiss, *The Limbourg* 19-22.

¹¹ Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo I* (Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 1988), *History* 11-55 and Braunfels 111-13.

¹² For information on Catherine's cult see S. Zarb, "Origins and Developments of the Cult of St. Catherine," *St. Catherine of Alexandria: Her Churches, Paintings and Statues in the Maltese Islands*, ed. Mario Buhagin (Malta, 1979) 3-56, M. Brandi, "S. Caterina nella letteratura popolare e nel folklore," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* III 976, and also Givens. Eugene Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985) provides a thorough study of Jerome's cult and Meiss, "Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome," *Pantheon* 32 (1974):135-40, discusses the popularity of Jerome's scholarly image.

¹³ In *A Parisian Journal: 1405-1449*, trans. Janet Shirley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 307, a contemporary witness describes how in 1436 "The whole university. . . went to St. Catherine-du-val-des Ecoliers, each carrying a lighted candle in his hand. . . priests and scholars only. . ." see also 63-4, 353. The processions are also mentioned in Zarb 35 and Brandi 976; further descriptions of processions to Catherine's priory church are found in Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France Duc de Berry. Sa Vie. Son Action Politique 1340-1416*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1966-68), 221, 300, 352, 372, 441, (vol. 3) 300, 381, 484.

that Catherine, “armed with the sign of the cross” confounded the emperor with the “remarkable depth of her learning.”¹⁴ In contrast to the Emperor who stands opposite her and holds a large sword, she is armed only with her book. Empowered by knowledge, Catherine seems to illustrate the Apostle Paul’s famous verse, “the word of God is quick. . . powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword. . . .”¹⁵ Because of this emphasis on her knowledge, the pictorial cycle continues with illustrations of Catherine’s philosophical debate and eventual conversion of fifty respected pagan scholars.

The composition of this miniature seems indicative of the Duke’s interest in and support of humanist learning. Christianity triumphs not through the miraculous, but through reason and a reason carefully demarcated from the pagan. This conflict between pagan tradition and Christian knowledge is also featured in the opening Jerome miniature, which shows Jerome, seated front and center, attending a pagan university lecture (Figure 4). The text for this unprecedented illustration explains that he was neglecting the books of the prophets and devoting himself to Plato. In anticipation of his later calling, the Limbourgs have depicted Jerome as a tonsured monk with a halo. This monastic dress and his prayerful gesture, coupled with his brooding expression and apparent lack of interest for the speaker, separate him from the pagan audience.¹⁶ Jerome is unable to enjoy the lecture because he has realized that he should devote his scholarship to Christian concerns.

The text of the following miniature goes on to describe Jerome’s dream in which he is condemned and beaten on Judgment Day because he is a “Ciceronian.” Instead of opening with the dramatic scene of the dream, the actual textual impetus for Jerome’s religious initiation, the artists chose a scene which defined his “Ciceronian” ways and highlighted his education. This sequence emphasizes Jerome’s Classical training—a major reason for his popularity in the Renaissance—and simultaneously emphasizes his *own* decision to change his ways. Like Catherine, Jerome goes on to use his Classical education toward Christian means and expounds the scriptures as eloquently as the pagan philosophers.

This Christian devotion to study is shown in the miniature which illustrates Jerome translating the Old Testament (Figure 5). The prophets and the scrolls above him, usually depicted throughout the *Belles Heures* as grisaille sculpture, are here colored and literally brought to life. This implies that Jerome’s perseverance and dedication to scriptural translation is responsible for keeping the prophets’ words alive. It is also signifi-

cant that in this scholarly context, there is a specific reference to the Duke. Jerome’s circular lectern is crowned by a swan, a popular emblem of the Duke; this seems to relate the Duke’s own learning and his love of books to that of Jerome.

The Duke’s admiration for knowledge also figures prominently in his patronage and portrayal of Bruno and the Carthusians. The opening scene of the Bruno cycle contains striking parallels to the opening lecture scene of the Jerome cycle. Bruno’s introductory miniature also portrays a university environment with prominent books (Figure 6). Raymond Diocrès, an eleventh-century theologian, sits on a cathedra at the center of the composition, engrossed in his study and surrounded by scholars, clerics and monks. The text, taken from a thirteenth-century *Life of Bruno*, explains that Diocrès was a well-respected and famous professor who died in Paris with many honors. The next miniatures portray the shocking event that had such an impact on Bruno. Twice after his death, Diocrès rose from his coffin and announced that he had been justly accused, judged by God and damned to hell.

This evocation of judgment and condemnation, occurring as it does immediately after the scene of scholarly devotion, calls to mind Jerome’s dream of condemnation which also occurs after he attends a lecture. While no reasons are given for Diocrès’ damnation, the introductory image of his intense scholarly devotion denotes that too much study in a university environment can lead one to neglect the true meaning of the scriptures. Apparently this was a common threat because stories of vain and misled students “struck dumb” after death were commonly employed in medieval sermons at the University of Paris as warnings against scholarly vanity.¹⁷

According to legend, the events of Diocrès’ funeral were the impetus for Bruno’s founding of the Carthusians, an order famous for its emphasis on solitude and study. After witnessing the damnation of such a well-respected man, Bruno refused an offer to become the Archbishop of Rheims and sought a secluded existence far away from worldly temptations. In the illustration of his retreat from Paris, the spires and turrets of the city create a striking contrast to the peaceful hills and forest on the right (Figure 7). Indicating his future life, Bruno points the way down a path which leads to a solitary monk reading in a cave. The partial view of an ecclesiastical portal foreshadows the soon-to-be-built monastery.

Throughout the special cycles of the *Belles Heures*, this withdrawal from the urban environment appears to be the necessary outcome of a life truly devoted to study. Catherine, at

¹⁴ All passages quoted from the text of the *Belles Heures* are taken from Meiss and Beatson.

¹⁵ Paul’s verse is in Hebrews 4:12. Because of Catherine’s connections to the University of Paris, this miniature could also illustrate the theologian Robert de Sorbon’s idea that “The sword of God’s word is forged by grammar, sharpened by logic, and burnished by rhetoric, but only theology can use it” (MS. lat. 15971, f. 198); quoted and translated by Charles Homer Haskins, “The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century,” *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965) 46.

¹⁶ Thanks to Jack Freiberg for pointing out the significance of Jerome’s gesture.

¹⁷ Haskins 45-51. While many of these stories refer to students who were studying canon law or science instead of theology, the similarities are striking. Particularly noteworthy are stories of condemned students appearing after death to their masters or masters struck dumb because of their vanity.

first shown in peaceful, solitary study, goes into the city and, after rejecting the Emperor’s offer to become rich and famous as his pagan queen, is tortured, starved and forced into prison for twelve days. Once inside the prison and away from the world, her private cell turns into a palace where she is nourished and her wounds are healed by angels (Figure 8). By depicting the cell as a rapturous solace, the Limbourgs’ illustration evokes the Carthusian maxim that the “cell is necessary for the health and life of the soul.”¹⁸ Catherine’s legend is associated further with remote solitude because her body was miraculously transported to the desert Monastery of Mt. Sinai. Included at the end of her pictorial cycle is an illustration of this desert shrine which includes the portrayal of the solitary monk discussed earlier in the Bruno cycle (Figure 9). The remoteness of the site is emphasized by the inclusion of pilgrims and a text which explains that it takes twenty days to reach the monastery.

The events depicting Jerome’s retreat from the world are more similar to Bruno’s. The Limbourgs portray Jerome’s own flight from Rome and his eventual founding of a monastery in the East. Disillusioned, Jerome leaves Rome, visits the bishop of Constantinople, and then sets sail for the desert where he will take refuge in the wilderness (Figure 10). The simultaneous narrative of the miniature emphasizes the contrast between Jerome’s past urban existence and his future of seclusive study. After receiving the necessary blessing from the Bishop, Jerome is shown reading as he sails away from the faintly visible cityscape in the background. Once in the desert, however, Jerome is still haunted by urban temptations (Figure 11). In a miniature portraying Jerome’s torturous visions of beautiful women, the Limbourgs have placed the lascivious women within city walls, thus associating Jerome’s lust with an urban environment. Jerome, symbolically assailed by a grotesque demon, tries to ignore them through prayer while the monumental religious architecture behind him and the cardinal’s hat in the foreground serve as symbols of his strength and reminders of his religious devotion.

After his solitary struggles in the wilderness, Jerome founds a monastery near Bethlehem and the illustrations of these events emphasize the harmony of his new monastic life; throughout the rest of the miniatures, Jerome is established as a strong monastic leader. Significantly, this image is followed by the cycle of Anthony and Paul the First Hermit, a life written by Jerome himself. This cycle is a continuation of Jerome’s monastic image and a more eremitic counterpart to the communal harmony emphasized pictorially in the cycle of Jerome’s life. Anthony, “horrified” by events in Rome, has left the wicked city and fled to the “vast desert beside the Red Sea” (Figure 12). The text of the miniature explains that Anthony has dreamt

of “one better than himself dwelling in the wilderness” so he is shown in search of Paul the First Hermit. The sailing ships emphasize his long journey and the inclusion of Paul studying in the background next to an ecclesiastical structure foretells the hermits’ peaceful future of religious devotion.

By privileging seclusion and scholarly study, the cycles of Catherine, Jerome, and the desert hermits Anthony and Paul serve as perfect hagiographic models for the Carthusians. When founding the Carthusians, Bruno found his ideal refuge in the mountainous terrain of eastern France, the Dauphiné, acquired for the French realm by Jean le Bon, the Duke’s father, and commonly known as “le Desert.” Here Bruno organized the building of the Grande Chartreuse. The Limbourgs have portrayed the monks eagerly entering through the portal (Figure 13). Dressed in new white robes, they enter rhythmically in single file, and the vaulted structure, similar to that featured in the backgrounds of the other monastic miniatures, emphasizes the all-encompassing enclosure of their new life.

The Bruno cycle closes with a portrayal of the peaceful solitude of the Carthusian way of life at the Grande Chartreuse (Figure 1). The text of the miniature reads:

This house, called in truth the Charterhouse, is situated among the serried mountains of Burgundy; according to Jerome, the city is a prison, the desert paradise. In the cell is peace; strife and war threaten without.

The unique architecture of the Carthusians—which follows Jerome’s philosophy and provides each monk with his own cell—is made clearly visible by the bird’s-eye-view.¹⁹ The tranquil setting and the solitary figure rowing his boat, evoke the metaphor employed by Petrarch in his praise of the Carthusians: “How many outstanding men have come with great glory through the tempests of public affairs to the silence of the eremitical port.”²⁰

When the *Belles Heures* was produced, the French kingdom was in the midst of its long war with England and there were bloody, internal battles between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs from which the Duke, as Captain General of Paris and eldest ally of the Armagnacs, could not escape. The peaceful atmosphere of this final miniature projects the Grande Chartreuse as a safe haven far away from such turmoil. The Duke is known to have visited the Parisian Chartreuse de Vauvert in 1398 with his brother, Philip the Bold, who had the Champmol Chartreuse built for his own burial site.²¹ Previous to this visit, the Duke had arranged for a chapel to be built after his death at the Chartreuse de Vauvert in exchange for prayers for his salvation.²² The inclusion of his emblem, the swan, on the tip of the tallest, central spire of the Grand Chartreuse, serves as a

¹⁸ History 21.

¹⁹ Braunfels 111-24 discusses Carthusian architecture and provides several plans of typical charterhouses.

²⁰ Giles Constable, “Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages,” *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum, 1988) 60.

²¹ Meiss, *The Limbourgs*, 125 and 454, n. 223.

²² Lehoux 273 explains that the Duke had this added in a codicil to his will before leaving on a trip to Italy in 1391. He also was to donate a reliquary of John the Baptist, his name saint as well as patron of the Chartreuse de Vauvert.

visual reminder of those prayers of the Carthusian order.

Clearly the Duke, whose own life was one of worldly hedonism, wanted to ensure the prayers of the most austere and respected monastic order. In commissioning the depiction of the great scholars Catherine and Jerome, the famous hermits Paul and Anthony, and the founding of the eremitic Carthusians who fled urban Paris, the Duke wished to portray a scholarly and pious self-image while also commemorating the spiritual

superiority of the Carthusian order, in which he put his hopes for salvation. The end result also seems to mirror the words of the humanist Petrarch who claimed "to hardly think well of a man—especially a studious man. . . who does not eagerly flee from the storms of civilian cares into solitude as into a port."²³

Florida State University

²³ Constable 62.



Figure 1. Limbourg Brothers, The Grande Chartreuse, Fol. 97v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2. Limbourg Brothers, St. Catherine Studying, Fol. 15, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 3. Limbourg Brothers, St. Catherine Refuses to Worship an Idol, Fol. 15v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 4. Limbourg Brothers, St. Jerome at a Pagan Lecture, Fol. 183, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5. Limbourg Brothers, St. Jerome Translating the Bible, Fol. 187v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 6. Limbourg Brothers, Discreets Expounding the Scriptures, Fol. 94, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 7. Limbourg Brothers, St. Bruno Leaves Paris, Fol. 95v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 8. Limbourg Brothers, St. Catherine Tended by Angels, Fol. 17v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 9. Limbourg Brothers, St. Catherine's Body Carried to Mt. Sinai, Fol. 20, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 10. Limbourg Brothers, St. Jerome Leaves Constantinople, Fol. 185, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 11. Limbourg Brothers, St. Jerome Tempted by Dancing Girls, Fol. 186, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 12. Limbourg Brothers, St. Anthony Seeking St. Paul's Hermitage, Fol. 191v, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 13. Limbourg Brothers, Entering the Grande Chartreuse, Fol. 97, *Belles Heures*, c.1407-09, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.