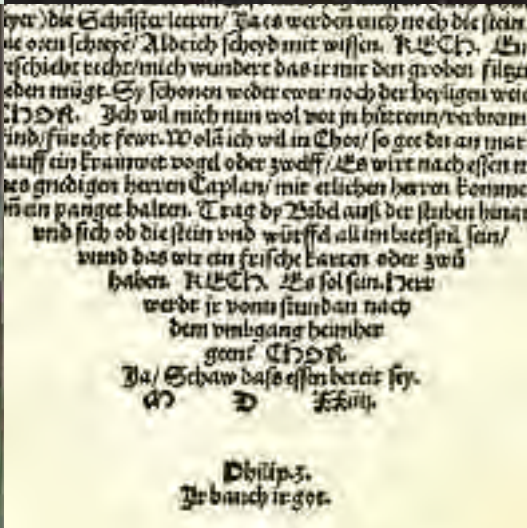




# PATHS TO REFORM "THINGS NEW AND OLD"

SANDRA HINDMAN  
LAURA LIGHT

Introduction by David Lyle Jeffrey



TEXTMANUSCRIPTS 3

# PATHS TO REFORM

## "THINGS NEW AND OLD"

SANDRA HINDMAN  
LAURA LIGHT

Introduction by David Lyle Jeffrey

*LES ENLUMINURES LTD.*

23 EAST 73<sup>RD</sup> STREET  
7<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR  
NEW YORK, NY 10021  
TEL: (212) 717 7273  
FAX: (212) 717 7278  
NEWYORK@LESENLUMINURES.COM

*LES ENLUMINURES LTD.*

2970 NORTH LAKE SHORE DRIVE  
CHICAGO, IL 60657  
TEL: (773) 929 5986  
FAX: (773) 528 3976  
CHICAGO@LESENLUMINURES.COM

*LES ENLUMINURES*

1, RUE JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU  
75001 PARIS  
TEL (33) (0)1 42 60 15 58  
FAX (33) (0)1 40 15 00 25  
INFO@LESENLUMINURES.COM

WWW.LESENLUMINURES.COM  
WWW.TEXTMANUSCRIPTS.COM  
WWW.MEDIEVALBOOKSOFHOURS.COM

FULL DESCRIPTIONS AVAILABLE ON [WWW.TEXTMANUSCRIPTS.COM](http://WWW.TEXTMANUSCRIPTS.COM)

© SANDRA HINDMAN AND LAURA LIGHT 2013  
ISBN 978-0-9838546-5-4

# PATHS TO REFORM

## "THINGS NEW AND OLD"

SANDRA HINDMAN  
LAURA LIGHT  
Introduction by David Lyle Jeffrey

PAUL HOLBERTON PUBLISHING, LONDON  
for *LES ENLUMINURES*, Paris, Chicago, and New York

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE: "THINGS NEW AND OLD" BY SANDRA HINDMAN	6
INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS REFORM? BY DAVID LYLE JEFFREY	8
TIMELINE	14
I. REFORM FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: RELIGIOUS ORDERS FROM THE CISTERCIANS TO THE FOLLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS DE PAULA (1416-1507)	16
II. THE INNER REFORMATION: THE <i>DEVOTIO MODERNA</i> AND THEIR TEXTS	34
III. INFLUENCE OF THE MODERN DEVOTION AND OTHER TRENDS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PIETY IN ITALY AND FRANCE	60
IV. REFORM AFTER MARTIN LUTHER: THE CHRISTIAN LIFE RE-IMAGINED	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112



## PREFACE

### “THINGS NEW AND OLD”

And Jesus said to them, “Therefore every scribe who has become a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like a head of a household, who brings out of his treasure things new and old.”

— Matt. 13:52

**THIS CATALOGUE, THE THIRD IN A SERIES OF CATALOGUES ON TEXT MANUSCRIPTS**, brings together forty codices from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries from Western Europe. The subject is Reform. In this case, we treat Reform in the sense of “reformatio,” as it was used by reformers within the Church from St. Bernard to Geert Grote, and the title “Paths to Reform” evokes the multifaceted course the history of Christianity charted leading up to the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. David Lyle Jeffrey’s excellent introduction maps this route, seeing in it greater evidence for “evolution” than for a “revolution.” From his thoughtful essay we were inspired to adopt the biblical subtitle of this catalogue, “things new and old,” as an apt expression of the melting pot of new impulses and older models in the spirituality of this period.

**IT HAS BECOME FASHIONABLE AMONG HISTORIANS**, following John Van Engen’s lead, to view the period leading up to the Reformation as “the long fifteenth century,” that is from about the 1370s to 1520, when multiple options characterized the many choices in religious life – options that the Protestant Reformation would shut down or at best restrict. The manuscripts gathered here suggest that the history of reform as “reformatio” was ongoing in the Church much before the 1370s and into the Reformation, and to understand “the long fifteenth century” we might therefore better view it as an even longer fifteenth century, stretching back to earlier thinkers on spirituality and to the proliferation of monastic orders that dates from the twelfth century. Four sections group the manuscripts and books presented here: 1) reform within religious orders; 2) the inner reformation of the *Devotio Moderna*; 3) the influence of the *Devotio Moderna* in Italy and France; and 4) reform after Martin Luther.

**THE FIRST SECTION EXAMINES A GROUP OF MANUSCRIPTS** representative of a range of monastic orders. These include the Cistercians (and by implication the Cluniacs whose ways they challenged), the Franciscans, the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, the Celestines, the Birgittines, and the Minims. (The Dominicans are absent here, but appear elsewhere in the catalogue.) Writers include St. Bernard of Clairvaux (the Mellifluous Doctor) and Egidio of Assisi (whom St. Francis called “our knight of the Round Table”), among others. The forms of texts vary from *Specula* (mirrors), to sermons, to a Marian Psalter (a sort of Proto-Rosary), to saints’ lives, to monastic rules. Men and women alike are represented as authors, scribes, and owners. As widely diverse as this group of manuscripts is, what the texts share is self-consciousness about the reform of spiritual life, be it monastic or lay, male or female.

**INCLUDING WELL OVER HALF THE MANUSCRIPTS, THE SECOND AND THIRD SECTIONS** on the *Devotio Moderna* and its European-wide reflections constitute the core of the catalogue. To view the Modern Devotion as an “inner reformation” is to understand the spirituality the Devout professed both as coming before the Protestant Reformation and as focused on the interior self. We include most major writers of the Modern Devotion – Geert Grote and Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen of the first generation; Thomas a Kempis of the second generation; and Henry Suso, the Dominican mystic whose writings the *Devotio Moderna* favored. Notably, texts by these authors exist in multiple languages, confirming the abiding interest of the Modern Devout in vernacular spirituality. No less than five copies of the *Imitation of Christ* are present, including versions in Ripuarian German and a unique, still-unstudied copy in Italian. Gerard Zerbolt’s key tract, *The Spiritual Ascents*, which he wrote in both Latin and Dutch as a virtual handbook of the movement, is included here in both versions. Henry Suso’s three works – the only near-contemporary author to appear on the list of required reading Grote composed for disciples – are present also in multiple copies, *The Clock of Wisdom* in Latin and French; the *One Hundred Meditations* in Dutch; and the *Book of Eternal Wisdom* in German. This catalogue also bears witness to little-studied religious phenomena outside the Netherlands, but contemporary with the *Devotio Moderna*. It traces roots of reform in Venice and Padua, the spread of the Gospels and Passion literature in the vernacular to France and especially amongst women, and the rise of other texts in France and Italy that signal a desire for more individual and private forms of religious observance.

**OTHERS HAVE WRITTEN ELOQUENTLY ON THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION.** Yet, as material witnesses mostly in manuscript form, the works in the fourth section offer new glosses on the diversity of expressions the Reformation took, including its commonality with what came before. Of special interest is an exceedingly rare near-miniature copy of Luther’s New Testament in an original binding, remarkably reminiscent of the very book Luther holds in the propagandistic portrait of him. A Protestant Prayerbook for a German prince reminds us of the persistence of deluxe manuscript production a full century after Gutenberg. The continuing clash between Catholics and Protestants takes center stage in a Treatise on the Celibacy and Chastity of the Clergy, written from the Catholic perspective around 1560, and in a recusant Book of Hours, for continuing use in Protestant England and abroad. Central to Catholic liturgy, music attained a new role among Protestants, who congregated at home to sing the Psalms, as from an early seventeenth-century German manuscript. With this use of the Psalms of David we come full-circle. From the communal prayer of the Psalms in the early Church, to the Latin chants of the Divine Office celebrated by the clergy during the Middle Ages, and back to the blossoming of congregational and private singing of the Psalms in the home of every believer in their own language, we witness the cycle of re-use and “reformatio” fundamental to the history of the Church.

Sandra Hindman

## INTRODUCTION

### WHAT IS REFORM?

**WHEN WE THINK OF "REFORM" IN WESTERN CHRISTIAN TRADITION**, especially in light of the historical, textual witness, we should realize that any notion of a singular decisive moment or action – as when Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of Wittenberg Cathedral on October 31, 1517 – can be misleading. The actual story is much more interesting, dispersed over a wide expanse of European geography and many centuries of periodic attempts at renewal in spiritual discipline and ecclesiastical practice. That Christianity has always been a self-correcting tradition in this sense is evident already in St. Paul's confrontation of St. Peter over the requirements for gentile converts in Acts 15. Some believers from Judea argued that adherence to the scriptural commands of God required that baptized Gentiles be circumcised. A council was held that reached the decision not to require Gentile believers to receive circumcision or to adhere to most dietary laws. Then, as in the later Middle Ages, "reform" implied a renewal of ecclesiastical practices and spiritual life so as to bring them more into conformity with what were thought to be the teachings of Jesus and the earliest pattern of apostolic life.

**WE CAN OBSERVE ADVERTISEMENTS OF THIS RATIONALE, OF COURSE, IN MANY DISTINCT** and sometimes opposed movements of the sixteenth century, each of which saw itself as a quest for a better, more authentic reform in matters of doctrine – thus "reforming" the Reformation. In the case of Zwingli, the Anabaptists, and Calvin, among the more visible of the first major tangents outward from Rome following Luther's manifesto, this led to separate denominations, often marked by notably regional characteristics. In earlier centuries, in various parts of Europe, there had been many other important efforts at reform within the Church, almost all of which reveal an evident genetic relationship to those of the sixteenth century, yet they did not result in such deep or permanent fractures.

### A SELF-CORRECTING TRADITION

**A CALL FOR REFORM IN ANY SPHERE IMPLIES AN ANTECEDENT PERCEPTION OF DECAY** or loss of fidelity. The Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, to take one example, would seem to have been occasioned in part by lay resistance to clerical corruption (chiefly concubinage and simony) that had become widespread, ostensibly because of ineffective papal control. In his attempt to assert such control, Pope Gregory VII used the term *reformare*, not as his sixth-century predecessor Gregory the Great had earlier, to refer primarily to personal spiritual renewal, but rather to call for institutional reform in the Church as a whole (Constable, 1982, p. 38). In 1075 he issued an encyclical commanding the laity to refuse the sacraments from corrupted priests, hoping to stave off the wave of anticlerical violence. He was not entirely successful. According to Sigebert of Gembloux (a Benedictine monk), dissidence reached a point where priests were being burned in their own money and castrated, he adds dryly, "as evident testimony to the considerable wisdom of their chastisers" (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, LL 2: 436). St. Bernard of Clairvaux, a century later, has criticisms of clerical apostasy almost as sharp: not only are Christians untaught; priests themselves sometimes "disavow the sanctity of the sanctuary of God and no longer regard the sacraments as sacred" (*Epist.* 241) [for Bernard see cat. 1 and 13]. Yet even though such abuses are precisely what in some regions eventually produced break-away lay movements of reform spirituality such as the Waldensians (Thouzellier, 1966), for the most part reform was accomplished by a quieter process of renewal and return to ideals and practices such as were believed to have characterized the faithful life of the primitive church. A return to apostolic beginnings was essentially the model appealed to in monastic communities in which observance of the community *regula* had grown lax. In Cistercian reforms of the twelfth century, for example, individual reform is treated as the first step to reform of the whole community; in the writings of Bernard we find him describing the entry into religious community of novitiates as a "reformation of secular men" by virtue of their transformation "into the form of a new man" (*De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 14). Bernard's rhetoric itself reveals an apostolic model, for he is alluding to that passage in Ephesians 4 in which St. Paul describes the shared life of the church as conforming the life of believers to their common source, "till we all come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13).

**A LITTLE EARLIER, ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, MUCH LIKE BERNARD**, had committed the faithful under his direction to "reform as a renewal which belonged to the sphere of grace" (Ladner, 1982, p. 14), grace here understood to be operative both in the life of individual believers and in the Church collectively. The principal idea of reform in the later Middle Ages is representatively, of *reformare in melius* (reform for the better) rather than of revolution. In part this language is a reflex of spiritual humility. In a text such as Anselm's *Proslogion* we see that his sense of effacement of the *imago Dei* by sin necessitates an acknowledgement that individual effort is insufficient to repair the damage; God himself must "renew" and "reform" his image in the soul (*Proslogion*, ch. 1). Throughout the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, as several texts in this catalogue attest, the terms *renovatio*, *reformatio*, *transformatio* are used in this way.

**GIVEN THE LESS INDIVIDUALISTIC, MORE COMMUNAL EXPERIENCE OF FAITH IN THE PERIOD,** it was natural to identify such a *reformare in melius* with renewal in the formal practices of entire religious communities. The obvious analogy with repentance, renewal and growth to maturity in personal spiritual life, however, is never far from the surface. Thus Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre and later a cardinal, in his chapter “On the Renovation of the Western Church” (in the *Historia occidentalis*), imagines reform in the Church as a progressive growth in the institution, increasing conformity to Christ parallel to the biblical ideal of perfection sought by devout individual believers, specifically in response to the explicit command of Jesus, “Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect” (Matt. 5:48; John 17:23). Jacques identifies the Franciscans as particularly worthy exemplars of religious obedience in this regard [for the early Franciscans, see cat. 4]. Yet the biblical counsel of perfection, reiterated in all kinds of spiritual writers in Christian history, is universally appealed to in spiritual literature of the twelfth through sixteenth centuries, much of which was written in the vernacular for laymen and women.

**INTERESTINGLY, THE FRANCISCANS HAD ESCAPED ONLY BY AN ECCLESIASTICAL WHISKER** being lumped in with heretical movements which had emerged in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in northern Italy, several of which likewise taught in the local vernacular and had a similar radical emphasis on *imitatio Christi* and the *vita apostolica*. Happily for them, when Pope Innocent III had a dream in which a tiny Francis appeared just in time to prop up a teetering Lateran church, in Innocent’s sub-conscious clearly a symbol for the somewhat shaky authority of Rome, Innocent took the dream as a direct revelation. Accordingly, in 1210 he welcomed this one radical and evangelical sect among many into the fold, approving them as an order and charging them both with obedience to the Holy See and the apostolic work of reforming the laity. On the strength of the surviving textual record, however, similarities and emphasis in both doctrine and spiritual practice between the Franciscans and many lay movements of the thirteenth century abound. Chief among the common threads is a spiritual ideal for Christian community in virtually all cases tracing self-consciously to the life-in-common of the Apostles recorded in Acts 4:32. The ideal of the *ecclesia primitiva* is still the model for community life appealed to by many pre-Reformation groups in the fifteenth century. Their general model for proclamation and evangelism likewise traces to the book of Acts, typically reiterating the missionary efforts of the apostles to fulfill the Great Commission. Yet it would be a mistake to think that the pattern is not to be found in the mainstream of the hierarchical Church as well; calls for a renewed emphasis on preaching and teaching, and for a pursuit of personal perfection as intrinsic to effective pastoral outreach, occur frequently in the writings of medieval bishops (e.g., Peter the Venerable, *Letters*).

### **BIBLE TRANSLATION**

**AS LATINITY AMONG THE LAITY WANED, EFFORTS FROM ALL SIDES TO IMPROVE** the effectiveness of preaching brought about an increasing need for vernacular sermons and, in some quarters, for re-translation of at least parts of the Bible into the diverse vernaculars of Europe. Since the time of the Reformation, particularly in England, it has often been assumed that the Catholic Church was opposed to such translation – opposed to the use of anything but Jerome’s Vulgate for catechesis, worship,

and theological reflection. This is inaccurate. As Father Leonard Boyle, former Librarian of the Vatican Library, has shown, even in the case of Pope Innocent III investigating the Waldensians, there was no papal opposition to vernacular translation per se; Innocent made clear that he was willing to let them have their translations as long as their conduct of Christian life continued to be virtuous. This should not surprise us; there had been no official opposition many centuries earlier to vernacular translations of the Psalter and Gospels (those portions most commonly used in the offices and for preaching) such as were done by Benedictines from the seventh century onward. To this chapter in the history of vernacular Bible translation the work and reception of Bede, Alfred the Great, the Caedmonian poets, and Aelfric all bear eloquent witness. The Council of Tours (813 AD) explicitly recognized the insufficiency of Latin for lay instruction, requiring that parish priests preach in “*rusticam Romanum linguam*” (Old French) or in “*Theofiscam*” (the German equivalent). Nor had any prohibition of translation emerged in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: in fact the Council itself, and, in England, such subsequent evangelical counsels as Bishop Robert Grosseteste’s *Constitutions* and Archbishop John Peckam’s *Lambeth Constitutions* of 1281, moved forward an encouraging agenda. The principles of the Fourth Lateran Council mandated extended vernacular catechesis, and Grosseteste and Peckam countenanced what ensued, namely several varieties of vernacular translation of the Scriptures. It is true, and in later centuries perhaps lamentably so, that in the later Middle Ages Rome required translation to be made from the Vulgate Latin text alone – an injunction finally rescinded only by Pope Pius XII. But from early medieval times, during which translations of the Gospels and Psalms appeared in many European languages, through to the thirteenth century, when a whole Bible appeared in England in Anglo-Norman French, to the fourteenth century, with the Middle English Wycliffite translation, and on to the sixteenth-century Douai translation, such vernacular translations, mostly, but not always, from the Latin of Jerome, were made almost everywhere (Boynton and Reilly, ed., 2011) [for a New Testament in Luther’s translation, see cat. 33]. In the fifteenth century alone Bibles were published in French [see cat. 28], German, Dutch, Czech, Polish, Danish, Swedish, and Italian, all Catholic, almost all with episcopal approval and blessing.

### **LAY SPIRITUALITY**

**BEFORE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, OTHER EFFORTS AT REFORM TOOK ON CONTOURS APPROPRIATE** to their specific community. In monastic communities, as one would expect, the emphasis was typically on spiritual discipline within the community and a deepening of the life of prayer and contemplation. This was a model for reform adapted to some considerable degree by emerging lay religious communities as well, and in both cases it resulted in an emphasis distinct from reforms characteristic of scholastic communities such as the universities at Oxford and Paris. There the focus was much more on method in scriptural exegesis and clarity of doctrine in theology. Thus, when Erasmus made his appeal for theological reform with his famous cry, “*ad fontes*,” the foundation to which he wanted his academic colleagues to return was the teaching of patristic theologians, among whom his particular hero was Jerome [for Jerome, see cat. 23]. Erasmus was not, at least primarily, calling for reform in devotion so much as for a renewal of orthodoxy in theology.



IN THIS LIGHT IT IS WELL FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT ACADEMIC PREOCCUPATION with right doctrine such as occasioned the vigorous debate between Erasmus and Luther – a debate in which Erasmus sought reform from within while eventually Luther made a decisive break – offers a window onto only one part of the story of reform, even in the sixteenth century. Far more of the texts widely read in this period were simply in quest for a deepened personal spirituality. Beginning with the tertiary or Third Order Franciscans, many and various lay communities of special association for worship and service, confraternities and guilds, were formed, appearing first in Italy and France, then almost everywhere in Europe [see cat. 5]. Considered from the point of view of social and cultural history, these lay movements were certainly among the most important sources of reform in Europe. Without them, Luther would have found a much smaller audience for his ideas.

FOR A COMPLEX OF REASONS, DURING THE LATE MIDDLE AGES the Church in Europe experienced a profound laicization. This is itself, as we recognize, an element fundamental to the Reformation as we typically think of it, but not always a party to its principal conflicts. For a more balanced appreciation we should deepen our understanding of the rich miscellany of the theological and spiritual writings directed as much to lay readers as to the ordained religious. *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis is perhaps the most famous of these texts (as late as the early seventeenth century it was commonly though inaccurately ascribed to the university reformer Jean Gerson), but equally influential writings, such as those of the Dominican Henry of Suso, the English Augustinian canon Walter Hilton, and Franciscans such as Nicholas de Bohun were written specifically for devout laypersons, urging upon them what Hilton calls a “mixed life,” combining the contemplative prayer of a cloistered monastic with their active life in a secular vocation (Jeffrey, 1979) [for the *Imitation of Christ*, see cat. 12-14, 20, 25; for Suso, see cat. 15-17, 26; for Gerson, cat. 13]. From the fourteenth century onward such spiritual texts in the vernacular were being produced with increasing frequency by laymen and women; devotional books by Dame Julian of Norwich, Henry Duke of Lancaster, Birgitta of Sweden, and Sir John Clanvowe are among the northern European manifestations of a groundswell of reform among the laity [for St. Birgitta, see cat. 7]. Farther south, St. Francis de Paola, who remained a layman, actually founded an order, the Hermits of the Order of St. Francis, and gave it a rule; the “Minim Friars,” as they were called, are one more witness to the ongoing fruitfulness of Franciscan spirituality [see cat. 8].

THE BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE, FOUNDED IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY by Geert Grote and Florens Radewijns at Deventer in the Netherlands, was comprised largely of laypersons who held their belongings in common, living as much as possible in the fashion modeled by the first Christians, chaste and disciplined [for Geert Grote, see cat. 9]. Some devout clergy, moved by their example, sought association with them. Both Thomas a Kempis and Erasmus studied under the Brethren of the Common Life, as did Martin Luther. Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen, one of the first members of the Brethren of the Common Life, was among the deepest Catholic theological thinkers of the period; his treatise on prayer and the spiritual life (published by him in both Latin and Dutch) well illustrates his emphasis on the “reformation of consciousness,” and, like John Wyclif and Luther, he advocated vernacular Bible translation for the sake of lay learning and a reformation of piety, suggesting that even priests could greatly benefit from reading Scripture in their mother tongue [see cat. 10 and 11].

## SUMMARY

WITH RESPECT TO “REFORM” IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD OF European church history, we may enter, through such texts as are presented here, into the mainstream of renewal of medieval Christian life. In these texts we see less evidence for a revolution, as often reform has been portrayed, than for evolution. Like the good scribe referred to by Jesus, who “brings forth out of his treasure things new and old” (Matt. 13:52), a typical medieval reformer invariably looked backward as well forward. In almost every movement of spiritual reform from the twelfth century in France through to the Little Gidding community under Nicholas Ferrar and Lancelot Andrews in seventeenth-century England we find not only new texts of spiritual devotion with fresh calls for renewal, but an abiding nurture from older exemplars, classics such as St. Augustine’s manual for spiritual self-examination, his beautiful *Soliloquies*, and Jerome’s *Vitae partum* (Lives of the Fathers) [see cat. 22 and 23]. Getting to know a fuller range of the reading which nurtured reform over the centuries has a great corrective benefit for us today, namely that it helps us to see the underlying deeper unity of European Christian history.

David Lyle Jeffrey  
Baylor University



## PRIMARY SOURCES CITED:

Anselm, Saint, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Proslogion: with the replies of Gaunilo and Anselm*, tr. by Thomas Williams. Indianapolis, 2001.

Bernard, of Clairvaux. *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, Rome, 1957-1977 (*De gratia et libero arbitrio*, vol. 3; *Epistulae*, vols. 7-8).

Jacques de Vitry. *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry. A critical edition*, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, Fribourg, 1972.

Peter, The Venerable. *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, Cambridge, 1967.

## LITERATURE:

Benson, Robert L. and Giles Constable, with Carol Lanham, ed. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1982 (repr., 1991).

Boyle, Leonard E. “Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture,” in *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History. Subsidia 4, Oxford, 1985, pp. 97-108.

Boynton, Susan and Diane J. Reilly, ed. *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and*

*Performance in Western Christianity*. New York, 2011. Constable, Giles. “Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities,” in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 1982, pp. 37-67.

Jeffrey, David Lyle. “Franciscan Spirituality and the Growth of Vernacular Culture,” in *By Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought*, ed. David L. Jeffrey, Ottawa, 1979, pp. 143-160.

Jeffrey, David Lyle. *English Spirituality in the Age of Wyclif*. Grand Rapids, 1988 (repr., 2000).

Ladner, Gerhart B. “Terms and Ideas of Renewal,” in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, 1982, pp. 1-36.

Leff, Gordon. “The Apostolic Ideal in Late Medieval Ecclesiology,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2nd Series, 18 (1967), 58-82.

McGuire, Brian Patrick. *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, College Park, 2005.

Thouzellier, Christine. *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Paris, 1966.

Van Engen, John H. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: the Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 2008.



TIMELINE  
MILESTONES  
ON THE PATH  
TO REFORM

**1098**  
First Cistercian Abbey founded at Cîteaux by Robert of Molesme (c. 1028-1111)

**1112**  
St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) enters the Cistercian Order

**1115**  
St. Bernard becomes Abbot of Clairvaux c. 1124-1125 St. Bernard, *Apologia*, cat. 1; Arnulfus de Boeriis (d. 1149), *Speculum monachorum*, cat. 1 and 2

**1170-1221**  
St. Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order

**1181-1216**  
St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Friars Minor (the Franciscan Order)

**1208**  
Blessed Giles of Assisi (Egidio di Assisi) (c. 1190-1262) joins St. Francis *Egidio di Assisi, Dottrina e detti notabili*, cat. 4

**1210**  
Franciscan Order approved by Pope Innocent III

**1216**  
Approval of the Dominican Order by Pope Honorius III, *Dominican Picture Rosary* (in French), cat. 31

**1220-1260**  
First complete Vernacular Western European Bible translation, the *Old French Bible* (la Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle) *Gospel of Nicodemus* (in French), cat. 28

**1240-1**  
Birth of Mechtild of Hackeborn (d. 1298), author of the *Liber specialis gratiae* (Book of Special Grace) cat. 19 (in Dutch)

**1263-4**  
Celestine Order approved by Pope Urban IV *Vie de Saint Pierre Célestine*, cat. 6, partially based on Latin *Vita* by Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420)

**1294**  
Pietro del Murrone (1215-1296) serves as Pope Celestine V for five months before resigning

**1309-1376**  
Papacy at Avignon

**1310**  
Marguerite Porete, author of the *Mirror of Simple Souls*, executed for heresy cat. 29

**C. 1330**  
Henricus Suso (c. 1295-1366) writes the *Horologium sapientiae* (The Clock of Wisdom) cat. 15, 16, 17 (*Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*), 26 (in French), 9 (*Hundert Betrachtungen*)

**1333**  
Blessed Simone Fidati da Cascia (c. 1295-1348) writes the *L'ordine della vita Cristiana* (The Organization of Christian Life) cat. 21

**1337-1453**  
Hundred Years' War between France and England; 1346, English victory at Crecy; 1356, Battle of Poitiers

**1370**  
Birgittine Order, founded by St. Birgitta of Sweden (1303-1373) approved by Pope Urban V *German Prayerbook* (Birgittine Use?), cat. 7

**1377-1417**  
The Great (or Western) Schism divides the Church, with two Popes reigning simultaneously

**1379**  
Preaching of Geert Grote (1340-1384) begins the *Devotio Moderna* movement *Book of Hours*, Dutch translation by Geert Grote, cat. 9

**1346**  
Birth of Catharine of Siena (1347-1380)

**1350**  
Birth of Florens Radewijns (1350-1384), friend and close follower of Geert Grote

**1390s**  
Gerard Zerbolt (1367-1398) writes *De spiritualibus ascensionibus* (On Spiritual Ascents), virtually required reading in *Devotio Moderna* circles cat. 10 (in Dutch) and 11 (in Latin)

**1395**  
Jean Charlier Gerson (1363-1429) becomes Chancellor of the University of Paris *Jean Gerson, La Mendicité spirituelle* (Spiritual Beggary) and *La Pitieuse complainte*, cat. 26

**1420s**  
Thomas a Kempis (1379/80-1471), writes the *Imitatio Christi*, the classic work of *Devotio Moderna* spirituality cat. 12, 13 (in Ripuarian German), 14, 20 (in Italian), 25

**1386**  
Foundation of the Augustinian monastery of Canons Regular at Windesheim, closely related to the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life

**1404**  
Papal approval of the Canons Regular of San Giorgio in Alga; crucial to their establishment was St. Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381-1456), canon at San Giorgio in Alga, Bishop of Castello and Patriarch of Venice *Imitatio Christi* in Italian translation, cat. 20

**1407-1409**  
English translations of the Bible associated with John Wyclif (c. 1330-c.1384) effectively banned by the Archbishop of Canterbury

**1414-1418**  
Council of Constance, ended the Great Schism; condemned John Hus for heresy

**1418**  
John Hus condemned and put to death for heresy on Hus and Luther, cat. 32

**1431-45**  
Council of Basel

**1455**  
Printing of the Gutenberg Bible in Mainz

**1473-4**  
Order of the Minims founded by St. Francis de Paula (1416-1507); first rule approved in 1493; third rule, 1506 *Regula ordinis minorum sancti Francisci de Paula*, cat. 8

**1517**  
Manifesto of the 95 Theses in Wittenberg by Martin Luther (1483-1546)

**1522**  
Publication of Martin Luther's New Testament in German (the September Testament) *Das new[e] Testament*, Strasbourg, 1558/1561, cat. 33

**1524**  
Publication of Hans Sachs (1488-1523), *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren und Schumacher* (Disputation between the Canon and the Shoemaker) cat. 34

**1525**  
Marriage of Martin Luther to Katherine von Bora *Treatise on the Celibacy and Chastity of the Clergy*, cat. 39

**1529**  
Publication of Caspar Huberinus (1500-1553), *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes* *Prayerbook for a German Prince*, cat. 35

**1534**  
Publication of Luther's complete translation of the Bible

**1534**  
The Act of Supremacy declares King Henry VIII (1491-1547) "the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England" *Recusant Book of Hours* for Sarum use, cat. 40

**1573**  
Publication of the German translation of the Genevan Psalter by Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585) cat. 37

**1545-1563**  
Council of Trent and beginning of the Catholic Reform movement known as the Counter-Reformation



## REFORM FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: RELIGIOUS ORDERS FROM THE CISTERCIANS TO THE FOLLOWERS OF ST. FRAN- CIS DE PAULA (1416- 1507)

"If thou wilt be perfect, strive earnestly to be virtuous and gracious, fighting valiantly against all vices, and bearing patiently all adversities, for the love of thy Lord, who was troubled, afflicted, reproached, beaten, crucified and slain for thy love, and not for his own fault, nor for his own glory, nor for his own profit, but only for thy salvation. And to the end that thou mayest do this which I say, it is needful above all that thou overcome thyself; for little will it profit thee to lead and draw other souls to God, if thou be not first drawn and led to him thyself."

— Egidio di Assisi, *Doctrina e detti*

**ST. BERNARD OF CLARIVAUX AND THE CISTERCIANS, ST. FRANCIS AND THE FRANCISCANS, St. Peter Celestine (Pietro del Murrone) and the Celestines, St. Birgitta of Sweden and the Birgittine Order, and St. Francis de Paula and the Minims,** are represented here in this first group of manuscripts. Charismatic saints and their followers all preached a different vision of Christian reform. Other examples could have been chosen, but each of these unique responses to the message of Christ illustrates the recurring process of reform and renewal within Religious Orders from the late eleventh through the sixteenth century.

**THE CISTERCIAN VISION OF THE MONASTIC LIFE WAS ENTIRELY NEW, EMPHASIZING FIDELITY** to the Gospel message of poverty, simplicity and perfection of life. Cistercian monasteries were, by design, located far from cities, and the daily life of the monks attempted to balance work and a simplified liturgy. Men and women from all levels of society were attracted to this new vision; even peasants were recruited as lay brothers or *conversi*. In his *Apologia*, written c. 1124-1125 (cat. 1), Bernard defends the Cistercians against the charge of slandering the Cluniac monks and provides a thorough condemnation of the Cluniac monastic life and their lavish food, clothes, art and buildings. The pseu-

donymous works attributed to Bernard are evidence of his continuing importance in the fifteenth century (cat. 1, 2).

**ST. FRANCIS'S RESPONSE TO THE GOSPEL MESSAGE WAS EVEN MORE RADICAL; STANDING BEFORE** the bishop in Assisi, he cast off his clothes, resolutely turning his back on his wealthy family and his old way of life, and vowing to follow Christ's command, "Go, sell everything you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me [Mk. 10:21]" quite literally. The early Franciscans lived a life of absolute poverty, supporting themselves by begging, and dedicating themselves to good works and preaching. The *Sayings* of the blessed Egidio di Assisi (cat. 4) a very early follower of St. Francis, is one of the most beloved expressions of the early Franciscan message.

**RECENT SCHOLARSHIP HAS UNDERLINED THE ROLE OF THE OUTSIDER AS CRITICS OF ESTABLISHED** religious life in the Middle Ages. This group of manuscripts illustrates the importance of lay movements, hermits, and women as critics and reformers. The Third Order of St. Francis provided opportunities for the laity to live a religious life without entering a monastic or mendicant order. It was once seen as a creation of Francis to provide for lay followers. Recent scholarship has reversed this story and shown that the entire early Franciscan history should be seen in the context of lay Penitential movements – Christians who voluntarily adopted the life prescribed by the Church for public sinners, including penitence, charity, simple dress, abstinence and fasting, prayer, and works of charity. The relationship between the Third Order and the history of the Modern Devotion has also emerged as an important area of modern scholarship. Scholars of the *Devotio Moderna* once saw the adoption of the rule of the Third Order of St. Francis by large numbers of Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life (in particular women) as an abandonment of their fundamental principles, and they excluded these communities from the history of the *Devotio Moderna*. Modern scholars now emphasize continuity and see Third Order houses as one of the most important and largest branches of the Modern Devotion (cat. 5).

**THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OUTSIDER IS ALSO ILLUSTRATED BY PEOPLE WHO CONSCIOUSLY** adopted this outlook; hermits or holy man living apart from society were a frequent focus for reform during the Middle Ages. Pietro del Murrone (later Pope Celestine V) (cat. 6), originally a Benedictine monk, and St. Francis de Paula (cat. 8), associated with the Franciscans, are examples of charismatic figures who left their religious communities to live more austere lives as hermits, then attracted followers and thus, almost inadvertently, formed new Religious Orders.

**RECENT HISTORIANS HAVE ALSO DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THE HISTORY** of women and their struggle to participate in the religious life. Women in the Middle Ages were in some sense the ultimate "outsiders," and often the focus of reform. Women flocked to the Cistercian Order from its earliest days, but the Order was often ambivalent about their status. The connection between Cistercian Nuns and new devotional practices, in particular the Rosary, is demonstrated the contents of a manuscript possibly from Kircheim am Ries (cat. 3). St. Birgitta of Sweden (1303-1373) was a tireless critic of the Church of her day, calling for a return to the purity of the early Church (she was also the founder of a new religious Order). Other female mystics who, like St. Birgitta, circumvented authority by means of their privileged, direct communication with God, include Catherine of Siena (1347-80), closely associated with Dominican Observant reform, and Mechtild of Hackeborn (1240/1-1298) (cat. 19). The life of Marguerite of Porete (d. 1311) (cat. 29), whose ecstatic visions were condemned by the Church and who was executed as a heretic in 1311, reminds us that dissident views were not always welcomed as needed reform.

# 1

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX,  
*Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*; monastic texts here attributed to Bernard by  
ARNULFUS DE BOERIIS, ALGER OF LIÈGE, and unidentified authors;  
and BASIL OF CAESAREA, *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*

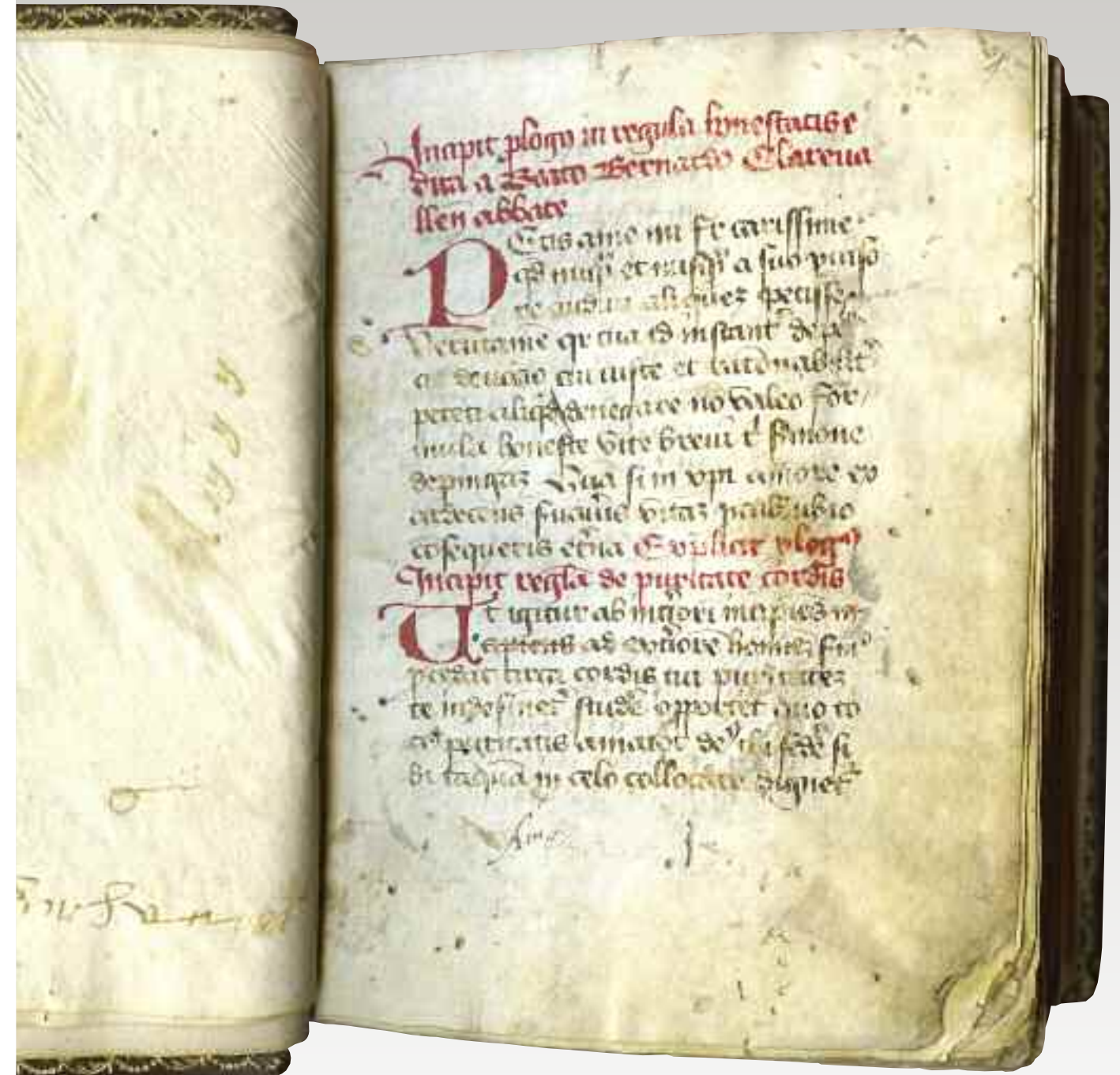
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Iberian Peninsula, c. 1450-1500

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the great spokesman for Cistercian life in the twelfth century wrote his *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem* c. 1124-1125, at a time when the traditional monastic life represented by Cluny and its many abbeys was challenged by the new, more austere interpretation represented by the Cistercians. Bernard defends the Cistercians against the charge of slandering the Cluniac monks and also presents a thorough condemnation of the Cluniac monastic life and their lavish food, clothes, art and buildings. The *Apologia* is perhaps the foundation text of the early Cistercian movement and may represent Bernard's voice at its most eloquent. This manuscript also includes three texts explicitly attributed to Bernard (although modern scholars consider them to be by other authors), all focusing on how to lead a good life as a monk.

This collection of monastic texts was most likely copied in a Cistercian monastery in Spain or Portugal. Although copied long after the early days of the Cistercian's reforming fervor, the texts included here are witness to an abiding interest in pursuing the monastic life seriously and devoutly. In the fifteenth century, Spain was the location of one of the earliest reforms of the Order, led by Martin Vargas (d. 1446), the founder of what was to become the Castilian Congregation, renowned for its extreme asceticism. This collection of texts, focusing on the spiritual and practical elements of monastic life, and notably including Bernard's *Apology*, seems appropriate for a reformed Cistercian monastery. [TM 419]

**DESCRIPTION:** 133 folios, original foliation, complete, written by four scribes, in cursive or rounded gothic bookhands in 23-16 lines, parted red and blue and red and blue initials, some with pen decoration, ink flaking and worn on some folios, bound in 19<sup>th</sup>-century gold-tooled brown leather. Dimensions 173 x 123 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 1963, 3:81-108; Brooke, 1975; Köpf, 1994, pp. 5-65; Lehmann, 1955.





## 2

ARNULFUS DE BOERIIS, *Speculum monachorum*;  
PS-AUGUSTINE, *Speculum peccatoris*; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Synonyma*  
In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Western Netherlands/ Northern Rhine (Westphalia?), c. 1510-1525

This collection of monastic texts, two of which are attributed to St. Bernard (although not actually by him) testifies to his continuing influence at the end of the Middle Ages. No clues as to the original owners of this manuscript survive, although watermark evidence, script and decoration support an origin in the Western Netherlands or Northern Rhine, regions where the influence of the *Devotio Moderna* was strong. Bernard's writings were often read in *Devotio Moderna* circles.

The *Speculum monachorum*, by the Cistercian Arnulfus de Boeriis (d. 1149), here ascribed to St. Bernard (as it is also in cat. 1), is a series of short aphorisms about the monastic life, exhorting the monk to read and meditate on these pages as one looks in a mirror, in order to contemplate his inner soul and to emend his life in every aspect. The metaphor of a mirror is encountered frequently in medieval devotional literature. There are a few sentences counseling perfection in each aspect of a monk's day, from the time spent in Choir chanting the Psalms, to the proper conduct at meals. Also included is an abbreviated version of Isidore's *Synonyma*. Its first book is a dialogue between man ("*homo*"), and reason ("*ratio*"); man complains about the bitterness of the human condition, and reason gives him advice about the prospect of damnation and the forgiveness and mercy of God; the second book follows naturally on this theme and instructs the reader on how to lead a good Christian life, although here book two precedes the first book. [TM 612]

**DESCRIPTION:** 22 folios, complete, but possibly once part of a longer codex, written in a hybrida script in two columns of 28-25 lines, red initials with simple pen decoration, in excellent condition, bound in modern quarter marbled paper and vellum, covers slightly bowed. Dimensions 204 x 142 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Elfassi, Jacques, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Synonyma*, Corpus Christianorum, Series latina 111B, Turnhout, 2009; Köpf, 1994; Roth, G., *Sündenspiegel im 15. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zum pseudo-augustinischen "Speculum peccatoris" in deutscher Überlieferung*, Bern and New York, 1991.





3



**Miscellany of Marian Devotions (Gebetbuch), including *Hore dulcissime beati Bernardi de imperatrice celi et terre*; Marian Psalter; Seven Joys of the Virgin et alia**  
In Latin, with some German, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Southern Germany, likely Bavaria (Kirchheim am Ries?), c. 1300-1325

We know that this was copied by at least one female scribe, since it is signed at the end, "*Scriptricem libri benedicant agmina celi. Non videat christum qui librum subtrahit istum*" [Let the heavenly flocks (or troops) bless the scribe of this book. He who steals (or removes) this book shall not apprehend Christ]. The Latin term "scriptricem" is from "scriptrix," a female scribe (the male form would have been "scriptor"). The foundation of the Cistercians coincided with a great flowering of female devotion (Jacques de Vitry [d. 1240], compares the number of women becoming nuns to the stars in the sky), and although the official attitude toward female foundations varied, Cistercian nuns were an important part of the Order throughout its history.

This is a near-miniature Cistercian collection of devotional texts, many of them focusing on the Virgin Mary, possibly from Kirchheim am Ries (Bavaria), which, if true, would make this one of the earliest extant codices from this abbey, founded in 1270. It contains rare texts, including the "Hours of Saint Bernard of the Empress of Heaven and Earth," apparently unique to this manuscript. Also important is its Marian Psalter, a type of proto-rosary that confirms the origins of the rosary, so important in the devotional life of both the laity and clerics in the fifteenth century, in Cistercian monastic circles (on the rosary, see cat. 31). Witness to women's affective piety, this codex is a fine example of the spirituality of Marian devotions typical of Cistercian foundations.

[TM 608]

**DESCRIPTION:** 133 folios, apparently complete but perhaps missing a gathering at the beginning, written in 12-11 long lines, red and blue initials some with pen decoration, 3 decorated initials with liquid gold, 1 historiated initial, bound in a German 15<sup>th</sup>-century blind-stamped binding. Dimensions 80 x 60 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Heinz, A., *Louange des mystères du Christ: histoire du rosaire: une étude sur l'histoire du rosaire, méditation de la vie de Jésus, compte tenu en particulier de ses racines cisterciennes*, Paris, 1990; Schromm, Arnold, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries: Buchpflege und geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift*, Tübingen, 1998; Winston-Allen, 2005.





4

EGIDIO DI ASSISI (AEGIDIUS ASSISIENSIS),  
*Dottrina e detti notabili di Frate Egidio*

In Italian, decorated manuscript on paper  
Italy (Northern or Central), c. 1450-1470

This is a fifteenth-century copy, in Italian, of one of the most influential early Franciscan texts, the *Sayings of Blessed Giles of Assisi*, an important follower of St. Francis. The Blessed Egidio (Aegidius or Giles of Assisi; c. 1190-1262) was the third and most important companion of St. Francis, joining the brothers in 1208. St. Francis called him “our knight of the Round Table,” and he followed Francis faithfully. He was known for his simple, heartfelt preaching; at the end of his life in a hermitage at Monteripido near Perugia he devoted himself to mystical contemplation. His sayings deal with the virtues and vices, solitude, patience, prayer and contemplation, and have been compared with the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. They have been an influential text in the Christian mystical and ascetic tradition, treasured in particular for their faithful reflection of early Franciscan life and teachings.

The Latin version of the text, known as the *Aurea Verba* or the *Dicta beati Aegidii*, was probably collected during Egidio’s lifetime by Brother Leo (author of his *Vita*), or by Egidio’s companions. The Italian translation is attributed by some authors to the noted Florentine religious poet Feo Belcari (1410-1484). This text is uncommon in North American collections; there are no copies listed in Schoenberg Database in any recent transactions. As it stands this text is complete in itself, although it is possible that the manuscript may have once included the *Fioretti* of St. Francis. [TM 493]

**DESCRIPTION:** 18 folios, watermarks dating 1450-1456, two quires from a longer manuscript, lacking the last two folios in the second quire, now bound out of order, written in a gothico-antiqua script in 23 lines, red and blue initials, f. 1, darkened, some stains throughout, bound in modern vellum. Dimensions 244 x c. 170 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Aegidius Assisiensis, *Dicta beati Aegidii Assisiensis ... edita a pp. Collegii s. Bonaventurae*, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi, 3, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1905; Giles, of Assisi, *The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi*, tr. and ed., Paschal Robinson, Philadelphia, 1907.





5

Miscellany for the Brothers of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, with Sermons and Liturgy for Profession and Visitations from 1525-1548, and other works

In Latin and Dutch, decorated manuscript on paper  
Belgium (Flanders) (Antwerp or Zeppereen?), c. 1548

This exceptional manuscript preserves a small archive of texts reflecting the religious and spiritual life of the Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis in sixteenth-century Flanders. It includes more than fifty anonymous sermons (almost certainly unpublished), many of them dated, preached on the occasion of the profession of novices and visitations of convents of the Third Order, as well as other texts.



The Third Order of St. Francis had roots in the Penitential movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – Christians who voluntarily adopted the life prescribed by the Church for public sinners, including penitence, chastity, simple dress, abstinence and fasting, prayer and works of charity. St. Francis probably did not create the Third Order, but he was influenced by the Penitent movements, and recognized the desire of the laity to embrace some form of the religious life without entering a monastic or mendicant order. By the fifteenth century, monastic communities identifying themselves as brothers or sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Penance were important throughout Europe, in particular in the Northern Netherlands, where Sisters and Brothers

of the Common Life sought protection and legitimacy by becoming religious houses of the Third Franciscan Order. The medieval church was frequently uneasy about their status, and in 1521 Pope Leo X proposed a new Rule that defined these houses as monastic communities with superiors, living under the customary monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. [TM 576]

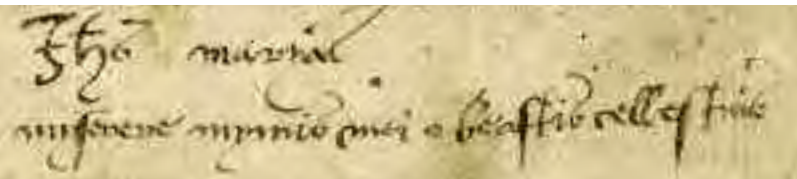
**DESCRIPTION:** 221 folios, watermarks dating 1509-1558, apparently complete, copied by many scribes in a flourished batârde, a gothic bookhand, and cursive gothic scripts in 33-20 lines, overall in very good condition, third quire loose, f. 221, partially detached, f. 131, repaired, bound in its original brown blind-stamped wallet binding. Dimensions 148 x 107 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Engen, Hildo van, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht: een bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van de Moderne devotie*, Hilversum, 2006; Hildo van Engen, "Sources for the Chapter of Utrecht of the Third Order of St. Francis," <http://www.bkvu.nl/>





6



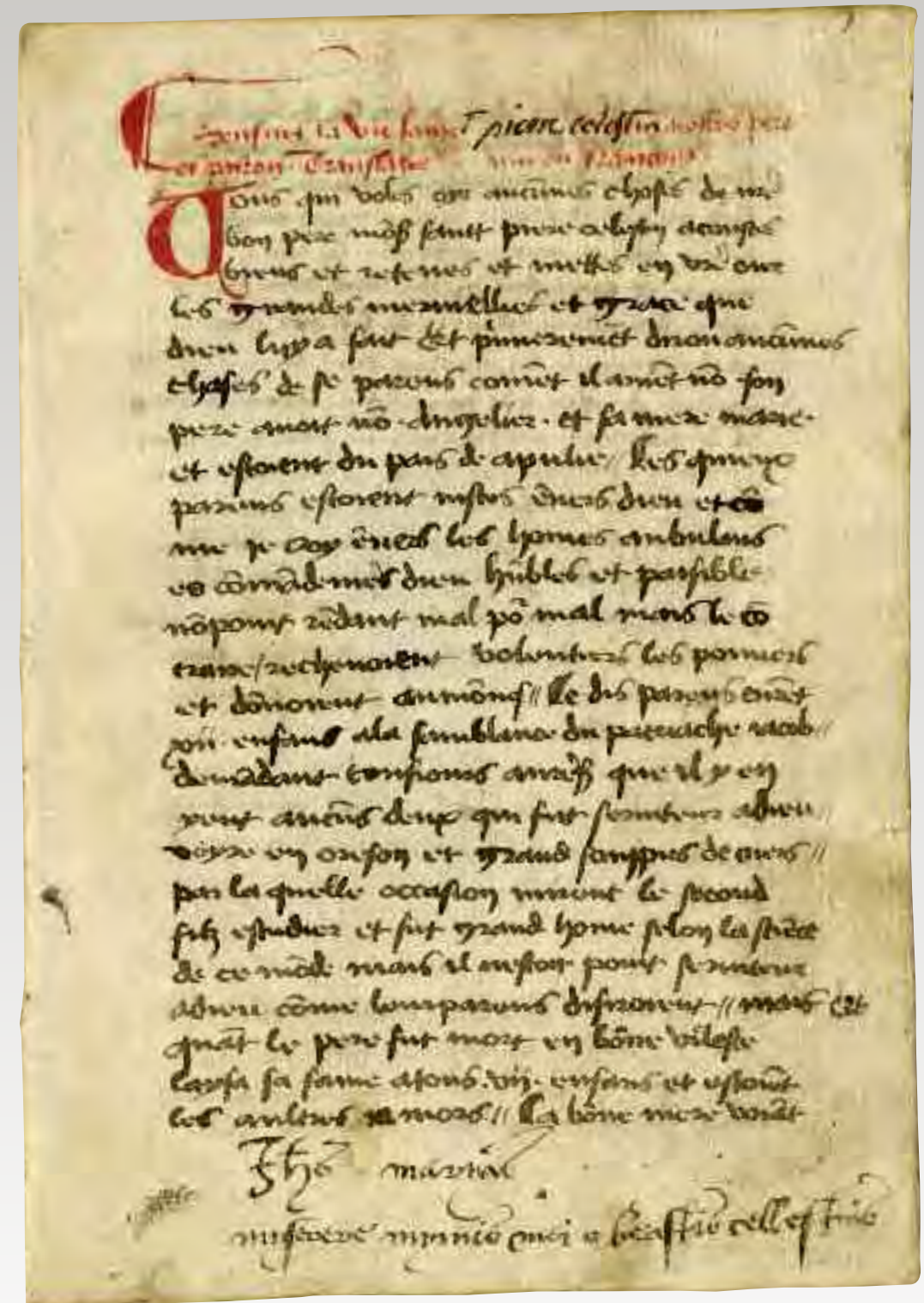
[ANONYMOUS], *Vie de Saint Pierre Célestin*  
In French, decorated manuscript on paper  
Northern France (Picardy? Champagne?), c.1460-1485

Reform in the Middle Ages often manifested itself in the creation of new religious orders by charismatic teachers – often hermits – of exceptional holiness. This is a unique and unpublished French prose Life of Saint Peter Celestine, the founder of the Order of the Celestines. This reformed Benedictine congregation began with the followers of Pietro del Morrone (1215-1296), later Pope Celestine V, a hermit in the Abruzzi mountains near Sulmona, with a reputation for holiness and fierce asceticism, compared with that practiced by the Desert Fathers of the early church. The order was approved by Pope Urban IV in 1263/4, and rapidly expanded with foundations in Italy and in France, where it was introduced by King Philip the Fair, c. 1300. True to its origins, the order remained famous for the austerity of its life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in France was associated with important leaders of church reform, including Pierre d’Ailly and his friend, Jean Gerson (1363-1429) (see cat. 26 and 29). Two of Gerson’s brothers became Celestine monks.

Although fragmentary, the present manuscript warrants an edition. Its anonymous author clearly had access to the saint’s famous “Autobiography” and the Latin *Vita* by Cardinal Pierre d’Ailly (1350-1420), and chose to give a free adapted vernacular version of the life and miracles of the saintly man. This life is different than the only other recorded Life of the Saint in French (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24433). [TM 487]

**DESCRIPTION:** 10 folios, a single quire, probably lacking a second quire, watermarks dating 1458-1467, written in cursive Gothic bookhand on up to 27 lines, red initial, a few corrections and annotations, unbound but covered in light manila cardboard. Dimensions 203 x 143 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Capani, M. E., “La questione delle fonti narrative di Pietro del Morrone-Celestino V,” in *Celestino V e i suoi tempi: realtà spirituale e realtà politica*, L’Aquila, 1990, pp. 129-146; Gaussin, 1984; Seppelt, F. X., *Monumenta Coelestiana. Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstes Coelestin V*, Paderborn, 1921, pp. 149-182.





7



German Prayer Book (Brigittine Use?)  
In German, decorated manuscript on paper  
Germany Hessen or Thüringen (?), c. 1500

Another charismatic founder of a religious order is St. Birgitta of Sweden – a female mystic. St. Birgitta (1303-1373) was married at thirteen, and was the mother of eight children. Upon the death of her husband, she entered the Third Order of St. Francis, embracing a life of poverty and good works. She was a mystic, with lifelong visions and locutions including the one c. 1346 that revealed the rule for her new religious order (its rule approved by Pope Urban V in 1370). These visions were the basis for her *Revelationes*, “a vast outpouring” from the mid-1340s until her death in 1373, notable for their critique of the Church and call for reform, as well as a devotion to the humanity of Christ and identification with the Virgin Mary.

This vernacular Prayerbook, composed of several short booklets copied by many different scribes (possibly of independent origins), was owned early in its history by the famous Carthusian monastery of Buxheim (see also cat. 11). The prayer at the beginning of manuscript, followed by instructions for members of the Brotherhood of Our Lady to earn an indulgence, suggests that this section of the manuscript may have been copied by a member of such a brotherhood. Given the prominence of texts associated with St. Birgitta (a prayer to St. Birgitta, and a very long prayer on ff. 33v-49, that she herself prayed in front of an image of Christ), it is also possible that it was copied for use in a Brigittine convent. These texts were also read in other contexts (Buxheim owned a copy of Birgitta’s *Revelationes*). [TM 393]

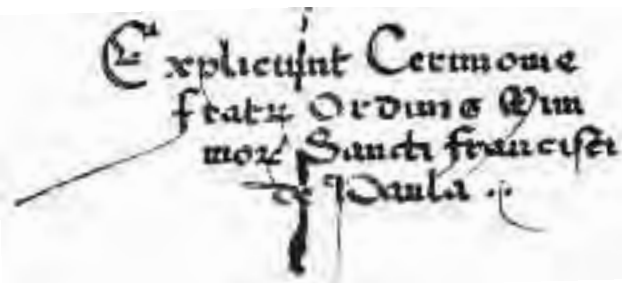
**DESCRIPTION:** 116 folios, incomplete, missing three folios after f. 97, written by at least 6 hands in a quick hybrida script in 21-19 long lines, red initials, some with pen flourishing, f. 24 loose, bound in contemporary 16<sup>th</sup>-century panel-stamped white pigskin. Dimensions 150 x 108 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Montag, 1968; Morris, 1999.





8



*Regula, Correctorium et Ceremoniale fratrum ordinis minorum sancti Francisci de Paula*  
In Latin, manuscript on paper  
Italy (Rome?), after 1528, probably c. 1530s, with additions c. 1560

The Order of Minims (“the least ones”) was founded by Francis de Paula (1416-1507), an ascetic and mystic who lived a life of great penance and abnegation. Known for his great gift of prophecy, as well as his healing abilities, Francis was canonized in 1518-19, soon after his death. The rule of the new Order was modified throughout the saint’s life; this manuscript includes the third version, dating from 1506 when Francis de Paula was 90 years old. His vision of the religious life was one of evangelical penance; the rule instructed his followers “to produce fruits worthy of penance, under the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and Lenten life” (ch. 3). Among other penances, it imposed strict abstinence from the eating meat, eggs and all milk products; the Minims are known for their observance of “perpetual fasting.” This manuscript also contains copies of three other related texts, all fundamental to the young Order, the “Office for the reception of novices,” the saint’s own *Correctorium*, and a *Ceremoniale* or “Description of the Rites of the Order.”

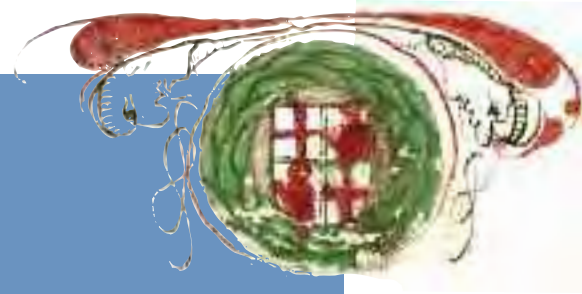
This small manuscript in its original blind-stamped binding is an Italian copy of an imprint of 1528 from the Convent of Nigeon-Chaillet (Passy, near Paris). There is no modern edition, nor satisfactory census of the extant manuscripts and early imprints of the texts included here, all central to the history of the Order of the Minims. [TM 475]

**DESCRIPTION:** 81 folios, complete, watermarks dating 1518-1576, written by two hands in semi-humanistic scripts in 18 long lines, decorated initials, slight damage from corrosive ink, else in good condition, bound in contemporary (c. 1560? or little after) blind-stamped calf. Dimensions 138 x 102 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Benoist and Vauchez, ed., 2010; Fyot, R., “Saint François de Paule et la reforme des réguliers,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 65 (1979), pp. 55-74.



reduced



## II. THE INNER REFORMATION: THE DEVOTIO MODERNA AND THEIR TEXTS

One thing, however, a man should know, that there is as great a difference between hearing himself the sweet accords of a harp and hearing another speak of them, as there is between the words received in pure grace and that flow out of a living heart, through a living mouth, and those same words when they come to be set down on dead parchment, especially in the German tongue; ... A joyless heart can as little understand a joyful tongue as a German can an Englishman!

— Henry Suso, *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*

THREE GENERATIONS OF STUDIES ON THE *DEVOTIO MODERNA* HAVE SHARPENED OUR UNDERSTANDING of the character and contributions of this spiritual movement, which was initiated by the Dutch canon, monk, and preacher Geert Grote (d. 1384) in towns of north-central Netherlands in the 1380s. In the 1920s, Albert Hyma saw the *Devotio Moderna* – a name given to the movement by its disciples, especially the chronicler John Busch – as a direct harbinger of the Protestant Reformation with stress on the word “modern.” Writing nearly a half century later in 1968, R. R. Post rejected Hyma’s claims and viewed the *Devotio Moderna* as a conservative movement rooted in a “traditional Christian heritage.” Recently, John Van Engen interpreted the Modern Devotion as a part of the “long fifteenth century.” The period from the 1370s to c. 1520 offered multiple options for the devout living independently or in communities through renewed inwardness. The term the “inner Reformation” calls attention to the meditative and contemplative pursuits of the Modern Devout, achieved primarily through the reading of texts.

MOST OF THE CENTRAL TEXTS OF THE *DEVOTIO MODERNA* APPEAR IN OUR SELECTION OF manuscripts. Geert Grote’s translation of the Book of Hours into Dutch is accompanied, in a rare example,

by one of the writings of the Dominican mystic, Henry Suso, his *One Hundred Meditations* in the earliest extant version of the Dutch translation (cat. 9). Dutch *Horae*, in contrast to their European counterparts, include scenes of the Passion of Christ as illustrations of the Hours of the Virgin. Two copies of Suso’s *Clock of Wisdom*, both in Latin, along with a German copy of his *Book of Eternal Wisdom* are also included (cat. 15, 16, 17). Suso shared with Grote an interest in the Passion of Christ and a commitment to the vernacular; it is not difficult to imagine how his name made it onto Grote’s list of required reading – the only contemporary author to be included. Grote also stressed the importance of reading lives of the early fathers as models for spirituality; the *Vaderboec* (cat. 18) is included in a Limburg dialect. Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen, writing just after Grote’s death, is considered the most successful writer the movement ever produced; his works enjoyed a vast history of transmission. The *Spiritual Ascents*, written by him in both Dutch and Latin, recommends progress in virtue through systematic meditation on the life of Christ and holy reading (cat. 10, 11). An aversion to ostentation and an esteem of the written word are central to this treatise.

CALLED THE MOST INFLUENTIAL DEVOTIONAL BOOK IN WESTERN CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THOMAS A KEMPIS’S *Imitation of Christ* is virtually synonymous with the Modern Devotion; it exists in nine hundred manuscript copies, more than three thousand editions, and it is even quoted by the English novelists George Eliot and Samuel Richardson. No less than five copies are found in this selection, including one in Ripuarian German and another in Italian (cat. 12, 13, 14, 20, 25). Now understood as a kind of *rapiarium* – collection of individual meditations on the Passion – Thomas’s book stresses the importance of the Bible, especially the Gospels (it is filled with an astounding number of 3,815 biblical citations) for achieving a vigilantly examined interior life.

WIDELY AVAILABLE IN MODERN EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS, THESE TEXTS ARE EASILY STUDIED BY researchers today. How, therefore, can the actual surviving manuscripts contribute to our greater understanding of the movement? Format, confection, ownership, these are all features that reveal the life of a manuscript. Most of the manuscripts presented here are simple hand-held copies, written on paper not parchment, and scarcely adorned or only with neat penwork initials. The characteristic, easily readable, hybrida script of the *Devotio Moderna* is found in many of the copies. Critical editions rarely record linguistic peculiarities, but the manuscripts help us imagine these books in their original environments: a Miscellany of texts in Ripuarian German, the language spoken near Cologne (cat. 13); a copy of the *Book of Eternal Wisdom* in an Austro-Bavarian dialect (cat. 17); and a copy of the mystic Mechtild of Hackeborn’s visions in a Dutch spoken in the IJssel, near Grote’s hometown (cat. 19).

MANUSCRIPTS DISCLOSE THEIR READERSHIP BY THEIR LANGUAGE BUT ALSO BY MARKS OF PROVENANCE OR, in the case of the Book of Hours, by a portrait of the Augustinian Canoness who commissioned the book (cat. 9). We can concretely trace the diffusion of the ideals of the *Devotio Moderna* by the dispersion of their texts: a Gerard Zutphen comes from a Carthusian library in southern Germany (cat. 11) and a Thomas a Kempis from a Benedictine foundation in Austria (cat. 14). Editions are often silent on the confection of the manuscripts and the combination of texts they contain. It comes as no surprise to find Book I of the *Imitation* alone (cat. 12, 13), for the four books sometimes circulated separately. Devotional miscellanies are especially interesting, because they reveal what texts were read together (cat. 12, 13, 16, 19). Two miscellanies in the vernacular, each with numerous texts – including pilgrimage literature, meditations on the Passion, sermons on the Lord’s Prayer, and visionary texts – merit extensive study (cat. 12 and 13). They survive as veritable libraries of texts aiding the reader to achieve renewed inwardness, to become a “true pilgrim,” defined by the Devout Gerlach Peters as “a traveler devoid of all baggage.”



9



**Book of Hours (Use of Windesheim, Dutch translation by Geert Grote)**

In Dutch, illuminated manuscript on parchment,  
South Holland and Utrecht, dated 1428  
7 miniatures by the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht

The contents of this Book of Hours make it an exceptional material embodiment of the teachings of the *Devotio Moderna*. Its core texts are the Dutch translation of the Book of Hours by the founder of the movement, Geert Grote (1340-84). His *Getijdenboek van Geert Grote* was the most widely copied Dutch vernacular book in the fifteenth century. In contrast to Books of Hours from other regions, which are largely in Latin, the popularity of the Dutch vernacular Books of Hours represents the triumph of Grote's belief that religious texts should be available to all believers in their own languages.

Devotional reading was also central to Grote's vision of the religious life, making the presence here of the oldest known witness of a Dutch translation of Henricus Suso's *Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehungen* very important. Organised around the days of the week, this was the most widely-read Passion meditation in the Late Middle Ages in the Low Countries. (Suso's works were extremely important in *Devotio Moderna* circles; see cat. 15-17.) Also exceptional is the miniature depicting the patrons of this manuscript on f. 195v, a well-off bourgeois family, one of whom was a canoness in the Windesheim Congregation, the monastic branch of the *Devotio Moderna*. Before his early death from the plague, Grote blessed the establishment of religious houses, marking a new point in the order's history, that henceforth included the Brother and Sisters of the Common Life (who lived and worked together in non-monastic communities without vows), Canons and Canonesses of the Windesheim Congregation, and Third Order Franciscan houses. [BOH 85]

**DESCRIPTION:** 268 folios, on parchment, several folios between ff. 107-188 and some miniatures possibly missing, written in a gothic bookhand in 15 long lines, red, blue and red-and-blue initials, some with elaborate pen decoration, 10 historiated initials with full borders, 7 large miniatures, some water damage, scuffing and rubbing, bound in late-15<sup>th</sup> century blind-stamped leather. Dimensions 130 x 90 mm

**LITERATURE:** Aelst, J. van, *Passie voor het Ijden. De Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehungen van Henricus Suso en de oudste drie bewerkingen uit de Nederlanden*, Leuven, 2005; Defoer, Henry, et al., eds., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Illumination*, New York, 1990; van Wijk, 1940.







**I** hebben om  
 beuaghien  
 die sachten  
 des doots  
 die drouige  
 seer der hei-  
 len hebben  
 om onbeuaghien **verre**  
 oemt laet ons seer ver-  
 urouwen ten heer.  
 ons in h'ere gode onsen  
 gheneer sin aensicht.  
 ons te voren begripen  
 behalen. Is et ons mit  
 dat suetleue lan



# 10

## GERARD ZERBOLT OF ZUTPHEN, *Vanden gheesteliken opclimminghen* (Dutch translation of *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*)

In Dutch, manuscript on parchment  
Northern Netherlands, c. 1425–1475

Gerard Zerbolt (1367-1398), one of the earliest followers of the Modern Devotion, together with Geert Grote (1340-1384) himself, and Florens Radewijns (1350-1400), was one of their most important and intellectually influential authors. His *De spiritualibus ascensionibus* ("Spiritual Ascents"), here in Dutch, was central to the life of the Modern Devotion. A copy of this text, which survives in hundreds of manuscripts in both Latin and Dutch versions, both by Zerbolt himself, was probably found in every house of the Modern-day Devout. It served as a handbook of religious life and mystical thought, aiming to show how the spirit can come closer to God by a process of imitation, through thought, prayer and action.

The text is an account of the progress in virtue – the spiritual ascent – that was at the heart of the New Devotion, describing the path of turning back from sin through contrition, confession, and satisfaction, then restoring the original purity of heart – driving out impurity through fear (i.e. meditating on death, judgment and hell), balanced by thoughts of the goodness and benefits of God, and systematic meditation on the life of Christ, with refreshment provided by holy reading and prayer. The third ascent strives to reform the fallen powers or faculties of the soul with lengthy discussion of each of the vices, and the text ends with the duty to "descend" and help others. Gerard successfully summarized the teachings of the first generation of the Modern Devotion in this relatively brief and readable approach to spirituality, and transmitted these ideals to the succeeding generations. [TM 544]

**DESCRIPTION:** 151 folios, lacking one leaf at end with loss of text, written in a gothic bookhand by one hand in 24 long lines, red initials, in fine condition, bound in 18<sup>th</sup>-century brown leather, minor wear on both covers. Dimensions 176 x 113 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen, *Van geestelijke opclimmingen. Een aloude vertaling opnieuw gedrukt en bezorgd door J. Mahieu*, Bruges, 1941; Gerrits, 2006; Legrand, 2006; Van Dijk, 2011; Van Engen, 1988.







GERARD ZERBOLT OF ZUTPHEN,  
*De spiritualibus ascensionibus*

In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Southern Germany or Switzerland (Basel?), c. 1470-1486



This is a Latin copy of Gerard Zerbolt's *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*. This text, which circulated in Dutch and Latin versions, both written by the author (for the Dutch version, see cat. 10), came close to being required reading in *Devotio moderna* houses, and it survives in around 125 copies. These houses were instrumental in ensuring its wider dissemination and later influence. Copies were found in many of the reformed contemplative orders of the later Middle Ages, including the Carthusians (such as this manuscript). Luther, an observant Augustinian monk, certainly knew this text, and it also influenced the great work of the Catholic reform movement, sometimes called the "Counter Reformation," St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (approved by the Pope in 1548). This manuscript (evidence of the dissemination of Gerard's text outside the immediate circles of the Modern Devotion) was owned by the Charterhouse of *Aula beatae mariae* of Buxheim. The Carthusians were a popular order in the fifteenth century, admired by many for their austerity and religious fervor reflected in the proverbial saying, "Cartusia numquam reformata quia numquam deformata" (The Charterhouse has never been reformed because it has never been deformed).

This manuscript is also important because it includes an example of one of the earliest known bookplates. This very attractive woodcut of an angel holding a shield, hand colored in yellow, green, red and blue, is evidence that it belonged to, and was probably made for, Hilprand Brandenburg of Biberach (1442-1514), an important figure from a patrician family, who donated as many as 450 manuscripts and printed books to Buxheim, including this one. [TM 600]

**DESCRIPTION:** 108 folios on paper, watermarks dating 1475-1491, complete, written in a quick cursive gothic bookhand in 25-26 long lines, red initials, in excellent condition, with some worming, original binding of pigskin over heavy wooden boards. Dimensions 215 x 145 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Gerrits, 2006; Legrand, 2006; Needham, Paul, "The Library of Hilprand Brandenburg," *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 29 (1996), pp. 95-124 and "Thirteen More Books from the Library of Hilprand Brandenburg," *Einbandforschung* 4 (Feb. 1999), pp. 23-25; Ruf, Paul, ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 3. Bd. 1. Teil: Bistum Augsburg, Munich, 1932, pp. 81-101 (on Buxheim); Van Engen, 1988.





# 12

Miscellany including THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi*, book one; MARCUS OF REGENSBURG, *Visio Tnugdali*; H(ENRICUS) SALTERIENSIS, *Tractatus de Purgatorio de Sancti Patricii*; IOHANNES GOBI, *Historia de spiritu Guidonis*; *Historia Udonis Magdeburgensis episcopi*; PS-BEDE, *De meditatione passionis Christi*; BONAVENTURE, *Lignum vitae*; LUDOLF VON SUDHEIM, *Reise ins heilige Land*; *Visio Philiberti*; PS-ANSELM, *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione domini* (Latin and Dutch versions); and other texts

In Latin, Low German, and Dutch, decorated manuscript on paper Netherlands (Southeastern?) or Western Germany, c. 1460-1480

Of the many texts in this manuscript, one, the *Imitatio Christi* ("Imitation of Christ") by Thomas a Kempis (1379/80-1471), now generally accepted as the author, must be singled out for the way in which it encapsulates the spirituality of the *Devotio Moderna*, or the New Devout. This text, which survives in an astonishing number of manuscripts (estimates by recent authors suggest as many as 900), is the classic expression of their emphatic emphasis on Christ, the importance of the Bible and their focus on a vigilantly examined interior life accompanied by a calm withdrawal from the world. It has been called "the most influential devotional book in Western Christian History" and its success is a testimony to the influence of the *Devotio Moderna* through the centuries down to the present day.

This carefully-crafted miscellany also includes Ludolf of Sudheim's *Journey to the Holy Land*, in a Low-German/Dutch translation, five visionary texts describing journeys to Heaven and Hell (one copied twice), and six texts on the Passion of Christ – in Latin, Low German, and Dutch, including an extensive Meditation on the Life of Christ in Low German, that is possibly unique. The mixture of vernacular (Dutch and Low German) and Latin texts here reflects the importance vernacular texts within the circles of the *Devotio moderna* from the time of their founder Geert Grote (see cat. 9). Ludolf of Sudheim's text allowed readers to visualize the actual places where Christ lived and died, and is a good example of the practical, affective meditation practiced in *Devotio Moderna* circles.

[TM 625]

**DESCRIPTION:** 222 folios, several watermarks from 1461-1471, collation impracticable, apparently complete, written by at least four scribes in cursive gothic bookhands in 28-32 long lines, 7 original tabs, red initials, some water damage and modern repairs, bound in modern half-leather and exposed wood. Dimensions 211 x 143 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Becker, 2002; Bestul, 1996; Bulst-Thiele, Marie, "Ludolf von Sudheim," in *Verfasserlexikon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 5:984-986; Delaissé, 1956; De Pontfarcy, 2010 and 1995; Foster, 2004; Kren, 1990; Lupo, 1982; Palmer, 1982; Pohl, 1904; Stapelmohr, 1937.





# 13

**Devotional Miscellany, including prayers;** HENRICUS SUSO, Prayer from *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*; *Speculum artis bene moriendi* (third West-Middle-German translation); meditations on the Passion and Life of the Virgin; BERNARD, *Seelgerät and Goldene Kette*; PS-AUGUSTINE, *Speculum peccatoris*; *Der klare Spiegel uneres Herren*; treatise and sermon on the ten commandments, quotations from MEISTER ECKHART, BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX and others; NICHOLAS OF CUSA, Sermon on the Lord's Prayer (Sermo XXIV), JEAN GERSON, *Opusculum tripartitum* (excerpt); THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi*; and others texts

In Ripuarian German, manuscript on paper  
Lower Rhine region (Cologne?), c. 1460-1485

The contents of this extensive miscellany in the German dialect spoken in the region of Cologne, Bonn, and Aachen speak to the widespread influence of the spirituality of the *Devotio Moderna* in that region. First and foremost, we note the presence of their classic work, the *Imitation of Christ*, here in Ripuarian German. But their influence can be traced throughout the texts gathered here (all, significantly, in the vernacular). The impressive range of texts includes prayers, adaptations from the Gospels, and excerpts from theological works with practical instructions for pious behavior. There is an obvious connection between this extensive vernacular collection and manuscripts originating in *Devotio Moderna* circles, seen in their common concern for the inner life of the believer and the emphasis on meditation on the Passion of Christ.

To name just a few of these texts: there are five texts here focusing on the Passion, including a Gospel Harmony, and a text divided into seven for each day of the week (see cat. 9 and cat. 30), numerous extracts from Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux, both authors esteemed among the Modern Devout, a prayer from Suso's *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* (discussed below, cat. 17), as well as short aphorism-like quotations from the German mystics, Meister Eckhart (c. 1260-1327/8) and pseudo-Ruysbroec (Godeverd of Wevele). Also notable are the texts by two important advocates of reform, an excerpt from the *Opusculum tripartitum* by Jean Gerson (1363-1429) (see also cat. 26), a widely disseminated catechism with explanations of the ten commandments, the virtues and vices, the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and an early copy of an excerpt of a Sermon on the Lord's Prayer by the canon lawyer, bishop and cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1461).

Details of the text suggest that this was made for Franciscan use, possibly for the Franciscans of St. Agnes ad Olivas in Cologne. The connections between the Franciscans and the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, many of whom adopted the Rule of the Third Order Franciscans, are however, significant. [TM 543]

**DESCRIPTION:** 337 folios, several watermarks dating 1455-1487, written in a hybrida script in three hands, varying formats, in 19-28 long lines, red and blue initials, in good condition, bound in its original blind-tooled brown leather, rebacked and neatly restored. Dimensions 144 x 105 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Becker, 2002; Bestul, 1996; Delaissé, 1956; Glorieux, vol. 7, 1966; Ludwig Arntz, L., Heinrich Neu and Hans Vogts, "Franziskaner-Observanten-Kloster ad Olivas" in Paul Clemen et. al., eds., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln. Ergänzungsband*, Düsseldorf, 1937, pp. 178-187; Lupo, 1982; Pohl, 1904; Roth, 1991; Von Hapsburg, 2011.





14



THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi*  
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on paper  
Austria (Tirol) or Southern Germany, c. 1469-1491

One of the intriguing aspects of the *Imitatio Christi* is the lively and enduring debate about the identity of its author. It has been ascribed to a very long list of authors including, Augustine, Bernard, Bonaventure, Jean Gerson, Chancellor of Paris (d. 1429), and to a presumed Italian Abbot, "John Gersen," and to Geert Grote himself. Most modern scholars, however, have been convinced that its author is Thomas a Kempis. Thomas a Kempis (1379/80-1471), or Thomas of Kempen, was part of the second generation of the *Devotio Moderna*. He was educated in a school of the Brothers of the Common Life in Grote's native Deventer and then became a canon at Agnietenberg (Mount Saint Agnes), near Zwolle, a priory of the Congregation of Windesheim. He was one of the movement's most important and prolific authors. His ability in the *Imitatio* to speak to an audience living in circumstances quite different from his own is demonstrated by the present manuscript.

This manuscript includes a coat-of-arms of the Austrian Benedictine monastery of St. Georgenberg while Kaspar II Augsburgener was Abbot, from 1469-1491, and as such is important evidence of the presence of the *Imitatio* in the library of a traditional Benedictine monastery. Abbot Kaspar was a key figure in the monastery's history and was instrumental in enlarging the library; he had humanistic interests, and he spent time in Italy on diplomatic missions, acquiring at least eight manuscripts in Italy and commissioning a copy of Petrarch in Mainz in 1466. This manuscript is evidence of the more traditionally religious interests of the monastery during his abbacy. [TM 602]

**DESCRIPTION:** 153 folios, watermark widely used in Southern Germany, text complete, written in a formal hybrida script in 23-20 long lines, large initial with partial border including coat-of-arms, in excellent condition, apart from slight stains, bound in 19<sup>th</sup>-century (?) gold-tooled brown leather, some wear, cracked at the upper edge, otherwise in very good condition. Dimensions 206 x 145 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Becker, 2002; Delaissé, 1956; Jeffery, Peter and Donald Yates, *Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Descriptive inventories of manuscripts microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Austrian libraries, Vol. II, St. Georgenberg-Fiecht*, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1985; Lupo, 1982; Pohl, 1904; Von Hapsburg, 2011.





# 15



## HENRICUS SUSO, *Horologium Sapientiae*

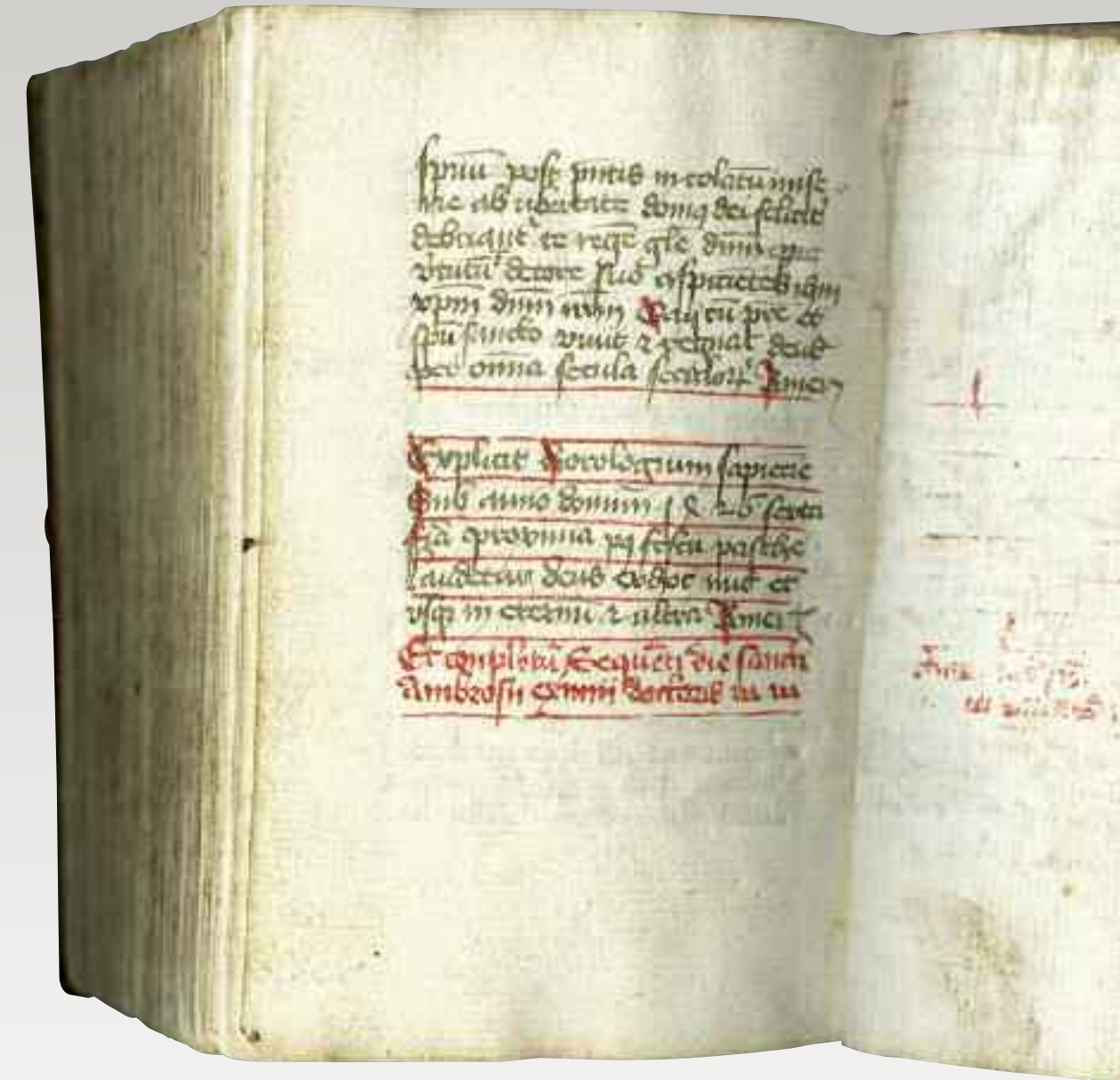
In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Germany (Southwesten?) or Switzerland, 1426

Daily devotional reading was an important part of the spirituality of the *Devotio Moderna* from their earliest days. Their founder, Geert Grote's (1340-84) proposed list of personal reading for disciples included the Gospels, Cassian's account of the lives of the Desert Fathers, the Epistles of St. Paul, "devout" works by Bernard and Augustine (including the Ps.-Augustinian, *Soliloquia*), and Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, as well as other spiritual and biblical books, and finally, the Book of Kings. The *Horologium* was the only contemporary work in this list, and clearly it was very important to Grote. Among the manuscripts collected here are numerous examples of the texts in Grote's list: two copies of Suso in Latin (this manuscript and cat. 16), Suso's related work in German (cat. 17), Lives of the Desert Fathers in a number of versions, in Dutch (cat. 18), and Latin (cat. 23-24), and the *Soliloquia* (cat. 22).

The *Horologium sapientiae* ("The Clock of Wisdom"), written c. 1330 by Henricus Suso (c.1295-1366), or Heinrich Seuse, a German mystic and Dominican friar, honored with the titles "Prince of mystic theologians" and "Angelic mystic," was one of the most popular devotional texts of the later Middle Ages. Its emphasis on the Passion of Christ and its critique of the failings of the contemporary Church explain its importance to Grote and its popularity with both clerics and lay men and women associated with the *Devotio Moderna*. This is a carefully corrected, unadorned copy of this text, written in 1426 (dated by the scribe), that was likely owned by a monastery or a house of Canons, or even by a cleric or layperson associated with the *Devotio Moderna*. [TM 563]

**DESCRIPTION:** 252 folios, complete, written in a cursive gothic bookhand in 19-22 long lines, red initials, some with simple red pen decoration, some stains and other signs of use, bound in its original red leather blind-tooled binding, unobtrusively restored. Dimensions 156 x 105 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Colledge, 1994; Künzle, 1977; Monks, 1990; Spencer, 1963.





16



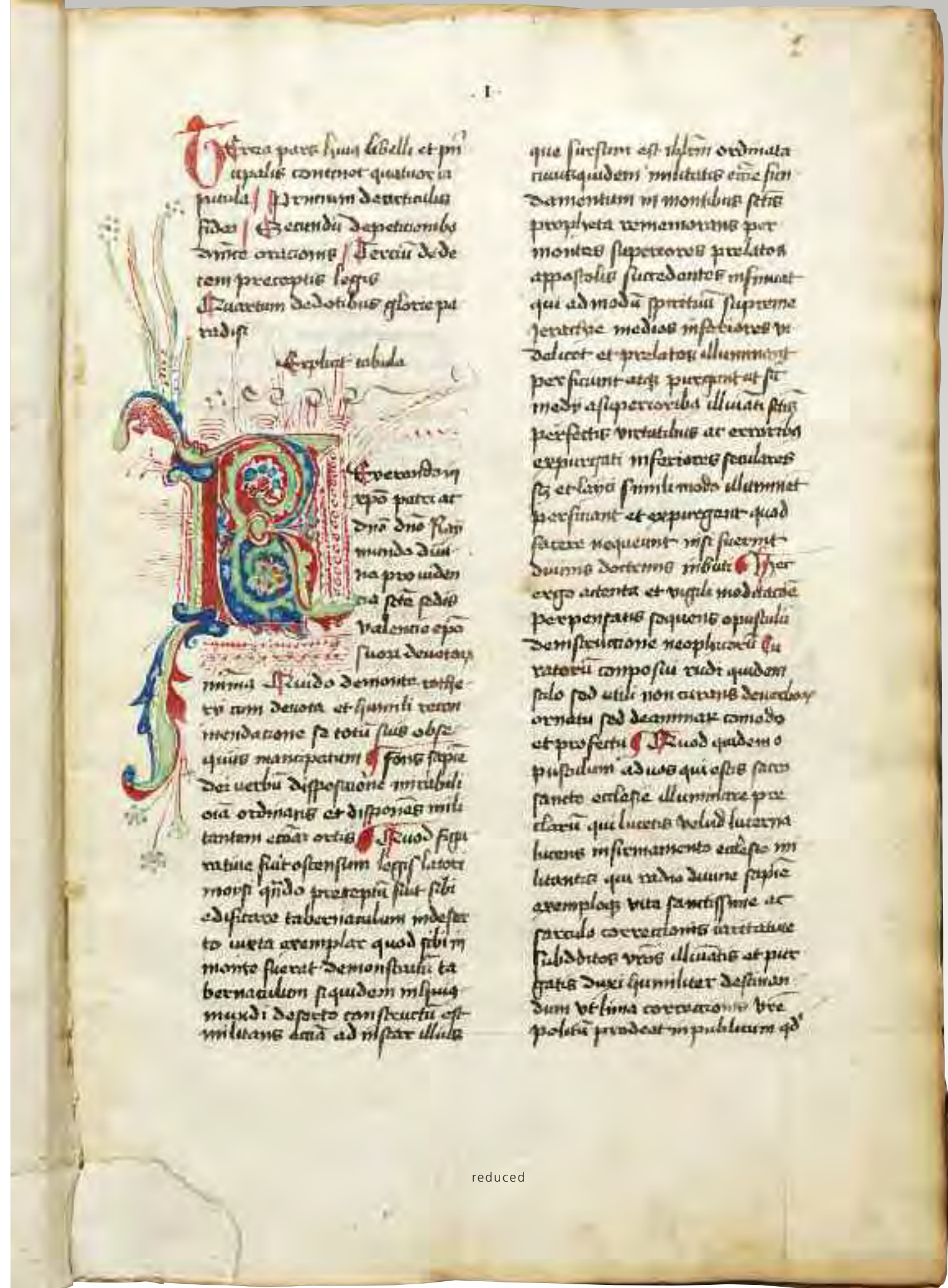
GUIDO DE MONTE ROCHEN, *Manipulus curatorum*;  
HENRICUS SUSO, *Horologium Sapientiae*  
In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Southern Germany or Austria, c. 1460-1480

The *Horologium sapientiae* is a mystical, devotional text that aims to inspire new fervor and closeness to God in its readers. It is written as a dialogue between Wisdom (*Sapientia*) and her disciple. The text tells of his devotion to Wisdom (Christ, the Bride in the Song of Songs, and other manifestations of the Divine) in a manner that echoes a knight's devotion to his lady. Suso also incorporated criticisms of the faults and weaknesses of the Church and the Universities in his day. The text focuses on guiding the reader towards marriage to Wisdom and thus union with God. Wisdom begins the book with chapters encouraging the disciple to study and imitate the Passion, and the emphasis on the Passion helps to explain its popularity in circles associated with the *Devotio Moderna*. The *Manipulus curatorum*, written by Guido of Monte Rochen in 1330 (many manuscripts, including this one, record the date as 1333), in contrast, is a practical handbook for parish priests, divided into three parts (the sacraments, penance in great detail, and a short instructional summary of the symbols of the Church, the *Pater Noster*, and the Ten Commandments).

This is a handsome, large-format copy of two extremely popular and influential late medieval texts. From a modern perspective, it is striking to see these two texts copied together; the first, a practical manual of pastoral theology for parish priests, and the second, a mystical and contemplative text. Carefully organized and written by an expert scribe, this manuscript includes three charming pen and ink drawings, and wonderful cadel-initials with faces. [TM 542]

**DESCRIPTION:** 215 folios, watermarks dating 1465-1479, incomplete, with one leaf from the last quire and at least one additional quire missing, written in a hybrida script in 2 columns of 35-33 lines, colored initials, decorative cadels, pen-and-ink sketches, modern repairs, bound in 19<sup>th</sup>-century half leather. Dimensions 310 x 213 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Colledge, 1994; Künzle, 1977; Monks, 1990; Santiago-Otero, 1980, and 1986; Spencer, 1963; Thayer, Anne T., tr., with Katharine J. Lualdi, *Guido of Monte Rochen, A Handbook for Curates: a Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, Washington, D.C., 2011.



reduced



17

HENRICUS SUSO, *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit* (excerpt)

In German, manuscript on paper  
Germany (southern, Bavaria) or Austria, c. 1450-1500

Henricus Suso's *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* was a text often read in *Devotio Moderna* circles. Its composition can be dated to 1328-30, while Suso was resident in the Dominican convent in Constance, where he had moved after several years of study in the mid-1320s under Meister Eckhart at the *studium generale* in Cologne. It is a guide to contemplation, focusing in particular on the suffering of Christ, structured as a visionary dialogue between Eternal Wisdom and an anonymous Dominican friar, the Servant. The excerpt here contains the central chapters on the contemplation of the Passion and the *mater dolorosa*, in which Suso developed a remarkably innovative theology of indulgences, with access to the Treasury of Merits secured through compassion with the crucified Christ and his grieving mother. This treatise is the basis for Suso's Latin work, the *Horologium sapientiae*, written a few years later in 1334.

This manuscript is an excellent example of the material culture of personal religious devotion in medieval Germany. It contains the central chapters on Christ's Passion from the *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* ("Little Book of Eternal Wisdom") by the Dominican author, Henricus Suso (d. 1366), arguably the bestselling work in the German language before the Reformation. No evidence for the medieval provenance of this manuscript survives, aside from the Austro-Bavarian dialect in which it is written. The small format and neat, but relatively informal script point towards a book intended for private devotion, rather than an institutional context.

[TM 603]

**DESCRIPTION:** 28 folios, incomplete at the beginning and end, written in a semi-hybrida libraria script in black ink on 19-21 lines, red initials, half-bound in brown marbled paper and red leather. Dimensions 136 x 100 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Bihlmeyer, 1907, pp. 196-325; McGinn, 2005, pp. 195-239.



in entzaget betrachtung meines  
leidens des dieners Eri zeter  
hret die vmb las all zed vnder  
wegen Ich bin gar verfürzt vn  
tue mir noch mer auf des ver  
porgen holdens dems liepleich  
en leidens von dem lieb chri  
sten aus die sel mit got her  
gehalt vnder dem chreuz  
Dahert si sich müdet zu seimen  
leiden des dieners  
**O**chast mir groosten barm  
hertze vnmüssigen not die  
dem außser mensch her an  
dem hohen galgen des chreuzes  
wie durch martert er mus vn  
vmbgeben mit den punden des  
iämerlichen todes Ich her wie  
stünd er abet vnder dem ch  
reuz oder mit yeman da dem

dem schlaglich tod zolgen die  
ng oder wie hielten dich in der  
not die dems traurigen müe  
ter stenture die müg müe  
halt die her em chlaglich demt  
vnd die las die chreuzen gan  
die als die hest gehort mal  
ler der angst vnd widerher not  
stünd vor in auf erschreit lam  
erlich sie stünden si gegen mir  
vnd riefen y mich in mit ren  
stimmen vnd spölich si begien  
new haupt gegen mir gar sma  
lich die vämlichen mich in ne  
grauen gänzlich recht als ich em  
wengen dimer wuch in wie ab  
ich stünd her in festichkeit in  
mit meine leben vater vber si  
vnmüssigen bred, ich das am  
schuldig lamblem wart zu den  
schuldigen geschehet Ich ward



# 18

## Vaderboec (second Dutch translation of the *Vitae patrum*)

In Middle Dutch, manuscript on paper.

Southern part of the Northern Netherlands, probably Limbourg, c. 1475-1500

The *Vaderboec* ("Book of the Fathers") includes short biographies and anecdotes of the earliest monks and hermits who lived in the desert of Egypt in the many others, Anthony the Great, whose example drew thousands of monks and nuns to the desert – after Anthony's death wrote that "the desert had become a monastic circles throughout the Middle life of the early Church. Lives of the in *Devotio Moderna* circles and frequently lists of recommended devotional reading. devoted a chapter to "The Examples of the example for all religious" (book one, ch. 18), long days and nights spent in prayer, their patience and obedience to their superiors, and concluding, tellingly, by comparing this early purity and fervor with the lukewarm religion of his own day.

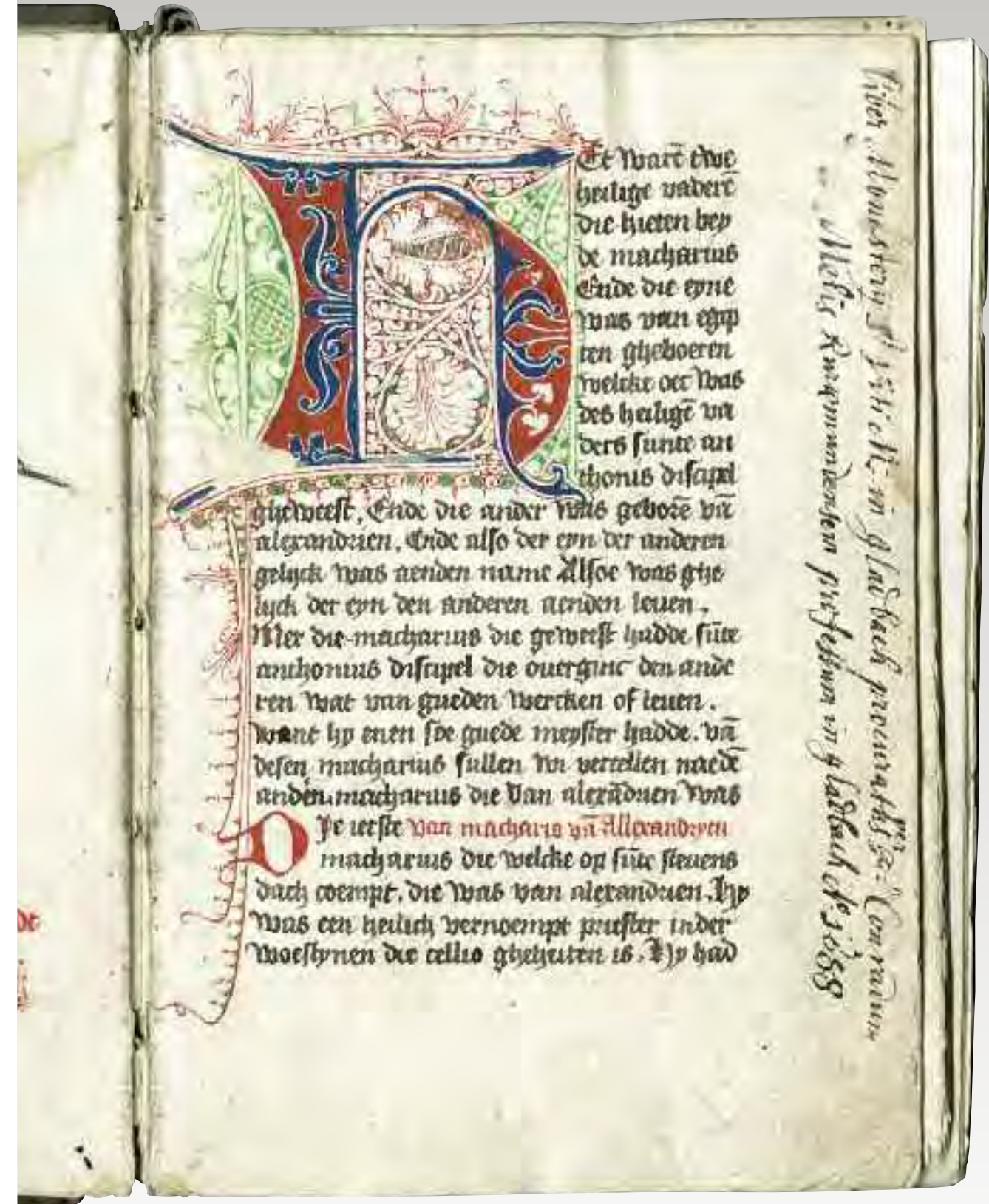


third and fourth centuries, including, among his biographer, Athanasius of Alexandria, city." These texts were treasured in Ages as an example of the purity of Desert Fathers were an essential text appear near the beginning of their In the *Imitatio Christi* Thomas a Kempis Holy Fathers" "[who] were given as an extolling the austerity of their lives, their long days and nights spent in prayer, their patience and obedience to their superiors, and concluding, tellingly, by comparing this early purity and fervor with the lukewarm religion of his own day.

The *Vaderboec* was translated from the collection of the Lives of the Desert Fathers known as the *Vitae patrum*. There were at least two medieval Dutch translations. This manuscript is a copy of the second Dutch translation, made in the Northern Netherlands in the early fifteenth century and transmitted primarily in the circles of the *Devotio Moderna*. [TM 539]

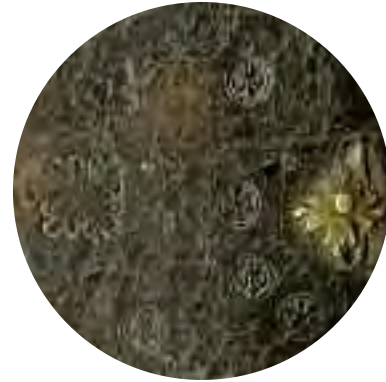
**DESCRIPTION:** 188 folios, two leaves lacking at the end, written in a hybrida script in 27-26 lines, red, blue, and red and blue parted initials, in good condition, apart from some loose folios, original blind-tooled brown leather binding. Dimensions 207 x 140 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Hoffmann, W., "Die ripuarische und niederdeutsche 'Vitaspatrum'-Überlieferung im 15. Jahrhundert," *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 116 (1993), pp. 72–108; Williams, Ulla and Werner Hoffmann, "Vitaspatrum," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 16 (1994), col. 1043–1048 and "Vitaspatrum (*Vitae patrum*)," *Verfasser Lexikon*, 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. 10 (1999), p. 449–466.





# 19



## MECHTILD OF HACKEBORN, *Het boek der bijzondere genade*

(*Liber Specialis gratiae*, in Dutch), and other texts

In Dutch, manuscript on paper

Eastern part of the Northern Netherlands (IJssel region), c. 1490–1510

There is a long and important tradition in the Middle Ages of visionary literature by female mystics. Mechtild of Hackeborn (1240/1-1298) was not a founder of a new religious order like Birgitta of Sweden (cat. 7), but her visions were an inspiration for personal reform for many, including followers of the Modern Devotion, evidenced by this Dutch translation of her work, copied in the IJssel region, the very region where the *Devotio Moderna* movement began. Her visions were recorded in Latin in the *Liber specialis gratiae* ("Book of Special Grace") by her pupil Gertrude of Helfta and other sisters in her convent. The text, arranged according to the liturgical year, and emphasizing Trinitarian and Christocentric themes, with a special emphasis on the Heart of Christ, found a wide audience particularly among the laity, circulating broadly in both Latin and in German, French, English, Italian, and Dutch translations. The English king Richard III (1452-1485) and his wife Anne Neville owned a copy in English. Copied two centuries after her death, it is a witness to Mechtild's long-lasting popularity as an author expressing intense, personal devotion.

This text is followed by five short meditations and exempla from other sources, including the *Bonum universale de apibus* – in Dutch called the *Biënboec* – of the Dominican author Thomas of Cantimpré (1201–1272); other texts are still unidentified and call for further study. [TM 545]

**DESCRIPTION:** 304 folios, watermarks dating 1495-1499, missing leaves 3 leaves, written in a hybrida script in 28-21 lines, red and blue initials, some pen decoration, some ink corrosion and worm holes, leather 16<sup>th</sup>- or 17<sup>th</sup>-century binding, re-using part of the original blind-tooled covering. Dimensions 144 x 102 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Bromberg, 1965; Schmidt, K., ed., Mechtild von Hackeborn. *Das Buch der Besonderen Gnade. Liber Specialis Gratiae*, Münsterschwarzach, 2010; Voaden, 2010.







### III. INFLUENCE OF THE MODERN DEVOTION AND OTHER TRENDS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PIETY IN ITALY AND FRANCE

Some Persons will wonder and ask why, in a manner so lofty as that of the contemplative life, I choose to write in French rather than in Latin, and more to women than to men. They will say that such a subject is not appropriate for ordinary people who have no Latin. To this challenge I respond that the matter has been dealt with in Latin. Holy doctors have treated the subject in an outstanding manner .... Clerics who know Latin can make use of such texts. But it is different for ordinary people, and especially for my sisters.

— Jean Gerson, *The Mountain of Contemplation* (translation Brian Patrick McGuire)

MANY OF THE DEFINING FEATURES OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE PRACTICED BY THE FOLLOWERS of Geert Grote in the Low Countries can also be seen in Italy and France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In some cases it is possible that there was direct influence and deliberate imitation; in most, it is impossible to prove whether we are instead uncovering parallel responses of independent origin. National (and linguistic) boundaries often define modern historians' points of view. The manuscripts collected here, however, allow us to see common ideas and pre-occupations and underline the importance of the same texts in the Low Countries (and Germany), Italy and France – in both Latin and the relevant vernacular translations.

DEVOTIONAL READING WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE *DEVOTIO Moderna* from their earliest days. Geert Grote's list of personal reading for the converted follower included the Gospels, the lives of the Desert Fathers, the Epistles of St. Paul, "devout" works by Bernard and Augustine (including the Ps.-Augustinian, *Soliloquia*), and Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, as well as other books. The popularity of these texts in Italy and France is worth underlining. From Italy, we

have two manuscripts of the Lives of the Desert Fathers, both in Latin (cat. 23, 24), and the Ps.-Augustinian *Soliloquia* in Italian (cat. 22), and from France, Suso's *Horologium* in French (cat. 26). Grote could not include Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* on his list, written only in the 1420s, but if he had lived longer he almost certainly would have. Copies of this fundamental work of the *Devotio Moderna* circulated in France (cat. 25), and also in Italy, where one of the focal points of its dissemination appears to have been Padua and the reform monastery of St. Giustina, where Ludovico Barbo was abbot.

THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF THE *IMITATIO CHRISTI* DESCRIBED HERE IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT (cat. 20), since it includes an attribution to St. Lorenzo Giustiniani, one of the founding figures of the secular canons at San Giorgio in Alga. The religious life adopted by these canons was very similar to that of the Brothers of the Common Life. The possibility, raised by this manuscript, that St. Lorenzo translated the *Imitatio Christi* deserves careful scholarly study.

THE DESIRE FOR A MORE INWARD OBSERVANCE OF RELIGION, THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATE DEVOTIONAL reading in the vernacular, and a focus on meditating on the Passion of Christ, all central to the Modern-day Devout, are also well-illustrated in these manuscripts (cat. 21, 25, 27, 28). There are, however, differences which are equally important. The predominantly urban culture in Italy featured a vibrant lay religious life dominated by popular revivalist preaching in Italian, including such figures as the Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444), whose sermons attacked urban vices, and who encouraged his listeners to hurl their worldly vanities into bonfires, and the Dominican, Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), a fiery critic of both the laity and the clergy, who transformed Florentine life for a time with penitential bonfires, processions, and almsgiving, only to end his life condemned as a heretic and executed. Lay religious organizations, confraternities and *laudesi* companies were the focal points of this civic religious life, and they produced many works in the vernacular (still little studied by English-speaking scholars). Manuscripts of these texts tend to be unadorned, and are often copied in the same "mercantesca" scripts as account books. The fifteenth-century copy of *L'ordine della vita cristiana* ("The Organization of Christian Life") by the Augustinian Friar Simone Fidati da Cascia, belongs to this genre (cat. 21), and is an example of the type of practical, inexpensive manuscript that circulated in lay circles in Italian cities.

THE MANUSCRIPTS DESCRIBED HERE FROM FRANCE ARE QUITE DIFFERENT IN APPEARANCE, AND ARE EVIDENCE of a lay devotional culture centered on the upper ranks of society and appealing particularly, although not exclusively, to women. This trend is illustrated by two elegant devotional manuscripts (cat. 26, 27), in which their very serious devotional contents contrast with their expensive parchment, careful script, and sparkling illumination. The study of French devotional texts is still a relatively young field. Although Jean Gerson, one of the greatest medieval theologians and mystical writers, has been the subject of recent studies by Brian Patrick McGuire and others, even authors as important as Robert Ciboule (cat. 27) are still little known, despite the pioneering work by Genevieve Hasenohr in surveying this field. Both of the illuminated vernacular manuscripts just mentioned include unpublished texts worthy of further study.

A LAST THEME THAT ALSO DESERVES FURTHER STUDY IS THE LINK BETWEEN THE OBSERVANT MOVEMENT (a reform movement that swept through almost every religious order from c. 1370, stressing return to their founding ideals, and strict observance of their rules) and vernacular devotional texts and the religious life of the laity. The links between the Observant Dominicans and rosary confraternities is illustrated by an unusual book of hours that includes a picture rosary (cat. 31). The French Celestines, known for the austerity of their life, actively promoted vernacular spirituality (cat. 29, 30), an aspect of their history that has yet to be fully explored.

THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi*, in Italian translation, here attributed to LORENZO GIUSTINIANI; Commentary on the Lord's Prayer in Italian; Easter Table In Italian and Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment Northeastern Italy (Venice?), c. 1460-80

St. Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381-1456), was a leading voice for the reform and renewal of religious life in Venice in the first half of the fourteenth century. This manuscript includes the *Imitatio Christi* in Italian, explicitly attributed to him. As such, it appears to be unique evidence that the saint translated this fundamental text of the *Devotio Moderna* – a possibility that has yet to be explored in the scholarly literature.

St. Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381-1456), a member of a very prominent Venetian family, was one of a group of religious men who settled at S. Giorgio in Alga to modeled on the life of the apostles. the the *Devotio Moderna* in Italy is a modern scholars, there is little doubt very similar to that of the Brothers of as a canon, and later as Bishop of Cas-Venice from 1451-6, and in his for his fervent espousal of humility, chastity, and absolute poverty. Another reformer in his circle, Ludovico Barbo, also associated with San Giorgio in Alga, later abbot of the monastery of St. Justina in Padua and a leading figure in the reform of the Benedictine order, is known to have been instrumental in the dissemination of the *Imitatio Christi* in Italy. [TM 599]



live a devout and ascetic spiritual life in common Although the question of the influence of complicated one, much debated among that the religious life at S. Giorgio was the Common Life. Throughout his life, tello from 1433 and then Patriarch of writings, Lorenzo Giustiniani was known and absolute poverty. Another reformer in his



**DESCRIPTION:** 75 folios, written below the top line by as many as three scribes in a gothico-antiqua script and a humanistic cursive script in 33-30 lines, red and blue initials with pen decoration, some with gold frames, 2 illuminated initials with borders, in fairly good condition, with text legible, stains, some ink flaking and cockled, bound in a modern humanist-style blind-tooled brown leather. Dimensions 173 x 123 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Delaissé, 1956; Favreau-Lillie, 2004; Lupo, 1982; Petrocchi, 1999; Pohl, 1904; Puyol, 1898; Rando, 2004; Von Hapsburg, 2011.



# 21



SIMONE FIDATI DA CASCIA,  
*L'ordine della vita cristiana*  
In Italian, manuscript on paper  
Italy, Tuscany (Florence?), c. 1450-1475

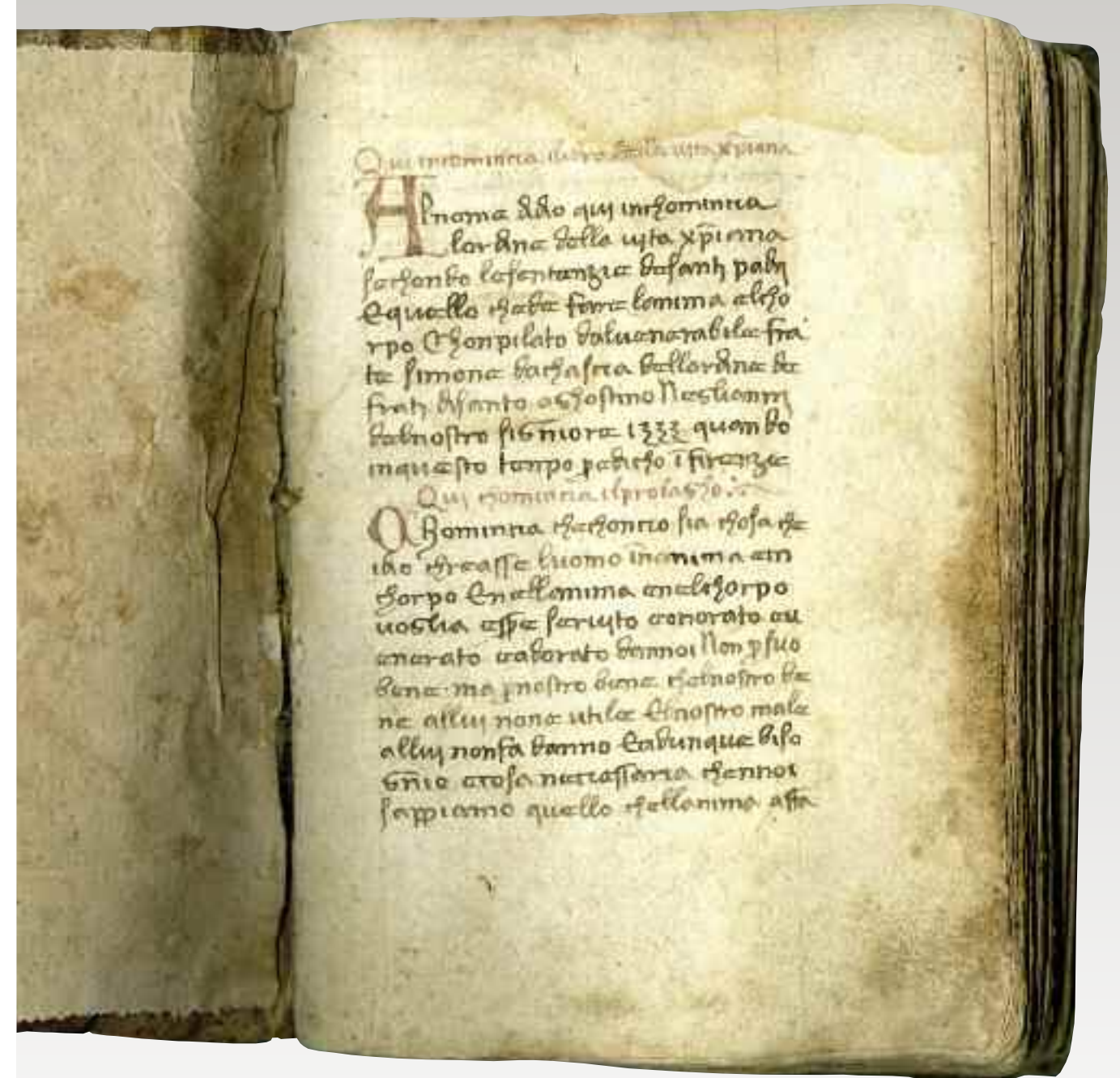
The roots of the religious reform movement centered in Venice and Padua in the first half of the fifteenth century can be found in the writings of Simone Fidati da Cascia (c. 1295-1348). Simone, an Augustinian theologian, was known for the austerity of his life as well as for his learning; he was a brilliant preacher, confessor and spiritual adviser. In many ways his life and teachings prefigure those of the founder of the Modern Devotion, Geert Grote. Simone rejected all episcopal appointments, and

in his teachings focused on the Gospels, in particular on the life of Christ as a model for the life of all Christians, especially the laity, whom he addressed in the vernacular. His works encouraged not only the imitation of Christ, but "*christiformitas*," the complete assimilation of the devout soul to Christ.

*L'ordine della vita cristiana* ("The Organization of Christian Life"), often described as the "first Italian Catechism," was written in 1333. Significantly, it is addressed to the laity and written in Italian (making it one of the earliest prose compositions in Italian, predating Boccaccio's *Decameron* of c. 1350). He tells his readers to meditate on the life of Christ, not only the great religious events – the Incarnation, birth, death and Resurrection – but also the domestic details of Christ's humanity that brought Him closer to the believer – for example, his tears as a baby, and the meals shared with Mary and Joseph. Simone's other great work, *De gestis domini salvatoris* ("The Works of Our Saviour"), may have influenced Martin Luther. [TM 571]

**DESCRIPTION:** 76 folios, watermarks dating 1464-1473, complete, written in a semi-cursive humanistic bookhand in up to 23 lines, pale red initials, good condition apart from minor stains, bound in contemporary limp vellum, lower cover restored. Dimensions 173 x 120 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Battista, 2008; Eckerman, Willigis, ed., Simone Fidati de Cassia OESA, *L'ordine della vita Cristiana* ..., Rome, 2006.





# 22

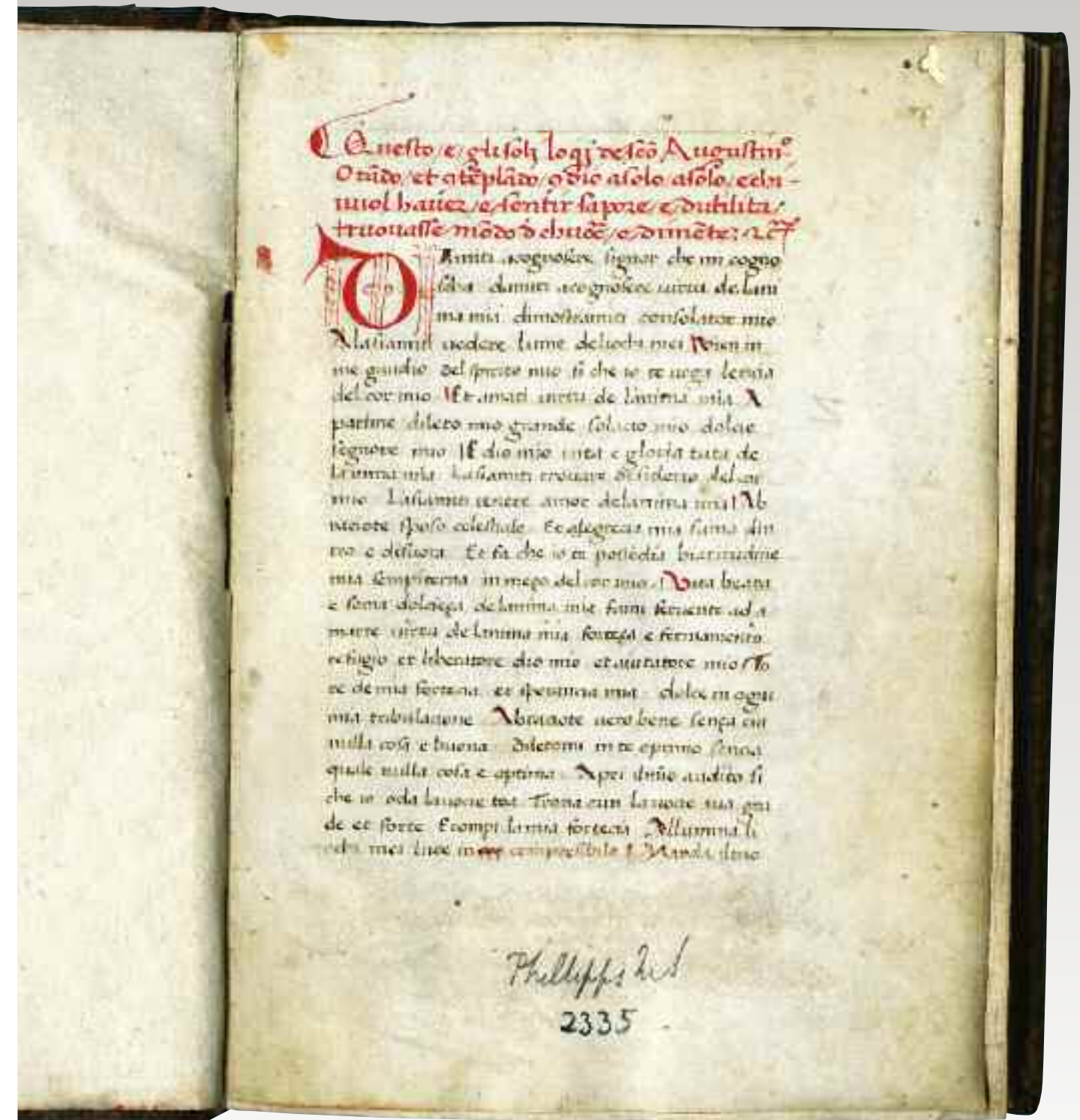
PS-AUGUSTINE, [likely FRA AGOSTINO DA SCARPERIA], *Soliloquia*; EKBERT OF SCHONAU, *Soliloquium seu Meditationes*  
In Italian, manuscript on parchment and paper  
Italy (Verona?), c. 1440-50

Further evidence of the importance of vernacular texts to lay devotion in Italy is the text that circulated in the Middle Ages as the *Soliloquia* of St. Augustine. The Ps.-Augustinian *Soliloquia* was translated early into Italian, probably by Agostino da Scarperia (born c. 1320), like Simone da Fidati da Cascia, a fourteenth-century Augustinian Friar. The sources of this thirteenth-century Latin text include St. Anselm's prayers, Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae* ("Soliloquy on the Earnest-money of the Soul"), John of Fécamp, and authentic works by St. Augustine, especially his *Confessions*. Its popularity in both Latin and in vernacular translations speaks to the importance of inward-looking, emotional religious texts in the later Middle Ages. It explores the distance between God and man and the possibility of overcoming this distance, the fear born of human unworthiness, and the comfort based on the God's grace. (It should also be noted that this text is not the *Soliloquies* by Augustine himself, a text that was almost unknown during the Middle Ages.)

The *Soliloquia* was translated three times in Italian. This translation (A) was the most widespread, and originated in Florence, where it circulated both in Florentine monasteries and, significantly, among the laity. Both texts included here, the *Soliloquia* and the *Soliloquium seu Meditationes*, now attributed to Ekbert of Schönau (d. 1184), probably circulated in the Middle Ages as Augustine's because of their personal first-person discourse, that recalls Augustine's *Confessions*, and they were often found copied together. [TM 78]

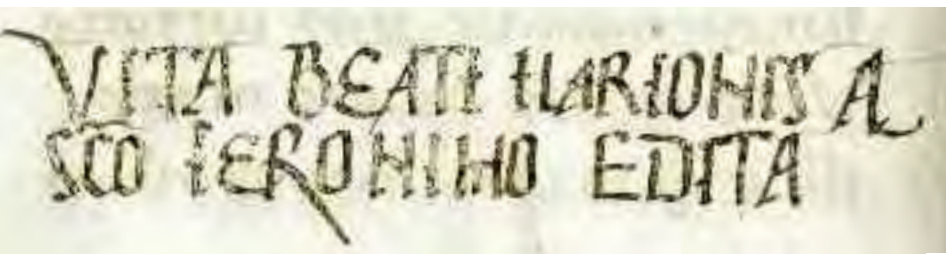
**DESCRIPTION:** 57 folios, watermark, Verona, 1442, possibly missing text after ff. 27 and 41, written in a humanistic script in 28 long lines, red initial with pen decoration, some signs of use, bound in 19th-century marbled leather. Dimensions 190 x 135 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Esnos, Geneviève, "Les traductions médiévales françaises et italiennes des Soliloques attribués à Saint Augustin," in *Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 79 (1967), Paris, pp. 299-366; Migne, PL, vol. 40, col. 863-898 (text one); Migne, PL, vol. 195, cols. 105-114 (text two).





23



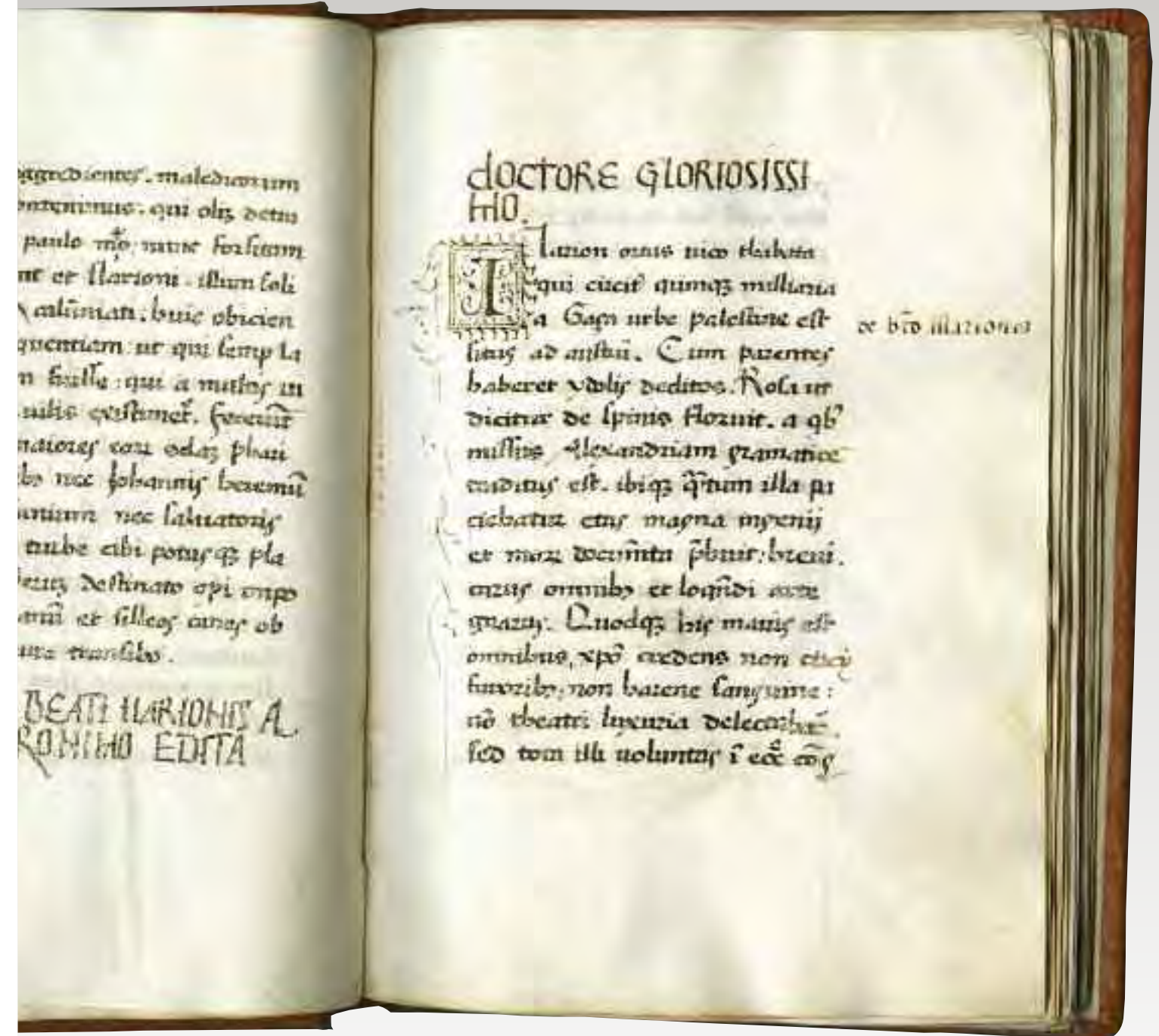
JEROME (Saint), [Vita Patrum] *Vita Pauli primi eremite; Vita Malchi monachi captivi; Vita Hilarioni*  
In Latin, manuscript on parchment  
Italy (Northern?), c. 1425-1450

The lives of the earliest monks and hermits living in the third and fourth centuries in the deserts of Egypt were a recurring inspiration to reform movements during the Middle Ages from the early Cistercians, who looked to them to restore the purity of early monastic life, to the followers of the *Devotio Moderna* (see cat. 18, for a related text in Dutch), who saw in them examples of uncompromising, indeed all-consuming obedience to the word and spirit of the Gospels. Their inspiration was equally important in fifteenth-century Italy, where the idea of a return to the sources was central both in humanist circles and among the reformers of religious orders giving rise to Observant branches of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Dominicans and others. The popularity of Domenico Cavalca's *Vite dei santi padri*, an Italian translation of another collection of lives of the early desert fathers underlines their importance in Italy. Domenico (c.1270-1342), a Dominican monk, has been called "the father of Italian prose," for his translation, which survives in almost two hundred manuscripts.

This manuscript includes lives of three desert hermits by St. Jerome (c. 347-419), the Church Father known as "vir trilinguis" due to his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, whose works were especially honored in humanist circles. Together, the lives of Paul of Thebes, the first hermit (d. c. 341) written in 374 or 375, Hilarion (d. 371) written in 390, and Malchus, written in 391, form a trilogy and were often bound together. [TM 87]

**DESCRIPTION:** 64 folios, lacking quires after ff. 20v and 60v, written in a gothic bookhand in up to 20 long lines, red initials with pen decoration, bound in modern pigskin. Dimensions 185 x 130 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Leclerc, P., E. M. Morales, and A. de Vogüé ed., *Jerome: Trois vies de moines: Paul, Malchus, Hilarion*, Sources chrétiennes 508, Paris, 2007; Oldfather, W.A., *Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's Vitae Patrum*, Urbana, 1943.



reduced





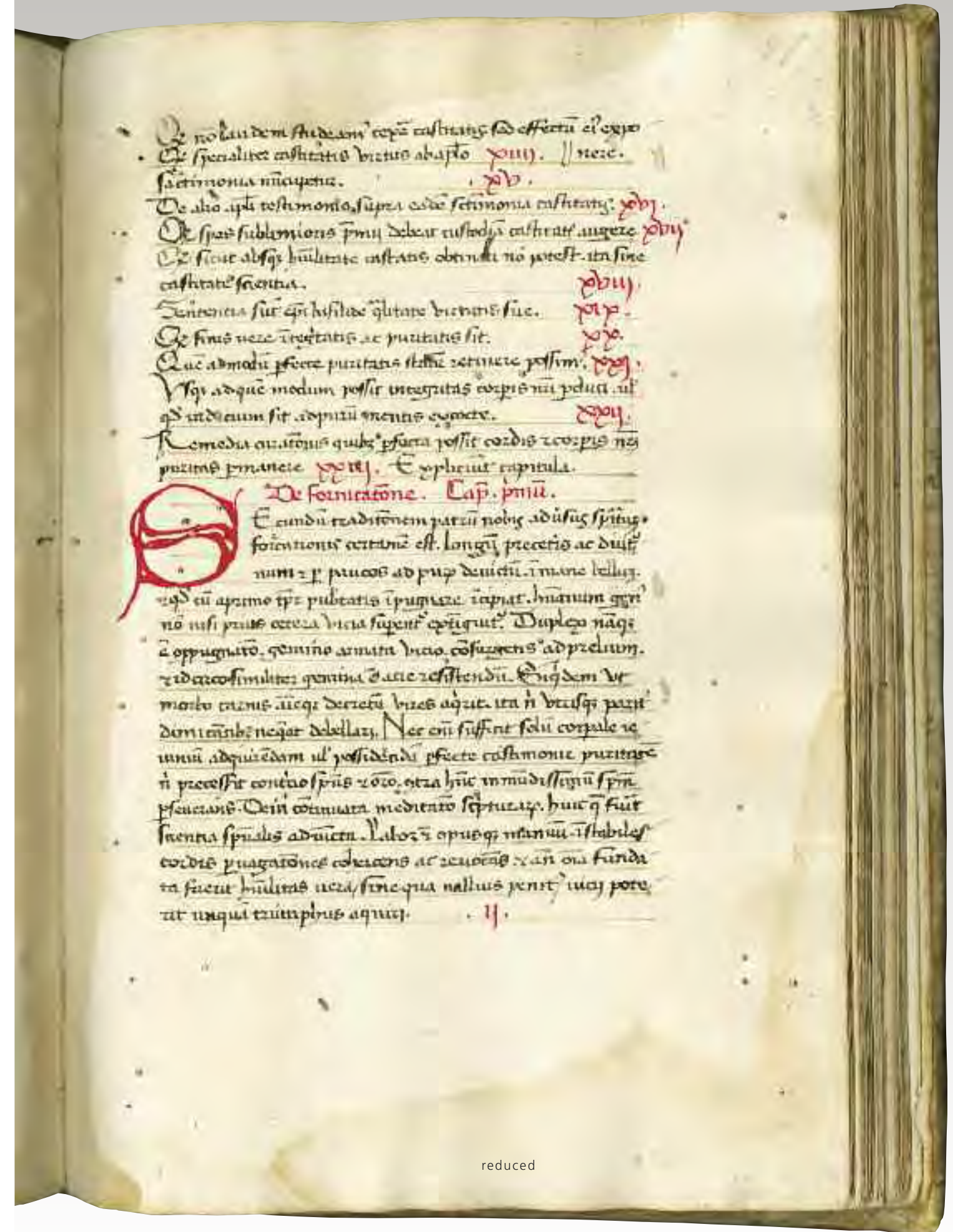
JOHANNES CASSIANUS, *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis* [*The Institutes of the Cenobia and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices*]  
In Latin, manuscript on paper  
Northern Italy (Piedmont?), c. 1470-1480

Another important source for the lives of the earliest desert fathers of the third and fourth centuries are two works by the early Church Father, John Cassian (c. 360-died c. 430), the *Institutes* and *Conferences*. These works were essential reading in Modern Devotion circles; Johannes Busch, for example, the great chronicler of the movement, included works by Cassian in his listings. Their focus on purity of inner life, and internal examination of conscience resonated in reform religious circles in the Netherlands and beyond. This copy is evidence of the circulation of this text in Italy. Cassian's account of the earliest monasteries would have been especially important to monastic reformers, who strove to restore the religious life to its original purity, while they emphasized austerity and strict observance of religious rules.

The *Institutes of the Cenobia and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices* was John Cassian's first work. Cassian experienced Egyptian monasticism firsthand, and then traveled to Marseille where he composed *The Institutes* and its companion work *The Conferences*. The relation between the two works is described by Cassian himself (*Institutes*, II, 9) as follows: "These books [the *Institutes*] ... are mainly taken up with what belongs to the outer man and the customs of the coenobia [i.e. Institutes of monastic life in common]; the others [the *Collationes* or *Conferences*] deal rather with the training of the inner man and the perfection of the heart." The *Institutes* provided monks with the necessary practical knowledge of how to live in an enclosed environment, and they could turn to the *Conferences* for council on how to live a proper "spiritual inner life." [TM 174]

**DESCRIPTION:** 87 folios, complete, watermarks, 1450-1482, written in a rounded cursive script in up to 31 long lines, red initials, wormholes and some stains, bound in modern vellum. Dimensions 290 x 200 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Guy, Jean-Claude, ed., *Cassien, Jean. Institutions cénobitiques. Texte latin revu, introduction, traduction et notes par Jean-Claude Guy*, Paris, 2001.



reduced



# 25

EKBERT OF SCHONÄU, *Stimulus amoris*;  
THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi*;  
PS.-AUGUSTINE (PATRICK OF DUBLIN?),  
*De triplici habitaculo*  
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Southern France (?), c. 1440-1480

The importance of an intensely inward and devotional form of Christianity, focusing on meditation on the Gospels and the Passion of Christ is evident in this collection of texts. Copied far from the Northern Netherlands and the Rhineland, this manuscript is evidence of the dissemination of the spirituality of the *Devotio Moderna* into Southern France in the middle decades of the fifteenth century. It includes their most important work, the *Imitation of Christ*, accompanied by Ekbert of Schönau's *Stimulus amoris*, an important meditation on the life of Christ, and the *De triplici habitaculo*, a text discussing heaven, hell, and earth.

The *Stimulus amoris* (the "Stimulus of love") by the twelfth-century Benedictine monk and Abbott, Ekbert of Schönau, (d. 1184), the brother of the mystic, Elizabeth of Schönau, whose visions he recorded, is a meditation on the life of Christ. Its account of the Passion, which is described in vivid, concrete detail, relies on direct exhortation to the reader, affective language, and interior dialogue, to heighten the emotional, affective response to the narrative. This was an important text that influenced later authors, including St. Bonaventure, John Peckham and Ludolf of Saxony. *De triplici habitaculo* ("On the three dwelling-places") was also widely popular, and during the Middle Ages often attributed to St. Augustine, though it is probably by Bishop Patrick of Dublin, bishop from 1074-1084. One copy begins, "On the joy of the elect, and the supplication of the damned," an apt summary of its contents. [TM 597]

**DESCRIPTION:** 89 folios, written in a southern gothic bookhand in two columns, 30 lines, red initials, rodent damage to lower, outer margin, with some loss of text, bound in 17<sup>th</sup>- or 18<sup>th</sup>-century vellum. Dimensions 166 x 123 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Becker, 2002; Bestul, 1966; Delaissé, 1956; Lupo, 1982; Pohl, 1904; Roth, F.W. E., ed., *Die visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die schriften der Aebte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*, Brünn, 1884.





26



HENRICUS SUSO, *L'horloge de sapience*;  
JEAN GERSON, *La Mendicité spirituelle* (part),  
*La Pitieuse complainte*, and Sermon; devotional text in French  
In French, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Northern France or the Loire Valley, c. 1440-60

As a physical object, this French translation of Henricus Suso's, *Horologium Sapientiae* ("The Clock of Wisdom") could not be more different than the copies previously described (cat. 15-17). Nonetheless, despite its deluxe parchment, fine script, and gold initials, this is not a frivolous manuscript, but rather one that speaks to the flourishing lay religious culture in late medieval France. The appetite for vernacular religious texts, particularly texts focused on meditation on the Gospels and the Passion of Christ among the upper echelons of French society, especially, although not exclusively, women, is an important historical fact illustrated by this and the following manuscripts.

Jean Charlier Gerson (1363-1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, was one of the primary legal authorities at the Council of Constance, which ended the Great Schism, and one of the most important voices for Church reform in fifteenth-century France. His writings include learned theological and legal treatises in Latin, as well as numerous works in French. Two of the selections from Gerson in this manuscript circulated both as independent texts, and as part of *La Mendicité spirituelle* ("Spiritual beggary"), a treatise on the spiritual life written c. 1400. The prayer from this treatise, "La pitieuse complainte," recalls the heartfelt outpourings of St. Anselm, emphasizing our dependence upon God's grace. Gerson was writing in this case not for monks or students of theology, but for his own sisters and other lay women. Also included is a French sermon for All Soul's Day by Gerson on the theme of penitence. The fourth text has not been identified among his writings, but is similar in style, and deserves scholarly attention. [TM 598]

**DESCRIPTION:** 264 folios, lacking three folios at the beginning, otherwise complete, written in a bâtarde script in 30 long lines, modern calligraphic title page (added), 45 gold initials on colored grounds, in excellent condition apart from cockling, bound in 18<sup>th</sup>-century mottled calf. Dimensions 228 x 154 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Colledge, 1994; Glorieux, v. VII, *L'Oeuvre française*, Paris, 1966, and v. VII\*, *Sermons et discours*, Paris, 1968; Künzle, 1977; McGuire, 2005; Monks, 1990.





[ANONYMOUS], *Histoire de la Passion de Notre Seigneur*;

[ANONYMOUS], *La beauté de lame raisonnable*;

ROBERT CIBOULE, *Sermon in French*

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern France (Paris?), c. 1460-1480

Meditation on the Passion of Christ, so important in *Devotio Moderna* spirituality, was of equal importance in France. *L'histoire de la Passion de Notre Seigneur* is an anonymous account of the Passion of Christ interspersed with moral reflections, prayers and miracle stories; one of its principal sources was the lengthy sermon on the Passion, "Ad Deum vadit," by Jean Gerson, preached to the French King and court on Good Friday in 1403. The second treatise, *La beauté de lame raisonnable* ("The beauty of the rational soul"), an anonymous mystical treatise on the soul, deserves careful study and comparison with *Le Livre de Sainte meditation en conaissance de soi* by Robert Ciboule (c. 1403-1458), a text that may be the first example of a systematic theological text written in French rather than in Latin. An unpublished sermon on spiritual love and charity, here attributed to Ciboule, rounds out this sophisticated collection of vernacular religious works.

This elegant manuscript was probably made for the lay woman shown kneeling in the opening miniature; all three texts are unedited, largely unstudied by modern scholars and extant in very few manuscripts. They are especially significant given their relationship to works by Jean Gerson (see cat. 26) and Robert Ciboule (1403-1458). Ciboule is less well-known today than he deserves to be, but like Gerson, he was an important theologian who was committed to vernacular spirituality. Treatises by the two authors often circulated in the same manuscripts and their interrelationship – certainly worthy of further study – is well illustrated by the texts included here. [TM 624]

**DESCRIPTION:** 162 folios, complete, written in a batârde script in 41 long lines probably by at least 2 scribes, numerous illuminated initials, 20 with partial borders, 1 historiated initial with border, some damage f. 1, vertical crease in quires 1 and 2, some initials smudged, bound in 19<sup>th</sup>- century English half Russia. Dimensions 298 x 215 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Boulton, 2000; Combes, 1933; Hasenohr, 1987; Hasenohr, 1988; Hoogvliet, 2013; Marzac, 1971.



reduced



*Passion selon Gamaliel* (Gospel of Nicodemus, Évangile de Gamaliel, Évangile de Nicodème, second or "long" version)

In French, decorated manuscript on parchment  
France, c. 1450-1500

The text in this manuscript is a French translation of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, a text that circulated as an accepted part of the vernacular French Bible, and was widely quoted by medieval authors. France was the first country in Western Europe with a complete, vernacular Bible; the *Old French Bible* (known in France as "la bible française du XIIIe siècle") dates c. 1220-60, predating the English Wycliffite translations by more than a century. The fourteenth-century translation known as the *Bible historiale complétée* was a tremendous success, surviving in over 140 copies, and numerous other texts offered access to the Scriptures to the laity in French, including lives of Christ and the Passion (see cat. 27).

The Latin Gospel of Nicodemus is a fifth-century translation of an earlier Greek text. It tells the story of Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, followed by the story of Joseph of Arimathea, and an account of Christ's Descent into Hell. It filled in details missing in the canonical Gospels, such as the names of the thieves crucified with Christ, Dismas and Gestas, and the name of the soldier who pierced Christ's side, Longinus. It also elaborated the events from the moment of Christ's death on the cross to his burial, enlarging the role of Joseph of Arimathea, describing the deposition in detail, and focusing on Mary's lamentation and reluctance to be separated from her son. Its influence on medieval vernacular literature is especially important. This French translation, in which the Passion is told by an eyewitness Gamaliel, survives in only sixteen manuscripts. [TM 606]

**DESCRIPTION:** 70 folios, missing the first and last leaf in the first quire, and an undetermined number of quires at the end, written in a bold batârde script in 2 columns of 22 lines, red initials and a few cadel initials, quarter bound in modern leather. Dimensions 257 x 180 mm.

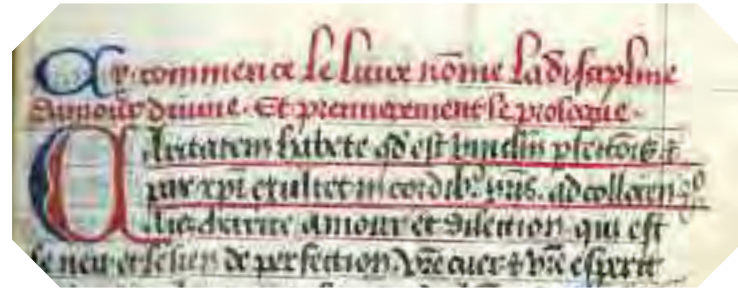
**LITERATURE:** Ford, Alvin E., *L'Évangile de Nicodème: Les versions courtes en ancien français et en prose*, Geneva, 1973; Hershon, Cyril P. and Peter T. Ricketts, "La tradition occitane de l'Évangile de Gamaliel, éditions et commentaires," *La France latine. Revue d'études d'oc*, nouvelle série 144 (2007), pp. 132-327; Hoogvliet, 2013; Lobrichon, 2013; O'Gorman, 1997; Sneddon, 2011.

**R**ADOPT  
maistre ga  
maliel que ihu crist  
estoit paris de xef  
face d'un samedi et  
estoit avecques  
lui se disayles et  
ses apostres et fut  
alencore de la ville  
de ihu et dist a  
saint pierre et a saint  
phelipe qu'il sen a  
lassent en la ville  
de ihu et qu'il  
lui amenassent  
une femme que  
trouvoient liée  
avecques son vou  
lain. Et saint  
pierre lui respond  
sire et que sero  
vous selonc nou

veffuse. Et ihu  
crist leur respondi  
Allez que ja ne trou  
viez quil la vous  
veffuse. Et adit  
saint pierre et saint  
phelipe sen alerent  
ala femme liée  
avecques son vou  
lain et la deslierent  
et lamerent a ihu  
crist. Et adit  
les apostres desvou  
lierent leurs robes  
et misent dessus  
la femme et sen co  
mancerent a aler  
droit en ihu et  
Jehan euu angeli se  
lui demanda que  
voulloit dire ceste  
parole et ihu crist



29



[ANONYMOUS], *Le livre nommé la discipline d'amour divine*  
In French, decorated manuscript on parchment and paper  
Northern France or Southern Low Countries, c. 1480-1500

*La discipline d'amour divine* ("The Discipline of Divine Love"), composed by an anonymous Celestine monk in the 1470s at Notre Dame D'Ambert near Orleans, is an important example of the Celestine interest in disseminating devotional texts in French. The complicated story behind this text (which survives in only two manuscripts), discovered by G. Hasenohr is, however, even more interesting.

The most important source for this text is the *Miroir des simples âmes* ("Mirror of Simple Souls") by the mystical writer, Marguerite Porete, who was burnt at the stake for heresy in Paris in 1310. This work describes the seven stages required to achieve union with God, expressing her conviction that true religion is not found in good works or a virtuous life or even in the sacraments, but instead in a striving towards the annihilation of the self and union with Divine Love (that is, God). Her ideas have much in common with those of the mystic Meister Eckhart, who certainly influenced Henricus Suso. The author of *La discipline d'amour* retained the terminology and basic framework of the *Mirror of Simple Souls*, but deliberately changed its contents to eliminate potentially dangerous themes and to emphasize the ascetic rather than the mystical. Hasenohr has argued that this re-writing was undertaken as a deliberate effort to counteract the influence of Marguerite's text, which therefore must have still been circulating in the fifteenth century in the Loire valley. This text is thus (indirect) evidence of the continuing influence of an important and controversial critic of the church, Marguerite Porte, in fifteenth-century France. [TM 601]

**DESCRIPTION:** 128 folios, watermarks dating 1484-1509, copied in a batârde script by more than one scribe 33-29 long lines, red or blue and parted red and blue initials, in excellent condition, bound in 18<sup>th</sup>-century gold-tooled red morocco by Richard Wier. Dimensions 203 x 129 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Babinsky, 1993; Colledge, Edmund, Judith Grant and J. C. Marler, 1999; Hasenohr, 1999.





30



[ANONYMOUS], *Les sept fruits de la tribulation*;  
and [ANONYMOUS], *Miroir d'or de l'ame pecheresse*,  
French translation of JACOBUS DE GRUYTRODE  
(or JACOBUS DE JUTÉRBORG), *Speculum aureum animae*

*peccatricis*

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
France, after 1482, c. 1490

Like the works written and read in *Devotio Moderna* circles, the tracts here reflect a belief that written texts, in this case in French, are an important part of lay religious life. They are expressions of an inward-looking piety, focusing on an examination of conscience. At the same time, they are more practical than truly mystical. Both, for example, are divided into seven chapters to correspond with devotions on each day of the week. They also emphasize the hope and comfort that careful devotion could offer the believer. The important link between reformed monastic life and vernacular lay culture in France is also apparent here; the first work was likely translated by a Celestine monk, and the second is a work by a Carthusian monk.

The *Sept fruits de la tribulation* ("The Seven Fruits of Tribulation"), discusses the principal ways people can benefit from suffering. This very free French version of an earlier and longer Latin work was probably written in the fifteenth century by a Celestine monk (on the Celestines, see cat. 6 and 29). The *Miroir d'or de l'ame pecheresse* ("The Golden mirror of the Sinful Soul") is a work of spiritual edification which also consists of seven sections: on human misery, sin (especially lechery), penance, rejection of the world, the vanity of human wishes, death, and hell and heaven. The work is based on a widely disseminated original Latin source text, *Speculum aureum animae peccatricis*. Once attributed to Dionysius Carthusiensis, it is now attributed to either Jacobus de Gruytrode (died 1472) or Jacobus de Jüterborg (or de Clusa) (1381-1465), both Carthusians.

[TM 466]

**DESCRIPTION:** 70 folios, complete, written in a bâtarde script on up to 34 lines, 18 large initials parti-colored in red and blue, red or blue, inserted leaf with full-page illuminated heraldic composition, gold slightly rubbed, some off-setting from heraldic painted composition to opening text page, bound in modern 19<sup>th</sup>-century blue velvet. Dimensions 274 x 175 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Barratt, A., *The Book of Tribulation*, ed. from MS Bodley 423, Middle English Texts, 15, Heidelberg, 1983; Meier, L., *Die Werke des Erfurter Kartäusers Jakob von Jüterborg in ihrer handschriftlichen Überlieferung*, Münster, 1955.



reduced



# 31



## PICTURE ROSARY; BOOK OF HOURS (Use of the Dominicans)

In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern France or French Flanders, Lille (or Tournai?), for early use in Douai (?),  
c. 1500-1515  
56 miniatures by artist(s) active in Lille, perhaps tied to Jean Markant and his workshop

In contrast with the previous manuscripts, probably used mostly by the wealthy and the educated, this manuscript is evidence of very wide-spread devotional practices accessible to all lay believers. The core of the manuscript consists of a "picture rosary," with fifty-six miniatures depicting events in the life of the Holy Family and of Christ, above captions with the opening words of the Ave Maria and descriptions of the picture in French, from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment. The number of images from the Passion of Christ (with nine depictions of the Crucifixion) is noteworthy. By gazing at the picture while reciting the Ave Maria, the believer could share in the joys and sorrows of Christ's life and be encouraged to amend his or her own life. In all probability, the manuscript was made for the couple portrayed in the last miniature.

The rosary was well-suited to the laity's desire for more individual and private forms of religious observance. Although its roots can be traced back to fourteenth-century Cistercian circles (see cat. 3), widespread devotion to the rosary and the establishment of lay rosary confraternities is associated with the Observant Reform movement, and in particular, with the Dominicans. The Observant movement strove to restore the purity of monastic life by enforcing the strict observance of monastic ideals and rules. The new manner of reciting the rosary and the establishment of lay rosary confraternities were promoted in this ambiance of renewal as an important part of reformist outreach to the laity.

**DESCRIPTION:** 156 folios, apparently complete, written in a gothic bookhand on up to 18 lines, 56 miniatures pasted (virtually seamlessly) into the text, bound in a contemporary blind-stamped roll-tooled binding. Dimensions 162 x 110 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Saffrey, 2003; Vanwijnsberghe, D., "Marketing Books for Burghers. Jean Markant's Activity in Tournai, Lille and Bruges," in *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context. Recent Research*, Los Angeles, 2006; Winston-Allen, 2005







**Q**ue maria gra plena dñs teo  
 Le quel du lact uirginal et  
 trespur doucement de ses ma  
 melles et sollicitement tu nou  
 ris allehuy



**Q**ue maria graia plena dñs t  
 Le quel du lact uirginal et  
 trespur doucement de ses ma  
 melles et sollicitement tu nou  
 ris allehuy



IV.  
REFORM AFTER  
MARTIN LUTHER:  
THE CHRISTIAN  
LIFE  
RE-IMAGINED



“One thing, and one alone, is necessary for life, justification, and Christian liberty; and that is the most holy word of God, the Gospel of Christ ... Let us therefore hold it certain and firmly established that the soul can do without everything, except the word of God, without which none at all of its wants are provided for. But, having the word, it is rich and wants for nothing, since that is the word of life, of truth, of joy, of liberty, of wisdom, of virtue, of grace, of glory, and of every good thing.”

— Martin Luther, *On Christian Liberty*

THE LINK BETWEEN THE DISSEMINATION OF THE MESSAGE OF MARTIN LUTHER AND OTHER Protestant reformers and the printing press is not a new observation, but it is of vital importance nonetheless, and is well-illustrated here. The continued importance of manuscripts in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, however, has not often been discussed in the scholarly literature on the Reformation. The objects collected here are reminders of the importance of both types of sources.

TWO OF THE PRINTED BOOKS INCLUDED HERE ARE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE printed book to the Reformation message. The first, a rare very tiny edition of Luther's New Testament printed in Strasbourg in 1558/1561 (cat. 33), is certainly an example of “things new and old.” Luther's translation of the Bible into German was his most important and broadly influential work. Between 1522, when the first edition of his New Testament appeared, and 1546, the date of Luther's death, it is estimated that more than three hundred editions were published in High German, representing more than a half million copies, a truly remarkable number. Dissemination on this scale, which would have been impossible without printing, was decisively new, as was Luther's translation that was both scholarly,

based on the original languages, and brilliantly readable – using the vital German of the streets. Luther's conviction that the word of God should be available to everyone in their own language, however, was neither new nor revolutionary, but rather a fulfillment of a long medieval tradition of vernacular biblical translations (cat. 28), and the support of the vernacular voiced by figures such as Geert Grote (cat. 9), and Jean Gerson (cat. 26), to name just two.

THE SMALL PAMPHLET CONTAINING THE *DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CANON AND THE SHOEMAKER* BY THE POET Hans Sachs published in Bamberg in 1524 (cat. 34) is more decisively new, since it presents complicated theological ideas (including the importance of the Bible) in an easily understandable and humorous dialogue designed to be broadly attractive. Pamphlets were crucial to the spread of the Reformer's message, as studies by Mark Edwards and others have demonstrated.

PRINTED BOOKS DID NOT ENTIRELY REPLACE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. The Lutheran illuminated Prayerbook (cat. 35) is a direct continuation of the medieval tradition of beautiful, hand-written devotional books, although some of its contents, and its emphasis on the Bible, are new. The two seventeenth-century manuscripts (cat. 37, 38) described here are especially intriguing. Both are virtuosic copies of printed books. The copy of Ambrosius Lobwasser's Psalter even reproduces signatures reflecting a printed books' physical structure – even though these signatures are not related to the actual physical structure of the manuscript itself. As objects, they are a direct reflection of the beliefs of two Protestant believers at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Andre Wecheln, an interesting figure who became the first Postmaster-General of Sweden, for example, was obviously someone particularly concerned with teachings about the Eucharist (cat. 38). These two books raise the question of how many similar books were copied at this late date; a survey would be an interesting addition to the history of the book during Reform, but also an important window into the beliefs and practices of individual believers. The text on clerical celibacy is an example of a different type of manuscript, since it is probably the authorial copy, and apparently never made it into print at all (cat. 39). The final entry, also a manuscript, paradoxically represents nothing “new,” but instead reminds us that the “old” had a long life, represented here by the use of a medieval Book of Hours by a Catholic family in England, long after the decisive religious changes introduced by King Henry VIII (cat. 40).

WE CLOSE WITH THE LUTHERAN PARCHMENT SHEET SHOWING THE REFORMER STANDING BESIDE A SWAN. Broad sides, like pamphlets, were important instruments of the Reformation (no. 32). Luther himself is modeled on a Cranach woodcut. The text proclaims Luther's conviction in the word of God, as expressed in *On Christian Liberty*, cited above, and urges true believers to follow it, presumably making use of the small book Luther holds, a Bible, much like cat. 33. For believers, the swan would have reminded them of the legend that tied Luther to the earlier reformer John Huss (whose name means “goose” in Czech), who, about to be burned at the stake in 1418, declared that the time would come one hundred years hence when a swan would not be so easily silenced – that swan being Martin Luther. Most Reformation broad sides were produced by the printing press, for wide distribution. But this one, its pin holes still visible, illuminated with tempera on parchment, and written by pen in bold capitals, survives as a remarkable ephemeral trace of the endurance of medieval scribal culture into the Modern era.



# 32

## Portrait of Martin Luther (1483-1546) with a Swan

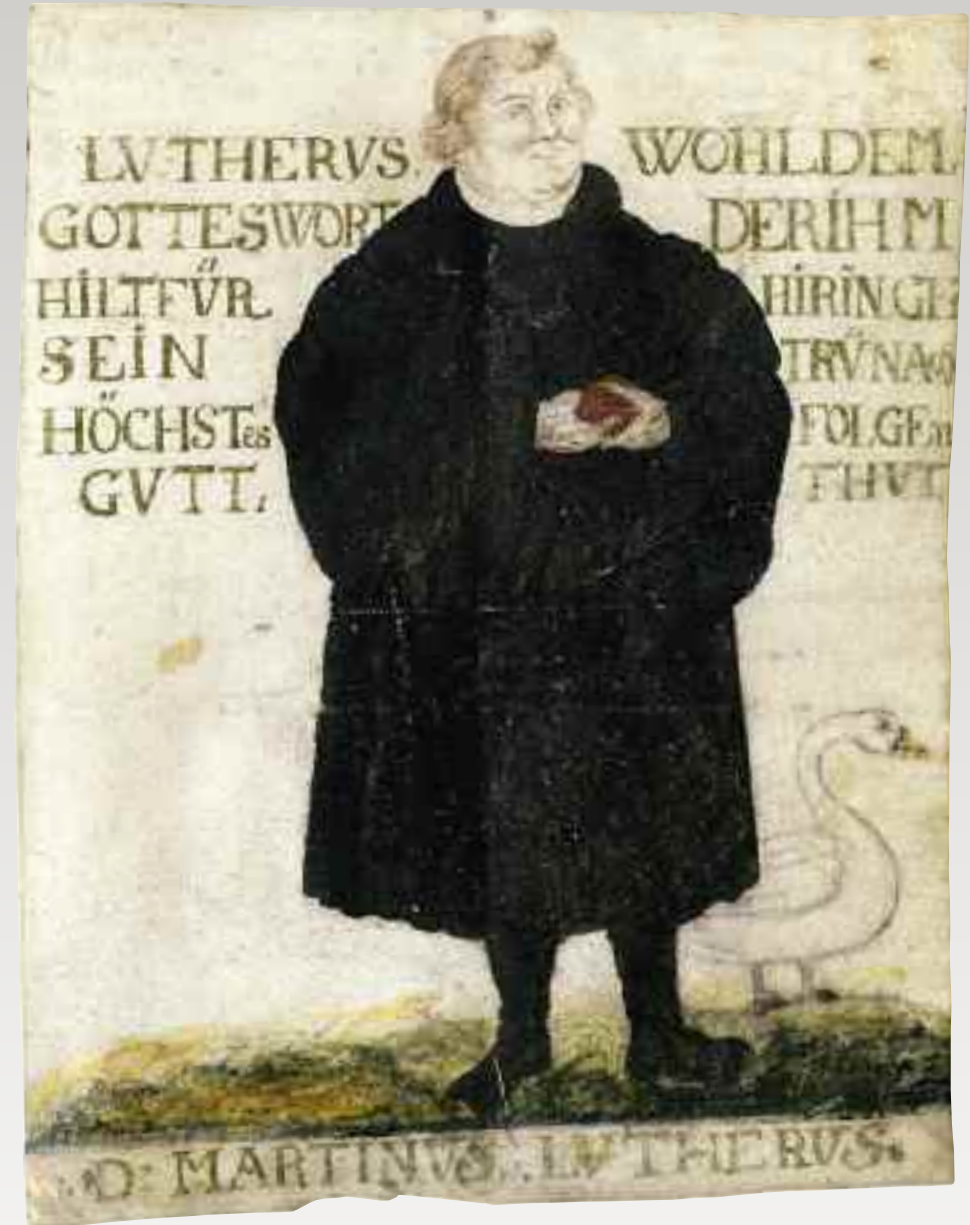
Single sheet, tempera on parchment  
Germany, late 16<sup>th</sup> century (?)

A portly Luther stands upright on a landscape ground and holds a small red bound book (see cat. 33). Behind him, to his right, appears a swan. Above, the motto reads: "Lutherus, Gottes Wort hilt für sein höchstes Gutt. Wohl dem, der ihm hirin getrü nachfolgen thut" (Luther holds God's word for the highest good. And happy is the man who does follow him faithfully [in this conviction]). The standing portrait uses Lucas Cranach's woodcut from 1548 as the model (Hollstein 42; Dodgson II.346.26) to which it adds the inscription and the swan.

The propagandistic leaf, bearing tacking holes, refers to the well-known story of Luther and the swan, which became his symbol. Prior to the burning of the Bohemian reformer John Huss (1370-1415) at the stake (Huss means "goose" in Czech), Huss purportedly prophesied: "You are now going to burn a goose, but in a century you will have a swan which you can neither roast nor boil." Then, in 1517, on the eve of Luther's posting of the 95 Theses at Wittenberg, the Elector of Saxony dreamed of a monk who wrote on the church door with a pen so large that it reached Rome. When asked how the pen [the feather of a swan] got so strong, the monk replied: "The pen belonged to an old goose of Bohemia, a hundred years ago." Thereafter, Luther frequently referred to himself as a swan, and the story was even recounted in a sermon at his funeral. No visual imagery of Luther with the swan appears to date from his lifetime. However, numerous sculptures, paintings, medals, and prints date from the late sixteenth century to the modern era, and Lutheran Churches in Germany even today display weather vanes in the form of swans.

**DESCRIPTION:** tempera in black, green, red, and yellow, written in brown ink in Roman capitals, slight staining, traces of mounting pins, slight edge defects, c. 160 x 125 mm.

**LITERATURE:** [Exh.cat.] *Luther mit dem Schwan – Tod und Verklärung eines grossen Mannes. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Lutherhalle Wittenberg anlässlich des 450. Todestages von Martin Luther, Wittenberg, 1996*; Erwin Webber, "Luther with the Swan," *The Lutheran Journal* 65, no. 2 (1996).





33



*Das new[e] Testament (New Testament), translation by MARTIN LUTHER*

In German, imprint on paper with handcolored woodcuts  
Strasbourg, J. Rihel, 1561 (title page) or 1558 (colophon)

"Unless I am convinced by Scripture and plain reason - I do not accept the authority of the popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other - my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen." Immediately after this famous statement at the Diet of Worms in 1521, Martin Luther accepted the protection of Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony at Warburg Castle.

There, in only three months, he produced his German translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, subsequently printed in Wittenberg in September 1522. His translation of the entire Bible appeared in 1534. No work undertaken by Luther was more important. While not the first German translation, this was the first to be disseminated widely in affordable copies (between 1522 and 1546 it is estimated that more than three hundred editions were published in High German, representing more than a half million copies), distinguished by the excellence of his German prose, and by the accompanying marginal notes and prefaces.

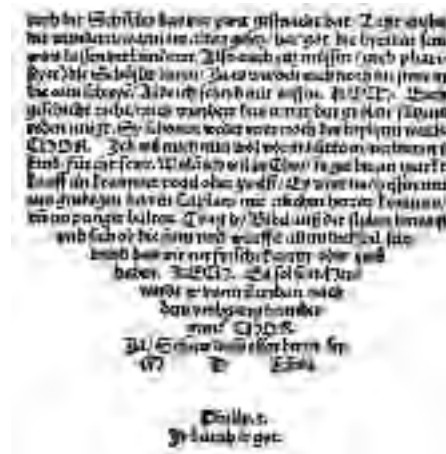
As an object, the survival of this tiny book, printed in Strasbourg, is remarkable. Most editions of Luther's Bible were much larger, and thus more expensive. This is a New Testament that many people could have afforded. Its popular audience is also suggested by the inclusion of numerous woodcuts illustrating the life of Christ. Its colorful painted panel-stamped binding depicts Jael about to drive a stake into the sleeping Sisera (front cover) and Abraham and Isaac (back cover), along with beautifully gauffered and painted edges. In color and size it is closely equivalent to the book held by Luther in the previous sheet (cat. 32). [TM 594]

**DESCRIPTION:** 16mo., 464 folios, complete, thirty long lines in Gothic type, woodcut title page with full border and 48 woodcuts (all hand colored), contemporary panel-stamped colored binding with monograms HV and VG. Dimensions 108 x 71 mm.

**LITERATURE:** De Hamel, 2001; Füssel, 2003; Greenslade, 1963; O'Sullivan, 2000; Reinitzer, 1983; VD 16, ZV 1858; cf. also VD 16 B 4455.







HANS SACHS, *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren und Schuchmacher darinn dass wort gottes vnnnd ein recht Christlich wesen verfochten würdt* ("Disputation between a Canon and a Shoemaker wherein the Word of God and the true Christian Character are Maintained")

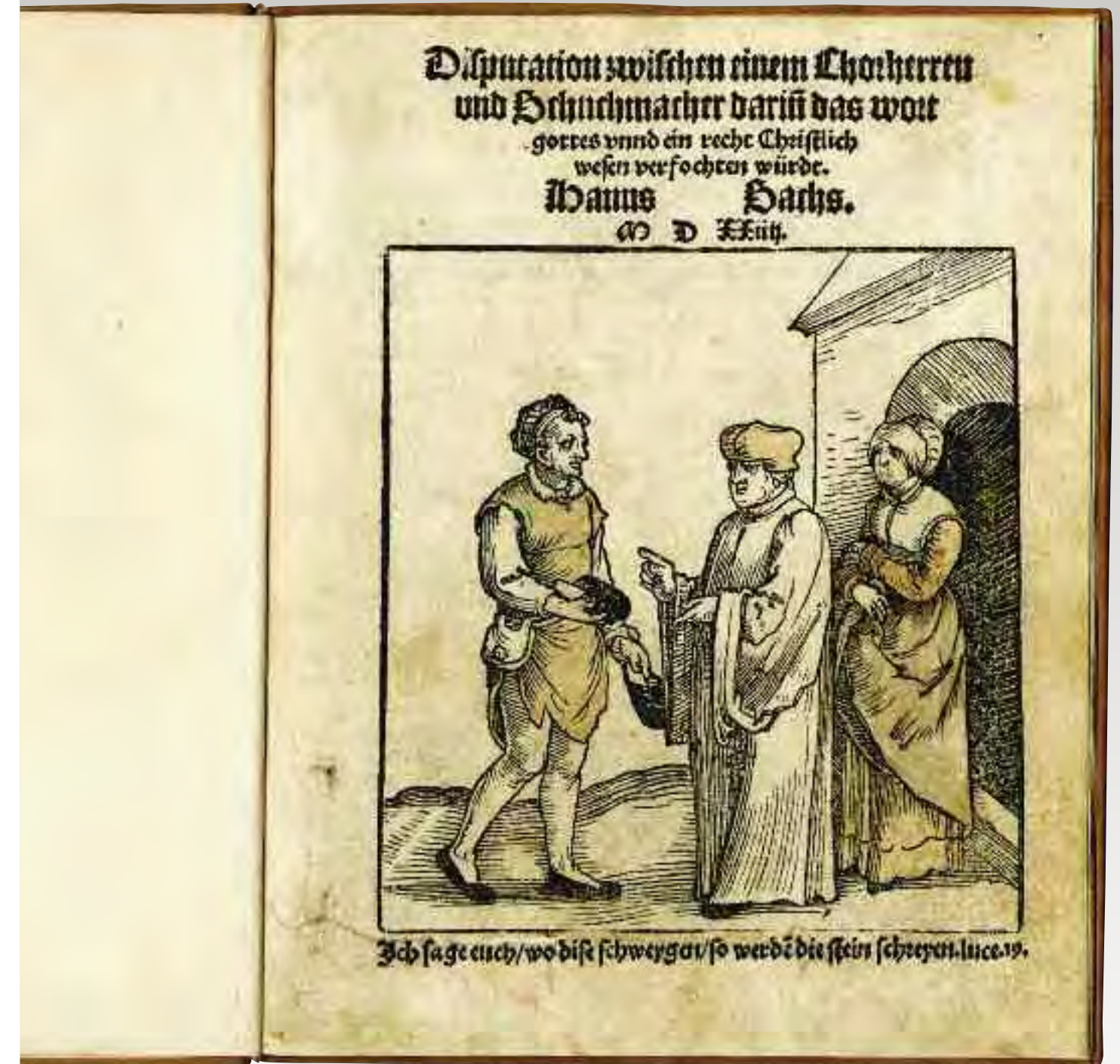
In German, Imprint on paper with nearly full-page woodcut  
Germany (Bamberg), Georg Erlinger, 1524

The printing press proved to be crucial in disseminating the message of the early reformers. Pamphlets in dialogue form where important theological ideas could be presented in a popular manner using questions and answers proved to be very popular. In this dialogue by Hans Sachs, (1488-1523), the famed German popular poet, a shoemaker (Sachs' own profession) and an Augustinian canon discuss fundamental aspects of Luther's teachings, including the question of whether the laity are to seek their own answers in the Bible. Recommending that the canon read "a little book by Martin Luther on Christian Freedom," the humble shoemaker incenses the clergyman, who replies that he would like to see Luther, along with all his books, burned at the stake. Basing his arguments solely upon Scripture, the shoemaker is consistently able to trounce the canon on questions of theology. In a humorous climax, the shoemaker gains the upper hand when the embarrassed canon asks his cook to fetch him a copy of the Bible: she returns with a copy of the Decretals – the standard anthology of canon law and as such an emblem of the Church's mindless adherence to tradition. When the correct book finally appears, it is hardly readable for all the dust which has accumulated on it.

This is a rare first edition (and first issue) of this dialogue. The amusing (and instructive) content of this work is amplified by its eye-catching title-page, showing the shoemaker, the canon, and the canon's cook, appealing to Sachs' target audience, common people without knowledge of Latin who were eager to embrace the new message of the Reformation. [TM 677]

**DESCRIPTION:** 12 folios, complete, 34 long lines in gothic type, near perfect condition, bound in modern blind-tooled calf. Dimensions 182 x 146 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Chrisman, 1985; Edwards, 1994; Keller and Goetze, 1964-1982; Beutin, Wolfgang, *History of German literature: From the Beginnings to the Present Day*, trans. by Claire Krojzl, London and New York, 1993, pp. 72-4; VD 16 S 221.





## 35

**Prayerbook for a German Prince, including prayers by MARTIN LUTHER;  
CASPAR HUBERINUS, *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes***

In German, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Germany, Bavaria (Nuremberg or Augsburg?), c. 1550 (after 1533)

The importance of the Bible in the sixteenth century in the prayer life of the laity and as a source of comfort and consolation is embodied in this beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscript copied for an unidentified prince. Lutheran devotion in many ways followed older practices, but the number of biblical passages included here is a new departure. The confessional formula for a prince is followed by scriptural quotations consoling the princely sinner, starting with Matt. 9:12-13. The importance of scripture is even more evident in the "Trostbuch" (a Book of Consolation) that includes scriptural quotations providing consolation, texts by Luther, and extracts from Caspar Huberinus's treatise, *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes* ("Of the Anger and the Goodness of God"). This work, first published in 1529, presented a dialogue between Christianus (or Everyman) and Theodidactus, in which Christianus's faith is strengthened as he finds consolation in Scripture, after being shown that he lacks sufficient knowledge about the Ten Commandments. Huberinus himself was a close acquaintance of Martin Luther, who had entered the university at Wittenberg in 1522, and after 1525 worked as an associate of Urbanus Rhegius in Augsburg.

The manuscript's profuse illumination (97 pages display painted initials and colorful border motifs, unicorns, birds, flowers, insects, a seascape on the frontispiece), beautiful calligraphy, and fine original binding place it firmly in the tradition of Renaissance manuscript production in the cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, following the Prayerbook of Maximilian I designed by Albrecht Dürer himself. The artist is surely to be sought in the milieu of the Glockendon family, and the illumination is perhaps closest to the late work by Albrecht Glockendon d. Ä. (d. 1545) or the early work of Sebastian Glockendon d. Ä. [TM 595]

**DESCRIPTION:** 85 folios, complete, written in a "Theuerdank type" Fraktur script in 20-18 long lines, illuminated frontispiece and 97 gold initials with marginal decoration, contemporary gold-stamped binding with EDBD p002686 [workshop Caspar Horneffer of Augsburg]. Dimensions 185 x 145 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Franz, Gunther, *Huberinus – Rhegius – Holbein. Bibliographische und druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung der verbreitetsten Trost- und Erbauungsschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bibliotheca humanistica & reformatrica 7, Nieuwkoop, 1973; Merkl, Ulrich, *Buchmalerei in Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Spätblüte und Endzeit einer Gattung*, Regensburg, 1999; Schulz, Frieder, *Die Gebete Luthers. Edition, Bibliographie und Wirkungsgeschichte*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 44, Gütersloh, 1976.





an vns also mehr geheiligt dein Reich erweittert  
et cetera. vt supra.

## Ein danck sagung zu gott

**I**ch danck dir mein himlischer Vatter  
durch Jesum Christum deinen lieben  
son das du mich diese nacht fur allem  
schaden vnd fahr behuetet hast. Vnd  
bitte dich du wollest mich diesen tag auch behueten  
vor sunden vnd allem vbel. Das dir all mein thunn  
vnd leben gefalle. Darn Ich beulhe mich mein  
leib vnd seele vnd alles Inn deine hende. Dein  
heiliger Engel sey mit mir das der boese feind kein  
macht an mir finde.

## Die ander danck sagung

**I**ch danck dir mein himlischer Vatter  
durch Jesum Christum deinen liebem  
son Das du mich diesen tag gnediglich  
ve

behuetet hast Vnd bitte dich du wollest mir ver  
geben alle meine sünde wo ich vnrecht gethan habe  
vnd mich diese nacht gnediglich behueten. Dan  
Ich beulhe mich mein leib vnd seele vnd alles In  
deine hende. Dein heiliger Engel sey mit mir das  
der boese feind kein macht an mir finde.

## Ein schon andechtigs gebet des Konigs Manasse vo Jhe rusalem da er gefangen lag zu Ba bilon.

**O** Herr allmechtiger Gott Unserer vat  
ter Abraham Isaac vnd Jacob vnd  
Ihes gerechten samens. Der du hym  
mel vnd erden mit allem das darin  
nen ist gemacht hast. Der du das meer mit einem  
wort deines gebots versiegelt hast vnd die tieffe ver  
fasst vnd versiegelt zu ehren deinem erschreckliche  
vnd loblichem namen. Welchen alle ding forchte  
vnd bitten vor dem angesicht deiner macht. Des



## 36

MATTHAEUS SCHENCKENBERG, [compiler], *Hübscher Lustiger newer Deutscher und Lateinischer Stücklein mit sechs fünff und vier Stimmen gantz lieblich und zum theil anmüthlich zusingen und auff allerley Instrumenten accomodate und gar wol zugebrauchen durch vornehme berühmte Deutscher und anderer nationem Musicos componiret*

In Latin and German, manuscript on paper with music  
Germany, Saxony (Dresden?), 1599

The sixteenth-century saw extensive developments in choral music, especially polyphonic music for many voices, both religious and secular. This manuscript is an interesting compilation that includes both hymns and secular motets by some of the most renowned German and Flemish composers of the late sixteenth century. The distinction between Catholic and Reform composers is often not clear-cut, since there was considerable borrowing between them, but many of the composers represented here were associated with the courts of Catholic rulers, despite the fact that this manuscript probably originated in Protestant Saxony, possibly Dresden.

Included in this manuscript are compositions by very well-known composers, including the Flemish composer Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), one of the most prolific composers of the era, who worked for Catholic patrons, Orlando de Lassus (1532-1594), possibly the most well-known musician in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, who composed numerous Masses and motets, and Jakob Regnart (c. 1540/45-1599), Kapellmeister at Innsbruck until 1585, a composer of both sacred and secular music. Antonius Scandellius (1517-1580), also represented here, was Kapellmeister in the Protestant city of Dresden from 1568 until his death. Other compositions (presumably unpublished) by less well-known figures include works by Jakob Gerhart and Johann Sigfrid. The circumstances surrounding the composition of this manuscript deserve further research. Its first fascicule was compiled in Saxony (possibly Dresden) by Matthaeus Schenckenberg in 1599, who is otherwise unknown. In the second section only one vocal part is transcribed, although all of the pieces were written for multiple parts (as indicated at the beginning of many of the motets), possibly indicating that this book was intended for a singer in the choir, giving only his particular part. [TM 290]

**DESCRIPTION:** 84 folios, lacking at least two leaves in the second quire, German text in German cursive, Latin text in italic, with music on a five-line staff, unbound. Dimensions 133 x 172 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Eitner, Robert. *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1877.





# 37

AMBROSIUS LOBWASSER, *Psalmen Davids nach Frantzösi-  
scher meloden und Reymen art in Teutsche reymen  
verständlich und deutlich gebracht ...;*  
CHRISTOPH REICHELDT, *Calendarium biblicum perpetuum*  
In German, with musical notation, manuscript on parchment  
Germany, dated 1629



One of the most important innovations in the Reform church service was the emphasis on congregational singing. Luther himself wrote numerous hymns, and his conviction that believers should participate actively in the service led to a large Chorale repertoire with German texts. With the intriguing title, the "Psalms of David according to French melodies ..." in German, this work is a later development of this same idea. The manuscript is a fine piece of craftsmanship, showing the scribe's skill in both writing and decoration and. Following the Psalter is a copy of the calendar for biblical reading (also in cat. 38).

This is a manuscript copy of the popular German Psalter by Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585) with the addition of the text of the Psalms in Luther's version in an outer column alongside Lobwasser's translation. Lobwasser was a well-travelled German lawyer and scholar, who became acquainted with the French Calvinist Genevan Psalter while living in France. The Genevan Psalter, inspired by John Calvin's desire for a version of the Psalms that could be sung by congregations, was a metrical Psalter accompanied by music in the French translation by the theologian Theodore Beza and the court poet Clement Marot. Lobwasser was so impressed by the beauty of this version of the Psalms and the accompanying music, that his translation is in fact a translation of the French, retaining the meter and versification necessary for the music. His version, completed in 1562, was published in 1573. Although Lobwasser was criticized by some of his contemporaries for using the French reform translation, his Psalter became an established part of German worship for centuries (and is still used in Amish congregations in the United States today). [TM 634]

**DESCRIPTION:** 180 folios, complete, copied in a fraktur script in up to 33 lines, signed by the scribe "A.W." "A.W.S.," and "A.W.F.S.," musical notation on a five-line staff, 5 pages with decorative borders, head and tail pieces, 3 decorated diagrams, contemporary gold-tooled fanfare binding. Dimensions 161 x 100 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Grunewald, Eckhard and Henning P. Jürgens, et. al., ed. Ambrosius Lobwasser, *Der Psalter dess Königlichen Propheten Davids*, New York and Hildesheim, 2004; Grunewald, Jürgens und Luth, 2004.



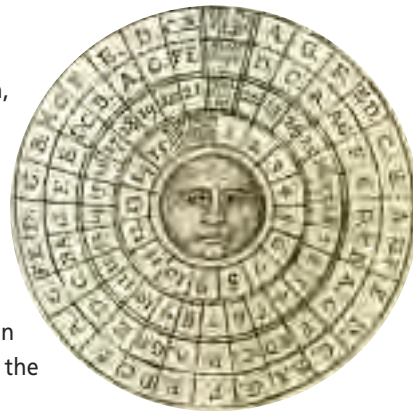


# 38

*Eygentlicher Bericht vom Ursprung der Strittigkeiten in Religionssachen zwischen den evangelischen Kirchen*; RATRAMNUS OF CORBIE, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (in German translation); CHRISTOPH REICHELDT, *Calendarium biblicum perpetuum; et alia*

In German, manuscript on parchment  
Stockholm, Sweden, dated 1636-37

This manuscript is a witness to the interests of a very particular person, Andre Wecheln, a German in Swedish royal service during the Thirty Years' War and the first Postmaster-General of Sweden. He meticulously copied and decorated four Protestant texts, presumably for his own use. The care taken suggests he chose texts he found especially meaningful. The result is a book that is not only a beautiful example of seventeenth-century craftsmanship (very similar to cat. 37), but also a testimony to the beliefs of an educated seventeenth-century Protestant layman; in addition to prayers and an historical account of the Reformation, his interest in the Eucharist is marked.



The first section copied is a devotional work on the Eucharist, combined with a Prayerbook, followed by a treatise on the history of the conflicts between the Protestant confessions through 1620 and a sermon by Martin Luther. Both these sections, significantly, are introduced by scriptural quotations in Luther's translation. The treatise that follows is a German translation of the medieval treatise on the Eucharist, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* ("On the Body and Blood of the Lord") by Ratramnus, abbot of Corbie (d. after 868). This text became popular in Protestant circles because it interpreted the Eucharistic as a spiritual, rather than as an actual physical transformation (and this copy includes a polemical Protestant introduction). The final text, the *Calendarium biblicum perpetuum*, is principally a guide to enable the systematic reading of the whole Bible in the space of one year. It is accompanied by meticulously copied compass-roundels diagramming the calendar sections, as well as by a table of the winds. The popularity of this text is demonstrated by its presence in this manuscript and in the preceding example (cat. 37). [TM 514]

**DESCRIPTION:** 178 folios, lacking one leaf after f. 36, written in a German fraktur on up to 39 lines; penwork initials and title-pages, gold-tooled 17<sup>th</sup>-century binding. Dimensions 108 x 70 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Lindberg, Sten G. *Swedish Books 1280-1967. Illuminated Manuscripts, Illustrated Printed Books & Fine Book Bindings & A Select Guide to Reference Literature on Sweden*, Stockholm, 1968; Luther, *Weimarer Ausgabe*, vol. 10/iii, pp. 67-71 (Luther's Sermon); VD 17 39:145372W; VD17 23:280492H.





## 39

[ANONYMOUS], *Treatise on the Celibacy and Chastity of the Clergy*

In Latin and Greek, manuscript on paper  
Italy (Rome, Lucca or Fabriano?), c. 1560-1570

The question of the celibacy and chastity of the clergy was a crucial practical and doctrinal issue for the Protestant reformers in the sixteenth century. Steven Ozment has observed, "No institutional change brought about by the Reformation was more visible, responsive to late medieval pleas for reform, and conducive to new social attitudes than the marriage of the Protestant clergy" (Ozment, 1981, p. 381). The new Protestant churches re-established marriage as a normal state for the clergy in the West; whereas the Catholic Church re-asserted its efforts to ensure a celibate clergy – largely established by the early twelfth century (in theory, even if not always in practice). As early as 1520 in *Address to the Christian Nobility*, Luther proclaimed that priests should be free to marry, "before God and the Holy Scriptures marriage of the clergy is no offense," and in May 1521 three priests in Wittenberg publically married. Zwingli married in 1522 (publically in 1525), and Luther himself married Katherine von Bora in 1525. In his writings, and in the writings of other Protestant reformers, marriage was seen as a positive good, and the theology of a sacrificial, celibate priesthood was rejected.

This treatise discusses the issue from the Catholic point of view. This is likely the author's autograph copy, and is almost certainly unpublished (no other copy has been identified). The author was very learned, citing Catholic teachings from a broad range of sources in Latin and Greek, including the early Councils, patristic and medieval authors. He mentions he found a source in the library of Pope Marcellus II (1501-1555, Pope in 1555), suggesting he may have had ties to the Papacy. [TM 564]

**DESCRIPTION:** 61 folios, watermark dating 1566-1572, complete, written in an informal humanistic cursive script in 20-16 long lines, acidity of ink causing some minor discoloration, bound in its original limp vellum. Dimensions 240-237 x 170 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Harrington, 1995; Ozment, 1981; Parish, 2010; Plummer, 2012.





# 40



## THE FORTESQUE HOURS (Use of Sarum)

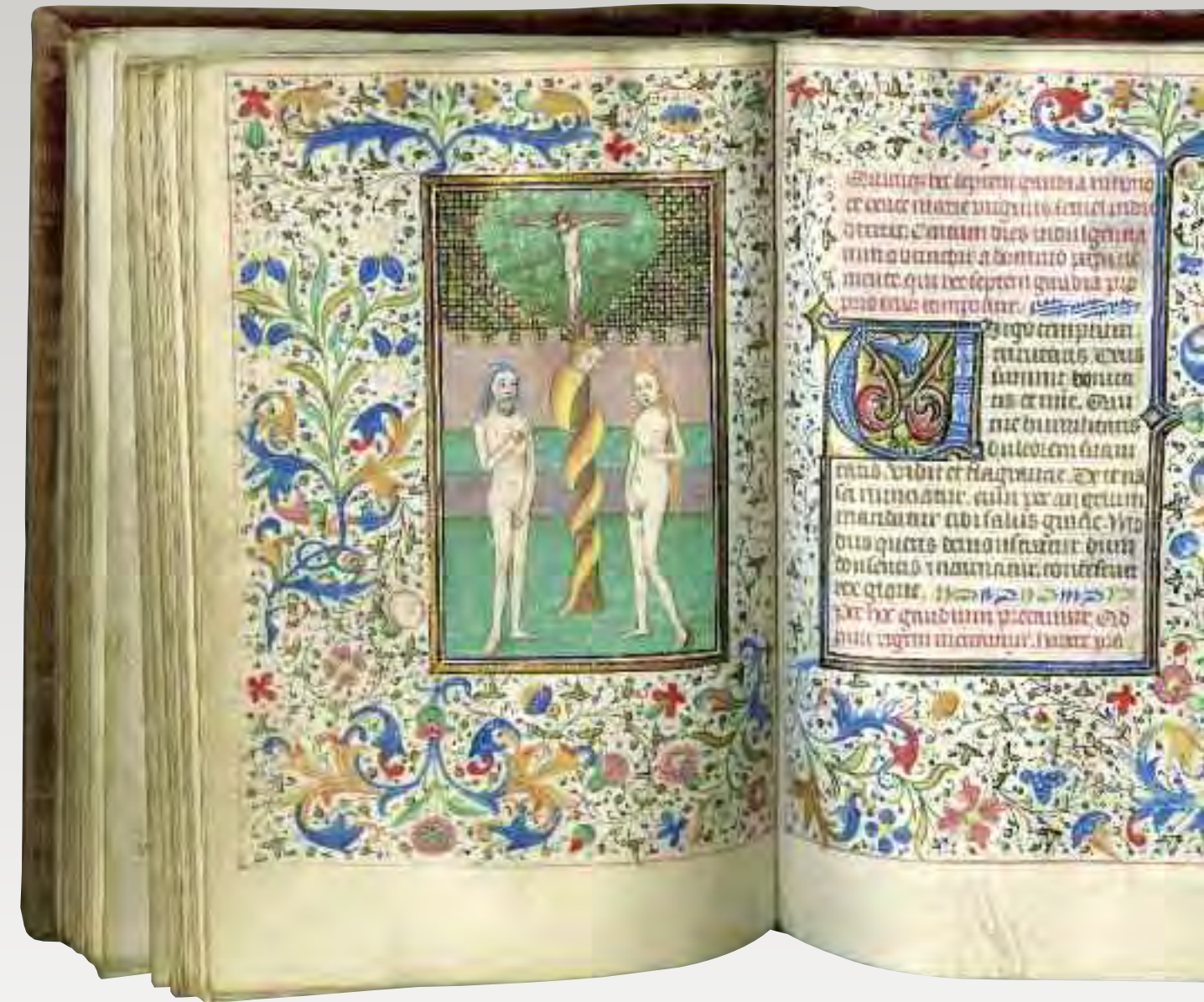
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
 Flanders, Bruges, c. 1460-1470  
 With 20 full-page miniatures by a follower or assistant of Willem Vrelant (Maître de la vraie cronicque descoce?)

In 1534 the Act of Supremacy declared King Henry VIII the “only supreme head in earth of the Church of England,” thus making the break with Rome decisive. This did not mean, however, that everyone abruptly changed their customary religious practices. The pace and full extent of change varied. Although all reference to popes, indulgences and other condemned practices are dutifully effaced from some fifteenth-century Books of Hours made for use in England, a small number of *Horae* were treasured by Recusant families (that is families who refused to accept the Church of England and continued as practicing Catholics) in England, and were preserved unchanged, or largely so.

A note records the gift of this Book of Hours (called the Fortesque Hours from its late fifteenth-century owners) from John Arundell, a member of a recusant family to John Napper in 1614. The cult of Thomas Becket was outlawed by Henry VIII in 1538. Since the only alteration in this book to bring it into conformity with new Anglican practices is the deletion of his feast from the calendar on 29 December, we can assume that it was treasured by a Catholic recusant family for most of the sixteenth century. It is a fine example of a Book of Hours copied and illuminated in Bruges, before the Reform, and destined for export to England, with prayers to saints honored specifically in England and a liturgical use for Sarum (Salisbury). [BOH 87]

**DESCRIPTION:** 141 folios, misbound with leaves out of order and missing some leaves, written in a gothic script in up to 20 lines, numerous initials, blue, pink, or gold, 20 full-page miniatures tipped in, bound in late 16<sup>th</sup>-century (?) red velvet. Dimensions 146 x 102 mm

**LITERATURE:** Colledge, E., “South Netherlands Books of Hours Made for England,” in *Scriptorium*, 32, 1978, pp. 55-57; Duffy, E., *Marking the Hours. English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570*, New Haven and London, 2006; Rogers, N. J., “Patrons and Purchasers: Evidence for the Original Owners of Books of Hours Produced in the Low Countries for the English Market,” in B. Cardon, J. van der Stock and D. Vanwijnsberghe ed., *Als ich can. Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Maurits Smeyers*, 2 vol., Louvain, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 1165-1181.







*Memoria de sancta cruce. Ad vespas*

**E**cce deponitur  
hora vespertina  
fortitudo latuit  
in misericordia  
Et aliam mortem  
subiit vite me  
dicina. Huius corona glorie iacuit  
supina. Adoramus te xpe et be  
nedicimus tibi. Quia per sanctam au  
cem tuam redemisti mundum. Orem  
**D**omine ihu xpe fili dei vivi  
pone passionem crucem et  
mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum  
et animam meam nunc et in exitu ei  
et largiri digneris viuis misericordiam  
gratiam defunctis. requiem et be  
niam. ceteris tue sancte pacem et concor  
diam et nobis miseris peccatoribus  
vitam et leticiam sempiternam



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### GENERAL WORKS

BELLITTO, CHRISTOPHER M. *Renewing Christianity: A History of Church Reform from Day One to Vatican II*, New York, 2001.

BELLITTO, CHRISTOPHER M. AND DAVID ZACHARIAH FLANAGIN, ed. *Reassessing Reform: A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*, Washington, D.C., 2012.

BOLTON, BRENDA. *The Medieval Reformation*, New York, 1983.

CONSTABLE, GILES. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge and New York, 1996.

LADNER, GERHART B. *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, Cambridge, 1959.

STRAUSS, GERALD. "Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation," in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, Leiden and New York, 1995, Vol. 2, pp. 1-28.

VAN ENGEN, JOHN. "Conversion and Conformity in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, Rochester, New York, 2003.

VAN ENGEN, JOHN. "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church," *Church History* 77:2 (June 2008), pp. 257-284.

### I. REFORM FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: RELIGIOUS ORDERS FROM THE CISTERCIANS TO THE FOLLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS DE PAULA (1416-1507)

BENOIST PIERRE ET ANDRÉ VAUCHEZ, ed. *Saint François de Paule et les minimes en France de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Tours, 2010.

BESTUL, THOMAS H. *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, Philadelphia, 1996.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. *Cistercians and Cluniacs; St. Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William*, tr. by Michael Casey, introduction by Jean Leclercq, Kalamazoo, 1970.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. *Opera ad fidem codicum recensuerunt*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H.M. Rochais, Rome, 1957-1977.

BROOKE, ROSALIND B. *The Coming of the Friars*, London and New York, 1975.

EVANS, GILLIAN ROSEMARY. *Bernard of Clairvaux*, New York, 2000.

GAUSSIN, PIERRE-ROGER. *L'Europe des orders et des congregations*, Saint-Etienne, 1984.

GRUNDMANN, HERBERT. *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, tr. by Steven Rowan, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1995.

JEFFREY, DAVID LYLE. "Franciscan Spirituality and the Growth of Vernacular Culture," in *By Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought*, ed. David L. Jeffrey, Ottawa, 1979, pp. 143-160.

KÖPF, ULRICH. "Die Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte Bernhards von Clairvaux. Forschungsstand und Forschungsaufgaben," in *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, ed. Kaspar Elm, Wiesbaden, 1994.

LEHMANN, PAUL. *Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritua-lem*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 7, Munich, 1955.

MIXSON, JAMES D. *Poverty's Proprietors: Ownership and Moral Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement*, Leiden and Boston, 2009.

MONTAG, ULRICH. *Das Werk der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden in oberdeutscher Überlieferung; Texte und Untersuchungen*, Munich, 1968.

MOORMAN, JOHN. *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origin to the Year 1517*, Oxford, 1968.

MORRIS, BRIDGET. *St. Birgitta of Sweden*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, New York, 1999.

MORRIS, BRIDGET AND VERONICA O'MARA, ed. *The Translation of the Works of St. Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars*, Turnhout, 2000.

### II. THE INNER REFORMATION: THE DEVOTIO MODERNA AND THEIR TEXTS

AMPE, A. *L'imitation de Jésus-Christ et son auteur*, Rome, 1973.

ARTHUR, J. P., TR. *The Spiritual Ascent: A Devotional Treatise*, by Gerard of Zutphen, London and New York, 1908.

AXTERS, STEPHANUS GERARD. *De imitatione Christi: een handschriften-inventaris bij het vijfhonderdste verjaren van Thomas Hemerken van Kempen d. 1471*, Kempen-Nieder-rhein, 1971.

BECKER, KENNETH MICHAEL. *From the Treasure-house of Scripture: An Analysis of Scriptural Sources in De Imitatione Christi*, Turnhout, 2002.

BIHLMAYER, KARL, ed. *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1907, pp. 196-325 (the Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit)

BLOMMESTIJN, HEIN. "Growing Toward Likeness; Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen's View of the Spiritual Journey," in *Spirituality Renewed. Studies in Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, ed. Hein Blommestijn, Charles Caspers, and Rijklof Hofman, Louvain, 2003.

BROMBERG, R. L. J., ed. *Het Boek der Bijzondere Genade van Mechtild van Hackeborn. Uitgegeven naar een Nijmeegs*

*handschrift. Alsmede een beschrijving van haar mystiek en een onderzoek naar de geschiedenis der middelnederlandse vertalingen*, Zwolle, 1965.

COLLEDGE, EDMUND, tr. Henricus Suso, *Wisdom's Watch Upon the Hours*, Washington, DC, 1994.

DELAISSÉ, L. M. J. *Le manuscrit autographe de Thomas a Kempis et 'l'imitation de Jésus-Christ': examen archéologique et édition diplomatique du Bruxellensis 5855-61*, Paris and Antwerp, 1956.

DE PONTFARCY, YOLANDE. *L'au-delà au Moyen Age: "les Visions du chevalier Tondal" de David Aubert et sa source la "Visio Thugdali" de Marcus: édition, traduction et commentaires*, Bern and New York, 2010.

DE PONTFARCY, YOLANDE. *L'espurgatoire seint Patriz ... nouvelle édition critique accompagnée du De purgatorio sancti Patricii (éd. de Warnke) ...*, Louvain, 1995.

FOSTER, EDWARD E. *Three Purgatory Poems*, Kalamazoo, 2004.

GERRITS, G. H. *Inter timorem et spem: A Study of the Theological Thought of Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367-1398)*, Leiden, 1986.

HAMBURGER, JEFFREY. "Medieval Self-Fashioning: Authorship, Authority, and Autobiography in Suso's Exemplar," in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, New York, 1988.

HYMA, ALBERT. *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the Devotio Moderna (1380-1520)*, Grand Rapids, 1924.

KOCK, T. *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna. Handschriftenproduktion. Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels*, Frankfurt, 2002.

KREN, THOMAS, ed. *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Department of Manuscripts of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Collaboration with the Huntington Library and Art Collections, June 21-24, 1990*, Malibu, 1992.

KREN, THOMAS AND ROGER WIECK. *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York*, Malibu, 1990.

KÜNZLE, PIUS, ed. *Heinrich Seuses Horologium sapientiae erste kritische Ausgabe*, Freiburg, 1977.

LEGRAND, FRANCIS JOSEPH, ed. and tr. Gerard Zerbolt de Zutphen, *La montée du cœur; De spiritualibus ascensionibus*, introduction by Nikolaus Staubach, Turnhout, 2006.

LUPO, TIBURZIO, ed. *De Imitatione Christi*, Vatican City, 1982.

MCGINN, BERNARD. *The Presence of God. A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, Vol. 4, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany*, New York, 2005.

PALMER, NIGEL F. *"Visio Thugdali": the German and Dutch Translations and Their Circulation in the Later Middle Ages*, Munich, 1982.



POHL, M.J., ed. *De Imitatione christi quae dicitur libri IIII*, in *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis opera omnia* (Vol. 2), Freiburg, 1904, pp. 3-263.

POST, R. R. *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*, Leiden, 1968.

PUYOL, PIERRE EDOUARD. *Descriptions bibliographiques des manuscrits et des principales éditions du livre De Imitatione Christi*, Paris, 1898.

SANTIAGO-OTERO, HORACIO. "Guido de Monte Roterio y el 'Manipulus curatorum'," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Salamanca, 21-25 September 1976*, ed. S. Kuttner and K. Pennington, Vatican City, 1980, pp. 259-265.

SANTIAGO-OTERO, HORACIO. "Guido de Monte Roterio. Nuevos manuscritos del 'Manipulus curatorum'," in *Homenaje a Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, Bd. 1: Repertorios, textos y comentarios*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 15-20.

SPENCER, ELEANOR. "L'Horloge de Sapience, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.111," *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), pp. 277-299.

STAUBACH, NIKOLAUS. "Memoria pristina perfectionis: The Importance of the Church Fathers for the Devotio Moderna," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus, Leiden, 1997, Vol. 1, pp. 405-460.

STAPELMOHR, IVAR VON, ed. *Ludolfs von Sudheim Reise ins Heilige Land, nach der Hamburger Handschrift*, Lunder germanistische forschungen 6, Lund and Copenhagen, 1937.

VAN DIJK, MATHILDE. "Disciples of the Desert: Windesheim Biographies and the Imitation of the Desert Fathers," *Church History and Religious Culture* 86/4 (2006), pp. 257-280.

VAN DIJK, R. TH. M., ed. Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen. *Geestelijke opklimmingen. Een gids voor de geestelijke weg uit de vroege Moderne Devotie*, Amsterdam, 2011 (=Bibliotheca Dissidentium Neerlandicorum, 8).

VAN DIJK, R. TH. M. "Methodologische kanttekeningen bij het onderzoek van getijdenboeken," in Th. Mertens, ed. *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid. Middelnederlands geestelijk proza*, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 210-229 and 434-437.

VAN ENGEN, JOHN. *Devotio moderna: Basic Writings*, New York, 1988.

VAN ENGEN, JOHN. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: the Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 2008.

VAN WIJK, N. *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote, naar het Haagse handschrift 133 E21*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

VOADEN, R. "Mechtild of Hackeborn," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100 - c. 1500*, ed. A. Minnis and R. Voaden, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 431-451.

VON HABSBURG, MAXIMILIAN. *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: from Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller*, Farnham, Surrey, and

Burlington, Vermont, 2011.

### III. INFLUENCE OF THE MODERN DEVOTION AND OTHER TRENDS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PIETY IN ITALY AND FRANCE

BABINSKY, ELLEN. Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, New York, 1993.

BATTISTA, GIUSEPPINA. "L'ordine della vita cristiana: il servizio reciproco per la costruzione della società" in *Simone Fidati da Cascia OESA. Un Agostiniano Spirituale tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, ed. C. Oser-Grote and W. Eckerman, Rome, 2008, pp. 265-295.

BOULTON, MAUREEN. "La Passion pour la Passion: Les textes en moyen français," *Le moyen français* 44-45 (2000), pp. 45-62.

COLLEDGE, EDMUND, JUDITH GRANT AND J. C. MARLER, tr. *The Mirror of Simple Souls* by Margaret Porette, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture, 6, Notre Dame, 1999.

COMBES, ANDRÉ. "Un témoin du socratisme chrétien au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Robert Ciboule (1403-1458)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 8 (1933), pp. 93-258.

CORBELLINI, SABRINA. "Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy: Cultural Appropriation and Textual Transformation," in Poleg and Light, pp. 261-281.

FAVREAU-LILIE, MARIE-LUISE. "Devotio moderna in Italien?," in *Die 'neue Frömmigkeit' in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Marek Derwich and Martial Staub, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004, pp. 301-330.

GLORIEUX, P. ed. Jean Gerson. *Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols., Paris, 1960-1973

HASENOHR, GENEVIÈVE. "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception de la littérature de spiritualité en langue française au dernier siècle du Moyen Âge," in *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter*, ed. N. R. Wolf, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 57-90.

HASENOHR, GENEVIÈVE. "La littérature religieuse," in *Grundriss der Romanischen Litteraturen des Mittelalters, vol. VIII/1: La littérature française aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Daniel Poirion, Armin Biermann, Dagmar Tillmann-Bartylla, Heidelberg, 1988, pp. 266-305.

HASENOHR, GENEVIÈVE. "La tradition du Miroir des simples âmes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: de Marguerite Porete (†1310) à Marguerite de Navarre," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 143 (1999), pp. 1347-1366.

HOOGVLIET, MARGRIET. "The Medieval Vernacular Bible in French as a Flexible Text: Selective and Discontinuous Reading Practices," in Poleg and Light, 2013, pp. 283-306.

LOBRICHON, GUY. "The Story of a Success: The Bible historique in French (1295-ca. 1500)," in Poleg and Light, 2013, pp. 307-332.

MARZAC, NICOLE. *Édition critique du sermon 'Qui manducat me' de Robert Ciboule (1403-1458)*, Cambridge (Downing College, Cambridge), Modern Humanities Research Association,

1971.

MCGUIRE, BRIAN PATRICK. *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, College Park, 2005.

MCGUIRE, BRIAN PATRICK, ed. and tr. *Jean Gerson: Early Works*, New York, 1998.

MONKS, PETER ROLFE. *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience: Iconography and Text of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 111*, Litterae textuales, Leiden, 1990.

O'GORMAN, RICHARD. "The Gospel of Nicodemus in the Vernacular Literature of Medieval France," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorzyczyk, Tempe, Arizona, 1997, pp. 103-131.

PETROCCHI, MASSIMO. *Una "devotio moderna" nel Quattrocento italiano?: ed altri studi*, Florence, 1961.

PICASSO, GIORGIO. *Tra umanesimo e 'devotio': studi di storia monastica raccolti per il 50 di professione dell'autore*, ed. Giancarlo Andenna, Giuseppe Motta and Mauro Tagliabue, Milan, 1999.

POLEG, EYAL AND LAURA LIGHT, ed. *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, Leiden, 2013.

RANDO, DANIELA. "Le avventure della "devotio" nell'Italia del Tre-Quattrocento, fra storia e storiografia," in *Die 'neue Frömmigkeit' in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Marek Derwich and Martial Staub, Göttingen, 2004, pp. 331-351.

ROTH, G. *Sündenspiegel im 15. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zum pseudo-augustinischen "Speculum peccatoris" in deutscher Überlieferung*, Bern/New York, 1991

SAFFREY, H. D. "La fondation de la confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475, histoire et iconographie," in *Humanisme et imagerie aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 2003.

SNEDDON, CLIVE. "The Old French Bible: The First Complete Vernacular Bible in Western Europe," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, New York, 2011, pp. 296-314.

WINSTON-ALLEN, A. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, University Park, 2005.

### IV. REFORM AFTER MARTIN LUTHER: THE CHRISTIAN LIFE RE-IMAGINED

CHRISMAN, M. U., ed. *Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519-1530*, Atlantic Highlands, 1985.

DE HAMEL, CHRISTOPHER. *The Book. A History of the Bible*, London and New York, 2001.

GRUNEWALD, ECKHARD, HENNING P. JÜRGENS UND JAN R. LUTH, ed. *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden: 16.-18. Jahrhundert*,

Tübingen, 2004.

EDWARDS, JR., MARK U. *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, Berkeley, 1994.

FÜSSEL, STEPHAN. *The Book of Books: the Luther Bible of 1534: A Cultural-historical Introduction*, Cologne, 2003.

GOW, ANDREW COLIN. "The Bible in Germanic," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2, From 600-1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 198-216.

GREENSLADE, S. L., ed. *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 3. The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, Cambridge, 1963.

HARRINGTON, JOEL F. *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany*, Cambridge, England and New York, 1995.

KELLER, ADELBERT VON, AND E. GOETZE, ed. *Hans Sachs*, Hildesheim, 1964-1982.

LINDBERG, CARTER. *The European Reformations*, Oxford, England, and Cambridge, MA, 1996.

O'SULLIVAN, ORLAITH, WITH ELLEN N. HERRON, ed.. *The Bible as Book: the Reformation*, London and New Castle, Delaware, 2000.

OZMENT, STEVEN E. *The Age of Reform (1250-1550), An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, New Haven, 1981.

PARISH, HELEN L. *Clerical Celibacy in the West, c.1100-1700*, Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Vermont, 2010.

REINITZER, HEIMO. *Biblia deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition*, Wolfenbüttel, 1983.

*Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* [VD 16], available online: <http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/1681.0.html>

*Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* [VD 17], available online: <http://www.vd17.de/>



**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

**FOR RESEARCH**

ARIANE BERGERON-FOOTE, CAT. 3, 30, 31, 40

STEPHEN MOSSMAN, CAT. 7, 35, 38

SASKIA VAN BERGEN, CAT. 9

KLAAS VAN DER HOEK, CAT. 10, 13, 18, 19

**THE ENTIRE TEAM AT *LES ENLUMINURES*,**

**ESPECIALLY :**

FABIO EPIFANI

GAIA GRIZZI

RAINBOW PORTHÉ

**PHOTOGRAPHY**

TOM VAN EYNDE, CAT. (NOS. 9, 14, 20, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 37, 40)

**DESIGN**

VIRGINIE ENL'ART

**PRODUCTION**

GUIDO ZANELLA

**PRINTED IN ITALY**

VERONA, CIERRE GRAFICA ZGE

**DISTRIBUTION:**

PAUL HOLBERTON PUBLISHING

89 BOROUGH HIGH STREET, LONDON, SE1 1NL

WWW.PAUL-HOLBERTON.NET

FOR SANDRA HINDMAN, *LES ENLUMINURES*

PARIS, CHICAGO, AND NEW YORK