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THE MANUSCRIPT CODICES FROM MODERN DEVOTION LIBRARIES IN RUSSIA

(Рукописные кодексы из библиотек «Нового благочестия» в России)

Средневековые рукописные кодексы являются уникальными источниками для изучения духовной и материальной культуры прошлого. Исследование состава сборников, писцовых, владельческих и читательских записей, рубрик, инициалов и эксплицитов рукописных книг позволяет проследить некоторые аспекты того, что условно можно назвать обыденным религиозным или интеллектуальным сознанием. Если текст является тем, ради чего сделана книга, то главным лицом в создании рукописной книги следует признать переписчика. Из-под пера писцов-монахов вышли все рукописные кодексы раннего средневековья и значительное число книг более позднего времени. У монастырских писцов, которые не принадлежали к интеллектуальной или церковной элите, за почти тысячелетнюю историю книгописания были выработаны навыки работы и сложились определенные структуры «писцового» мышления. О некоторых особенностях монастырского книгописания и книгособирательства в странах Северной Европы в позднее средневековье позволяют судить 24 рукописных кодекса из монастырей «Нового благочестия», ныне хранящиеся в российских библиотеках.

Почти половину этих рукописей составляют сборники различного содержания. Изучение сборников XV в. позволяет сделать некоторые выводы касательно происхождения книги «О подражании Христу». В России хранятся 8 списков этого произведения. Оно состоит из четырех разных трактатов одного автора, написанных в 1420-е годы в Нидерландах. Новейшие исследования подтвердили их принадлежность перу Фомы Кемпийского. Близость содержания, манеры изложения, простого и ясного латинского языка дали основание писцам переписывать их в сборниках порознь и один вслед за другим, сначала как разные произведения, а затем соединить в одну книгу, общим замыслом которой было — дать в руки верующим наставления к христианской жизни.

Рукописи с текстом книги «О подражании Христу» из Российской национальной библиотеки позволяют сделать некоторые предварительные выводы. Писцовые пометы и размещение текстов различных произведений (трактатов, орденовских уставов, наставлений в монашеской жизни) позволяют говорить о том, что подбор текстов для копирования не был случайным, и главную роль в компоновке состава сборников играли переписчики-монахи. Иногда, как в случае с книгой «О подражании Христу», эта практика приводила к появлению нового качества — четыре отдельных трактата одного автора стали книгой, которая по числу изданий уступает только Библии.

There are 24 codices with owners' notes of Windesheim monasteries in Russia. These manuscripts throw light upon some questions concerning the role of monastic scriptoria and the libraries of Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages. In spite of the fact that from the beginning of the XIII century most of manuscripts were issued by secular workshops, monastic book copying still had its own place in medieval culture up to the end of the XV century, when manuscript books were supplanted by printed books. As for the Northern provinces of Netherlands, even in the middle of the this century 60% of all manuscripts books came from monastic scriptoria.¹ A considerable part of those books was made in workshops of the brothers of the common life and in Windesheim monasteries.

The bond between Modern Devotion and the manuscript book was primordial and influenced all aspects of the activity of the brothers of common life and Windesheim canons. The sources of the special role of manuscript books in the destiny of the movement lie in the biography of its founder Geert Grote. Grote began preparing himself for his new religious life by acquiring of «pure moral books»,² because only knowledge and books could «restore the church in the plenitude of the time of Christ».³ That is why after leaving the cartusian cloister of Monikhuizen where he spent two years as a donat, Grote went to Paris to buy books:⁴ «As you know, I am very avid and insatiable for books», — he wrote to Iohannes Ruusbroek, a famous mystic from Brabant.

Grote's correspondence shows to what extent the acquisition of his library by Christian ethic-philosophical and mystic literature, from apologists to contemporaries, was thought-out and goal-directed. He collected works of such classical authors as Cicero,

¹ Smeyers M., Cardon B. Naer natueren ghelike. Vlaamse miniaturen voor van Eyck. Leuven, 1993. Blz. 58.

² Gerardi Magni Epistolae / Ed. W. Mulder S. I. Antwerpen, 1933. P. 45: Et sic convenit michi pro illo, quod est mere morale, sicut si esset «*Éticorum*», Sencee libri, Originalia sanctorum et similia.

³ Ibid. P. 42: unus est nobis necessarium, si simul currere debemus in edificatione Ecclesie in plenitudinem etatis Christi. Ad edificationem enim querimus et sciencium et libros, ut habundemus.

⁴ Ibid. P. 18: semper avarus et peravarus librorum.

Seneca, Titus Livius, Plinius the younger; he wanted to have in his possession the «Ethics» of Aristotle, i. e. «purely moral books». But first and foremost he was interested in the works of the Church Fathers and especially in those of Augustinus.⁵

Having perceived from the Cartusians their profound medieval tradition of a respectful attitude towards the book as a written word⁶ Grote went further. Thomas a Kempis refers to Grote's statement which says, that the book must serve for the reader's benefit. According to Thomas, Grote applied to the book for its content and not for the splendour of the written page, and like St. Jeronimus he preferred books with corrected text to those with beautiful but not corrected one.⁷ This same reflection can be seen in his correspondence — there are some letters in which Grote tells his correspondents that his scribes are copying corrected texts for him.⁸

There are two versions of the origin of the first common property belonging to brothers of common life. Both are based on the information of chronicles. In the one case, it was a common library, and in the other it was money gained for book copying and put together in a common fund.

According to the version of Grote's biographer Rudolf Dier de Muiden, books were the first common property. «Master Gerard... joined his books, which were not small in number to those of dominus Florens and those of dominus Iohannes de Gronde on condition that always there would be three curators of books, so as that one would die, the two others would choose someone else to replace the deceased... So in that way brothers had a common possession of the books» — concludes the chronicler.⁹ But this common possession of the books still did not lead to the appearance of the community.

Iohann Busch in his «Chronicon Windeshemense» shows a wider picture of the appearance of first common property together with common life against a background of the cultural and religious situation in Deventer. The events are depicted by Busch in the following

⁵ Ibid. P. 16.

⁶ *Laurens W.* Het boekenbezit en boekengebruik bij de modern devoten // *Studies over het boekenbezit en boekengebruik in de Nederlanden voor 1600.* Brussel, 1974. Blz. 262.

⁷ *J. van Ginneken.* Geert Groot's levensbeeld. Amsterdam, 1942, blz. 191—192: *Servire debet liber utilitati legentis: non ad curiositatem intuentis. Itaque affectio devoti magis versatur erga sententias in libros: quam ad venustatem expositi codici. Sic et beatus Hieronimus maluit habere in vilibus membranarum codices emendatos, quos pulchros et incorrectos.*

⁸ *Gerardi Magni Epistolae.* P. 231: *ceterum pro illis libris emendis magister Ricardus laboravit.*

⁹ *Stanhach N.* *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Bereich der Devotio Moderna // Frühmittelalterliche Studien.* Berlin; New York, 1991. Bd. 25. S. 420: *Magister Gerardus... libros vero suos, quos in copia non parva habuit, communicavit domino Florencio et domino Johanni de Gronde ea condicione, quod semper permanerent tres pro consideratione librorum, ut si quando unus decederet, reliqui duo eligerent aliquem in locum defuncti. ...Johannes de Gronde... qui, ut supra dictum est, habuit communionem librorum magistri Gerardi, et ipse habens libros non parvi valoris, tradidit eos ad commune. Dominus vero Florencius paucos libros habuit, quos tamen habuit, tradidit in commune, itaque isti fratres habebant communia quoad libros.*

succession: the existence at the end of the XIV C. in Deventer of good schools, attracting a great number of young students; Geert Grote conversion; Grote's collection of pious literature and implication of clerics converted by him to copying books needed for this purpose; work for a proper fee permitting clerics to earn their living; a common fund, where all money gained by bookscribing was put together; and as a consequence, — life in a common house. Busch properly and intuitively defined precisely the structural role of books in the origin of the first community:

«The venerable master Gerard chose those clerics who wrote better than others and gave them a proper fee to copy patristic books gathered in one place. ...When the above mentioned clerics had already been earning money for a long time in such a way for their living and clothes, the pious father master Florens Radewijns, vicar in Deventer converted by master Gerard, asked: Beloved master! What is to stop me and these scribes who of their own free will already donate now to a common fund all they have gained in a week, from living together? ...Then having thought for a while master Gerard said: Start with the help of God! And I will be your protector from all those who will put obstacles in your way. Consoled and encouraged by his promise, pious father dominus Florens together with the clerics-scribes thus began a common life in the name of God with great joy in their hearts, and in time, they obtained prosperity and transient welfare through their pious work».¹⁰

As appears from the messages of Busch and Rudolf Dier de Muiden, the library and scriptorium played an organisational role in

¹⁰ *Busch Iohannes.* *Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* // Hrsg. K. Grube. Halle, 1887. P. 253—254: «Venerabilis Christi levita magister Gerardus Magnus, zelo fraterne caritatis accensus, ut sibi ipsi cunctis per orbem devotis presbiteris et clericis occasionem daret et normam recte vivendi ac verbum dei in sancta ecclesia catholica predicandi, post canonicam scripturam omnibus christianis iure amplectendam, etiam sanctorum patrum orthodoxorum scripta dicta et opera eorumque exemplaria vera de diversis monasteriis et collegiis undecumque recollectit. Davantric igitur cum in diebus suis particulare studium plurimorum suppositorum in pleno esset vigore, ubi iuvenes et adolescentes maiores et minores de diversis mundi partibus accumulate confluentes in suis fundamentalibus optime imbuebantur, venerabilis pater magister Gerardus plures huiusmodi clericos scriptores meliores in unum relictos libros sanctorum patrum in forma meliori salvo precio conligno per eos excubiri fecit et excubari. Erat enim Daventriensi substantie non mediocri sed pinguioris. Quibus aliquanto tempore necessaria victus et vestitus de precio sic acquisito studiose conquirentibus, pius tandem et devotus pater dominus Florencius Radewin Daventriensis vicarius per magistrum Gerardum conversus vice quadam eidem magistro Gerardo proposuit dicere: «Predilecte magister! Quid noceret, quod ego et clerici isti scriptores bene iam voluntatis ea, que septimanatim habemus expendere, in unum reponentes in communi pariter viveremus?» Respondit magister Gerardus: «Communia, communia? Isti de ordine mendicancium id nullatenus sustinebunt, sed totis suis viribus resistere et omnino se opponere temptabunt.» Cui dominus Florencius: «Quid autem noceret, si tamen inciperemus? Forsan deus nobis donaret, quod bene proficereamus.» Tunc magister Gerardus parumper intra se deliberans ait: «In nomine domini incipiat! Ego vero defensor vester et protector fidelis adversus omnes, qui contra vos insurgere vosque in premissis temptaverint impedire.» Consolatoria igitur huiusmodi eius promissione suscepta devotus pater dominus Florencius una cum dictis clericis scriptoribus bene voluntatis precium laborum manuum suarum et singulorum scripturarum septimanatim exactum in bursam communem reponentes communem vitam in dei nomine hoc modo inchoaverunt, quam cum ingenti cordis leticia et temporalium bonorum felici prosperitate tempore non modico devote continuaverunt».

the origin and development of Modern Devotion. A specific practical activities with collecting libraries and reproducing books as their basis — did not lead to the disintegration of spontaneously created communities of persons with similar spiritual demands. This structuring function of the book was not sufficiently revealed enough in historiography. All investigators recognize the great role of Modern Devotion in book-collecting, book-using and book-copying, but nobody paid attention to the place which occupied books themselves in the history of the movement.

Studies in which book-copying is regarded as a factor which to a large extent defined the character of Modern Devotion is the article of Nicolaus Staubach and the book of Thomas Kock. Staubach considers writing as the most important organisational and technical aspect of religious utilitarianism, as an instrument of reform, which served as an essential element of the formation of continuity of religious tradition, of the spiritual aspect of each individual and of pious common life.¹¹ However, not only a writing tradition, but, according to Grote's first biographer Dier de Muider, libraries and all book-culture also played a structural role in the formation of the movement, defining to some extent many characteristic features of Modern Devotion as a movement the goal of which was peoples a religious education. For this purpose the scribes preferably copied pious and religious books and in its creation the devots took an active role.

The translation of the Bible into Dutch dates back to the very beginning of the XIVC. From the four canonical Gospels, the book *Leven van Jesus* was composed, the first known manuscript of which is dated to 1300.¹² Around 1360 in the Cartusian monastery of Herne in Brabant the so called Historical Bible was translated.

The Modern Devotion made a valuable contribution to a very important work on the translation of the Scriptures. At the end of the XIV C., all psalms had already been translated into Dutch, and Windesheim canon Jan Scutken translated New Testament, earliest copy being dated to 1391.¹³ The National Library of Russia (NLR) possesses two translations of the Gospels. One of them was written in 1476 and has the owner-note of «St. Agnes op het begijnhof te Haarlem» (Gol. Q. I N 2), and the other — «Domus sanctae Agnetis in Neerbosch prope Noviomagie» (c. 1480, Gol. Q.v.I N 1). From the 288 manuscripts remaining today in Dutch translation of all biblical books 123 contain a Windesheim translation of Scutken, i. e. almost half.¹⁴ Another translation of the Gospel, the so-called South-Netherlands one, is the Gospel in the Library of Academy of Science of Russia (LASR) with the owner-note of «Domus Sancti Pauli in Rubevalle» (XIV C., O. N 256).¹⁵

Books of Hours were the most popular books of the late Middle Ages. The Netherlands was the only country in Europe where books of hours in the native language were the rule and not the exception; they made up 90% of total quantity of books of hours in circulation at that time.¹⁶ And undoubtedly that was a merit of Modern Devotion. The most widely used book in the Netherlands in XV C. was composed by Grote: a book of hours with the translation of the hours of the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Cross, the Holy Wisdom, the seven penitential Psalms, the Vigiles and containing together the translation in Dutch of 54 Psalms. The total amount of preserved manuscript copies of the book of hours in this translation is about 800.¹⁷ In the National Library of Russia preserves a manuscript of this book of hours (NLR, Gol.O.v.I.1).

Mystic treatises were one of the most popular genres of the XV C. — they represented almost one sixth of all incunabula.¹⁸ The Modern Devotion writers — Geert Grote, Florens Radewijn, Gerard Zerbolt, Jan van Schoonhoven, Gerlach Pieters, Hendric Mande, Thomas a Kempis — wrote a number of religious works which were rather simple both in language and content, comprehensible to people with medium level education, clerics and the laity. In Russian libraries there are some manuscripts from the XV C.: three copies of Gerard Zerbolt «De spiritualibus ascensionibus» (LASR, O. 86;¹⁹ NLR, Lat.O.v.I N 174) and «De reformatione virium animae» (State Library of Russia, F. 205 N 920), the sermon and two fragments of Grotes epistles (LASR, O.N 90;²⁰ NLR, F. 955 op. 2 N 37), seven miscellanies containing a collection of works of Thomas a Kempis «De imitatione Christi» (State Library of Russia, F. 201 N 35; LASR, O. 87;²¹ NLR, Lat.O.v.I N 126; NLR, Lat.O.I N 30; NLR, Lat.O.v.I N 206; NLR, Gol. O.I N 11; NLR, Gol. O.I N 19) and «Soliloquium animae ad deum» (NLR, Lat.O.I N 31), Jan van Schoonhoven «De contemptu mundi» (LASR, O. 87²²). All these works and many others were scribed in Modern Devotion scriptoria.

The latter's work was notable for its efficient organization and care for quality of books. Statutes of Cologne and Munster houses contain information about the division of labor: there were scribes, rubricators, illuminators and bookbinders in communities. The Munster workshop was headed by a scriptuarius. He distributed writing materials and models for copying and on Fridays after dinner he showed them corrected work, done during the last week. The scriptuarius was also responsible for teaching the young scribes and keeping accounts. For each book ordered an agreement was doing a duplicate in the presence of a witness and an advance was taken. The

¹⁶ *Biemans J. A. A. M. Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*. Leiden, 1984. Blz. 100.

¹⁷ *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten. Catalogus*. Nijmegen, 1984. Blz. 93.

¹⁸ *Febvre L., Martin H.-J. L'apparition du livre*. Paris, 1958. P. 381.

¹⁹ *Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи...* С. 122.

²⁰ Там же. С. 73.

²¹ Там же. С. 149.

²² Там же. С. 149.

¹¹ *Staubach N. Pragmatische schriftlichkeit...* S. 418—461.

¹² *Biemans J. A. A. M. Middelnederlandse bijbelhandschriften*. Leiden, 1984. Blz. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.* Blz. 56.

¹⁴ *Murrow J. Introduction. The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting. Catalogue*. New York, 1990. P. 9.

¹⁵ *Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи Библиотеки Академии наук СССР. Описание рукописей латинского алфавита*. Л., 1979. С. 122.

elements of decoration were made for a special and precisely stipulated fee.²³ The essential point of the work of the copyist was briefly defined in Statutes of one of the Dutch houses: «When copying a book one must seek three things, namely: to write letters properly and with all possible perfection; to make no errors; to understand what you are writing».²⁴

The practice of brothers of common life differed greatly from the traditional monastic approach to bookcopying. In their choice of books they followed the program determined by the spirit of Modern Devotion, and for that Jean Gerson held them up as an example for celestins and Carthusians.²⁵

This is a notable fact because Windesheimers were conscious of their succession in a scribe's work from Carthusians. The Carthusian statutes ordered absolute silence. That is why Statuta antiqua of the Nieuwlicht monastery in Utrecht explained in the following way the necessity of bookscribing: «Since we can't preach the Word of God orally, we preach it by hands, so we copy books».²⁶ However, in comparison with Windesheim, in Nieuwlicht there was no particular discipline of writing — everyone wrote as he learned it in his youth, and it was enough for him to be conscious of the fact that the monastic library received one book more.²⁷

There was another element about Windesheim. Without denying ascetics Windesheimers, however, understood how close copying of pious books was to more elevated kinds of activity, because it was not simply manual labor. The chief of the first house of the common life Florens Radewijn wrote: «A man must do such work, that has the closest similarity to spiritual work and serves for a spiritual education, namely: he must meditate upon the things he has been copying or copy texts which are widely used».²⁸ Mechanically copied work was excluded; one had to think over the books one was copying. Copying demanded a conscientious attitude towards the copied texts and contributed to the most serious study of content, much more profoundly than by a merely reading. Windesheimers put bookcopying on the same level as such kinds of spiritual activity as reading, meditation and prayer. In «De imitatione Christi» we read: «Never be idle: read or write, or pray or meditate: do something for the common wealth».²⁹

²³ *Oeser W.* Die Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens in Münster als Bücherschreiber // *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*. 18. Jahrgang. N 42a. S. 1021–1076.

²⁴ *Ibid.* P. 986.

²⁵ *Ibid.* P. 982.

²⁶ *Gumbert J. P.* Die utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher am Fruhen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert. Leiden, 1974. S. 93: Quia ore non possumus dei verbum manibus predicamus quot enim libros scribimus.

²⁷ *Oeser W.* Handschriftenbestände in Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bodeken // *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*. Frankfurt am Mein, 1965. Bd. 7. Lfg. 1–2. S. 323.

²⁸ *Staubach N.* Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit... S. 434: debet homo opus facere, quod cum spiritualibus maiorem habeat similitudinem, sicut ad edificationem spiritualem meditari quod scribatur, vel scribere quod legatur.

²⁹ *Thomae Kempensis.* De imitatione Christi / Ed. Carolus Hirsche. Berolini, 1874. P. 47.

In the biographies of the first canons of Windesheim Johann Busch was sure to underline the contribution made by any man to the reproduction of books, and in one of the sermons of Thomas a Kempis we read: «We are glad to hear that Jesus could read and write (John. 8, 6), for because of that we like even more the art of writing and the passion of reading ... it makes us joyful to imitate the reading and writing of Jesus, it is really a good thing to copy books, which Jesus loved and by means of which we cognize Him, we venerate Him and preach Him».³⁰

These words of Thomas a Kempis have something in common with the copyist's note in a book issued by a scriptorium of the brothers of common life in Rostock: «non verbo sed scripto predicantes».³¹ In the houses of the brothers of common life and in Windesheim monasteries bookcopying ceased to have a self-sufficing character: the books which they copied, served the cause of religious education of the people. As for Cartusians, who also copied books according to the formula of «manibus predicare» they preached only to their brothers, present and future monks.³²

J. Gumbert notes that Cartusians developed patristic interest only in the second part of the XV C. and then they began to fill this lacuna with great energy.³³ There was another attitude towards the works of church fathers in the monasteries of Windesheim. Already in the middle of the XV C. the Latin library of the monastery held more than 30 volumes of Augustinus, the works of Jeronimus, Gregorius Magnus, Ambrosius, Chrysostomus, Origenus, Iulius, Eusebius and Cyprianus in total «more than a hundred big codices».³⁴ The National Library of Russia there presented two volumes of Augustinus from the Groenendaal and Rebdorf cloisters and in the Library of Academy of Sciences there is one volume of Augustinus in Dutch from the Facon nunnery.

Besides Latin libraries in Windesheim there was also a library for the lay brothers containing books in the native language. Jan Scutken who had been the first curator of that library for many years he had been reading the Scripture to brothers at mealtime and «had explained without books the passages difficult to understanding».³⁵

The intensive writing activity of Modern Devotion served the cause of religious education of people. The houses of brothers of common life became centers of piety. A Sundays and holidays the

³⁰ *Thomae Hemperken a Kempis Opera.* Freiburg-in-Br., 1904. T. 3. P. 169. Delectat tamen audire quia Jesus legere noverat et scripsit: ut ars scribendi ac legendi sacros codices magis placeat... Placeat igitur tibi Jesum imitari legendo et scribendo. ...Valde bonum opus est scribere libros quos amat Jesus: in quibus ipse agnoscitur, legitur et praedicantur.

³¹ *Staubach N.* Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit... S. 451: «Non verbo sed scripto predicantes».

³² *Gumbert.* Die utrechter Kartäuser. S. 92.

³³ *Ibid.* S. 91.

³⁴ *Busch J.* Chronicon... P. 313: Vidimus etiam ultra centum codices magnos et notabiles doctorum orthodoxorum per ipsos pro libraria nostra: in bona litera et pergameno conscriptos.

³⁵ *Ibid.* P. 192: passus occurrentes ad intellegendum difficiles sine libris exponens.

pious laity gathered for collations, where together with the brothers they would reading the Bible and discuss pious books. The following note on the f. 147v of the manuscript from the Library of Academy of Sciences with the text of «De spiritualibus ascensionibus» of Gerard Zerbolt «In colloquiis aut videlicet cum hospiales breviter» tells us that during the Sunday assemblies with the laity there were discussed also some passages from this book.

Laity and students had the permission to use brothers» libraries. Statutes of certain houses permitted books to be taken home; as for books which were taken outside the town, the librarian had to inform the rector of the house.³⁶ Books copied in scriptoria did not stay as dead stock on the shelves; they were sold, they were given to readers, they were discussed, they were used for work. In their turn, the owners» notes in the books witness about gifts and testaments by which some books were given to the libraries of Modern Devotion. So the manuscript books now kept in the libraries of Russia allow us to study some aspects of book-culture which rarely draw attention of investigators.

Modern Devotion libraries and their connection with intellectual life of XV C.

In correspondence with their origin the 24 manuscripts can be divided in two parts: the books written in Modern Devotion scriptoria and the books gifted to its monasteries. Concerning the most part of St. Petersburg» codices, I suppose they were written in the cloisters whose owners» notes they possess. Exception are a Latin Bible from Domus Sanctae Ursulae et 11 milis virginis in Trajecte, two small volumes of the works of Jacobus de Voragine previously kept in St. Martin's cloister, and a book with texts of Tertullianus and Valla from Rebdorf.

The manuscripts of Jacobus de Voragine had been copied in the XIV C., and Domus Sancti Martini in Lovanio was founded in 1433 as the house of the brothers of common life. In 1447 the community took the rule of regulars of Augustine and in 1461 became a member of the Windesheim congregation. The brothers of St. Martin were in close contact with the faculty of Arts of the first Netherlands university and we know of the gifts of university professors and books given in testament. I assume that the two small codices of «Legenda aurea» and «Sermones» of Voragine were such gift.

«De civitate Dei» of Augustinus (NLR, Lat. F.v I N 57) is one of the large codices (405 x 300 mm) which belonged to the Groenendal cloister near Brussels. Groenendaal was famous for its large volumes of St. Augustinus. On the 19 of September 1493 young Erasm of Rotterdam wrote: «...now I am in Groenendal. I found the monastery beautiful and calm and in the rich library

were the works of Augustinus which I began to study at once». The regular canons of Groenendaal remembered that Erasm read the Augustinus books with such ardor that they would permit him to take them at night into his cell. As we know it was the first serious acquaintance of Erasm with Augustinus works. It is perhaps the only one of those large manuscripts which Erasm studied in Groenendaal to survive (there is also only a little volume of Groenendaal's Augustinus at the Royal Library in Brussels). So this codex helps us understand one of the specific modes which tied Modern Devotion with Northern Humanism. Modern Devotion libraries gave to outsiders the treasure of written Christian tradition; so a vast circle of scholars could use the heritage of many generations of medieval monks as well as of the Windesheim canons themselves.

Manuscript books have great value in the study of medieval and renaissance culture. Besides the text, they also contain non-textual information such as scribes» and owners» notes as well as marginals revealing some traces of the past which could not be found in other sources. Complex examination of the manuscripts together with chronicles, statutes, epistles and treatises give a unique opportunity to see the ordinary intellectual or spiritual consciousness of people in their everyday lives.

For example we can take the codex (NLR, Lat.F.I N 312) with Tertullianus «Apologetica» and Lorenzo Valla's De libero arbitrio. The manuscript has notes with all the information about its origin and further destiny. There are two notes testifying that it was written in 1460 in Florence by Johannes Troster: «Notabilia volumina quae habentur salubriter apud M. Bernardum canonicum quas ego Jo. Troster Florencie erui» (f. 36v) and «Anno 1460 julii... Jo. Troster» (f. 46).

Johannes Troster was a native of Amberg and a member of the humanistic circle of Eneus Silvio Piccolomini in Vienna. Like his great contemporary Nicolaus of Cusa he had gone to Italy, perhaps with the help of his patron Eneus Silvio who became a cardinal and later Pope. At any rate, the note in another codex in the National Library of France informs that «Scriptum est in pallacio sanctissimi domini nostri etc. Nicolai pape V in urbe Romana per Johannem Trostum plebanum in Pierchslentz anno etc. 1452 die 19 aprilis cum laude Omnipotentis Jhesu». ³⁷ The note on the binding of the St. Petersburg» manuscript is of the similar content: «Iste libellus est Johannis Troster canonici Vaticanensis 1462».

Just below this note we can read: «Donavit mihi Johann Mendel». So Troster gave the book written by his own hand to his compatriot and native of Amberg Johannes Mendel, who was also a participant in early humanistic circles. According to another note on

³⁷ Samaran Ch., Marichal R. Catalogues des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date de lieu ou de copiste. Paris, 1974. T. 3: Bibliothèque Nationale. Fond latin. P. 73.

³⁶ Meisner K. O. Mitteleuropäische Bibliotheken, Zutphen, 1999. Blz. 129.

the binding, Mendel died in 1480 and the book was given to the Rebdorf cloister: «Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo obiit Circumspectus vir Johannes Mendel de Amberga Cancellarius Reverendissimi presbiteris et Domini Wilhelmi Eichstetiensis qui legavit hunc librum monasterio Rebdorff ab salutem anime sue et fratris suis Johannis Mendel». Below this note is an owner's note of Rebdorf. It was far from an accident that the codex with Tertullianus «Apologetica» and Valla «De libero arbitrio» was left by testament to the Rebdorf cloister, because its prior Kylian Leib was a man of humanistic education and a connoisseur of Greek and Hebrew.

Thus the notes on one codex allow us to trace the connections of early German humanism with Modern Devotion monastery on the one hand and with Italy on the other. This codex is an example of how monastic libraries enriched their funds, not only by their own scribing activity and by exchange among the cloisters, but also by gifts. The cloisters did not hide their codices within their wall and the outsiders could read monastic books. There is another manuscript that demonstrates, the influence of books on intellectual life outside.

Marginal notes

Besides the notes the Tertullianus/Valla manuscript has 246 textual marginals and 41 underlinings in Troster's hand on the Apologetica. These traces of reading allow us to hear a direct dialogue of the reader (Troster) with the author (Tertullianus). In more general aspect it can be regarded as «text — perception of the text», the immediate reaction of the specific reader to the content of the book. The marginals permit us to reveal his mode of thoughts, his everyday intellectual and spiritual work with his pen in hand — data which can't be extracted from other historical sources of this time.

A great number of marginalia show that after copying the book, Troster returned to it once more already as a serious reader. The majority of marginals follow the text and help to find necessary passages. But some of them express Troster's attitude towards Tertullianus' thought. Thus, opposite the passage where Tertullianus depicts a general hatred of pagans towards Christian doctrine, which they do not know,³⁸ Troster writes: «subtilis investigatio» (f. 2). Next to the passage containing considerations about the fact that Roman laws do not apply to Christians and they appear in court without any proof of their guilt,³⁹ «Pulchre arguit» is written. (f. 3). And near the passage where Tertullianus expresses his thought about the

³⁸ Corpus christianorum: Ser. latina. Turnholt, 1954. T. I: Tertulliani opera. Pars I. P. 85.

³⁹ Ibid. P. 89.

transmission of the soul with the body from father to son,⁴⁰ «CAVE» is written (f. 33).

Miscellanea (LASR, O. N 86) from the St. Martin monastery includes the works of Arnulphus de Boeriis «Speculum Monachorum», Vita of Joannes Januensis, David ab Augusta «De exterioriis et interioriis hominis compositione» and Gerardus Zerbolt Zutphaniensis «De spiritualibus ascensionibus». The last work was very popular in the XV C. — c. 200 copies have survived.⁴¹ It is interesting that only the leaves with «De spiritualibus ascensionibus» are covered by 88 traces of reading of various content, made by different hands. Analyses of these notes shows that the separate passages of this treatise were read on fixed days and hours in the refectory of St. Martin for its canons, and other passages on other days — for the visitors to the monastery in collaties.

f. 93v	Item debes exercitiis tuis in corde discreta moderatione disponere...	Ne negligas disponere
f. 113	Ut autem Cristi passionem ad litteram devote relegere valeas et circumspecte dirigere scire debes quod talis meditatio passionis dominice simpliciter ad litteram id est simpliciter facta et gesta et penalitates Cristi in passione considerare maxime inducit compassionem et devotionem ad Cristum ex compassione. ad compassionem
f. 124v	Qualiter sacra lectio adjuvet et sustentet ascendentes et qualiter sit ad profectum spiritualem ordinanda et dirigenda.	quartum hora et piam cenam
f. 147v	Quam philosophus amicitiam vocat est necessaria ad socialiter convivendum. Nullus enim ut ait potest per diem vivere cum tristi et non delectabili. Ideo ex quodam debito naturalis honestatis constringeris ut alijs delectabiliter convivas per benignitatem.	In colloquijs aut videlicet cum hospitalibus breviter

Another manuscript with «De spiritualibus ascensionibus» (NLR, Lat. O.v I N 178) from the Bethlehem cloister near Louvain also contained the marginal notes — only six — at the beginning of the book. It is one text note and five underlinings made in the same ink. These notes show that the attention of the reader was drawn to the same passages concerning the inner conversion and selfperfection of the person as in the manuscript from St. Martin:

⁴⁰ Ibid. P. 166.

⁴¹ Gerrits G. H. Inter timorem et spem: a study of the theological thought of Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367—1398). Leiden, 1986. P. 36.

- f. 7: Ideoque graviter cecidit [Adam] et omnes in eo. Nota.
 Followings passages are underlined.
- f. 9: Hanc Christus morte suo preciosissime a culpa originali nos redemit ut huiusmodi virium destitutio vel lex carnis iam non sit culpa eam habendam non obligamur.
- f. 10: Sicuti enim in rebus naturalibus res discuntur et efficiuntur impure eo quod rebus vilioribus admisceantur. Nam aurum immundum efficitur si argento et argentum si plumbae admisceantur. Ita homo anima tua rationalis quae est dignior omnibus tempo ralibus creaturis impuritatem et immundiciam contrahit ex hoc.
- f. 20: Item debes exercitiis tuis in cordis discreta moderatione disponere ut cum quadam alternatione refocillatione te teneas stabilem; Nam quod caret alterna requies durabilis non est.
- f. 20v: sicut enim naute qui portum praec oculis non habent quo navigant. Vage hinc inde nunc ad orientem nunc ad occidentem secundum ventorum impulsus navigant et ne sciunt si recederunt vel propinquant.

The comparison of notes in two codices from two cloisters made at the same time in the second half of the XV C. allows us to speak of different «subjects of reading». In one case, it was an individual reader, the canon of Behtleem, in another — a collective subject, namely the community of St. Martin's cloister and its guests, but both «subjects» demonstrate the same aspects of the ordinary consciousness of Windesheim canons which were common in Modern Devotion spirituality.

The problem «author — reader» or «text — perception of text» is very actual in modern research. In this context, books with marginal notes are of particular value. Traces of reading permit us to study immediate contact of reader to the text, the meeting of two «subjects of reading»: the author and the reader.⁴² Traces of reading on the margins of pious treatises are of great interest in the understanding of medieval religiosity.

Miscellanies

Printed production shows in evidence, that even in the second half of the XV C. religious literature accounted for 45% of the printed matter⁴³ and more than a sixth of all incunabula were represented by mystic treatises.⁴⁴ At the end of the Middle Ages, the situation was the same regarding the production of manuscript books. Generally some small mystic works were grouped in miscellanies.

⁴² Бахтин М. М. Проблема текста // Вопросы литературы, 1976, № 10, С. 127.

⁴³ Febvre L., Martin H.-J. L'apparition du livre. Paris, 1958, P. 378.

⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 381.

If it is for the text that a book is made, we have to recognize that the main person in the creation of a manuscript book is a scribe. Nearly all manuscript codices of the early Middle Ages and a considerable number of books of the later period were written by scribe-monks. For almost a millenium of bookcopying, the practical skills were elaborated and certain structures of «scribes» thinking were formed (it is necessary to say that we do not mean secular scribes who copied books for a piece-wage and so their aim and methods of work differed considerably from monastic ones).⁴⁵ Some manuscript codices preserved in libraries in Russia permit us to see peculiarities of the attitude of monks towards copied texts in the period, when manuscript books were already giving way to printed one.

The greatest part of Russian codices — 10 — are miscellanies. Miscellanies of various content were the most common medieval books because they allowed many different works to be collected in one volume, uniting many books in one. The same purpose served florilegia or rapiaria where the quotations from different texts were collected.

To produce miscellanies the scribe had to select texts in advance before copying them. Nature of this work is evident from the scribe's note in one of St. Petersburg codices: «Explicit collectoriu<m> libri ra<ci>onalis di<vi>noru<m> off<ij>ioru<m> p<er>me he<n>nigum werne<r>i Collectu<m> Sub an<n>o d<omini> M CCC LVII f<er>ia 2 a» (NLR, F. 955, op. 2 N 69, f. 430). Generally miscellanies were thematic in content: Miscellanea orationum (LASR, O. N 94); Miscellanea theologica with texts of Johannes de Schoonhoven, Thomas a Kempis, Gerardus van Vliederveen and Johannes de Turrecremata (LASR, O. N 87); Psalter ende gebeden (LASR, O. N 257).

Taking another miscellany (NLR, Lat. O. I N 31) as an example we can clearly see how miscellanies of theological works were composed. This manuscript has no reference of date or place of its creation. Most probably it was written in the North-Netherlands Carthusian monastery after 1482 (the year of Bonaventura's canonisation, because he is mentioned as a Saint). The miscellany was composed of three «Soliloquia animae ad deum» — one of Thomas a Kempis, another of Augustinus and the third of Bonaventura, and also 7 other treatises of Bonaventura, Bernardus, Hugo de Saint-Victor, Hugo Cartusiensis and Henricus de Hassia. The treatise of Thomas a Kempis is written on f. 18—77v as anonymous libellus: «Incipit prologus in soliloquium anime — Incipit Soliloquium anime ad deum De desiderio anime querentis deum — Explicit soliloquium anime dulce et devotum». On the upper field of f. 18 was added in handwriting of the XVI C.: «Thomas a Kempis autor est». On the inner side of the upper board of manuscript there was written at the end

⁴⁵ Gullick M. How Fast Did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts // Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production. Proceedings of the Forth Conference of The Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500. Oxford, July 1992. P. 41.

of the XV C. a table of content, perhaps by a librarian under the heading: *Collecta hujus libelli*:

- Tractatus de oratione hugonis de sancto victore
- Soliloquium anime ad deum
- Soliloquium beati augustini
- Soliloquium Sancti bonaventure de quatuor exercitiis
- Itinerarius mentis in deum bonaventure
- Primum bonum vel regimen conscientie bonaventure quod dicitur fons vite
- Tractatus bonaventure de VII gradibus contemplationis
- Speculum anime magistri henrici de hassia
- Scala claustralium gwigonis cartusiensis
- Sermo bernardi abbati ad beatam virginem

Next to the second line of the contents — «Soliloquium» — an additional inscription: «Thomae Kempensis» was made later.

The incipit and the table of the contents give us reason to suppose that the copyist did not know the name of Thjmas (for later readers of the book, it was already known). Nevertheless the scribe copied it in the second place, but preceding the works of the same character which belonged to the teacher of the West church Augustinus and to the seraphic doctor Bonaventura. We can suppose that the treatise of Thomas being more easy to understand had been placed before serious theological works as a kind of introduction to the subject discussed by more learned authors.

Sometimes the scribes' activity in composing miscellanies achieved to a new quality. This was the case for «De imitatione Christi». There survived more than 700 copies of this book, which consists of four separate treatises written by the same author. The first dates to 1424, and all the four were written in 1427. These treatises appeared in miscellanea as one, two or three different works in various sequences, each with its own title, mostly without any connection between them as in the miscellanea from National Library of Russia (NLR, Lat. O I N 30). As regards the autograph of Thomas a Kempis, who was a canon of the St. Agnes Winsedheim monastery near Zwolle, himself the scribe, all four were written as a different treatises, forming part of miscellanies together with his other works. Up to the end of the XV C., those four treatises increasingly were being copied as one book under the same title. Thus the scribes were to some extent responsible for the present composition of the most famous medieval book. More often the incipits and the explicits of manuscripts contain the names of Thomas a Kempis (1379/1380—1471), Windesheimer regular canon and Jean Gerson (1363—1429), the chancellor of Paris University.

The National Library of Russia possesses six copies of «De imitatione Christi», and there is also one copy in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (O. 87), and another in the State Library of Russia (F. 201 N 35). Only one of them has been taken listed by S. Axters in his «De Imitatione Christi. Een handschrifteninventaris».

ris».⁴⁶ It should be noted that another Petersburg codex (Lat. O.I N 283), mentioned by S. Axters, really belonged to the Imperial Public Library, but according to the terms of the Riga peace treaty it was given back to the Polish Republic, where it perished in 1944.

Thankfully the codices of the National Library of Russia fully represent the manuscript tradition of «De imitatione Christi». Written in different regions, in different monastic orders, they differ by the author's versions, by different composition of books and by the functions which the texts of «Imitation» perform in the structure of miscellany. The only thing which unites them is that all six copies in the National Library of Russia were created in the second half of XV C.

The first by its date is a tiny book measuring 55 × 72 mm (Lat. O.v I N 126). It begins with the «Regulae» of St. Benedict's order, followed by the four books of «De imitatione Christi» and two works of Pseudo-Bernardus about monastic life. A scribe's note tells us, that the «Regulae» were copied in 1466 for the monastery of St. Justine's congregation: «Sanctissimi Benedicti explicit regule... die octavo augusto 1466 ...Regule iste est monasterii... congregacione Sanctae Justinae» (the congregation of St. Justine was a part of the Benedictine order in Italy). From the owner's note, we know the further destiny of the manuscript: «Est sancti Johannis Evangelistae Parmael655». Afterwards it was kept in the abbey Saint-Germain-de-Pres in Paris, then at the end of the XVIII century the book was purchased by P. P. Dubrovsky, a secretary of Russian Embassy and in 1805 with the rest of his collection, it came to the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg.

The manuscript contains the four books of «Imitation» and indicates the name of the author as follows: «Explicit liber quartus et ultimus sancti Johannis Gersen de sacramento altaris. Amen». Whom did the copyist mean when he indicated the author of the book; apparently not the chancellor Jean Gerson, but rather the benedictine abbot in Vercelli Giovanni Gersen, who supposedly lived in the XIII C. Jean Gerson was a famous theologian with a quite real biography; it was not without reason that a half the copyist's notes added «Paris chancellor» to his name, and it was inconceivable to call him a saint. In return the Italian Benedictine-scribe, to the greater glory of his order could well add the word «saint» to the name of the mythical Gersen. Indeed, in the beginning of the XVII C., Constantino Gactani could call Gersen the author of the book «De imitatione Christi» to counterbalance the «Gallic version» (Jean Gerson) and «Theutonic one» (Thomas a Kempis) with the following convincing motivation: «Being Italian and Benedictine, I settle the argument in favour of Italian and Benedictine».⁴⁷ In the Petersburg manuscript the books of «Imitation» follow one after another in the

⁴⁶ Axters S. De Imitatione Christi. Een handschrifteninventaris. Kempen-Niederlrhein, 1971.

⁴⁷ Ampe A. Imitatio Christi. Le livre et l'auteur // Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Paris, 1971. T. VII. P. II. Col. 2345: «Pro Italo-benedictino, italus ego benedictinus item dirimam».

modern order: I—II—III—IV, and appeared as one work composed of four treatises. The text of «Imitation» is placed between the Statute and monastic rules and was destined for reading which would exhort to the ascension in religious virtues.

Another manuscript of the National Library of Russia is a prayer-book (Lat. O.v I N 206). Prayers gathered in this small book are preceded by an incomplete text of the first chapter and one phrase of the second chapter of book I of «Imitation», which were placed in such a manner, that they represent a short introduction to the prayers. Unlike the miscellany mentioned above, there is no scribe's note in the prayer-book identifying its place and time of writing, but the litanies permit us to localize the codex. The presence of names of saints of Cologne, such as the protector of the town St. Gereon, martyred in Cologne, St. Agilulph, St. Ewald, whose relics were preserved in the Cathedral, the Archbishop St. Kunibert and saints bishops of Cologne Severin and Ebergil together with St. Albin and St. Pantaleon, provides evidence that the manuscript was written in Cologne. The presence of the names of St. Bonaventura (canonized in 1482) and St. Anna in the litanies (the dogma of the immaculate conception was affirmed by Pope Sixtus IV in 1483) allows us to date the time of its writing to the end of the XV C.

The illumination of the manuscript consists of one historiated initial, borders of vegetable ornament with trellis at the first prayer, and of 41 miniatures equal to the size of the the written space. The miniatures represent the cycle of «Christ's life» and it is one of the most elaborate cycles of such a kind in miniature and in XV C. engraving.

The composition of the codex is perfectly conceived. The prayer-book begins with the text of «Imitation». Inside a historiated initial «Q» (the capital letter of the first phrase «Qui sequitur me»), executed in grisaille, there is an image of a praying Cartusian monk. A beautiful painting—a subtly traced face, a cell with the open window and a desk with open Gospel—all creates the atmosphere of an devout silence and concentration. The initial precedes the text of «De Imitatione Christi», that later serves as an introduction to the prayers.

The miniatures at the left side of the open book illustrate chronologically episodes of the Life of Christ and introduce the theme of the prayer on the opposite page. The organic combination of the image and text created a synthesis taking into consideration the physiological and spiritual potentials of man. A painted image prepared a praying person, it created an appropriate emotional mood and presented subject for meditation on that very episode. It was then followed by a more elevated degree—by prayer. A believer read the text of the prayer, correlated it with the depicted event and plunged into compassion for terrestrial life and the passion of Christ. In this case the use of the text of «Imitation» as a prologue to prayers represents another aspect of the existence of the text.

Besides the Latin text, manuscript tradition lists several dozen copies of «De imitatione Christi» into the main European languages.

Two of them are preserved at the National Library of Russia. One of them is a Middle-Low-German version of book II and a part of book III of the «Imitation» (Gol. O. I N19). The note on f. 85v shows that the owner of the codex was a woman: «Dyt boeck hort Kathrine Wyttenborges».

Another is a Middle-Netherlands version of book IV of the «Imitation» under the title «On the sacrament of communion» (Gol. O. I N11), which deals of the spiritual preparation for receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist. It was copied together with «een devoten boeckijn ghehiet die rosegaert Ihesu Christi ende Maria» (a small devout book called «The Rose Garden of Jesus Christ and Maria», f 1—208) also in the Middle-Netherlands language at the Northern Netherlands at the end of the XV/start of XVI centuries.

Previously was mentioned the important role of the incipits and the explicits for the study of medieval manuscript books. At the National Library of Russia there is a copy of book I and of book II of «De imitatione Christi», written in one volume, while being quite different works. Very often the name of the author was indicated in the incipits and the explicits. If the scribe did not know his name, then only the title of the work was given, which was often arbitrary. Fixed titles were not a rule, and even in the titles of works of the church fathers it happened that explanatory words and whole phrases were inserted. The title of a medieval book had to give the reader as great an idea as possible of its content. That is why copyists entitled books according to their perception of it. The titles of books show which associations came to the minds of medieval scribes. For example, the book of «De imitatione Christi» had 22 titles in the manuscript tradition.⁴⁸

Quite often the works were entitled by the first words of the text. In manuscripts (and also in XV C. other sources) the book «De imitatione Christi» was usually called «Qui sequitur» because it began with the words of St. John Gospel (8.12) The title «De imitatione Christi», which was in time appropriated to the book in whole, in fact represents in fact the first words of the first chapter of the first book.

The fifth codex with part of «De imitatione Christi» at the National Library of Russia consists of six treatises (NLR, Lat. O I N 30). It was written, as the scribes' note shows, in 1469 in the Cartusian monastery of Monnikemgenborch (Salvatorberg): «Venerabilis pater johannes de Indagine Cartusienensis domus salvatoris prope Erfordiam in suburbio complevit istum tractatum utilem Anno domini 1458 in die theodori martiris. scriptus in monnikemgenborch ... 1469 ad vigilia jacobii apostoli finitus.» (f. 264). Two treatises now making up book I and book II of «De imitatione Christi» were written as quite independent works; we can see another small treatise between them. The first work was provided by bibliographical data: «Incipit tractatus fratris Thome Kempis canonici regularis de monte s<an>c<te> agnetes» (f. 126). The second work is

⁴⁸ Axters S. De Imitatione Christi... P. 31.

separated from the first by Ps. Bernard's «Formula honestae vitae» and is written anonymously: «Principiunt a<m>moniciones ad int<er>na trahentes» (f. 196); «Expliciunt a<m>moniciones ad int<er>na trahentes» (f. 215v).

The scribe who preferred to stay anonymous copied book I and book II of the «Imitation» as two different works. As for the first one, he knew the author's name and even the place of his monastic retirement — Thome Kempis canonici regularis de monte s<an>c<te> agnetae». In the same way on f. 264, the scribe told all he knew about the author of another work, right up to the day when Johannes de Indagine completed his treatise. As in the incipits and explicits of book II of the «Imitation», the copyist indicated only its title, and we can affirm with certainty, that he did not know the author and that book II «De imitatione Christi» was known in the Salvatorberg monastery as an anonymous work.

Studying manuscript miscellanies of the XV C. permit us to draw some conclusions concerning the origin of «De imitatione Christi». Recent investigation has confirmed that it belonged to the hand of Thomas a Kempis.⁴⁹ The work consists of four different treatises of the same author written in the 1420s in the Netherlands. The proximity of the content, the narrative manner, the simplicity and lucidity of the Latin language, were all good reasons for scribes to copy these four treatises in miscellanies initially separately inasmuch as they were autonomous works; then one after another; and then to put them together in one book, which was generally intended to give believers precepts for Christian life.

Study of the scribes' notes, of the incipits and the explicits, and the dispositions of independent works gives us the possibility to say that selection of texts for copying was not accidental, but was thought over with great care and the main role in the compositional selection of miscellanies, destined for a fairly wide circle of educated pious people (both monks and the laity) was played monk-scribes. Thus, we are to acknowledge that they were not mere copyists: sometimes their activity led to the appearance of new quality, as was the case with the «De imitatione Christi».

The analysis of the composition of miscellanies, of scribes', owners' and readers' notes, and of different rubrics of manuscript books let us observe some aspects of the ordinary religious and intellectual consciousness if we can call it so. The text was what stipulated the creation of a book, and the scribe was the main person in the creation of a manuscript book. As a rule, monastic scribes did not belong to the intellectual or ecclesiastical elite. During almost a millennium of the history of monastic bookcopying there were elaborate,

⁴⁹ Huijben J., Debonnie P. L'auteur ou les auteurs de l'Imitation. Louvain, 1957; Delaisse M. J. Le manuscrit autographe de Thomas a Kempis et l'Imitation de Jesus Christ. Examen archéologique et édition diplomatique du Bruxellensis 5855—61. Bruxelles, 1956. Vol 2: Thomas van Kempen. Beiträge zum 500. Todesjahr. 1471—1971. Kempen, 1971. Bijdragen over Thomas a Kempis en de Moderne Devotie // Archief en Bibliotheekwezen in België. Brussel, 1971. Numéro suppl. Thomas a Kempis en de Moderne Devotie. Tentoonstellingscatalogus. Brussel, 1971.

special structures of a scribe's mode of thinking (we are bound to say that it concerns monk-scribes and not the laity who, from the beginning of the XII C., worked for a piece wage and whose aims and methods of working different greatly). Modern Devotion manuscript books presently in the collections of Russian libraries give us an opportunity to see certain particularities of monastic bookcopying and bookcollecting in the period when manuscript codices were already being superseded by printed books.

SUPPLEMENT I

MODERN DEVOTION MANUSCRIPT BOOKS IN RUSSIAN LIBRARIES

Domus Beatae Mariae Virginis in Viridis Valle prope Bruxellam (Groenendaal)

1. Tractatus de caritate. XIV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 83)

f. 1: «Iste liber est monasterii viridivallis canonicorum regularium prope bruxellas»

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 220—221. Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция «Нового благочестия»: книги из монастырей Виендсгеймской конгрегации в петербургских собраниях // Источниковедческое изучение памятников письменной культуры. СПб., 1994. С. 38.

2. Aurelius Augustinus. De civitate Dei. 1396. (National Library of Russia, Lat. F.v.I N 57)

f. 186: «lib<er> monasterii b<ea>te Marie viridivallis in zoniam p<ro>pe Brux<ellas> ad duas leucas».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 38.

Domus Beatae Mariae Virginis in Bethleem prope Iovanium.

3. Gerardus Zerbolt Zutphaniensis. De spiritualibus ascensionibus. 1428. (National Library of Russia, Lat.O.v.I N 178)

f. 1: «Bethleem».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

4. Miscellanea orationum. XV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 81)

f. 80v: «liber monasterii bethleem prope Iovanium».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 145—147. Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

5. Miscellanea orationum, XV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 94)

f. 1: «Bethleem».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 148. Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

6. Miscellanea meditationum, exercitationum et orationum. XV C. (Library of Academy of Science of Russia, O. N 93)

f. 2: «Bethleem».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 144—145. *Логутова М. Г.* Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

7. Psalter, gebeden, epistolarium. XIV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 257)

f. 1: «Bethleem».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 184—186. *Логутова М. Г.* Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

Domus Sancti Martini in Lovanio

8. Miscellanea theologica. XV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 86)

f. 84v: «Liber Canonorum Regularium vallis sancti martini in Louanio».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 141—143. *Логутова М. Г.* Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

9. Jacobus de Voragine. Sermones. XIV C. (National Library of Russia, Lat. O.v. I N 176)

f. 1: «Iste liber pertinet ad libraria monasterij regularium vallis sancti martini in lovanio in die grimstraete».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

10. Jacobus de Voragine. Legenda Aurea. XIV C. (NLR, Lat. O.v.I N 177)

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

Domus Sancti Pauli in Rubeavalle (Roeklooster)

11. Evangeliarium. XIV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, O. N 256)

f. 3v: «dit boeck hoert toe den broederen ten ... Roodencloostern in zonien by bruesele».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 62—63. *Логутова М. Г.* Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

12. Miscellanea theologica. XIII, XIV, XV C. (Library of Academy of Science of Russia, O.N 60)

f. 1v: «Liber monasterii rubeuallis».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 121—123.

13. Miscellanea theologica. (State Library of Russia, F. 205 N 920)

f. 117v: «Iste liber monasterii Rubeuallis in zonie juxta Bruxellas».

Domus Beatae Mariae in Facon in Antwerp (Facon)

14. Sinte Augustinus. Omelien op die lesse der evangelien, de lessen van den Heiligen. XV C. (Library of Academy of Sciences of Russia, F. N 311).

f. 2: «item dit boeck hoert toe den beslotenen cloester der nonnen van sinte Augustijns oirdene gheheeten facons binnen Antwerpen gestaen».

Киселева Л. И. Латинские рукописи... С. 18—19. *Логутова М. Г.* Рукописная традиция... С. 39.

Domus Sanctae Ursulae et 11 milium virginum in Trajecte.

15. Biblia sacra. XIV C. (National Library of Russia, Lat. O.v.I N 174)

f. 1v: «Liber monasterij regularissarum XI. m. v. virginum in trajecto».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

Domus sanctae Agnetis in Neerbosch prope Noviomagie.

16. Evangelien. C. 1480. (National Library of Russia, Gol. Q.v.I N 1)

f. 170v: «Dit boeck hoert in dat beslaeten joffere cloester van Agneten buyte nymegen».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

St. Agnes op het begijnhof te Haarlem.

17. Evangelien. 1476. (National Library of Russia, Gol. Q. I N 2)

f. 199v: «Dyt buyk hoert toe synt agnyeten convent tot Harlem op den groeten hof».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

Domus Sancti Johannis Baptistae in Rebdorf.

18. Aurelius Augustinus. Contra Faustum manicheum. X—XI C. (National Library of Russia, Lat. F.v. I N 15)

f. 1: «Codex iste est monasterij Sanctissimj Iohannis baptiste in Rebdorf canonicorum regularium dyocesis eystete».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

19. Magister Siebenhore. Sermones. XV C. (National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.I N 262)

f. 1: «Iste liber est monasterij canonicorum regularium in Rebdorf».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

20. Miscellanea varia. 1429. (National Library of Russia, Lat. Q. I N 43)

f. 1: «Iste liber est ecclesie sancti Johannis baptiste in Rebdorf et canonicorum regularium ordinis sancti augustini Eystete dyocesis».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

21. Miscellanea theologica. 1460. (National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I N 173)

On the back of the upper cover of the binding: «Iste lib<er> e<st> b<ea>ti Joh<annis> bap<tistae> jn rebdorff».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

22. Quintus Septimius Tertullianus, Apologetica. Laurentius Valla, De libero arbitrio. 1460.

(National Library of Russia, Lat. F. I N 312)

On the back of the upper cover of the binding: «Liber sanctissimi Joannis Baptiste in Rebdorff».

Логутова М. Г. Рукописная традиция... С. 40.

23. Graduale Romanum. XIV C. Fragmentum (1 f., National Library of Russia, Lat. O.v.I N 47/8)

«Iste liber est monasterij iohan<n>is baptiste jn Rebdorff canonicor<um> regulariu<m> ordinis s<an>cti augustini eystetensis dyocesis».

(Domus Sancti Johannis Baptistae?) in Halberstadt.

24. Miscellanea theologica. 1568. (National Library of Russia, F. 995 op. 2 N 85)

f. 1: «Canonicorum regularium> S. Aug. ... Halberstadt».

SUPPLEMENT II

COPIES OF MODERN DEVOTION WRITERS IN RUSSIAN LIBRARIES*

Thomas Kempensis

1. De imitatione Christi. Liber II.
SLR, F. 201 N 35. Miscellanea theologica, f. 89—98: «Incipiunt admonitiones ad interna trahentes». XV S.
2. De imitatione Christi liber I, cap. 1.
LASR, O. 87. Miscellanea theologica, f. 39—40. XV S.
3. De imitatione Christi libri I—IV.
NLR, Lat. O.v.I N 126. Miscellanea theologica, f. 73—247. XV S.
4. De imitatione Christi liber I.
NLR, Lat.O.I N 30, f. 121—216: «Incipit tractatus fratris Thome Kempis canonici regularis de monte s<an>c<te> agnete». XV S.
5. De imitatione Christi liber II.
NLR, Lat. O.I N 30, f. 195—216: «Incipiunt a<m>monitiones ad int<er>na trahentes». XV S.
6. De imitatione Christi liber I, cap. 1.

NLR, Lat. O.v.I N 206, f. 3—5. XV S.

7. De imitatione Christi liber IV.
NLR, Gol. O. I N 11, f.209—247: «Mit hoe grote waerdich X<ristu>s to<n>tfangen is». XV C.
8. De imitatione Christi libri II et III.
NLR, Gol. O.I N 19, f. 1—85v: «hir begyn<n>e<n> syk vormany<n>ghe de dar theyn to byn<n>e<n> we<n>dighe<n> dingen». XV C.
9. Soliloquium animae ad deum.
NLR, Lat. O. I N 31, f. 18—77v: «Incipit prologus in soliloquium anime». XV S.

Johannes de Schoonhoven

10. De contemptu mundi
LASR, O. 87, f. 1—38v. XV S.

Geert Groote

11. Dyt nagen synt vijf punte of artikulen. De mester gerd de grote den ghemenen volke, unde bynamen der ghemenen paepheit des ghestichtes van utrecht gepredicket heuet.

LASR, O. N 90, f. 72—75. XV S. (1403).

12. Epistolae
NLR, F. 955 op. 2 N 42, f. 291—293. XV S.

Gerardus Zutphaniensis

13. De spiritualibus ascensionibus.
LASR, O. 86 Miscellanea theologica, f. 85—153: «Incipit devotus tractatulus de spiritualibus ascensionibus». XV S.
14. De spiritualibus ascensionibus.
NLR, Lat.O.v I N 174. XV S.
15. De reformatione virium animae.
SLR, F. 205 N 920. Miscellanea theologica, f. 69—117. XV S.

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* Принятые сокращения: SLR—State Library of Russia; LASR—Library of Academy of Sciences, Russia; NLR—National Library of Russia.