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Sic vivere est devote vivere *Henry of Coesfeld as Theologian of Modern-Day Devotion*

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Abstract

This essay outlines the theology of “modern-day” devotion, as it can be found in the works of the Carthusian monk Henry of Coesfeld (d. 1410). This theology consists of a classical Thomist framework, infused with ideas from Brabantine and Rhineland mysticism (e.g., Ruusbroec, Suso) and Carthusian spirituality, in which contempt for the world, purity of the heart, progression in the virtues, repentance and inner renewal, Eucharistic piety, meditation on Christ’s humanity and passion, “Christiformity,” and the imitation of Christ, play a central role. While pointing at the “present-day” moral decline in the religious orders and the church, Henry’s idea of devotion relates to personal reform, a process of becoming congruent with the “ancient” examples of Christ and the saints. His theology is not anti-mystical and anti-intellectual in nature, but at the same time it warns against the pitfalls of curiosity (*curiositas*) and the excesses of mysticism.

Keywords

Henry of Coesfeld – Carthusians – Late Medieval Reform – Devotio Moderna

In his seminal book on the Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life, John Van Engen has recently called Devotio Moderna a “charged” and “pesky” term. Van

* I would like to dedicate this essay to the memory of Rudolf Th.M. van Dijk, O.Carm. (d. 2015), for his relentless efforts to enlarge the knowledge of the spiritual heritage of both the Modern Devotion and the Carthusian Order. I would like to thank Stephen J. Molvarec, SJ, and Krijn Pansters for looking at my text with a critical eye, and Ana Rodriguez who helped me ask the questions and seek the answers that ultimately bore fruit in the present essay.

Engen eloquently elaborates on the term *moderna*, defining it as “modern-day” or “of this era”. To speak of “devotion in the present-day” (*moderna*) was implicitly to recall an “earlier day” (*antiqua*), a better day. But his characterisation of the word “devotion” falls somewhat short, seemingly lacking a solid theological base.¹

The Dutch scholar Rudolf van Dijk has consistently pointed out that the spirituality of the Modern Devotion might be traced back to the retreat of Geert Grote (d. 1384), the movement’s originator, at the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen near Arnhem. In the past century, many scholars have predicated the reformist influence of the Carthusian monk Henry Egger of Kalkar (d. 1408)² on the erroneous assumption that he was the prior of Monnikhuizen during Grote’s stay.³

More than Egger of Kalkar’s, the works of Henry Kemenade of Coesfeld (d. 1410)⁴ have been overlooked by scholars, although the latter actually was

1 J. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia PA, 2008), 7–9.

2 Henry Egger of Kalkar, born in 1328, studied at the University of Paris in the period between 1352 and 1362, where he (and Geert Grote) matriculated in the English nation. In 1366 he professed as a monk of Cologne. He was prior in Monnikhuizen (1368–1373) and rector in Roermond (1373–1377). Afterwards he was prior in Cologne (1377–1384) and in Strasbourg (1384–1396), and visitor (of the Carthusian province *Alemania inferior*) for twenty years. See C. De Backer, “De kartuize Monichusen bij Arnhem. Prosopografie samen met de regesten van de zopas ontdekte oorkondenschat,” in *Amo te, sacer ordo Carthusiensis. Jan De Grauwe, passionné de l’Ordre des Chartreux*, ed. Frans Hendrickx and Tom Gaens [Miscellanea Neerlandica 38 / Studia Cartusiana 1] (Leuven, 2012), 132–204, there 154 (no. 94). On his literary works, see H. Rüthing, *Der Kartäuser Heinrich Egger von Kalkar (1328–1408)* [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 18 / Studien zur Germania Sacra 8] (Göttingen, 1967).

3 R.Th.M. van Dijk, “Ad instar Fratrum Ordinis Carthusiensis. Einflüsse der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Gesetzgebung,” in *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischer Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. [Analecta Cartusiana 63] (Salzburg, 1990–1991), 1:72–89; R.Th.M. van Dijk, “Geert Grote im Lichte seiner kartäusischen Beziehungen,” in *Die Geschichte des Kartäuserordens*, 2 vols. [Analecta Cartusiana 125] (Salzburg, 1991–1992), 1:113–129; R.Th.M. van Dijk, “Tussen kartuizers en cisterciënzers. De brieven van Geert Grote aan de abdijs van Kamp,” in *A Fish Out of Water? From Contemplative Solitude to Carthusian Involvement in Pastoral Care and Reform Activity*, ed. S.J. Molvarec and T. Gaens [Miscellanea Neerlandica 41 / Studia Cartusiana 2] (Leuven, 2013), 127–163.

4 Henry of Coesfeld probably professed as a monk of Monnikhuizen around 1369. He was prior in Monnikhuizen (1373–1378), in Geertruidenberg (1378–c. 1380), in Zelem near Diest (c. 1380? or 1394?–1401) and again in Geertruidenberg (1401–1410). He was covisitor (1404–1406) and visitor (1406–1410) of the Urbanist Rhine Province. See J. De Grauwe and F. Timmer-

a prior of Monnikhuizen in the same period. Moreover, Coesfeld's texts were disseminated more widely within the (monastic) branches of the Modern Devotion and within other reformed religious orders in the Low Countries and Germany.⁵

In this essay, I will outline a theology of modern-day devotion, as it can be found in Henry of Coesfeld's main works. It consists of a classic Thomist framework, infused with ideas from Brabantine and Rhineland mysticism and Carthusian spirituality. I shall argue that a closer and better study of Henry's works might provide a better insight into the reform program of Geert Grote and his early followers. At the same time, it might contribute to the understanding of Carthusian monks as reformist influencers, or as transmitters of ideas within the realm of the development of the spirituality of the Modern Devotion in particular, and of fifteenth-century reformist congregations and reformed religious orders in general.⁶

The following texts were explored for this essay: *De tribus votis monasticis*, an influential tract on the counsels and precepts of poverty, chastity and obedience, but mainly concerned with private property and proprietorism; several of Henry's chapter sermons, specifically those referring to devotion; the treatise *De sacramento Eucharistie* on the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist; and Henry's *Epistola de instructione iuvenum et novitiorum* (or *Epistola de institutione novitiorum*), a letter to instruct the youth and novices on monastic life, which survives both in its original Latin version, as well as in a Middle-Dutch translation. Since Henry's work remains unedited, I shall quote from manuscripts. In an appendix, I provide a list of manuscripts, intended for future study.

mans, *Prosopographia Cartusiana Belgica Renovata (1314–1796)*, 2 vols. [Analecta Cartusiana 154] (Salzburg, 1999), 2: 537 (no. NLMO43); J.G.M. Sanders, *Waterland als woestijn. Geschiedenis van het kartuizerklooster "Het Hollandse Huis" bij Geertruidenberg 1336–1595* [Hollandse studiën 25] (Hilversum, 1990), 196; De Backer, "De kartuize Monichusen" (see above, n. 2), 154 (no. 92).

- 5 T. Gaens, "Fons hortorum irriguus, ceteras irrigans religiones. Carthusian Influences on Monastic Reform in Germany and the Low Countries in the Fifteenth Century," in *A Fish Out of Water?* (see above, n. 3), 51–103, there 56–57, 68–75, and 91. See also the appendix of the present essay.
- 6 For a treatment of this subject, see the volume *A Fish Out of Water?* (see above, n. 3). On Henry of Coesfeld's influence on reformist literature, and particularly on works dealing with the issue of proprietorism, refer to my own essay in this volume (see above n. 5).

1 The Basis of Henry of Coesfeld's Theology of Devotion

Henry of Coesfeld's theology starts with the Thomist notion of devotion (*devotio*),⁷ defining it as the will to do promptly those things which pertain to the service of God.⁸ In other words, it is the benevolent promptness or the prompt benevolence by which the mind actually, duly, and rationally is affected with respect to the service of God, an act of the will by which the mind devotes itself to God, when it surrenders itself readily to divine reverence.⁹

Devotion is an interior act of the moral virtue called religion (*religio* or *latria*) and it is immediately derived from this affective virtue, which is the foremost of all moral virtues and the closest to the virtue of charity (*caritas*). It directs all other moral virtues unto the end (i.e., God) and all the virtues to divine reverence.¹⁰

7 An excellent introduction to the theological concept of devotion and its evolution in the works of Guigo the Carthusian, Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Saint-Thierry, Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor, and David of Augsburg can be found in J.W. Curran, "Devotion (fondement théologique)," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* 3 (1957), 716–727; and J. Chatillon, "Devotio," *ibidem*, 702–716.

8 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek (hereafter cited as Brussels, KB), MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 91v: "secundum sanctum Thomam ... devotio est voluntas prompte tradens se ad ea que pertinent ad Dei famulatum, sive est voluntas prompte faciendi quod ad Dei servitium pertinent." Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a 2e, q. 82, 1. This inner drive to serve God is also reflected in Geert Grote's *Conclusa et proposita*, a set of reformist propositions written during his stay at the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen—it can be found already in the opening words; see Geert Grote, *Conclusa et proposita*, ed. M.I. Pohl, *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis Opera omnia*, vol. 7 (Freiburg, 1922), 87–107, there 87: "Ad gloriam et honorem et servitium Dei intendo vitam meam ordinare ..." See also Peter Horn's life of Geert Grote in J.W. Kühler, "De Vita magistri Gerardi Magni van Petrus Horn," *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* n.s. 6 (1909), 332–370, there 358: "Si habetis bonam voluntatem semper serviendi Dei, secure potestis mori."

9 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 91v: "... devotio est benivola promptitudo sive prompta benivolentia qua mens actualiter circa Dei famulatum debite et rationabiliter afficitur ... actum quo mens se Deo devovet ... devovere dicitur que se prompte divino cultui vel famulatu mancipat."

10 *Ibidem*, fol. 92r: "... devotio est proprius actus illius virtutis que religio dicitur, vel latria et immediate ab ea elicita que utique virtus inter omnes virtutes morales videtur esse precipua et caritati proxima ... et dirigit omnes alias virtutes morales in illum finem qui est Deus, eo quod omnes virtutes ad cultum divinum ordinet." In his treatment of the virtue of *religio*, Geert Grote similarly draws from Thomas Aquinas in his *De simonia ad Beguttas*,

Phrased differently, devotion is simply a practical act which inclines the will to meritorious works and to the good pleasure of God, and which presupposes enjoyable love or an act of hope.¹¹ Hence, devotion is defined more as a fundamental attitude of turning the self towards God, more as an affective inclination and a lasting movement of the will, than simply as a “pious and humble affection” connected to the cult of God (e.g. office and vocal prayer).¹²

Henry recognizes two kinds of devotion. The first kind can be called “rational” or “spiritual” (*devotio rationalis sive spiritualis*), as it only resides in reason (*ratio*) or spirit (*spiritus*), without any significant “overflowing” or “flowing down” into the sensuality (*sensualitas*). In this case, the sensual part is not yet calmed or not yet promptly subject to the spirit, but rather rebels and murmurs.¹³ The second kind of devotion can be called “sensible” or “sensual” (*devo-*

ed. R. Langenberg, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik* (Bonn, 1902), 1–33, there 27–28. On this passage, see K. Goudriaan, “Geert Grote, On Simony to the Beguines, and Church Reform,” in *Die räumliche und geistige Ausstrahlung der Devotio Moderna—Zur Dynamik ihres Gedankengutes*, ed. I. Kwiatkowski and J. Engelbrecht [Die Devotio Moderna. Sozialer und kultureller Transfer (1350–1580) 2] (Münster, 2013), 115–140, there 133 and 135.

- 11 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1181–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 77r: “... devotio est actus simpliciter practicus inclinans voluntatem ad Deo famulandum presupponit tamen amorem amicitie sive amorem fructivum aut etiam actum spei”; and fol. 88v: “... inclinatur ad multa opera supererogationis ... ad omne beneplacitum Dei.” Cf. John Brinckerinck, *Collatien, 1 [Van der bekeringhe]*, ed. W. Moll, “Acht collatiën van Johannes Brinckerinck. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van den kanselarbeid der Broeders van het Gemeene Leven, uit handschriften der vijftiende en zestiende eeuw,” *Kerkhistorisch archief* 4 (1866), 97–167, there 116: “Dit is waerichtige ynnicheit: een ootmoedighe, vuerige begheerte tot gode ende tot allen dingen, die gods zijn ... dit is mijn gheheel begheerte ende wille.” In chapter 49 of his *Spiritual ascensions*, the Modern Devout Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen also defines devotion in this way, touching the essence of Modern Devotion according to Rudolf van Dijk; cf. R.Th.M. van Dijk, *Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen, Geestelijke Opklimmingen. Een gids voor de geestelijke weg uit de vroege Moderne Devotie* (Amsterdam, 2011), 123–125: “... devotio ... dicitur ... inclinatio affectuosa ad bonum ... prompta semper ad Dei beneplacita adimplenda.”
- 12 Cf. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De modo orandi*, cap. 1, in *PL* 176:979: “Devotio est pius et humilis affectus in Deum, qui ex compunctione generatur.”
- 13 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 92r: “... duplex est devotio quedam sola rationalis sive spiritualis que scilicet est in ratione vel spiritu sine notabili redundantia seu defluxu in ipsam sensualitatem, nondum scilicet ipsa sensualitate tranquillificata et spiritui prompte subiecta, quinpotius adhuc sibi rebellizante et remurante.”

tio sensibilis sive sensualis), as it significantly overflows into the sensuality, so that the sensual nature, once quieted, wholly obeys and conforms to the spirit. This calming of the senses occurs, first, because of the intellect's strong intent and the will's fervent inclination; second, because of the perfectly stable dispositions of the moral virtues, which restrain the passions of the sensual nature; and third, because of the special working of God's grace—as it is outlined in the famous pseudo-Bernardian *Letter to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu* (today ascribed to William of Saint-Thierry).¹⁴ Henry stresses that truly, those men who are trained in the virtues and accustomed to them, are less tempted by their senses, and their sensuality is more inclined to obey the spirit.¹⁵

As progress in the virtues is positioned according to the three stages of the beginners (*incipientium*), of the proficient (*proficientium*) and of the perfect (*perfectorum*), Henry similarly distinguishes between three kinds of devotion.¹⁶ In the Low Countries and the Rhineland, Carthusians were particularly acquainted with this triple scheme of progression in the virtues through the *Letter to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu*, as well as through the works of David of Augsburg, who primarily and directly extracted from this *Letter*.¹⁷

14 Ibid., fols. 92r–92v: “Et contingit ni fallor hec tranquillificatio sensualitatis aliquando propter fortem intentionem intellectus et ferventem inclinationem voluntatis ... Secundo contingit propter perfectos habitus virtutum moralium ... qui passiones ipsius sensualitatis refrenant ... Tertio vero contingit ex speciali divine gratie operatione propter quod et beatus pater Bernardus scribit ad fratres nostros de Monte Dei ...” On this *Letter to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu*, see J. Green and K. Pansters, “The Golden Epistle and the Ladder of Monks. Aspects of Twelfth-Century Carthusian Spirituality,” in *The Carthusians in the Low Countries. Studies in Monastic History and Heritage*, ed. K. Pansters [Miscellanea Neerlandica 43 / Studia Cartusiana 4] (Leuven, 2014), 189–216.

15 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fols. 92r–92v: “Hinc enim est quod homines in virtutibus exercitati et assueti minus temptantur quam non exercitati et levius sensualitas ipsorum spiritui subicitur quam ceterorum.”

16 Ibid., fol. 92v: “Sed et communiter sciendum est quod ex quo tam secundum doctores sanctos quam secundum philosophos tres poni consueverunt gradus virtutum vel actuum virtuosorum et hoc secundum tres status bene viventium, scilicet incipientium, proficientium et perfectorum ...”

17 K. Pansters, “*Profectus virtutum*. The Roots of Devout Moral Praxis,” in *Seeing the Seeker. Explorations in the Discipline of Spirituality. A Festschrift for Kees Waaijman on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. H. Blommestijn et al. [Studies in Spirituality. Supplement 19] (Leuven, 2008), 231–249; K. Stooker & T. Verbeij, “*Uut profectus*. Over de verspreiding van Middelnederlandse kloosterliteratuur aan de hand van de *Profectus religiosorum* van David van Augsburg,” in *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid. Middelnederlands geestelijk proza*, ed.

Reading (and re-reading) these literary works—together with some derivative compilations such as the pseudo-Bernardian *Speculum Bernardi* and *Speculum monachorum*—was highly recommended by Henry of Coesfeld in his *Letter to instruct the youth and novices*.¹⁸

These three kinds of devotion are structured by Henry along the lines of John of Ruusbroec's *Espousals*.¹⁹ The first kind, desirous devotion (*devotio desideriosa*), is present in the beginners, when all the senses obey the spirit in a union of the heart (*unio cordis*) and promptly submit themselves to the service of God, but without noticeable savoring (*sapor*).²⁰ The second kind, delightful devotion (*devotio voluptuosa*), is present when the senses obey the spirit with a

T. Mertens et al. [Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de Middeleeuwen 8] (Amsterdam, 1993), 318–340 and 476–490, there 325–328 and 333–334.

- 18 Henry of Coesfeld, *Epistola de instructione iuvenum et novitiorum (Epistola de institutione novitiorum)*, in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter cited as Berlin, SB), MS theol. lat. fol. 705, fol. 24v: “Unde consulo ut sepius legas et relegas Speculum monachorum, Speculum beati Bernardi, Epistolam eiusdem ad fratres de Monte Dei, Profectum religiosorum et Obitum beati Hieronymi.” On the importance of these pseudo-Bernardian texts within the context of the Modern Devotion, see G.H. Gerrits, *Inter timorem et spem. A Study of the Theological Thoughts of Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (1367–1398)* [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 37] (Leiden, 1986), 21–22 (n. 71); and M. Haverals, “Deux exhortations à la vie monastique de la ‘Dévotion modern,’” in *Pascua mediaevalia. Studies voor Prof. Dr. J.M. De Smet*, ed. R. Lievens et al. [Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series 1. Studia 10] (Leuven, 1983), 605–618. These works, including the *Epistola de institutione novitiorum*, also appear on a reading list for novices of the Windesheimer Canons Regular of Leuven [Louvain]; see W. Lourdaux, *Moderne Devotie en christelijk humanisme. De geschiedenis van Sint-Maarten te Leuven van 1433 tot het einde der XVIIe eeuw* [Universiteit te Leuven. Werken op het gebied van de geschiedenis en de filologie. 5e reeks 1] (Leuven, 1967), 180 (n. 16).
- 19 Cf. H.A.M. Douwes, *De ornatu spiritualis desponsacionis*. Kritische uitgave met commentaar (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2000), 172–184 (par. 105–134). Denys the Carthusian also mentions the same three grades of devotion; see Denys the Carthusian, *De contemplatione libri tres*, lib. 3, art. 12: “De devotione et gradibus eius,” in *Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, vol. 41: *Opera minora* 9 (Tornaci [Tournai], 1912), 284–285; and *Domínica post ascensionem Domíní—Ad religiosos*, sermo 6: “De oratione et devotione ad contemplationem mysticamque theologiam pertinente,” in *Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, vol. 30: *Sermones de tempore (Pars secunda)* (Tornaci [Tournai], 1905), 66–67.
- 20 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 92v: “Devotionem desideriosam voco quando simpliciter et sine notabili sapore ... ipsa tota sensualitas in unione cordis spiritui obedit et ad famulandum Deo se eidem prompte subicit.”

stronger inclination, perfused with noticeable savoring or spiritual sweetness and consolation (*spiritualis dulcedo et consolatio*). When it is increased so that it delights the heart enough, it is called pleasure of the heart (*voluptas cordis*) and spiritual delight (*spiritualis iocunditas*). When it grows so that the heart can no longer fully take it in, and the mind is alienated in this way, it is called spiritual drunkenness (*spiritualis ebrietas*).²¹ The third kind, feverish or spiritually fierce devotion (*devotio fervorosa vel spiritualiter furiosa*), is present when the senses, in an even stronger way, are above all consolation temporarily granted to it or even grantable, seek God's honor and glory with such a great fervor, and are inclined to serve God in inconvenient ways so that it looks like the mind is in a rage (*furor*). When it sees itself not to be able to accomplish at will its intent, sadness arises, and this is called spiritual languor (*spiritualis languor*), and, in Scripture, the spiritual wounding of love (*spiritualis vulneratio amoris*). From this devotion, and the previous one, even corporeal languor (*corporalis languor*) and wounding of the heart (*vulneratio cordis*) can arise.²²

To show that this wounding of love again increases devotion, Henry quotes literally the *Espousals* of Ruusbroec—whom he calls “that devout [man]” (*quidam devotus*)—by comparing devotion to a fire causing a boiling and condensation process of a liquid (i.e., resp. the delightful and sad movements of the soul).²³

21 Ibid., fol. 92v: “Devotionem vero voluptuosam dico quando ipsa sensualitas adhuc altiore conatu spiritui subicitur et cum hoc quodam notabili sapore seu quadam spirituali dulcedine et consolatione perfunditur, qui dum in tantum augetur seu intenditur, quod cor satis multum delectat voluptas cordis et spiritualis iocunditas nominatur, quando vero in tantum crevit quod cor ipsum plene capere non potest, ymmo quodammodo propter ipsum a se alienatur tunc spiritualis ebrietas dicitur ...”

22 Ibid., fol. 92v: “Devotionem fervorosam vel spiritualiter furiosam nomino quando adhuc altiori modo ipsa sensualitas super omnem consolationem sibi temporaliter datam vel dabilem, tanto fervore honorem Dei et gloriam querit, ac tam importune sibi digne familiariter conatur, quod quodammodo spiritualiter furere videtur. Et hinc cum se viderit ad libitum intentum exequi non posse, quedam tristitia nascitur, que spiritualis languor nominatur ... Que etiam fortassis tristitia spiritualis vulneratio amoris vel cordis in scripturis dicitur ... Quinetiam ex hac ipsa devotione sicut ex immediate precedente corporalis languor et cordis vulneratio oriri potest ...”

23 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 87v: “Et idcirco dicit quidam devotus [= Ruusbroec] quod devotio assimilatur igni causanti ebullitionem aque in olla qui cum aquam tantum sursum moverit quantum potest, iterum aqua descendit et iterum eam ignis per ebullitionem movet et etiam sic quod semper ignis est agitans et aqua cadens.” Interestingly, Henry did not make use of Jordaens's Latin translation of the *Espousals*; cf. *Iohannis Rusbrochii De ornatu spiritualium nup-*

2 Devotion and Religious Perfection

In his treatment of the concept of devotion, Henry not only merges Thomist theology with the Brabantine mysticism of Ruusbroec, but he also places it within a larger context of religious perfection. One might be led to think that sensual devotion is by definition more perfect than purely rational devotion, or that more sensual devotion is better than less sensual devotion. But, according to Henry, devotion is more perfect only when the prompt benevolence of the mind to serve God is more intense, and not because there is spiritual savoring or delight.²⁴ Some who have stronger rational devotion come more slowly to devotion of the senses than others who have a weaker rational devotion, because of their harder and more rigid nature. For example, women come to sensual devotion more easily and more quickly than men, and men from one region more easily and more quickly than men from another region. But they are not necessarily more devout and holier because of this.²⁵

Apart from its intensity, perfection of devotion also depends on its object and circumstances. For example, the benevolent promptness of the mind to serve God in case of evangelical counsels is better than devotion in case of precepts, yet it is the most perfect when the mind is totally inclined to God's will.²⁶ Throughout his works, Henry especially lashes out against the moral

tiarum Wilhelmo Iordani interprete, ed. K. Schepers [Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 207] (Turnhout, 2004), 265–266. Geert Grote worked on his own translation of the *Esposals* during his stay at the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen; cf. H.A.M. Douwes, *De ornatu spiritualis desponsacionis* (see above, n. 19), 174 (par. 111): “Post notetis similitudinem quomodo hec exercitia naturali igni assimilantur, qui mediante suo calore et virtute aquam vel alium liquorem usque ad bulitionem ampullosam sublevat; et hoc altius est quod tunc operatur. Deinde aqua girat et cadit ad eundem fundum, denuo sursum ad idem agitur per virtutem ignis, sic quod ignis semper agitans et aqua semper est cadens.” It is likely that Geert Grote's Ruusbroec translation did not exist at the time Henry wrote his *De sacramento eucharistie*. Both show a very similar though not identical translation, very close to Ruusbroec's text.

24 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 88r. This is similarly expressed in the Collations of the Modern Devout Nicholas of Euskerken; cf. D.A. Brinkerink, “Goede punten uit de collatiën van Claus van Euskerken (naar hs. No. 686 der Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland),” *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* n.s. 3 (1905), 225–264 and 353–395, there 245: “Volcomenheit en is niet gelegen in groter ynnicheit of in zueticheit te gevoelen.”

25 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, fol. 93r.

26 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160),

decline and the lack of observance of religious vows in the traditional religious orders “in modern times” (*in modernis temporibus*), wondering whether it is still necessary to expose the “adultery, fornications, incest and the worst of carnalities” he sees around him, as it is all “publicly known”.²⁷ In his view, the professed state is merely a state to acquire perfection and not a state of acquired perfection: “It is said that the monastic state is a state of perfection, and in particular that all monks are perfect and the only perfect people. But alas! Many are the most imperfect. And also the monastic state shows the triple grades of the beginners, the proficient and the perfect, and even outside of the monastic state many holy men and women are living the most perfect life”.²⁸ In this context, Henry quotes a passage from the *Epistle to the Romans* (Rom. 12:2), in which Saint Paul exhorts his readers not to be conformed to the world, but to be transformed by renewing the mind, so that it may be proven what is the “good,” “pleasing,” and “perfect” will of God. Paraphrasing the *Letter to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu*, Henry interprets the word “good” as pointing to the precepts, the word “pleasing” to the counsels, yet the word “perfect” to anything which pleases God’s will.²⁹

fols. 88r–88v. Cf. Geert Grote, *Ep.* 15, in *Gerardi Magni Epistolae*, ed. W. Mulder (Antwerpen, 1933), 50–51: [the monastic state] “... Deo magis beneplacitum et meliorem et securiorem inter omnes status.”

- 27 Gaens, “*Fons hortorum*” (see above, n. 5), there 52–55. Geert Grote makes a comparable comment in *De simonia ad Beguttas*; cf. Langenberg, *Quellen und Forschungen* (see above, n. 10), there 29: “Dit sint sunte Augustinus woerde, de een advocaet was des gheistes, unde nicht des vleschs, also men nu vele meisters vint advocaet der werlt ende des vleschs.”
- 28 Henry of Coesfeld, *De tribus votis monasticis*, in Brussels, KB, MS 5029–5030 (cat. 2159), fols. 24r–24v: “Dicitur autem etiam status monasticus status perfectionis, non idcirco utique quod omnes et sole persone monastice sint perfecte cum multe heu tales sint imperfectissime. Et etiam in statu monastico est status incipientium proficientium et perfectorum, sed et extra statum monasticum multi sancti et multe sancte perfectissime vixerunt ut de se notum est.” For similar comments about devotion outside a vow, see Geert Grote’s *De simonia ad Beguttas*, ed. Langenberg, *Quellen und Forschungen* (see above, n. 10), there 28: “Unde dit [= offering oneself to God] mach men wal hebben also vullencomelike buten ghemeynte unde buten cloesteren unde buten cappen, als sulke in den cloesteren.” On this passage, see Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers* (see above, n. 1), 82.
- 29 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 88v.

3 Discernment of “Modern-Day” Devotion

Henry’s mild aversion to sensuality is obvious from his treatment of different kinds of false devotion. Those who are proficient in sensual devotion, and who are led to revelations and rapture, must be careful because many are easily deceived in this. Prompted by the spirit of seduction, they might believe that they are a spirit of God.³⁰ Often, Henry continues, one sees—in both sexes—fornicators and adulterers, and even cruel and impious people or others who are liable to deadly sins, who are brought to tears and who are ready to do many good works, such as giving alms and reciting vocal prayers. Moreover, reaching sensible devotion or devotional savoring, they feel somehow relieved, although they behaved badly, and they are full of themselves, although they are nothing. Some rest in these things for their proper expediency or to seek their own glory rather than the glory of God, and they fall into the traps of spiritual pride (*spiritualis superbia*) or spiritual lust (*spiritualis luxuria*). Even people who were initially truly devout may recede from God because of this. In this way many who were never good people, or some who at first were devout, have been deceived and brought to heresy and fictitious revelations, as can be read in the lives of the saints.³¹ Discernment (*discretio*) is therefore crucial to differentiate between true and false devotion.³²

All of this is categorized by Henry in several types of false devotion: “hostile” and “malicious” devotion (*devotio iniqua et maliciosa*), “pharisaic” and “superstitious” devotion (*devotio pharasaica et superstitiosa*), “self-driven” and “obstinate” devotion (*devotio delicata proprietaria et cervicosa*), “vain” and “curious” devotion (*devotio vana et curiosa*), and “idle” and “atrocious” devotion or Beghards’ devotion (*devotio otiosa et facinorosa, devotio baggardica*). Especially

30 Ibid., fol. 87r.

31 Ibid., fols. 89r–89v. On the notion of *spiritualis luxuria* (*gheestelijcke oncuysheit*) in Ruusbroec’s work, see P. Adnès, “Luxure spirituelle,” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 9 (1976), 1260–1264.

32 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 93v: “... potestis veram devotionem a ficta sive falsa ... discernere.” On devotion and discernment, see chapter 49 of the *Spiritual ascensions*, written by the Modern Devout Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen; cf. Van Dijk, *Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen, Geestelijke Opklimmingen* (see above, n. 11), 123–124: “Sane ut super hoc, quantum ad presens sufficit, habeatur aliqua discretio, sciendum quod devotio ...” See also Denys the Carthusian, *Dominica III Quadragesime*, sermo 3: “Qualiter vera devotio a ficta possit discerni,” in *Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, vol. 29: *Sermones de tempore (Pars prima)* (Tornaci [Tournai], 1905), 434–436.

the last two types of false devotion, dealing with speculative theology and the devotion of those who are involved in heresies, who promulgate erroneous doctrines and false revelations, and who contemplate an illusory union with God, are illustrated with a range of ancient and contemporary examples.³³

The list of direct and indirect references to some of the extravagances of fourteenth-century mysticism and lay spirituality is what makes Henry's theology of devotion so "modern-day" or "in the present-day." It is not difficult to conclude from the Carthusian's texts, that good devotion, in his view, could also be pursued outside of the monastic vow, that it is not anti-scholastic *per se*, but rather anti-speculative, and that it has an anagogic dimension while rejecting the excesses of mysticism.

4 Devotion to the Eucharist and Christiformity

Thomas Aquinas's opinion that the sacrament of the Eucharist requires actual devotion (*devotio actualis*) is used by Henry as a starting point to show that sensual devotion is not required to receive the Eucharist, as this is not always in our power.³⁴ Paraphrasing Ruusbroec's *Espousals*, Henry states that man does not need devotion of the senses for the Eucharist, as long as he has purity of conscience (*conscientia pura*), free from sin.³⁵

33 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV (De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum)*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fols. 93v–97r. To the wording "Beghards' devotion" Henry immediately adds that he does not target all Beghards (and Beguines), as "there are many who are good [devout]." In 1379 a similar warning against various examples of false devotion would be encoded into a substantial part of the statutes of Geert Grote's foundation of the Deventer Sisters of the Common Life (the so-called *Satinghe ende ordinantie*); see R. Post, "De statuten van het Mr. Geertshuis te Deventer," *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 71 (1951), 1–46, there 8–12.

34 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fols. 90r–90v: "... non requiritur devotio sensibilis sive sensualis cum illa non sit semper in potestate nostra."

35 Ibidem, fol. 90v: "Et istud videtur intendere quidam vir devotus [= Ruusbroec] qui scribit quod quamvis homo non semper huiusmodi sensationem sive huiusmodi desiderium habeat (et loquitur ibi de devotione sensibili) dummodo tamen laudem et honorem Dei suumque profectum proprium et suam salutem intendat potest fiducialiter ad mensam Dei accedere si conscientiam a peccatis mortalibus habeat puram." Compare with Geert Grote's translation of this passage; cf. H.A.M. Douwes, *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* (see above, n. 19), 218 (par. 216): "Unde quamvis homo iste non semper huiusmodi

True devotion (*devotio vera*) requires repentance, abhorrence and displeasure over evil, and foremost over sin.³⁶ For this, one needs the firm intention of restraining evil concupiscences (*malas concupiscentias refrenare*) and of breaking one's own will (*proprias voluntates frangere*).³⁷ The resulting (and somewhat negative) state of mind Henry calls contrition of the heart (*contritio cordis*)³⁸ or compunction of the heart (*compunctio cordis*).³⁹ One could even experience pain of contrition (*dolor contritionis*) or bitterness of penance (*amaritudo penitentialis*) in that state.⁴⁰

The principal effect (*effectus*) or fruit (*fructus*) of the sacrament of the Eucharist is then the spiritual conversion or transformation of man in Christ (*spiritualis conversio sive transformatio hominis in Christum*) or "Christiformity" (*Christiformitas*), which is nothing else than becoming conformed to Christ

sensationem seu huiusmodi desiderium habeat, dummodo tamen laudem et honorem Dei suumque profectum proprium et suam salutem intendat, potest fiducialiter ad mensam Dei accedere, si conscientiam a mortalibus puram habeat." See note 23.

- 36 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 90r: "... perfectam penitendum abhominatum et displicentiam omnium malorum et precipue peccatorum prius peractorum ..." This element of contrition, in relation to devotion as an act of the will, can be found in the *Vivendi formula* written by the Devout prioress Salome Sticken; cf. W.J. Kühler, *Johannes Brinckerinck en zijn klooster te Diepenveen* (Rotterdam, 1908), 377: "... sed fundamentum totius sanctitatis in hoc consistit, ut integraliter abnegamus nosmetipsas et mortificemus malas affectiones nature nostre corrupte, insuper et voluntatem nostram convertamus ad Dominum et eam toto conatu conformemus voluntati illius."
- 37 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in festo Pasche*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 100v: "... firmum habere propositum malas concupiscentias refrenandi et proprias voluntates frangendi."
- 38 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in festo Pasche*, in Leuven [Louvain], KU Leuven [University of Leuven], Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek (hereafter cited as Leuven, MSB), MS Mechelen 26, fol. 60r: "... cordis contritione ..."
- 39 Henry of Coesfeld, *Epistola de instructione iuvenum et novitiorum (Epistola de institutione novitiorum)*, in Berlin, SB, MS theol. lat. fol. 705, fol. 2r: "puritate cordis ..."; fol. 2v: "... vere compunctionis ..."; and fol. 24v: "... devotionis et compunctionis ...". In some manuscripts, this letter by Henry of Coesfeld, in its Middle Dutch translation, can be found together with Collations of the Modern Devout John Brinckerinck. On *compunctio cordis* in the writings of early Modern Devout such as Florens Radewijns, Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen, and Thomas a Kempis, see L.A.M. Goossens, *De meditatie in de eerste tijd van de Moderne Devotie* (Haarlem and Antwerpen, 1952), 132–141.
- 40 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in festo Pasche*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 101r: "... habere dolorem contritionis sive amaritudinem penitentialem de peccatis nostris quibus Deum offendimus."

(*Christo conformis esse*), i.e., similar to Christ in virtues and in immunity to sin, or a conformity of the will [with divine will] (*conformitas voluntatis*).⁴¹ The first result is restoration (*restauratio*) or renewal (*reparatio*), a spiritual repairing of the mind (*spiritualis refectio*) through the forgiveness of [venial] sins (*remissio peccatorum [venialium]*). The second result is an infusion of “Christiform” virtues (*infusio Christiformium virtutum*), through which one becomes more similar to Christ in virtues and in morals (*Christo in virtutibus similior, in moribus similior*).⁴²

Also, this effect causes again an increase in devotion, devotional savoring, spiritual delight, and pleasure or inebriation of the mind, although this increase might not always (immediately) be perceptible. Especially people with a rigid mind, Henry says, have to be thankful and patient, even if they do not notice any increase or decrease, or when they suffer from spiritual dryness.⁴³ Not only in the idea of “Christiformity” can the influences of Rhineland mysticism be noticed, but also in the Carthusian’s use of a long excerpt from Henry Suso’s *Wisdom’s watch* in this context:

... this spiritual foretasting, this kind of inward sweetness, is no effect due to faith, nor is it of this present time, but it belongs to eternal blessedness; and thus, when it is given, in the sacrament or outside it, give thanks, but when it is not given, still give thanks, and endure patiently, knowing that this is not in your power, but belongs to the highest and most benevolent of givers, who will give, not as or when you wish, but when it will please him and as he will judge it to be to his glory and your benefit.⁴⁴

41 Ibid., fol. 100v: “... fructus seu effectus digne manducationis agni paschalis est spiritualis conversio hominis in Christum sive Christiformitas, que nichil aliud est quam Christo esse conformem, id est in virtutibus simillarem et in innocentia seu immunitate a peccatis parem.”

42 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fols. 91r–94r.

43 Ibid., fol. 94r: “... ut sunt devotionis augmentatio sapor devotionalis spiritualis delectatio voluptas vel ebrietas spiritus.”

44 Ibid., fol. 94v: “... ut quidam [= Suso] dicit, divina pietas salutem anime sepius secretissime et fidelissime operatur ... ad suam laudem et tuam utilitatem. Hec et adhuc plura idem doctor [= Suso] ibidem pulchre insinuat.” Cf. *Heinrich Seuses Horologium sapientiae*, ed. P. Künzle [Spicilegium Friburgense 23] (Freiburg, 1977), 569–570. Translation of this passage taken from *Blessed Henry Suso, Wisdom’s Watch Upon the Hours*, trans. E. Colledge [The Fathers of the Church. Mediaeval Continuation 4] (Washington DC, 1994), 290.

Purity of the heart and actual devotion are essential in order to benefit from the sacrament of the Eucharist,⁴⁵ and Henry thinks that “in modern times” many secular priests and religious are not proficient enough in the virtues because these conditions are not met, even when they receive daily communion.⁴⁶

5 “New” Devotion and the Imitation of Christ

For Henry, the beginning of “Christiform” virtue (*initia virtutum Christiformium*), which is the state of the beginner, corresponds with spiritual nativity, the birth of Christ in man. The state of the proficient then corresponds to the spiritual circumcision of the false habits and inclinations working against Christ’s works and virtues, through regular exercises and good works, and using the gifts of the irascible, concupiscible, and rational powers. Essential for reaching the state of the perfect is then the following spiritual purification of man—obviously for Henry as a Carthusian monk, this process is intimately tied to contempt for the world and the monastic conversion.⁴⁷

It is no accident that the feast of the purification of Mary as a symbol of renewal was the occasion for most of Henry’s sermons concerned with

45 On purity of conscience (*puritas conscientie, puritas cordis*) and actual devotion (*devotio actualis*) as requirements for fruitful communion in the writings of Modern Devout such as Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen, John Brinckerinck, and Thomas a Kempis, see Gerrits, *Inter timorem et spem* (see above, n. 18), 212–219; and John Brinckerinck, *Collacien*, v [*Van den heiligen sacrament*], ed. Moll, ‘Acht collatiën’ (see above, n. 11), there 144: “Ende alsoe veel dienen ons die sacramenten, als wi se mit berouwelicheit ende ynnicheit ontfangen.” On Henry’s influence on John Mombaer’s *Rosary of spiritual exercises and sacred meditations*, see J. Mauburnus, *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* (Mediolani [Milano], 1603), 265: “Non nisi sine actuali devotione, est hoc sacramentum dignissimum accipiendum. Hic rursus grandis offert se materia de qualitate huius devotionis ... de quibus pulcherrime inter ceteros Cousveldiae in suo de sacramento scribit” [on actual devotion]; and 303–304: “Nos hic insequamur magistrum Henricum Cosveldiae qui haec docet circa illud contemplari sublime caput ... Unde dicit. Cum, inquires, ad sacram communionem ... Haec Doctor venerabilis memoratus” [on meditation on the Paschal lamb].

46 Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 95v: “Et hanc estimo causam precipuam quare modernis temporibus tam pauci sacerdotes seculares et etiam religiosi notabiliter in virtutibus et exercitiis spiritualibus proficiunt quamvis cotidie quasi ad sacram communionem accedunt.”

47 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fol. 131r.

devotion. Mystically interpreting the arms of Symeon, which received Christ during the presentation at the temple, as the intellect (*intellectus*) and the affect (*affectus*), Henry asks those who are called to a devout life, to meditate and contemplate Christ (i.e., with the intellect) and to be affected with love (i.e., with the affect), and thus to spiritually expand both arms to receive Christ, viz., to prepare for the appropriate service to God: "Let us receive Him, I say, with devotion; a new devotion (*nova devotio*) will always earn that new grace of which it is said that the Lord lives in us".⁴⁸

The two turtle doves presented by Mary and Joseph at the temple are interpreted by Henry as the contemplative (*vis contemplativa*) and active (*vis activa*) powers of the soul, each having two wings (i.e., the intellect and the affect). The contemplative power is the masculine dove and the active power the female one, the former impregnating the latter. As the former flies higher in cognition and love of God, the latter follows, in a practical judgement to serve and in actual devotion.⁴⁹

	<i>vis contemplativa/speculativa</i>	<i>vis activa/practica</i>
<i>intellectus</i>	<i>cognitio</i> <i>visio</i>	<i>consideratio circa divinum obsequium</i>
<i>affectus</i>	<i>fruitio</i> (<i>amor fruitivus</i>)	<i>devotio rationalis/sensualis</i> (<i>amor activus</i>)

Following Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs (written at the request of the Carthusian Bernard of Portes), Henry compares the nesting of the turtle doves in the cracks and holes of a rock to the meditation on what Christ did for humanity and on the passion of Christ (intellect/contemplative), the amorous compassion with this (affect/contemplative), the consideration of imitating Christ (intellect/active), and the affection linked to this (affect/active).⁵⁰

48 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV*, in Leuven, MSB, MS Mechelen 26, fols. 78r–78v.

49 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV*, in Brussels, KB, MS 1212 (cat. 1945), fols. 132r–133r.

50 Ibidem, fol. 133v.

Devotion, Henry says, leads us to “Christiform” works. Being devout means imitating Christ’s virtues and studying God’s mandates and the statutes of the Church (*hoc enim est devotum esse*). In this respect, Henry refers to recollecting the heart (*cor recolligere*), bringing sins and defects back to the memory (*ad memoriam reducere*) with true repentance, ruminating on the mystery of the incarnation and passion of Christ (*ruminare*), worshipping the divine omnipotence, revering God’s abyssal wisdom with shame and fear, and loving the infinite goodness of God, while virtuously serving the Lord in the hope of eternal remuneration: *sic vivere, fratres mei, est devote vivere*.⁵¹

6 Concluding Remarks

While devotion in Thomas Aquinas’s oeuvre is one of the interior acts of the will within an abstract theological scheme, it becomes a principal and dynamic process, placed in the “present-day” within Henry of Coesfeld’s works.⁵² Bor-

51 Henry of Coesfeld, *Sermo in purificatione BMV*, in Leuven, MSB, MS Mechelen 26, fol. 78v. See John Busch, *Liber de origine devotionis modernae*, cap. 1, ed. K. Grube, *Des Augustinerpropstes Iohannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* [Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete 19] (Halle, 1886), 253: “Plures ergo sacerdotes honesti viri et femine diversis in locis ad eius predicationem corde compuncti totis precordiorum suorum affectibus mundum relinquere et mundanam conversationem deserere et Deo creatori suo in vera penitentia fide spe et caritate et eternorum bonorum amore fideliter deservire ferventissime desiderabant.” See also John Busch, *Liber de viris illustribus*, cap. 27, in *Ibidem*, 75–76: “... hic veram se in vitam contemplativam perfecit, ea quod vera devotio internaue contemplatio non in sententis dulcedinis sed in veris virtutibus et animi qualitatibus fide spe et caritate consummatis consistere comprobatur.”

52 The essential elements of this devout way of life, as outlined in Henry’s theology, can be found in the opening sequence of a Customary of the Brethren of the Common Life; cf. M. Schoengen, ed., *Jacobus Traiecti alias de Voecht, Narratio de inchoatione domus clericorum in Zwollis. Met akten en bescheiden betreffende dit fraterhuis* [Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht. Derde serie 13] (Amsterdam, 1908), 240–241: “... ut sic possint Deo gratum et acceptibile servitium exhibere ... Quia igitur verus profectus vite spiritualis consistit in cordis puritate, qua neglecta frustra ad perfectionem nitimur, que est in caritate, sit igitur summum et cottidianum studium et exercitium nostrum proficere in cordis puritate, ut videlicet primo omnium discamus nosipsos cognoscere, vitia et passiones anime sine dissimulatione dijudicare et eas totis viribus niti extirpare, gulam domare, concupiscentias refrenare, superbiam deprimere, temporalia contempnere, proprias voluntates frangere et alia quelibet vitia impugnan-

rowing from mystical writers from Brabant and the Rhineland (such as John of Ruusbroec and Henry Suso), and mixing elements from Carthusian spirituality (such as the famous pseudo-Bernardian *Letter to the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu*), Henry builds an ascetical-mystical concept of devotion, in which contempt for the world, purity of the heart, progression in the virtues, repentance and inner renewal, Eucharistic piety, meditation on Christ's humanity and passion, "Christiformity" and the imitation of Christ, play a central role. While pointing at the "present-day" moral decline in the religious orders and the church,⁵³ his idea of devotion relates to personal reform, a process of becoming congruent with the "ancient" examples of Christ and the saints. His theology is not anti-mystical nor anti-intellectual in nature, but at the same time it warns against the pitfalls of curiosity (*curiositas*)⁵⁴ and the excesses of mysticism.

One last point that needs to be made deals with the originality of Henry of Coesfeld and the influence of his work. The obvious kinship between Henry's theology and Geert Grote's reform program begs the question of who was influencing whom.⁵⁵ However, one has to realize that Henry's theology was much more a fresh and concise synthesis of existing ideas than a revolutionary vision. Long before Geert Grote's conversion, Carthusians were amongst the earliest

tia expugnare, et inter hec pro veris virtutibus acquirendis summum studium adhibere ut videlicet humilitatem, caritatem, castitatem, patientiam, obedientiam ac alias virtutes, in quibus beneplacitum est Domino Deo, possimus obtinere."

53 Gaens, *Fons hortorum*" (see above, n. 5), there 52–53.

54 Henry often makes use of the word "curious." For example, see Henry of Coesfeld, *De sacramento eucharistie*, in Brussels, KB, MS 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fol. 88r, in which he directly addresses his own "curious" reading audience: "Ex hiis igitur habitis curiosus scrutator multos potest gradus ipsius devotionis elicere quorum unus est altero perfectior et ex consequenti similiter multa genera hominum devotorum quorum quidam sunt minus perfecti quidam perfectiores quidam vero perfectissimi." These warnings against *curiositas* can be regarded as typically Carthusian; see H. Elie, *Les éditions des statuts de l'ordre des chartreux* (Lausanne, 1943), 193–198. Note that the last chapter of the book on the Eucharist in Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, which is entitled *Quod homo non sit curiosus scrutator sacramenti sed humilis imitator Christi*, also warns against this "curious and useless searching."

55 One might be inclined to think that Henry of Coesfeld was one generation younger than Geert Grote, because the former outlived the latter by 26 years. But also Henry Egher of Kalkar, who studied with the two-year-younger Geert Grote at the Paris university, died 24 years after Grote's premature death to the plague. Unfortunately, it is not known whether (and when) Henry of Coesfeld attended university, although in many manuscripts he is given the title of *magister*. See above, n. 2 and 4.

recipients of the teachings of Henry Suso⁵⁶ and John of Ruusbroec.⁵⁷ Long before the Modern Devout idolized monastic texts such as those of David of Augsburg and the pseudo-Bernardian *Specula*,⁵⁸ these were standard literature for Carthusian novices in many charterhouses.⁵⁹ Henry of Coesfeld's theology is a reflection of an intellectual climate that emerged in charterhouses of the Low Countries and the Rhine and Danube regions during the fourteenth century. Henry Egger of Kalkar, who is held responsible for Geert Grote's conversion by the latter's biographers, and Henry of Coesfeld, who was prior during Geert Grote's retreat at the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen, are but its most vocal, authoritative, and influential exponents. It is this intellectual climate that Geert Grote experienced.

The surviving evidence of the circulation of Henry's works in the Low Countries and the Rhineland (see appendix), shows that his texts were read both within the Carthusian Order, as well as in the various (monastic) branches of the Modern Devotion. Henry of Coesfeld could therefore be regarded not only as an influence on reformers, but also as a true theologian of modern-day devotion.

56 On the important role of the Carthusians in the dissemination of Suso's work, see Künzle, *Heinrich Seuses Horologium sapientiae* (see above, n. 44), 217–218; J. van Aelst, *Vruchten van de passie. De laatmiddeleeuwse passieliteratuur verkend aan de hand van Suso's* Honderd artikelen [Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen, 129] (Hilversum, 2011), 135–174.

57 On the Carthusian reception of authors such as Hadewijch and Ruusbroec, see J. Arblaster and R. Faesen, "John of Ruusbroec's Life and Works," in *A Companion to John of Ruusbroec*, ed. J. Arblaster and R. Faesen [Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 51], (Leiden/Boston, 2014), 47–80, there 47; K. Schepers, "Ruusbroec in Latin: Impulses and Impediments," in: *Ibidem*, 237–285, there 242; R. Faesen, "Ruusbroec at the Charterhouse of Herne. How did the Carthusians React to the Eckhart Shock?," in *A Fish Out of Water? (see above, n. 3), 107–125; T. Gaens and F. Hendrickx, "Het vaste ritme van verandering. Vijf eeuwen kartuizergeschiedenis in de Nederlanden (1314–1796)," in Het geheim van de stilte. De besloten wereld van de Roermondse kartuizers*, ed. K. Pansters (Zwolle, 2009), 30–47 and 249–253, there 34 (n. 17–21).

58 See Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers* (see above, n. 1), 278.

59 See, for example, the MS Ljubljana, Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica [National and University Library], 40 (Kos 46) from the early fourteenth century, originating from the Jurklošter [Geirach] charterhouse, or the fourteenth-century MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], lat. 34, originating from the charterhouse of Žiče [Seitz]. See above, n. 17 and 18.

Appendix: Written Sources for the Study of Henry of Coesfeld's Theology

De tribus votis monasticis⁶⁰

- Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 76-A (Williams 281), pp. 255–460
15th century
- olim Antwerpen [Antwerp], Carthusians⁶¹
probably lost
- olim Arnhem, Canons Regular⁶²
probably lost
- Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II. 1. quart. 48, fols. 1r–17v
incomplete, Benedictines of Sankt Mang in Füssen, 15th century
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 225, fols. 167r–212r
long redaction, Franciscans of Brandenburg, 15th century
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1520–1542 (cat. 1467), fols. 33r–48r
15th century
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 5029–5030 (cat. 2159), fols. 1r–68r
Carthusians of Herne, c. 1430
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 9654–9663 (cat. 3707), fols. 222r–236v
Benedictines of Saint-Laurent in Liège, c. 1440
- olim Cambron, Cistercians⁶³
probably lost
- Deventer, Stadsarchief en Athenaeumbibliotheek, 10 w 2 (olim 1 78), fols. 46r–78v
Canons Regular of Windesheim, 1409
- Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 16, fols. 1r–88v
1st half 15th century
- Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 379, fols. 1r–119v
long redaction, Benedictines of Anchin, 1435

60 As reported by Gaens, 'Fons hortorum' (see above, n. 5), there 69 (n. 79) and 73–74 (n. 105–114). The ms Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 918, listed in *Ibidem*, 74 (n. 109)—following the erroneous "Coesfeld" entry in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 7 (1969), 182–184—does not contain Henry's work.

61 According to the Rooklooster register (Wien [Vienna], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s. n. 12694 (hereafter cited as RRL), fol. 159v). A digitized microfilm of the Rooklooster register is available at <http://rrkl.cartusiana.org>.

62 *Idem*.

63 According to J.-N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège et de quelques contrées voisines*, 18 vols. (Louvain, 1763–1770), 7:52.

- Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 1845, fols. 1r–33r
 Carthusian provenance (?), 15th century
 olim Herent, Canons Regular of Bethlehem⁶⁴
 probably lost
- olim Hoeilaart, Canons Regular of Groenendaal⁶⁵
 probably lost
- olim Köln [Cologne], Carthusians⁶⁶
 probably lost
- Köln [Cologne], Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 247, fols. 121r–170r
 Benedictines of Gross Sankt Martin in Cologne, end of 15th / beginning of 16th century
- olim Korsendonk, Canons Regular⁶⁷
 probably lost
- Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, 254, fols. 59r–100r
 long redaction, Benedictines of Lambach, 15th century
- olim Leuven [Louvain], Canons Regular⁶⁸
 probably lost
- Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, 6 G 28, fol. 30v–82r
 Croisiers of Liège, 1466
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 137, fols. 66v–91v
 Carthusians of Mainz, beginning of 15th century
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 306, fols. 3r–84v
 Carthusians of Mainz, 1st half 15th century
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 900, fols. 130r–159r
 long redaction, Benedictines of Melk, 15th century
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 993, fols. 143r–200r
 Benedictines of Melk, 15th century
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1806, fols. 90r–166r
 Benedictines of Melk, 18th century
- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7507, fols. 234r–253v
 Canons Regular of Indersdorf, 15th century
- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14919, fols. 46r–146r
 Benedictines of Sankt Emmeram in Regensburg, 15th century

64 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

65 Idem.

66 According to a 1748 inventory, the charterhouse owned two copies of this text (MS Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB fol. 15, 425).

67 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:52.

68 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18381, fols. 122r–155r
 Benedictines of Tegernsee, 15th century
 olim Oudergem, Canons Regular of Rooklooster⁶⁹
 probably lost
- Praha [Prague], Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], XIII G 15 (cat. 2382), fols. 234r–268v
 Canons Regular of Třeboň [Wittingau], 15th century
 olim Tongeren, Canons Regular⁷⁰
 probably lost
- Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 230/1401, fols. 204r–223r
 Carthusians of Trier, 14th/15th century
- Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 161, fols. 147r–181r
 Carthusians of Utrecht, end of 14th century
- Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 378, fols. 31r–88v
 Canons Regular of Utrecht, early 15th century
- Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, 214, fols. 130r–159r
 Benedictines of Vorau, middle of 15th century
- Wien [Vienna], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4257, fols. 73r–90r
 excerpt; Scotch Benedictines of Wien [Vienna], 15th century

Epistola de instructione iuvenum et novitiorum (Epistola de institutione novitiorum)⁷¹

- olim Antwerpen [Antwerp], Carthusians⁷²
 probably lost
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 705, fols. 2r–25r
 Carthusians of Köln [Cologne], c. 1570
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2415–2418 (cat. 1423), fols. 2r–36v
 Canons Regular of Leuven [Louvain], 14th century
- Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 835, fols. 1r–31r
 Benedictines of Saint-Sépulcre in Cambrai, 1411
- Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 2246, fols. 1r–54v
 Carthusians of Köln [Cologne],⁷³ c. 1600

69 Idem.

70 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:52.

71 As reported by F.J. Worstbrock, “Heinrich von Coesfeld (Henricus Kemenade, Kemendius) OCart,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed., 11 (2004), 616–623, there 619–620, with some additions.

72 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

73 According to a 1748 inventory, the charterhouse owned four copies of this work (MS Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB fol. 15, 425–426).

olim Gaming, Carthusians⁷⁴

probably lost

olim Gent [Ghent], Carthusians⁷⁵

probably lost

Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 621

Carthusian origin, 1423

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10718, fols. 2r–27v

Carthusians of Köln [Cologne], 1468

Praha [Prague], Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], I G 21, pp. 1–66

Carthusians of Valdice [Walditz], 1706⁷⁶

Wien [Vienna], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 15262, fols. 1r–57r

prologue missing, Carthusians of Roermond, 1457

Wien [Vienna], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, S. n. 12889, fols. 69r–108v

Canons Regular of Rooklooster in Oudergem, 2nd half 15th century

olim Zelem (Diest), Carthusians⁷⁷

probably lost

Middle Dutch Translation

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, germ. oct. 430, fols. 17r–84r
15th century

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, germ. qu. 525, fols. 105r–160v
15th century

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, germ. qu. 1122, fols. 1r–48r
15th century

Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 11151–55 (cat. 2377), fols. 218r–299r
16th century

Den Haag [The Hague], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 E 4
Liège-Tongeren-Maastricht, c. 1475

Deventer, Stadsarchief en Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 D 4 (olim I 52)

Sisters of the Common Life of Saint-Ursula in Deventer, c. 1470–1500

Gent [Ghent], Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1764, fols. 28v–74r

Tertiaries of Schagen, 2nd half 15th century

74 According to a note in MS Praha [Prague], Národní knihovna České republiky [National Library of the Czech Republic], I G 21, 66. See note 76.

75 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:52.

76 Copied from a MS belonging to the charterhouse of Gaming (*ex M.S. libello Gemnici 8 Julij 1706*). See n. 74.

77 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:52.

Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Franckesche Stiftungen, P 4, fols. 60v–116r
 Low Countries, c. 1450
 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2383, fols. 165r–225r
 Northeastern Low Countries, c. 1460–1470

De sacramento eucharistie⁷⁸

olim Antwerpen [Antwerp], Carthusians⁷⁹
 probably lost
 olim Arnhem, Canons Regular⁸⁰
 probably lost
 Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 4971–4973 (cat. 2158), fols. 3r–117r
 Carthusians of Herne, 1416
 Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 11811–12 (cat. 2160), fols. 3r–101v
 Canons Regular of Bethlehem in Herent, 1516
 olim Eindhoven (Woensel), Canons Regular⁸¹
 probably lost
 olim Hoeilaart, Canons Regular of Groenendaal⁸²
 probably lost
 olim Köln [Cologne], Carthusians⁸³
 probably lost
 Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB quart. 173, fols. 1r–15v
 incomplete, Benedictines of Gross Sankt Martin in Cologne, c. 1480
 Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 47, fols. 69r–116r
 Carthusians of Mainz, c. 1450–1500
 Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 158, fols. 117r–165v
 Carthusians of Mainz, 1st half 15th century, 1426?
 Leuven [Louvain], KU Leuven [University of Leuven], Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, Mechelen 25, fols. 1r–62r
 Canons Regular of Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, 15th / 16th century
 olim Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, 357
 incomplete, Carthusians of Rettel, lost in WW I

78 As reported by Worstbrock, “Heinrich von Coesfeld” (see above, n. 71), there 620–621, with some additions.

79 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

80 Idem.

81 Idem.

82 Idem.

83 According to a 1748 inventory of the charterhouse (MS Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB fol. 15, 425).

olim Tongeren, Canons Regular⁸⁴

probably lost

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 681/878 8°, fols. 66r–160v

unknown provenance, 1465, later in the possession of the Canons Regular of Sankt German

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 327/1999 4°, fols. 220r–223v

incomplete, Benedictines of Sankt Matthias in Trier, 15th century

Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 904, fols. 108r–145v

Croisiers of Huy, 1st half 15th century

olim Zelem (Diest), Carthusians⁸⁵

probably lost

Sermones⁸⁶

olim Aggsbach, Carthusians⁸⁷

probably lost

olim Antwerpen [Antwerp], Carthusians⁸⁸

probably lost

olim Arnhem, Canons Regular⁸⁹

probably lost

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VIII 18, fols. 4r–17r

Carthusians of Basel, 2nd half 15th century; the outline of the MS on fol. 1r mentions the sermons were written by *Henrici de Cosveldia quondam prioris in diest Carthus.*

olim Brugge [Bruges], Carthusians⁹⁰

probably lost

Brussel [Brussels], Carthusians⁹¹

probably lost

84 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

85 Idem.

86 As reported by Worstbrock, “Heinrich von Coesfeld” (see above, n. 71), there 622, and Gaens, “*Fons hortorum*” (see above, n. 5), there 82 (n. 156), with some additions.

87 According to MS Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1850, fol. 38r.

88 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

89 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

90 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:53.

91 A suppression inventory of the charterhouse of Brussel [Brussels] made by the Austrian administration lists a MS containing chapter sermons by Henry of Coesfeld. See *Liste des manuscrits trouvés au couvent supprimé des Chartreux à Bruxelles*, ed. J. Machiels, *Inventarissen van kloosterbibliotheken door Jozef II afgeschapt en aanwezig in het Algemeen*

- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1212 (cat. 1945)
 Canons Regular of Groenendaal in Hoeilaart, 1440⁹²
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2415–2418 (cat. 1423), fols. 48r–70v (*De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum*)
 Canons Regular of Leuven [Louvain], 15th century⁹³
- Brussel [Brussels], Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2641–2647 (cat. 1371), fols. 91r–100v (*De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum*)
 Canons Regular of Rooklooster in Oudergem, 15th century⁹⁴
- Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 403
 Carthusians of Köln [Cologne], c. 1425–1450⁹⁵
- Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, B 191, fols. 1r–145v
 Benedictines of Werden
- Grande Chartreuse, Archives, 3 Henr 1 (*olim* 1062)
 15th century
- olim Herent, Canons Regular of Bethlehem (*Collatio de generibus devotorum*)⁹⁶
 probably lost
- Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, 434, fols. 1r–121v
 Carthusians of Geirach / provenance: Carthusians of Schnals, 15th century
- København [Copenhagen], Kongelige Bibliothek, Ny kgl. s. 1596, fols. 1r–200v
 Carthusians of Weddern near Dülmen, 15th century
- Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB fol. 163, fols. 67r–234v
 Croisiers of Cologne, c. 1450–1500
- Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB quart. 34, fols. 52r–54v
 Croisiers of Cologne, 15th century
- Leuven [Louvain], KU Leuven [University of Leuven], Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, Mechelen 26
 Canons Regular of Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, 15th century
- Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, 6 F 22, fols. 29v–30v
 Croisiers of Huy, 15th century

Rijksarchief (nrs. 52–95) [Algemeen Rijksarchief en Rijksarchief in de Provinciën. Reprints 169] (Brussel 2000), 522 (no. 12): “Sermones capitulares Patris Henrici Coesvelli in 4°, manuscrit sur papier.”

92 Probably the same MS which is mentioned in the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

93 Idem.

94 Idem.

95 See also the 1748 inventory of the charterhouse, which mentions one collection of sermons (MS Köln [Cologne], Historisches Archiv, GB fol. 15, 425).

96 According to the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 159v).

- olim Lier, Carthusians⁹⁷
 probably lost
- olim Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 59
 Carthusians of Mainz, 15th century, lost
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 115a, fols. 396r–399v
 Carthusians of Mainz, 15th century
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, I 306, fols. 95r–136r
 Carthusians of Mainz, 1st half 15th century
- Melk, Benediktinerstift, 140, fols. 70r–71r and 73r–275v
 Benedictines of Melk, 15th century
- olim Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, 374
 Carthusians of Rettel, 1470, lost during ww II
- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18390, fols. 143r–294r
 Benedictines of Tegernsee, 1454
- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18528b, fols. 74r–91r
 Benedictines of Tegernsee, 1473
- München [Munich], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18551, fols. 212r–244r
 Benedictines of Tegernsee, 15th century
- olim Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, 748 (cat. 134), fols. 50v–90v
 lost during ww II
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 61, pp. 454–475 [olim Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1760] (*De devotione et generibus devotorum excerptis ex dictis cuiusdam doctoris theologie Karthusiensis ordinis*)
 Benedictines of Melk, 1452–1453
- Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, 55
 Benedictines of Trier, 1469
- Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 238/1392 8°
 Carthusians of Trier, 15th century
- Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 295/1968 8°, fols. 218r–227r
 Carthusians of Trier, c. 1470
- Wien [Vienna], Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, S. n. 12848, fols. xcii–cxxiv (*De multiplici devotione sive de diversis generibus devotorum*)
 Canons Regular of Rooklooster in Oudergem, 2nd half 15th century⁹⁸

97 According to Paquot, *Mémoires* (see above, n. 63), 7:53. Probably, this is the same MS which is mentioned in the Rooklooster register for the Carthusians of Antwerp (see above, n. 87).

98 Probably one of the MSS which are mentioned in the Rooklooster register (RRKL, fol. 422v).