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ENTRE STABILITÉ ET ITINÉRANCE
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Sous la direction de
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VILLANOVA (États-Unis), Villanova University, Augustinian Historiaca Institute M 1 : 259
VORAU, Stiftsbibliothek, 154 : 316
WARSZAWA, Biblioteka narodowa, Abt. Chart. Lat. F. I, 392 : 316
WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3697 : 316
—, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 15383 (Suppl. 2783) : 422
—, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 311 : 316
—, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova 3615 : 316
WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt 884 : 316
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WORCESTER, Cathedral Library, F.117 : 316
WROCLAW, Biblioteka uniwersytecka, I.F. 334 : 305, 316
—, Biblioteka uniwersytecka, I.F. 481 : 316
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Table des matières

INTRODUCTION.....	7
I. LES BIBLIOTHÈQUES MENDIANTES ET L'ÉTUDE DANS LES LIVRES	
Emanuele FONTANA La bibliothèque du couvent des frères mineurs de Padoue (XIII ^e -XIV ^e siècle).....	13
Claire ANGOTTI Les bibliothèques des couvents mendiants, un modèle pour les séculiers ? L'exemple des deux premiers bienfaiteurs de la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne (Robert de Sorbon, Gérard d'Abbeville)	31
Martin MORARD La bibliothèque évaporée. Livres et manuscrits des dominicains de Toulouse (1215-1840).....	73
Jeffrey H. HAMBURGER et Eva SCHLOTHEUBER Books in Women's Hands: Liturgy, Learning and the Libraries of Dominican Nuns in Westphalia	129
II. LES FRÈRES ET LES SŒURS DES ORDRES MENDIANTS ET LEURS LIVRES : RÉSEAUX INSTITUTIONNELS, RÉSEAUX PERSONNELS	
Nicoletta GIOVÈ Sante scritture. L'autografia dei santi francescani dell'osservanza del Quattrocento.....	161
Letizia PELLEGRINI Cultura del libro e pratiche dei libri nell'Osservanza italiana (xv secolo)	189
Christine GADRAT Dans et hors le couvent : la circulation des livres autour de Niccolò Galgani (O.P. † 1424) dans la société siennoise et florentine.....	203
Sylvie DUVAL Usages du livre et de l'écrit chez les moniales dominicaines observantes (Italie, 1400-1450 ca.).....	215

Xavier HERMAND	
Copie et circulation des livres chez les croisiers réformés au xv ^e siècle	229
Cécile CABY	
Les ermites de saint Augustin et leurs livres à l’heure de l’humanisme : autour de Guglielmo Becchi et Ambrogio Massari.....	247
 III. LIVRES ET TEXTES : CIRCULATION ET RÉCEPTION	
Dominique POIREL	
Circulation des manuscrits, des textes et des idées : la réception des œuvres de Saint-Victor dans l’ordre franciscain.....	289
Sophie DELMAS	
La <i>Summa de abstinencia</i> attribuée à Nicolas de Biard : circulation et réception.....	303
Philippe BOBICHON	
La « bibliothèque » de Raymond Martin au couvent Sainte-Catherine de Barcelone : sources antiques et chrétiennes du <i>Pugio Fidei</i> (ca. 1278).....	329
Edit MADAS	
Les ordres mendiants en Hongrie et la littérature médiévale en langue vernaculaire (xiii ^e -xv ^e siècle).....	367
Gilbert FOURNIER	
<i>Unus pro multis</i> . La réception de Maître Eckhart dans les <i>Sermons</i> de Jean Tauler (Bâle, Adam Petri, 1521)	375
Fabienne HENRYOT	
Le livre en héritage : les religieux mendiants face aux manuscrits médiévaux au xvii ^e siècle	439
INDEX DES MANUSCRITS ET DES DOCUMENTS D’ARCHIVES	459

Couvents	Fondation	Province après 1303	Mss attestés	Imprimés attestés	Dates d’attestation	Mss conservés
Toulouse	1215	T	142		(1789)	143 c.
Valence	1230	P	0			0

Books in Women’s Hands: Liturgy, Learning and the Libraries
of Dominican Nuns in Westphalia

Jeffrey F. HAMBURGER, Eva SCHLOTHEUBER

The religious practices and intellectual skills of Dominican nuns in the late Middle Ages are generally not very well known. In contrast to their appreciation of the highly educated Dominican friars, most scholars tend to disregard the intellectual formation and learning of the nuns as presumably negligible. The impressive graduals written by the sisters of the convent of Paradies near Soest, however, once more raise the basic question of the educational background of Dominican nuns in the late medieval period. This question is difficult to answer, particularly for the fourteenth century¹. On the one hand, sources from within convents, that is, manuscripts written by the women themselves, such as convent diaries, collections of letters, etc., are much scarcer than in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the women’s education depended on several factors: the stance of the order or the province, on the supervision of the local Dominican friars, and the social status of the families whose daughters convened at the nunnery. We therefore begin with the historical context of the two Westphalian convents, St. Marien in Lemgo and Paradies near Soest, as well as the normative foundations of the women’s education and training. After that, with the help of the library catalogue of the Dominican nuns in Lemgo, this paper proceeds to a discussion of the intellectual horizons of women in Westphalia in the second half of the fourteenth century.

THE DOMINICAN NUNS IN LEMGO AND SOEST

The Dominican convent of Paradies near Soest was founded in 1252 when the wealthy and powerful Hanseatic city of Soest had already become the most important economic and cultural center of the northern part of Westphalia². About ten years later, in 1265, a second community of Dominican

1. Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 2004 (Contubernium, 60); see recently Eva Schlotheuber, «Bücher und Bildung in den Frauengemeinschaften der Bettelorden», in *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen. Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland*, Eva Schlotheuber – Ingrid Gardill – Helmut Flachenecker ed., Göttingen, 2008 (Studien zur Germania Sacra, 235 / Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 235), p. 241-262. Eva Schlotheuber, «Educación y Formación, Saber Práctico y Teórico en los Monasterios Femeninos en la Baja Edad Media [Practical Knowledge and Scholarship: Convent Education in the Late Middle Ages]», in *Anuario Estudios Medievales* (forthcoming 2014).

2. Hieronymus Wilms, *Geschichte der deutschen Dominikanerinnen 1206–1916*, Dülmen, 1920, p. 49-50. Marga Koske, «Zur Geschichte des ehemaligen Klosters / Stifts Paradiese », *Soester Zeitschrift* 101 (1989), p. 121-168. Michael Gosmann, «Paradiese – Dominikanerinnen», in *Westfälisches Klosterbuch*, vol. 2 (1994), p. 262-268. Manfred Wolf, Kirchen Klöster, Frömmigkeit, in *Soest. Geschichte der Stadt*, vol. 2 (Die Welt der Bürger. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im spätmittelalterlichen Soest), Soest 1996, p. 842-863. Jutta Prieur, «Von der Gründung bis zur Aufhebung: Das Schicksal der Dominikanerinnenklöster in Köln, Soest und Lemgo», in *Klostersturm und Fürstenrevolution: Staat und Kirche zwischen Rhein und Weser*, Ulrike Gärtner ed., Dortmund, 2003, p. 38-49; Jeffrey Hamburger ed., *Leaves from Paradise: The Cult of John the Evangelist at the Dominican Convent of Paradies bei Soest*, Cambridge, 2008.

nuns was first established in Lahde near Minden. The two houses remained the only convents of Dominican nuns in the later Province of Saxony until the end of the fifteenth century. The driving forces behind this new foundation were the Dominican prior from Minden, Johannes *Sapiens*, and the Dominican friar Otto of Hoya³. Due to long and exhausting conflicts with the heirs of the founders, the nuns decided to relocate the convent in the city, Lemgo at the church of St Mary. The rather difficult translocation of the nunnery from Lahde to Lemgo in 1306 was forced and supported by the famous Dominican friar, Meister Eckhart, provincial vicar of Saxony at that time (1303-1311)⁴, and the prior of the Dominican friars in Minden, Johannes von dem Busche (*de Busco*). Those two men were obviously deeply engaged with the fortunes of the nunneries and may have been representatives of a certain political direction within the order⁵. Johannes von dem Busche who later became prior in Soest (1310)⁶ was a special promoter of the nuns of St Marien / Lemgo and Paradies / Soest. In 1311 he succeeded Eckhard von Hochheim as provincial vicar of Saxony⁷. The connection of the family von dem Busche to the convent remained intact for the next two centuries, as several of its members later lived in St. Marien. The move to Lemgo initiated a period of prosperity for the Dominican nuns. Simon I von der Lippe endowed them with the *ius patronatus* over all three parish churches of Lemgo (St. Johannes, St. Nicolai, and St. Marien)⁸. No new churches, chapels, or even altars could be established without the nuns' approval. As such, the Dominican nuns were the decisive power in Lemgo's ecclesiastical life. As in Paradies near Soest, the convent provided a place for the daughters of the high and the lower nobility as well as of the patrician families who had become rich through overseas trade.

Influential Dominicans were involved in the establishment of the two nunneries in Westfalia. The second «founder» of Paradies was the learned Albertus Magnus who approved the admission of the two convents into the monastic order and performed the clothing ceremony («investiture») of the

3. Erich Kittel, *Kloster und Stift St. Marien in Lemgo 1265-1965*, Detmold, 1965. Cornelia Halm, *Klosterleben in Mittelalter: Die Dominikanerinnen in Lemgo, von der Klostergründung bis zur Reformation*, Detmold, 2004 (Sonderveröffentlichungen des Naturwissenschaftlichen und Historischen Vereins für das Land Lippe, 71).

4. Westfälisches Urkundenbuch [UB], vol. 10 *Die Urkunden des Bistums Minden (1301-1325)*, Robert Krumboltz ed., 2nd edition Joseph Prinz ed., Münster, 1977, n° 180, p. 67 (1306 April 19). Because they were not able to live any longer in Lahde in peace, they discussed the possibility of moving the whole convent especially with the provincial Eckhard von Hochheim and the Minden prior Johannes von dem Busche «... nos advertentes, quod non nisi in tranquillitate pacis bene colitur auctor pacis, cogitavimus, tractavimus et deliberavimus diligenter cum religiosus viris magistro Ecgehardo, provinciali ordinis Predicatorum, fratre Johanne de Busco, priore Myndensi, necnon fratribus et conversis nostris...» For Meister Eckhart as provincial friar of Saxony, see Helmut G. Walter, «Ordensstudium und theologische Profilbildung. Die studia generalia in Erfurt und Paris an der Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert», in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, Andreas Speer – Lydia Wegener, Berlin, New York, 2005 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 32), p. 75-94.

5. For the struggle concerning the nuns as members of the order within the order, see Otmar Decker, *Die Stellung des Predigerordens zu den Dominikanerinnen*, Leipzig, 1935 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, 31). Isnard Wilhelm Frank, «Die Dominikanerinnen als Zweiter Orden der Dominikaner», in *Fromme Frauen – unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentum im Mittelalter*, ed. von Edeltraud Klüeting, Hildesheim [et al.] 2006 (Hildesheimer Forschungen 3), p. 105-125.

6. Westfälisches UB, vol. 11 *Die Urkunden des kölnischen Westfalen 1301-1325*, ed. Manfred Wolf, Münster, 2000, n° 761, p. 433 (1310 März 16).

7. Paulus von Loe, *Statistisches über die Ordensprovinz Saxonien*, Leipzig, 1910 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, 4) p. 16.

8. Westfälisches UB, vol. 10, n° 149, p. 51-52; C. Halm, «Klosterleben in Mittelalter», p. 33.

nuns⁹. Probably in 1255, when he visited the nunnery in Soest, he preached to the nuns. This sermon was as an important part of the community's memory summarized in the founding legend of the monastery¹⁰. Albertus Magnus instructed them never to reveal the secrets of the order or the chapters: «Et hoc adiunxit firmiter: [...] Nihil dare, nihil servare, nihil recipere, nihil de secretis ordinis vel capituli, vel etiam intus vel foris alicuius fratris vel sororis relevare debetis vel recitare alicui homini quantum- cumque familiaris sit, ne vera pax et caritas tepescat inter vos vel, quod absit, non destruat¹¹.» This interior regulation is partly the reason why we know so little of the daily life of the convents. Not before 1287, both convents Paradies and St. Marien in Lemgo were formally taken into the *comissio* of order, which meant that they were subject to Dominican supervision (*sub cura, regimine* and *magisterio*) and the Dominican theological doctrine, the *doctrina*¹².

While the Dominicans in Minden, who remained responsible for the theological instruction of the women in Lemgo, had only a convent studium (*studium particulare*), the Dominican convent in Soest was home to a theological seminary with a suitably well-equipped library¹³. All friars, however, were also able to access the Dominican's own curriculum and the general study institutions of Saxonia in Erfurt and Magdeburg. Selected members of the order, such as the Minden prior, Johannes von dem Busche, studied in Paris¹⁴. The convents of Minden and Soest played quite an important role within

9. Heinrich von Herford, *Liber de rebus memorabilibus sive Chronicon*, ed. A. Potthast, vol. 2, Göttingen, 1859, p. 201: «Et tunc monasterium sororum ordinis predicatorum apud Sosatum, quod dicitur Paradysus, recipit [sc. Albertus Magnus] et fundari iubet, et sorores per se introducens, benedictione sua stabilivit.» Albertus Magnus supported the nuns and his sister lived in the convent of the dominican nuns S. Catherinae in Augsburg where he preached to them *in vulgari*; see Jean B. Schneyer, «Alberts des Großen Augsburger Predigtzyklus über den hl. Augustinus», *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 36 (1969), p. 100-148, here p. 119-126. A new edition of the foundation legend is in preparation; see Hamburger and Schlotheuber, *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning*.

10. The legend «De institutione Paradysi et humili ingressu sororum» was recorded about 1325 as the beginning of the *Kopialbuch*, a book with the copies of the convent's charters, Staatsarchiv Münster, Ms. VII N. 6107, f. 1r-6r; *De institutione Paradysi et humili ingressu sororum* (1252), ed. Johannes S. Seibert, in *Quellen der Westfälischen Geschichte*, vol. 1, Arnsberg, 1857, p. 4-13. For the critical appreciation of the founder's legend, see Norbert Eickermann, «Heinrich von Osthoven aus Soest. Gründungsgeschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Paradiese (Urfassung)», in *Westfälische Quellen im Bild*, Alfred Bruns ed., Münster, 1974, p. 9-15.

11. Staatsarchiv Münster, Ms. VII N° 6107, f. 3r. J.S. Seibert, *De institutione*, p. 8.

12. Westfälisches UB, vol. 7, *Die Urkunden des kölnischen Westfalen 1200-1300*, ed. Staatsarchiv Münster, Regensburg, 1901-1908, n° 2058, p. 967-968: «sub cura, regimine et magisterio prioris provincialis Theutonie». O. Decker, «Die Stellung des Predigerorden». As early as 1255, the General Chapter had agreed to incorporating Paradies into the order, and Pope Alexander had agreed to permit them to live according to the statutes of the Dominicans; (iuxta instituta dilectorum fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum); Westfälisches UB, vol. 11 n° 551, p. 253. See Simon Tugwell, «Were the Magdalen nuns really turned into Dominicans in 1287?» in *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum* 75 (2005), p. 29-79, here Appendix 2 (Boccamazza's generalis commissio). The control over *temporalia* was not connected with this act in 1287; the administration over temporal affairs henceforth apparently lay with the members of the town council of Soest (Soester Ratsherren) as representatives. (Paradies-Herren); see M. Wolf, Kirchen, p. 855.

13. Norbert Eickermann, «Miscellanea Susatensis II. Zur Geschichte der Soester Dominikanerbibliothek», *Soester Zeitschrift* 86 (1974), p. 27-35. Bernd Michael, «Die Bibliothek der Soester Dominikaner. Ein Verzeichnis ihrer erhaltenen Handschriften», *Soester Zeitschrift* 102 (1990), p. 8-31. Sigrid Krämer ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Erg.-Bd. 1: Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters, vol. 2, p. 729-730.

14. For the growth of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Westphalia, see Kaspar Elm, «Mendikantenstudium, Laienbildung und Klerikerschulung im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen», in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters

the order: not only was Johannes von dem Busche prior of Minden and Soest before being elected as provincial vicar, Johannes von Melemberg (1336-1340), *magister Theologie* in Paris in 1335, was also the head of the Minden friars before he assumed responsibility for Saxonia, during which time he continued to support the nuns in Lemgo¹⁵. In 1316 the provincial chapter was held in Minden and the convent was home to influential chroniclers such as Heinrich of Herford and Hermann of Lerbecke¹⁶.

Particularly for women's convents, the second half of the fourteenth century is generally considered to be a period of decline in monastic discipline and learning. The assumption is that the communities had been depleted by the plague and did not regain their previous size after the mid-century, which diminished the educational level as well as the intensity of religious life. The decline is usually attributed to the nuns' accumulation of private property and the easing of enclosure. The gradual from Paradies (Düsseldorf D 12) clearly indicates that the nuns had private property; an inscription states that sister Hadewych de Lydenscheid and sister Elizabeth paid for the choir book from their own expenses: «Hunc librum comparaverunt soror Hadewygis de Ludenscheyde et soror Elyzabet solidi in expensis propriis et soror Elizabeth Rathus¹⁷ scripsit. Harum anime requiescant in pace. Amen¹⁸.»

For sure, abolition of private property and observance of enclosure were the most important demands of monastic reformers in the fifteenth century. Scholarly research thus assumes the observants' critique. However, by establishing a contrast to the old way of life, the monastic reformers tried particularly to establish the new religious ideal of interiority: physical as well as subjective, devotional theology, and, above all, a fundamentally new educational ideal¹⁹. By denouncing the old educational traditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a «lack of education», the monastic reformers painted a biased picture of the decline of religious life. Following this, scholars have for the most part

1978-1981, Bernd Moeller – Hans Patze – Karl Stackmann ed., Göttingen, 1983 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen – *Hist.-Phil. Kl.* 3, n° 137), p. 586-617, here p. 589.

15. P. v. Löe, «Statistisches über die Ordensprovinz», p. 17; Heinrich Meibom, *Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 2: *Scriptores Germanicos*, Helmstedt 1688, p. 525-532, here p. 531. Johannes von Melemberg helped to close down a new school in Lemgo in the *civitas nova* because the students were disturbing the nuns.

16. Heinrich von Herford could have been the confessor of the nuns in Lemgo, see Heinrich von Herford, *Liber de rebus memorabilibus*, p. 244. Heinrich Finke, «Zur Biographie der Dominikaner Hermann von Minden, Hermann von Lerbecke und Hermann Korner», in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 11 (1890) p. 447-450. The convent of the Dominican friars of Minden was home to the *Chronicon monasterii in Lahde, Dioecesis Mindensis post in oppidum Lemgo translata*, and Heinrich von Lerbecke might have been the author of the chronicle; H. Meibom, *Rerum Germanicarum*, p. 525-532. See Klaus Peter Schumann, *Heinrich von Herford. Enzyklopädische Gelehrsamkeit und universalhistorische Konzeption im Dienste dominikanischer Studienbedürfnisse*, Münster, 1996 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Religionsgeschichte, 4). Klaus Peter Schumann, «Petrus Comestor und Petrus Lombardus in Minden? Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der dominikanischen Partikularschulen im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen», in *Manipulus Florum. Aus Mittelalter, Landesgeschichte und Historiographie*. Festschrift für Peter Johanek zum 60. Geburtstag, Ellen Widder – Mark Mersio-wsky ed., Münster, 2000, p. 151-169.

17. Elizabeth Rathus probably belonged to a family named «Rothus»; Aleydis Rothus and her daughter were among those who first entered the community as the founder generation; Staatsarchiv Münster, Ms. VII N° 6107, f. 2r; see also N. Eickermann, «Heinrich von Osthoven aus Soest», p. 11.

18. Düsseldorf D 12, f. 13v.

19. See Eva Schlotheuber, «Bildung und Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsidee der Franziskanerobservanten», in *Könige, Landesherren und Bettelorden. Konflikt und Kooperation in West- und Mitteleuropa bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Dieter Berg ed., Werl, 1998 (Saxonia Franciscana, 10), p. 419-434.

assumed that in the fourteenth century, Dominican nuns no longer had a sufficient command of Latin and were therefore excluded from learned educational traditions²⁰.

NORMATIVE REGULATIONS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DOMINICAN NUNS

Scholarly skepticism regarding the theological education of religious women is supported by the fact that the order's normative regulations virtually exclude any learned theological education of religious women in a more narrow sense. In his *Summa quaestionum ordinariam*, the influential Parisian Magister Henry of Ghent († 1293) concluded that women were not permitted education in theological sciences, not even if they expressly demanded so, because «curiose sunt ad sciendum mulieres»²¹. In the same vein, Henry of Ghent's *Responsum* fundamentally applied also to the *religiosae*, the Dominican nuns, because according to canonical law ordained nuns were considered lay people as well. With regard to the education of the Dominican nuns, the superior general, Humbert de Romans, in his work *De eruditione* arrives at the same conclusion: given that comprehensive knowledge of theological and dogmatic principles were necessary for preaching, they were not to be taught to the women. Four reasons were given: 1) women's lack of intellectual capability (*defectus sensus*), 2) their subordinate position under the supervision of Dominican friars (*conditio subiectionis*), 3) the dissipation they would provoke were they to preach (*ad luxuriam*), and 4) the importance of their serving as a reminder of the stupidity of the first woman (*in memoriam stultitiae primae mulieris*) – meaning Eve's momentous mistake²². This «integration», or rather «subordination», of the women in the religious culture of learned knowledge has led to an image of religious women in normative sources (which were written by superiors of the order) as being without any qualifications intellectually. Neither the rules nor their interpretations, the *consuetudines*, hint at a particular education of the future nuns or at a demand for competence in Latin²³. In practice, however, the restrictive stance of the

20. M.-L. Ehrenschtendner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen*; for the discussion of this approach, see E. Schlotheuber, «Bücher und Bildung», p. 241-262.

21. Henry of Ghent, *Summae quaestionum ordinariam* (Reprint of the 1520 Edition), ed. Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventurae, New York, 1953, Art. XII, De audire Theologiae Questio II, fol. LXXVIII: «Primum: utrum mulier possit esse auditor sacrae scripturae. [...] Unde multum fatve agunt qui mulieres ultra id quod decet et expedit eas scire ex hac scientia instruit; de maxime qui eis occulta scripture pandunt et in vulgari sermone sacros libros eis transferunt ad legendum.» See also Klaus Schreiner, «Die lesende und schreibende Maria als Symbolgestalt religiöser Frauenbildung», in *Die lesende Frau*, Gabriele Signori ed., Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 113-154, here p. 138.

22. Fr. Humberti de Romanis, *De eruditione Praedicatorum*, Lib. I c. XI «De persona praedicatoris», in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, vol. 25, Lyon, 1677, p. 435: «Circa personam est notandum, quod debet esse sexus virilis [...] Huius autem ratio est quadruplex. Prima est defectus sensui, de quo non praesumitur in muliere tantum sicut in viro. Secunda est, conditio subiectionis, quae inflicta est ei: Praedicator autem tenet locum excellentem. Tertia est, quia si praedicat, aspectu suo provocaret ad luxuriam, sicut dixit Glossa hic. Quarta in memoriam stultitiae primae mulieris.» See also the edition of Humbert von Romans, *De eruditione Praedicatorum libri duo*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, in *Opera de vita regulari*, 2 vol., Rom, 1888-1889, ND 1956, vol. 2, p. 373-484; Theodor Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, Rom 1975, n° 2013, p. 288; also recently Serge Lusignan, «Humbert de Romans et la communication écrite au sein de l'ordre des Dominicains», in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, Lionel Rousselot – Sophie Cassagnes – Brouquet – Amaury Chauou – Daniel Pichot ed., Rennes, 2003, p. 201-209. E. Schlotheuber, «Bücher und Bildung», p. 250.

23. C. Halm, «Klosterleben» (Appendix: Auslegung der Regel Humberts von Romans für die Dominikanerinnen); M.-L. Ehrenschtendner, «Bildung», p. 250-260.

institutional church towards the women made little sense. Of course they had to have knowledge of Latin for choir service. In addition, their religious vocation posed a sizable challenge to the intellectual comprehension of their own way of life, especially regarding the observance of enclosure. This was also known to the superior general, Humbert de Romans. Outside of the order's discourse, with a different audience, that is, addressing the future nuns and their families, he stressed that the girls should preferably study Latin at home before their entry into the convent. Then they could easily receive profound instruction in exegesis, just like the learned Eustochium and Paula²⁴. The religious women's competence in languages and their literary scope can thus not be deduced only from the normative sources, but also have to be critically assessed and worked up concretely from historical tradition.

THE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF THE DOMINICAN NUNS OF ST. MARIEN

Because we know only very little about the time before the great monastic reform of the fifteenth century, the survival of the library catalogue of the Dominican nuns of Lemgo represents a real stroke of luck²⁵ [Fig. 1]. The catalogue was written at the end of the fourteenth century and was folded in a soft binding made from a monastic document dated 1386. The catalogue of books encompasses sixty-five titles in about seventy to seventy-five volumes and is headed by the title: «the library of the nuns of Lemgo includes those books that are here recorded as follows, with the exception of those that are necessary for religious service in the choir.» («Liberaria sororum in Lemego libros continet hic conscriptos / hiis exceptis quos chorus habet necessarios pro divino officio peragendo».)²⁶ The books were ordered according to size, and the book collection was almost completely in Latin; the few volumes in vernacular are listed at the very back under the soft binding before the school texts.

The large-scale manuscripts in *modulus maior* (thus probably in folio form) were bible texts, the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great, the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, as well as a collection of sermons in two volumes with a winter and a summer part. The manuscript of the gospels that technically would have belonged here was missing because it was needed in the convent school: «Librum unum aliqua ewangelia continentem quem habet scola».²⁷ This is one of the few specific hints pointing to the nuns' education in the convent's own school. The *modulus magnus* included two martyrologies, the biographies of the church fathers and Dominican friars, probably by Gerard of Frachet (*Vitas patrum*, *Vitas fratrum*), the *Collationes patrum* of John Cassian, and two interpretations of the Augustinian rule, namely by Humbert de Romans and Hugh of Saint Victor, the latter bound together with the Decalogue by Henricus de Frimaria. It also included a *Speculum virginum*, a text that, as Jeffrey Hamburger has determined, was among those quoted by the nuns of Paradies. Quite a few of

24. Humbertus de Romanis, *Sermones beati Umberti Burgundi*, vol. 1, Venedig 1603, Sermo 48, *Ad sorores Praedicatorum*, p. 50. See Claude Carozzi, «Humbert de Romans et la prédication», in *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*. Colloque de Fanjeaux, Toulouse, 2001 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux. Collection d'histoire religieuse du Languedoc au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, 36), p. 249-261.

25. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L110 B, N° 18. A critical edition of the library catalogue by Eva Schlotheuber will be part of the publication Jeffrey Hamburger is preparing on the graduals of Paradies bei Soest.

26. The *puellae scholares* of the Dominican convent at Lemgo are also mentioned in a document dated August 15, 1323, according to which they are permitted 20 chickens on seven days during Lent, as well as an extra portion of eggs on Easter; *Lippische Regesten*, ed. Otto Preuß / August Falkmann, Lemgo 1863, vol. 2, N° 689 p. 107.

27. *Ibid.*

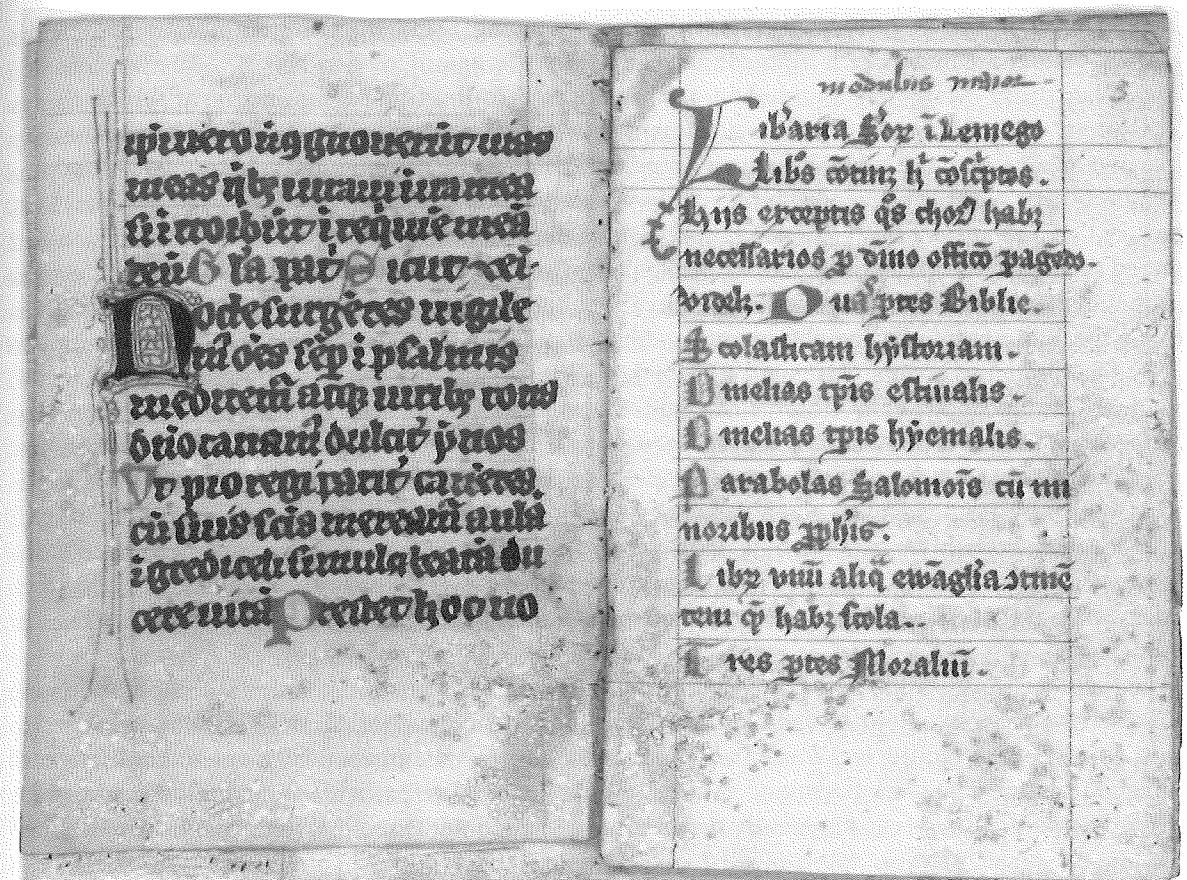


Fig. 1. Detmold, Staatsarchiv L 110, N° 18, f. 3.

the manuscripts that were stored in the *modulus minorum* on the desk had been private property before they entered into the library's possession. Sister Richeydis had owned *De praeparatione cordis* by Hugh of St. Cher (O. Cist., 13th century) or Hugh of St. Cher (OP, † 1263)²⁸, and a Ps.-Bonaventura, *De perfectione virtutum*. Goste von Wierborn had owned a work on the perfection of the virtues, and Adelheid von Letelen, Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*. This was also the place of three medical manuscripts, one in hard cover, and two medical collections in soft bindings. A *liber medicinalis* from St. Marien in a similar soft binding, assembled from innumerable sheets of various date, has also survived²⁹. Parts of it were written in the fourteenth century, possibly going back to one of two collections of medical recipes. The predominantly Latin recipes listed here indicate the exact apothecaries' weight and pharmaceutical abbreviations – many of them referring to the plague that

28. Nigel F. Palmer, «The authorship of De doctrina cordis», in *A Companion to The Doctrine of the Heart. The Middle English Translation and its Latin and European Contexts*, ed. by Denis Renevey – Christiania Whitehead ed., Exeter 2010, p. 19-56.

29. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L 110, N° 19. See Friedrich Gerlach, *Aus mittelalterlichen Klosterbüchereien*, Lemgo, 1934, p. 10-17.

wreaked havoc in Lemgo in 1350. It ends with the entry saying: «scito quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis!» – but know that there is no medicine against love³⁰.

After her death, Margarete Budde had a book donated to the library, the incipit of which names *Frater Ambrosius*. Margarete Budde is documented to have been in the convent in 1366³¹, and she may have owned a copy of the bible, because *Frater Ambrosius* is the beginning of a letter by Hieronymus to Paulinus that generally preceded bible manuscripts. An addition at the end of the page lists the chess book, called *Schachzabelbuch – Ludus scacorum* of the Dominican, Jacobus de Cessolis, which had entered the library from the ownership of Hellenburg Bose³². This sort of allegorical reading of estates was popular among the nobility to which Hellenburg belonged³³. Her brother, the knight Konrad, was among the major patrons of the community and had donated in their church an altar to St. Katherine in 1383. The biological sisters Goste and Elisabeth of Wierborn had owned a work that was ascribed to the great Dominican scholar, Albertus Magnus, *Librum de virtutibus animalium, arborum, herbarum et specierum* (about 1290), dealing with the *virtus* of plants, stones, and animals³⁴. Among the smallest books with a hard cover (*modulus minimus in asseribus ligatus*) were additional volumes originating as private property. Richeydis had given the work *De doctrina cordis* by Hugh of St. Cher to the library³⁵, and a *Mariale*, probably by the Dominican Richard of St. Laurent († c. 1250), had once belonged to the Dominican prior, Johannes Sapiens. With this volume, the women's library also retained part of its own history, as Johannes Sapiens had once facilitated the establishment of the nuns' community in Lahde near Minden.

The next section lists the soft-bound volumes, many of which had also entered the library as the nuns' private property. Gertrud von Huckenhusen, for instance, who died in 1374³⁶ and belonged to a respected Lemgo family, had owned a *Tabula exemplorum*, an alphabetically ordered collection of exempla in Latin. The work contained genuinely funny examples, particularly under the keyword *De IX filiabus diaboli*, and was apparently directed at a learned audience³⁷. Wilburg von dem Busche³⁸

30. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L 110, N° 19, f. 22v.

31. C. Halm, «Klosterleben in Mittelalter», p. 211. Her sister, Elisabeth Budde, also lived as a nun in St Marien, Lemgo.

32. In the middle of the 14th c., the noble family, Bose, lived in a residence called Horn and was quite powerful. They were knights of the landlord but also held strong connections to the city of Lemgo. In the 14th c., Hellenburg Bose lived in the convent; C. Halm, «Klosterleben in Mittelalter», p. 212-214.

33. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L110 B, N° 18, f. 4v. See Oliver Plessow, *Mittelalterliche Schachzabelbücher zwischen Spiel-symbolik und Wertevermittlung – Der Schachtraktat des Jacobus de Cessolis im Kontext seiner spätmittelalterlichen Rezeption*, Münster, 2007.

34. See Isabelle Draelants, *Le Liber de virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium (Liber aggregationis): Un texte à succès attribué à Albert le Grand*, Florenz, 2007 (Micrologus Library, 22).

35. A manuscript of *De doctrina cordis*, belonging to the library of Paradies (Soest) is today ULB Düsseldorf, Ms. B 56 (14th c.).

36. Gertrud von Huckenhusen was the daughter of the mayor of Lemgo Johann von Hucklehusen (1352-1354). The family was personally and economically deeply involved with the convent. C. Halm, «Klosterleben in Mittelalter», p. 206-208.

37. Jean Theobald Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge. La Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti: recueil d'exempla compilé en France à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Paris 1926 (Reprint Genève 1973), p. 19-21.

38. At least three members of the family von dem Busche lived in St. Marien in the 14th century, see C. Halm, «Klosterleben in Mittelalter», p. 202-205. A nun named Walburg von Busche was in the year 1374 *subpriorissa* and from 1384-1389 *priorissa* of the convent.

and a nun with the abbreviation E.H.C. had possessed a *Computus* for the calculation of time and Easter celebration. If this sort of literature corresponded to the usual library range, more personal «profiles» of the nuns can also be identified. Margaret Budde was distinguished by her broad literary interests: apart from the aforementioned letter 53, *Frater Ambrosius*, by Jerome which might have been a copy of the bible, she had given four more volumes to the library as a post mortem donation: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a manuscript containing a travelogue to the Holy Land, and Augustine's *Soliloquium*, the popular *Carmen Paschale* of the poet Sedulius from Late Antiquity as well as the scholarly collection of confessions, *Summa Reymundi*. The last title probably refers to the *Summula de summa Raymundi* by Adam von Aldersbach (13. c.), a short version of the *Summa* by the Dominican Raymond of Penyafort († 1275), which was an integral part of Dominican and Franciscan libraries³⁹. The women of Lemgo's interest in natural history is also amazing. Wilburg von dem Busche had owned a book designated as *Lapidarium*. A further *Lapidarium* is mentioned in the incipit, with makes it possible to verify it as the *Liber de gemmis* of Marbod of Rennes († 1123), quite difficult reading.

Some vernacular volumes («Librum theutonicum de trinitate, Librum theutonicum de confessione, Item duos libros theutonicos») were stored here among the books in soft bindings just before the school books⁴⁰. The education provided within the convent apparently corresponded to this demanding scholarly profile. Part of the «learning for beginners» was the popular *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu («Item Doctrinale glosatum»⁴¹). This small soft-bound volume from the fourteenth century has survived until today⁴². As specified in the library catalogue, the *Doctrinale* is furnished with interlinear glosses. In addition, this manuscript contains several sample letters in Latin addressed to high- and lower-ranking clerics and laypeople. The volume was not written by the nuns themselves, but emerged obviously in a learned school context and was therefore probably given to the nuns by the friars. Much more demanding than Alexander of Villedieu, however, was the *Enigmata Symphosii* written by Caelius Firmanus Syphosius, a riddle book from Late Antiquity that was used as a school book in the Middle Ages⁴³. Probably also used for teaching was the Pseudo-Boethius' *De doctrina scholarium* which was bound together in Lemgo with the real Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae*. The title, *Etyopum terras glosatum*, refers to the metrical didactic poem by Theodolus, an author from the tenth or eleventh century of whom we only know this fictive name⁴⁴. His 344 Leoninian hexameters in the style of bucolic poetry were also mainly used for educational purposes on high level.

Overall, the Dominican nuns of St. Marien in Lemgo are also remarkable for their interest in practical literature. They shared their scientific interests with the great Dominican scholar, Albertus

39. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L110 B, N° 18, f. 6v.

40. *Ibid.* f. 7r.

41. *Ibid.* f. 6v.

42. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L B 110, N° 20; see F. Gerlach, «Aus mittelalterlichen Klosterbüchereien », p. 17-19.

43. See Michael Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: die Verschriftlichung von Unterricht in der Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der «Fabulae» Avians und der deutschen «Disticha Catonis»*, Berlin, 2009, p. 878-881.

44. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L110 B, N° 18, f. 6r. In the middle of the fourteenth century, the Lector of Soest, Reiner von Cappel, also possessed a manuscript with grammatical and classical texts as well as a copy of Theodolus with glosses; see L. Sturlese, «Reiner von Cappel», p. 187. See Nikolaus Henkel, «Die "Ecloga Theodoli" und ihre literarischen Gegenkonzeptionen», in *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*. Akten des I. Internationalen Mittellateinerkongresses, Heidelberg, 1988, Walter Berschin ed., (Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch, 24/25), 1991, p. 151-162.

Magnus. This tendency recedes in the fifteenth century in favor of devotional literature. Apart from the medical and scientific books, they also owned legal literature. They probably needed the important statutes of the provincial chapter in Mainz from 1310 («Librum de statutis domini Petri archiepiscopi Magutiniensis»)⁴⁵, which archbishop Peter of Aspelt (1306-1320) had issued, to administrate adequately their extensive parish rights, their *ius patronatus*. The books that they had written themselves or the literature that had been copied for them were made functional for library use by the women of St. Marien in Lemgo themselves. To this effect, the office of the librarian also included a small bookbinding workshop, the furnishings of which were later added under the title *He sunt pertinentia ad officium librarie*. «These things belong to the office of the library»⁴⁶.

The schoolbooks in Latin and the literary possessions of the individual nuns suggest a good command of Latin and the impressively broad intellectual horizon of the Westphalian Dominican nuns in the second half of the fourteenth century – a period that scholarship considers to be one of decay and religious decline. The composition of their library's holdings, particularly the scientific and medical works, thus seems to be going into a decidedly different direction than the book collections we know from the reformed convents at the end of the fifteenth century. Although we are unable to locate this learned knowledge in the order's normative sources, we can recover it, as «applied» knowledge, from the surviving manuscripts. Examples of this are the magnificent graduals written by the Dominican nuns of Paradies, in which the extensive Latin commentary in the scrolls reveals a deep knowledge of the learned theological tradition⁴⁷. The choir service was the center of their religious life, and the liturgy regulated the rhythm of the day. The liturgical songs were important not only for the nuns, they also had a strong impact on the lay people. When in 1306 the Dominican nuns moved from their former site to St. Marien in Lemgo, all the people of the city received and accompanied them to their new church. One of the nuns, Alheydis, began to sing the antiphon, de St. Nicolao, *O Christi pietas*, with a voice so sonorous and sweet that all the people were deeply moved. A knight listening to her was so impressed that he spontaneously gave her his silver knife, the only thing he had at hand at this moment⁴⁸. The significance of the liturgical chant, not only to the nuns, but also to their lay families, is something one can hardly overestimate.

LATIN LEARNING AND LITURGICAL PERFORMANCE AT PARADIES BEI SOEST

For Paradies bei Soest, the four liturgical books listed in Krämer's *Handschriftenerbe des Mittelalters* – an early fourteenth-century antiphonary in two parts (Düsseldorf D 7 and D 9) and two graduals from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Düsseldorf D 11 and D 12), all of them

45. «Die Statuten des Mainzer Provinzialkapitels von 1310», ed. Johann Friedrich Schannat – Joseph Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 4 (1290- 1400), Köln 1761 (ND Aalen 1970), p. 175-224.

46. Staatsarchiv Detmold, L 110 B, N° 18, f. 10r.

47. J. Hamburger, «Leaves from Paradise». Susan Marti, Schwester Elisabeth schreibt für ihre Brüder in Dortmund. Das Graduale für das Dortmunder Dominikanerkloster, in *Die Dortmunder Dominikaner: und die Propsteikirche als Erinnerungsort*, T. Schilp and B. Welzel ed., Bielefeld, 2006, p. 261-277.

48. H. Meibom, *Rerum Germanicarum*, p. 531: «Una igitur ex sororibus Adelheidis, Mindensis natione, antiphonam de S. Nicolao *O Christi pietas* voce tam sonora, tam suavi, tamque devota incipiens cantavit, quod omnes audientes reddidit admirantes. Unde miles quidam dictam puellam in processione respiciens et concomitans, ex tam dulci modulatione motus cum nihil jocalium praeter cultellum argento pretiose adornatum ad manum haberet, sibi tradidit orationibus se eius commendans.»

elaborately illuminated – can now be supplemented by a mid-fourteenth-century gradual in Dortmund (Archiv der Propsteikirche B 6), without illumination, written for the Dominican friars in Dortmund, and fragments of another illuminated gradual, very closely related to D 11 in Düsseldorf, divided between the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich and Harvard's Houghton Library (Munich Inv.-Nr. 18703 and Houghton Library Typ. 1095), most likely made for the nuns' own use, to judge by its similarity to the gradual D 11⁴⁹. Three graduals produced for in-house use over the course of about half a century represents a very active production that cannot simply be explained by the desire to keep up with either fashion or liturgical innovations, to which the manuscripts bear witness. To these liturgical codices, which at Paradies would have been kept apart in the sacristy (just as they were at Lemgo, as indicated by its library catalogue), can only be added a fourteenth-century copy of Hugh of St. Cher (OP, † 1263) *De doctrina cordis* (ULB Düsseldorf, Ms. B 56) and the *Kopialbuch*, a collection of charters organized by property holdings (Staatsarchiv Münster, Ms. VII N. 6107).

At first blush, the library's scant surviving holdings provide little to build on. The two sources, however – on the one hand, the library catalogue from Lemgo, on the other hand, the set of liturgical books from Paradies – complement one another in unexpected ways. Whereas the catalogue provides valuable hard information about *what* the nuns of Lemgo read, it tells us little about *how* they read. For this, however, we can turn to the exceptional late fourteenth-century graduals from Paradies, whose pages are covered with integral inscriptions that provide a running commentary on the images that accompany virtually every feast. In the extent of their built-in verbal and visual commentary, the manuscripts from Paradies are without parallel among extant liturgical codices. They therefore present an unexpected opportunity to see a group of Dominicans nuns, several of whom identify themselves by name in colophons, inscriptions, images and initials, putting their Latin learning to work.

The colophon of the gradual in Dortmund informs us that it was written, notated and decorated by Elisabeth von Lünen, who «hunc librum scripsit, notavit et cum labore complevit»⁵⁰. [Fig. 2] Elisabeth also inserted herself into the margins of the gradual D 11 in the form of miniature commemorative portraits identified by her initials, E.L. [Fig. 3]. The daughter of a Bürgermeister of Soest, she can tentatively be identified as the mastermind behind the project and, indeed, the entire scriptorium over the course of about half a century. Small inscriptions, reminiscent of micrography, do not simply elaborate the profuse illustration, they form part of its fabric. Indeed, the illustrations, which, for the most part, are tiny, yet packed with detail, proves reminiscent of the inscribed embroideries that were a speciality of many monastic houses in northern Germany over the course of this entire period⁵¹.

Before providing a detailed analysis of the inscriptions most closely related to the history of the Dominican order and Dominican sources, some general comments are needed. As might be expected, the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions, of which there are hundreds in the gradual D 11 alone, stem from Scripture. Of these, the majority come from the New Testament and the Psalms, although other books of Jewish Scripture are also represented. Reflecting the nuns' special devotion to the saint, the corpus of writings attributed to John the Evangelist (his Gospel, Epistles and the Apocalypse), receives

49. S. Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des Mittelalters*, vol. II, p. 730. For the newly discovered leaves, see Hamburger, *Leaves from Paradies*.

50. Marti, «Schwester Elisabeth».

51. Some of which were actually embellished with sewn-on strips of inscribed parchment; see Henrike Lähnemann, «An dessen bom wil ik stighen. Die Ikonographie des Wichmannsburger Antependiums im Kontext der Medinger Handschriften», in *Oxford German Studies* 34 (2005), p. 19-46.

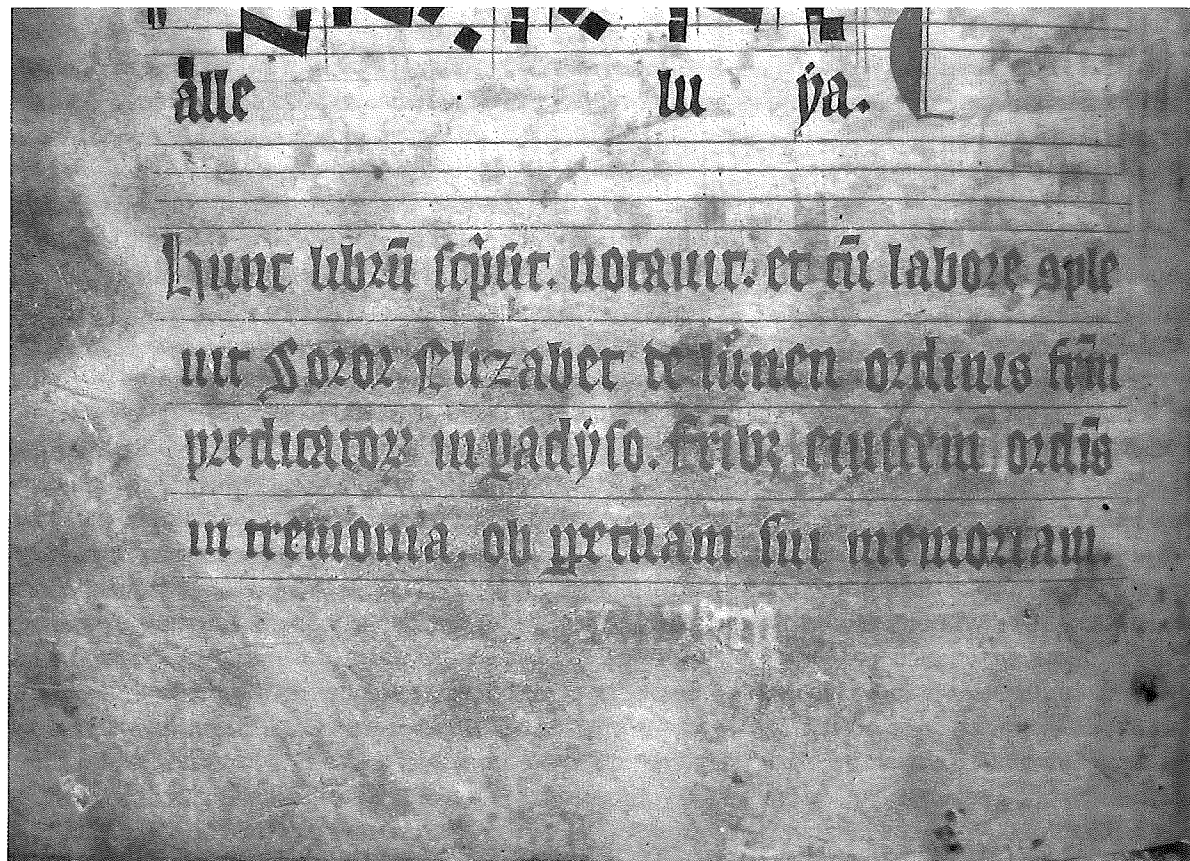


Fig. 2. Dortmund, Archiv der Propsteikirche B 6, f. 324v.

special emphasis. In fact, the images and inscriptions, in addition to providing something akin to a mass commentary along the lines of what one finds in Bebeth, Sicardus of Cremona, or William Durandus, also transform every feast into a celebration of the Evangelist and thereby the entire book into a kind of libellus in honor of the saint⁵². It is in the context of this devotion that many of the more unusual textual sources surface. In addition to the expected Dominican authorities, among them Jacobus da Voragine, Dietrich of Apolda, and Humbert of Romans, we find a generous number of quotations from Patristic, Carolingian and twelfth-century monastic sources, including, inter alia, Augustine, Gregory, Pseudo-Chrysostom, Pseudo-Dionysius, Eriugena, Alcuin, Peter Damian, Rupert of Deutz, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, the *Speculum virginum*, and Bernard of Clairvaux. With their concatenations of inscribed authorities, the images and inscriptions on individual pages take on the character of centos or miniature florilegia, some of which focus on such rarified topics familiar to Dominican theologians as the deification of the soul.

52. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, «Penance in Paradise: Lenten Imagery in the Liturgical Manuscripts from Paradies bei Soest», in *Schriftkultur und religiöse Zentren im norddeutschen Raum*, Patricia Carmassi – Eva Schlottheuber – Almuth Breitenbach ed. (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 24), Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 176-226.

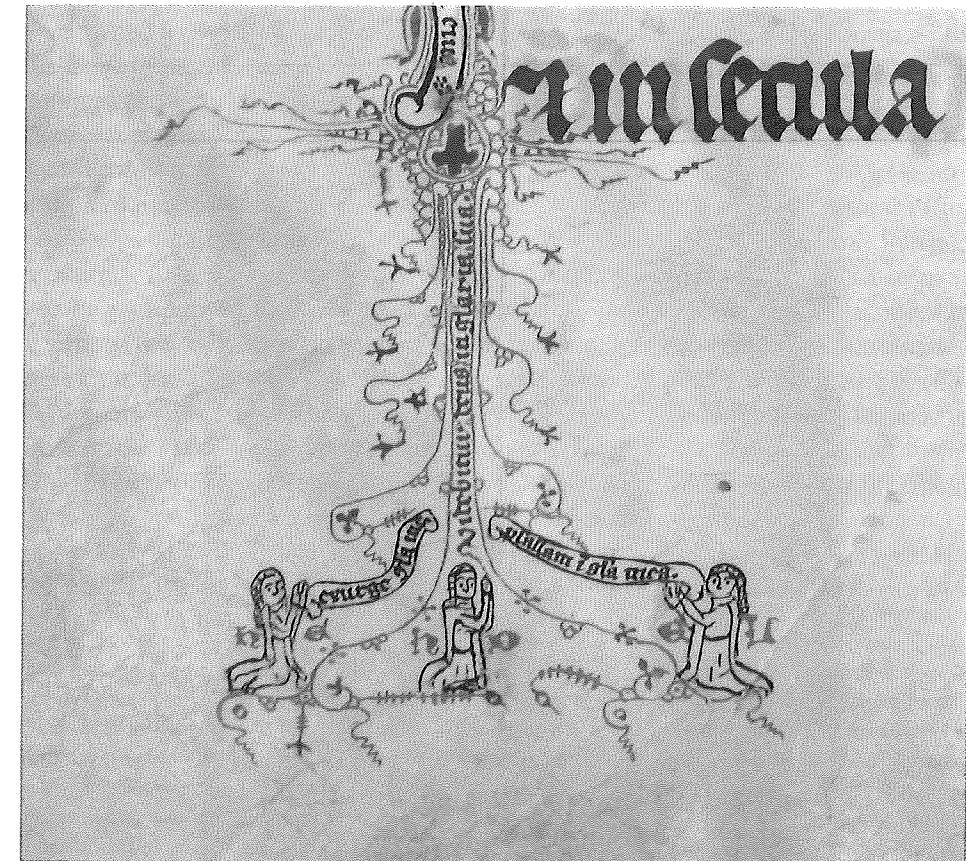


Fig. 3. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 19.

Closely related in iconography to an initial in Düsseldorf illustrating the feast of St. John at the Latin Gate, but illustrating instead a sequence in honor of John the Evangelist, the single leaf in Munich from the fragmentary late fourteenth-century gradual will have to serve, pars pro toto, as an indicator of the verbal and visual density of the material from Paradies. [Fig. 4] Framing the text, the sequence «Verbum dei deo natum» in honor of John the Evangelist, unfurled speech scrolls on the recto successively present quotations from the Epistles of the Pseudo-Dionysius (lower right), Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs (lower margin), the sermons of Peter Damian (lower margin), and Eriugena's Homily on John (outer margin), then, on the verso, an unidentified passage attributed to Innocent III (upper margin), another quotation from Eriugena (outer margin), and, lastly, an excerpt from the *Speculum virginum* (lower margin), attributed to Bede. Supplementing these snippets are a large number of other inscriptions in the initials, not only the large letter depicting the eagle of John flying out of the *rota in medio rotae* to suck at the breast of the divinity, but all of the smaller initials as well.

In pulling these sources together in celebration of John the Evangelist, it is quite likely that the nuns, rather than relying directly on the primary sources, instead used a libellus of Latin writings in honor of John the Evangelist of a type that can be shown to have circulated in Dominican convents of the



Fig. 4. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv.-Nr. 18703.

period⁵³. So varied, however, are the learned sources employed by the nuns that the question of their now lost library remains. To what extent can we reconstruct the library of Paradies based on the corpus of inscriptions in the liturgical manuscripts from the monastery?

Any attempt to answer this question is fraught with difficulties. As we have already seen, quotations included in the inscriptions are sometimes identified incorrectly. Simply because an inscription identifies a passage as coming from Innocent does not allow one to conclude that the nuns possessed a copy of his writings. The nuns knew Eriugena, but in the guise of Augustine (or, elsewhere, Origen)⁵⁴. If

53. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, «Inscribing the Word—Illuminating the Sequence. Epithets in Honor of John the Evangelist in the Graduals from Paradies bei Soest», in *Leaves from Paradise*, p. 161-213.

54. For the circulation of Eriugena's writings in 14th c. Dominican milieux, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, «Johannes Scotus Eriugena deutsch redivivus. Translations of the *Vox spiritualis* in Relation to Art and Mysticism at the Time of Eckhart», in Andreas Speer, *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, p. 473-537, which now should be supplemented by Ingrid Biesheuvel, Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Wybren Scheepma, «Peter Damian's sermon 63 on John the Evangelist in Middle Dutch. With an edition of ms. Sint-Truiden, Instituut voor Franciscanese Geschiedenis, a21, f. 53vb-63rb», *Ons geestelijk Erf* 79 (2007), p. 225-252.

they in fact owned a copy of the *Speculum virginum*, why do they attribute the passage from this classic of twelfth-century monasticism, which continued to be copied well into the fifteenth century, to Bede? Each quotation provides a philological puzzle of its own.

Systematic analysis of specifically Dominican material in the gradual D 11 confirms the need to proceed with caution. This paper provides five examples, beginning with the most straightforward, the incorporation of material from the *Legenda aurea* into the illustration of the mass for Epiphany. [Fig. 5] In light of the popularity of the Golden Legend, it would be easy to discount its specific relevance to a discussion of the Dominican aspects of the gradual were it not that its use in the manuscript appears to be without parallel, indicating an especially close adherence to Jacobus' text. Instead of showing simply the Adoration of Magi (upper left compartment), which, in illuminated manuscripts, constituted a universal custom, the gradual from Paradies follows the Golden Legend in comparing the first epiphany with three others: the Baptism (upper right), the Marriage at Cana (lower left), and the Feeding of the Five Thousand (lower right)⁵⁵. The twelve wine jars from Cana form a vertical line along the right edge of initial⁵⁶. The inscriptions, all written in silver, in turn parallel the names for each

55. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea. Edizione critica*, 2 vol., G. P. Maggioni ed., Florence, 1998 (Millennio Medievale, 6, Testi 3), vol. 1, p. 131-132 (XIV: 1-13). For the English translation, see James of Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, W. G. Ryan ed., Princeton, 1993, vol. 1, p. 78-79: «On the feast day of the Lord's epiphany four miracles are commemorated, and therefore the day has four different names. On this day the Magi adored Christ, John baptized him, he changed water into wine, and he fed five thousand men with five loaves. When Jesus was thirteen days old, the Magi, led by a star, came to him: therefore the day is called Epiphany, from epi, which mean above, and pharos, meaning an appearing, because then a star appeared from above, or the star, appearing from above, showed the Magi that Christ was the true God. On the same day, twenty-nine days later, he had entered his thirtieth year (he was then twenty-nine years and thirteen days old) and, as Luke says, was beginning his thirtieth year; as Bede has it, and the Roman church affirms, he was already thirty years old. Then, I say, he was baptized in the Jordan, and therefore the day is called Theophany, from thos, meaning God, and phanos, apparition. The whole Trinity appeared on that day, the Father by voice, the Son in the flesh, the Spirit as a dove. On the same day one year later, when he was thirty or thirty-one years plus thirteen days old, he changed water into wine; so the day is called Bethany, from beth, house, because by working the miracle in a house he appeared as true God. Still another year thereafter, when he was thirty-one or thirty-two, he fed the five thousand men with five loaves, as Bede says and as we hear in the hymn that is sung in many churches and begins *Illuminans altissimus*. So the day is called Phagiphany, from phagos, which means a mouthful to eat... Four appearances, then, happened on this day, the first through the star, in the manger; the second through the Father's voice, in the Jordan; the third in the changing of water into wine at the wedding feast; the fourth in the multiplication of the loaves in the desert».

56. The miracle of the transformation of water into wine at Cana was thought to have taken place on the same day as the Epiphany; see Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis officiis*, H. Haacke ed., Turnhout, 1967 (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, 7), III. 24, lines 1496-1498: «De tertia iam dictae festivitatis causa, scilicet de eo, quod Dominus uinum fecit ex aqua, quaeri solet, qualiter eadem die, qua Dominus baptizatus est, factum esse conueniat.» Cf. Joseph Pascher, *Das Liturgische Jahr*, Munich, 1963), p. 407-408. The events at Cana receive no mention in William Durandus, *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*, 3 vols. ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, Turnhout, Brepols, 1995-2000 (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, 40, 140A-B, VI.xvi.1, lines 1-5: «Sequitur festum Epiphaniae, quod uocabulum grecum sonat latine manifestatio siue apparitio, et est idem cum festo Natiuitatis: nichil enim nasci profuit nisi apparuisset. Verum pro triplici apparitione hodie sollempnizat Ecclesia, unde in codicibus antiquis, hec dies Epiphaniarum pluraliter intitatur, et ideo tripliciter nominatur, scilicet Epiphania, Theophania et Bethphania». But cf. Sicardus V. ix (PL 213, 263A-263B): «Quoad hoc miraculum dicitur haec solemnitas Epiphania, ab ἐπι, quod est supra, et φάσις, quod est apparitio. Hodie Christus «cum esset incipiens annorum triginta», in Jordane baptizatus est a Joanne tribus de causis, ut omnem justitiam adimpleret, ut Joannis opera comprobaret, ut aquis vim regenerativam tribueret. Ideo in tricesimo anno voluit baptizari, et postea praedicare, quia praedicator prius fortis debet esse et mundus in se, et post haec aliis praedicare. Haec etiam aetas convenit praedicatori. In Jordane baptizatur in signum humilitatis, a Joanne in signum gratiae Dei. Jordanis enim descensus, Joannes Dei gratia interpretatur; quia his qui in baptismo humiliantur gratia Dei confertur. In hoc baptismo Trinitas apparuit,



Fig. 5. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, D 11, p. 66.

of these events supplied by Jacobus: *Epyphania*, for the Epiphany, *meophania* (in lieu of *theophania*!), for the Baptism, *bethphania*, for the Marriage at Cana, and, finally, *phagiphania*, for the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Despite these parallels, however, one cannot say for certain whether the Golden Legend served as the nuns' source. Sicardus of Cremona, whom Jacobus probably used as his source, employs the same vocabulary. In light of the strong resemblance of the entire cycle of illustrations to a mass commentary of the sort Sicardus provides, it is difficult to decide which author ultimately served as the nuns' point of departure⁵⁷.

Pater in voce, Filius in carne, Spiritus sanctus in columbae specie; ideoque secundum hoc miraculum haec solemnitas vocatur Theophania, a Θεός, quod est Deus. Hodie, revoluta anno, Dominus aquam vertit in vinum ad nuptias architriclini, secundum quod miraculum haec solemnitas Bethphania vocatur, a beth, quod est domus. Ait Beda super commento Lucae Dominum eodem die, revoluta anno, quartum fecisse miraculum, scilicet, de refectione panum; secundum quod dicitur haec solemnitas Phagiphania, a φαγεῖν, quod est comedere». Also Johannes Belet, *Summa de divinis officiis*, H. Douteil ed., Turnhout, 1976 (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, 41), ch. 73: «Post hec sequitur dies apparitionum siue Epiphaniarum, que plures leguntur fuisse eadem die, sed annis reuolutis: Vna per stellam, et dicitur Epyphania ab epy, quod est supra, et phanos, quod est apparitio. Et hec facta est XIII die a natiuitate Domini. Altera facta est per uocem Patris anno tricesimo eadem die, et dicitur theophania a theos, quod est Deus. Tertia dicitur bethphania eadem die anno reuoluta facta in domo per conuersionem aque in uinum. Et dicitur bethphania a beth, quod est domus. Et hec tres epiphanie leguntur in euangelio tanquam eadem die facte. Quartam dicit Beda in commento super Lucam factam eadem die reuoluta anno, scilicet de refectione panis, et dicitur phagiphania a phagin, quod est comedere. His omnibus manifestatus est Deus esse. Quatuor festa sunt una die.»

57. J. Hamburger, «Penance in Paradise».



Fig. 6. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 2.

The second example comes right at the beginning of the book. Among the most unusual features of the gradual is that it contains sequences not only at the end, but also at the beginning. No less unusual is the fact that most of these sequences are illustrated. Prior to the sequences at the beginning of the manuscript, one finds a few prefatory texts. Of these, the first to be illustrated is a response for the third nocturn of the Common of Virgins, also used for the Saturday office of the Virgin Mary. [Fig. 6] Its inclusion here appears to reflect a special veneration to the Virgin, not unexpected in the Dominican order. The rubric, however, «quam aliqua induitur», «how anyone is invested» (literally, put on, referring usually to the putting on of a garment, which in this case would be the monastic habit), suggests that the reason for singling out this particular text so prominently at the front of the manuscript is that it would have been performed on the occasion of a new member of the community being consecrated. The adoption of the habit was a standard part of such ceremonies.

The unusual iconography of the initial supports such an interpretation. The initial depicts, at the top, Christ and the Virgin Mary, both half-length, engaged in a dialogue made up of passages from John's

Gospel («Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me», Jn. 14:6; «Ego uia, ueritas et uita», Jn. 14:6). Christ, shown frontally, points with his right hand to the Virgin Mary, who bares her breast in an image of intercession that also refers to the mystery of the incarnation.

Below, in the Annunciation, a devil with a grappling hook attempts to interfere with the Incarnation⁵⁸. Although the kneeling woman does not clearly bear a halo, she can be identified as the Virgin Mary by virtue of the prominent red and green wings behind the figure to her right, who therefore must be identified as the archangel Gabriel. At the upper left, John the Evangelist, ever present, declares: «He gave them power to be made the sons of God» (John 1:12), a passage that here applies directly to women taking vows at the moment they become members of the convent's community. As the first excerpt from John's Gospel in a manuscript filled with such excerpts, the passage is significant as a statement of the doctrine of deification that informs the treatment and use of John throughout, underscoring programmatic intent. The Dominicans were apparently the first to adopt the practice of reciting John 1:1-14 at the end of the mass, where it was said sotto voce by the celebrant. Utterly in keeping with the doctrine of heavenly reward and epithalamial union elaborated in the image are the inscriptions found in the margin: «through thy reward exceeding great» (cf. Genesis 15:1); «Come ye to him and be enlightened» (Psalm 33:6); and «after her virgins shall be brought to the king» (Psalm 44:15). Having likened the nun's marriage to Christ to Mary receiving the annunciation, the image proceeds to liken her ultimate reward in heaven to Mary's elevation to Christ side in the kingdom of heaven.

Immediately to the right of the initial, a half-length figure of Dominic holds a scroll reading: «Hereditario iure relinquo caritatem, humilitatem, castitatem, paupertatem». Far from words put into Dominic's mouth, this testament represents one of the founder's most famous statements, best known from the *Legenda aurea*, which includes an account of Dominic's will and testament: «when at last the term of his earthly pilgrimage drew near, Saint Dominic being at the time in Bologna fell seriously ill. The imminent dissolution of his body was shown to him in a vision in which he saw a youth of surpassing beauty, who said to him: "Come, my beloved, come to joy, come!" He therefore called together the twelve friars of the priory at Bologna, and, so as not to leave them orphaned and without a heritage, gave them his testament. He said: "These are the things I bequeath to you in rightful possession, as my sons and heirs: have charity, keep humility, possess poverty"»⁵⁹. By placing a reference to this famous incident, which marked the formal founding of the Dominican Order, immediately adjacent to the image of Christ and the Virgin, the initial literally aligns its founder with the holy figures and suggests that Dominic participates in their sanctity.

Despite having been written in the late thirteenth century, the version of Dominic's life in the *Legenda aurea* is relatively late. Prior lives included the *Libellus de principiis ordinis praedicatorum*, written by Jordan of Saxony ca. 1233-1234, Peter Ferrand's *Vita*, written between 1237 and 1242 for use in the liturgy, and a revision of Ferrand's *Vita* commissioned from Constantine of Orvieto, who also wrote an office in honor of the saint⁶⁰. Both works, the office and the *Constantini legenda sancti Dominici*, were approved at the general chapter held in 1248. Only with Humbert of Romans' *Legenda maior*, undertaken in 1254 and approved repeatedly in 1254, 1255, and 1256, did the Order arrive at

58. For the devil at the Annunciation, see Anna Eorsi, «Sed venit redemptor; et victus est deceptor. Egy román kori Angyali üdvözlet. Keresztrefeszítés könyvborító ikonográfiája», *Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* 25 (1997), p. 27-46.

59. *Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 54.

60. Brett, 92-93; Tugwell.

what was to become the definitive version of its founder's biography. In light of this continuous process of revision, it can prove very difficult to determine the precise text from which a particular episode in Dominic's life may have been drawn. At Paradies, however, some greater precision proves possible.

In the *Legenda aurea*, a source on which it can be shown the nuns of Paradies drew for some of the imagery and inscriptions in the gradual D11, the Latin to which the manuscript's inscription corresponds reads: «filiis haereditariis iure possidenda relinquo, caritatem habete, humilitatem servate, paupertatem voluntariam possidete»⁶¹. Constantine's legend, in turn, lacks the words *iure hereditario*. The nuns therefore must have drawn on one of the earlier lives of Dominic in which the episode is recounted, of which the first is the legend of Petrus Ferrandi: «Hec sunt inquit fratres karissimi que uobis tanquam filiis hereditario iure possidenda relinquo: caritatem habete, humilitatem seruare, paupertatem uoluntariam possidete»⁶². One cannot, however, jump to the conclusion that the nuns had recourse to this version of the life; Vincent of Beauvais recounts the episode in the same words in the first edition of the *Speculum historiale* (Wrocław, UB Ms. R 341, f. 292r), as does Humbert of Romans in his first legend of Dominic and his *Legenda maior*, §54⁶³. Dietrich of Apolda changes the wording slightly: «Hec sunt ait filii et fratres, que uobis hereditario iure possidenda relinquo. Caritatem habete, humilitatem seruare, paupertatem uoluntariam possidete»⁶⁴. Given that Ferrandi's *legenda* was superseded by Constantine's ca. 1248 and that Humbert's *Legenda prima* did not enjoy extensive circulation, it seems most likely that the nuns used as their source Humbert's *Legenda maior*, especially given that it remained the official lectionary of the Order in the late fourteenth century⁶⁵.

For the third example and the next appearance of Dominic in the gradual, one must turn to his feast proper (D 11, p. 420), which – no coincidence – employs the same introit (labeled *officium* in the Dominican rite), «In medio ecclesiae», as the feast of John the Evangelist, thereby linking to the two figures⁶⁶. [Fig. 7] Although quite large, the oblong initial is divided into four smaller compartments

61. *Legenda aurea*, vol. 2, p. 736-737 (CIX. 281).

62. See M. H. Laurent, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 16), p. 248 §50, and F. van Ortoy, *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911), p. 7 §49.

63. For the former, see Humbert of Romans, *Humberti de Romanis. Legendae Sancti Dominici*, S. Tugwell ed., Rome, 2008 (*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, 30), §23, p. 439, lines 7-12; for the latter, §54, p. 504, lines 21-24.

64. Quoted from Tugwell's provisional edition, which he kindly shared; see also *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. I §235.

65. In addition to S. Tugwell, *Humberti de Romanis*, see Hilarius M. Barth, «Die Dominikuslegende im ersten Lektionar Humberts von Romans (1246)», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 54 (1984), p. 82-112, here p. 108 (Dominican Lectionary, dated 1270-1275, Keble College, Ms. 49, f. 139r-139v), which, however, uses an alternate reading: «Lectio vi^a. 49. Ne autem filios quos dederat ei dominus, exheredes relinquere uideretur, testamentum condidit quale decebat pauperum Christi, diuitem in fide. "Hec sunt", inquit "fratres carissimi, que uobis tanquam filiis hereditario iure possidenda relinquo: Caritatem habete, humilitatem seruare, paupertatem uoluntariam possidete." O testamentum nulla obliuione delendum, nulla dedignatione spernendum, nulla superordinatione mutandum. Beatus, qui non spernit caritatis incorruptibile uestimentum, fertilem humilitatis fundum, desiderabilem pauperitatis thesaurum, tanti patris sibi traditione legatum.» See further Anne-Élisabeth Urfels-Capot, *Le Sanctoral du lectionnaire de l'office dominicain (1245-1256). Édition et étude d'après le ms. Rome, Sainte-Sabine XIV L1. Ecclesiasticum officium secundum ordinem fratrum praedicatorum*, Paris, 2007 (*Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes*, 84), and Malcolm B. Parkes, «The Compilation of the Dominican Lectionary», in *Literarische Formen des Mittelalters. Florilegien, Kompilationen, Kollektionen*, K. Elm ed., Wiesbaden, 2000 (*Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien*, 15), p. 91-106.

66. See Maura O'Carroll, «The Cult and Liturgy of St. Dominic», in *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori. Atti del XLI Convegno storico internazionale*, Todi, 10-12 ottobre 2004, Spoleto, 2005 (*Atti dei Convegni*

containing, at the upper left, the Madonna of Mercy sheltering Dominican friars and nuns⁶⁷, at the upper right, Christ with supplicants, and, at the lower level, John and Dominic. Dominic is shown with the red hair and beard that, based on early accounts, were held to be among his defining physical features⁶⁸. Dominating the initial, however, and defining its central axis are three articles of the Dominican habit: the tunic, at top, the black capuce at the center, and, below, the white scapular⁶⁹. Providing the horizontal axis are words from Dietrich of Apolda's *Acta ampliora*: «Ordinem tuum

del Centro italiano di studi sul basso medioevo - Accademia Tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, 18) p. 567-611.

67. For discussion of the iconography as it relates to Dominican sources, see Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de miséricorde. Étude d'un thème iconographique*, Paris, 1908 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 101), p. 35-37, and Sonja Reisner, «*Sub tuum praesidium confugimus*. Zur Instrumentalisierung von Visionen und Wunderberichten in der dominikanischen Ordenshistoriographie am Beispiel der Schutzmantelmadonna», *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (2003), p. 393-405. Perdrizet, however, can no longer be considered a reliable account of the origins of the motif; see Christa Belting-Ihm, «*Sub matris tutela*». *Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Schutzmantelmadonna*, Heidelberg, 1976 (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse; Jahrg. 1976, 3. Abh.), and Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae: Pokrow-Pokrowa w sztuce i legendzie środkowo-wschodniej Europy*, Wrocław, 1986 (Studia z historii sztuki, 38). The legend also circulated in German; see Fritz Bangemann, *Mittelhochdeutsche Dominikuslegenden und ihre Quellen*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Vereinigte Friedrichs Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Halle, 1919. For the circumstances of the composition of Dietrich's *Vita*, see *Miracula Sancti Dominici mandato Magistri Berengarii Collecta*; *Petri Calo, Legendae Sancti Dominici*, S. Tugwell ed., Rome, 1997 (Corpus Hagiographicum Sancti Dominici, MOPH 26), p. 51-54. Apart from the story that served as the direct source (see next note), the motif appears elsewhere in legends of Dominic; see Dietrich of Apolda, *Acta Ampliora*, AASS, August, vol. I, 607 (August 4th): «Femina quaedam devota in Lombardia solitariam agens vitam, audiens novum Praedicatorum Ordinem surrexisse, videre ex eis aliquos concupivit. Contigit autem, duos Fratres partes illas praedicando transire; qui divertentes ad eam, ipsam more Fratrum verbis sacris allocuti sunt. Quae cum quaeisset, qui et de quo forent Ordine, responderunt, se de Praedicatorum Ordine novo esse. Quae considerans eos pulchros et in habitu decenti juvenes desepxit, existimans quod sic non possent in hoc nequam saeculo subsistere illibati. Cui nocte sequenti Beata Dei Virgo Mater turbata facie adstans, dixit: "Ah! Heri me graviter offendisti! Non credis, quod valeam servos meos juvenes custodire illaesos, pro salute animarum per mundum discurrerentes? Ut autem noveris, me in speciem eos custodiam suscepisse, ecce ostendo tibi, quos heri despiciere praesumpsisti". Et elevans pallium, ostendit ei multitudinem Fratrum magnam et eos, quos despexerat, inter illos.» The same story occurs at somewhat greater length in Gerald of Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum*, B. M. Reichert ed., Louvain, 1896, (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, 1), p. 41-42. Cf. Gertrude of Helfta, *Œuvres spirituelles*, vol. 4: *Le Héraut*, livre VI, J.-M. Clément, les moniales de Wisques, et B. de Vregille ed., Paris, 1967-1986 (Sources chrétiennes, 255), *Legatus*, IV.xlviii.4 (De assumptione beatae virginis): «Et cum ista devotius intenderet verbis illis, scilicet: ut sua defensione munitos jucundos faciat, etc. videbatur delicata mater benigne expandere pallium suum, quasi ad suscipiendum omnes ad se confuentes in speciale patrocinium».

68. Angelus Walz, «Die "Miracula beati Dominici" der Schwester Cäcilia», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967), p. 5-45, here p. 44 (chap. 15: De forma beati Dominici): «Fuit autem forma beati Dominici huiusmodi. Statura mediocris, tenuis corpore, facies pulchra et parum rubea, capilli et barba modicum rubei, pulcher oculis», etc. For manuscripts of Cäcilia's *Miracula*, see also *Miracula Sancti Dominici mandato Magistri Berengarii Collecta*; *Petro Calo, Legendae Sancti Dominici*, S. Tugwell ed., Rome, 1997 (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, 26), p. 178-184. According to lore, King David was also thought to have had a red beard. For more on the subject of beards, see the wide-ranging discussion in Giles Constable's introduction to *Burchardi ut videtur, abbas Bellevallis, Apologia de barbis*, in *Apologiae Duae*, R. B. C. Huygens ed., Turnhout, 1985 (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, 62), p. 47-150.

69. For the legends concerning the origins of the Dominican habit and their representation in art, see *Bernardi Guidonis. Scripta de Sancto Dominico*, S. Tugwell ed., Rome, 1998 (Corpus Hagiographicum Sancti Dominici, 3; MOPH, 27), p. 209-228 (Excursus I: Reginald's vision and the Dominican habit), and Cordelia Warr, «Religious Habits and Visual Propaganda. The Vision of the Blessed Reginald of Orléans», *Medieval History* 28 (2002), p. 43-72.



Fig. 7. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D11, p. 420.

matri mee commisi; Uis uidere ordinem tuum»⁷⁰. Given that Dietrich of Apolda's life of Dominic is quoted elsewhere on the same page, the image as a whole may well refer to the following passage in the *Acta Ampliora*, which further identifies Mary as the Madonna of Mercy: «Huic ore Matris virginis designatus est habitus Prædicatorum Ordinis. Hic est habitus speciosus, fulvus rigore pœnitentiæ, candidus vigore pudicitiae, tunica polimita & talaris vestis nuptialis, stola sacerdotis, indumentum honestatis clericalis, donatus, non ab angelis, sed dignatione clementi Virginis matris»⁷¹.» The wording indicates that Dietrich must have served as the source, although a similar account occurs in Cecilia's *Miracula* 7, of which Dietrich received a copy in 1288 and made extensive use⁷². A further quotation from Dietrich occurs in the lower compartment in the form of the words «spoken» by Dominic: «Hoc desidero domine deus»⁷³.» John, identified as elsewhere in the manuscript, by the golden eagle on his chest, uses words from the scriptures attributed to him: «Eso uigilas et confirma cetera» (Ap. 3:2).

The fourth example is provided by the sequence for the feasts of Dominic, «In caelesti hierarchia» (D 11, p. 592). [Fig. 8] In this case, more interesting than the inscriptions are the images that accompany them. The omnipresent John the Evangelist appears at the bottom of the tall I-initial, holding a quotation from the Apocalypse (5:2), «Uidi angelum fortem predicantem uoce magna.» At the top, also half-length, Dominic once again appears as his pendant, with the same, albeit abbreviated, quotation from Humbert of Romans employed previously: «karitatem habete; humilitatem seruate»⁷⁴. Below John appear successively Peter Martyr, with a dagger in his head, Thomas Aquinas, holding a book, and, last, in the lower left corner of the page, two Dominicans, the first identified as Jordan of

70. Dietrich of Apolda, *Acta Ampliora*, AASS, August, vol. I, 583 (August 4th), § 115: «Accessit itaque homo compunctus & humilis spiritu & contrito corde, amarissimis totus perfusus lacrymis, Filii & Matris propitiis pedibus deuotissime & humillime se prostravit: ac consolator flebilium, Dominus gloriæ dixit ei: Surge. Qui cum staret coram Domino, interrogavit eum dicens: Cur sic amarissime ploras? Qui ait: Quia in conspectu gloriæ omnis Religionis homines intueor; de mei vero Ordinis filiis hic, pro dolor, nullum conspicio. Cui Dominus: Vis uidere Ordinem tuum? At ille: Hoc desidero, Domine Deus. Tunc Filius Dei manum suam super scapulam Virginis, matris suæ ponens, dixit ad illum: Ordinem tuum Matri meæ commisi. Et cum adhuc pio adhæreret affectu, Ordinem suum uidere desiderans, Dominus iterum dixit ei: Omnino vis eum uidere? Respondit: Hoc affecto, mi Domine. Et ecce Mater virgo, dum placuit Filio, cappam, qua decorata cernebatur, euidenter patefaciens aperuit, expandens coram lacrymoso Dominico seruo suo; eratque hoc tantæ capacitatis & immensitatis vestimentum, quod totam cælestem patriam amplexando dulciter continebat».

71. AASS, August, vol. I, 582 (August 4th).

72. Angelus Walz, «Die *Miracula beati Dominici* der Schwester Cäcilia», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967), p. 5-45, here p. 34: «... Et dixit ei Dominus: Vis uidere ordinem tuum? At ille respondit tremens, Etiam, domine. Dominus autem ponens manum super scapulam beate uirginis dixit beato Dominico, Ordinem tuum matri mee commisi. Et iterum dixit ei, Omnino uis eum uidere? Ille respondit, Etiam, domine», quoted from Tugwell's provisional edition. In Walz's printed edition, the passage continues: «Tunc beata Virgo aperuit capam, qua videbatur induta, ex expandit eam coram beato Dominico, que tante magnitudinis visa est fuisse, ut totam celestem patriam capere videretur, et subitus eam uisit fratrum multitudinem copiosam. Tunc beatus Dominicus prosternens se gratias egit Dei et beate Marie matri eius, et visio disparuit». As indicated to me by Simon Tugwell, the story of the Lombard anchoress is also related, with variations, by Humbert of Romans (B. Humberti de Romanis Opera de vita regulari, Rome, 1888-1889, 2 vol., J. J. Berthier ed., vol. II, p. 136), Bartholomew of Trent (*De miraculis BVM*, Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 1794, f. 78r), and Thomas of Cantimpré, *De apibus*, II 10.17. For German translations of Dietrich of Apolda's life of Dominic, see Werner Williams-Krapp, «Kultpflege und literarische Überlieferung. Zur deutschen Hagiographie der Dominikaner im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert», in *Ist mir getroumet mîn leben? Vom Träumen und vom Anderssein. Festschrift für Karl-Ernst Geith zum 65. Geburtstag*, A. Schnyder, C. Bartholomy-Teusch, B. Fleith, and R. Wetzelsch, Göttingen, 1998 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 632) p. 147-173, here p. 150-156.

73. Dietrich of Apolda, *Acta Ampliora*, AASS, August, vol. I, 607 (August 4th).

74. See the sources cited in nn. 61-64.

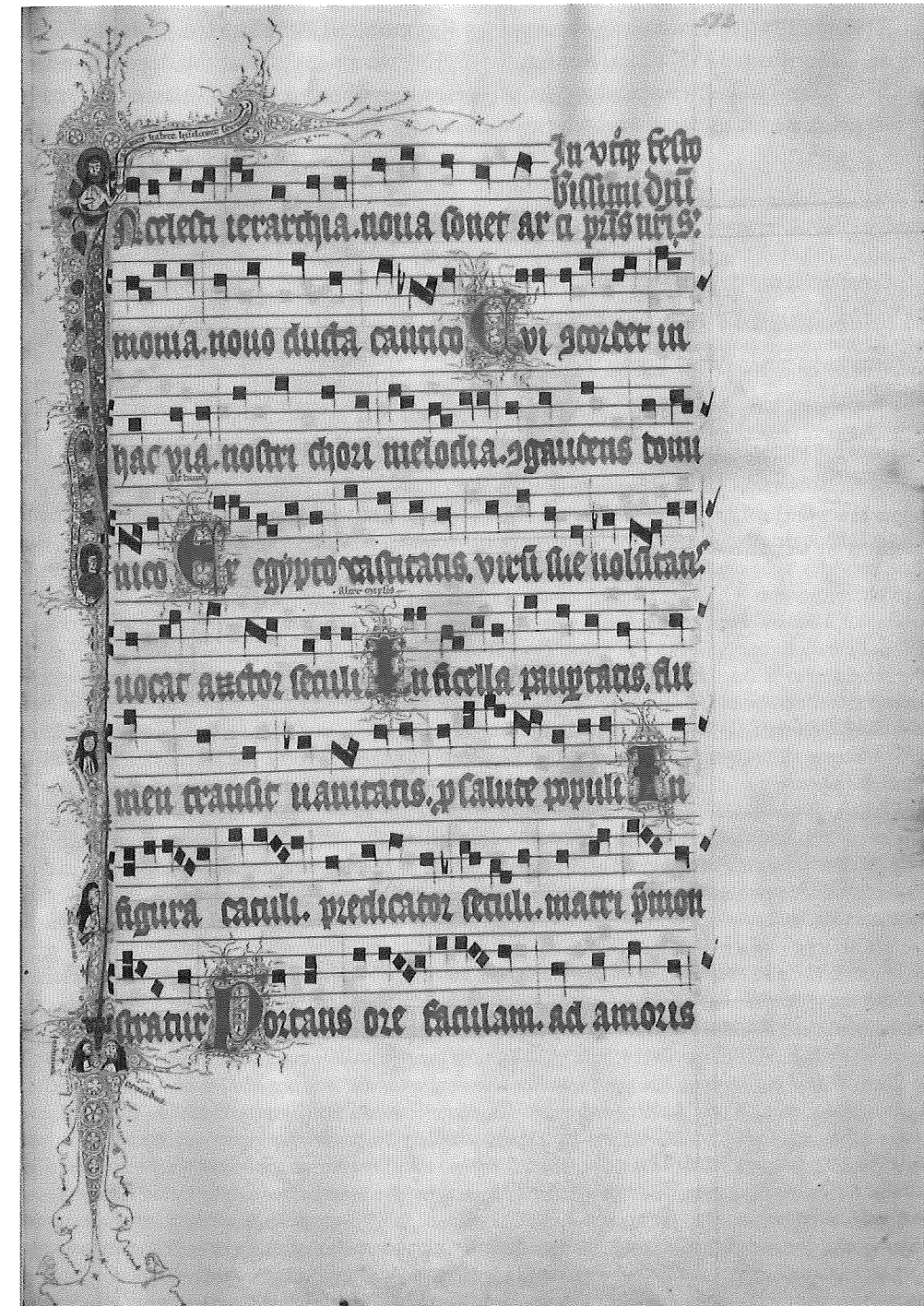


Fig. 8. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 592.

Saxony (ca. 1190-1237) (Iordanus)⁷⁵, the second, as Raymund of Penaforte (c. 1175-1275), Master of the Dominican Order from 1238-1240 (Remundus)⁷⁶, Elsewhere, as part of the decoration for the feast of Corpus Christi, the gradual contains a pair of verses paraphrased by Aquinas as part of his hymn, *Pange lingua*: «Rex sedet in cena/ cinctus turba duodena/ Se tenet in manibus/ se cibatur ipse cibus»⁷⁷.

75. Jordan of Saxony's Latin name was actually Iordanis, but was often written incorrectly as Iordanus; see Simon Tugwell, «The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government, I: The First and Last Abbot», *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 69 (1999), p. 5-60; II: «The First Dominican Provinces», 70 (2000), p. 5-109, III: «The Early Development of the Second Distinction of the Constitutions», 71 (2001), p. 5-183; IV: «Election, Confirmation and "Absolution" of Superiors», 72 (2002), p. 26-159, here 70 (2000), p. 106-109.

76. Magister Raimundus. Atti del convegno per il IV cenenario della canonizzazione di San Raimondo de Penyafort (1601-2001), C. Longo ed., Rome, 2002 (*Dissertationes historicae*, 28).

77. Summae theologiae. tertia pars, questio 81, art. 1, responsio ad argumentum 1, line 9). *Repertorium hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, U. Chevalier ed., Louvain, 1892-1921, n° 32947, and *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum* = *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen*, H. Walther ed., Göttingen, 1959, n° 26863, but, given its use in D11 for the feast of Corpus Christi, most likely taken, directly or indirectly, from Aquinas' Summa theologiae III. q.81 a.1 resp. (although, as pointed out by Simon Tugwell, Aquinas, rather than employing the wording cinctus turba in the second line, provides turba cinctus, as do Hugh of St. Cher on Lk. 22:16 (Venice 1754, VI, 259v), Albertus Magnus (IV Sent. d.12 a.15 obi. 6, Borgnet XXIX, 322) and Aquinas (IV Sent. d.11 q.3 a.1 resp.). The verses are closely related to those of the third verse of Thomas' *Pange lingua* («In supremae nocte coenae/ recumbens cum fratribus/ observata lege plene/ cibus in legalibus/ cibum turbae duodena/ se dat suis manibus»), but do not, as is sometimes asserted, derive directly from it. Rather, the relationship is the other way around, witness their occurrence in earlier manuscripts, for which see André Wilmart, «La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'Adoro te devote», *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1 (1929), p. 21-40 and 149-176, reprinted in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Âge latin*, Études d'histoire littéraire, Paris, 1932, p. 361-414, here p. 413 («Dicere mira paro/ Sic de pane caro/ Rex sedet in cena/ Se tenet in manibus/ de uirga pordiit anguis/ de uino fit quoque sanguis/ turba cinctus duodena/ se cibatur ipse cibus», quoting a thirteenth-century manuscript from Assisi), and Wilmart, «Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville», *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937), p. 121-169, here p. 135, with reference to a late twelfth-century manuscript from the Cistercian monastery of Signy in which it is said that the verses are to be placed on a pyx, a reference in keeping with the rubric, «de cibis», under which they are placed in the *Distinctionum monasticarum*; see Jean-Baptiste Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense*, Paris, 1855, p. 257. For Aquinas, see Robert Wielockx, «Poetry and Theology in the Adoro te devote: Thomas Aquinas on the Eucharist and Christ's Uniqueness», in *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, K. Emery, Jr. and J. Wawrykow ed., Notre Dame, 1998, p. 157-174, and Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, University Park, 2007, p. 33-36. The verses also appear in various typological handbooks; see Floridus Röhrig, «Rota in medio rotae: Ein typologischer Zyklus aus Österreich», *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* N.F. 5 (1965), p. 7-114, here p. 107 (under the rubric, «De cena dominica»), the Pictor in Carmine; see Karl-August Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine. Ein typologisches Handbuch aus der Zeit um 1200 nach MS 300 des Corpus Christi College in Cambridge*, Berlin, 2006 (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, 17), p. 285, and the *Biblia pauperum*, where they are found among the inscriptions accompanying the Last Supper. According to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Ms. 697, transcribed by Montague Rhodes James, «On Fine Art as applied to the Illustration of the Bible in the Ninth and five following Centuries, exemplified chiefly by Cambridge Mss.», *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society with Communications made to the Society* 7 (1888-1891), p. 31-69, here p. 66, a variant also accompanied the scene of the Last Supper that formed part of a typological cycle in the cloister at St. Alban's Abbey. The verses appear on both a chalice and a paten in Hildesheim; see Robert Favreau, «L'épigraphie comme source pour la liturgie», in *Vom Quellenwert der Inschriften. Vorträge und Berichte der Fachtagung Esslingen 1990*, Renate Neumüllers-Klauser ed., Heidelberg, 1992 (Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1992, 7), p. 65-137, here p. 105, and, for a fuller discussion, Christine Wulf, «Die Inschriften auf dem großen Goldkelch im Domschatz», in Michael Wolfson, *Der Grosse Goldkelch Bischof Gerhards*, Hildesheim, 1996 (Der Hildesheimer Dom. Studien und Quellen

[Fig. 9] Rounding out the inscriptions are a pair of short interlinear glosses, the first, on the verses, «Cui scordet in hac uia/ nostri chori melodia/ con gaudens dominico» (glossed in blue: *alter dauid*), the second, on the verse «Ex egypto uanitatibus/ uirum sue uoluntatis» (glossed in red: *alter moyses*). In keeping with the many epithets showered on John elsewhere in the manuscripts from Paradies, these glosses heighten and elaborate the devotion to Dominic.

The glossing of sequences, which in themselves could be considered glosses on the mass liturgy that they elaborate, evinces a culture of learning that manifests itself in the form as well as the content of the inscriptions that comprise the corpus of texts from Paradies. A fifth and final witness to the specifically Dominican character of this comes from the illumination of the feast in honor of Thomas Aquinas (D 11, p. 515), who was canonized in 1323, translated in 1369 and whose translation was commemorated with a feast of its own beginning in 1376. [Fig. 10] In the gradual D 11 from Paradies, the addition of a mass for Thomas' translation at the end of the Common of Saints (p. 514) does not in itself indicate that the bulk of the manuscript was copied before that date, but only that the exemplar that the nuns were using predated the institution of the feast⁷⁸. The added feast is placed immediately prior to the liturgy for Thomas' feast proper, adopted by the Dominicans between 1324 and 1326.

The tract for the mass, «Quasi stella matutina» (the only original composition for the feast), derives from the life of Aquinas written by his first biographer, William of Tocco in 1323 to mark the institu-

1), p. 68-69. Aquinas appears on wing of a triptych from the convent of Lüne holding a scroll inscribed with two lines from the penultimate strophe of the hymn: «Tantum ergo sacramentum/ veneremur cernui»; see Eckhard Michael, *Die Inschriften des Lüneburger St. Michaelisklosters und des Klosters Lüne*, Wiesbaden, 1984 (*Die Deutschen Inschriften*, 24), p. 98-100, fig. 23. *Die Inschriften der Lüneburger Klöster*, Sabine Wehking ed., Wiesbaden 2009 (*Die deutschen Inschriften*, 76). The verses are among those accompanying a series of Passion scenes in a Dominican compendium dated 1488 in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. A.IX.2, f. 182r; see Gustav Binz, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel I: Die Handschriften der Abteilung A*, Basel, 1907, p. 119. Inexplicably, Gertrud Blaschitz, «Wort und Bild auf Realien: Ein Versuch zur Systematik von Inschriften», in *Text als Realie. Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 3. bis 6. Oktober; Vienna, 2003* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 18; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.: Sitzungsberichte 704), p. 263-296, does not include inscriptions on painting, reliquaries and liturgical objects. For further commentary, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Drew Massey, and Susan Marti, «Medieval Hypertext. The Illuminated Manuscript in the Age of Virtual Reproduction», in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, B. Schellewald and K. Krause ed., Cologne, 2011 (*Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst*, 2), (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna, 2011), p. 365-409.

78. Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1924, p. ci; William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, New York, 1944, p. 219-220. See also Angelus Walz, «Papst Johannes XXII. und Thomas von Aquin. Zur Geschichte der Heiligsprechung des Aquinaten», in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974. Commemorative Studies*, forward by Etienne Gilson, Toronto, 1974, p. 29-47, Célestin Douais, *Les reliques de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Paris, 1903, Etienne Delaruelle, «La translation des reliques de saint Th. d'A. à Toulouse (1369) et la politique universitaire d'Urbain V», in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 56 (1955), p. 129-146, Constant J. Mews, «Celebrating a Holy Theft. The Translation of the Relics of St. Thomas Aquinas from Italy to France and the Poissy Antiphonal», in *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe*, G. Kratzmann ed., Melbourne, 2009, p. 241-245, and, for Thomas' reputation prior to his canonization, Maur Burbach, «Early Dominican and Franciscan Legislation Regarding St. Thomas», *Mediaeval Studies* 3 (1941), p. 139-158. For the gradual adoption of the feast of the translation in German liturgical books, see Constant J. Mews, «Remembering St. Thomas in the Fourteenth Century: Between Theory and Practice», *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 15 (2009), p. 77-91.

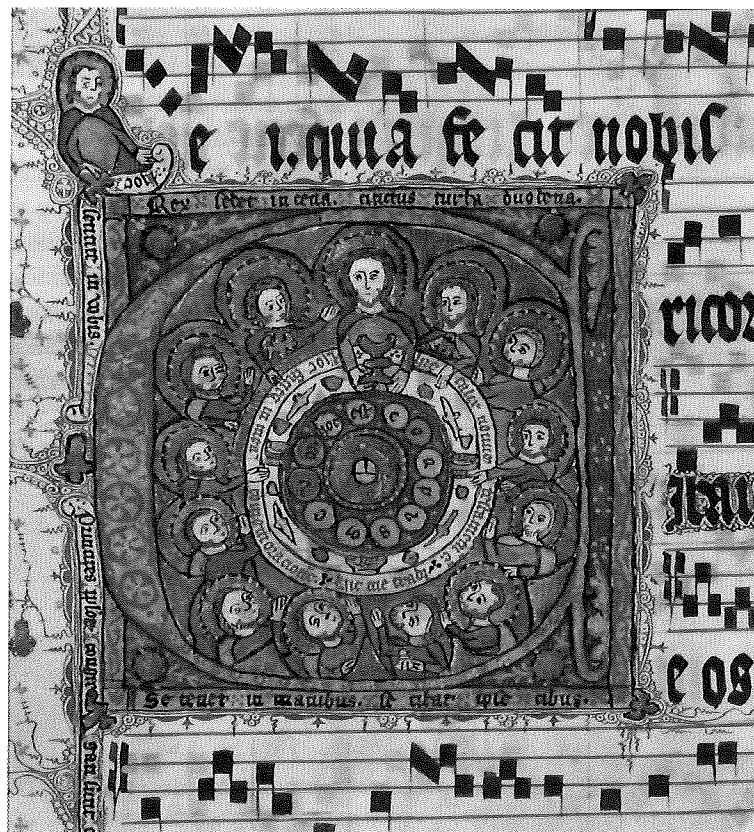


Fig. 9. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 319.

tion of the feast⁷⁹. Added to the portable liturgical exemplar of the Dominicans (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 23935, f. 12v-13r), dated ca. 1256-1262, in a supplement dated ca. 1370, its presence in the gradual provides an approximate terminus ante quem for the manuscript, which can in any case be placed no earlier than ca. 1380 on art-historical grounds⁸⁰. The illustration of the initial provides the earliest extant depiction of Christ speaking to Thomas from the cross⁸¹. Whether this detail further depends on Tocco's life of the scholastic saint once again proves a complicated philological problem⁸².

79. Cf. Tocco, AASS, March, vol. 1 (March 7), col. 659B: «De prædicto autem stellarum Ordine, id est Prædicatorum, [ubi maior stella S. Thomas de Aquino:] oportebat luminare aliquod præ ceteris diuinitus præfulgere doctius, & ideo de ipso præ alijs clarior Doctor præfulsit Ecclesiæ, & qui velut stella splendida & matutina in aurora prædictæ illuminationis apparuit, & quasi Hesperus serotini temporis vsque in finem seculi mundum illuminans in suis libris pro fidelium illuminatione remansit».

80. See Susan Marti, «Sisters in the Margins».

81. See Katherine L. Jansen, «Miraculous Crucifixes in Late Medieval Italy», in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church. Papers read at the 2003 Summer Meeting and the 2004 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, K. Cooper and J. Gregory ed., Woodbridge, 2005, p. 203-227, here p. 214-218.

82. William of Tocco, *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquini*, ch. 34, lines 12-13, D. M. Prümmer, O.P. ed.; *Fontes Vitæ S. Thomae Aquinatis. Notis historicis et criticis illustrati*, Toulouse, 1911), p. 126, newly edited in *Storia sancti Thome de Aquini de*



Fig. 10. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 515.

Unfurling from the right arm of the cross (as seen from Christ's perspective), a scroll makes visible the savior's words: «Bene scripsisti de me, thoma; Quam ergo mercedem de labore tua accipies». To which Thomas replies: «Non aliam nisi te ipsum». According to Simon Tugwell, the source whose wording seems to be the closest to the Paradies gradual is the shorter version of Bernard Gui's legend, which postdates Tocco's, in which Christ says to the saint: «Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma, quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem», and Thomas replies «Domine non aliam mercedem recipiam nisi

Guillaume de Tocco (1323). Édition critique, introduction et notes, C. Le Brun-Gouanvic ed., Toronto, 1996 (Studies and Texts 127), p. 162. For the story's circulation in various contexts, including hymns, see Edmund Colledge, «The Legend of St. Thomas Aquinas», in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974*, p. 13-28, here p. 22-25. For the story's circulation in various contexts, including hymns, see A. Ian Doyle, «A Prayer Attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas», *Dominican Studies* 1 (1948), p. 231-232, Edmund Colledge, «The Legend of St. Thomas Aquinas», in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974*, p. 13-28, here p. 22-25. Tocco's life appears to have circulated in Germany only quite late, i.e., in the fifteenth century, at least as indicated by Le Brun-Gouanvic's list of manuscripts, p. 61-67, the majority of which are of German origin. Of these, however, all but two (Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek, Praed. 60, f. 209r-238r, and Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III 69, f. 27r-58r) come from Benedictine houses and not a single copy, regardless of affiliation with an order, comes from a female house. For the infrequent German translation of William of Tocco's life of Aquinas, see Werner Williams-Krapp, «Kultpflege und literarische Überlieferung», p. 156-157.

teipsum»⁸³. The legend, including the exchange between Christ and Aquinas, was also incorporated into the liturgy for the saint; in the portable copy of the exemplar of the Dominican liturgy (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 23935, f. 18r), the fifth lesson for Matins concludes: «Bene scribisti de me, Thoma, quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem? Et respondit Thomas, Domine non aliam mercedem recipiam quam te ipsum»⁸⁴. The vision of the speaking crucifix, but with slightly different wording yet again, also occurs among the occasional additions to the Golden Legend, a source used by the nuns at Paradies, although the number of extant copies that include it is relatively small⁸⁵. Evidence of local interest in the life and legends of Thomas Aquinas comes from a manuscript from the library of the Dominican friars at Soest (Soest, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 36, f. 224r-234v), compiled by Jacob of Soest, who preached at Paradies in the early decades of the fifteenth century⁸⁶. The library at Lemgo also appears to have included some version of Thomas' life. Further evidence of Jacob's interest in Aquinas comes from Soest, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 29, in which he assembled various reports on Aquinas' canonization and the translation of his relics to Toulouse⁸⁷.

The feast in honor of Aquinas feast closes on the following folio with the verse, «Quasi uas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide precioso» (Eccles 50:10), which is embellished with a bust-length figure of the apostle Paul, surrounded by filigree penwork and holding a scroll reading «Qui compatitur et conregnabit». [Fig. 11] The alliterative phrase appears to echo a passage in Stephen Langton's life of another Thomas, Thomas à Becket, where it is said of the martyr: «Quia testante Apostolo, qui non compatitur non conregnabit»⁸⁸. The apparent borrowing from Langton raises a critical question that effects the consideration of sources, namely, to what extent can we imagine the nuns of Paradies not only relying on primary sources or, as in the case of the patristic texts they applied to John the Evangelist, specialized florilegia, but also, as appears to be the case here, simply on memory. The

83. Prümmer, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis*, p. 189. In correspondence, Simon Tugwell kindly noted that Vatican Library, Ms. Vat. lat. 1218, f. 157r, supplies the same text, other than «non aliam mercedem nisi teipsum recipiam». He also indicates that in the longer version (as found in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 818, f. 120r), Christ says «Thoma bene scripsisti de me, quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem», to which Thomas replies «Domine nichil nisi te».

84. For this information, thanks to Simon Tugwell, who notes that the same wording occurs in Toulouse, Bibl. Mun., Ms. 82, f. 223r as part of a supplement to a Dominican lectionary.

85. For a list of *Fremdlegenden*, see Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda aurea*, Brussels, 1991 (Subsidia Hagiographica, 72, 493 (T28 & T30). Excerpts from the *Legenda* also circulated in exempla collections (although there appears to be no evidence that the life and miracles of Thomas were among them); see Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, «Présence de la Légende dorée dans les recueils d'Exempla. Citations, traces et réécritures», in *De la Sainteté à l'hagiographie. Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, B. Fleith and F. Morenzoni, Geneva 2001 (Publications romanes et françaises 229), p. 147-171.

86. Berndt Michael, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Soest*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 225, where it is noted that although the bulk of the parchment book dates ca. 1420, the fascicule on paper containing the life was written ca. 1400 and only later larded in, presumably by Jacob of Soest himself, given that this manner of compilation has been shown to be typical of him; see Evergardus Overgaauw, «Die Autographen des Dominikanertheologen Jakob von Soest (c. 1360 bis c. 1440)», *Scriptorium* 60 (2006), p. 60-79.

87. Heribert Christian Scheeben, «Zur Geschichte der Verehrung des Hl. Thomas von Aquino», *Angelicum* 15 (1938), p. 286-294. For further discussion of the legend of the miraculous crucifix, see James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino. His Life, Thought, and Work*, New York, 1974, p. 315-316, and Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, «Chaff. Thomas Aquinas's Reputation of his *Opera omnia*», *New Literary History* 28 (1997), p. 383-399.

88. Stephan Langton, *Tractatus de translatione beati Thomae*, PL 190:1412B. See *Vita S. Thomae Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et martyris*, John Allen Giles ed., Oxford, 1845.



Fig. 11. Düsseldorf, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek D 11, p. 516.

likely answer, at least in our current state of knowledge, is all three. We should not, however, discount the role of book learning plain and simple.

Our conclusion is simple, but no less striking for that: as demonstrated by the catalogue of the Dominican nuns of Lemgo and the corpus of inscriptions incorporated into the liturgical manuscripts from Paradies, we should not underestimate the Latinity, book learning and intellectual ambitions of Dominican nuns. Moreover, that learning was both rooted in and helped generate an elaborate culture of the book in which calligraphy, illumination, cataloguing and all the other skills associated with the production and care of books played their part. The recovery of this lost chapter in the history of the book, the history of reading, and, not least, the history of female monasticism has only just begun.