

CULT AND CODEX: HAGIOGRAPHICAL WRITING AND CARTHUSIAN READING IN ROYAL LIBRARY OF BELGIUM MS 8060-64

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Abstract: MS 8060-64 is a hagiographic manuscript originally produced as a Marian miracle collection in the late fourteenth century by the Carthusians of St. Alban's monastery in Trier. The manuscript was supplemented at the beginning of the next century with additional Marian miracles and explanatory treatises, as well as numerous *exempla* and *vitae* of local charismatic women and male monastic reformers. I situate the production of this manuscript in a larger network of reform and Observant movements taking place in the fifteenth-century Low Countries and German Rhineland, emphasizing that books such as this one played an important catalytic role in efforts to revive and intensify monastic devotion. By comparing MS 8060-64 briefly with other similar compositions produced in the region, I show that reforming monks strove to gather together and collect examples of local female saints and their visions and miracles. I argue that these fifteenth-century monastic collections contributed to the creation of a hagiographic taxonomy of late medieval affective, feminine sanctity.

Keywords: Manuscripts, hagiography, St. Alban's Charterhouse, Margaret of Ypres, Hildegard of Bingen, Marian miracles, Trier, Liège, Observant Reform, affective devotion.

In the *salle des manuscrits* of the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels sits MS 8060-64, a thick codex produced in the fifteenth century by the monks of St. Alban's charterhouse in Trier. It contains miracles, exempla, saints' *Lives*, a *translatio*, and a commentary on the Benedictine Rule. The book is hardly unique. In both its formal features and the texts they support it is typical of late medieval Carthusian reading material.¹ Over the many centuries of this book's existence, however, it has managed to escape proper cataloging. As a result, MS 8060-64 has scarcely been consulted over the years, and thus it has exerted no pressure on our historical interpretations, on our modes of understanding manuscript transmission in the late Middle Ages.

Although Royal Library of Belgium MS 8060-64 has changed possession in the six hundred years since its production, it has evaded proper cataloging. It has no entry in Jan Van den Gheyn's *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*.² It is not included in the *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae regiae bruxellensis*.³ It is not stamped by the Bollandists, nor can it be found in their descriptions. The only catalog information available on the 199-folia manuscript exists as a tiny fiche filed away in an old wooden card catalog in the *salle des manuscrits* of the Royal Library of Belgium.⁴

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¹ On "Carthusian" reading material, see Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago 2007); Vincent Gillespie, "Lukyng in Haly Bukes: *Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies," *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache* ed. James Hogg (Salzburg 1984) 1–27; Michael Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976) 225–240; Augustin Devaux, *Catalogue des manuscrits des dépôts publics français concernant l'Ordre des chartreux* (Salzburg 2010); Raphael Witkowski, "Carthusian Library Catalogues," *Die Reichskartause Buxheim 1402–2002 und der Kartäuserorden. Internationaler Kongress vom 9. bis zum 12. Mai 2002* (Salzburg 2004) 81–91.

² J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogues des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Brussels 1901).

³ *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae regiae bruxellensis*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani (Brussels 1886–1889).

⁴ The fiche reads, quite plainly: "Latin Vies de saints: MIRACLES de Ste Marie; vie de Ste Christine de SAINT-TROND, Dite l'Admirable; VIE des SS. ROBERT & DYSIBODE/ Théologie : HILDEGARDE de BINGEN, Révelations sur la REGLE de S. BENOÎT/ Age: XIVE s./ CODICOLOGIE Papier, Qualité

This bibliographic impediment notwithstanding, a small handful of modern scholars have consulted the manuscript, if only cursorily. In 2003, Michael Embach published a survey of the manuscript and early print history of Hildegard of Bingen's corpus. He noted the presence in MS 8060 of her *Lives* of Disibod and Rupert, but neglected to account for her commentary on the Rule.⁵ Similarly, an exceptional dissertation by Suzan Folkerts on the late medieval manuscript transmission of the *Life* of Christina Mirabilis recognized the value of this book for interpreting fifteenth-century models of gender and spirituality.⁶ But Folkerts' scrupulous attention to the *vitae* of Christina *Mirabilis* overshadowed the presence in this manuscript of additional texts that reveal vital information for ascertaining the circumstances and purpose of its production.⁷ Although Margot King and Ludo Jongen list MS 8060-64 under entries for "Christina Mirabilis" and "Marie de Oignies" in their comprehensive bibliography of manuscripts and early printed texts of the holy women of Liège, they did not include it under the entry for Margaret of Ypres.⁸ Likewise, Walter Simons' abbreviated bibliography neglects MS 8060-64 in its list of manuscripts recording the *Life* of Margaret of Ypres.⁹

The absence of MS 8060-64 from our historical interpretation is consequential and, having stumbled upon it, I am prompted to consider how it reflects the function and goals of fifteenth-century monastic bookmaking in the urban centers of the Rhine-Moselle-Meuse valleys (particularly the ecclesiastical states of Trier and Liège). In the essay that follows, I will introduce this manuscript by considering its codicological features and the choice of texts included within it, occasionally comparing it to other manuscripts created in the region. This examination will allow me to consider the context of MS 8060-64's production and to suggest how this manuscript can inform our understanding of fifteenth-century approaches to collecting and reading hagiographic texts in the Rhine-Moselle-Meuse region and how those approaches, in turn, shaped monastic religiosity. As I will show, monks who were engaged in efforts at reform and spiritual conversion cultivated reading practices that centered on local exemplars of female sanctity. They encouraged the reading of *Lives*, miracles, and visions of female saints as an essential component of the conversion and reform process. As a result, fifteenth-century monastic codices of hagiographical texts display unique methods of collecting and organizing saints' *Lives*, methods that were particular to that century and that we must keep in mind when considering how, and for what distinct purposes, these materials were encountered and read. The outstanding intensity of affect with

mediocre (boit l'encre); Réglure; Réclames; Piqûres; Lettres d'attente; Papier, Filigranes/ DATE: ca. 1380–1390/ ECRITURE LATINE Gothique textuelle, 2e classe/ Provenance: Anvers Jésuites/ BIBLIOTHEQUES Echanges de livres."

⁵ Michael Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 2003).

⁶ Suzan Folkerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift: De overlevering en toe-eigening van de vita van Christina Mirabilis in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum 2010).

⁷ *Ibid.* 179–181.

⁸ Margot King and Ludo Jongen, "The Holy Women of Liège: a bibliography," <http://monasticmatrix.org/commentaria/holy-women-liège-bibliography>. This source has been expanded from Margot King, *The Holy Women of Liège: a bibliography* (Toronto 1999).

⁹ Walter Simons, "Holy Women of the Low Countries: A Survey," *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c. 1100–c. 1500* ed. Alistair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout 2010) 656.

which we associate female models of sanctity, especially from the thirteenth-century Low Countries, may stem in part from fifteenth-century monastic hagiographic typology.¹⁰

FORMAL FEATURES

Measuring 205 x 310 mm at the page, and 161 x 240 mm in text, MS 8060-64 is a late medieval compilation of hagiographical material. It consists of 199 folia on paper, in fairly good condition, with red *litterae notabiliores* throughout. Bound in nineteenth-century Moroccan red leather and embossed with gold tooling on the spine, the manuscript was copied by at least three scribes in littera cursiva and littera textualis. It is composed in three distinct codicological units, with the first unit being separated in production by roughly one decade from the second and third units. All three components were composed in the Carthusian monastery of St. Alban in Trier.

The first codicological unit consists of folios 1–35v, pricked and ruled in brown ink, written in a single column in varying numbers of lines from 31 to 33 per page. The paper throughout is consistently pressed with a bullshead bearing stark similarities to a paper stock from 1397 Cologne (Briquet number 14.924). This date would allow us to confirm the range provided by Martin Wittek, whose paper analysis suggested that it was likely composed about 1388–1402.¹¹ The second codicological unit occupies folios 36 through 41, with excised pages between fols. 35 and 36 (blank) and again between fols. 40 and 41 (blank). Copied in a new hand and ink in two columns in lines varying from 36 to 40 per page, it registers an abrupt formal break with the preceding unit. When the new scribe commences, he introduces a fresh paper source that continues (with one exception) throughout the production of the second and third codicological units. For these later two units we have a *different* bullshead watermark. Then, at folio 156, there is a singleton leaf deriving from an altogether different paper source, as indicated by an “S” watermark that matches Piccard 29539, Neuerburg 1409.¹² With the exception of the Neuerburg “S,” all of the leaves in the second and third codicological units bear the same bullshead watermark.

MIRACLES IN MS 8060-64

MS 8060-64 appears to have commenced as a varied collection of Marian miracles. The first codicological unit contains a collection of 175 Latin prose miracles, which was later continued in the third unit by a new scribe, bringing the total number of

¹⁰ On affective female devotion in these centuries the classic work remains Caroline Bynum’s *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Los Angeles 1988). Amy Hollywood, Dyan Elliott, John Coakley, and Sarah McNamer, among others, have contributed important refinements. See Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (South Bend 1995); Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 2004); John Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York 2006); and Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia 2010).

¹¹ Suzan Folkerts had access to the notes on paper quality made by Martin Wittek, director of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique from 1973–1990. Wittek dated the paper from 1388–1402. See Folkerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift* (n. 6 above) 179 n. 195.

¹² Folio 155 is a bullshead, 156 is the “S,” 157 shows no watermark, 158 shows no watermark, 159 shows no watermark, 160 returns to the bullshead, which then appears consistently throughout.

miracles to 263. The miracles are introduced by indexing on folios 1r–2r and a rubricated title, *miracula pietate marie*. It proceeds with an incipit from Vincent of Beauvais's collection, but unlike the *Speculum historiale*, MS 8060-64 begins with the well-known Hildefonsis tale and conforms to no identifiable order from extant miracle collections.¹³

The second codicological unit introduces a temporary break in the miracle collection by inserting explanatory texts on the person of Mary. Included here is, first, a paean to the name of Mary, then Caesarius of Heisterbach's commentary on the Marian sequence, *Ave praeclara maris stella*, followed by the sequence itself, authored by Hermannus Contractus (fol. 40v).¹⁴ The inclusion of this brief series of texts on the significance of Mary may provide us with insight into the interests of the monks of St. Albans. The addition of this unit of material dedicated to the meaning of Mary's liturgy indicates that the makers of MS 8060-64 yearned to instill guidance for how this collection should be read, direction on how to imagine Mary while reading. The entirety of the inserted unit serves to provide context for the Marian miracles that enclose it. These passages explain the historic and analogic significance of Mary. They offer the reader emotional cues for deepening the experience of reading these miracles, the knowledge and understanding of which served to intensify their performance of the liturgy. The sequence *Ave praeclara maris stella* is included in the Sarum Gradual on the Octave of the Assumption, one of the principal feasts of the liturgical calendar. The placement of this liturgical commentary, then, is significant. It stands both as a bridge between the two units, as well as a preface to the continuation of the Marian miracles. In this position, it serves as a preparatory lesson for proceeding in the reading process. Seen from the perspective of this explanatory unit, the manuscript begins to reveal itself as a tool for enhancing the devotional experience of multiple aspects of monastic life.

After this explanatory excursus, the miracle collection resumes with the scribal inclusion of an additional eighty-eight miracles.¹⁵ A codicological distinction of units two and three is the addition of bookmarks, which enabled readers to quickly orient themselves among miracles derived from various collections included in MS 8060-64. These bookmarks also allow us to gather how readers used this material, how they grouped its various texts. For example, a leather tab indicates the beginning of the Marian praises and commentary on her sequence (fol. 37), which was likely read as a separate unit. A second bookmark signals miracles that derive exclusively from Caesa-

¹³ On Marian miracle collections in the Middle Ages, see Adolfo Mussafia, *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marien-legenden* (Vienna 1887); Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legend* (Cambridge 2010); Marcus Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: analysis and translation* (Woodbridge 1999); Jan Ziolkowski, *Miracles of the Virgin Mary, in verse: miraculi sancti dei genitricis Virginis Marie, versifici by Nigel of Canterbury; edited from British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D.xix* (Toronto 1986); Albert Poncelet, "Index miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt," *Analecta Bollandiana* 21 (1902) 242–360; Evelyn Faye Wilson, ed. *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge 1946) 3–76.

¹⁴ On the commentaries on this sequence, see R. B. C. Huygens, "Commentaires sur la sequence *Ave praeclara maris stella*," in *Textus varii saeculorum X–XIII in unum collecti* (Turnhout 2000) 409–490.

¹⁵ Throughout the miracles and introductory material on Mary, the rubricator has made the effort to paint a small crown above the name of Mary in each instance of its writing, further demonstrating the sense of awe with which the readers of this book were expected to greet the name, and imagined face, of Mary.

rius of Heisterbach's book eight on *de corpore Christi* (fol. 72), a third designates miracles excerpted from Caesarius's book on Mary (fol. 78), and a fourth denotes the start of a section on miracles from the collection of Rocamadour (fol. 82). The final bookmark signifies a section on miracles from the collection of Hugh Farsit (at fol. 114, the prologue having been conveyed on fol. 113v), though it is not insignificant that this final section includes a small handful of other miracles as well, some that are unaffiliated with any single collection and others from the collection *In diocesi Leodiensi iuxta Florentiam*, a local Premonstratensian compilation.¹⁶ This final section includes several examples of miracles that either took place regionally or, in the case of those from Hugh's collection, involved pilgrims to Soissons from the Rhineland, for example, the healing of a mute boy from Cologne or the boy from Floreffe who denied Christ, but not Mary. The makers of this manuscript, we will continue to see, sustained an effort throughout the book to include local representatives of sacred activity.

Among the 263 miracles collected in the entirety of the manuscript, some tales are re-copied, in slightly different versions. For example, the Theophilus legend, in which Mary intervenes after a *vicedominus* sold his soul to the devil, appears in codicological units one and three, with some variations in the narrative (fols. 9 r–9v; 47v–50v).¹⁷ The Hildefonsus tale (fol. 3r; 42r–42v) is also copied in both units. From these habits of collecting, it seems that the makers of MS 8060–64 aimed to create a comprehensive source, including miracle stories from numerous textual exemplars, regardless of repetition.¹⁸ The resulting tome represents not a single miracle collection, but a collection of collections.¹⁹ An assemblage such as this suggests that the Carthusians of St. Alban's wished to produce an authoritative text, a reference guide for Mary's intercession in human affairs. Booklists from St. Alban's indicate that no other Marian materials were held at the library prior to the late fourteenth century, when MS 8060–64 was introduced; therefore, we may consider this manuscript as witness to a new interest in Mary's activity.²⁰ What *kind* of interest did the Carthusians of Trier express in Mary? Although Gabriella Signori has offered compelling socioeconomic motives that animated the production of the twelfth-century northern French miracle collections (numerous tales from which appear in MS 8060–64), St. Alban's was neither a pilgrimage site nor does it directly appear in the miracles as a locus of divine encoun-

¹⁶ PL 179.1176–1800. Examples of miracles in this section that are not found in Hugo's collection are miracle #297, fol. 117v, *sicut ex relatione fideli agnovimus* (Poncelet #1650) and miracle #259, fol. 118v, *Iuxta Floreffiam coenobium Praemonstratensis ordinis in dioc* (Poncelet #938). On Hugh's collection see, Gabriela Signori, "Städtisches Marienpatronat und ländliche Subsistenzprobleme im Spiegel nordfranzösisch-belgischer Ergotismusepidemien: Hugh Farsits 'Libellus de miraculis beatae Mariae Virginis in urbe Suessionensi'" *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster, und Welt* (Sigmaringen 1995) 125–151.

¹⁷ On the origins and dissemination of the Theophilus legend, see Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin* (n. 13 above) 42–74.

¹⁸ For a brief introduction to the relationship between the miracle collections in the book, see Johann Herolt and C.C.S. Bland, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London 1928). For an introduction to the *Mariales*, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215* (Philadelphia 1987) 149–150, 155–165; Albert Poncelet, "Index miraculorum" (n. 13 above).

¹⁹ On the emergence of miracle collections and their relations to one another, see Evelyn Faye Wilson, ed. *The Stella Maris* (n. 13 above) 3–76.

²⁰ Sigrid Krämer, *Mittelalterlich Bibliothekskatalog: Deutschlands und der Schweiz, Ergänzungsband I Handschriftenerbe des Deutschen Mittelalters 2* (Munich 1989) 782–786.

ter.²¹ The monks of St. Alban's instead created MS 8060-64, I argue, as part of a new regional program of monastic and devotional reform. Rather than drawing attention from the larger public to their community, this was a personal book, intended for solitary Carthusian reading. As the prologue introducing the third codicological unit states, the reading, hearing and reciting of Mary's miracles should "excite the heart" for the purpose of "inflaming love."²² This preface suggests that the collection functioned to prepare the reader for prayer, to "excite" his devotion in a new and profound manner.

Additional information about the production of this manuscript can be gleaned from its colophon, included in the first codicological unit. At the bottom of folio 2v, where a faint signature indicates that one Lord Herman, of the new castle in Hesse (above the words *novo castro hassie* is written *Nuwenburg*) gave the book to a community of Carthusians, and identifies Herman as *sigillifer curie Treverensis*. According to the necrology of St. Simeon in Trier, Herman of Nuwenberg was a canon and the caretaker of the seals from 1381 to 1402 who donated liturgical celebrations in honor of Archbishop Kuno II, the German reformer.²³ The book was made as a gift to St. Alban's charterhouse, the only Carthusian monastery located in the vicinity of Trier in the fourteenth century.²⁴

The charterhouse of St. Alban was founded in 1330 by Archbishop Baldwin of Luxembourg, the eager territorial politician who endowed the house lavishly with land, relics, liturgical equipment, a separate building for its sizeable library, and exquisite tombs for he and his family members, the counts of Luxembourg.²⁵ With his support, St. Alban's quickly developed into an important cultural and literary site for the region, acting as a veritable public relations firm for efforts to strengthen archepiscopal governance.²⁶ After Baldwin's death, the Carthusians of St. Alban's maintained extensive relationships with noble families outside of the monastery and continued to develop its library.²⁷

Surveying the library holdings of St. Alban's, Sigrid Krämer noted 218 manuscripts dating primarily from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. MS 8060-64 is not in-

²¹ Gabriella Signori, *Maria zwischen Katedrale, Kloster, und Welt* (n. 16 above).

²² The most complete modern edition appears in *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. Aloys Meister (Rome 1901) 128: "ad excitanda corda," "corroborandas fidelium mentes in eius amoret." Because so many of the miracles in MS 8060-64 reflect the order found in Bernard Pez's collection, the prologue may have been copied from this source; although this prologue is found in other sources as well, such as the Pseudo-Caesarius, British Library Mariale 3, and BNF Paris Mariale 1. See Bernard Pez, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*, ed. Thomas Crane (Ithaca 1925).

²³ Franz-Josef Heyen, *Das Stift St Simeon in Trier* (Berlin 2002) 553; Manfred Oldenburg, *Die Trierer Kartause St. Alban von der Gründung (1330/31) bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Salzburg 1995) 133-134.

²⁴ Folkerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift* (n. 6 above) 179.

²⁵ See Johannes Mötsch and Franz Heyen, eds., *Baldwin von Luxemburg, Erzbischof von Trier, Kurfürst des Reiches, 1285-1354* (Mainz 1985); Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Die Trierer Kirchenprovinz im Investiturstreit* (Cologne 1987).

²⁶ Wolfgang Schmid, "Der Bischof, die Stadt und der Tod: Kunststiftungen und Jenseitsfürsorge im spätmittelalterlichen Trier," in Michael Borgolte, ed. *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin 2000) 171-256.

²⁷ Oldenburg, *Die Trierer Kartause St. Alban* (n. 23 above) 106-145.

cluded among the listed manuscripts.²⁸ The library catalog from St. Alban's, in addition to the witness of MS 8060-64, confirms that late medieval continental Carthusians were deeply invested in devotional treatises and instructional guides for contemplation.²⁹ The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century books in the library register encompassed *exempla*, saints' lives, miracles, and miscellaneous theological, mystical, and ascetic texts, including works from Honorius Augustodunensis, Richard of St. Victor, Bonaventure, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Jacobus of Voragine, Caesarius of Arles, Nicholas of Lyra, Solinus, Origen, Mechthild of Hackeborn (two copies of her *Liber specialis gratiae*), as well as meditations on the life of Christ, the *Gesta Treverensis*, the Carthusian constitutions, and various liturgical texts (as would be expected, quite a large number of breviaries and psalters).³⁰ The chartermonks of St. Alban's, therefore, like the Order as a whole, chose books consistent with a monastic identity that valued devotional texts designed to foster contemplative spirituality.³¹

The manuscript copy of MS 8060-64 enables us to penetrate beyond the booklist of St. Alban's, however, to examine the community's reading practices and interactions with a network outside the cloister walls.³² During a period when reformed monasteries were considered highly desirable, when city councils and territorial lords were demonstrating a great degree of interest in promoting the reform of local monasteries, the Carthusians attracted attention from patrons who recognized as distinct their hermetic practices, strict constitutions, and famous un-necessity of reform.³³ Indeed, over the course of the fourteenth century, fifty percent more charterhouses were founded than in the two centuries prior, and these houses were overwhelmingly founded in Germany, located in cities, and maintained close associations with their episcopal and secular patrons.³⁴ In fact, due to their celebrated reputation for contemplation and rigor (reformers without need of reform), Carthusians from these German houses were often sent to other monastic houses in order to assist with the implementation of reform measures. For example, after having served as abbot of St. Alban's since 1419, Johannes Rode departed to the nearby Benedictine monastery of St. Matthias after a

²⁸ Sigrid Krämer, *Mittelalterlich Bibliothekskatalog* (n. 20 above) 782–786.

²⁹ Michael Sargent, "The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976) 225–240.

³⁰ On the library of St. Alban see L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Mâcon 1935) 2.3210; Joseph de Ghellinck, "Les catalogues des bibliothèques médiévales chez les chartreux et un guide de lectures spirituelles," *Revue d'ascétique et mystique* 25 (1949) 284–298; Johannes Simmert, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Kartause St. Alban bei Trier 1330," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst des Mittelrheins* 15/16 (1963/64) 5–38; and Krämer (n. 28 above) 782–786.

³¹ On Carthusian library catalogues, the evidence from England is particularly rich. In addition to those listed in note 1, see Vincent Gillespie and A. I. Doyle, *Syon Abbey, with the Libraries of the Carthusians* (London 2001); A. I. Doyle, "English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked with a Charterhouse" *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning, Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katherine Simms (Aldershot 1998).

³² On Carthusian reading practices and biblioculture, see Brantley (n. 1 above).

³³ See Brantley (n. 1 above) 343 n. 67: the dictum, *Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata* was repeated in papal bulls issued in 1257, 1460, and 1924.

³⁴ Dennis Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden 1992) 4. On the various foundations, see *Monasticon cartusiense*, band 2, ed. Gerhard Schlegel and James Hogg (Salzburg 2004).

papal dispensation required him to initiate its reform in 1421.³⁵ Additionally, Dennis Martin has argued that we consider the prolific treatises of the Carthusian abbot, Nicholas Kempf, as a real contribution to fifteenth-century reform, one that urged contemplation and withdrawal as a means of rejuvenating religious life.³⁶

MS 8060-64 must be situated within this wave of Carthusian foundation and participation in a larger network of reform and Observant movements taking place in the fifteenth-century Low Countries and German Rhineland.³⁷ Hermann of Nuwenberg's gift of a book of Marian miracles to the Carthusians of Trier made a claim on the charterhouse, a claim on the kinds of reading the monks should be undertaking, not just for the sake of their own spiritual lives, but to the advantage of the wider community. Fifteenth-century German reform efforts were often promoted in this way, from outside the cloister walls, and appealed especially to external benefactors because they were often included in and exerted a degree of control over the process of reform.³⁸ A supporter of Archbishop Kuno, Hermann was dedicated to monastic reform, and likely intended this gift as a gesture aligned with his reforming efforts in the Archdiocese of Trier. The contemplative work that the Carthusians of St. Alban's performed in their cells, this gift suggested, was guided, informed, and supported in some part from beyond the cell.³⁹ The colophon reinforces this encompassing scope of the book, stating that Herman is, "our caring friend and great benefactor, we pray faithfully for him."⁴⁰

The production of MS 8060-64 in this context of German monastic reform enables us to gather how devotional reading and reform were neatly integrated at St. Alban's. The act of reading this Marian miracle collection was a tool of reform, of the revival and intensification of monastic devotion. MS 8060-64 did not stand alone in this effort. The library holdings of St. Alban's swelled extensively in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, mirroring the "literature explosion" that took place in Rhineland monastic communities at this time.⁴¹ But in the case of MS 8060-64, we can gain a unique glimpse into the effects of reading with these freshly dedicated reform inten-

³⁵ Morimichi Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa; A Companion to his Life and Times* (New York 2011) 193–197.

³⁶ Martin (n. 34 above) 240–257.

³⁷ James Mixson, "Religious Life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century," *History Compass* 11 (2013) 201–214. Steven Vanderputten has made a similar observation with regard to previous monastic reform movements; see his *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders* (Ithaca 2013). See also James Mixson, *Poverty's Proprietors: Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement* (Leiden 2009); Kaspar Elm, ed., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen* (Berlin 1989); Dieter Mertens, "Monastische Reformbewegungen des 15. Jahrhunderts: Ideen-Ziele-Resultate," *Reform von Kirche und Reich: zur Zeit der Konzilien von Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Konstanz-Prager historisches Kolloquium (11.–17. Oktober 1993)* (Constance 1996) 157–81.

³⁸ Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park 2004) 86–94. On the relationship of city councils to reformed monasteries, see also Sigrid Hirbodian, "Pastors and Seducers: The Practice of the *Cura monialium* in Mendicant Convents in Strasbourg," *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500*, ed. Fiona Griffiths and Julie Hotchin (Turnhout 2014) 303–338.

³⁹ On the relationship between private devotion and secular supporters, see Brantley's discussion of the pressure exerted by benefactors on the devotional lives of English Carthusians (n. 1 above) 46.

⁴⁰ Fol. 2v: "amicus noster curando et benefactor magnus oremus fideliter pro eo."

⁴¹ Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles* (n. 38 above) 171; Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit; Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte* (Wiesbaden 1998) 1.85–88.

tions. In the late fourteenth century at St. Alban's, there was only one other manuscript explicitly dedicated to Marian readings, Trier, Stadtbibliothek Hs. 565/807. This book was a compilation of orations, texts on Mary from Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux, meditations on the passion of Christ, and treatises on contemplation. These two manuscripts, then, formed the literary origins of important new efforts at devotional experimentation taking place at St. Alban's. Indeed, the Carthusians of St. Alban's were responsible for crafting and promoting, within a matter of years after their acquisition of MS 8060-64, one of the most enduring methods of Marian prayer. At the charterhouse of St. Alban between 1409 and 1415, Adolf of Essen and Dominic of Prussia composed an innovative treatise on Mary's rosegarden. *Our Lady Mary's Rosegarden* combined fifty *Ave Marias* with fifty "mysteries" or meditations from the *vita Christi*.⁴² While the Trier composition is by no means the earliest rosary text, it was copied abundantly and testifies to the intensity and creative energy that the Carthusians of Trier would come to place in Marian prayer.⁴³ Moreover, beginning with Dominic of Prussia, every leader of the Observant Reform movement was known to have experimented intimately with rosary meditation.⁴⁴ Viewed from within this context of production at St. Alban's in the late fourteenth, then early fifteenth, centuries, MS 8060-64 played an important catalytic role in Carthusian devotional experimentation and assistance in regional reform.

SAINTS: LAYWOMEN AND CLERICAL REFORMERS

I wish now to turn our attention to the non-Marian texts included in the third codicological unit of the manuscript. These additional materials magnify the interests of the monks of St. Alban's in important ways. The monks worked to pair the Marian miracles with decidedly local examples of female charismatic authority and male monastic reformers.⁴⁵ Such a pairing is complex, and presents a number of difficulties to the contemporary interpreter. While literary depictions of spiritual authority from this period are highly gendered, attributing charismatic power to women and clerical office to men, we know that women held important leadership roles in their communities, and used networks of filial and financial associations to negotiate on behalf of their needs and interests.⁴⁶ Moreover, fifteenth-century reformed monks, we know, were the greatest producers and consumers of thirteenth-century literature on female saints and visionaries. Why were monastic readers interested in this depiction of fe-

⁴² Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park 1997); Thomas Esser, "Beitrag zur Geschichte des Rosenkranzes: die ersten Spuren von Betrachtungen beim Rosenkranz" *Der Katholik* 77 (1897) 346-60, 409-22, 515-28; Adolf von Essen und seine Werke. *Der Rosenkranz in der geschichtlichen Situation seiner Entstehung und in seinem bleibenden Anliegen*, ed. Karl-Josef Klinkhammer (Frankfurt 1972).

⁴³ For arguments on the primacy of the Carthusian rosary, see Dennis Martin, "Behind the Scene: The Carthusian Presence in Late Medieval Lay Spirituality" *Essays Dedicated to the Memory of F. Edward Cranz, Thomas P. McTighe, and Charles Trinkhaus*, ed. Thomas Izbicki and C. M. Bellitto (Leiden 2002) 29-62.

⁴⁴ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose* (n. 42 above) 73.

⁴⁵ Dennis Martin has noted Carthusian use of female visionary texts in the process of later fifteenth-century reform. See his "Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers," *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Julian Luxford (Turnhout 2009) 127-153.

⁴⁶ On this depiction, see the essays in Griffiths and Hotchin, *Partners in Spirit* (n. 38 above).

male visionary power? What was the desired effect on the religious imagination of reading such narratives? The arrangement of texts in MS 8060-64 may offer some insight into these queries.

After the Marian prose miracles, the next section of the manuscript flows seamlessly into a transcription of twenty-five exempla from Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*. Bearing no bookmark, introductory title, or incipit, but beginning at a new quire, the exempla derive primarily from Caesarius's book of visions, although six stories are from his books on dying and punishment.⁴⁷ Thematically and codicologically, then, they represent a disruption from the texts that were copied in the previous sections of this manuscript—they are neither miracles, nor Marian. They are, however, primarily visionary, local, and gendered feminine. Over half of the exempla relate to visionary material reported by local women from the Archdiocese of Cologne, while the remainder of the stories address confession (or lack thereof) and punishment, subjects on which Caesarius was recognized as an authority.⁴⁸

The exempla represent an interesting thematic choice by including a series of visions experienced by local laypeople and stories of punishment and woe endured by unrepentant religious women and men. Included, for example, are three tales involving sinful clerics and a nun from Cologne, and a miraculous gift to a devout layman from Liège. These juxtaposed themes would be unremarkable were it not for the consistent pairing of visionary women and clerical reformers throughout the remainder of the manuscript. Indeed, the random nature of the exempla implies that the monks deliberately chose to include *these* stories of religious in need of reform and of pious laypersons. The name of Caesarius of Heisterbach is not mentioned in these excerpts, as we might expect for a miscellaneous collection of *exempla* from various authors, such as Jean Gobi's *Scala coeli* or Arnold of Liege's *Alphabetum narrationum*.⁴⁹ It is more likely, then, that the exemplar used by the scribe was a copy of the *Dialogus miraculorum*, or independently-circulating copies of Caesarius's books.⁵⁰ The codex thus discloses a sense of monastic agency. The scribes were not merely copying, but

⁴⁷ While the previous sections on Mary had included tales from Caesarius's books on Mary, the Sacrament, and the *Libri VIII Miraculorum*, this new section introduces Caesarius's non-Marian exempla.

⁴⁸ The non-visionary material is nonetheless centered around female offenders; for example, the scribe includes the story of the mistress of a priest whose dying wish was to be buried in a new pair of shoes and the story of the nun who refused to confess her abortion and was haunted by the luminous ghost of her fetus. Victoria Smirnova is working on a monograph on the manuscript history of the *Dialogus miraculorum*. See her, "And Nothing Will be Wasted": Actualization of the Past in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*," *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Doležalová (Leiden 2010). I thank Professor Smirnova for her correspondence on the transmission of the *Dialogus miraculorum* among the modern day devout.

⁴⁹ On these collections, see *Le scala coeli de Jean Gobi*, ed. Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris 1991); *An Alphabet of Tales: an English fifteenth-century translation of the Alphabetum narrationum of Étienne de Besançon* (London 1904–1905). On the circulation of exempla collections more generally see Frederic Tubach, *Index exemplorum: a handbook of medieval religious tales* (Helsinki 1969); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Prêcher d'exemples: récits de prédicateurs du Moyen Age* (Paris 1985); *Les Exempla médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, ed. Anne Marie Polo de Beaulieu and Jacques Berlioz (Paris 1998).

⁵⁰ Library registers indicate that the *Dialogus miraculorum* was very popular among members of fifteenth-century reformed monasteries in the Rhineland and Low Countries. Pieter Obbema, "The Rooklooster Register evaluated," *Quaerendo* 7 (1977) 326–353, 347.

compiling, creating.⁵¹ They excerpted and arranged tales from Caesarius that suited the particular needs of St. Albans. Those needs appear to associate the work of monastic reform with the visionary authority of ancestral holy women from the region.

After the section on exempla, all of the texts to follow in MS 8060-64 (with one brief exception) are hagiographic. First is the *Life* of Saint Macarius of Rome, which completes the quire that began with Caesarius's exempla. This quire, then, represents a conscious shift in content for the manuscript. The book has begun to develop beyond the Marian miracle collection, to magnify its scope and function. The *Life* of Macarius is an interesting choice to pair in this quire with Caesarius's predominantly local tales of sin and punishment. The *Life* of Macarius relays in vivid detail the treacherousness and fear associated with eremitic life. For the Carthusians, this eremitism would hold great importance, as the early Carthusians self-styled as desert solitaries, stoic heroes of a fearsome solitary wilderness.⁵² Like the desert fathers, Carthusians lived as contemplative solitaries within their cells. The inclusion of the *Life* of Macarius in MS 8060-64 gestures at the continued shaping of Carthusian eremitic identity. Therefore this new section on hagiographical material commences with a kind of verbal portrait of the Carthusian reader, and suggests an awareness that reading this manuscript was a means to construct the monastic self.⁵³

The next three entries in the manuscript, occupying folios 132–165, contain both partial and complete *Lives* of three thirteenth-century laywomen from the Diocese of Liège—Christina *Mirabilis*, Marie of Oignies, and Margaret of Ypres.⁵⁴ Unlike other sections of the manuscript, these three entries include catchwords, suggesting that they were produced together as a deliberate cluster of texts.⁵⁵ Furthermore, each of these women has a connection to the Dominican preacher and hagiographer, Thomas of Cantimpré, who wrote the *Lives* of Christina *Mirabilis* and Margaret of Ypres, as well as a supplement to Jacques de Vitry's *Life* of Marie de Oignies.⁵⁶ Thematically and formally, these *Lives* functioned as a unit.

⁵¹ Malcolm Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London 2003) 58–59.

⁵² On the Carthusians' self-representation as inhabitants of the wilderness, see Sara Ritchey, "An Estranged Wilderness," *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity* (Ithaca 2014) 159–195; and Julian Luxford, "Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation," *Self Representation in Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. Ann Müller and Karen Stöber (London 2009) 275–305.

⁵³ Carthusians were by no means the only Order returning to an ideal of desert asceticism. The desert fathers enjoyed a particular vogue at this time among houses affiliated with the Windesheimers and the Modern Day Devout. Geert Grote and Florens Radewijns included the fathers among their reading lists for brothers and canons. See Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna: Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels* (Frankfurt 1999) and Nikolaus Staubach, "Memores pristinae perfectionis: The Importance of the Church Fathers for Devotio Moderna," *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: from the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irina Dorota Backus (Turnhout 1997) 405–460.

⁵⁴ The scribe of MS 8060–64 cut short the *Life* of Christina *Mirabilis* by two chapters that are included in the AASS edition of her *Life*. These are the final two chapters, which report on Christina's posthumous miracles.

⁵⁵ The consistent paperstock disinclines me to think that the paper supporting other entries in the book have been cut, removing their catchwords.

⁵⁶ See *Thomas of Cantimpré: the Collected Saints' Lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres, and Lutgard of Aywières*, ed. Barbara Newman (Turnhout 2008).

It is worth pausing for a moment to consider how and why these texts might suit fifteenth-century monastic reading interests. Two of these *Lives* were copied abundantly—the *Life* of Christina *Mirabilis* exists in eighteen Latin and seven vernacular manuscripts, and the *Life* of Marie of Oignies survives in no less than thirty-nine Latin manuscripts (including fragments). We know that the *Lives* of Marie and Christina were promoted among monks in the Liège-Brabant region as a testament to their holy ancestry.⁵⁷ But while the *Lives* of Christina and Marie enjoyed a rather widespread readership, the *Life* of Margaret of Ypres appears in only four known manuscripts, of which MS 8060-64 is one.⁵⁸ These few manuscripts may offer additional insight into fifteenth-century monastic interest in charismatic laywomen.

The earliest extant manuscript that records the *vita Margareta de Yperis* is Royal Library of Belgium MS 4459-70 (3161), which originated in the Cistercian monastery of Villers, and is dated 1320.⁵⁹ It is a compilation of nine primarily local “living” saints’ *Lives* and additional brief miscellaneous material such as prayers, letters from bishops and priors, a sermon, a revelation, an indulgence, a blessing, and abbreviated monastic chronicles.⁶⁰ The monks of Villers chose to bind together in this manuscript useful communal texts such as blessings, curses, and other effective utterances with the *Lives* of “living” saints from the region, that is, saints who were near-contemporaries of the Villers monks and who remained active in their collective memory.⁶¹ For example, Margaret of Ypres is called upon in an incantatory exhortation to intercess in helping readers to withstand temptation.⁶² This compilation tells us how the Villers monks were reading the *Lives* of local female saints like Margaret—they served a

⁵⁷ Suzan Folkerts has surveyed the manuscript transmission of the *Lives* of both Marie de Oignies and Christina *Mirabilis*. See her “The Manuscript Transmission of the *Vita Mariae Oigniencensis* in the Later Middle Ages,” *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation*, ed. Anneke Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout 2006) 233–234.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 221–241.

⁵⁹ This 260-folia manuscript measures 135 x 130 mm. On the manuscript, see Stephanus Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp 1950–1956) 5–39; Sylvain Balau, *Étude critique des sources de l’histoire du pays de Liège au moyen âge* (Brussels 1902–1903) 61; Judith Oliver, “Je pecherise renc grascas a vos”: some French devotional texts in Beguine Psalters,” *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. Peter Monks and D. D. Owens (Leiden 1994) 248–266.

⁶⁰ For the complete catalog entry, see J. Van Den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits* (n. 2 above) V.115–117. In addition to Margaret, it includes the *Lives* of Werric of Aulne, Christina *Mirabilis*, Alice of Schaerbeek, Walter of Birbech, Beatrice of Nazareth, and Anthony of Padua. On “living saints” see Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago 1992) 6. See also the essays in *The Invention of Sainthood*, ed. Anneke Mulder-Bakker (New York 2002), esp. Mulder-Bakker’s “Saint’s Without a Past: Sacred Places and Intercessory Power in Saints’ Lives from the Low Countries,” 38–57. For an exploration of a later period, see Gabriella Zarri, “Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century,” *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel Bornstein (Chicago 1996) 219–304 and *Le sante vive: Profezie di corte e devozione femminile tra ‘400 e ‘500* (Turin 1990).

⁶¹ On effective utterances see Don Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park 2006); and Gábor Klaniczay, “The Power of Words in Miracles, Visions, Incantations, and Bewitchments,” *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló and Éva Pócs (Budapest 2013) 281–304.

⁶² MS 4459–70, fols. 62v–64: “Isti cursus potest dici in festo Sancti Elizabeth, Marie Egyptiache et aliorum electaorum. Milla gaudeamus. Exaudi. Mulierem fortem. Margarita. Magdalene.”

communal purpose, to assist healing, homiletics, and local history.⁶³ The Villers scribes associated local living saints, who they may have remembered for their public performance of almsgiving, fasting, and other penitential acts, with effective activities and communal memories.

By the fifteenth century, the *Life* of Margaret was copied into a very different kind of monastic book and thus we can conclude that her *Life* was read in a rather different manner. Two surviving examples of her fifteenth-century transcription were produced by Windesheim canons. First, the canons of the Rooklooster, outside of Brussels, created KBR MS 8751-60 (3217) in 1442.⁶⁴ Containing a variety of hagiographic texts, including *Lives*, *passiones*, martyrologies, conversion narratives, and miracles, MS 8751-60 was a smallish book suited to personal reading.⁶⁵ The *Lives* copied in this manuscript are exclusively female and exclusively from the Liège-Brabant region.⁶⁶ Also of interest here is the sole non-hagiographic text to be included in the manuscript, a fragment of a collection of memorable dicta alphabetically-organized (and for which only O-P are included) in themes such as *Obedientia*, *Oratio*, *Pacis*, *Patiens*, and *Prodigalitas*.⁶⁷ This fragment points to the primarily personal and devotional use of MS 8751-60.⁶⁸ The second Windesheim copy of the *Life* of Margaret is similar to the Rooklooster example. KBR MS 3391-99 (3160) was made at the nearby congregation of St. Bethlehem, near Leuven.⁶⁹ It, too, reveals a pattern of systematically collecting local, female saints' *Lives*. Both codices thus affirm a sacred tradition for their readers' region, their work.⁷⁰ As classic examples of the bibliographic preferences of the Windesheim canons, these books would have been used as part of the Windesheim conversion program, in which canons were instructed to copy brief, memorable texts that inflamed their passion for devotion, that strengthened the emotional pitch of their *lectio*.⁷¹ These were not communal books; they were intensely personal books, and they were designed as devotional tools, to ignite the monk's religious imagination.

⁶³ The book does not segregate the saints' *Lives* according to sex, region, or chronology; it includes *Lives* of five men and six women (with an additional description of a revelation received by a beguine and a short sketch of the devotional practices of an unnamed virgin of the Cistercian order).

⁶⁴ Stephanus *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, (n. 59 above) 113–136; *Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Anton Weiller (Brussels 1976) 281.

⁶⁵ It measures 204 x 140 mm.

⁶⁶ The local female saints include Amalberga, Aldegonde, Margaret of Ypres, Gertrude of Nivelles, and Waldetrudis; there are also a significant number of female conversion narratives (Katherine, Rainelda), as well as passions of female martyrs (the 11,000 virgins, Katherine, Eulalie, Domitille, Barbara).

⁶⁷ For the complete catalog entry see Van den Gheyn, *Catalogues des manuscrits* (n. 2 above) 191–192.

⁶⁸ The colophon that autographs the *vita praeclaræ virginis Margarete de Yperis* on folio 160v indicates a sense of personal devotion to this particular saint. It reads "Finita in divisione apostolorum anno Domini 1442 per manum fratris cuius nomen scribantur in celis per merita sanctissime Dei genitricis et Margarete virginis huius."

⁶⁹ Stefanus Axters, *Bijdragen tot een bibliographie van de Nederlandsch Dominikaansche vroomheid*, vol. I (Antwerp 1932) 5–29; Marijke Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen: heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* (s-Gravenhage 1981) 498; Martin Wittek, *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique. IV: 1461–1480* (Brussels-Ghent 1968) 11; Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Weurzburg 1966) 764.

⁷⁰ Folkerts, "Manuscript Transmission," (n. 57 above) 232–234.

⁷¹ On the origins of the Windesheim Canons, see John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia 2008) 90; R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden 1968) 296, 309. In fact, this

Members of the Modern Devout, of which the Windesheim Canons were a part, were deeply influenced by Carthusian communal life, not only in their emulation of the Carthusian statutes, but also in cultivating reading practices to enhance contemplation and conversion. The Movement's founder, Geert Groote, spent formative years in the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen outside of Arnhem. And Carthusian libraries acted as important donors to Windesheim houses working to build their catalog holdings.⁷² These connections might explain why the hagiographic texts produced by the Windesheim canons share certain features with MS 8060-64 and other fifteenth-century continental Carthusian manuscripts. The two fifteenth-century manuscripts from Windesheim that include the *Life* of Margaret of Ypres provide evidence, corroborated by Suzanne Fokerts' studies of the manuscript transmission of the *Lives* of Christina *Mirabilis* and Marie of Oignies, that fifteenth-century monks in the southeastern Low Countries and bordering Rhinelands created books dedicated to compiling and bringing together the *Lives* of local female saints.⁷³ In creating their *vitae sanctorum*, scribes explicitly isolated local and female saints' *Lives* from other genres of text, so that they were now consumed together, as a group, and as part of a fifteenth-century reform program of intensifying personal affective devotion and spiritual conversion.

Returning to the *vita Margareta de Yperis* in MS 8060-64, we find that the copy is incomplete, a fragment that begins in the middle of Chapter Fourteen, line 16. The quire structure does not indicate that previous pages are missing from a complete copy of the *Life*, and the scribe left ample space after the previous entry to commence writing a new text. Margaret's *Life* does not include a rubricated title as Christina and Marie's entries do. As a fragment, the *Life* of Margaret in MS 8060-64 offers a stark reminder that the texts we now consider as whole when we encounter them in modern critical editions were often read as parts, woven together with other texts and with other fragments of texts to produce an entirely separate entity, a distinct reading experience.⁷⁴ This fragment demonstrates that, for the fifteenth-century Carthusian makers of MS 8060-64, Margaret's *Life* was significant not only for its content, but for its representation among this hagiographic triptych of local female holywomen.

After the *Lives* of Christina, Marie, and Margaret, the scribe next turns to Hildegard of Bingen's *Lives* of Saints Rupert and Disibod and her commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict. Although a bookmark appears at folio 165, there is not a separate mark at 169, where Disibod's story begins, thus indicating that the readers of this book treated the *Lives* as a pair, a single production, as the title given to the entry suggests:

final alphabetical reading list might represent a more formalized *rapiarium*, and its pairing with saints' *Lives*, conversion narratives, and martyrs' passions would thus indicate the centrally affective purpose that such texts were considered to serve among the Modern Devout. See Thom Mertens, "Rapiarium," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* 13 (Paris 1988) 114–19 and "Lezen met de pen: ontwikkelingen in het laatmiddeleeuws geestelijk proza," *De studie vande Middelnederlandse letterkunde: stand en toekomst*, ed. F. P. van Oostrom and Frank Willaert (Hilversum 1989) 187–200.

⁷² On Carthusian facilitation of Windesheim libraries see F. Hendrickx, *Die Kartäuserautoren und –bibliotheken nach dem Register des Rooklosters bei Brüssel, Geschichte und Kultur der Kartäuser. Tagung am 21. und 22. Oktober 1979 in Köln*, ed. H. J. Roth (Bregenz 1980) 6–10.

⁷³ Fokerts, *Voorbeeld op schrift* (n. 6 above) and "Manuscript Transmission" (n. 57 above).

⁷⁴ Arthur Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago 2013) 3.

Vita sanctorum Ruperti et Dysiboldi.⁷⁵ Rupert and Disibod were the patron saints of the Rhineland monasteries in which Hildegard lived, first in an enclosure at Disibodenberg from 1112 to 1147, then as *magistra* of the Rupertsberg from 1147 to 1179.⁷⁶ Hildegard framed the *Life* of Rupert around the formidable influence of his mother, Bertha, who converted, educated, and outlived him. She conveyed Disibod's *Life* as a story of monastic corruption and reform. After a series of male-authored *Lives* of laywomen from Brabant-Liège, the scribe then records a series female-authored *Lives* of monastic worthies from nearby Rhineland. The juxtaposition of these texts reveals the construction of an affinity between male monastic reformers and regional female exemplars of outstanding lay devotion.⁷⁷

Following the *Lives* of Rupert and Disibod is another Hildegardian text, her commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict. This particular text was extremely popular among fifteenth-century Benedictine reformers in Germany.⁷⁸ In addition to MS 8060-64, there are only two manuscripts that contain both the *Lives* of Rupert and Disibod and Hildegard's commentary on the Rule.⁷⁹ These are MS Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, 963 (1240-1260) and MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 722 (after 1487). Given the estimated date of production of the second and third codicological units in MS 8060-64 in the early fifteenth century, it is possible that if the *Lives* and Commentary were copied from a single exemplar, it was Vienna MS 963. This book was originally produced by scribes in the Premonstratensian abbey of Rommersdorf (in Heimbach-Weis) in the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁰ When Albero of Montreuil, Archbishop of Trier, initiated the process of reform, he ordered Premonstratensians from Floreffe to journey to Rommersdorf to ignite the spirits and tighten the discipline of the brothers.⁸¹ We know that there was Carthusian interest in these Hildegardian texts because Stadtbibliothek MS Trier 722 is an exact copy of the Rommersdorf manuscript, having been transcribed in the fifteenth century in the Carthusian monastery of Beatusberg

⁷⁵ Michael Embach has shown that the *Lives* of Rupert and Disibod were usually transmitted together; see his "Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179): A History of Reception" *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra Stoudt, and George Ferzoco (Leiden 2014) 279.

⁷⁶ On Hildegard's life and writings see *A Companion to Hildegard of Bingen*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra Stoudt, and George Ferzoco (n. 74 above).

⁷⁷ On Carthusian reformers consuming the texts of female visionaries see Johannes Mangei, "Die Bedeutung der Kartäuser für die Überlieferung der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham,'" *Visio Edmundi Monachi de Eynsham: Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur*, ed. T. Ehlen, J. Mangei and E. Stein (Tübingen 1998) 135–161; Johannes Mangei, "Kartäuserorden und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit," *Bücher, Bibliotheken und Schriftkultur der Kartäuser, Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Edward Potkowski*, ed. S. Lorenz (Wiesbaden 2002) 289–316; and Martin, "Carthusians as Advocates of Women" (n. 45 above).

⁷⁸ Hugh Feiss, "Introduction to *De Regula Sancti Benedicti, Hildegardis Bingenensis Opera Minora*, ed. Peter Dronke (Turnhout 2007) 34–35.

⁷⁹ Information on the manuscript history of the *Lives* of Rupert and Disibod comes from the edition prepared by Hugh Feiss and Christopher Evans, *Hildegard of Bingen, Two Hagiographies: Vita sancti Rupperti confessoris, Vita sancti Dysibodi episcopi* (Leuven 2010) 3–6.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 32. On Vienna MS 963 see, Claudio Leonardi et. al., *Medioevo latino: bollettino bibliografico della cultura Europa dal secolo VI al XIII*. Vol. 11 (Spoleto 1990) and Angela Carlevaris, *Das Werk Hildegards von Bingen im Spiegel des Skriptoriums von Trier* (Trier 1999).

⁸¹ For a description of the manuscript, see L. Van Acker, "Briefwechsel," *Revue bénédictine* 98 (1988) 141–153 and 99 (1989) 118–125.

near Koblenz in the Archdiocese of Cologne.⁸² The possibilities of book exchange and the interest in Hildegard's commentary and saints' *Lives* reveal a dynamism and excitement around shared texts of reform in the fifteenth-century dioceses of Cologne and Trier. When taking into consideration the reforming work of figures such as Johannes Rode, Dominic of Prussia, and Adolf of Essen, we can see the library of St. Alban's operating as the center of an interlibrary loan system among monks and canons engaged in reform. The copying of books for monastic reading played an absolutely essential role in the reform process, and within these books, examples of regional female sanctity featured particularly prominently. In other words: reading the *Lives* of local charismatic women was fundamental to fifteenth-century monastic reform in the diocesan regions of Cologne and Trier.

After Hildegard's commentary on the Rule there appears, rather unexpectedly without rubrication or bookmarking of any kind, a brief treatise on the translation of the bones of St. Stephen Protomartyr. The translation was originally composed by the twelfth-century bishop and abbot Bruno of Segni (d. 1123). Bruno had been a dedicated ally of Gregory VII and was imprisoned by Adolfo, Count of Segni, for his unrelenting support of Gregory's reform measures.⁸³ In 1107, he became abbot of Montecassino for a short stint before reluctantly resuming his episcopacy, where he likely composed this brief treatise. Bruno's translation of St. Stephen from Constantinople to Rome was not an exceedingly popular text. The Bollandists enumerated a total of eight copies (MS 8060-64 would be nine), all stemming from northeastern France and the Low Countries.⁸⁴ The identity of Stephen as the patron of nearby Metz, where a great feast was celebrated at the Cathedral of St. Stephen Protomartyr, might help to explain why monastic communities in this region would express such interest in this particular text. One must also consider that the earliest copy among those noted by the Bollandists originated at the Abbey of St. Trond, where a miracle in which Stephen's blood restored agricultural fertility during a period of famine was said to have occurred in the eleventh century.⁸⁵ Given the interest in this manuscript in proximate miracles, saints, and visions, the copyist may have selected this text for its contribution to establishing a sacred cartography, a map of nearby sites at which the devout had experienced God's presence.

The final text copied into MS 8060-64, and occupying the whole of two quires, is the *vita Annonis* by Abbot Reginhard Siegburg, originally composed around 1100.

⁸² Beatusberg was formerly a Benedictine monastery, and underwent reform and refoundation as a Carthusian monastery ca. 1331. On the library, see J. Simmert, *Inventar des Archivs der Kartause St. Beatusberg vor Koblenz* (Koblenz 1987).

⁸³ Klaus Ganzer, *Die entwicklung des auswärtigen kardinalats im hohen mittelalter; ein beitrag zur geschichte des kardinalkollegiums vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen 1963) 57–62; Réginald Grégoire, *Bruno de Segni: exégète médiéval et théologien monastique* (Spoleto 1965).

⁸⁴ One copy of the translation is of particular interest: Paris BnF NA Latin 1423 was likely produced in the thirteenth-century scriptorium of the Premonstratensian abbey of Belval in the Ardennes. On this manuscript see, J. F. Hinnebusch, "Extant Manuscripts of the Writings of Jacques de Vitry" *Scriptorium* 51 (1997) 156–164; and Louis Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie d'un mythe. La circulation des manuscrits du De Excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien (VIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Paris 2006).

⁸⁵ BHL 7890. Additionally, the bones of the founder of St. Trond, Trudo of Brabant, were translated to St. Stephen's in Metz in 1227. Trudo was known for his devotion to St. Stephen, as he was educated at Metz. Trudo's translation may have sparked additional interest in the translation of St. Stephen.

Anno (1056–1075) was the energetic archbishop of Cologne who kidnapped the eleven-year old Emperor Henry IV and founded and reformed numerous monasteries in the region of Cologne, meanwhile upsetting many *other* nearby monasteries by stealing their relics and composing elaborate translation stories of their miraculous wandering into his archdiocese.⁸⁶ In the fifteenth century, Anno was celebrated as a monastic reformer extraordinaire.⁸⁷ Affiliation with Anno, even the possession of a copy of his *Life*, demonstrates a will to identify with the wider process of monastic reform in this region, to instill an identity of rigorist discipline and archepiscopal allegiance.

MS 8060-64 emphatically expresses an affinity with local inspiration for reform. The *Lives* of Anno, Rupert, and Disibod, the *translatio* of Stephen, and the commentary on the Rule of Benedict all come together in the final third of the book to assert a sense of monastic rigor, an ancestry of monastic discipline, and even a certain sanctity in the act of reform. This final segment of the book is reformist and explicitly gendered male in its positioning of heroes of monastic reform. But these decidedly masculine exemplars of reform are bound together with texts dedicated to their precise opposite—tales of charismatic, miracle-wielding laywomen such as Mary’s intercessions and the exuberant penitential acts of the Liègeois *vitae*.⁸⁸ Moreover, all of the texts were carefully chosen to reflect a regional identity. This careful collection and arrangement of texts assisted in the construction of a reformed monastic self, one with a religious imagination open to divine inspiration and a rigorist dedication to communal order.

READING SAINTS’ LIVES IN THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CHARTERHOUSE

From its early history, Carthusian priors had directed chartermonks to enhance their contemplative practice through intense reading. For example, Adam of Dryburgh (d. 1212), from the English charterhouse of Witham, extolled solitary monastic reading as the “immortal work” of the enclosed Carthusian.⁸⁹ And Guigo II’s (d. 1180) *scala claustralium* depicted a four-rung ladder on which the solitary Carthusian might hope to ascend to Christ. The first stage of this contemplative ascent was reading.⁹⁰ Reading initiated the process, unlocked the imagination. While these early Carthusian leaders recommended biblical reading, by the fifteenth century, English Carthusians acclaimed the transformative effects of other devotional texts such as the *Speculum vitae*

⁸⁶ On Anno’s theft of relics see Jonathan Rotondo-McCord, “Body Snatching and Episcopal Power: Archbishop Anno II (1056–1075), burials in St. Mary’s *ad gradus*, and the minority of King Henry IV,” *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996) 297–312; Ellen Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia 2013) 163–170.

⁸⁷ Stephanie Coue has hypothesized that his *Life* was originally composed as a mechanism of reform, intended to identify Anno with reforming principles as his monastic foundation of Siegburg extended its influence in the twelfth century. Stephanie Coue, *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibenanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1996).

⁸⁸ One section that does not entirely “fit” in this thematic schema is the quire containing Caesarius’s exempla and the *Life* of Macarius. It may have once been bound in another section of the book, or even in another manuscript entirely.

⁸⁹ *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* in PL 153.883: “opus immortale est”

⁹⁰ Guigo II, *Lettres sur la vie contemplative. Douze meditations* in *Sources chrétiennes* no 163; *The Ladder of Monks and the Twelve Meditations*, trans. James Walsh (Kalamazoo 1981).

Christi and Richard Rolle's *Meditation on the Passion*.⁹¹ On the continent, Nicholas Kempf insisted that the Carthusian must transfer the text of his reading to the affective apparatus (*affectus*) for the practice to become spiritually beneficial.⁹²

Carthusians became notable for making books designed to facilitate this transfer, and ultimately to establish an interior, affective *reformatio* that commenced with solitary reading. For this purpose they selected, in particular, hagiographic material, especially texts relating to local female saints and visionaries. Carthusians were collecting, editing, translating, and publishing female saints' *Lives* and visions at a rapid clip. For example, Dennis Martin has discussed the absolutely staggering output of female hagiographical and visionary material at the charterhouse of Erfurt at this time.⁹³ St. Albans might be enlisted among those houses, like Mountgrace and Aggsbach, that were producing significant volumes dedicated to female sanctity. MS 8060-64 can begin to distinguish for us the effects of this production on the reception of hagiographic materials in the fifteenth century and on the perception and use of female models of sanctity.

Another book made at St. Alban's in the fifteenth century (MS 8763-74), and now in the collection of the Royal Library of Belgium, provides additional insight into the effects on Carthusian religiosity of this characteristic of book production and transmission. The first leaf of MS 8060-64 bears a note that reads, *musei domus professae societatis Iesu Antwerpiae 1619 per commutationem*. This exact message, in precisely the same hand, also appears on Royal Library of Belgium MS 8763-74.⁹⁴ These books likely travelled from Trier to Antwerp together, and were enrolled in the stacks of the Jesuit library at the same time. In MS 8763-74, we see, once again, an effort to bring together numerous examples of local female saints and visionaries. The codex contains the *Lives*, offices, visions, and miracles of Lutgard of Aywieres, Elizabeth of Schönau, the visionary Lidwina, and Amalberge, as well as hymns to saints Barbara and Katherine, the office and miracles of St. Ursula and her virgins, and a brief description of Saint Cordula, a companion of Ursula whose head was discovered, emitting sweet fragrance, in thirteenth-century Cologne.⁹⁵ The manuscript acts as a testament to visionary experience and divine encounter in the region. In bringing together this body of hagiographic material, the scribes who created the codex isolated these particular female saints' *Lives* from the sundry materials with which they had been previously bound in earlier manuscripts (these were primarily texts that had been authored in the thirteenth century and circulated, like MS 4459-70 from Villers, with various utilitarian communal texts). In effect, they created a category of female sanctity, selecting their materials from the most poignant examples of piety and *imitatio Christi* that would guarantee the desired effects—to move the spirit of monastic men, to engage masculine affect.

⁹¹ Brantley (n. 1 above) 52.

⁹² Martin (n. 34 above) 84.

⁹³ Martin (n. 45 above) 134–135.

⁹⁴ Van den Gheyn (n. 60 above) 176–178.

⁹⁵ Additionally, the book preserves a record of visions appearing to other local persons, who may not have died in the aura of sanctity, including that of a farmer, Edmund of Eynsham, a Crosier, a deceased man named Guido, and a devout sister affiliated with Ter Appel in Groningen.

To be sure, the evidence presented here is only anecdotal, fragmentary. The sample of codices must be greatly enlarged before we can reach any firm conclusions about the creation of hagiographic taxonomies and the habits of monastic reading in the fifteenth century. Noting the construction of the books in which female saints' *Lives* were collected, and how that construction changed over time, will help us to reframe the category of "female sanctity" and the circumstances of its fifteenth-century construction. Used as a personal text for private, contemplative reading, MS 8060-64, and others like it in the region, functioned to aid in the creation of a monastic self. The hagiographical texts within it were brought together for a very specific purpose, and one that was integral to personal monastic *reformatio*. They were consumed and transmitted in order to help forge a reformed monastic identity. In this way, MS 8060-64 helps to explain why fifteenth-century monks were the greatest producers of manuscripts containing thirteenth-century female saints' *Lives*. Fifteenth-century Carthusian identity, and the monastic reformers associated textually and personally with the Carthusians, linked the work of the cell to the affective feats of piety and divine visitation attributed to local female exemplars.

- APPENDIX A: Extant manuscripts of Thomas of Cantimpré's *Vita praeclarae virginis Margarete de Yperis*
1. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 4459-70 (3161), fols. 181–207 (1320). Belonged to Cistercian house of Villers.
 2. Brussels, *Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 8060-64*, fols. 159–165 (ca. 1409). Fragment, beginning in the middle of Chapter Fourteen, *Quadam die dum graviter angetetur*. Belonged to Carthusian charterhouse at St. Albans in Trier
 3. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 8751-60 (3217), fols. 143–159v (1442). Belonged to the Rookloster.
 4. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 3391-99 (3160), fols. 181v–193 (1480). Belonged to Windesheim House of Bethlehem, near Leuven.

APPENDIX B: Royal Library of Belgium MS 8060-64. Miracles of the Virgin and Saints *Lives XIV–XV*, Rhineland (Trier)

Paper

littera cursiva; littera textualis

N.B. The manuscript is composed of three distinct codicological units: fols., 1–35 from ca. 1390 and fols. 36–41 and fols. 42–199 from ca. 1409.

1. fols. 1r–2r. Contents. *miracula pietate marie* (in red).
2. fols. 3r–35v. *In mense pietatis et venerandi nominis Marie, matris Dei, miracula recitantur de immenso mari Judeorum stillam elicere; verum que legi, vidi, audivi et persensi, compendiosius quam potero epilogabo*
3. fol. 36 blank
4. fols. 37r–37v: *Quam liber iste ad laudem et gloriam dei genetricis a virginis mariae per aedificatione* (in red)
5. 38r–40v. *Expositio super sequentiae beatae et gloriosae semper virginis Mariae et Ave praeclara* (in red)
6. fol. 41 blank; 4 pages cut out of quire
7. fols. 42r–121v: *Incipit prologus miraculorum beatus marie semper virginis gloriose* (in black, underlined in red). *Ad omnipotentis dei laudem cum saepe recitentur sanctorum miracula, quae per eos egit divina potentia, multo magis sanctae dei genitricis Mariae debent referri praeconia, quae sunt omni melle dulciora* [Bernard Pez, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*]
- 7a. fols. 72r–78v: *De Frisione qui de manibus sacerdotis corpus domini excussit* (in red and bookmarked). *anno videlicet gratiae millesimo ducentesimo decimo octavo, mare in partibus Frisiae terminos suos egrediens*
- [Caesarius of Heisterbach, *de corpore Christi*]
- 7b. fols. 78v–81v: *tempore illo cum catholoci contra Albienses haereticos fuissent signati* [Caesarius of Heisterbach, *de Sancta Maria*]
- 7c. fols. 82–113v: *Scripturus miracula Beate Dei Genitricis et perpetue Virginis Marie Rupis Amatoris, Paraclyti Spiritus Sancti deploro auxilium*
- [Miracles of Rocamadour]
- 7d. fols. 113v–121v: *Ad laudem et honorem beatae et gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae, Genitricis Dei*
- [Prologue from Hugo Farsitus]
8. fols. 122r–128r: *Exempla drawn from Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus miraculorum*
- Quidam iuvenis cum a parentibus ad monasterium traditur*
9. fols. 128r–131v. *Gloria et magnificentia Deo soli benignissimo, qui per innumerabilia miraculorum exempla nos tepidos et indignos quotidie invitat ad beatae vitae coelestis gaudia* [Vita S. Macarii, Theophilus, Sergius, Hyginus (BHL 5104)]
10. fols. 132r–137v. *Incipit prologus in vitae beatae Christine de oppido sancti Trudonis in Hasbanio* (in red) *Memorabilis Christi virginis Christine* [Vita Christina *Mirabilis*, Thomas of Cantimpré (BHL 1746)]
11. fols. 137v–158v. *Incipit prologus in vita sanctae marie de oygnies nata de villa quae dicitur nivella in episcopate leodii* (in red) *Praecipit Dominus discipulis suis, ut colligerent fragmenta ne perirent*. [Vita Ste. Marie de Oiginensis, James of Vitry (BHL 5516)]
12. fols. 159r–165r. *de quaeda sanctissima virgine nomine Margareta de Yperis* (in black, in a different hand) *Quanda die dum graviter angetetur, et pater suus spiritualis coram ipsa sederet* [Vita Margareta de Yperis, Thomas of Cantimpré (BHL 5319)]
13. fols. 165r–176r. *Vita sanctorum Ruperti et Dysiboldi* (in black, in a different hand) *Nam ut in vera visione video beatus patronus noster Ruppertus patre suo orbatus cum matre sua vidua in hoc loco vivens*. [Vita sanctorum Ruperti et Dysibodi, Hildegard of Bingen (BHL 7388, 2204)]
14. fols. 176r–179v. *virga hyldegardie scribit de regula sancti benedicti* (in red) *Et ego pauperula feminea forma et humano magisterio indocta ad verum lumen et ad memoriam beati Benedicti secundum petitionem vestram prospexi* [De regula sancti Benedicti, Hildegard of Bingen]
15. fols. 179v–181v: *Totius veritatis auctorem immo veritatem ipsam, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,*

suppliciter exoramus ut de corporis translatione beati proto-martyris Stephani vera nos dicere concedat.

[Translatio Romam post med. saec. VI, Brunone ep. Signiensi (BHL7882)]

16. fols. 181v–199v. Sequitur de sancto Annone archiepiscopo Colomensi sepulchri in monasterio Sybergensis. Hic incipit vita Annonis archiepiscopo colomensi Anno generis et patriae suae decus sideribus ipsis meritis altior [Vita S. Annonis, Reginhard Siegburg (BHL 507-508)]

The decoration is consistent throughout. Red majuscules in the first letter of the first word in each sentence. Red headings. Red underlinings. 2-line plain initials (occasionally 4-line, 6-line, 8-line) in red.

Quire structure:

I–IV: fols. 1–35, articles 1–2

V: fols. 36–41, articles 3–6

VI–VIII: fols. 42–71, article 7

IX: fols. 72–81, articles 7a–7b

X–XII: fols. 82–111, articles 7c

XIII: fols. 112–121, articles 7c–7d

XIV: fols. 122–131, articles 8–9

XV: fols. 132–141, articles 10–11

XVI: fols. 142–151, article 11

XVII: fols. 152–161, articles 11–12

XVIII: fols. 162–171, articles 12–13

XIX: fols. 172–181, articles 13–15

XX–XXI: fols. 182–199: article 16

Bookmarks at fols:

37: Beginning of paean on name of Mary from the second codicological unit

72: Beginning of miracle from Caesarius of Heisterbach's *de corpore Christi*

78: Beginning of miracles from Caesarius of Heisterbach's *de Sancta Maria*

82: Beginning of the miracles of Rocamadour

114: Beginning of miracles from Hugo Farsitus and others

128: Beginning of *vita Macarii*

132: Beginning of *vita Christinae*

138: Beginning of *vita Mariae*

159: Beginning of fragment of *Vita Margareta de Yperis*

165: Beginning of *vita sanctorum Ruperti et Dysibodi*

176: Beginning of Hildegard of Bingen's *De regula sancti Benedicti*

182: Beginning of Reginhard Siegburg, *vita S. Annonis*

