Elin Andersson

Responsiones Vadstenenses
Perspectives on the Birgittine Rule in Two Texts
from Vadstena and Syon Abbey

A Critical Edition with Translation and Introduction
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by

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To Emmanuel and Emil – sine quibus non.

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Elin Andersson
Introduction

1. The purpose of the present work

The aim of the present study is to present critical editions and translations of two hitherto unpublished texts dealing with the early relations between the Birgitine monasteries Vadstena and Syon. The first and largest text, *Responsiones*, is a collection of questions and answers concerning the Birgitine Rule and Birgitine regulations and customs, of which the main part was written as a result of two English brothers visiting Vadstena in 1427. The second, *Collatio (Vide, Domine, et considera)*, is a text not unlike a sermon and reflecting similar topics. It was probably written by John Whethamstede, *conservator* of Syon Abbey, most likely under directions from the confessor general at the English monastery. The introduction presents a background to the edited texts, focussing on the general characteristics of the medieval Birgitine order and central legislative texts, with the aim to create a framework to the texts edited here.

2. Previous research

The *Responsiones* has attracted the attention of scholars on a few occasions. In his 1905 thesis about the early history of Vadstena and the Birgitine order, Torvald Højer briefly mentions the text in a discussion about Syon’s early years. Hans Cnättingius in his book *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget of Sweden I* (1963) analyses the first part of the text (*Resp. I* in the present edition). An extensive account of the text as a whole is found in the unpublished thesis of Michael B. Tait, *The Birgitine Monastery of Syon (Middlesex) with Special Reference to its Monastic Usages* (1975). Throughout his book, which also deals with a number of constitutional documents from Vadstena and Syon, Tait uses the *Responsiones* as a reference to

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2 There are also references to the *Responsiones* in recent works by, for instance, Vincent Gillespie (2000); (2001) and Hedström (2009).
3 Højer (1905), p. 257.
4 Cnättingius (1963), pp. 159–162.
5 Tait (1975), pp. 60–62; 122–125. As Tait’s thesis is unpublished and therefore difficult to access, I have sometimes considered it necessary to quote his text rather extensively in footnotes.
illustrate various matters. Carl-Gustaf Undhagen (1977) discusses a passage in the *Responsiones* in his edition of the first book of Saint Birgitta’s Revelations (1977). As for the *Collacio*, early mentions of the text are found in G. J. Aungier’s *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840)7 and in the 1873 edition of *The Myroure of Oure Ladye* (the office of the Syon sisters, printed in 1530) by John Henry Blunt.8 In his book *Två svenska biografier från medeltiden* (1895), Henrik Schück implies that the *Collacio* contains matters that the English brothers discussed with Vadstena in 1427.9 In 1905, Torvald Höjer expressed the same opinion, namely that the *Collacio* implicitly contained the questions answered in the *Responsiones*.10 These assertions were correctly refuted by Hans Cnatinngius (1963), who instead designated the text ‘an edifying lecture intended for the sisters’.11 This, however, is not entirely accurate either, as the text clearly addresses the brothers. Michael B. Tait refers to the *Collacio* in a footnote and briefly discusses the time of composition.12 F. R. Johnston in a 1996 article concerning the early years of the English community picks up the comments of Cnatinngius and describes the *Collacio* as ‘a report on the discussions [in 1427]’, but dismisses the text as ‘nothing more than a pious homily’.13

Last, there are brief mentions of the text in works by Vincent Gillespie and Richard Sharpe.14

3. Presentation of the texts

3.1 Background

In order to place the *Responsiones* and the *Collacio* in a larger context, I will in the following section give a comprehensive account of some typical characteristics of

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7 Aungier (1840), p. 530.
8 Blunt (1873), p. xviii.
9 Schück (1895), p. 423, n. 1.
12 Tait (1973), p. 89, n. 88. See further n. 216 below.
the medieval Birgittine order, creating the background to the texts edited in the present work.

3.1.1 The Birgittine monastery

A twofold structure – A double leadership

The medieval Birgittine monasteries consisted of two main parts: a convent for sixty nuns presided over by the abbess, and a community of thirteen priest-brothers, eight lay brothers and four deacons, led by the confessor general. This structure was modelled upon the idea of the original thirteen apostles and 72 disciples. The abbess was defined by the Regula Salvatoris as being the caput et dominus (‘head and leader’) of the monastery, whereas the confessor would be responsible for spiritual matters. This complicated distinction was the reason for many problems throughout the Middle Ages, and traces of the dilemma can also be seen in the texts edited in the present work. Another complication was the structure as such with men and women living close together, albeit strictly separated from each other.

The oldest reconstructable version of the Rule tells us that the monastery is intended for nuns, who are to have priests (clerici) nearby to sing the daily office and mass for them. This very sentence and the interpretation of it can, in fact, be seen as the core of many of the issues brought up in the Responsiones and the Collacio. How was one to understand the brothers’ position in the monastery –

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15 A general overview of the development of the Birgittine order is found in, for instance, KL, s.v. ‘Birgittinorden’; Morris (1999), pp. 160–177.
16 RS § 153 (Luke 10, 1).
17 RS § 167.
19 A hint of this can be seen in, for instance, the ‘unjust accusation’ mentioned in Resp. I, 3 (p. 76): Ecce fratres, qui cum sororibus communia satagunt celebrare – ‘Look at the brothers, who long to marry the sisters’.
21 Tait (1975), p. 106: ‘The brothers, it must be recognized, had a fully religious identity in the Regula Salvatoris with its provisions for their monastic profession, habit and enclosure. It is a misunderstanding of loosely used terminology such as clerici, which has led some authorities to question whether St. Bridget intended her men to be monks.’ See also Nyberg (1991), p. 78; 114.
were they to be regarded as ‘monks and monastical men’ (monachi et viri monastici) or as chaplains to the sisters?  

Furthermore, the word monasterium is used in the *Regula Salvatoris* in quite an unspecified way, sometimes signifying the female community only, sometimes the sisters and brothers together. This general use of the word may of course be found outside the Birgittine order as well, but in this specific case, it embodies the ambiguity leading to some of the matters discussed in the texts edited in the present study.

The interpretation of the term monasterium or conventus in the Rule shifted many times over the years. For example, in the great bull of privileges of 1413, the *Mare Magnum*, it is firmly stated that the two convents do not constitute one and the same monastery. In the present work, there is a reference to this in Resp. I, 3, where the Vadstena brothers maintain that they are monks, living a regular life in a monastery, and that there are indeed two monasteries, not one, to be spoken of. Anything else would be completely unreasonable (quod non est racionabiliter dicendum), according to the Vadstena authors. As we shall see, a different view on this matter was maintained by the English daughter house. In any case, things become even more complicated as the Rule sometimes uses the word monasterium or conventus as comprising the whole community of sisters and brothers, sometimes referring to the sisters only.

It is noteworthy that the *Responsiones* and the *Collacio* were written only a few years after the so-called Bull of Separation was issued by Pope Martin V in 1422. By the authority of this bull, the Birgittine order was no longer allowed to maintain the practice of having a male convent close to the female monastery. This, of course, was regarded as a disastrous development by the Birgittines, and consequently, representatives from Sweden, and Syon as well, were sent to Rome to persuade the pope to revoke the bull. In two bulls, issued in November and December 1423, it was partly revoked, the former document

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22 Resp. I, 3 (p. 80).
24 SDHK 17999 (SD 1714) § 26; Cnatingius (1963), p. 25.
26 Resp. I, 3 (p. 76).
27 SDHK 49418 (AC II, 1538 a); Cnatingius (1963), pp. 115–127.
29 The papal bull concerning Syon has not been preserved, see Cnatingius (1963), p. 148, n. 3. For the bull regarding Sweden and other countries, see SDHK 20175; 20176.
concerning Syon only, the latter extended to concern Vadstena, Maribo, Mariendal, Marienwold, Marienkron and future foundations as well. However, these, as it were, tentative revocations were not satisfactory, and a complete annulment of the Bull of Separation was not reached until the great Bull of Revocation was issued by Pope Eugene IV in 1435.

3.1.2 Early Birgittine ‘legislative’ texts: a selection

The following section is a summary of some Birgittine regulatory works that are frequently referred to and used as authoritative in the texts edited in the present work.

The Regula Salvatoris

The early versions of the Birgittine Rule were written down in Sweden in the latter half of the 1340s. The early text, which had the form of a direct revelation to Birgitta with Christ as the speaker (in prima persona), never received authorization from the Church. When Birgitta died in Rome in 1373, the process of obtaining a satisfactory version of her rule was not yet finished, although in 1370, she had managed to acquire a confirmation of the Regula Salvatoris from Pope Urban V. Apart from being a much abridged version of the earlier rule, a major difference was that in the 1370 version, the Rule of St Augustine was set as the main authority, to which the Birgittine order was to be subordinate. This was a direct result of a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, repeated at the Council of Lyon in 1274, prohibiting the establishment of new orders. The 1370 constitutions also treated the community as two separate monasteries; one

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31 SDHK 22330; edited in Nyberg (1972), pp. 74–81.
32 This summary of legislative Birgittine texts makes no claims to be complete. During the 13th century, for instance, we have a good number of texts dealing with problems concerning the Rule and the customs of the order, see further Geijer (1990). Helldin (1994) has examined texts on regular life and observance, preserved in Vadstena manuscripts. For later works, such as the Liber usuum, see below, ch. 3.2.6.
for the brothers and one for the sisters.\textsuperscript{35} As mentioned above, the Rule was originally focused on the sisters,\textsuperscript{36} the monastery explicitly described as meant for nuns, whereas the priests (\textit{clerici}) were instructed to live in a nearby house of their own (\textit{curia}).\textsuperscript{37}

In 1378, Pope Urban VI issued a bull that replaced the 1370 constitutions. The 1378 bull, still in the form of constitutions subordinate to the Rule of St Augustine, came closer to Birgitta’s original rule than the bull of 1370.\textsuperscript{38} The 1378 version also returned to speaking of a monastery for nuns and a separate house for the brothers. However, it was still not sufficiently clarified what authority the male community had, or what functions and tasks they should perform. This is evident in the \textit{Responsiones} as well as in other texts, such as the \textit{Addiciones prioris Petri} and the \textit{Liber usuum}.

The \textit{Responsiones} was written at a time when the status of the different sets of rules were quite undefined.\textsuperscript{39} In both texts edited in the present work, a strong interest on Syon’s part as to the early versions of the Rule and the authenticity of Birgittine texts in general can be seen. For example, in \textit{Resp. I, 4}, the following passage indicates that the Syon community had asked for the Rule \textit{in prima persona}, that is, the first version with Christ as the speaker.

Consequentem, dilectissimi, petitis vobis mitti regulam, absque addicione et diminucione, in forma prout beate Birgitte fuit divinitus revelata, sigillatam cum alis revelacionibus, presertim religionem nostram concernentibus quoquomodo etc.\textsuperscript{40}

Furthermore, dearest brothers, you ask for a Rule to be sent to you, without any addition or abbreviation, in the same form as it was revealed by divine inspiration to

\textsuperscript{35} Cnuttingius (1963), pp. 22–23: ‘It is an important point that the bull speaks throughout of \textit{monasteria}, of \textit{monasterium monialium} and \textit{monasterium fratrum}. Urban V and his experts interpreted St. Bridget’s rule as meaning that the brothers’ section was in reality a monastery.’

\textsuperscript{36} See, for example, RS § 42; 150.

\textsuperscript{37} RS § 151.

\textsuperscript{38} Tait (1975), p. 104: ‘...these constitutions, as approved by Urban VI, are crucial as the legal and canonical foundation of the Order throughout the medieval period and to the present day.’

\textsuperscript{39} See, for instance, \textit{Resp. I, 5} (p. 86), asking whether the ‘founding document’ by Urban V (1370) is true.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Resp. I, 4} (p. 86).
the blessed Birgitta, sealed and containing the other revelations, especially those that concern our order in any way etc.

The Addiciones prioris Petri and the Revelaciones Extravagantes

As mentioned above, the Regula Salvatoris had not sufficiently explained matters of practical importance, but it had explicitly stated that it would be the duty of a Cistercian or Benedictine brother to compose necessary additions in the future.\(^{44}\) In the 1380s, this task fell upon Birgitta’s one-time confessor Petrus Olavi\(^{45}\) of Alvastra (d. 1390),\(^{45}\) whose supplements to the Rule are mostly referred to as Addiciones or Constituciones prioris Petri in contemporary documents.\(^{46}\) The Addiciones was approved by the bishop of Linköping as early as 1384.\(^{46}\) Thereafter, the text was revised numerous times and finally sanctioned again by the local bishop in 1420.\(^{46}\) A papal authorization of the Addiciones was never obtained, however, and it was not until 1429 that the general chapter at Vadstena declared that the customs and regulations of Vadstena – that is, also the Addiciones – were to be observed throughout the whole order.\(^{47}\) In the Responsiones, it is apparent that the Vadstena authors use the Addiciones alongside the Regula Salvatoris as an authoritative text. There is even a mention of Petrus Olavi as ille expertus in vita spirituali quo ad institutionem monasterii nostri – ‘that expert in spiritual life regarding the instruction of our monastery’.


\(^{45}\) For Swedish brothers, the Latin forms of the names have been used in the present work; Englishmen and sisters have normalized names.

\(^{46}\) On Petrus Olavi’s life, see SBL, s.a. ‘Petrus Olavi’.

\(^{47}\) Edited in Nyberg (1974). I am grateful to Henrik Vitalis for providing me with unpublished material regarding the Addiciones prioris Petri as well as the Declaraciones Dominorum (see below, p. 8). It should be noted that, since no edition of the Declaraciones exists, I have used different manuscripts as reference to the Declaraciones in the editions (see the Bibliography).

\(^{48}\) Nyberg (1991), pp. 179–188.

\(^{49}\) See Vitalis (1995) for further discussion on the differences between the versions. We might also mention the letter from Vadstena to Syon in 1421, where the Swedish community answers a question about a certain passage in the Addiciones, a passage which Vadstena disregards, since ‘it is not included in our true and original constitutions’. (Quam quaedam clausulae quasi adulterinum indico, eo quod in nostris veris et originalibus constitucionibus non habetur, A 20, fol. 164v; see further below, p. 20); Tait (1975), pp. 121–122.


\(^{51}\) Reph. II, 148 (p. 180).
Many parts of the *Addiciones* are taken from Birgitta’s *Revelaciones Extravagantes*, revelations that were not contained in her eight books of Revelations. These ‘extra’ revelations were useful for Prior Petrus, since they largely function as a commentary and supplement to the *Regula Salvatoris*. Moreover, the *Revelaciones Extravagantes* was considered to be of divine origin, which, in turn, might have given the *Addiciones* more authority. Like many other Birgittine texts of a legislative kind, the *Revelaciones Extravagantes* never obtained any formal status, but the text nevertheless was regarded and used as an authority, as can be seen not least by the many references employed by Vadstena in the *Responsiones.*

The additions were subject to controversy and alterations to the text on many occasions. Particularly sensitive matters concerned the manual labour of the sisters added to the Rule by Prior Petrus. This was also the case at Syon Abbey, where the *Addiciones* gave reason to controversy very early in the history of the monastery.

In the *Responsiones*, echoes of Syon’s doubts about the authority of Prior Petrus and his work can be noted. As mentioned above, there are many hints in the texts edited in the present work that the English Birgittines often sought to return to the original and ‘true’ intentions of Birgitta and question later alterations and additions to the Rule. In the light of this, it is remarkable that the Birgittines at Syon actually had their own additions to the Rule composed later on, generally referred to as The Syon Additions.

**The Declaraciones Dominorum**

The *Declaraciones Dominorum* consists of answers to questions sent in the early 1380s from the Birgittines in Vadstena to Bishop Alfonso of Jaén (d. 1389),

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50 Tait (1975), p. 110: ‘[T]he conscious acceptance of the *Revelaciones Extravagantes* is indicated in the 1427 *Responsiones* where the Vadstena brothers frequently cite the *R.E.* in justification of their statements.’
51 Højér (1905), p. 75.
52 See further below, p. 10.
55 See further below, ch. 3.2.6.
Birgitta’s former confessor as well as the first ‘editor’ of her Revelations. To his help Alfonso had four other learned men.56 Tait argues for 1382 as a probable year of composition, thus placing it slightly earlier than the Addiciones in time.57 Structure-wise, the Declaraciones reminds us of the Responsorium of 1427. That the Declaraciones was considered an authoritative text by the Birgittines can be seen not only by the frequent use in the Responsorium, but also in, for instance, the Liber usum.58 It is likely that the fact that Alfonso was one of the authors of the Declaraciones added to the credibility of the document.

3.1.3 The establishment of Syon59

In 1406, the wedding between King Erik60 and the twelve-year-old Philippa,61 daughter of King Henry IV of England, took place in Sweden. Shortly thereafter, the English knight Henry FitzHugh, who had accompanied Philippa on the journey, visited Vadstena and declared that he wished to establish a Birgittine monastery in England.62 Two years later, Vadstena sent out the first delegates to England in order to work for the foundation of the monastery.63 In 1415, Vadstena also sent four sisters and three girls to England, who remained there for the rest of their lives.64 The founding charter for Syon was issued in 1415, but it is not until 1420, when the first professions took place, that we can actually speak of Syon as a Birgittine community in the true sense of the word.65

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57 Tait (1975), p. 111. One of Tait’s arguments for the Declaraciones being composed before the Addiciones is the fact that questions occur in the earlier text that also are treated by Prior Petrus: ‘It is hard to imagine Vadstena questioning Rome about problems which had already been solved in the Additions.’
58 Risberg (2003), p. 10. See further below ch. 3.2.6.
60 Erik of Pomerania, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden 1396–1439, d. 1459.
61 Queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden until her death in 1430.
62 DV 1472.
63 Katillus Thorberni and Johannes Petri; DV 161. On Katillus Thorberni, see Hedlund (1996).
The very first years in the abbey’s history seem to have been quite turbulent. Sometimes there were conflicts between the English community and the Swedish Birgittines who had been sent to Syon.\footnote{One example of such a conflict is hinted at in a 1418 letter to Katillus Thorbern from the confessor general of Vadstena. From this letter, we understand that Katillus had some trouble with sisters confessing to English priests not yet professed in the Birgittine order. SDHK 19149 (SD 25245); Hedlund (1996), p. 69.} Furthermore, the abbess and confessor general during these early years, Matilda Newton and William Alynwick, were appointed by the king and never actually professed in the Birgittine order.\footnote{Deanesly (1915), p. 109; Knowles (1955), p. 179.} Even so, discussions about the interpretation of essential Birgittine texts took place at Syon as early as 1416.

In this context, we should not forget that Syon Abbey was founded at a time when the Birgittine order was still quite young. It was a time of expansion of the order, and the work to develop a common legislation had started.\footnote{Tait (1975), p. 32: ‘It is only after the first General Chapter, held at the end of this period of expansion, that we begin to get the first signs of attempts at unity in practice beyond the common adherence to the \textit{Regula Salvatoris}.’} The first general chapters of the order were not held until the mid 1420s, and before that, there are various examples of discussions and disputes about the Rule in many Birgittine monasteries.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 31–32.} In this respect, then, Syon was not exceptional.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 36: ‘...insular historians ... have fancied Syon’s early crises as something unique when in fact they were the common stock of the Order.’ Later on, in 1449, the Norwegian abbey Munkaliv was shaken by a dispute about the two heads of the monastery; Ståhl (1998), p. 20.} Thus, the document \textit{Responsiones} edited in the present work can be seen as a product of its time, since attempts to reach conformity in practice and regulations within the order had begun by the end of the 1420s.

\textit{Articuli Extracti}

Already in the early years in the history of Syon, the sisters and brothers disagreed when it came to adherence to the \textit{Addiciones}, the manual labour prescribed for the sisters in the same text as well as the status of the abess. A typical example is the first abbess at Syon, Matilda Newton. She refused to accept equality with the confessor general as to supremacy in the monastery, claiming that she was the only leader and that in this capacity she was to be obeyed by the male community. In fact, she could find support for this
standpoint in Syon’s founding charter, issued by King Henry V in 1415, where it is stated that Matilda and the abbesses following her were to take upon themselves ‘the whole government of the ... monastery, as well in spirituals as temporals ... excepting only that the ... confessor shall preside over the ... religious men in spirituals’.71

As a result of the discrepancies, a meeting was arranged in January 1416, in the presence of King Henry V.72 A 1416 letter, preserved in Uppsala University Library, from Vadstena to representatives at the council of Basle refers to this conference, the Swedish community expressing deep concern about the disputes at Syon:

Item quantos dolores et anxiëtates gerimus in cordibus nostris super instabilitate constitutionum nostrarum, non possimus explicare, audiemus enim quod fuit disputatum de eis per magistros in Anglia presente rege et aliis quamplurimis, fratres nostri allegabant contra sorores et sorores contra assercionem fratrum...73

We cannot explain how much pain and anxiety we feel in our hearts regarding the instability of our constitutions, for we have heard that there has been a dispute about them among learned masters in England in the presence of the king and many other persons, and that the brothers argued against the sisters and the sisters against the assertion of the brothers...

The arguments put forth at the 1416 conference have been preserved to our time in MS C 6, Uppsala University Library. Gathered under the rubric Articuli Extracti de Regula Sancti Salvatoris beate Birgittæ revelata,74 these notes tell us that

...abbatissa in Anglia noluit habere nec tenere alíquas constituciones seu declaraciones sed solam regulam Sancti Salvatoris. Expetebat eciam obedienciæ de confessore generali et omnibus fratribus presumend<am>, quia dicitur in xii capitolo regulæ: ‘Abbatissa caput et domina esse debet, quia ipsa virga Maria, cuitis abbatissa gerit vicem in terris’, etc.75

72 On this meeting, see further Höjer (1905), pp. 76–77; Deanesly (1915), pp. 111–112; Tait (1975), pp. 58–59, pp. 155–156.
73 SDHK 18809 (SD 2284).
74 MS C 6, UUB, fols 78v–80r.
75 C 6, fol. 78v.
...the English abess refused to accept any constitutions or declarations apart from the Rule of Saint Saviour. She even requested obedience from the confessor general and all brothers, since it is said in chapter 12 of the Rule: ‘The abess is to be the head and leader of the monastery, since the Virgin Mary herself, in whose place on earth the abess’, etc.

The outcome of the 1416 conference, however, was a defeat for the abess and the sisters. The assembly of priests, bishops and learned masters ‘repressed [the abess’] presumption’ and urged her to ‘follow the glorious Virgin’s example of humility’. They also settled that ‘the edited and added declarations and constitutions regarding the Rule of Saint Saviour do not in any way contradict the same Rule’ and that ‘the sisters may not in any way excuse themselves from manual labour’.76

The Articuli Extracti is interesting to us especially for the following reasons: First, the document shows that serious discussions about the Rule and other legislative texts took place at Syon very early in its history. Second, it tells us that Thomas Fishbourne, later confessor general of Syon and, as we shall see in the pages below, an important man in the young community, was a member of the committee that stated the authority of Prior Petrus’ additions to the Rule.77 This is interesting, since the Responsiones, a text composed at a time when Fishbourne was confessor general at Syon, shows that the English house by the end of the 1420s had come to question the authority of Prior Petrus’ work.78

Syon’s view on the Birgittine order and the double leadership in the monastery

As mentioned above, the beginning of the 1420s was a critical time for the Birgittines, the pope temporarily banning their practice of two convents in the

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76 C 6, fol. 79v–80r. However, the question of manual labour for the sisters was raised again in the Responsiones (Resp. II, 146, p. 178).
77 C 6, 80r: Iste articuli ... fuerunt extracti ... ex mandato illustris regis Henrici quinti ... per venerahiles in Christo patres ac dominus, videlicet ... et dominam Thomam Fishborne, sacerdotem. The document also informs us that William Heyworth, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St Albans, was on the committee. St Albans, as we shall see, was a house of great importance to Syon (see further ch. 3.3.2 and n. 220 below).
78 Tait (1975), p. 157, adds that ‘there is [in the Responsiones] as yet no decisive break from the Vadstena texts: if Syon had already rejected or even replaced them, there would be no point in asking questions about them and their authority.’
monastery. One of the representatives sent to Rome from Syon to work for the
revocation of this bull was Thomas Fishbourne. Once in Italy, he took great
pains to defend the fundamental ideas of the Birgittine order, and it seems to
be much of his doing that the Bull of Separation was revoked in 1423. It was also
during this stay in Italy that he and his English colleagues managed to obtain a
papal bull for Syon, the *Mare Anglicanum* discussed further below.

It is clear, however, that even though the English Birgittines put much effort
into preserving the status of the order, this did not prevent them from
maintaining their own point of view in various matters. Apart from the question
of the *Addiciones*, the election of the abbess and the manual labour of the sisters, a
major issue was the brothers’ position in the monastery. In this particular matter, Syon
came to rely on the advice given by two Italian canonists, who were
contacted by Fishbourne during his stay in Italy in the early 1420s. These two
canonists, Niccolò de’ Tudeschi (also referred to as Panormitanus) and
Domenico da San Gemignano, were of the opinion that the brothers in a
Birgittine monastery did not constitute a convent of their own, but merely
existed in the monastery to serve the sisters in spiritual matters. This point of
view was embodied in the *Mare Anglicanum* and can be detected in some of the
matters discussed in the *Responsiones*, thereby highlighting Syon’s and Vadstena’s
differing views on the matter. In England, the idea of regarding the brothers as
assistants or servants to the sisters seems quite soon to have become accepted; for
example, in a 1431 letter, King Henry VI, writing about the monastery, describes
Syon Abbey as consisting of ‘...twenty-five men of religion, [dwelling] by
themselves in a separate convent, ... only officiated as chaplains or clerks to the

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79 Cnattingius (1963), pp. 131–138; 148–155. In the Syon *Martile*, it is noted that Thomas
Fishbourne ‘worked strenuously for the stability, spiritual and temporal, of the order and
monastery, in the Roman curia as well as elsewhere’ (*pro ordinis et monasterij spirituali et
temporali stabilimento, tam in Romana curia quam alibi strenue desudavit*), BL MS 22285 (Gejrot
Mart), fol. 3r.

80 See, for example, the *Informacio brevis* on the Birgittine order that Fishbourne presented
to the pope in August 1423, summarized by Cnattingius (1963), pp. 136–138.

81 Cnattingius (1956); Ullmann (1957); Cnattingius (1963), pp. 138–148. The *consilia* of
Domenico da San Gemignano were edited by L. Báláth in AC II, 1539 (SDHK 19976).
The *consilia* of Niccolò de’ Tudeschi are available in ancient editions, of which a 1475
edition is accessible on the Internet (see the Bibliography).

82 C 31, fol. 290r: *Ipse frater non sunt de conventu sovorum, nec conventum per se faciunt sed dumtaxat
ad deservendum et officiandum in divinis sororibus ipsis et earundem conventibus deputati existant;*
Cnattingius (1963), p. 152.
said nuns, in the celebration of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments.\footnote{Aungier (1840), p. 53.}

*Mare Anglicanum and the independence of Syon*

In 1425, as a result of Fishbourne’s efforts, Syon Abbey received its own bull of privileges, *Mare Anglicanum*, issued by Pope Martin V.\footnote{Preserved in, for instance, MS C 31, Uppsala University Library, and British Library, MS Add. 17532. For further discussions about the *Mare Anglicanum*, see Cnittingius (1963), pp. 148–155; Tait (1975), pp. 159–161.} The *Mare Magnum* – the great bull of privileges of 1413, confirmed by Martin V in 1419 – serves as the basis for the English bull, but there are a couple of major differences between the two texts. An important difference between the *Mare Anglicanum* and Birgitine practice is that the new bull allowed Syon to have the abbess elected by the nuns only. In Vadstena and other Birgitine monasteries, this matter would be settled by both communities.\footnote{This was also stated in the *Syon Additions* (see below, ch. 3.2.6): ‘And the sustres, like as they by themsselfe procede to the eleccion of the abbes and chase her, so they schal by themselle prefixe the day, that thei schal procede to eleccion’, Hogg (1980), vol. 4, p. 55.} Even so, Syon Abbey raised the question about the election of the abbess in the *Responsiones* two years later, perhaps wishing to influence the rest of the order.\footnote{Resp. I, 2 (pp. 70–76); II, 80 (p. 144).} In the *Collatio*, there are other clues suggesting that the abbess and the female community at Syon indeed seem to have enjoyed a high status.\footnote{Coll. 48 (p. 218).} Moreover, the founding charter mentioned above originally granted the abbess at Syon more power than was usual for a Birgitine community.\footnote{That is, by mentioning the abbess as head of the whole community in temporal as well as spiritual matters; see above, p. 11.}

Another noteworthy clause in the *Mare Anglicanum* is the statement that Syon is not to be subject to any other monastery.\footnote{C 31, fol. 263v: ‘...statuimus et ordinamus, quod prefatum monasterium de Syon sit in regno Anglie de se absolutum ... nec aliqui alteri monasterio ... subiectum quoquermodo vel ab eo dependens...’ See also Cnittingius (1963), pp. 152–153.} This has often been interpreted as a sign of Syon’s complete independence from Vadstena,\footnote{Höjer (1905), p. 193; Cnittingius (1963), p. 153; Johnston (1969), p. 184.} but Tait has argued that the freedom declared in the *Mare Anglicanum* might not have been remarkable,
seeing that every Birgitine house enjoyed a certain degree of independence. In fact, the Regula Salvatoris says nothing about one particular monastery being superior to another; instead, the diocesan bishop (pater et visiotor necnon et iudex), the king (responsalis et defensor) and the pope (tutor caritaticus) are mentioned as protectors and inspectors of the order. Furthermore, the strict enclosure of the Birgitine nuns would have obstructed attempts to create an order with one particular monastery as the leader. Such actions would have disturbed the balance in the monastery, since the brothers, as a rule, were allowed greater freedom than the sisters to act in the outside world. This is also the reason why the female convent at Vadstena from the very beginning deeply mistrusted the idea of holding general chapters for the whole order. Nevertheless, the general chapter at Vadstena in 1429 pointed in the direction of conforming the Birgitine monasteries to Vadstena’s rites and ceremonies – but on that occasion, Syon did not participate.

To conclude, it is clear that Syon relied on Vadstena as an authority by the time the Responsiones was composed, despite differing views in various matters. Furthermore, letters from Syon with questions about the Birgitine Rule had by this time already been sent to Sweden on a number of occasions. The fact that Syon Abbey sent representatives to Vadstena in 1427 to discuss matters regarding the Rule and Birgitine practice directly with the Swedish community must also be regarded as an indication of the impact the first Birgitine monastery still had on Syon. Even so, there is no doubt that Syon took a special stance within the order, as is shown by events in the following years, for example by absence from the 1429 chapter, discussed further below.

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94 Tait (1973), pp. 159–160, with reference to the Regula Salvatoris, chapter 26. *Ibid.* p. 88, n. 81: ‘All Birgitine Houses were constitutionally autonomous (RS 26). Though the Bull *Mare Magnum ...* envisages a period of initial dependence on the part of new foundations (MM 31), it seems to have been something of a dead letter, and not just at Syon.’
95 RS § 253–259.
96 Tait (1973), p. 35. According to the Regula Salvatoris, the brothers were allowed to leave the monastery only in exceptional cases, but this was modified in the *Addiciones*; Gejrot (2000), pp. 71–72.
97 Höjér (1905), p. 188.
98 Tait (1973), p. 126; Risberg (2003), p. 11. See further below, ch. 3.1.5
99 For instance, SDHK 1959 (see below, p. 20) and the letters referred to in the first part of the Responsiones.
3.1.4 The 1427 visit in Vadstena

In the Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey, the entry for 18 April, 1427, reads:

In die parasceves venerunt de Anglia duo fratres ordinis nostri petentes et reportantes raciones super aliquibus punctis regule.\(^97\)

On Good Friday, two brothers of our order arrived from England. They asked for, and brought back with them, information concerning certain parts of the Rule.

The raciones referred to are most likely the Responsorios edited in the present work; the English brothers mentioned are Robert Bell, in 1428 to become confessor general of Syon,\(^98\) and the deacon Thomas Sterington, of whom little is known.\(^99\) They are both mentioned by their first names in Resp. II.\(^100\) Although not mentioned in the Memorial Book entry, the English lay brother John Hartman\(^101\) was also in Sweden at this time; he probably arrived a little later.\(^102\) The brothers finally returned to Syon in October 1427.\(^103\)

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\(^97\) DV § 376.

\(^98\) Fletcher, p. 14; Aungier (1840), p. 108; Johnston (1996), p. 58: ‘Robert Bell ... seems to have been the junior member of the community when he was elected the second confessor general in [September] 1428.’ Robert Bell died in 1468; BL MS 22285 (Gejrot Mart.), fol. 33r. I am grateful to the nuns at Syon Abbey (South Brent) for letting me copy the Canon Fletcher manuscript Syon’s Who’s Who (see Nyberg 1960, pp. 63–64) from their collections.

\(^99\) Fletcher, p. 15, suggests that he may have died before September 1428, ‘as he was not in list of those present at the election of Roh. Bell as second confessor general’. Tait (1975), pp. 249–250, suggests that Sterington might have apostatized after the return to England, as there is no mention of his death in the Syon Martilogie, and that his name thus was ‘deliberately forgotten’.

\(^100\) Resp. II, introduction (p. 92).


\(^102\) An attestation in the above-mentioned MS Harley 612 (see above, n. 33) shows that John Hartman was in Linköping on May 23, 1427, as a representative for Bell and Sterington (pro parte religiosorum virorum dominorum fratum Robertis Belle and Thome Sterinton), receiving copies of important Birgittine texts. Schück (1895), p. 399; pp. 417–418. Hartman is not mentioned in the 1426 travel-pass for Bell and Sterington, preserved in MS A 26 (see below, p. 21).

\(^103\) SDHK 20908 (see below, p. 21).
In the British Library MS Cotton Claudius D I, there is a letter to Vadstena, written on Syon’s account by John Whethamstede, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Albans and conservator (an unofficial, somewhat unspecified duty of protective kind) of Syon.\textsuperscript{104} The letter was edited in the 1870s by H. T. Riley and included in the \textit{registra} of John Whethamstede (\textit{Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani}).\textsuperscript{105}

In this letter, the author declares that, since there is a need to fully understand \textit{vestrae discipulam},\textsuperscript{106} roughly translated ‘the doctrine of your education’ – by actually hearing it in person (\textit{per auditum}), the English community has sent one of the professed brothers to Sweden, ‘a man able to learn and competent in conduct. We humbly ask that you receive him friendly and favourably, so that he might bring back … a branch of olive in bloom, that is, a branch of practical knowledge, through experience and exercise in the observances and ceremonies of your house’.\textsuperscript{107}

Unfortunately, the letter lacks dating, but it is likely that Whethamstede is referring to the 1427 visit. Regardless of the date, the letter may also be seen as another proof of Syon’s wish to obtain practical experience and instruction from the older house.

\textbf{3.1.5 The general chapter of 1429}

When the English brothers returned to Syon, they did not only bring the \textit{Responsiones} and other texts with them, but also the news that Vadstena planned to organize a general chapter in Sweden. This is referred to in a letter, written on 9 October 1427, the same day the brothers returned to England, and preserved in the Swedish National Archives.\textsuperscript{108} Here, Syon Abbey declares that the English Birgitines will not take part in such a meeting. Consequently, the general chapter of 1429 was carried out without English representation.

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{On Whethamstede, see below, ch. 3.3.2. Regarding the unofficial authority of the \textit{conservator}, see Cnattingius (1963), pp. 50–68.}
\footnote{Riley (1873), pp. 399–402.}
\footnote{A word apparently found only here, see Latham, \textit{Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources}, with reference to Whethamstede’s letter.}
\footnote{\ldots\textit{um de nostris fratribus, virum, ut credimus, disciplinabilem, et habilem in moribus, jam transmittimus, humiliima deprecantes instantia, ut ipsum \ldots quatenus nobis, quem scriptura non confert, ramum reportet viris tribus olicae, ramum, videlicet, scientiae practicae, per experientiam et exercitium in observantiat et caeremoniis vestrae domus, benigno ac favorabili vultu velitis ad infra recipere}, Riley (1873), p. 400.}
\footnote{SDHK 20908 (see below, p. 21).}
\end{footnotesize}
The 1429 general chapter was the second in order; the first had taken place at Marienwold (Lübeck) in 1426. The remaining documentation about the 1426 chapter is very scarce. As touched upon above, the Vadstena sisters were completely against the idea, since all foreign activity immediately excluded them from participation.

How, then, should we interpret Syon’s refusal to take part in the 1429 meeting? The letter from Syon seems to indicate that the decision not to participate was a matter of principle, not necessarily a sign of Syon not accepting another Birgitine authority. In fact, the letter tells us that the English Birgitines are not at all negative to the concept of general chapters per se. On the contrary, they acknowledge the need to gather and work for the stability of the order. However, they do not believe it is a good thing to hold such meetings 'without the consent of all persons of the order and a great amount of planning'. By the phrase ‘all persons of the order’, the English community implied the sisters as well and urged the Swedish Birgitines to gravely consider ‘the separation of the sexes, the supremacy of the sisters and the strictness of reclusion’. Syon clearly considered this dilemma impossible to solve, and thus, a status quo was reached in the matter.

A most important decision in the 1429 chapter was the above-mentioned statement that all persons of the order were for ever obliged to observe the rites and ceremonies of Vadstena. As pointed out by Sara Risberg, the editor of the Liber usuum, this was a step in the direction of reaching conformity in the order, culminating in the Customary some years later. But Syon Abbey did not take part in the decision, nor in any of the order’s general chapters, and, moreover, composed their own additions to the Rule around this time. To summarize, the English absence from the 1429 chapter combined with the monastery’s

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109 As pointed out by Cnattingius (1964), p. 156, the 1426 chapter was not really ‘general’, since only the monasteries located around the Baltic sea participated.

110 ...illud [capitulum generale] tamen exequi sine omnium personarum ordinis consensu et precisione permaxima non ordinum aportunum... (A 21, fol. 52r; SDHK 20968).

111 ...sexuum discretione, surorum prefectione et discreta reclusionis consensu (A 21, fol. 52r). See also Tait (1975), p. 62.

112 Ibid., p. 126; Risberg (2003), p. 11, with sources.

113 von Nettelblad (1764) prints the reports from the 1487 general chapter, where we find a statement that the Syon brethren had sent an excuse for not showing up; p. 165.

114 See further below, ch. 3.2.6.
unique regulations, especially the position of the brothers and the rules regarding election of abbesses, add to the picture of a Birgittine house in its own right.

3.1.6 Correspondence between Vadstena and Syon 1415–1510

As a summary of letters exchanged between Syon and Vadstena is helpful when it comes to putting the texts edited here into context, I have summarized the preserved correspondence between Syon and Vadstena below. The year 1415 was chosen as a starting point, and letters dealing with the preparations for the foundation of Syon have been excluded here.\textsuperscript{115}

The surviving documents do not give us a complete picture of the correspondence. In many of the letters listed, the writers refer to letters now lost. Apart from the letter from Syon’s conserved John Whethamstede mentioned above, there seem to be no letters preserved in English sources.

- 1416–21 Vadstena → Syon
  MS: A 20, fol. 132v\textsuperscript{116}

In the MS labelled as a ‘consolation’. Encourages the new monastery to unity and to take good care of brother Katillus Thorberni and the Swedish sisters now present in England. The Vadstena author seems to hint at difficulties in making enough people attend ‘solemn feasts’ at Syon.\textsuperscript{117}

- 1418, (18) August Vadstena → Syon
  MS: A 20, fols 110v–111r; 163r–164r\textsuperscript{118}

Concerning the nuns sent to Syon from Vadstena, the privileges of the order and a request for English help to have the Birgittine Rule confirmed by the pope.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{115} See also Tait (1975), pp. 59–67, for a summary of the correspondence. I have excluded letters addressed to single persons, such as the letter to Katillus mentioned above (n. 66).

\textsuperscript{116} SDHK 19029. Edited in Andersson (2004).

\textsuperscript{117} Tait (1975), p. 91, n. 111.

\textsuperscript{118} SDHK 19141 (SD 2521). For similar letters addressed to the English king and others, see SD 2519–2522.

\textsuperscript{119} As mentioned above, the \textit{Regula Salvatoris} had been confirmed as constitutions to the Rule of St Augustine \textit{(per medium constitutionum)}, but the Birgittines wanted a confirmation \textit{per medium regulæ}. Hjör (1905), p. 67; p. 165.
• 1418, 18 August  Vadstena → Syon  MS: A 20, fol. 111v–v.120
Concerning the right to give absolution and the process of obtaining confirmation of the Birgittine Rule by the pope, a process where the English king (Henry V) had been very supportive.

• 1418, 10 December  Vadstena → Syon  MS: C 6, fols 71v–72v; A 20 165v–166v.121
Regarding the process of obtaining a confirmation of the Rule. Also concerning problems regarding certain indulgences that had been suppressed in Marienwold, the new Birgittine monastery in Lübeck,122 and exhorting all Birgittines to stand united against attacks on the order.

• 1421, 31 March  Issued at Syon  MS: A 21, fol. 101r–v.123
A passport for Katillus Thorbernì travelling back to Sweden, urging those who meet him to treat him kindly and let him pass unharmed with his 'books and other things'.

• 1421124  Vadstena → Syon  MS: A 20, fols 164r–165v.125
Directed to an unknown confrater H, but is most likely an answer to a letter from Thomas Fishbourne. Contains answers to seven questions about the Rule sent from the English community, reminding us somewhat of the Responsorie of 1427. The letter mainly deals with the regulations on silence and speech, touching upon the question of authenticity regarding certain passages in the Addiciones prioris Petri dealing with these issues.126 Replying to a question about whether the confessor general may assist the abbes in secular matters, or if the priest brothers should only devote themselves to the divine office, the writer describes

120 SDHK 19142 (SD 2522).
121 SDHK 19161 (SD 2552).
122 See below, n. 216.
124 Scriptum anno Domini MDXXII (A 20, fol. 165v).
125 SDHK 15591. For further information about this letter, see Tait (1975), pp. 120–122. It is my intention to present an edition of this letter on another occasion.
126 See above, n. 46.
the confessor as ‘caught between the embraces of the sisters Rachel and Leah’,¹⁹⁷ that is, a sort of mediating position where he may ‘satisfy one at the same time as he occupies himself with the other’. This letter also mentions that ‘brother K’ has gone back to Syon, which must refer to the above-mentioned Katillus Thorbernii, who thus seems to have returned to England again after a brief stay in Sweden, probably because the Vadstena convent was full by that time.¹⁹⁸

• 1426²⁹

Syon →

MS: A 20, fol. 172v.³⁰

A passport for Robert [Bell], sacerdos et professus, and Thomas [Sterington], sacerdos et in statu dyaconatus, travelling to Sweden. Issued by Thomas Fishbourne, confessor general of Syon Abbey.

• 1426³¹

John Whethamstede → Vadstena

MS: Cotton Claudius D I, fol. 111r–v.³¹

John Whethamstede, conservator of Syon Abbey, writes to Vadstena and reports that an English brother has been sent to Sweden to obtain practical information about the order, perhaps referring to one of the brothers visiting Vadstena in 1427.

• 1427, 9 October

Syon → Vadstena

MS: A 21, fols 51v–52v.³²

Sent after the return of Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington. Syon had learned that Vadstena planned to arrange a general chapter, and immediately declared that they did not wish to participate.³³

• 1432, 14 October

Syon → Vadstena

MS: A 21, fols 47v–48r.³⁴

Sent from Robert Bell, confessor general of Syon, to Vadstena. A lost letter from Vadstena, written August 16, 1432, is referred to. Robert Bell sends Vadstena some excerpts from books that Vadstena had asked for. The writer further

¹⁹⁷ ...inter duas sororum Rachelis et Lye constitutus amplexus (A 20, fol. 165r).
²⁹ Datum monasterio nostro de Syon 1426 (A 20, fol. 172v).
³⁰ SDHK 20606.
³¹ SDHK 142520. Edited in Riley (1873), pp. 399–402.
³² SDHK 20908.
³³ See above, ch. 3.1.5.
³⁴ SDHK 21841.
mentions Syon’s move to Isleworth, where they are about to start constructing the church and other buildings. The English community also sends a pair of gloves each to the Swedish abess, confessor general and brother Katillus Thorberni.33

• 1432, 15 October Syon → Vadstena MS: A 21, fol. 48v.36
Sent from Syon’s abbess Joan North and confessor general Robert Bell to Vadstena in 1432. Answers to Vadstena’s pleas for help at the council of Basle. Syon does not intend to send delegates, but encourages Vadstena to do so.

• 1450s Vadstena → Syon MS: A 21, fol. 80r.37
The confessor general of Vadstena writes to his colleague at Syon with advice on the building of the roof of the church, with a reference to the repair work of the roof at Vadstena (1455). The writer mentions the Swedish sisters sent to England in 1415, almost all of which have now returned to their homeland, ad patriam, i.e. passed away.38

• 1453 Vadstena → Syon MS: A 21, fol. 83r.39
Sent from Vadstena’s confessor general Botulphus Haquini to Robert Bell, confessor general of Syon. Among other things, the letter refers to correspondence (not preserved) between the monasteries and some clothes sent from Syon to Vadstena. We are also told that the Swedish confessor general enclosed copies of important Birgittine texts, such as the Addiciones prioris Petri and the Mare Magnum, with the letter. Furthermore, there is a mention of books40 that Botulphus offers Syon to copy, if the English Birgittines send a skilled copyist to Vadstena. The 1427 visit in Vadstena is briefly mentioned.41

36 SDHK 21842.
38 The first of the Swedish sisters who died in Syon was Kristina Esbjörnsdotter in 1441; the latest recorded year of death of a Swedish sister in the Muntigge is for Margareta Johansdotter in 1465. See Gejrot (1994), p. 42; BL MS 22285 (Gejrot Mart.), fol. 53r; 62v.
39 SDHK 26204.
41 See further below, n. 158.
• 1473, 5 April Syon → Vadstena MS: A 19, fols 1r–2r. Abbess Elizabeth Muston and confessor general Thomas Westhaug discuss, among other things, the canonization of Birgitta’s daughter Katarina. This is the only surviving document from a larger correspondence referred to in the letter.

• 1510, 15 January Syon → Vadstena MS: A 19, fols 137r–138r. Abbess Elizabeth Gibbs and confessor general Stephen Saunders inform their Swedish colleagues (Anna Fickesdotter Bålou and Sueno Tordonis) that Vadstena brother Petrus Ingemari, visiting Syon and donating relics of Birgitta’s daughter Katarina, is permitted to copy papal bulls on Syon Abbey.

**Personal visits 1415–1516: a summary**

1415 The Vadstena brother Johannes Johannis (from Kalmar) departs from Vadstena to Syon with four sisters and three girls. They are accompanied by the secular priest Magnus Hemmingi, who, like the sisters, seems to have remained in England for the rest of his life. Johannes Johannis returns to Sweden in 1416. The same year, brother Johannes Petri, who had gone to England in 1408 together with Katillus Thorbernii, returns to Vadstena.

1418 Unknown English brother (*confater Anglicus*) visits Vadstena.

1421 Katillus Thorbernii returns to Vadstena, thereafter goes back to Syon for some time. He dies at Vadstena in 1442.

1427 Robert Bell, Thomas Sterington and John Hartman visit Vadstena.

1493 Scandinavian brother (?) Ivarus Erici dies at Syon.

1511 The Vadstena brother Petrus Ingemari visits Syon.

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142 SDHK 29575.
143 Tait (1975), p. 66.
144 SDHK 26652.
145 For further information on Petrus Ingemari’s travels, see DV 1019 with footnote.
146 Fletcher, p. 1 a; Gejrot (1994), p. 43.
147 DV 269.
148 DV 271. See also Andersson (2004), n. 44.
149 See below, n. 216.
150 DV 528.
151 Bainbridge (2010), p. 38. It is of course impossible to determine whether he really was Scandinavian. It has not been settled when he arrived in England.
Possible visit by Syon’s confessor general John Trowell in Vadstena.\textsuperscript{52}

3.2 \textit{Responsiones}

3.2.1 Time of composition

The second part of the \textit{Responsiones}\textsuperscript{53} was most likely written in the summer of 1427; the first part, consisting of answers to letters from Syon, may have been composed before that. The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey explicitly mentions that the English brothers ‘brought back with them information concerning certain parts of the Rule’. This is also hinted at in the letter sent from Syon upon their return in October that same year.\textsuperscript{54} Furthermore, on July 23, Pope Martin V granted the order permission to hold a general chapter.\textsuperscript{55} Since the English brothers brought this news back to Syon, it is likely that they were present in Vadstena by the time the papal letter arrived.

3.2.2 Authorship

It is difficult to determine whether one person or a group of brothers were responsible for composing the \textit{Responsiones}. At the beginning of the text, the author(s) declare that they will try to answer all questions ‘in an unpolished style and with rustic language ... with the help of the Revelations, narrations of the first brothers and our dim, human mind’.\textsuperscript{56} This might imply that old,

\textsuperscript{52} Nygren (1950), p. xviii; Tait (1975), pp. 66–67. The date is found in the confirmation of a papal bull copied by Trowell (\textit{Ista est ego Johannes Trowell, confessor generalis, qui supra hec scripti et subscripsi manu mea propria} and preserved in the Vadstena book of privileges, A 19, fol. 138V (SDHK 37944)). There is no mention in the Memorial Book of Vadstena of this visit.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Responsiones} is not a title equalled in the manuscripts. The title \textit{Responsiones ad aliqua dubia secundum Regulam} is given in the library catalogue; MHUU vol. 2, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Hodie adventerunt nobis frates nostri ad nos nuper transmissi, reportantes in manibus facies luminum et ardoris}, ‘Today our brothers, recently sent to you, returned to us, carrying in their hands torches of enlightenment and brightness’. A 21, fol. 51V (SDHK 20968, see above, p. 21).

\textsuperscript{55} SDHK 20884.

\textsuperscript{56}...\textit{stilo incepto et sermone rusticano, quantum ex revelacionibus et primitiorum fratrum relationibus nee noni humanis rationibus nostri obscuris possimus cum Deo conciere et elicere, Resp. I, introduction (p. 68).}
experienced brothers, still present in Vadstena, were asked for advice when the document was put together.

Johannes Hildebrandi (c. 1380–1454), whose transcription in C 74 is our main source of the text, may be reckoned as a possible author; although this, of course, is difficult to prove. At any rate, it is certain that Johannes Hildebrandi was present in Vadstena in 1427, as he is one of the brothers mentioned in the letter of 1453 from Vadstena to Robert Bell, where we learn that only a few of the brothers Bell met in Sweden are still alive.158

Carl-Gustaf Undhagen, in his edition of Birgitta’s first book of Revelations (1977), suggested that the author might be the confessor general at the time, Gervinus Petri, or one of his two predecessors, Ulpho Birgeri or Ericus Johannis.159

### 3.2.3 Style

The introduction to Resp. I is written in quite an accomplished rhetorical style, combining metaphorical images with the humble tone common in medieval texts of this kind. For example, the authors explain that ‘the eye of our intellect [is] inflamed and blinded by the shrouds of ignorance’ and that they ‘will answer ... in the way of stuttering infants and those who childishly utter incomplete words’.

In general, however, the text is ‘to the point’ and does not indulge in unnecessary digressions. In this respect, we may recall that the Responsiones was written with the direct purpose of being a resource for the English community.

Throughout the Responsiones, the author makes use of cursus, the rhetorical way of ending sentences and clauses.160 The cursus velox seems to be preferred by the Responsiones author(s) with examples such as ónora non astricti (I, 2); (inviola)biliter observetur (II, 12); débito infligendam (II, 110).161 It can be noted that Johannes Hildebrandi, one of the possible authors of the Responsiones, uses cursus in one of

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158 ...inter omnes fratres cibiscum hic alias concorsantes tantum quatuor, scilicet Acho Johannis, Johannes Hildebrandi, Clemens <Enechini> et Johannes Benechini clerici et duo laici, adhuc vivunt se vestris oracionibus intime commendantes. A 21, fol. 83 (SDHK 26204; see above, p. 22).
161 A tentative examination of the cursus in the Responsiones showed that the velox was used in about 64% of the cases, the planus about 26 %, the tardus about 10 %.
his letters, but the practice was so common by that time that this fact cannot be used as evidence.

For the second part of the *Responsiones*, the structure reminds us somewhat of medieval academic disputations. The vocabulary as well is quite similar, with typical expressions such as *Queritur, utrum; Quod sic; Viderit, quod non* etc. As mentioned above, the *Responsiones* also reminds of the *Declaraciones Dominorum* in language and general disposition.

As is typical for a medieval Latin document of this kind, the use of grammatical moods is very inconsistent throughout the text.

As to the vocabulary, the following words and expressions may be mentioned: *racio, quia* (I, 2; II, 3) equalling a causal conjunction; *de per se* (I, 2; II, 38), ‘by itself/themselves’; *ex quo* (I, 1; 2; II, 14; 73; 117; 162), ‘since’, ‘because’; *huei modi* (passim), ‘of this kind’; the adjective *propriarius* (II, 107; 109–112; 123; 152), ‘egoistic’, ‘guilty of owning something’; two forms for the word ‘vespers’: *vesper(ae)-arum* and *vesperi-orm* (II, 16 a and b).

We may also note the expressions of humility, such as *parsitas nostra*, of which there are two occurrences: *nisi divina pietas ... parvis tatibus nostris dignetur invocata misericorditer subvenire*, ‘lest divine piety ... implored by your prayers mercifully might come to aid our smallness’ (I, 4); *Hic continentur responsiones ad questions per dilectos fratres Robertum et Thomam propositas nostre parsivati*, ‘Here are the answers to the questions that we, humble persons as we are, have been asked by the dear brothers Robert and Thomas’ (II, introduction).

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164 See above, p. 9.
165 See p. 55 below. See also the Grammatical index in Eklund (1975), pp. 237–242, which lists many examples of medieval Latin grammar that we may find in the *Responsiones*.
166 This expression occurs a couple of times in the text *Responsio ... de statu dynaconorum*, written in Vadstena c. 1429; Eriksson (2000), § 60; 99. A certain Benedictus Namponinis is mentioned as the author of this text, but his identity has not been clarified. We may note, however, that the complaints regarding the status of the deacons, forming a basis for *De statu dynaconorum*, were put together by Vadstena brother Johannes Benechini, who was present at the 1427 meeting (Ibid., p. 13).
3.2.4 A survey of the contents

The *Responsiones* is divided into two parts:

*Responsiones I*

The first part of the *Responsiones* is described at the beginning of the text as constituting an answer to ‘three letters ... containing many intricate and difficult questions, impossible for us to solve’ sent to Vadstena from Syon earlier on by letter. These three letters have not been preserved. In any case, it is likely that they were sent after 1425, when the *Mare Anglicanum*, reflected in the present text, was issued. It must also be said that although the English community is never explicitly mentioned in the *Resp. I*, the contents of the matters discussed give no reason to doubt that Syon is the recipient.

Throughout the *Responsiones*, although most apparent in the first part, Vadstena combines humility and flattery with open annoyance, thereby giving parts of the text a touch of sarcasm. The words *improbias* (‘boldness’), *instancia* (‘insistence’) and *importunias* (‘insolence’) occur a couple of times, the writers openly declaring that they would rather have ignored than acknowledged the insistence of the first letter they received. However, ‘when another letter came, and thereafter a third, asking the same things as in the former letters and in an insolent and inquisitive manner, we decided that we should not wholly neglect your devout desire’.

*Resp. I* consists of the answers to five questions, the main theme being the relations between the two convents and between the two heads of the monastery. Questions 1–4 show that Syon Abbey mistrusted some of the principles laid down in the *Mare Magnum*. The heading of the third question puts the finger on the differing attitudes: ‘you claim that the *Mare Magnum* is contrary to the Rule, since it expresses that there are two monasteries...’.

Some of the arguments put forth here may have been merely theoretical, as Syon Abbey adhered to its own papal bull ever since 1425. Why, then, raise the matter at all? A possible solution is that the English Birgittines wanted to stress

168 ...littere tres ..., questiones perplexas multas et altas et nobis insolubiles continentes; *Resp. I*, introduction (p. 66).
170 tamen alia supernentia atque tercia succedente et similia prioribus importune et curiose petente, deliberavimus, quod tam pie aviditati vestre omnino diesse non debebamus; *Resp. I*, 4 (p. 86).
171 Tait (1975), p. 159.
their conception of the Rule and influence the rest of the order. The contents of the Collatio seem to hint at the same thing.

The very first matter under discussion is the jurisdiction of the bishops, expressed differently in the Mare Magnum and the Regula Salvatoris.

The second question deals with the election of the abbess, revealing Syon’s view on the brothers as not constituting a convent of their own. This assertion is refuted by Vadstena with the help of canon law and the Declaraciones Dominorum.172

The next two questions also deal with the ‘double monastery’. In the Mare Magnum, the two communities were treated as two separate monasteries.173 Syon, however, did not consider the brothers’ community as an independent unit. In this matter, Vadstena firmly declares that, if the brothers have no convent of their own and there is indeed only one monastery, ‘it follows that the brothers have to live together with the sisters, which is absurd and ridiculous and equally offensive to pious ears and minds’.174

The first part of the Responsiones ends with a discussion about the trust put in the first constitutions of the Rule, confirmed by Pope Urban V in 1370. The reason for this is probably that the bull of Urban V was replaced with another version in 1378.175 This particular question seems to have been a complicated matter: as a direct result of the general chapter in 1429, the 1370 constitutions were annulled,176 whereas in the Liber usuum some years later, the very same constitutions are seen as the founding charter of the order.177

Responsiones II

The second part of the Responsiones consists of answers to the questions raised by the English brothers in 1427. This part of the text sets off with discussions regarding the interpretation of certain parts in Birgitta’s Revelations. As the text proceeds, the questions become shorter and centred around more detailed matters, often directly linked to chapters in the Regula Salvatoris.178 Towards the

173 Mare Magnum § 26 (SDHK 17999, SD 1714); see above, n. 24.
174 Resp. I, 3 (p. 76).
175 Tait (1973), p. 182, n. 15, points out that the Articuli Extracti of 1416 refers to the bull of 1370.
178 The same idea is expressed by Tait (1973), p. 123.
end of the document, the scribe has even added the chapter numbers of the Rule in the margin for reference.

There are many interesting details to be found in the 170 questions and answers. In question 3, a richly decorated volume of the Rule and another of the Revelations, sent to Vadstena by Alfonso of Jaén, are mentioned. The book of Revelations mentioned here in all likelihood refers to the so-called Liber Alféni that disappeared after the dissolution of Vadstena.\textsuperscript{179} The answer to question 63 tells us that no difference whatsoever should be made between literate and illiterate nuns, an answer that, despite its brevity, sheds some light on the attitude towards the latter group of women in the monastery.\textsuperscript{180} Question 116 informs us that Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington had measured the grounds of Vadstena during their visit, which is interesting as Syon at the time was in the process of moving to new locations.\textsuperscript{181}

In a few cases, the Vadstena authors provide unexpected answers. Question 20, for example, asks whether a sister or brother assigned to guard the rota, the turntable placed in the wall between the convents, may speak to the guard on the other side of the wall. According to the Responsiones, this is allowed. The Birgittine Rule, however, strictly forbids sisters to speak alone to anyone except her confessor.\textsuperscript{182} The answer to question 35 contradicts the Revelaciones Extravagantes and declares that the confessor general – not the confessor and the abbess together – has the power to decide about exemptions from fasting. In one case, the author actually contradicts himself: the answers to questions 113 and 120 firmly lay down, in accordance with the Rule, that no personal gifts may be received, whereas the answer to question 128 admits that it may be allowed ‘with the confessor’s permission’.\textsuperscript{183} The answer to question 114, dealing with the controversial matter of owning precious things, reveals that Vadstena considered it acceptable for brothers and sisters to own ‘a costly book of psalms or prayers for daily use’. Likewise, the answer to question 117 grants permission to build

\textsuperscript{179} Resp. II, 3 (p. 100). On the Liber Alféni, see Undhagen (1995); Aili (2003), pp. 59–60.
\textsuperscript{180} On literacy among the Vadstena sisters, see Carlquist (2007); Gejrot (1996), pp. 12–13.
\textsuperscript{181} In this respect, we may also mention an undated draft preserved at the Swedish National Archives, (SDHK 15267). Likely written in the first half of the 15th century, it is directed to an unnamed Birgittine abbey and contains answers to pleas to let a certain brother Arnold visit Vadstena in order to inspect the architecture of the monastery. See further Fritz (1969), p. 13. Although impossible to prove, it may be that Syon Abbey was to receive the letter, which would imply that the English Birgittines tried several times to obtain the exact measurements of the buildings.
\textsuperscript{182} RS § 256; Tait (1975), p. 124.
\textsuperscript{183} Tait (1975), p. 146, n. 169.
cloisters or enclosed areas in the courtyard, ‘since the Rule does not openly prohibit this’.

Many questions concern confessions, introduction into the monastery and preaching. Birgittine brothers were instructed by the Rule to expound the Gospel every Sunday for the nuns and to preach publicly on ‘all feast-days with vigils’, so it is not surprising that this subject is thoroughly discussed in the Responsoria.

Some questions raised by Syon in the Responsoria concern matters that earlier on had been debated in Vadstena, as can be seen in a report on the 1419 visit to the monastery by the local bishop of Linköping. According to this letter, the bishop had censured the Vadstena sisters for having accepted precious gifts from secular persons (a matter also discussed in Resp. II, 114) and for having spoken to secular persons on forbidden occasions (Resp. II, 19; 22; 26; 28; 30). The abbess had not duly kept the accounts of monastery property (Resp. II, 132) and gifts to the monastery had not been properly examined (Resp. II, 138).

Below is an overview of the second part of the Responsoria. Some of the questions have been placed in more than one category.

- Abbess and confessor (duties, authority, election): 80–83
- Additions to the Rule: 159; 162–163; 169
- Authenticity of Birgitta’s Rule and Revelations: 2–3
- Bishops, episcopal visitation: 45; 158
- Books, literacy: 63; 131; 144
- Buildings, inventories: 24; 107; 115–118; 154
- Clothes, physical appearance: 7–9; 11; 44; 76–77; 114; 125; 129; 145
- Confessions, sacraments: 94–99; 149–157
- Communion: 100–104
- Deacons: 68; 72–73; 84; 168; 170
- Death, burial: 54; 111; 122–124; 135–136; 157; 167
- Economy: 121; 132

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185 SDHK 19346 (SD 2680); Höjer (1905), pp. 323–324; Berggren (2006). See also DV 303. A copy of this text is found in C 74 (the manuscript for the main part of the Responsoria), fols 254v–255r.
186 Detailed commentaries on some of the questions are found as footnotes to the translation, and some of the information given in the Introduction is repeated.
• Fasting, food: 32–36; 38; 147–148; 165
• Gifts, endowments, alms: 114; 120; 126–130; 137–138
• Interpretation of certain passages and expressions in the Rule and Revelations: 1; 4; 5 a & b; 10; 17; 21–23; 30–31; 44; 105–106; 115–117; 121; 134; 159–161
• Introduction into the monastery: 39–43; 46–54; 56–61; 64; 118
• Lay brothers, manual labour: 69; 84; 103; 146; 166
• Liturgical garments: 139–143
• Liturgy: 12–16 b; 25; 29; 32; 37; 55–56; 65–67; 70–75; 170
• New foundations: 118–120; 126; 130–131
• Preaching: 85–93
• Promotion: 62; 68; 168
• Property: 5 b–7; 44; 107–114
• Seals: 133
• Silence, speech, speaking to secular persons: 16 c; 18–20, 22; 26–28; 164
• Travelling, temporarily leaving the monastery: 78–79; 119

### 3.2.5 Sources and references

As is to be expected of a medieval text on monastic regulations, the author of the *Responsiones* frequently uses quotations from authoritative sources, preferably the Bible and canon law. As mentioned above, there are also references to Birgittine works, such as the Revelations of Saint Birgitta, the Additions to the Rule and the *Declaraciones Dominorum*. From the *Declaraciones Dominorum*, for instance, we find eleven references in the present work.\(^\text{187}\) By using well-known legislative texts of this kind, the author or authors were able to stress certain points and augment the authority of what is being said.

Other sources quoted in the *Responsiones* are some *Propositiones pro canonizacione S. Birgitae*,\(^\text{188}\) written by Matthew of Cracow (c. 1335–1410) and John of Basle (c. 1330–1392), both members of the committee with papal mandate to investigate the Birgittine Rule as well as the process of Birgitta’s canonization.\(^\text{189}\)

A text that occasionally shares wordings and contents with the *Responsiones* is the Customary of the Vadstena brothers, the *Liber usuum*, of which more below.

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\(^{187}\) *Resp. I*, 2; *Resp. II*, 21; 42; 79; 82; 84; 85; 121; 132; 143.

\(^{188}\) Preserved in MS C 15, Uppsala University Library.

\(^{189}\) Höjer (1905), p. 66, n. 3; p. 108, n. 4; Fredriksson Adman (2006), pp. 70–71.
3.2.6 **Responsiones – an influence on later texts?**

*The Acta Capituli Vadstensis*

The report from the general chapter in 1429, the *Acta Capituli Vadstensis* (ACV), was an important source for the *Liber usuum*. Some of the subjects discussed in the ACV are found in the *Responsiones* as well:

ACV 8  *Resp. II*, 5r–6 (owning private property)
ACV 10 *Resp. II*, 53 (owning bedclothes)
ACV 13 *Resp. II*, 36 (fasting during the Lord’s nativity)
ACV 39 *Resp. I*, 2 (duties to be performed by the brothers)
ACV 43 *Resp. II*, 146 (the sisters’ chores in the kitchen)

This means that there are a few similarities in matters discussed in the two texts, but all the same there is not much verbal likeness, as is the case with the *Liber usuum* (see below). However, although it is difficult to detect a direct influence by the *Responsiones* in the *Acta*, the definition of the Birgitine monasteries in the ACV is similar to the advice put forth by the Italian canonists.\(^{19}\)

...declaramus omnia et singula monasteria nostri ordinis sub vocabulo Sancti Salvatoris instauranda seu fundanda, edificanda et erigenda necnon edificata, instaurata seu fundata, dotata et erecta, presencia et futura debuisse et debere instaurari seu fundari, edificari, dotari et erigi pro sororibus, que clericos seu fratres habeant officium de tempore quotidie decantantes, qui scorum habitent a monasterio sororum per clausuram omnino separati, prout in regulam Sancti Salvatoris laciis continetur.\(^{192}\)

...we declare that every single monastery of our order, by the name of Saint Saviour, to be founded, built or already endowed and built, ...for the present time as well as the future are to be founded, endowed and erected for the sisters, who have clerics or brothers who every day sing the office of the day and who live by themselves,\(^{194}\)

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\(^{19}\) Preserved in, for instance, C 46, Uppsala University Library; A 537, The National Library of Sweden; Clm 27117, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. See further Cnatttingius (1963), pp. 164–167; Risberg (2003), p. 11.

\(^{192}\) This conformity is discussed by Cnatttingius (1963), p. 165.

\(^{194}\) ACV 49 (C 46, fol. 164r-v; A 537 p. 110).
completely separated from the monastery of the sisters by the clausura, as further explained in the Rule of Saint Saviour.

Here, then, it is explicitly said that the Birgittine monasteries are intended for the sisters, in accordance with the original wording in the *Regula Salvatoris*. The ACV passage differs from the viewpoint expressed in the *Responsiones* two years earlier, where Vadstena’s opinion is that the Birgittine brothers ‘are monks and live in a monastery, because if they were merely clerics and chaplains and still went about in monks’ habits, just like professed and tonsured monks, people could just as well call them *aphri et beani* (‘Africans and students’). At first glance, it seems very curious that two years later, there seems to be a general acceptance of the viewpoint Vadstena recently so fiercely objected to. This, however, may have been nothing more than a tactical approach, ‘as it appeared to offer the only hope of getting the Curia to accept the Bridgettine combination of sisters and brothers’. Consequently, in the great Bull of Revocation of 1435, Pope Eugene IV settled that the monasteries of the order were in no way to be seen as double (*nullatenus duplicita censeri debere*); they were intended for the women only. The brothers were to live nearby in strict enclosure, in their own buildings, and they were to function in the monastery as servants and chaplains to the sisters. Here, then, we can see that Syon’s view on the double monastery, based on the wordings of the Rule and promoted by the Italian canonists, actually had come to win general acceptance and papal approval – at least on the surface.

*The Liber usum*

As mentioned above, there are many similarities between the *Responsiones* and the *Liber usum*. The latter was written or compiled by the Vadstena brothers after 1448 and intended as a resource for all Birgittine monasteries. A striking

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193 RS § 150: *Sorores ... clericos habeant, quia cottidie de tempore missam et officium ... decantabant.*
194 *...sunt viri monastici et in monasterio constituti, quia, si essent tantum clerici et capellani et tamen incidrent in habitu monachali ut professi et tonsurati monachi, possent pocius ex titulo aphri et beani ab omnibus proclamari, Resp. I, 3 (p. 78).*
197 Risberg (2003), p. 15.
example of verbal correspondence between the _Responsiones_ and the _Liber usuum_ can be found in, for instance, _Resp._ II, 85, dealing with the brothers’ burden of preaching:

85. Iem, cum regula obliget fratres sacerdotes ad exponendum omni die dominica evangeliun illius dies, qui si in dominica aliquod festum contigerit, quo non obligantur predicare si extra dominicum eveniret, de quo eciam totum ipso die habetur officium et missa et nichil de dominica, utrum tunc tenetur exponere evangeliun festi vel dominicale.

Responsio: Hoc habetur in predictis declaracionibus Alphonsi, quod non debet dimitti evangeliun dominicale omnino, quin litteraliter exponatur.

This clearly corresponds to the following passage in the _Liber usuum_ (chapter 24):

Et si aliquod festum in dominica occurrerit, sive fratre ad predicandum in eo obligantur sive non (si extra dominicum eveniret), eciam si de eo totum officium et missa et nichil de dominica nisi sola memoria canitur, non debet omitter evangeliun dominicale, quin ad minus litteraliter exponatur...\(^9\)

 Респ. II, 32, concerning regulations on fasting, may also be mentioned:

Questio: Si concurreunt duo dies ieiunabiles in pane et aqua et festum unum transfertur vel anticipatur, etc.

<Responsio> Ieiunium transfertur cum festo et consequentur se mutuo. Si autem festa stabunt, ubi cadunt, ibi sane consideretur, si conventus ex talie ieiuniorum geminacione seu duplacione et vigiliarum fatigacione gravetur.

A corresponding passage is found in the _Liber usuum_ (chapter 10):

Item attendendum est, quod, si concurreunt duo dies ieiuniandi in pane et aqua in unum diem, et festum unius transfertur cum officio vel anticipatur, tunc eciam transfertur ieiunium vel anticipatur cum festo et officio, et consequentur festum et ieiunium se mutuo. Si autem festa stabunt, ubi cadunt..., tunc ieiunium unius dies stabit pro ambobus festis. ... Quod si duo dies ieiunandi in pane et aqua immediate

vel quasi immediate se ad invicem consequentur, tunc sane considerandum est, si fratres tali ieiunorum geminatione seu concomitancia et vigiliarum fatigacione graventur.

The origin of these two texts is quite similar as well. Like the *Responsiones*, the *Liber usuum* was composed as a result of questions and doubts concerning the Birgittine Rule being referred to Vadstena. Both texts put a lot of effort into explaining how to introduce new members and into discussing the regulations on preaching and confession. Below is a survey of corresponding passages in the *Liber usuum* and the *Responsiones*:

*Liber usuum* § 70  
*Resp.* II, 5 b (Hugh of St Victor quote)

*Liber usuum* § 55  
*Resp.* II, 7 (property)

*Liber usuum* § 70  
*Resp.* II, 27 (speech)

*Liber usuum* § 107–109  
*Resp.* II, 32 (fasting)

*Liber usuum* § 145–147  
*Resp.* II, 43 (introduction into the monastery)

*Liber usuum* § 167–170  
*Resp.* II, 46–47; 49; 52–54; 58–59 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 184  
*Resp.* II, 60 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 179–181  
*Resp.* II, 56; 61 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 156  
*Resp.* II, 64 (apostates)

*Liber usuum* § 139  
*Resp.* II, 68 (promotion)

*Liber usuum* § 137–138  
*Resp.* II, 69 (duties of the lay brothers)

*Liber usuum* § 301  
*Resp.* II, 70 (Requiem masses on anniversaries)

*Liber usuum* § 135  
*Resp.* II, 73 (duties of the deacons)

*Liber usuum* § 222  
*Resp.* II, 83 (preaching)

*Liber usuum* § 223  
*Resp.* II, 89–91; 93 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 224  
*Resp.* II, 92 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 235–236  
*Resp.* II, 95 (confessions)

*Liber usuum* § 230–232  
*Resp.* II, 96 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 229  
*Resp.* II, 99 (—)

*Liber usuum* § 303  
*Resp.* II, 103 (communion of the lay brothers)

*Liber usuum* § 187  
*Resp.* II, 127 (the confessor general’s authority over brothers)

*Liber usuum* § 228–233  
*Resp.* II, 150–152 (confessions)

Is it possible that the *Responsiones* was used as a direct source by the authors of the *Liber usuum*? Despite the similarities, it is of course possible that the two texts are

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based on the same sources. This may be likely not least in the passages dealing with introduction into the monastery, where some older regulations may form the basis for both texts.\footnote{1} Likewise, in the first example mentioned above (‘nihil de dominica [LU: nisi sola memoria canitur]’) the text added in LU seems to suggest that there has indeed been another source to quote from.

It is obvious that the Liber usuum and the Responsiones do not always agree: for example, Resp. II, 92 claims that the confessor may release priests from the duty of preaching, if the whole convent consents to this, whereas the Liber usuum strictly forbids such actions.\footnote{2}

However, I do not believe we should completely disregard the possible impact of the Responsiones. It is clear that the Vadstena brethren put a lot of effort into composing the answers to Syon’s questions – they even admit that they have done so by asking the advice of older brothers, experienced in Birgitte practice from the beginning of the abbey’s history. Some evidence suggests that the brothers at Vadstena carefully collected and prepared material for the Customary throughout the 15th century.\footnote{3} Now that they had this document ready at hand – a practical, comprehensive encyclopaedia of Birgitte rites and ceremonies – why not put it to direct use when they were about to compose the Liber usuum?

A passage that might point in this direction is found in Resp. II, 5 b and Liber usuum § 70, where both texts present identical quotes, allegedly from the Hugh of Saint Victor treatise *Expositio in regulam beati Augustini*. The reference, however, is not accurate: the quote is actually taken from the dialogue *Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam beati Augustini de vita clericorum*, loosely attributed to the 12th century theologian Robert of Bridlington\footnote{4} and preserved in the Vadstena codex C 114, Uppsala University Library. We may note that the *Expositio* by Hugh of Saint Victor is found immediately before the *Colloquium* in this manuscript, so it is not unlikely that the codex C 114 was used by the authors or the scribe of the Responsiones. Since the Liber usuum uses exactly the same quote as the earlier text and, furthermore, repeats the incorrect reference, it points in the direction of the Responsiones having been employed as a direct source, at least for some parts.

\footnote{1}{Tait (1975), p. 126, points to the undefined *antiquas consuetudines*, mentioned in LU § 229, as a possible common source.}
\footnote{2}{LU, chapter 24, § 224.}
\footnote{3}{Risberg (2003), p. 16.}
\footnote{4}{Fl. 1147–1160 (ODNB).}
The Syon Additions were composed between 1425 and 1473. As we have seen, the English house by 1425 possessed its own bull of privileges, differing from the *Mare Magnum* in some matters of importance. Although frequently quoting from the additions composed by Petrus Olavi, the Syon Additions were probably written in order to replace Petrus Olavi’s text rather than add something to it. The structure is also quite different, as the Syon Additions are divided into individual parts for the sisters, the brothers and the lay brothers.

It has been suggested that the questions addressed to Vadstena in 1427 might reveal an intention to write the additions later on. This may be hinted at in Resp. II, 159, where Syon asks a question about Birgittine legislation: the *Regula Salvatoris* had declared that brothers of the Benedictine or Cistercian order were to complete the Rule later on – was this to be seen as insertions from the rules of these orders, or as observances afterwards edited by Benedictines or Cistercians? Here, one might suspect a wish on Syon’s part to find out to what extent and under what circumstances later additions to the Rule were to be written. In fact, a few, albeit uncertain, similarities between the two texts may be recognized. For instance, in the *Responsiones*, answering a question dealing with the types of food allowed on certain days of fasting, Vadstena defines the word *legumina*, vegetables, as ‘pears, apples, cherries and nuts’. In the Syon Additions,

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204 Ellis (1984), p. 53, Tait (1975), pp. 161–165. The reason for the wide time span is that the text refers to the *Mare Anglicanum* (1425) and was revised by a committee in 1473.
205 Tait (1975), p. 168; 171; Ellis (1984), p. 80. Here, we may also mention the text *De Culpis*, a list of different offences included in some versions of the *Addiciones prioris Petri*. Like the *Addiciones*, *De Culpis* is most likely a product of Benedictine and Cistercian influence. The Syon Additions contains a very similar passage, presenting a list ranging from ‘lyght defautes’ to ‘most greuous defautes’, which corresponds to the *de levisbus* up to *de gravissimis culpis* of the original. The English text is longer, however, and where there are similarities, the Syon version is often more extensive or slightly different. The Syon Additions also are more explicit when it comes to different forms of penance. *De Culpis* is edited in Henriksen (1990).
207 The Additions exist in different versions; for the sisters in BL MS Arundel 146 (Middle English); London Guildhall Library MS 25524 for the brothers (Middle English); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 11 for the brothers (Latin, in fragments); a Latin version of 1607 produced in Lisbon. There are also fragments extant in the remaining library of Syon, (now at Exeter University Library); Gillespie (2001), p. xxxiii.
a similar explanation is given, stating that, ‘on water days’, one may eat 'two maner of froytes at leste yf it may be. That is to say, apples, peres, or nuttes, plumes, chiryes, benes, peson or any suche other’.209

It must be said, however, that when chapters in the Syon Additions show similarities with the Responsorum, this is often a result of both texts referring to the same sources, such as the Regula Salvaotoris or the Addiciones prioris Petri.210

Some passages in the Syon Additions deal with the ceremonies regarding introduction into the monastery, an important feature in the Responses as well as in the Liber usuum. Here, many parts strictly follow the Regula Salvaotoris, but we also find the phrase ‘I, N, do make profession and promise obedience to God...’211 similar to the formula Ego N promitto tibi obedientiam found in the Responses and the Liber usuum.212 It can be noted that an almost identical passage is found in a collection of formulae in the Syon Martilloge.213

Furthermore, there is a chapter regarding ‘the servise of sustres unletted’. The Responses, as we may recall, tells us that no difference is to be made between literate and illiterate sisters, but in the Syon Additions we have another view: this text says that ‘sustres that be not letted, or synge not for a tyme, schal not occupye the stalles, withoute special dispensacion of the abbes’.214

To summarize, we should be careful to draw conclusions about the relation between the Responses and the Syon Additions, even though the assumption that the Responses should be seen as a preliminary stage in the preparation of the Syon Additions is quite interesting.

210 For instance, the Syon Additions chapter regarding the ‘openyng of the wyndow and syghte of seculers’, Hogg (1980), vol. 4, p. 75, corresponding to Resp. II, 31 and quoting the same Regula Salvaotoris text.
211 Aungier (1840), p. 313. This is Aungier’s translation into English from the Latin original; unfortunately, I have not been able to consult the Latin text.
212 Resp. II, 61 (p. 134); LU § 180–181.
3.3 Collacio: Vide, Domine, et considera

3.3.1 The term collacio

Collacio is an ambiguous term. Basically, it is associated to a text read at the light meal taken in the afternoon, a sense that can still be detected in modern Italian, ‘colazione’ (breakfast), and French, ‘collation’ (a light meal). As a religious term in the Middle Ages, it generally signifies a sermon or an edifying speech. As we shall see, the text edited here displays many typical traits of a medieval sermon as regards disposition and contents.

3.3.2 Time of composition, authorship and style

The manuscript Arundel 11 gives no indication of when the Collacio was written. In the rubric, the text is called ‘A collacio presented to the Birgittine community in Sweden by the first confessor general of Saint Syon in England’. The reference to the first confessor general of Syon may imply that Thomas Fishbourne either has presented the text in Vadstena or at least is the author of it. As discussed below, however, I do not believe Fishbourne is the author, although he probably contributed indirectly to the contents.

As to the presentation of the text in Vadstena, it is important to remember that the only indication that the Collacio might have been read out before the Swedish community is the words of the rubric – to my knowledge, there are no references in Swedish sources about the document. It is by no means unlikely, however, that it was given to the Vadstena brothers by Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington during their 1427 visit. Another possibility is that the text was written after 1427, perhaps as a reaction to some points stressed in the

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216 Another theory is expressed by Tait (1975), p. 89, n. 88. He suggests that the Collacio was written by Fishbourne c. 1418 and delivered by him in Vadstena. He bases this argument on a 1418 letter from Vadstena to Maribo in Denmark, preserved in MS C 6, Uppsala University Library (fol. 77v). In this document, a confrater Anglicus is said to have visited Vadstena and brought reports on some problems. However, the problems referred to in the letter most likely concern difficulties regarding certain Birgittine indulgences; Höjer (1905), pp. 97–98; 173–177. The identity of the confrater Anglicus has not been clarified, although a possible solution is found in another Vadstena letter in A 20, 1935 (SDHK 15331), written about this time, where a certain ‘M. N.’ is said to have ‘carried out his mission in England’. This letter is edited in Andersson (2004), p. 24.
In any case, whether the text was actually presented in Vadstena or not, it does present some interesting points of view on Birgitine rules and regulations.

As to the authorship, I believe that the Collacio was written by John Whethamstede (1393–1465), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St Albans in Hertfordshire, in the period 1425–1427. There are several reasons why I consider this to be the most probable solution:

First, John Whethamstede was closely connected to Syon and Thomas Fishbourne, who had lived at St Albans for a period of time. Furthermore, Whethamstede is often mentioned as the conservator of Syon. In this capacity he seems to have been active in helping the monastery in various matters, not least by writing letters on Syon’s account, among which we find the letter to Vadstena mentioned above. In that letter, he seems to function as a ‘ghost writer’ of sorts, writing about himself in the third person while the Syon community appears as the speaking voice:

...ne hiis nostris rogitibus scriptura queavis contraria reddat vos difficiles, certioramus plenius per praeentes, quomodo a venerabili patre Johanne, Abbate de Sancto Albano, nostri ordinis conservatore, litteras licentiatiorias impetravimus...

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217 This theory was briefly suggested by F.R. Johnston (1996), p. 52. See above, p. 2.
218 John Whethamstede was abbot of St Albans 1420–1442; 1452–1465. For general information about his career, see Knowles (1955), pp. 193–197.
220 It seems to be unclear at what point Whethamstede started to function as conservator (see above, p. 17) for Syon. In MS A 19, The Swedish National Archives, there is a copy of a 1422 document preserved, in which Whethamstede, by mandate of Pope Martin V, acknowledges the right of Syon to receive Birgitine brothers from other monasteries (SDHK 1934). This is an early mention of him in a document dealing with Birgitine matters; there is another document of 1418 in A 19 where the abbot of St Albans is urged by Pope Martin V to supervise the establishment of Syon (SDHK 1914), but that must refer to Whethamstede’s predecessor William Heyworth (see above, n. 77), as does also a similar A 19 document (SDHK 19430), of January 28, 1420. Whethamstede was elected abbot on September 2, 1420 (ODNB).
222 A common practice also in Whethamstede’s Annales; Gransden (1982), pp. 375–376.
...to avoid that some hostile scripture renders you reluctant to accept our requests, we fully assure you by this letter that we have obtained letters of licence by the venerable father John, abbot of St Albans, the conservator of our order...

Second, the codex Arundel 11 has a provenance from St Albans, and it is not unlikely that it belonged to Whethamstede himself. The manuscript also contains several other writings by the abbot.223

Third, and perhaps most important, the language and style of the Collacio are reminiscent of Whethamstede’s distinctive way of writing. In order to show this, we will now turn to an examination of some traits of Whethamstede’s literary style compared to the language of the Collacio.

The literary style of John Whethamstede

John Whethamstede has sometimes been called a representative of early English humanism. E. F. Jacob spoke about a ‘would-be humanism of those who, like Abbot Whethamstede, yearned towards Italian perfection but were not able to fully attain it’.224 Characteristic of the writings of John Whethamstede is a florid, metaphorical language. In fact, his elaborate style of writing has been criticized on many occasions. Roberto Weiss, writing about Whethamstede in his book Humanism in England, considered Whethamstede’s ‘flowery Latin’ to be ‘...almost a caricature of late medieval finery. His sentences are inflated and contorted, his metaphors often so extravagant, that it is not easy to grasp the meaning he intended to convey.’225

On the other hand, D.R. Howlett in his unpublished thesis Studies in the works of John Whethamstede strongly criticized tendencies to consider Whethamstede a failed humanist, since ‘no one has adduced any evidence that Whethamstede ever tried to become a humanist’.226 In Howlett’s opinion, this way of looking at Whethamstede does not do him justice; modern scholars, he says, have sometimes failed to fully understand his style and aims.227 In a more recent work, James G. Clark points out that Whethamstede’s writings often lack ‘an explicit

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224 Jacob (1943), p. 181.
227 Ibid., p. 151.
Christian dimension’ and that later on in his career he became ‘increasingly influenced by his international circle of scholarly correspondents’. 228

Many works by John Whethamstede remain to be examined: letters, religious tractates, encyclopaedic works on history and literature, as well as the Annales monasterii Sancti Albani. 229 The Annales is a chronicle of the abbey’s history, earlier on wrongly attributed to John Amundesham, a St Albans monk. 229

As for Whethamstede’s literary style, Howlett argued that most scholars have disregarded ‘the basic elements of his style (paragraph division, the cursus, chiasmus, balanced allusion, and mathematical ordering)’. 230 Indeed, some of the typical traits in Whethamstede’s letter-writing, examined by Howlett, can be found in the present text as well:

First, Whethamstede is very fond of threefold presentations, 232 a rhetorical feature very common in medieval sermons, occurring several times in the Collacio (the author sometimes omitting primo and secundo in the disposition 233).

36 [1] Ad arciorem vitam nos liberat spiritus Domini ... [2] Ad beneficiendum acceptandum nos ortatur et licenciat perfeccion caritatis ... [3] Et tercio, ad distinguendum capita et collegia in uno loco nobis sugerit illa apostoli auctoritas ...

42–44 [1] Si petitis historias de obedientia, ecce refer viris A. Gellius, qualiter pontifex Crassus, cum euidam subdito scriberet, ut pro aris et deinde duobus malis maiorem sibi mitteret, quia non misit prout mandaverat set alium, qui bono judicio aprior erat, cum ad se vocatum demudari et virgis cedi iussit. [2] Aurelius eciam Augustus filium suum, quia patris preceptum non servaverat, inter pedites ire...

231 Howlett (1975), p. 137.
232 Ibid., p. 128.
233 This practice can also be noted in the above-mentioned letter written by John Whethamstede to Vudstena: ...et sola pro tuteone se opponens matrona, quae contra hunc hostem tricipem triplicem munitionis genus excogitab, [1] huncque eam circumdat maceria conversationis honestae, [2] inde tuctular in ea effudit regularis disciplinar, [3] et tertia, in plenariam securitatem munimini, turum doctrinae salutaris erigit in medio ejus; Riley (1873), p. 400.
coegit, prout refert Valerius libro 2. [3] Et tercio, rex quidam filium contra suum preceptum pro patria fortiter pugnans in ideo occidit, ne plus mali esset in exemplo contempit imperii quam boni in gloria hostis occisi, iuxta quod narrat Augustinus 5° De civitate, capitulo 18°.


Second, Howlett pointed out that Whethamstede often ‘collocates different words or parts of speech derived from the same root: impii, impie; famam, infamiam; assumere, assumpcione...’234 This, too, can be noted in the Collacio:

8 Cuius sentencie formidantes, fratres, gravamen ac eciam aggravamen abhorrentes ... ea conversione convertamur ad Dominum...

9 Set queritur et conqueritur civitas Jerusalem

30 Verum, fratres, si volvamus et revolvamus, que sit anguis latens sub hiis herbis...

In Whethamstede’s texts, doublets and synonyms, such as Patri ac Domino or concors et unanimitis,235 are used remarkably often. An example from the Collacio:

32 ...palam patebit rimantis intellectui, quod ortum ac originem habuit...

Third, the Collacio has the usual references to the Bible and patristic writers, but also to Classical works. Whethamstede was well acquainted with ancient authors and history, often combining Biblical allegories with Classical imagery.236 It is then interesting to see that the Collacio contains quotes from the ancient authors Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius – both preferred and often used by Whethamstede, especially in his encyclopaedic works.237

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234 Howlett (1975), p. 128
235 Ibid., p. 127.
In his writings, John Whethamstede often makes use of *cursus*, preferring the *cursus velox* and the *cursus tardus*.\(^{238}\) In the *Collatio*, the *cursus velox* seems to be most frequently used with examples such as *gēnera viciōrum* (§2); *officium magistrorum* (§ 6); *(dis)cursibus transgressōris* (§ 27); *cāpta eorōndam* (§ 31).

As for a direct likeness between the *Collatio* and a Whethamstede text, there is a passage in the *Annales*, including a phrase from a 1423 letter by Whethamstede:

> Sed O dolor! O gemitus! O lacryma, suspiria, et singultus!\(^{239}\)

In the *Collatio*, we read:

> 27 ... Set o dolor, o gemitus, iam nostre tuucionis negligencia causante subintranites *Caldornam exercitus muros Ierusalem destruxerunt per circuitum*...

Other parallels can be found in a letter\(^{240}\) from Whethamstede to Richard, abbot of Abingdon Abbey,\(^{241}\) written in the style of a sermon and presenting a number of similarities to the *Collatio*, for instance, the threefold structures, the rhetorical questions (*Nonne...?*; *Namquid...?*) and insertions (*questimus; querimus*).

When it comes to references to Birgittine sources, however, the *Collatio* does not display as many as is common in contemporary sermons from Vadstena.\(^{242}\) This is not remarkable, considering that the probable author is not a Birgittine himself. Yet Whethamstede is known to have studied the works of Saint Birgitta and to have quoted her Revelations in some of his own texts,\(^{243}\) and, in fact, there are a few Birgittine references to be found in the *Collatio* (§ 27; 29; 30; 46). Furthermore, the main arguments of the *Collatio* are based on ideas that bear a strong likeness to principles and opinions regarding the Birgittine order promoted by Syon in the 1420s. In this respect, the text can be said to mirror sentiments expressed in the texts by the Italian canonists, embodied in the *Mare

\(^{238}\) Howlett (1975), p. 127.

\(^{239}\) A similar expression is found in the *Annales*, vol. II, p. 212. See also Jacob (1943), p. 181. For the circumstances behind the letter, see Gransden (1982), p. 386.

\(^{240}\) Riley (1873), pp. 383–387.

\(^{241}\) Richard Boxor, abbot 1421–1427.

\(^{242}\) Andersson & Borghammar (1997), p. 233: ‘...quotations from the Revelations of Saint Birgitta is the most prominent characteristic of the preaching of the Vadstena friars’. Similarly, in the only extant (English) sermon with a certain attribution to Syon Abbey, the references to Birgitta’s works are numerous; Powell (2000), p. 229; 236.

\(^{243}\) Clark (2004), p. 139.
Anglicanum of 1425, especially regarding the two communities or the leaders of the monastery. It may be noted that the abbess is clearly preferred. As mentioned above, the English Birgittines under Fishbourne’s lead harboured a strong wish to ‘return to the roots’, to disregard later alterations and privileges and conform life in the order to what they believed to be Birgitta’s intentions. This also seems to be the very agenda of the Collacio, with its repeated requests to dispose of superfluous privileges and interpretations.

3.3.3 A survey of the contents

As is common for a medieval sermon, Collacio is based on a biblical theme. A schematical presentation of this text can be outlined in the following way:

1: Thema

The Biblical theme from the Lamentations is presented: Vidi, Domine, et considera, quoniam facta sum vilis – See, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile.

§ 2–8: Exordium

The Lord has given apostles, doctors and prophets to the world. Still, even though there are so many ministers to work for a perfect Church, why does the Church complain: See, O God, and consider, for I am become vile?

Does the Church blame the apostles, that is, bishops and prelates, who correct and reform the Church according to canon law? Not at all. Does the Church blame the doctors and masters, who write books and treatises in order to fortify the Church? No, the Church blames ‘us’, the Birgittines, who read ‘extraordinary glosses’ and interpret the Rule in another way than God intended.

The above should, I believe, be interpreted as an implicit critique of Vadstena and the Birgittine community for not trusting the true, original meaning of the Rule that focused on the nuns, and seeking to extend it with dispensations and indulgences. Again, Syon’s recurring wish to return to the original intentions of

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244 Caunitigius (1963), p. 151.
245 Regarding the formal disposition of a medieval sermon, see e.g. KL, s.n. ‘Predikan’; Andersson (2001), pp. 49–77; Akae (2007).
Saint Birgitta may be detected. It may also be seen as an indication of the Collatio being written by Whethamstede under directions from Fishbourne.

§ 9: Divisio

The theme is applied to two themes found in the Lamentations: the lamenting daughter of Syon and the complaining city of Jerusalem.

§ 10–25: Primum principale

The beginning of this section is marked by the phrase Dico ego primo. This part of the Collatio focuses on the image of the lamenting daughter of Syon – ‘our cloistral perfection’ – being attacked by enemies. From this metaphor, the author goes on to urge the brothers of the order to stand united, endure the attacks and rejoice in their hardships. This part ends with a transition at § 25, where the author urges the listeners not to annoy the Lord with complaints. The theme is repeated.

§ 26–51: Secundum principale

The words Dico secundo et finaliter mark the beginning of the second principale, starting with the motif of the complaining city of Jerusalem – a symbol for the order – being attacked by the army of the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans, in turn, are used as symbols for ‘that excessive number of indulgences, granted by the Holy See, which ... overthrow our order and our Rule and prepare a road to her final destruction’.

In this part of the Collatio, the theematics become more distinctly Birgittine, starting at § 31, where it is stated that ‘beyond and contrary to the Rule (not without a mark of vanity and indignation) it has been obtained by us that in the house of a single foundation, in the community of a single endowment, in the dwelling of private religion there are and are understood, wherever they exist, two convents and two leaders thereof’. This practice, according to the author, should be abolished and new regulations, ‘more suitable and opportune to the Rule’, invented. The author then goes on to speak about the distinction of heads as renewing ‘a monstrous schism’ and uses sources like Aristotle, the Bible and Aulus Gellius to prove that plurality is wrong. In § 46 we find a direct reference to chapters 11 and 12 in the Regula Salvatoris.
A very interesting passage starts at § 48, where the author actually suggests that the words of the Bible, declaring that the husband is the head of the wife, should be disregarded. The idea seems to be that it is most important to have one leader in the monastery, not two – regardless of the fact that this single leader is a woman.

§ 52: Conclusio

The Collacio ends with the phrase Quod concedi annuat ... sponsus, ‘May that spouse ... grant [us]...’, which is a typical way of ending a medieval sermon.²⁴⁷

4. Summary

The point of departure for this thesis is a visit in Vadstena in 1427 by the two Syon brothers Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington, who had been sent to Sweden in order to discuss certain points of the Rule with the Vadstena community. After the establishment of Syon Abbey in 1420, the English Birgittines were in close contact with the mother house Vadstena over the years to follow and continued to ask advice on various matters and to discuss certain issues. In 1427, apart from asking numerous questions about details in the Rule and other regulations, the main issue seems to have been the sensitive matter of keeping the balance between the two communities, the sisters and the brothers, in the Birgittine houses. Most of these discussions go back on the Regula Salvatoris

- focusing on the sisters and using unspecified words like clerici to describe the brothers, which led to uncertainty as to the interpretation of the brothers’ position
- using the word monasterium sometimes to describe the whole community, sometimes the sisters’ convent only, thereby making the structure in a Birgittine monastery difficult to define: was it to be regarded as one or two monasteries?
- mentioning the abbess as the head and leader of the monastery, whereas the confessor general would be the head in spiritual matters. As the spiritual guidance inevitably was seen as the more prestigious duty of the two, this led to debates about the true leadership in the monastery.

²⁴⁷ Hedlund (2000).
As the male leader of Syon Abbey, Thomas Fishbourne seems to have believed that Birgitta had not intended the brothers to exist as an independent community, but rather as a resource for the sisters. Relying on advice from Italian canonists, the English Birgittines counted the abbess as the main leader of the monastery and, by papal mandate, permitted the sisters to elect their own abbess. In the Collatio, presumably written by Syon’s conservator John Whethamstede and edited in the present work, the Birgittines are accused of trying to contort the essence of the Rule and Birgitta’s intentions by adhering to later additions and regulations.

The Vadstena brothers, on the other hand, were of the opinion that the brothers had a more independent role in the community. From the Responses we know that Vadstena believed that Syon had misunderstood the wordings of the Rule: it is possible, in Vadstena’s opinion, to treat the brothers as monks living in their own monastery, without necessarily treating the sisters as equals. They also say that ‘even though God in his glory loved his most worthy mother over all others, he did not entrust her with the custody and the keys of the Church. No, he committed his mother to the care of John, that he might watch over her, and the Church to Peter, that he might rule over it.’

It has sometimes been said that Syon gained complete independence from Vadstena by the bull Mare Anglicaum (1425). However, even though Vadstena, as the very first Birgittine monastery, naturally was a powerful institution within the order, the Swedish community never seems to have claimed actual supremacy over Syon. Vadstena’s wish to conform the order to their rites is likely to have appeared later during the 15th century, culminating in the Liber ussum, accepted at the general chapter in 1487. Furthermore, the English monastery’s absence from the 1429 general chapter should not be seen as an attack on Vadstena, but rather a decision based on moral principles concerning the impossibility to include all persons of the order in such meetings.

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248 Prōcul igitur abiciatur a nostris intentionibus predicta facta equitas, quae verius censenda est duplex inequitas; Resp. I, 3 (p. 80). Tait (1975), pp. 158–159. ‘In fact it is Syon’s modification of Birgittine practice which must be seen as upsetting the balance of power and attempting to raise the “primacy” of the female convent into an autocracy.’

249 Et licet Deus gloriosus matrem suam dignissimam excellentem pre ceteris dilexerit, non tamen sibi ecclesie custodiam et claves commisit sed matrem Johanni custodiendam et Petro ecclesiam regendam commendavit; Resp. I, 4 (p. 84). See also Claitingius (1963), p. 162.

250 See, for instance, Claitingius (1963), pp. 150–155.

As to the impact of the *Responsiones* on later texts, the most apparent similarities appear in the *Liber usuum*. Some evidence suggests that the *Responsiones* is likely to have been used as a first-hand source for parts of the later text. In other cases, it is possible that both texts quote a common source.

Despite these differences as to the interpretation of the Rule, Vadstena held Syon in special regard for many years to come. This is apparent not least from information found in letters sent between the two houses: advice, books, clothes and personal greetings were exchanged throughout the 13th century. A typical example of this may be found in a 1453 letter to Robert Bell, where the few Vadstena brothers he met in 1427 that are still alive send him a heartfelt greeting and kindly ask him to remember them in his prayers.252

5. The manuscripts

The texts edited in the present work are preserved in very few manuscripts. As mentioned above, Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington most likely brought a copy of the *Responsiones* back to Syon. The libraries at Syon Abbey – the nuns’ as well as the brothers’ – are known to have been very extensive, but as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent exile of the English Birgittines from the 16th century onwards, most of the abbey’s books disappeared.253 The medieval catalogue of the brothers’ library has been edited by Vincent Gillespie254 and contains no record of the *Responsiones*.

5.1.1 Manuscripts used for the *Responsiones*

• C 74. Uppsala University Library.

Date: 15th century.
Provenance: Sweden (Vadstena).
Material: Parchment and paper.
Binding: Leather.
Measurements: 22 x 14.5 cm.
Folios: 362.

252 SDHK 26204.
Contents: Privileges, papal bulls and statutes of Vadstena Abbey; *Regula Salvatoris* and texts concerning doubts in the same; *Addiciones prioris PETRI; ‘In spiritu sancto pie sapere et eius semper consolacione gaudere ... redit ad complectorium [= Responsorum]* [fols 128r–144v; fol. 136v empty].

It has been pointed out that MS C 74 has the characteristics of a secretary’s collection of administrative and documentary texts. However, quite a few of the texts in C 74 are left unfinished. This is also the case with the *Responsorum*, which ends abruptly on question II, 170 (the word *vacat* added in the margin):

It can also be noted that fol. 136v is empty, but in order to assert that no text is missing here, the scribe has made a remark about this at the bottom of fol. 136r. The three folios following after the text (145–148) are empty as well, and it is likely that remaining parts of the text were meant to be written there.

The codex is rich in marginal annotations, which were to simplify for the reader:

As mentioned above, the scribe of the *Responsorum* in C 74 has been identified as Johannes Hildebrandi, who was introduced as a Vadstena brother in 1415–160.

The different hands of Johannes Hildebrandi have been examined by Peter Ståhl. The style of writing employed in C 74 corresponds to Johannes’ typical

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256 Bischoff (1990), p. 172: ‘If in the later middle ages a longer passage had to be cancelled or no longer copied, the syllable “va” was written beside the beginning and “cat” beside the end (i.e. “vacat”).’
257 *Hic non est defectus aliquis, sed sequitur secundus quaternus de eadem materia, qui incipit “quia tune non dictur quis vinculo asstrictus” etc.*
259 MHUU vol. 2, p. 67.
260 DV 253.
hybrida, a mixture of the cursive and textualis styles. According to Ståhl, Johannes Hildebrandi was one of the first to use the hybrida in Sweden. Below is an example from Resp. I, 4 (C 74, fol. 13r):

![Image]

- C 363, Uppsala University Library.

Date: 15th century.
Provenance: Sweden (Vadstena).
Material: Paper.
Binding: Wood and leather.
Measurements: 21, 5 x 14 cm.
Folios: 261.

Contents: Hymns; Theological texts; Sermons; ‘Hic continentur responsones ad questiones per dilectos confratres Robertum et Thomam propositas nostre paravitati ... rerum mundanarum [= the beginning of Resp. II]’ (fols 43v–44r).

The text found in MS C 363 consists of the first question in Resp. II. The reason that this particular part of the text was copied is probably that it discusses the interpretation of a certain passage in the Revelaciones Extravagantes.

The text is written in the cursive style and presents a couple of scribal errors. The scribe has used brown ink and marked beginnings of sentences as well as important words and corrections with red. Below an example from the first section of Resp. II (C 363, fol. 43v):

---

63a On the hybrida, see Derolez (2003), pp. 163–173.
63b Ståhl (1998), p. 36.
The scribe for these folios has not been identified. It can be noted, however, that Vadstena brother Clemens Petri, who entered Vadstena Abbey in 1462,\textsuperscript{264} has been pointed out as a possible scribe for the main part of the codex.\textsuperscript{265}

**Responsiones: textual problems**

C 74 is in all probability the older version of the two manuscripts. From corrections and mistakes made in the C 363 text, it can be assumed that this version is either based on C 74 or a lost common source. Differences between the two manuscripts are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 74 (132r–v)</th>
<th>C 363 (43v–44r)</th>
<th>Adopted reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fratres</td>
<td>confratres</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostri</td>
<td>nostre</td>
<td>C 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primam</td>
<td>primam responsionem</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estuanti</td>
<td>estuante</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semper</td>
<td>propter</td>
<td>C 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Romanos</td>
<td>apostolo Ad Romanos</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frigescunt</td>
<td>tepescunt</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayus</td>
<td>maius</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inveni</td>
<td>invenio</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monasteris</td>
<td>monasterio</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sed</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsequitur</td>
<td>sequitur</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domum meam</td>
<td>domum</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundialium</td>
<td>mundanarum</td>
<td>C 74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{264} DV 726; Gejrot (1988), pp. 52–53.
As can be seen from the list, C 363 in two cases presents a better reading:

- Hic continentur responsiones ad questiones per dílectos frátres Robertum et Thomam propositas nostro (nostri C 74) parvitati

- III propter (semper C 74) fervóris eminénciam et vitae innocénciam videntur sédere in superiori sede éminéntis vive...

The variants of C 74 are impossible in the syntactical context, and it is likely that the C 363 scribe simply corrected the text. It cannot be ruled out, however, that C 363 was based on a common source, providing the correct readings. The other differing readings in C 363, though grammatically correct, do not provide significant improvements to the text. One exception is the following passage, dealing with the different kinds of people entering the order:

Tertii vero, qui ad sinistrum sunt, omnino tepidi et remissi, propriam voluntatem pro lege habentes. Hii frigescunt (tepescunt C 363) et tepidi fiunt ex rore noctis, id est frigoreculpe et ignorancie.

Here, we could argue for both frigescunt and tepescunt. The most likely solution seems to be that the scribe of C 363 was influenced by the words tepidi and tepidi fiunt in the same passage.

As to corrections in the text, there are of course some made within the manuscript C 74 by the scribe himself, for example an licet corrected to an licium sit in Resp. III, 139. There are also corrections made by the editor in order to obtain a grammatically correct or coherent sentence. The critical apparatus provides a complete picture of the textual problems in the edition, but a couple of passages may be mentioned here (corrected text in bold face):

[Resp. I, 3] Istud enim divinum consiliwm pro salute multorum divinitus ordinatum tantorum beneficiorum ingrati et ignari cum omnibus suis machinacionibus pessimis cohibendo infirmare non valebunt, quin ymmo per eandem viam, qua[m] impediri creditur, quo <a>d finem, quem Deus ordinaverat, terminabitur teste scriptura que loquitur: A Domino egressus est sermo.

53
G 74 has *quam* and *quod* respectively, and it is hard to see how these words could be retained in the context.

Responsio: Secundum regulam non licet, nisi racionabili causa exigente, ut puta si rex vel regina vel alii magnipotentes importune *optant[es]* aliquam personam videre. Relinquendum est hoc discreciôn abbatisse.

By correcting the present participle into *optant* we obtain a coherent sentence. The other alternative, *i.e.* to delete the word *si*, seems less likely.


In this passage, the reading *fiat*, which does not fit into the sentence, has been corrected to *si autem*. A possible explanation is that the scribe made a mistake in copying the abbreviation for *autem* (*at*) and, furthermore, that he mistook the *s* for an *f*.

There are also other instances of unstable language, as for instance in Resp. II, 34 where the word *usque*, in medieval Latin sometimes used as a preposition with the accusative, instead is followed by an ablative form: *usque vespere*.\(^\text{266}\) This is corrected in the edition, as it is an error the scribe is unlikely to have made consciously.

In some cases, the text may be altered with the help of the quoted sources. For instance:

[Resp. I, prologue] quia vobis clariusis et perspicacios intelligencie lumine divine illustratis alciora – nobis insciis in *re[li]gione* umbre et caligne ignorancie

\(^{266}\) On *usque* used as a preposition, see Latham *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, on prepositions in Medieval Latin, see Stotz (1998), pp. 259–260.
habitantis — interpretari et rimari conveniret, qui de thesauro intelligenz de divites
estis et sufficitis proferre nova et vetera.

The word religione has been corrected by the editor into regione, in accordance
with the expression in regione umbre mortis, ‘in the land of the shadow of death’, of
the Vulgate (Isaias 9,2). Regione umbre corresponds better with caligine ignorancie in
the passage above. It seems wholly impossible that religione should be retained.

[Resp. I, 5]. . . . in corpore et anima expertus fuit, quia percussionem sive alapam
optimum, quod dentes sui striderent etc., prout lascius revelacio continet super hoc
facta: Vigilante[r]

Vigilante has been corrected to Vigilante, based on the reference to the initial
words of Birgitta’s Revelaciones IV, 138: Vigilante de nocte preado persona.

Other errors easily fit into the category ‘scribal errors’, of which I will only
mention a few here. Resp. I, 4 has the phrase honesta vestra atque reverencia semper
salva; honesta corrected in the edition to honesta<te> in order to complete the
expected ablatus sem absolutos. Another example is found in Resp. I, 4 where the
cribare of the manuscript is easily corrected to crib<e>are. Likewise, the word
examini found in the line Ista enim examini relinquentis peritorn (Resp. II, 57) is
corrected from the examined of the manuscript.

A reoccurring problem, not uncommon in Medieval Latin, is the inconsistent
use of the indicative and the subjunctive in the same sentence, especially
regarding indirect questions:

[Resp. II, 110] Item, utrum solet aut possit abbatisa seu confessor minuere, mutare
aut de toto tollere penitenciam proprietariorn expressam in regula ipsis ex debito
inligandam.

As a result of the fluctuating syntax throughout the text, I have decided to treat
all questions as indirect, with the exception of some cases where the question
appears to be direct:

65 For other examples in texts copied by Johannes Hildebrandi, see Ståhl (1998), pp.
54–55.
[Resp. II, 1] 1. ‘Omnis, qui sedet in superiori sede, videt lumen in meridie’, etc. Qualiter habeant ista verba exponi?

In a few cases, a question may begin with a direct question followed by an indirect one:


In both these examples, however, it could be that we are to understand a Queritur preceding qualiter and quomodo, and in that case, these questions are to be seen as indirect after all. In some cases, punctuation is quite arbitrary, and the decision made has been based on the sake of readability.

5.1.2 Manuscript used for the Collacio

• Arundel 11, British Library.

Date: 15th century.
Provenance: England (St Albans monastery/John Whethamstede).
Material: Parchment.
Binding: Leather (of much later date).
Measurements: 26 x 18 cm.
Folios: 233.
It can be noted that quite a few of the texts in the codex are attributed to John
Whethestedel.\textsuperscript{268}
I have not identified the scribe for the \textit{Collatio}. The scribe uses a typical English
\textit{secretaria},\textsuperscript{269} a neat, cursive handwriting. The grammatical or scribal errors are
few. It can be noted that the scribe often makes use of a \textit{punctus elevatus} as
punctuation within a sentence.\textsuperscript{270} Below an example from \textit{Coll.} 3 with the sign in
question written next to the words \textit{testa, omelia 34} and \textit{veste} respectively.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Collatio: textual problems}
\item As mentioned above, the manuscript text as a whole presents few errors. As in
C. 74, there are some scribal errors corrected by the editor, for example
\textit{misericors} in \S 5. There are also some textual problems calling for a
clarification (corrected text in bold face):
\item
[\S 2] ...sacrosanctam videlicet instituit ecclesiam, que ex se in suis sufficeret ad
propriam in se servandum mundicism, \textbf{ut} sui in illa congrua invenirem remediam,
quibus mandare possent singula genera viciorum.
\item By correcting the MS \textit{et} to \textit{ut}, we obtain a coherent sentence, where the
subjunctive \textit{invenirem} of the final clause easily fits into the passage.
\item \[\S 19]\ldots dum quadratur lapis, templum Domini erigitur, dum movetur turbo, Helias in
celum rapitur, et dum turbatur Paulus, tunc fit forcior et potens et libenter 
\textbf{[ba]tur}
infirmatisbus suis...
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{269} Similar examples can be found in Parkes (1969), for example on page 10, example (ii).
See also Deroche (2003), pp. 160–162.
\item \textsuperscript{270} Gilles (1987), p. 126; Bischoff (1990), p. 170.
\end{itemize}
In this passage, the word gloriabatur provides some difficulty. Why has the author (or the scribe) suddenly chosen the imperfect? One possibility is that the future gloriabitur was found in the exemplar and that the -i- was mistaken for an -a- by the copying scribe. It is also possible that the scribe was influenced by the -batur of the turbatur in the line above.

§ 42] Si petitis historias de obediencia, ecce refert vobis A. Gellius, qualiter pontifex Crassus, cum cuidam subdito scriberet, ut pro aris>e>te siendo de duobus malis maiorem sibimitteret, quia non misit prout mandaverat set alium, qui bono iudicio apciort erat, cum ad sec vocatum denudari et virgis cedi iussit.

Here, the manuscript reading is aris, duobus and aliam, que. The first error is easily made and corrected; the other two incorrect readings might have occurred from the scribe confusing the masculine malus (mast) with the feminine malus (apple-tree). Another complication is found in § 25:

Igitur cum contra te erectus inimicus, non sit Cato neque Marius, Scipio sive Lelius, set hic duntaxat, cui non pro veritate set pro consuetudine – ut verbis utamur Senece – inamet est ut latret velut canis ...

The words ut verbis utamur Senece might have been intended directly after the name Lelius, as they most likely allude to the passage interim aliquorum te auctoritate custodi, aut Cato ille sit aut Scipio aut Lelius found in one of Seneca’s letters. However, the text is not corrected in the edition.

In some cases, it is quite hard to decide what reading to choose, for example in § 48, where we find the line Nec noneamini in aliquo super illo, quod scribit Apostolus. Here, it is difficult to determine whether the text reads noneamini or moveamini (moveamini). We can argue for either of these words in the context, and thus, moveamini is mentioned as an alternate reading in the critical apparatus.
6. Comments on the Edition

6.1 Editorial principles

The edition follows the manuscripts closely. In order to obtain a more readable text, a syntactical punctuation has been applied and the use of capital letters normalized.

Corrections

Angle brackets < > indicate additions of one or more letters or words. Square brackets [ ] signify deletions of one or more letters or words.

Marginal annotations in C 74

The questions in the Responsones are numbered throughout the edition in order to facilitate the reading. In C 74, marginal annotations indicating the number of the question as well as the word Responsio are common. As a rule, simple numbers in the margin are included in the text and not accounted for in the apparatus, unless they function as a reference of some kind. When the word Responsio (or very rarely Questio) is found both in the text and the margin, such iterations will not be commented upon in the critical apparatus for the sake of brevity. However, when the word Responsio is found in the margin only, it has been included in the text and accounted for in the critical apparatus.

When figures are italicized, this indicates that they are not found in the manuscript at all and have been added by the editor. In C 74, the numbering in Resp. II stops at 43, whereafter all numbers are added and italicized. Other additions in the text are marked with angle brackets < > (see above).

It must also be noted that, on a few occasions, the scribe has repeated the number of the question. I have preserved such errors in the edition and divided these questions into a, b, etc.

Orthography

The orthography of the manuscripts is followed closely. Some examples of typically ‘medieval’ orthography preserved in the editions are:

- The letter i for expected e (as in quatimis).
- The letter t for expected d (as in apud).
• The letter y for expected i (as in peyor or ymno).
• Omissions and additions of the letter h (as in ortus for hortus; ortatur, actenus and habundantibus).
• The spelling ndp for n (as in ympnas).

In order to clarify for the reader, the following normalizations have been made:

• The variants i and j are always rendered i in the edition.
• Regarding the use of u/v/w, the letter u is used for the vocalic sound; the letter v is used for the consonantal sound; the letter w is retained in proper names (as in Alwastra) as well as for the word evangélum.
• The spelling vult is rendered vult in the edition.
• The (rare) use of double consonants at the beginning of words has been normalized.

Orthographical variants such as suple for supple, brodeo for brodio or grammaticam for grammaticam are quite common in the texts and have not been accounted for in the apparatus (the reader may in some cases find the spelling of the manuscript in the glossary together with a reference to the correctly spelt word). If there is a risk of misinterpretation, an unorthodox spelling kept in the edition is commented upon in the apparatus.

Figures are printed as they occur in the manuscript, i.e. with Arabic or Roman numerals.

The numbering of paragraphs in the Collacio has been added by the editor.

References in the text

The names of biblical books, often abbreviated, are printed as they occur in the manuscripts. Verbatim Bible quotations are italicized in the edition as well as in the translation.

6.2 The apparatuses

The critical apparatus

The critical apparatus provides information on corrections, additions and suggestions made by the editor as well as corrections made by the manuscript
scribe. Marginal notes are also reported here, with a few exceptions. Orthographic variants are only commented upon when the meaning of a word is unclear. Signs and abbreviations used in the critical apparatus are listed below.

The apparatus of sources

The apparatus of sources shows references to sources used or quoted in the edited texts. A list of the authors and sources quoted is given in the Bibliography. Abbreviations used in the apparatus of sources are also found there. Sometimes the references are wrong in the text, especially regarding biblical chapters. This probably occurs from the fact that the scribe is quoting from memory. Such mistakes have not been corrected in the edition, as they are quite common in a medieval text of this kind. However, the correct reference will be found in the apparatus of sources.

As mentioned above, there are several versions of the Regula Salvatoris. In general, I have used the youngest official version that was approved by Pope Urban VI in 1378, as it seems closest to the version used by the authors. In other cases the quoted version is given in the apparatus.

The apparatus of sources may not always mirror the intention of the author, as he (or the scribe) may have quoted from florilegia or, as mentioned above, his own memory. One example of this can be found in Resp. II, 2, where we find the line *Quis enim auctor est maneriis, ipse est et testis veritatis*. This is a quote originally from Eusebius *Gallicanus* (5th century), but it can also be found in works by, for instance, Fulbert of Chartres (c. 960–1028), or Peter Abelard (1079–1142) as well as the *Decretum Gratiani* in canon law. In such cases, it can be difficult to determine the actual source intended by the author of the present text (in the example mentioned here, canon law is the likely source). My aim has been to give the most probable reference in the apparatus.

The apparatus of comments

A third apparatus is used on a few occasions to clarify the syntax in complicated sentences.

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271 See ‘Marginal annotations in C 74’ above.
6.3 The translation

The translation has been made with the purpose of making the editions more accessible for a larger group of readers. My primary aim has been to put it as close to the Latin original as possible. The punctuation of direct and indirect questions mentioned above is, as a rule, reflected in the translation as well. Translations of biblical passages\textsuperscript{274} in medieval texts often provide difficulties, as medieval authors frequently insert Bible quotes in another context with a different syntax than the original. Furthermore, the Bible quotes are, as a rule, based on the Vulgate rather than the Hebrew or Greek versions used for modern translations of the Bible. In my translation I have in general used the English Douay-Rheims translation of the 16th century, sometimes with additions or alterations from the Authorized King James Version (17th century).

Some of the translations of quotes from the Revelations of Saint Birgitta are based on the translations by Denis Scarby\textsuperscript{275}.

In the Responsorios, the introductory word Item is very common. In general, it merely indicates a new question or paragraph, and is not translated.

\textsuperscript{274} For references to the Bible (Vulg), I have used the system adopted by Weber (1994).

\textsuperscript{275} Scarby (2006 and 2008).
Edition and Translation

Con spectus siglorum

*Responsiones*  C 74  Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket (=cod.)
*Responsiones*  C 363  Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
*Collacio*  Arundel 11  London, The British Library (=cod.)

Abbreviationes et signa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abbr.</th>
<th>abbreviatio -onis etc.</th>
<th>abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>add.</td>
<td>addidit</td>
<td>added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al.</td>
<td>alius -a -ud etc.</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art.</td>
<td>articulus -i etc.</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cap.</td>
<td>capitulum, -i etc.</td>
<td>chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cfr</td>
<td>confer</td>
<td>compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cod.</td>
<td>codex, -icis etc.</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col.</td>
<td>columna, -ae etc.</td>
<td>column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corr.</td>
<td>correxit; correctio -onis etc.</td>
<td>corrected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>del.</td>
<td>delevit</td>
<td>deleted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>digit.</td>
<td>digitum monstrantem</td>
<td>indicating finger (drawing in the manuscript)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| e.g. | exempli gratia | for example |
| exp. | expunxit       | dotted out  |
| fort. | fortasse     | perhaps     |
| i.e. | id est        | that is     |
| ind. | indicavit     | indicated   |
| inser. | inserendus -a -um | to be inserted |
| iter. | iteravit      | repeated    |
| leg. | legitur; -untur | can be read |
| lin. | linea, -ae etc. | line       |
| litt. | lettera, -ae etc. | letter   |
| marg. | margo, -inis etc. | margin    |
| pag. | pagina, -ae etc. | page       |
| ras. | rasura, -ae etc. | erasure    |
| scil. | scilicet      | namely      |
| scr. | scripsit      | wrote       |
| sim. | similiter     | similar     |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.v.</th>
<th>sub voce</th>
<th>under this word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tom.</td>
<td>tomus -i m.</td>
<td>tome (volume)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vid.</td>
<td>videtur</td>
<td>seems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>nova pagina codicis</td>
<td>new page of a manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>nova columna paginæ</td>
<td>new column of a page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>delenda</td>
<td>to be deleted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&gt;</td>
<td>supplenda</td>
<td>to be added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...)</td>
<td>litterae vel verba desunt</td>
<td>letters or words missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Responsiones I–II
RESPONSIONES

I

In Spiritu Sancto pie sapere et eius semper consolacione gaudere ac iugiter zelum ordinis emulari cum salute.


3 fraternitatis scripsi, fraternitatum cod. 8 tantarum [sic. questionum] scripsi, tantorum cod. 11 dicitur cod., dicetur Vulg. 14 ammovisse i.e. amovisse 17 perspicacioris scripsi, prospicacoris cod. 18 regione ex religione corregi secundum Vulg.
RESPONSIONES

I

We greet you and hope that we may piously be wise in the Holy Spirit and always rejoice in his consolation and constantly strive to fight for the zeal of our order.

Three letters have arrived successively to us from your fraternity, like the three arrows of Jonathan, alternately aimed at the goal, each one representing the same matter, containing many intricate and difficult questions, impossible for us to solve, by far exceeding the poverty of our simple, blunt little mind. For the eye of our intellect, inflamed and blinded by the shrouds of ignorance – just like the eye of the night owl is prohibited from looking upon the rays of the sun directly – does not dare to examine the substance of questions of such a kind and such importance. Indeed, this is a great sacrament, and the work entrusted to us exceeds our power. For it is not within our competence to open the seal of this book. We can reasonably say together with the Prophet: A book shall be given to one who knows no letters and it shall be said to him: Read!, and answer with the same: I cannot read, the book is sealed. Your sincere charity, used to a more mature counsel, should have removed the burden of these questions that you have written down from our weak shoulders rather than put them there. You should have put this burden to be borne on your own stronger and wiser necks, and thus interpreted and enlightened sent it to us by means of solace, for it becomes you, who are illuminated by the brighter and more observant light of divine intelligence, to interpret and examine matters of greater difficulty, you who are rich in the treasure of intelligence and can bring forth things new and old,
conveniret, qui de thesauro intelligenzicie divites estis et sufficitis proferre nova et vetera.

Considerantes tamen improbitatem vestram ac debilitatem nostram per maximam, manus nostras tremulas ad opus et onus, quod nobis imponitis et importune petitis, in Domino pluri num confisi apponimus, ne omnino ingrat in oculis vestris iudicemur et taciturnitatis sclere arguamur. Ad proposita ergo articulatim et summatim propter prolixitatem, que mater est tedium, vitandum, stilo incompto et sermone rusticano, quantum ex revelacionibus et primitivorum fratrum relacionibus necnon humanis rationibus nostris obscuris possumus cum Deo conceree et elicere, dignum duximus respondere. Quantum ad primum vestris pacienciis pariter et reverenciis semper salvis non per modum conclusionum seu diffinitionum sed pocius opinionum, more parvulorum balbuciencium et incompleta verba infantiliter loquencium ad quesita respondemus.

1. In primis de bulla Maris Magni exemptione et Regule Salvatoris contrarietate moveri videbamin.

Responsio: Ad quod breviter dicimus, quod, cum et ex quo moderni temporis ecclesiarum prelati saltem in magna parte per ostium in ecclesiam, quod dolenter referimus, non ingrediuntur; nec rite et canonice eliguntur sed pocius ut mercenarii per secularem potestatem / ingeruntur et sic introducti simplices et innocentes pocius opprimere et eorum bona surripere quam criperis et foedere preeligit, sicut ipsa experience – rerum doctrinx efficacissima – in ordinariis nonnullis nostri temporis probat evidenter, expedire videtur, quod prefate littere gracia pro muro et munimento ordini indulta non sit faciliter evacuanda sed pocius toleranda (ut talium praetorium presupcicio, qui iugiter clamant

---

1 thesauro ... 2 vetera] cfr Mt. 13, 32. 15 ... contrarietate] cfr ‘Maris Magni’, SDHK 17999, SD 1714 (1. 5. 1413), art. 1. Cfr etiam RS § 253–261.


17 Responsio ... 70, 3 salva] construe: dicimus, quod ... expedire videtur, quod prefate littere gracia ... non sit ... evacuanda sed pocius toleranda ... occasionemque auferat vel saltem minuat tyrannidem exercendi

68
whereas we have no knowledge at all and live in the shadow and in the darkness of ignorance.

However, considering your boldness and our vast feebleness, trusting in God we have put our trembling hands to this work and burden, which you assign us and so insolently ask for; lest we would seem irresponsible to you and be accused of wicked taciturnity. Therefore we have thought it fit to answer the questions you set forth in an unpolished style and with rustic language one by one and summarily, so as to avoid verbosity, which is the mother of weariness, so far as we with God can guess and bring forth, with the help of the Revelations, narrations of the first brothers and our dim, human mind. As to the first section we will answer your questions – always keeping in mind your patience and reverence – not by way of deduction or definition, but rather according to our own opinion, in the way of stuttering infants and those who childishy utter incomplete words.

1. First of all, you seem to be concerned about the exemption in the bull *Mare Magnum* and a contradiction in the *Regula Salvatoris*.  

Answer. To this, we briefly answer that (since the prelates of the modern Church – at least to a large extent – do not enter the church through the door – which we recall with sorrow – and furthermore are not elected with due observance and canonically, but rather are introduced like mercenaries through secular power and, introduced in this way, prefer to oppress the simple and innocent and steal their property rather than rescue and protect them, just as experience itself – a most efficient teacher of things – clearly shows when it comes to several bishops of our time) it seems fitting that the favour given by the above-mentioned letter for the protection and defence of the order must not easily be abandoned but rather tolerated, so that the audacity of such prelates,

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1 *Per modum conclusionum seu distinctionum*, see LDM, s.s. ‘Conclusio’; ‘Definition’.
2 A reference to the first article in the *Mare Magnum* of 1413 – which grants a general exemption for Birgittine monasteries, thereby making them free from the ordinary (episcopal) jurisdiction of the church – as well as to § 253–261 in the *Regula Salvatoris*, stating, on the other hand, that the bishop is to be a *pater et visitator necnon et iudex* for the monastery. Since the Birgittine monastery lacked an abbot, the local bishop was to be in charge of, for instance, the confirmation of abbesses and the introduction into the monastery; Höjer (1905), pp. 137–138; Helander (1957), p. 39, Cnatttingius (1963), pp. 159–160. Cnatttingius remarks that the *Mare Anglicanum* expressed more influence of the bishops.
‘Exinanite, exinanite, usque ad fundamentum in ea’, non extendant ad iniquitatem manus suas) occasio necumque auferat vel saltem minuat tyrannidem in ordinem exercendi iurisdiccionis regulari ipsi debita inviolabili semper salva.

2. De secundo articulo, in quo asseritis, quod abbatissa a conventu eligatur, scilicet sororum, etc.

Responsio: Si sic queritur, utrum frtres astringantur ad gravitatem silencii et rigorem iemii et cetera regularia statuta in regula expressa, et videtur, quod non – racio, quia regula explicite et singulariter tantum loquitur de sororibus tacitis fratibus, ut patet regulam diligenter intuenti (verbi gratia capitulo v dicitur: ‘Ad omnia silencia iam conscripta soreorum universaliter astringantur’; ergo fratres sunt liberi et ad illa onera non astricti, etc.), quod non videtur, nam professio in facie ecclesie ad manus ordinarii facta fit tam per frtres quam soreorum, sicut experiencia docet. Ergo obligat ambos, tam frtres quam soreores.

Ad habendum ergo intellectum regule in hac parte, secundum nostrum conceptum puerilem, primo presupponimus illud, quod in regula expresse habetur, quod omnia racionabiliter debent fieri et ex consequenti omnia eciam racionabiliter interpretari et exponi. Dicendum ergo, quod in processu regule frequenter ponitur singulari pro plurali, sic et in proposito, ut videtur, scilicet, ut nomine conventus intelligatur tota congregacio, tam fratribus quam soreorum.

Et tunc erit sensus: Abbatissa eligatur a conventu, id est conventibus, scilicet tam per frtres quam soreores, scilicet verbo nominando et formaliter eligendo singulari pro plurali, sicut frequenter fit in processu regule, ut pretactum est, quia alias frtres non astringerentur ad onera regularia, ubi singulariter et

1 Exinanite ... ex] Ps. 156, 7. 4 abbatissa ... eligatur] cfr RS § 167. 9 Ad ... 10 astringentur] RS § 78. 16 omnia ... fieri] RS § 78.

3 iurisdicconi i.e. iurisdiccionem 4 ante De par. scr. cod. | 2° articularis in marg. add. cod. 21 a conventu, id est conventibus in marg. add. cod. 23 non] supra lin. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod.

1 extendant] constructio ad sensum pro extendat
who continually exclaim ‘Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation thereof’, does not extend its hands to iniquity. May this favour remove or at least diminish the occasion to practise tyranny towards the order, with the jurisdiction of the Rule, which they must follow, always intact.

2. Regarding the second article, in which you assert that the abbess is to be elected by the convent, that is, (the convent) of the sisters, etc.³

Answer: If you ask whether the brothers must adhere to the gravity of silence and the rigour of fasting and other statutes of the Order, defined in the Rule, and it seems to you that it is not so – since the Rule explicitly and particularly speaks only of the sisters and says nothing of the brothers, as is apparent to anyone who carefully studies the Rule (for example, in chapter five it is said: ‘The sisters are universally obliged to observe all the above-mentioned hours of silence’; thus the brothers are free and not obliged to observe, etc.), then this does not seem to be the case, because the vow of obedience is given in the face of the Church to the bishop, by brothers as well as by sisters, as experience teaches us. Therefore it concerns both convents, brothers as well as sisters.

To understand the meaning of the Rule in this part, according to our childish reason, we first and foremost assume that which is explicitly said in the Rule, namely that everything should be done in a reasonable way. Consequently, everything should be interpreted and explained in a reasonable way. Thus it can be said that, in the Rule, the singular sense is often used for the plural, as seems to be the case in your question, namely that by the word ‘convent’ the whole congregation should be understood, the brothers as well as the sisters.

And then the meaning will be this: The abbess is to be elected by the convent, that is, the convents, the brothers as well as the sisters, hereby naming a word and formally choosing the singular sense for the plural, as is frequently the case in the Rule, as mentioned above. Otherwise the brothers would not be obliged to observe the duties of the Rule, where only the names of the sisters are

³In this practice, Syon differed from the rest of the order, as the English Birgitines had the abbess elected by the sisters only. See the Introduction, ch. 3.1.3.
vocaliter exprimuntur sororum nomina, cum tamen implicite et virtualiter
nomine sororum intelliguntur et comprehenduntur eciam et personae fratrum. Et
ad onera utrumque sexum concernencia ipsa regula obligat, non obstante quod
solum sorores exprimit, ut frequenter, et de fratribus vocaliter et explicite taceat.
Idem sentire de abbatisse eleccione videtur magister Alphonsus cum alius tribus
sacre theologiae famosis doctoribus in declaracione regule in hac parte. Quorum
verborum forma / est ista: ‘Videtur omnino, quod eleccio pertinebit ad
utramque partem congregacionis, quia quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet
approbari.’ Item verba magistri Mathei de Cracovia super presenti materia:
‘Conventus capitur pro congregacione, sicut patet in principio capituli xvii’, etc.

Item in eodem articulo inmuitis, quod ex quo fratres non possunt sibi prelatum
eligere, ideo nec conventum vel collegium de per se constituunt nec sigillum
commune habere possunt, et quod confessor in sua eleccione auctoritatem non
recipit, quousque ab episco sibi conferatur, et caput principale in monasterio
non existit. Eadem racione et per omnia consimiliter potest probari, quod nec
abbatissa principale caput in monasterio [non] existit. Et sic monasterium
omnino et absque capite relinquitur mutilatum, racio, quia abbattissa a conventu
eligitur, ut in regula habetur. Electa vero ab episco confirmatur et sic caput
monasterii efficitur.

A simili potest argui de confessore, quia confessor a conventibus eligitur, et ab
episco ordinario auctoritas ligandi atque solvendi, corrigendi et reformandii
sibi plenarie conceditur, et sic caput principale monasterii constituitur. Patet,
quia de similibus simile est judicium, per locum a simili. Racioni enim et iuri
consonum videtur, quod ex illa eleccione confessior non consequitur aliquod ius
seu potestatem spiritualia exercendi sicut nec ceteri regulariter electi, ut patet

7 Videtur ... approbari] cfr Decl., A II 60 v. 10 Conventus ... xvii] Decl., Cln 27117 131 v.
Cfr etiam RS§ 167. 20 confessor ... 22 constituitur] cfr RS§ 169. 23 de ... simil] cfr Boeth.
diff. Iap. 3, PL 64, col. 1197 D: ‘Quaestio de accidente, locus a simili. Maxima propositio:
De similibus idem est judicium.’

4 exprimit] exprimet cod. Cfr infra Resp. II, 146. 14 in ... 15 existit] non existit in
monasterio ante corr. cod. 16 in ... existit] verbum non delendum.
mentioned explicitly, although by the name of the sisters we should implicitly and virtually understand and imply the brothers as well. And the Rule itself binds both sexes to these duties, regardless of the fact that it only mentions the sisters, which frequently happens, and vocally and explicitly remains silent about the brothers. When it comes to the election of the abbess, Master Alfonso seems to be of the same opinion, together with three famous doctors in their explanation of the Rule in this part. This it what they say: ‘On the whole, it seems as though the election will concern both parts of the congregation, since that which concerns all, should be approved by all’. Furthermore, we have the words of Master Matthew of Cracow about this matter: ‘With “the convent”, the whole congregation should be understood, as is apparent at the beginning of chapter 17’, etc.

Furthermore, in the same article you hint that since the brothers cannot elect a prelate for themselves, they do not constitute a convent or collegium by themselves, nor can they own a common seal and, since the confessor does not receive any authority by his election until it is confirmed to him by the bishop, he is not the head of the monastery. In the same way and for the same reason it can be proved that the abbess is not the head of the monastery either. And so, the monastery becomes mutilated and without a leader, since the abbess is elected by the convent, as is said in the Rule. Indeed, when she has been elected, she is confirmed by the bishop and thus becomes the head of the monastery.

We can discuss in the same way about the confessor, since the confessor is elected by the convents. Full authority to bind and solve, correct and reform is given to him by the bishop, and thus he becomes the leader of the monastery. This is evident, since we judge in the same way in the same matters, according to the topic ‘from a similar’. For it seems reasonable and lawful that by this election, the confessor does not obtain any right or authority to administer spiritual matters. Nor do the others who are elected according to the Rule, as is shown in ‘De eleccione’, the chapter ‘Qualiter’, and the same chapter with the title ‘Avaricie’ in book six, namely that the election does not give the right in

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4 The Declaraciones Dominorum referred to here was composed by Alfonso of Jaén and a committee of four other persons; see the Introduction, ch. 3.1.2. The reason why only ‘three famous doctors’ are mentioned here (as in the Liber usuum) may be that one of the authors, Prior Sancho of San Girolamo di Quarto, was not counted among the doctores; Risberg (2003), p. 10, n. 10.

5 Translation of the phrase per locum a simili based on Stump (1978), p. 66.

73
'De eleccione', capitulo 'Qualiter' et eodem titulo capitulo 'Avaricie' libro vi, quia eleccion non dat ius in re sed ad rem. Confirmacio autem dat ius in re.

Et sic confessor per episcopum confirmatus efficitur caput monasterii et optinet potestatem corrigendi, reformandi etc., prout regula clare cavet, nec notus minister, ut dictur, perseverat. Et licet fratres de per se soli nequeant confessorem eligere, tamen per hoc ius collegii non amittunt. Nam adesse substantificum collegii non requiritur, quod soli collegiati sibi prelatum eligant.

Possunt enim extranei in eleccione prelati alicuius ius eleccionis aliquo modo sibi vendicare iure collegii in suo robore persistente, ut patet 'De causa possessionis et proprietatis', capitulo 'Cum ecclesia Sutrina' de consueto capitulo 'Cum dilectus' et aliis similibus multis. Item Hostiensis in Summa, 'De excessibus prelaturum et subditorum', versu 'Item offendunt', dicit: 'Quomodo sciam, utrum aliqui sint in ecclesia tamquam singulares vel tamquam collegium? Responsio: Per personale privilegium eis concessum, si appareat. Si non appareat, considerandus est usus ecclesie. Si enim numerum habuerunt communes tractatus, nec elegerunt nec per sindicum respondeunt, nec archam communem vel sigillum commune hactenus habuerunt, singulares iudicatur, ut in eodem capitulo 'Dilecta'. Alias, si que proxime consueverunt habere, collegium iudicatur, "De eleccione", capitulo i; "De sindico", capitulo unico.'

Predictis autem ab initio institutionis ordinis sine contradicione alicuali usi.
itself but the right to obtain something. The confirmation, however, gives the right in itself.

And so the confessor, confirmed by the bishop, becomes the leader of the monastery and obtains the authority to correct, reform etc., as is clearly stated in the Rule, in order to avoid that he remains merely a servant.⁶ And even though the brothers cannot elect a confessor by themselves, they do not by this let go of the right of the collegium. For it is not required that a large part of the collegium is there, since it is the members of the collegium themselves who elect a prelate.

In fact, people from the outside can in one way or another claim the right to take part in the election of a prelate, without restricting the right of the collegium, as is seen in ‘De causa possessionis et proprietatis’, the chapter ‘Cum ecclesia Sutrina’, in the customary chapter ‘Cum dilectus’ and other similar passages. Furthermore, Hostiensis says in Summa, ‘De excessibus prelatorum et subditorum’, the verse ‘Idem offendunt’: ‘How should I know, if certain persons exist in the monastery as individuals or as a community? Answer: By the personal privilege given to them, if such a privilege exists. If it does not, the custom of the Church should be considered. For if they have never had a common treaty, nor have had elections or have answered through a representative, nor have had a common chest or a common seal, they should be considered as individuals, as in the same chapter “Dilecta”. Otherwise, if they are used to having the above-mentioned things, they should be considered as a collegium, “De eleccione” chapter one, “De sindico”, the only chapter. We, however, are without any contradiction used to the above-mentioned rules since the very first establishment of our order, and to abandon them now, would not

⁶ On the expression natus minister, signifying that the confessor general lacked authority, see further Gejrot (1990), p. 205; Højér (1905), p. 135; Cnattingius (1903), p. 64.
sumus, et modo ea abicerem, ut videtur, non esset statum nostrum salvare sed
turpiter decalvare et sibi ipsi manus incere et subvertere.

3. Item, in 3 articulo *Mare Magnum* regule contrarium asseritis, quia duo esse
monasteria, fratrum scilicet et sororum, et duos conventus et duo capita in eis
esse exprimit et sanctionibus canonum contrarium.

<Responsio>: Ad ista sileat paulisper lingua nostre carnis, et loquatur pro se et
pro nobis, quia vim patimur, quid contineat super hoc Regula Salvatoris.
Explicit enim capitulo xi ita habetur: ‘et est scienдум, quod isti fratres
numquam debent esse in monasterio plures quam xxv’. Ergo, si tantum est
unum monasterium, sequitur, quod fratres debeat cohabitare mixtum
sororibus, quod est absurdim et ridiculum etpiarum aurium pariter et mencium
offensivum. Et sic recte posset nobis obici et vere verificari illud improperii
digitorum indici num irissorit et minus iuste nobis factum: ‘Ecce fratres, qui cum
sororibus connubia satagunt celebrare’, etc. Patet liquido, quod regula ibi non
loquittur de monasterio sororum sed virorum. Sequitur ergo ex hoc regule
explicito dicto, quod fratres monachi sunt, quia in suo monasterio stant et
regulares existunt. Item hoc idem ex ipsa regula elicitur implicite xvii capitulo,
ubi dicitur: ‘Deinde, cum aliquis offert filium suum vel filiam monasterio’. Ibi
itidem habetur singularis pro plurali scilicet monasterio pro monasteriis, quia
alia sequeretur idem inconveniens immediate improbatum, quod filius
indifferenter cum filia simul copularentur in cohabitacione unius monasterii
mutua, si tantum unicem esset monasterium, quod non est rationabiliter
dicendum.

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5 sanctionibus … contrarium] cf CIC I col. 834–835. 6 sileat … carnis] cf Aug. vrm. 208,
PL 39 col. 273: ‘Has interim laudes sileat lingua carnis, quas semper ardenter intus profert
animus.’ 8 et … 9 xiv] RS § 161. 9 si … 10 offensive] cf ‘Mare Magnum’, SDHK 17999;
SD 1714 (t. 5 1415), pat. 26: ‘...duo sint et esse intelliguntur monasteria et ita vocentur non
vnum vt plerique ferunt, quod absurdum est...’ 11 Ecce … 14 celebrare] Locum non inveni.
18 Deinde … monasterio] RS § 213.

2 post decalvare litt. s, ut vid., sc. sed postea exp. et del. cod. | sibi ipsi sibiipsi cod.
6 Responsio supplievi 10 mixtum] scil. monasterium, fort. mixti scribebamus. 18 post filiam
verbam suam scir, sed postea exp. et del. cod. 19 ante monasteriis litt. l, ut vid., scir. sed postea del.
cod. 21 unius iter. cod.
be, it seems, to preserve our status but rather to shamefully shave off our hair, strike and overthrow ourselves.

3. In the third article you claim that the *Mare Magnum* is contrary to the Rule, since it (the *Mare Magnum*) expresses that there are two monasteries, two convents and two heads, contrary to canonic decrees.7

Answer: Regarding this matter, our carnal tongue must fall silent for a short while. Instead, the contents of the *Regula Salvatoris* should speak in this matter for itself and for us, since we can suffer its force. For in chapter 11 it is explicitly said: ‘Let it be known that there can never be more than 25 brothers in the monastery.’ Therefore, if there is only one monastery, it follows that the brothers have to live together with the sisters, which is absurd and ridiculous and equally offensive to pious ears and minds. And then that ridiculous and unjust accusation, which has been made against us, could be thrown at us rightly and truly: ‘Look at the brothers, who long to marry the sisters’, etc. It is obvious that the Rule in this part speaks not about the sisters’ monastery but the brothers’. It follows, then, from what is explicitly said in the Rule, that the brothers are monks, since they live in their own monastery and are part of an order. Furthermore, the same thing can be produced implicitly from chapter 17, where it is said: ‘Furthermore, when someone gives their son or their daughter to the monastery’. Here, too, the singular sense is used for the plural, that is, ‘the monastery’ instead of ‘the monasteries’, because otherwise it would imply the same inconvenient wickedness, namely that the son without distinction would be united with the daughter in the mutual cohabitation of one monastery, if there were indeed only one monastery, which one cannot reasonably say.

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7 For the differing views between the two monasteries, see the Introduction, ch. 3.1.3.

Ceterum, cum allegastis, quod canones duplicita monasteria ad invicem / construi non permittant, quid ibi respondendum est, nisi quod minus forte vincatur a magis fortii et quod humana legibus divinis sunt subjecta, quia adveniente luce cedit umbra, Augustino testante in secundo libro Confessionum? Quod et transsumptive ponitur in canone, distinctione viii, capitolo ‘Que contra mores’, ibi: ‘Cum autem Deus alicui contra morem vel contra pactum quorumlibet iubet fieri, et si ibi numquam factum est, tamen faciendum est, et si omissum, restaurandum est, et si statutum non erat, instituendum est. Si enim regi licet in civitate cui regnat iubere alicui, quod neque ante ipsum quisquam neque ipse unquam iusserat, ei obtemperatur’ etc. Et infra: ‘Generale quippe pactum est societatis humane obtemperare regibus suis, quanto magis Deo creatori universi creature sue ad ea, que iusserit, sine dubitacione serviendum est. Sicut enim potestatibus societatis humane maior potestas minori ad obediendum preponitur, ita Deus omnibus.’

Qui quidem Deus gloriosus matri nostre dignissime beate Birgitte – ad decorum militantis ecclesie et homen excellentissime matris sue Marie ac pro multarum animarum salute, necon et aliarum religionum reformacione quasi novam

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1 Tonsuram ... monasteriis] RS § 164. 8 canones ... 9 permittant] cfr CIC I col. 835: ‘In nullo loco monachos et monachas permittimus in unum monasterium habiicare, sed nec ea, que duplicia uocantur. Et si quod tale est, religiosus episcopus mulieres quidem in suo loco manere studeat, monachos autem alid monasterium edificare cogat.’


5 nota in marg. add. cod.
Furthermore, in chapter 11 it is said: ‘The brothers are to wear tonsures, as in other monasteries’, etc. By this comparison, it seems to be implied that they are monks and live in a monastery, because if they were merely clerics and chaplains and still went about in a monk’s habit, just like professed and tonsured monks, everyone could just as well call them ‘Africans’ or ‘students’.

When it comes to other similar parts of the Rule, with the help of which the above-mentioned things could be reasonably proved and demonstrated, we pass them by for the sake of brevity, for we must hasten on to discuss other matters.

Moreover, when you assert that canon law does not permit double monasteries to be constructed next to each other, what other answer can we give here than this: Weaker things must be conquered by stronger, and human things are subject to divine laws, because with the coming of the light the shadow vanishes, which is testified by Augustine in the second book of the Confessions. It is also stated in canon law, distinction eight, chapter ‘Que contra mores’, where it is said: ‘But if God commands something against the custom or agreement of whosoever it might be and if this has never been done, yet it must be done, and if it has been omitted, it must be restored, and if it has not been established, it must be established. Indeed, if a king has the right to command something in the state in which he reigns, which neither he nor anyone else before him has ever ordered, he must be obeyed’ etc. And below: ‘It is a common rule in the societies of man to obey your kings. All the more, then, should God, the creator of the universe, be obeyed in his commands without hesitation from his creation. For just as when it comes to authority in human societies, a greater authority must be obeyed by a lesser authority, so should God be obeyed before everyone.’

God in His glory revealed by divine inspiration to our most worthy mother Birgitta, as an ornament for the Church Militant and to the honour of her most excellent mother Mary, for the salvation of many souls and reformation of other orders that two monasteries were to be constructed and erected – like a new

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8 On the expression *aphri et beani*, see Cnattingius (1963), p. 161, n. 4.
vineam et veluti stellam matutinam in medio nebule in mundi vespere – duplicita
monasteria per murum medium fortem et spissum vicina ad invicem et contigua
construere et erigere divinitus revelavit, tam firmis et perpetuis sub clausuris,
quod suspicio commercii seu cohabitacionis illicite ex tali vicina cohabitacione
minime posset suboriri. Quod indubitanter verum credimus, nec ab illa
credulitate leviter possumus immutari, quamvis divinorum Revelacionum
increduli et emuli nobis obiciant canonum sanctiones.

Istud enim divinum consilium pro salute multorum divinitus ordinationem
tantorum benevoliorem ingratet et ignari cum omnibus suis machinationibus
peccatis cohendo infirmare non valebunt, quin ymno per eandem viam,
qua[m] impediri creditur, quo <a>d finem, quem Deus ordinaverat,
terminabitur teste scriptura que loquitur: A Domino egressus est sermo. Et quomodo
illud impedire License? Et iterum non sapiencia, non est sciencia, non consilium contra
Dominum. Nec propter hoc oportet nos, prekarissimi, deficere et virilem animum
abicere et a vera divina ordinacione subterfugere nec peregrina et aliena
interpretacione veram regule mentem offuscare, quia hoc esset laudi crinen
adicere et glorie nostre maculam irrogare.

Quid enim comodi ista simulata equitas et palliata / canonum conformitas nobis
poterit procreare, si ficto nomine tantum titulum capellanorum sororum
preferamus, cum tamen secundum regulam monachi et viri monastici (utinam
digni!), ut visum est, sumus vel saltem esse debemus et cum hoc vicinam et
contiguum cohabitacionem Domino iubente cum eisdem habeamus? Aut quid
prodest tantum nomen verum in alienum commutare et se a loci vicinitate
mulierum non elongare, quod canones videntur omnino prohibere? Procul igitur
abicitatur a nostris intencionibus predicta ficta equitas, quae verius censenda est
duplex iniquitas. Sed tales appareamus in nomine, quales sumus in re et

28z A: ‘...qui quasi stella matutina in medio nebule ... apparuit’ | mundi vespere] cf. Petr.
Dominum, carm. 37: ‘Sicbus, Maria, splendidum/ Te laudat omne saeculum/ Ex qua sub
mundi vespere/ Sol ortus est iustitiae.’ | duplicita ... revelavit] cf. Rs § 130 – 135. 12 A ... sermo] Gn. 24, 50. 13 non ... 14 Dominum] cf. Prv. 21, 30. 25 ficta ... iniquitas]
cf. Aug. in psalm. 63, 11: ‘...simulata aerqui non est aerqui, sed duplex iniquitas, quia et
iniquitas est, et simulatio.’

11 qua scripsi, quam cod., ut vid. | quo ad scripsi, quod cod. 12 terminabitur] sil. consilium
20 nota in many. add. cod.
vineyard and like the morning star amidst the clouds on the eve of the world – next to one another and linked together by a strong and thick wall in the middle, with such strong and perpetual enclosures that no suspicion of relations or unlawful life together would arise as a result of this close cohabitation. This we undoubtedly think is true and we cannot easily change that opinion, although those who doubt the holy Revelations jealously throw canonical sanctions against us.

For this divine counsel, ordained by divine power for the salvation of many, ungrateful persons and those ignorant of these great favours will not be able to hinder and weaken with all their wicked schemes. No indeed, it will be determined through the same way, by which it is thought to be hindered, and to the end that God has ordained, with the Scripture as witness, saying: The word has proceeded from the Lord. And how can we stop that? Furthermore, there is no wisdom, there is no prudence, there is no counsel against the Lord. We, dearest brothers, must not because of this grow weak, cast off our manly soul and avoid our true, divine ordinance, and we should not obscure the true Rule with a strange and alien interpretation, because this would be to add a crime to our merit and put a stain on our glory.

For what good would that simulated equality and disguised conformity of the canon law do us, if with a fictional name we prefer only to be called ‘the sisters’ chaplains’, when nevertheless we, according to the Rule, as it seems, are, or at least should be, monks and monastical men (would that we are worthy as such!) and also have a near and neighbouring cohabitation with the sisters at God’s command? Or what good would it do to change this one true name to something foreign and then not withdraw ourselves from the vicinity of the women, which canon law seems to prohibit altogether? We must cast away from our intentions the above-mentioned, made-up equality, which rather must be considered a twofold crime. Our name should indicate who we really are, in our

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9 Vadstena means to say that the English Birgittines have misinterpreted the role of the brothers in the monastery by reducing their status and withdrawing their right to participate in the election of the abbes. In Vadstena’s opinion, it is possible to treat the brothers as monks in their own monastery without necessarily considering the sisters as equals.
cohabitacione apostolice sedis gracia dispensante et omnium legum Conditore sic iubente.

4. Quartus articulus de superaddicione xl fratrum ab extra, quos ‟sompniatos fratres’ nuncupatis, etc.

5. <Resplosio>: Videtur nobis expediere, quod quodlibet monasterium quaternum numerum prefatorum fratrum habeat et istum multiplicando non adageat, et quod viros maturos vita et fama preclaros eligat, qui in monasteriorum negotiis utensilibus et familiis studiosius et fidelius ob votum factum et religionis habitum susceptum invigent procurandis, prout in Revelacione quadam pro abbatisse relevacione super hiis spiritualiter facta Christus ordinat seu permittit. In cuius revelacionis ultima clausula notanter continetur, quod prenominati fratres layci in signum familiaritatis et divine caritatis debent obedienciam in manu abbatisse promittere in temporalibus et confessori in spiritualibus.

Unde probabiliter potest inferri, quod de voluntate Christi sit, ut creditur, quod duo sint monasteria et duo eorum capita; unum, quod presit in temporalibus, ut abbatissa, et alius, quod presit in spiritualibus, scilicet confessor, quius auctoritas tanto est excellencior, quanto spiritualia temporalibus sunt prestanciora. Quod et regula videtur innuere, que refert abbatissam et caput et dominum in temporalibus scilicet esse monasterii, et post infert, quod confessor sine requisicione abbatisse debet et tenetur auctoritate officii ordinem in debito statu conservare.

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3 superaddicione … extra] cf. ‟Marc. Magnum”, SDHK 17999, SD 1714 (t. 5. 143), art. 33: ‟…declarinus, quod liceat … habere extra clausuram monasteriorum…;que ad numerum quadraginta personarum…, qui ministrabunt existentibus in clausura…’

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5 Responsio supplici. 7 post quod ltit. d scr. sed postea exp. cod. 14 inferri ex inferre corr. cod. 17 nota in marg. add. cod.
cohabitation by the dispensation of the Holy See and by the command of the Creator of all laws.

4. The fourth article, concerning the addition of forty *fratres ab extra*, whom you call ‘dreaded brothers’, etc.

Answer: It seems convenient to us that every monastery keeps the number of four of the above-mentioned brothers and does not augment this quantity, and that the monastery selects mature men, irreproachable when it comes to conduct and report, who, because of the vows they have made and the religious habit they have taken upon themselves to wear, zealously and faithfully may watch over the monastery’s necessary and domestic matters, just as Christ ordains or permits in a Revelation spiritually made about these things for the relief of the abbess. In the last clause of this Revelation it is explicitly said that the above-mentioned lay brothers as a sign of fellowship and divine love must promise to obey the abbess in worldly matters and the confessor in spiritual matters.

Therefore, it is reasonable to mention that it is, we believe, by the will of Christ that there should be two monasteries and two leaders thereof; one to preside over worldly matters – that is, the abbess – and one to preside over spiritual matters – that is, the confessor, whose authority is so much greater, as spiritual matters surpass worldly matters in importance. The Rule also seems to hint at this, when it speaks of the abbess as the head and leader of the monastery, that is, in worldly matters, and later adds that the confessor without asking the abbess is to preserve the order in its due state by the authority of his office.

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10 In the *Mun Magnum*, the number of *fratres ab extra* was extended from four to up to forty. On the office of the *fratres ab extra* (outside the clausura), see Höjer (1905), p. 330.
11 *Sunt piatos fratres*; probably a direct quote from one of the letters sent earlier on from Syon Abbey, mentioned at the beginning of Resp. I. The expression might signify the status of the *fratres ab extra*, not having been professed (but maybe aspiring to be professed) as Birgittine brothers inside the clausura.
Et licet Deus gloriösus matrem suam dignissimam excellenter pre ceteris díleærit, non tamen sibi ecclesie custodiam et claves commísit sed matrem Iohanni custodiëndam et Petro ecclesiam regendam commendavit. Ístam interpretationem pretendit, ordinat et statuit dominus papa Martinus, modernus Christi in terrâ vicarius, quod sunt duo monasteria et duo corum capita. Ac corum discrete dístiguít officia in héc verba: ‘Nos attendentes, quod huïsumodi generalis officium confessoris in spiritualibus nulli alii congruëncius competit, auctoritate presentis prefató premale confessores, qui sunt et erunt pro tempore in prefato ordine ac monasteriis et locis huïsumodi in spiritualibus caput existere et esse debere, abbatissam quoque in temporalibus esse caput / in ordine, monasteriis huïsumodi et locis, in spiritualibus vero non superesse sed pocius subesse ipsi generali confessori statuimus et ordinamus; et sic volumus et mandamus futuris successívis temporibus intelligi et eciam observàri’, etc.

Ex predictis equi videtur, quod bulla Maris Magni sepe nominata, que duas ponit conventus, dio monasteria distincta et duo corum capita etc., racionabiliter est toleranda nec in premisís articulis regule sanc intellecte contraria, honesta<te> vestra atque reverencia semper salva, sed pocius ipsius murus et antemurale tamen tempore belli hostibus obiciendum, etc. Et confirmatur ex hoc, quod Salvator nos dirigat in ipsa regula ad papam tripliciter: primo in monasterii fundacione pro ipsius voluntate et gratitudine habenda; secundo in ordinis et regule salvacione et conservacione pro hostilitate amovenda, quia debet esse ipsius monasterii tutor caritativus etc., et tercio in ipsius regule confirmacione pro ordinis duracione roboranda. Sequitur ergo, quod predicta bulla inviolabiliter, quo ad dicta est, diligenter et gratanter in ordine et pro ordine servanda et minime, ut videtur, refutanda.

6 Nos ... 13 observari] ‘Mare Magnum’, SDHK 17999; SD 1714 (t. 5-1413), art. 73. 18 marus ... antemurale] cfr Is. 26, 1. 20 primo ... habenda] cfr RS § 253, Eklund (1975) p. 131: ‘...papa [sit] ... tutor caritativus, sine cuius licencia nullum monasterium istius religionis fundetur.’ 21 secundo ... 22 caritativus] cfr RS § 258: ‘Papa vero super vtrumque, scilícet principem terre et episcopum, erit eorum tutor caritativus...’ 22 tercio ... 23 roboranda] cfr RS § 288-296; Eklund (1975), pp. 135-137.

3 nota in marg. add. cod. 17 honesta<te>] honesta cod. 21 ordinis ... salvacione] in ordinis salvacione et regule ante cor. cod. 23 nota in marg. add. cod.
And even though God in his glory loved his most worthy mother over all others, he did not entrust her with the custody and the keys of the Church. No, he committed his mother to the care of John, that he might watch over her, and the Church to Peter, that he might rule over it. This interpretation is emphasized, ordained and stated by Pope Martin, current substitute for Christ on earth, namely that there are two monasteries and two heads thereof. And in these words he makes a clear distinction between their respective offices: ‘We give heed to the fact that the office of these confessors general, regarding spiritual matters, is not more suitable for anyone else, and with the authority of the present letter we state that the above-mentioned confessors general now and in the future are to be the heads in spiritual matters in the above-mentioned order, in such monasteries and places. We also declare and command that the abbess is to be the head in worldly matters in the order, in such monasteries and places, but in spiritual matters she should indeed not be superior, but rather subordinate, to the same confessor general. And thus we want and order this to be understood and observed for times to come’, etc.

From what has been mentioned here it seems to follow that the bull – often called *Mare Magnum* – which states that there are to be two convents, two separate monasteries and two heads thereof etc., must be reasonably accepted. Nor is it contrary to the above-mentioned parts of the Rule, if these are reasonably understood – with your honesty and reverence always intact – but rather its wall and bulwark must be set up against the enemy in time of war, etc. And this is confirmed by the fact that the Saviour in this very rule directs us three times to the pope: first, concerning the foundation of the monastery in order to receive his approval and gratitude; second, concerning the salvation and conservation of the order and the Rule in order to cause enemies to vanish, since he is to be the loving protector of the same monastery; third, as regards the confirmation of the said Rule to fortify the order.19 Thus it follows, that the above-mentioned bull must be preserved without any violation, regarding what has been said here, in a careful and grateful manner, in the order and for the sake of the order and in no way, we believe, be refuted.

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19 As mentioned above (n. 2), the *Regula Salvatoris*, in the earliest versions, declared that the pope was to function as protector of the Birgittines, assist at the establishment of the Order and confirm the Rule.
Conseuerter, dilectissimi, petitis vobis mitti regulam, absque addicione et diminuione, in forma prout beate Birgitte fuit divinitus revelata, sigilla tam cum alis revelacionibus presertim religionem nostram concernentibus quoquomodo etc.

5 Responsio: Quamquam predicta omnia, que vobis denuo mittenda exigitis, diu ad vos per nos esse missa et habita precognoscimus, nichilominus vestro desiderio satisfacere et parere volumus et ea velut non habita seu missa inter alia exquisita destinamus. A questionibus autem immediate in serie litterarum vestrarum sequentibus nobis insolubilibus ob defectum nostre cognitionis et dificultatem solucionis carundem manum retrahere, pedem figere et surda aure dissimulare decrevimus et pocius omnino silere quam temerarie aliquid respondendo diffinire Sapientis consilium sequentes dicentis: Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo tuo. Sin autem, manus tua sit super os tuam, ne capiaris in verbo indisciplinato et confundaris.

15 Verum tam licet ad instanciam littere primo misse maluinus remuere quam annuere, tamen alia superveniente atque tercia succedente et similis prioribus importune et curiose petente, deliberavimus, quod tam pie aviditati vestre omnino deesse non dehbasus. Et sic victi litterarum vestrarum trium materia consimilium importunitatibus questiones assignatas crib<re>are et ventilare inter nos attemptavimus. Quod autem aut quantum in eis pro viribus / enucleare et elicere possimus, penitus ignoramus, nisi divina pietas, cuius res est que agitur, precibus vestris parvitatis nostris dignetur invocata misericorditer subvenire.

5. Utrum prima institucio ordinis facta per Urbanum quintum sit vera institucio.

Responsio: Hic animadvertat sincera dileccio, quod beata Birgitta, mater nostra sanctissima, Urbano quinto pro celebracione iubile de Avinione Romam revertenti regulam sibi revelatam inviolatam et inmutatam presentavit confirmandam, quam propria manu acceptavit. Et licet aliquia sententia per

12 Si ... 14 confundaris| Sir. 5. 14. 23 prima ... ordinis] 5.8.1370; Eklund (1975), pp. 219-228. 24 beata ... 27 acceptavit| cf Bönig Res. IV, cap. 137-138.

8 nota in marg. add. cod. 19 crib<re>are| cribare cod. 23 nota in marg. add. cod.
Furthermore, dearest brothers, you ask for a Rule to be sent to you, without any addition or abbreviation, in the same form as it was revealed by divine inspiration to the blessed Birgitta, sealed and containing the other revelations, especially those that concern our order in any way, etc.

Answer: Even though we already know that the above-mentioned things, which you once more demand be sent to you, have long since been sent from us to you, and been received, we nevertheless want to satisfy and obey your wish and send them together with other things that you have asked for, as if they had been neither sent nor received. But regarding the questions that immediately follow upon the series of letters from you, which cannot be solved by us because of our lack of knowledge and the difficulty to solve them, we decided to take our hands from them, make a halt and pretend that we are deaf. We decided to be silent altogether rather than to define something in a clumsy way by answering, thus following the counsel of the Wisdom, who says: If you have understanding, answer your neighbour; if not, lay your hand upon your mouth, lest you be surprised in an unskillful word, and be confounded.

But even though we preferred to ignore rather than acknowledge the insistence of the letter first sent to us, when another letter came, and thereafter a third, asking the same things as in the former letters and in an insolent and inquisitive manner, we decided that we should not wholly neglect your devout desire. And thus, defeated by the insolence of your three letters, very similar as regards the content, we have tried to examine and discuss the questions you have assigned to us amongst ourselves. But what and how much we, according to our ability, can examine and draw forth from them we really do not know, unless divine piety – which this whole matter is really about – implored by your prayers mercifully might come to aid our smallness.

5. Whether the first founding document of the order, issued by Urban V, is true.

Answer: Here you must note this, dear brothers: The blessed Birgitta, our most holy mother, gave the Rule, which had been revealed to her, undamaged and unaltered to Urban V when he returned from Avignon to celebrate Jubilee, so that he might confirm it, and he accepted it with his own hand. And even though he had and felt some sensations by the outpouring of the spirit of God,
infusionem spiritus Dei pro tunc habuit et sensit, non tamen perfectam fidem verbis eius adhibuit, quod patet ex hoc, quia opus inunctum a Deo sibi transmissum non elaboravit neque consummavit, quod utique indulanter fecisset, si perfecte verbis eius credidisset, sicut et aliī revelacioni sub vindictae comminacione sibi per eandem dominam nostram in Monte Flausonis oblata diffidit et discredidit. Et ideo animadversionem divinam in ea contentam in via redeundi in terram nativitatis sue sibi comminatum in corpore et anima expertus fuit, quia persecutionem sive alapam optimuit, quod dentes sui striderent etc., prout lacius revelacione continent super hoc facta: ‘Vigilante[r]’”. Eadem revelacio in fine habet: ‘quia omisset ex hiis, que potuisset in Dei honore fecisse in sua magna maiaestate’.

Ideo Dei iudicio anima eius post mortem scapulari vestita et in domo luto platearum respersa, cuius domus tectum fere iacebat super cerebrum etc., ostensa fuit beate Birgitte in purgatorii pena, ut patet eciam plenius in revelacione quodam, ubi tres cause purgacionis anime sue exprinduntur, quaram prima fuit, quia licet quandam inobedienciam contra Deum et conscienciam suam, etc. Quam inobedienciam credimus contemptumuisse regule sancte, quam potuit, decuit, debuit et noluit confirmare, et signanter exprimis revelacion: ‘contra conscienciam suam.’ Quia licet sentimeta in anima, ut tactum est, in presentacione regule sensit et habuit, tamen tepuit et perfecte non credidit et opus sibi inunctum inexpeditum dimisit, sicut expresse in ultima revelacione beate Birgitte, facta quinta die ante obitum suam, in hec verba conticetur: ‘O Roma mea, o Roma mea! Papa contemnuit me et non attendit ad verba mea, sed recipit dubia pro certis’ etc., non obstante quod misericordia Dei interveniente postea ab ecclesia idem papa canonizatus et sanctorum cathalogo sit adserscriptus. Qui non in perpetuum transscet, neque in eternum comminabitur sed vinum cum oleo in vulnera infundit semivivi. Et quia penitencias propter factam negligeniacione ante mortem eget, ideo graciam et veniam promeruit sicut

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4 sicut ... 6 discrediet| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, cap. 138. | aliī ... 8 striderent| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, 138, 16. 9 Vigilante| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, 138, 1. 10 quia ... 11 maiesta| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, 138, 16. 12 scapulari ... 13 cerebrum| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, 144, 1. 15 revelacione ... 17 suam| cfr Bìg. Rev. IV, 144, 7–9. 22 O ... 24 certis| cfr Bìg. Rev. VII, 31, 5. 26 non ... comminabitur| Ps. 102, 9. | vinum ... 27 semivivi| cfr Lc. 10, 34. 27 penitenciam ... 90, 2 habuit| cfr Rev. IV, 144, 7.

still he did not completely trust its words, which is apparent from the fact that he did not elaborate or complete the task laid upon him by God. This he undoubtedly would have done, had he truly believed its words. In the same way he doubted and mistrusted another revelation that was offered to him with threats of punishment by the same our lady in Montefiascone. And thus, he experienced in body and spirit the menacing divine chastisement that the revelation contained, when he was on his way back to his native country, because he received a blow or a slap, that almost made his teeth grind etc., as is more explicitly described in the revelation that was made regarding this matter, (starting with the word) ‘Vigilante’. The same revelation ends like this: ‘because he neglected to do that of all things which he could have done to the honour of God in His great majesty.’

Thus, by the judgement of God, his soul was shown to the blessed Birgitta after his death, in the torments of purgatory, clad in a scapular and standing in a house stained with dirt from the streets. The roof of this house was almost weighing on the head of this person, etc. This is even more evident in a certain Revelation, where three reasons for the purgation of his soul are given, of which the first was that he showed disobedience towards God and his conscience, etc. We believe that this disobedience was his contempt for the holy Rule, which he could, should, ought to but refused to confirm. This is clearly expressed in the revelation by the phrase ‘against his conscience’. For even though he felt and had some sensations in his soul, as has been discussed above, when the Rule was presented to him, still he remained indifferent, did not completely believe in it and dismissed the task that had been laid upon him unfinished. This is clearly expressed in the blessed Birgitta’s last revelation, made five days before her death, in these words: ‘O my Rome, o my Rome! The pope despises me and does not give heed to my words, but he takes the doubtful for the certain’, etc. All the same, by God’s mercy this pope was later on canonized by the church and enrolled in the catalogue of the saints. *He will not always be angry: nor will he threaten for ever*, no, he poured wine with oil into the wounds of the half-dead man. And since he made penitence for his negligence before his death, he merited
revelacio continet, quia fecit quandam inobedienciam contra Deum et conscientiam suam, de quo / contricionem habuit.
grace and forgiveness, as is said in the Revelation, for he showed disobedience
towards God and his conscience and for this he felt remorse.
II

Hic continentur responsiones ad questiones per dilectos fratres Robertum et Thomam propositas nostre parvitati. Quantum ergo ad primam in serie questionum positam Deo primitus invocato respondemus, que est ista:

1. ‘Omnis, qui sedet in superiori sede, videt lumen in meridie’, etc. Qualiter habeant ista verba exponi?

Responsio: Christus libro v capitulo ultimo in fine dicit: ‘Multa corporaliter dicta sunt, que spiritualiter pericientur’, etc. Sic in proposito, ut videtur, in nostra simplici consideracione perpendicularis tripliciter esse dispositos religionem sancti Salvatoris ingressuros, scilicet ferventes, penitentes et torpentes.

10 Primi sunt, qui ferventi amore Christi et estuanti desiderio ordinem ingrediantur. Hii propter fervoris eminenciam et vite innocenciam videntur sedere in superiori sede eminentis vite, qui instinctu spiritus sancti, regularis observacionis et racionabilis gubernacionis reguntur regimen. De quibus Ad Romanos viii: Quicumque spiritu Dei agantur, hi fili Dei sunt. Unde sequitur in dicta revelacione: ‘Ideo habeant ductorem, racionem et directorem Deum.’ Tales in interiori lumine videbunt lucem, id est habeant gracie illuminacionem in meridie in ferverentissimo ardore solis iusticie, qui habet calificare per caritatem, illuminare per doctrine veritatem et facere pullulare per exemplorum veritatem et honestatem.

20 Secundi sunt penitentes et quodammodo in penitencia torpentes et negligentes. Tales signatur sedere ad dexteram, quia desiderant vite coronam et gloriam,

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4 Omnis ... meridie\[ cf. Studi Rev. Extrav. 39, 1. \]
6 Multa ... 7 pericientur\[ cf. Studi Rev. V, nec. \]
8 tripliciter ... 9 torpentes\[ cf. Studi Rev. Extrav. 39. \]
14 Quicumque ... sunt\[ Rom. 8, 14. \]
15 Ideo ... Deum\[ Studi Rev. Extrav. 39, 2. \]

1 fratres\[ confirrat C. 363. \]
2 nostre C. 363, nostri C. 74. \| primam\[ primam responsionem C. 363. \]
7 spiritualiter\[ corporaliter sec. sed postea del. C. 363; verbam spiritualiter in marg. scil. et hic inser. \]
10 Primi sunt\[ v in marg. add. C. 74. \]
11 estuanti\[ estuante C. 363. \]
13 Ad Romanos\[ apostolo Ad Romanos C. 363. \]
20 Secundi\[ v in marg. add. C. 74. \]
II

Here are the answers to the questions that we, humble persons as we are, have been asked by our dear brothers Robert and Thomas. Regarding the first in this series of questions we answer, having first prayed to God, in this way:

1. ‘Every one who sits in an elevated seat will see the light at noon.’ How should these words be interpreted?

Answer: Christ says at the end of the last chapter in book five: ‘Many things have been expressed corporally but will be effected spiritually’, etc. In this matter, as it appears to us in our simple way, we consider those who are to enter the order of the Holy Saviour to be disposed in a threefold manner, namely the fervent, the penitent and the torpid.

The first kind are those who, driven by a fervent love for Christ and burning desire, enter the order. Because of the eminence of their passion and the innocence of their life, they seem to sit in the elevated seat of the eminent life, and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit these persons are ruled by the regimen of the observation of the Rule and reasonable government. Of these Romans chapter eight: Whosoever are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God. Hence it follows in the above-mentioned Revelation: ‘Therefore they are to have God as their leader, reason and director.’ People like them will see the light in the internal splendour, that is, they will receive the illumination of grace at noon, in the burning heat of the sun of justice, which will heaten with love, illuminate by the truth of doctrine and make it grow by the truth and honesty of examples.

The second kind are those who are penitent and who are, as it were, torpid and negligent in their penitence. People like them are designated to sit on the right side, because they desire the crown and glory of life, but in regular observance
sed in regularibus observanciis et disciplinis deficiunt per tepiditatem et ignaviam. Tales mane, id est oriente sole iusticie et divine gracie die in eis illucescente, evigilabant de somnpo torporis et ignavie. De quibus Io. xv dicitur: 
*Sine me nichil potestis facere.*

5 Tertii vero, qui ad sinistram sunt, omnino tepidi et remissi, propriam voluntatem pro lege habentes. Hi frigescunt et tepidi fiunt ex reore noctis, id est frigore culpe et ignorancie. In quibus frigidus planeta Dyabolus regnatur, dominium et influenciam habet. Isti merito figurantur per lupum, de quo infra agitur: Si lupus in vellere ovis ingressus fuerit, proficiat ovibus ad mayus meritum et ipse descendat ad sparium sibi paratum, quia vita malorum in exercicium est honorum. De his Augustinus loquitur in hec verba: ‘Sicut non invenit meliores hiis, qui in monasteriis profecerunt, ita non inveni peyores hiis, qui in monasteriis defecerunt.’

Et sic patet, quod primi, id est calidi, inchoant et inchoata perfecte consummam. Secundii, id est tepidi, segnius inchoant sed tandem consummam. Et tertii, id est frigidi, inchoant sed non consummam. De quibus in revelacione subsequitur: ‘Ideo omnis, qui ingreditur domum istam, attendat, ne diligit pro vita mortem, frigus pro calore. Caveat eciam ingrediens domum meam hostem, qui est pro foribus’, id est ambiciones honorum, favores hominum et implicaciones rerum mundialis. Ad istum sensum verba revelacionum quae sequuntur videntur correspondere.

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and discipline they fail because of their sloth and laziness. Such people will wake up early, that is, when the sun of justice rises and the daylight of divine grace shines upon them, from the sleep of sloth and laziness. Of these it is said in John, chapter 15: *Without me you can do nothing.*

The third kind, who are on the left side, are completely tepid and negligent and consider their own will as law. These persons grow cold and tepid by the dew of night, that is, by the coldness of sin and ignorance. In these persons that cold planet, the devil, reigns and has his dominion and influence. These persons are compared with the wolf, and rightly so. About the wolf the following is said: If a wolf entered, disguised in the fleece of a sheep, it would help the sheep to a greater merit and he himself would descend to the space prepared for him, since the life of the bad is an exercise for the good. Augustine speaks of this matter in these words: ‘As much as I did not find any people better than those, who have been successful in monasteries, I did not find any people worse than those, who have failed in monasteries.’

And so it becomes clear that the first kind, that is, the warm, begin and then finish what they have started in a perfect way. The second kind, that is, the tepid, begin slower but at length finish. And the third kind, that is, the cold, will begin but not finish. Of these the following is said in a revelation: ‘Therefore, every one who enters this house must give heed so that he does not love death instead of life, coldness instead of warmth. When he enters my house, he must look out for the enemy, who stands before the gates’, that is, the ambitions of honours, the favours of man and the implications of worldly things. The words of the revelations that follow seem to relate to this sense.
Secundo queritur, si potest haberi aliqua probacio, quod regula sit ex revelacione divina.

Responsio: Respondetur, quod sic, scilicet ex testimonio divino et humano.

Primo testimonio divino, quod mayus est, et scimus, quia verum est testimonium eius. Qui enim auctor est operis, ipse est et testis veritatis. In capitulo enim lv libri viii inter alia ista expresse continentur: ‘Suscie illa verba librorum, que ista mulier scripsit de ore meo, et perscrutare ea et labora, ut iusticia mea timeatur et misericordia mea discrete desideretur. Scies eciam tu, qui imperium tenes, quod ego omnium conditor dictavi unam regulam monialium ad honorem amantissime virginis matris mee et dedi eam isti mulieri, que scribit tibi. Perlege igitur illam et conare cum summno pontificc, ut dicta regula ore meo dictata per eum, qui in mundo vicarius meus est, eciam apud homines approbetur, quam ego Deus coram exercitu meo celesti approbavi.’ Hec ibi.

Secundo testimonio humano, videlicet summorum pontificum, videlicet Urbani vi et Martini moderni, qui expresse in litteris suis bullatis probant et approbant regulam sancti Salvatoris dictam celitum beate Birgitte infusam et non humano ingenio traditam. Item Bonifacii ix, qui ipsam gloriosam dominam sanctorum cathalogro ascriptsit et canonizavit et revelaciones sibi factas divinitus asserit inspiratas, inter quas precipua revelaciion sancta regula computatur.

Item, consequenter in proposcitionibus seu collacionibus in consistorio generali in presencia domini pape et audencia cardinalium factis pro canonizazione dictae domine Birgitte, prefata regula per solennes magistros et doctores eleganter et multipliciter commendatur. E quibus duorum, videlicet magistri Mathei et doctoris egregii et magistri Iohannis de Basilia, fratris Augustinensis, doctoris famosissimi, probationum et approbacionum regule testimonii in medium proferamus.

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5 Qui ... veritatis] *Cf* *CIC* I, col. 1325. *Cf* *etiam Euseb. Gall., Hom. 17, 2. 6 Suscipe ... 13 approbav[i] *Cf* *Bug. Rev. VIII*, 51, 4–6. 14 Urbani vi] *Cf* *SDHK* 11355; *ST* II.2, 406 (5.12.1358). 15 Martini moderni] *Cf* *SDHK* 19261, *SD* 2616 (7.4.1419). 17 Bonefacii ix] *Cf* *SDHK* 13955; *von Celse* 149: 9 (7.10.1391).
2. Secondly, it is asked whether any proof could be obtained that our Rule is of a divine revelation.

Answer: We answer yes, that is to say, according to divine and human evidence.

Firstly, the divine evidence, which is the greater one, and this we know, because His evidence is true. For he who is the creator of the work, he is the witness of truth. In chapter 55 of book eight, these words are found among others: ‘Take the words from the books that this woman has written from my mouth, and study them carefully and strive to make my justice feared and my mercy wisely desired. You, who hold the power, should know that I, the creator of all things, dictated a Rule for nuns in the honour of my most beloved virgin mother and I gave it to this woman, who writes to you. Read it through and make an effort with the pope, so that the said Rule, dictated through my mouth and which I, God, have approved before my heavenly army, will be approved by the people through the efforts of him, who is my substitute on earth.’ So far this book.

Secondly, the human evidence, that is to say, the evidence of Pope Urban VI and of the current Pope Martin, who in their bulls clearly approve of and confirm this Rule of the holy Saviour that was poured out to Saint Birgitta, by heavenly inspiration and not delivered by a human mind. Furthermore, there is the evidence of Boniface IX, who added this glorious lady to the catalogue of saints, canonized her and asserted that her revelations, among which that special revelation, the holy Rule, is counted, had been inspired in her by divine intervention.

Consequently, this Rule is elegantly and frequently commended by illustrious masters and doctors in statements and speeches made for the sake of the canonization of the said lady Birgitta in the general consistory in the presence of the pope and with the cardinals attending. We want to mention here the testimonies regarding the approval and confirmation of the Rule that were laid forth by two of these learned men, namely master Matthew and the distinguished doctor and master John of Basle, a brother of the Augustinian order and a very famous doctor.\(^7\)

\(^7\) Both John of Basle (Johannes Hiltalingen), c. 1330–1392, and Matthew of Cracow, c. 1335–1410, were members of the late 1370s committee to examine the Rule and the Revelations as well as the possibilities to have Birgitta canonized. Höjer (1905), p. 66; 108; Sahlin (2004); Fredriksson Adman (2006), pp. 69–70.
Magister enim Matheus de Cracovia in proposicione sua ita loquitur de regula: ‘Sed ducamus in altum reth. Nonne regulam, quam sibi revelatem dixit a Christo supermirabili et inaudito temporibus nostris modo, dominus Gregorius felices recordacionis predecessor vester et demum sanctitas vestra exactissimo commisit examini et demum eam utpote rationabilem, salubre et bonam / in modum constitutionum approbat et novam religionem instituens monasterium per ipsam beatam Birgittam fundatum et dotatum, in quo secundum eam vivendum est, confirmavit? Nonne revelaciones habuerunt felicis recordacionis proximi predecessores sanctitatis vestre, domini Clemens, Urbanus et Gregorius et ipsius ymo Dei consilium per eam requisierunt in multis et arduis secretis, sicut creditur sanctitati vestre non omnino latere, nec unquam reprehenderunt eam vel reprehensibilem invenerunt? In minimo, sed tamquam devotam famulam et amicam Dei in ea que decuit reputacione et veneracione habuerunt.’

Item magister Iohannes de Basilea ita loquitur de ea in proposicione sua: ‘Probati potest per instrumentum, quod licet veriori modo posset deduci, tamen ad presens recipio per instrumentum regulam sibi traditam a salvatore Christo summo et prothonotario signo crucis signatam. Hoc enim instrumentum efficax est. Instrumenta enim vi extorta vigorem non habent, sicut habetur xv; questione vi, primo et secundo capitulis. Servus eciam non potest conficere instrumentum testamenti sui, <xiii>, questione ii, “Illud”. Habemus eciam: “Si tabellio vel manus publica deficit, subscriptio trium testium ad instrumentum sufficere debet”, xvi, questione iii, “Placuit ut quicumque”, paragraphus “Quod si presen[s]”. Sed nunc videat sanctitas vestra quam libere hoc instrumentum sit confectum, quia non vi nec metu sed sola libera caritate traditum revelacione divina ex grace superna.’ Et infra: ‘Et quamvis habuit notarium sui instrumenti summum, tamen testimonium habet trium quo dant testimonium in terra, qui sunt spiritus, aqua et sanguis, id est Ioh. v. Habuit namque spiritum devicionis, aquam lacrimarum et conpunctionis, sanguinem compassionis, que tria singularissime

\[\text{Sed ... retre} \text{ cfr Ic. 5, 4. } | \text{ Sed ... 13 habuerunt} \text{ cfr Math. Or. Prop., C 15, 100.}\]
\[\text{15 Probari ... 109, 2 etc} \text{ cfr Ioh. Bas. Prop., C 15, 120; 145.} \text{18 Instrumenta ... habent} \text{ cfr CIC I, col. 754-755.} \text{19 Servus ... 20 sui} \text{ cfr CIC I, col. 722; Servus testamentum facere non potest.} \text{22 Placuit ... quicumque} \text{ cfr CIC I, col. 794.} \text{25 Quod ... presen[n]s} \text{cfr CIC I, col. 795.} \text{26 testimonium' ... 27 sanguis} \text{cfr I Io. 5, 6–8.}\]

\[\text{20 xiii (scil. causa) secundum C 15 et CIC suppl.} \text{22 paragraphus} \text{ signum paragraphi cod.}\]
\[\text{23 preses ex presens corexi secundum CIC}\]
For master Matthew of Cracow in his statement speaks about the Rule in this way: 'But let us launch our nets to the deep. Is it not so that Pope Gregory, your predecessor of blessed memory, and then you, your Holiness, committed the Rule – which she said had been revealed to her by Christ in a wonderful way, unheard of in our time – to a most accurate scrutiny and then confirmed it as constitutions, since it was reasonable, beneficial and good, established the new order and confirmed the monastery that had been founded and endowed by the same blessed Birgitta, and in which monastery people were to live, according to this Rule? Is it not so that the closest predecessors of blessed memory of your Holiness, Popes Clement, Urban and Gregory, received the Revelations and through her indeed sought the advice of God himself in many difficult secret matters, which we think you, your Holiness, cannot be wholly unaware of? Did they once reproach her or consider her blamable? Not at all, but they considered her to be a devout servant and a friend of God with proper reputation and reverence.'

Furthermore, master John of Basle speaks about the Rule in his statement in this way: 'It can be proved by a document, which, even though it may be proved in a more probable manner, I, however, at present accept by this document the Rule that was delivered to her by Christ the Saviour and sealed with the prothonotary’s seal of the cross. For this document is effective. A document obtained by force is not valid, as it is put in causa 15, question six, the first and second chapter. Also, a servant cannot construct a document of his own testament, causa 13, question two, “Illud”. Furthermore, we have this: “If a notary or public authority is lacking, the assent of three witnesses makes a sufficient document”, causa 16, question three, “Placuit ut quicumque”, paragraph “Quod si preses”. But now your Holiness should see how freely this document is made up, since it is delivered, not by force nor by fear but only with love, through a divine revelation by supreme grace.’ And further down: ‘And even though she had the highest notary for her document, she still had the testimony of three witnesses, who give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water and the blood, that is John chapter five. For she had the spirit of devotion, the water of

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44 Pope Gregory XI initiated the examination of the Rule and the Revelations mentioned above, but died before the work was finished. His successor Urban VI continued the supervision. Höjer (1905), p. 66; 108.
docentur in regula sibi a Salvatore tradita. Igitur per ipsum tamquam per
instrumentum publicum sufficienter probatur, etc. Hec ille. Sed quid adhuc
egens testibus, cum preallegata sufficienter probant et approbant sanctam
regulam cum revelacionibus ipsam concernentibus divinitus fore sibi inspiratam
et non humano spiritu editam vel inventam?

3. Tercio petitur, si beata Birgitta dixerat vel scripserat illam sibi esse divinitus
revelatam, si sic videatuar scriptura aut sufficientis testimonium.

Responsio: Respondetur, quod scriptura regule sue manus non habetur, nec, ut
creditur, umquam habebatur, racio, quia regula in monasterio Alwasto fuit sibi
revelata et pro tempore illo artem seu pericium scribendi non habuit, sed illam
in Roma acquisivit et ibi grammaticam ex precepto Dei didicit, cui eciam sanctam
Agnetem Christus sibi magistrum prefecit. Sed ille devoteissimus et egregius
heremita, magister Alphonsus, remisit nobis regulam veram in prima persona
scriptam iuxta formam sibi divinitus inspiratam, / litteris aureis et picturis variis
decenter ornatam ad ipsius regulae reverenciain, veritatis credendiam et ordinis
complacenciam cum volume revelacionum pari modo intus et foris decorato,
sicut experciacia docet intueri volenti. Et hoc pro testimonio fideleigno
observamus cum aliis veritatei testimoniiis supra motis.

Unde in quadam revelacione de regula scribenda Christus inter alia ita loquitur:
‘Quicumque audieris in spiritu meo, defer ad scribentem, et cave omnino modo, ut
ne unicum verbum de spiritu tuo addas ad verba mea.’ Item, in alia de eadem
materia: ‘Dic illi, ut scribat regulam a spiritu meo dictatam, sed cave diligentem,
ne de spiritu tuo aut minus aut addas nisi ea, que tibi a me dicuntur.’ Et cetera

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9 regula ... 10 revelata] cf RS § 1, Ekhart (1975), p. 99. ‘Hic incipit regula ... data ... ab ore
Christi ... in castro Watzsteni’ 11 cui ... 12 prefecit] cf Brev. Rev. III, 30.
Extrav. 45, 1.

2 Sed ... 3 testibus] 3° question in marg. add. cod. 8 Responsio] in marg. cod.
tears and remorse, and the blood of compassion, which three are most specifically taught in the Rule that was delivered to her by the Saviour. Thus it is sufficiently proved by herself as by a public document’, etc. So far John of Basle. But why do we still need witnesses, as what has been said above approves and confirms that our holy Rule and the Revelations belonging to it were the work of divine inspiration and not written or invented by a human mind?

3. It is thirdly asked, if Saint Birgitta said or wrote that the Rule was revealed to her by divine influence, if there is a scripture to be seen or sufficient proof.

Answer: We answer that there is no written version of the Rule by her hand, nor, we believe, has there ever been one, for the reason that the Rule was revealed to her in the monastery of Alvastra, by which time she did not possess the ability or skill of writing. This she acquired in Rome and there she learnt (Latin) grammar by God’s command, and Christ even made Saint Agnes her teacher. But that most devout and distinguished hermit, master Alfonso, sent back the true Rule to us, written in the first person, according to the format in which it was inspired to her by divine influence, appropriately ornamented with golden letters and various pictures to the glory of the same Rule, as evidence of the truth and for the satisfaction of the order, together with a volume of the Revelations, decorated in the same way on the inside and the outside, as experience teaches anyone wanting to see it. And this we hold as a trustworthy witness together with the other witnesses of the truth mentioned above.

Christ says of this in a Revelation concerning the writing of the Rule, among other things: ‘What you will hear from my spirit, take it to the scribe and beware that you do not add a single word of your own mind to my words.’ Furthermore you can read in another Revelation regarding the same subject: ‘Tell him to write the Rule, dictated from my spirit, but beware carefully that you do not remove or add anything of your own mind, except that which is said by me’.

15 This probably means that Birgitta could write in Swedish but at the time mentioned was not yet able to express herself in Latin; Undhagen (1977), p. 8, n. 11. According to the Rule in prima persona, Birgitta received the revelation in Vadstena, not in Alvastra; Undhagen (1995), p. 15.
require. Et sic patet, quod per se cam non scripsit, sed ille, per quem scribenda commissa fuit.

4. Quaere intitulatur ordo ‘Salvatoris’ et non ‘beate Virginis’?

Responsio: Omnis regula denominatur ab aliquo, aut quia ipsam instituit, aut quia ipsam tradidit, aut quia scripsit, aut quia docuit. Ideo ista regula propriissime a Salvatore debet denominari, cum omnes raciones denominandi sibi recte attribuuntur. Nam Salvator instituit, docuit et dictavit cam et dictatam in honorem matris sue tradidit beate Birgitte. Et quia honor matris est honor filii, et honor cuiuslibet sancti est honor Dei et everso, idcirco convenieter, ut videtur, potest ‘Regula Salvatoris’ nuncupari.

5 a. Quaere principium regule ponitur humilitas et non caritas?

Responsio: Caritas est prima tamquam magistra virtutum et forma, quia omnibus alis dat efficaciam merendi, sed fides est prima origine, quia ipsa est primus habitus gratuitus, quo mediante cetera virtutes insunt. Sed secundum Gregorium humilitas est prima in conservacione virtutum. Nam secundum eum qui sine humilitate ceteras virtutes sibi congregat, quasi pulverem in vento portat. Ideo secundum Bernhardum religio cum paupertate fundatur, in

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11 principium … caritas] cfr RS § 48: ‘In principio huius regule Christus fundat cam super tres virtutes, scilicet humanitatis, castitatis et paupertatis…’
12 Caritas … 14 insunt] cfr Thom. AQ. ver., q. 27, a. 5, 5. ‘...caritas dicitur esse forma omnium aliarum virtutum. Ulterior vero efficaciam merendi adhibet gratia... et sic gratia dicitur esse forma et caritatis et aliarum virtutum.’; Thom. AQ. S. T. II, 2, q. 2, a. 9; ‘...dicendum quod natura comparatur ad caritatem, quae est merendi principium, sicut materia ad formam. Fides autem comparatur ad caritatem sicut dispositione praecedens ultimam formam.’; Thom. AQ. sent. II, d. 26, q. 1, a. 4, arg. 5: ‘Caritas dicitur esse forma virtutum et mater’, et al. sim. Cfr etiam Pet. Lamb. sent. 23, dist. 23, 3, 2: ‘Fides autem qua creditur, si cum caritate sit, virtus est, quia caritas, ut ait Ambrosius, mater est omnium virtutum, quae omnes in formam, sine qua nullas virtus est.’
17 religio … 104, 1 custoditur] cfr Bernard. serm. in evan., ‘Religio namque humilitate fundatur, paupertate conservatur, munditia decoratur’, PL 184 col. 1132 A.

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17 religio … 104, 1 custoditur] nota in marg. add. cod.
Look up the rest. And so it becomes evident that she did not write down the Rule by herself, but it was written down by him, to whom the writing was entrusted.

4. Why is the order called ‘of the Saviour’ and not ‘of the blessed Virgin’?

Answer: Every rule is named after someone, either because he established it or because he delivered it or wrote it or taught it. Therefore, this Rule should be denominated most appropriately after the Saviour, since all reasons to denominate are justly attributed to him. For the Saviour established, taught and dictated the Rule, and delivered the dictated Rule to Birgitta in honour of his mother. And since the honour of the mother is the honour of the son, and the honour of every saint is the honour of God and vice versa, it seems convenient to call it ‘The Rule of the Saviour’.

5 a. Why do we speak of humility and not of love as the first part of the Rule?

Answer: Love is the first, like a teacher and form of virtues, since it gives to all other virtues the power to merit, but faith is of the first origin, since it is the first quality given by grace, with whose help the other virtues are included. But according to Gregory, humility is the first when it comes to preservation of the virtues, for according to him he who collects other virtues but lacks humility is, as it were, carrying dust in the wind. Therefore, according to Bernard, religion is
humilitate custoditur. Salvator enim, ut creditur, presupponit, quod qui ingreditur istam religionem, iam sit fide radicatus et informatus atque caritate inflammatus, sicut quilibet ingrediens in faciem ecclesie profitetur ad manus episcopi dicens: ‘nequaquam pudor’ etc., ‘sed fervens amor Christi’, etc. Ideo Salvator, ut videtur, ab humilitate voluit incipere, que est caritatis ceterarumque virtutum conservativa.

5 b. Quinta questio: Quomodo intelligendum sit ‘Nulli licitum sit habere aliquid proprium’, etc.? Item, quid est, quod debeat dici ‘proprium’?

Responsio: Duobus modis dicimus ‘aliquid proprium’: vel secundum possessionem, quod prohibetur, vel secundum usum, quod conceditur secundum Hugonem de Sancto Victore super regulam Augustini, unde idem ibidem: / ‘Michi videtur neminem sine proprietate vivere, quicumque propriam in aliquo proprietatem nititur habere. Quid enim prodest exteriora relinquere et mundanam cupiditatem vel propriam voluntatem sequi et retinere? Proinde qui propriam voluntatem sequitur, habet proprietatem et violent suam professionem sensurus procul dubio damnacionem, nisi venerit ad satisfaccionem. Ne in eternum percat, ciscus ad penitenciam redeat et deinceps sine proprietate tam rerum quam cupiditatum quam eciam proprie voluntatis secundum regulam vivere studeat.’

6. Quid dici debeat ‘proprium’?

Responsio: ‘Proprium’ dicitur omne id, quod religiosus sine permissione prelati habet, possidet, dat vel recipit, xii, questione i, capitulo ‘Non dicatis.’

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7 5 in marg. iter. cod. | Quinta] Quinto cod. 15 post habet verbum propriam sex. sed postea exp. et del. cod.
founded on poverty and guarded with humility. For the Saviour, we believe, presupposes that he who enters this order is already rooted in faith, informed and inflamed by love, just as anyone, entering into the face of the Church, pronounces his or her vows at the hands of the bishop, saying: ‘By no means shame’, etc., ‘but a burning love for Christ’, etc. Therefore the Saviour, it seems, wanted it (=the Rule) to begin from humility, which protects love and other virtues.

5 6. The fifth question: How is one to understand the line ‘No one is to own any property of his own? Also, what should be called ‘any property of one’s own?’

Answer: We use the term ‘any property’ in two ways: either in relation to a possession, which is forbidden, or in relation to usage, which is permitted according to Hugh of St Victor, writing about the Augustine Rule. He says: ‘It seems to me that no one lives without possessions, if he struggles to have his own property in some respect. For what use is there in leaving the outside world and yet follow and retain the mundane desire or one’s own will? Hence, he who follows his own will, has possessions and violates his profession will no doubt experience damnation if he does not make satisfaction. Lest he perish eternally, he quite soon should return to penitence and thereafter strive to live without possession of things, desire and even his own will, according to the Rule.’

6. What should be called ‘property’?

Answer: Everything that a religious man has, owns, gives or receives, without permission from his prelate, is called ‘property of one’s own’, according to causa 12, question one, the chapter ‘Non dicatis’.

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7 On this quote and an identical reference in the Liber usuum, see the Introduction, ch. 3:2:6.
7. Utrum liceat habere plura vestimenta in corpore seu in lecto, quam regula exprimit.


8. Octava questio: De habitu diurno et nocturno religiosorum, etc.

Responsio: De habitu diurno, quo debent uti, non est dubium. De nocturno vero exprimitur in constitutionibus prioris. Nec semper in diebus incedimus habituati. Instancia datur de temporibus quibus balneis utimur; quibus habituati esse non possimus.


Responsio: Credimus, quod ad utrosque, ut expediiores ad manuum labores efficiantur.
7. Whether it is allowed to have more clothes on one’s body or in bed than the Rule mentions.

Answer: We believe that it is reasonable to handle carefully and to moderate some things according to reason, place, manner and time. For when the weakness and feebleness of the flesh demands the restoration of strength by receiving food, and warmth by being covered by clothes, then it is godly and human to relax the severity of the observation of the Rule, albeit with a preserved moderation. The following point of the Rule seems to hint at this: ‘It is a dear and acceptable thing for God that man in this way cares for his own body, as for a sick animal, so that he can be [in God’s service]’ and further ‘in order to satisfy his needs with prudence as his feeble nature desires’. The Virgin Mary speaks about this matter in the third book of the Revelations, chapter 18. Please look it up.

8. The eighth question: Regarding the habits of the men of the order by day and night, etc.

Answer: Regarding the habits that should be worn in daytime, there is no doubt. When it comes to the habit worn by night, this is explained in the prior’s constitutions. However, we are not always dressed in our habits in daytime. An exception is when we use the bath. On these occasions we cannot be dressed in our habits.

9. The ninth question: Whether the binding of the sleeves concerns the brothers as much as the sisters.

Answer: We believe that it concerns both, so that they more easily can perform manual labour.

Responsio: Quis solent tales ad ordinem admittere ipsi habent ad questionem istam respondere, quia hoc videtur ordinem dehonestare.

11. Undecima questio: Quomodo debent fratres quiescere in noctibus in lectis? Et utrum induti et cincti, etc.

Responsio: Huic questioni prior in constitucionibus, ut superius tactum est, satisfecit. Sed in fine questionis queritur, utrum ad femoralia obligentur.

Responsio: Honestum et devotum videtur esse usum femoralium habere, cum sacerdotibus vetere legis / preceptum sit in pluribus locis feminalibus lineis veranda celare ad operiendum carmen turpiudinis sue. Et in nova Dominus ad litteram loquitur: Sint lumbi vestri precincti.

12. Questio: An sorores possunt variare Cantum vel addere, etc.

Responsio: Credimus, quod non licet, cum a Spiritu Sancto, ut creditur, sit editus, sed in officiis et missis, prout in ordinarium carum traditur, per totum ordinem immutabiliter et inviolabiliter observetur.

13. Questio: De modo et forma celebracionis misse beate Virginis, etc.

Responsio: Sicut immediate supra tactum est: Omnia, que ipsi misse annexa et pro tempore in rubrica sororum assignata sunt, observentur per totum ordinem.

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6 constitucionibus | Vide supra, Resp. II, 8. 
8 Honestum ... habere] cfr. Add. p. 106; ‘Utrum fratres habeant femoralia, hoc sit in arbitrio confessoris...’
9 sacerdotibus ... et celeare] cfr. Lc. 6, 10; Lc. 16, 4. 
11 Sint ... precincti] Lc. 12, 35.

2 verba qui solent iter cod. 
3 post videtur verbum hoc iter: sed postea del. cod. 
4 questio in marg. cod. 
8 post cum verbum sacerdoti sec. sed postea exp. et del. cod. 
10 nova] scil. lege
10. The tenth question: Whether those who are publicly penitent should be called widows.\(^\text{10}\)

Answer: Those who are accustomed to admitting such persons into the order should answer this question themselves, because this practice seems to disgrace the order.

11. The eleventh question: How should the brothers rest in their beds at night? And whether they should be dressed and girt, etc.

Answer: The prior has sufficiently answered this question in his constitutions, as has been mentioned above. However, in the final part of the question it is asked whether they are obliged to wear trousers.

Answer: It seems to be an honest and devout thing to wear trousers, since the priests in the Old Testament in many cases were ordered to conceal their private parts with linen bandages in order to cover the flesh of their turpitude. And in the New Testament the Lord speaks with these exact words: *Let your loins be girt.*

12. Question: Whether the sisters may vary the *Cantus* (*sororum*) or add something to it, etc.\(^\text{11}\)

Answer: We believe that this is not permitted, since it is believed that the *Cantus* was created by the Holy Spirit. In offices and Masses the whole order should observe it as it is written in their ordinal without changing anything.

13. Question: Regarding the manner and form of the celebration of the mass of the Blessed Virgin etc.

Answer: As we have just mentioned above: Everything that is connected to the Mass itself and for the time being is attributed to a rubric concerning the sisters must be observed throughout the whole order.

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10 A woman could enter the order either as a virgin or as a widow (RS § 64).

11 *Cantus sororum*, the weekly office of the sisters, partly composed by Petrus Olavi of Alvastra. See Servatius (1990); Geete (1895). A similar question was raised by the Birgittine community in Reval in 1421; Gejrot (2000), p. 79, n. 15 (SDHK 19700).
14. Questio: De missa beate Virginis in Sabbato sancto pasche contra capitolum 'De consecracione', distinzione iii, 'Sabbato'.

Responsio: Capitulum illud non est preceptum, sed consilium, prout notat Bartholomeus Brixiensis xii distinzione, capitulo 'Ill'. Et ex quo est consilium, ei impune non paretur, xiiii, questione i, 'Quisquis'. Et capitolum sequens dicit: 'Quod precipitur, imperatur, quod imperatur, necesse est fieri. Si non fiat, penam habet. Ubi consilium datur, offerentis arbitrium est. Ubi preceptum, necessitas servientis vel imperantis.'

15. Questio: Urum fratres obligantur ad Ave Maria in fine horarum, etc.

Responsio: Credimus, quod ille cantus Virginis Marie solum sororibus sit assignatus.


Responsio: Quia Cantus sororum est singularis et distinctus a cantu universali, ideo ad illam observanciam consuetudinis, ut videtur, non artantur. Nam cantus ecclesiasticus tempore quadragesime est lugubris et penitentialis, sororum vero cantus solemnns secundum regulam.

1 capitolium ... 2 Sabbato] cf CIC I, col. 1355–1356. 4 Bartholomeus ... Illa] cf CIC I, col. 29: 'Illa autem, que non scripta, sed tradita custodimus, que quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, datur intelligi ... commendata atque statuta retincri ... Alia vero, que per loca terrarum regionesque uariantur ... indifferenter habendum'; cf Brix. Glass., fol. 10 v: 'quilibet tenetur vivere secundum consuetudinem illorum inter quos versantur' | est ... 5 paretur] cf CIC I, col. 733: 'Quisquis preceptis non obtemperat, reus est et debitor penae.' 6 Quod ... 8 imperantis] CIC I, col. 733. 16 sororum ... 17 regulam] cf RS § 67: 'Sorores omni die ob reuerenciam Virginis Marie cantabunt solenpnter horas ipsius cum tribus leccionibus tam festis quam priuatis diebus'; cf etiam Add. p. 37: 'Sorores omni die cantabunt solenpnter sed cum gravitate et humilitate, non in clamosa voce ... Sit cantus modestus, gravis, simplex, non fractis vocibus, non cum discantu, sed omni humilitate et devotione plenus...'.

14. Question: Regarding the mass of the Blessed Virgin on Holy Saturday, contrary to the chapter 'De consercracione', distinction three, 'Sabbato'.

Answer: That chapter is not prescriptive but advisory, just as Bartholomew of Brescia notes in distinction 12, the chapter 'Illa'. And since it is advice, you may disobey it without being punished, causa 14, question one, 'Quisquis'. And the following chapter says: 'What is prescribed, is commanded, and what is commanded, must be done. If not, it leads to punishment. When advice is given, it is at the giver’s discretion. When something is prescribed, it is necessary for both servant and commander.'

15. Question: Whether the brothers are obliged to sing Ave Maria at the end of the hours, etc.

Answer: We believe that this chant to the Virgin Mary is assigned to the sisters only.

16 a. Question: Whether the sisters may sing Vespers after the midday meal in Lent, contrary to the custom of the Church.

Answer: Since the Cantus sororum is extraordinary and different from the universal chant, they are not, it seems, limited to the observance of that particular custom. For the ecclesiastical chant at Lent is mournful and penitent, and the chant of the sisters is solemn,20 according to the Rule.

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20 On the singing of the Cantus sororum as described in the Addiciones, see Milveden [1973], esp. pp. 150–151. See also Resp. II, 73 below.
16 b. Item, si deberent secundum ecclesiam vesperas cantare post missam.

<Responsio:> Videtur, quod post missam beate Virginis, que est officio earum annexa. Quod tamen tempus non patitur, et inconveniencia maior exinde sequeretur, quia forte eciam in nulla ecclesia duplex – preterquam in ordine nostro – geminatur. Et ideo sufficere videtur, quod unum officium toti ecclesia in una ecclesia se conformet.

16 c. Questio: Urum tempore horarum debeant silere manentes extra chorum etc.

Responsio: Perfectionis est, vel si loquuntur secundum moderamen regule edificatoria et de collacione spirituali. Loquantur eciam officiales, que sua officia sine loquela competenter exequi non possunt, quod eciam regula admissit.

17. Questio: Quo sunt vere necessaria?

Responsio: Infirmorum cura, eorum et preparacio ciborum et similib, et sine quibus humana fragilitas subsistere non potest.

18. Questio: Quomodo sit servandum silencium in infirmaria?

Responsio: Constituciones / prioris huic questioni satisfaciunt. Require, si placet.

19. Questio: Qua auctoritate deputari possunt sores ad loquendum secularibus omni die, etc.?

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10 Loquantur ... 11 admittit | cfr RS § 70: ‘Et ad omnia silencia iam conscripta sores vniuersaliter astringantur preter illas, que ad officia talia deputantur, que sine loquela competenter non possunt exequi.’ 12 vere necessaria | cfr RS § 52: ‘Omnia autem necessaria de abbatissa speranda sunt...’ 16 Constituciones ... 17 placet | cfr Add., p. 60–62.

2 Responsio supplevi 7 16 in marg. iter. cod. | post verbum horarum verba debent silere male sex. et postea exp. et del. cod.
16 b. Whether the sisters should sing Vespers after Mass, according to the custom of the Church.

<Answer:> This seems to be the case, and then after the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, which is connected to their Office. However, time does not permit this and great inconvenience would follow upon it. There is probably no church, apart from in our order, where the Office is sung twice,21 and therefore, it seems sufficient to have one and the same Office for the whole church in one church.

16 c. Question: Whether those who are outside the choir should be silent during Hours, etc.

Answer: It is best to be silent, or to speak of edifying things and of spiritual discussions, according to the limitation of the Rule. Even officials may speak, who cannot competently carry out their duties without speaking, which the Rule also allows.

17. Question: What are the truly necessary things?

Answer: To care for the sick and prepare their food and such things without which weak human beings cannot subsist.

18. Question: How should silence be maintained in the infirmary?

Answer: The prior’s Constitutions have sufficiently answered this question. Please look it up.

19. Question: By which authority can the sisters be assigned to speak to secular persons at any time of the day, etc.?

21 The day in Vadstena Abbey began with separate matins around 4 a.m. The brothers sang prime and terce at 5:30; then the Mass of the Virgin and the sisters’ terce followed at around 6 a.m. Thereafter came the reading of De Profundis, separate sexts and, at around 7:30, the High Mass and none, followed by the midday meal at 9. After about four hours of chores and duties the vespers were sung at around 3 p.m. The answer given here seems to indicate that, given this tight schedule, one and the same vesper was quite sufficient. See further Lindblom (1973), p. 83.
Responsio: Pie creditur, quod auctoritate abbatisse, et quod ad minus due sint associate. Et bonum commune monasterii et necessarium secundum formam per abbatissam sibi traditam loquantur, quod sine dampno evitari non potest.

20. Questio: Utrum soror ad rotam possit loqui sola soli fratri ad rotam deputato et everso.

Responsio: Creditur, quod sic. Ideo confessor et abbatissa attendant maturitatem personarum et ydoneitatem earum, quod tales preficiantur, in quibus levitas non perpenditur et suspicio minime habeatur.

21. Questio: Utrum frates obligentur eciam ad omnia, que solum dicuntur de sororibus in regula, etc.

Responsio: Hec questio in se perplexa est, quam nostra parvitas diffinire non presumit. Que eciam in generali ordinis capitulo ventilata et deducta fuit, sed minime determinata, et cum alii dubii ad futurum capitulum reservata. Ad ipsam autem magister Alphonsus in declaracionibus super regulam in hac parte breviter ita dicit, quod omnis constitucio, que non specialiter exprimit vel concernit statum sororum vel specialiter fratrum, utrosque obligat, tam fratres quam soreores.

22. Questio: Quomodo accipienda sunt hec verba: ‘Nulli loqui aliquid licitum sit, nisi in casu neccessitatis et de licencia abbatisse’?

\[15\] omnis ... 17 soreores] cfr Ded., A et 60v. \[18\] Nulli ... 19 abbatisse] RS § 75.
Answer: We piously believe that this can be done with the authority of the abbess and that at least two sisters should do it together. Following the formula given to them by the abbess, they should speak about the common good for the monastery and necessary things that cannot be avoided without damage.

20. Question: Whether a sister, assigned to the turntable, may speak alone to only one brother, assigned to the wheel, and vice versa.23

Answer: We believe so.23 Therefore the confessor and the abbess should observe the maturity and aptitude of all persons, so that they appoint such persons that are not light-minded and have not given occasion to any suspicion whatsoever.

21. Question: Whether the brothers are obliged to follow everything that is mentioned in the Rule as concerning the sisters only, etc.

Answer: This question is intricate in itself, and we, humble persons as we are, do not dare to explain it.24 It was brought forward and discussed at the general chapter25 of the order, but not at all determined, and reserved for a future chapter together with other doubtful matters. Regarding this matter, master Alfonso briefly says in the declarations about the Rule, that every constitution which does not explicitly mention or concern the state of the sisters or explicitly the brothers, binds both sides, the brothers as well as the sisters.

22. Question: How should these words be understood: ‘No one must speak, except when necessary and with the permission of the abbess?’

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22 The rota was a turntable placed in the wall between the sisters’ and the brothers’ convents, used for speaking and for sending out small objects. See Anderson (1991), p. 83. A frater (or soror) ad rotam was a keeper or guard of the wheel. The turntables are also mentioned in Resp. II, 154.

23 This, in fact, is a direct contradiction to RS § 250: Cadeatur eciam ibi et in omni loco, nisi dam confessiones ad fenestras deputat ad uiduat, ne aliquo soror ad audientem solum sequatur alium sine presencia aliqua ad parum sororum inuentatur sola, que omnia verba audient sicut ipsa; see further Tait (1975), p. 124.

24 However, the same matter is discussed in Resp. I, 2.

25 The general chapter in Marienwold (Lubeck) 1426; Højer (1903), p. 187-188; Cnatingius (1963), p. 159, n. 3.
Responsio: Scilicet secularibus personis ad extra et fratribus et sororibus mutuo inter se ad intra, nisi obtenta licencia, exceptis dumtaxat personis ad custodiam rote, ut visum est, deputatis et hoc in casu necessitatis, id est utilitatis et edificationis. Per hoc videtur regula cohibere assidua colloquia, scurrilia multiloquia et verba ociosa, que alias omni tempore et loco iubet caveri.


Responsio: Indubitanter creditur, quod sic, et ‘ut occasio a pravis excludatur’. In hoc verbo videtur regula innuere, quod prelatus debet esse considerativus, ut in monasterio et in omni loco publico et privato scandalum et ruine precipium caveatur, ut sic materia, occasio et causa tocius mali et peccati tu[ilicius evitetur.

24. Questio: Utrum liceat fratribus extraneis pro constructione novi monasterii intrare et videre sororum structuras, etc.

Responsio: Credimus, quod licet ita, quod per ostium artificum et labororum introitum habeant.

25. Questio: Queritur, / quomodo accipitur hic nona numquam pro ultima hora, etc.

Responsio: Horam nonam hic accipimus pro prandio facto et Gracias lecto, etc.


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4 colloquia ... 5 caveri] cf R 7.6 & 9.70. 6 Omnia ... fieri] R 7.8. 8 ut ... excludatur] R 7.70. 14 per ... 15 hebaynt] cf Add. p. 62–63: ‘Quando aliqua edificanda sunt in monasterio aut ruinosa reparanda seu medicine accipiendae, sic ingrediantur artifices cum aliqua familiari prudenti monasterii, ut sororores non molestetur...’

18 Horam ... facto] cf Add. p. 60: ‘... quia hora prandii propter prolinitatem duorum officiorum quotidie canendorum continue prostrahitur usque ad meridiem’

8 Indubitanter ... 11 evitetur] verba nota bene in marg. cod. 11 tucius]tucius cod.
Answer: This refers to speaking to secular persons on the outside and to brothers and sisters with one another on the inside, unless permission has been obtained, with the sole exception of persons assigned to guard the wheel, as it seems, and this only when it is necessary, that is, a matter of utility and instruction. Hereby the Rule seems to stop constant talking, garrulous jesting and superfluous words, which the Rule elsewhere tells us to avoid at all times and in all places.

23. Question: ‘For everything should be done in a reasonable way.’ Whether these words concern the entire severity of the Rule.

Answer: We believe that this is undoubtedly the case. And also the subsequent words ‘so that any possibility is excluded for the corrupt’. By this phrase, the Rule seems to indicate that the prelate has to observe that everyone stays away from any scandal and disastrous event in the monastery and in every public and private place, so that the matter, occasion and cause of all evil and sin are safely avoided.

24. Question: Whether brothers from the outside may be permitted to enter and see the construction work of the sisters’ lodgings, for the reason of constructing a new monastery, etc.

Answer: We believe that this may be permitted, since they may have an entrance through the door of the craftsmen and labourers.

25. Question: It is asked how it may be that here the ninth hour is never understood as the last hour, etc.

Answer: Here we understand the ninth hour as (the hour) when we have eaten the midday meal26 and read Gratias, etc.

26. Question: Whether the sisters may be permitted to speak to secular persons during the vespers of the brothers.

26 Notes was usually sung at around 3 p.m.; in Vadstena, however, it took place before noon. The midday meal (prandium) mentioned here was taken at around 9 a.m. See Lindblom (1973), pp. 83–84; p. 89; Gejrot (1988), Glossary s.v. ‘prandium’; KL, s.v. ‘Non’; ‘Måltidsordning’; ‘Tidegärds’.
Responsio: Credimus, quod non. Irreligiosum est tunc vacare fabulis et ociosis colloquis, cum debent intendere divinis.

27. Questio: Quare pocius frequentatur Ave Maria quam Benedictice, cum loqui volumus?

Responsio: Iste usus fuit introductus per fratrem Magnum primum confessorem, sed unde habuit eum, nescitur. Et creditur, quod pro honore Virginis Marie observatur, cui hic ordo dedicatus est. Et quia tam layci quam clericu hoc communiter sciant et intelligunt, ideo hoc preeligitur quam Benedictice, cuius interpretationem nesciunt secundum illud "quod scimus, loquimur" (Io. iii).

28. Questio: Utrum licitum sit loqui secularibus in festivitibus non feriatis in populo, etc.

Responsio: Creditur licere cum moderamine, scilicet utilia, non scurrilia etc.

29. Item queritur, si festum defertur in aliam feriam, numquid et tunc licencia loquendi condonatur.

Responsio: Creditur pie, quod sic, moderamine, ut prenimitur, semper salvo.

30. Questio: Utrum abbatissa aperire potest fenestram secularibus in diebus ferialibus.


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3 Quare ... 4 volumus] cfr LU cap. 6, § 79: "Ex quando aliquis frater necesse habet loqui confessori loco vel tempore silencii, veniens ad eum cum reverencia ponat digitum super os suum humiliter se inclinans. Cui dicat confessor “Benedicite” vel “Ave Maria”; et ille respondeat “Dominus” vel “Gracia pleña”. 9 quod ... loquimur] Io. 3, 11. 16 aperire ... fenestram] cfr RS § 84–85.

18 utputa] ut puta cod. 19 optant ex optantes correci
Answer: We believe not. It is an impious thing to devote oneself to nonsensical and superfluous speech at that time, when they should set their mind on divine matters.

27. Question: Why is Ave Maria more frequently used than Benedictine, when we wish to speak?27

Answer: This practice was introduced by brother Magnus, our first confessor, but where he got it from we do not know. And we believe that this practice is observed in honour of the Virgin Mary, to whom this order is dedicated. And since the lay brothers as well as the priests alike know and understand this phrase, they choose it instead of Benedictine, the interpretation of which they are ignorant of, as in the phrase ‘we speak what we know’ [John, chapter 3].

28. Question: Whether it may be permitted to speak to secular persons during feasts that are not public holidays, etc.

Answer: We believe that this may be permitted with some moderation, that is, we may speak of useful things and avoid jesting etc.

29. It is asked, if a feast is moved to another weekday, whether it then is allowed to speak.

Answer: We piously believe so, albeit always with moderation, as mentioned above.

30. Question: Whether the abbess may open the window to secular persons on weekdays.

Answer: According to the Rule, she may not, unless for a reasonable, urgent cause: for example, if the king or queen or other mighty persons insolently insist on seeing a certain person. This should be left to the discretion of the abbess.28

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27 Tait (1975), p. 221: ‘The Marian orientation of the Brigitine liturgy was echoed in other spheres. Ave Maria was an optional alternative to the more usual Benedictine before speech.’

28 According to the Syon Additions, ch. 14, the abbess is recommended to ask the confessor general’s advice first, an interesting fact, since the English community in many other matters seems to manifest the status of the abbess and the sisters. Hogg (1980), vol. 4, p. 75; Tait (1975), p. 173.
31. Questio: Utrum abbatissa potest compellere aliquam, ut videatur invita, cum regula dicit: ‘Si a caris videri desiderat’, etc.

Responsio. Si aliqua pro augmento sui meriti, ut regula canit, se videndum subtrahit, dimittenda est sue voluntati, sicut illud ‘noli prohibere benefacere’, sicut nec admittinga est proprie levitati, que frequent er se ingerit se videri.

32. Questio: Si concurrunt duo dies ieunables in pane et aqua et festum unum transiuritur vel anticipatur, etc.

<Responsio:> Ieunium transfertur cum festo et consequentur se mutuo. Si autem festa stabunt, ubi cadunt, ibi sane consideretur, si conventus ex tali ieuniorum geminacione seu duplicione et vigiliarum fatigacione gravetur.

33. Questio: Quid vocantur legumina, etc.?

Responsio: Pira et poma et cerasa, nucis et similia. Que non sunt multum nutritiva, sed delicata, utpute ficus, uve passe et dactili et cetera similia, non computamus legumina.

34. Questio: Si diebus / carnium aliquis ieunans usque vespere<\m> ex causa racionabili possit in vespere carnibus vesci.

Responsio: Credimus, quod sic.

35. Questio: Utrum abbatissa potest dispensare in ieunio, quod est ex ecclesie precepto, vel solum pertinet ad confessorem.

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2 Si ... 4 subtrahit] cfr RS 85: ‘Si qua forte a parentibus vel amicis honestis caris videri desiderat, aperire potest fenestram; si autem non aperit fesetram, eo copiosior merces ei repromittetur in futuro.’

4 noli ... benefacere] Prov. 3, 27.


11 legumina] cfr Rev. Excer. 13, 6: ‘...permissum est ieunantibus in pane et aqua posse comedere legumina ... Nam aridus est panis et artus sine leguminibus.’


8 Responsio supplevi 12 cerasa] cerusa cod. 15 vespere<\m>] vespere cod.
31. Question: Whether the abbess can force someone to be seen against her will, since the rule says: 'If someone wishes to be seen by dear ones', etc.

Answer: If someone withdraws herself from sight in order to increase her merit, as the Rule says, she should be left to pursue her own will according to the saying 'do not withdraw anyone from doing good', just as the one who often insists upon being seen should not be left to pursue her own levity.

32. Question: If it happens that two days of fasting on bread and water concur and a feast is moved or anticipated, etc.

Answer: The fasting is moved together with the feast and they follow each other mutually. But if feasts take place when fasting occurs, we really must ask ourselves, if the convent should be burdened with such a doubling of fasting days as well as the fatigue of vigils.

33. Question: What should be called vegetables, etc.?

Answer: Pears and apples and cherries, nuts and such things. Those that are not very nutritious, but delicious, such as figs, raisins and dates, we do not regard as vegetables.

34. Question: Whether a person fasting until evening, on days when meat is eaten, reasonably can eat meat in the evening.

Answer: We believe so.

35. Question: Whether the abbess can grant exemption from fasting, stated by the Church, or if this can be granted by the confessor only.

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99 The question is raised since the *Rerelaciones Extravagantes* stated that it was allowed to eat vegetables while fasting on bread and water. In the *Syon Additions*, the regulation of food on so-called 'water days' is said to allow ‘two manner of froytes ... that is to say, apples, peres, or muttes, plumes, chiryes, benes, peson, or any suche other.' Hogg (1982, vol. 4), p. 190. See the Introduction, ch. 3.2.6.

30 The second meal of the day was after vespers at around 4 pm; Lindblom (1973), p. 83.
Responsio: Hoc videtur solum confessorem concernere et ad eius officium pertinere.

36. Questio: Si festum nativitatis in quarta feria vel sabbato evenerit, an sit abstinentium a carnibus.

Responsio: Standum est regule, que carnibus prohibet hiis diebus vesci.

37. Item queritur de festo beati Marchi.

Responsio: Si evenerit in ebdomada pasche, semper transfertur in proximam ebdomadam cum suo ieiunio. Hec est consuetudo tocius nostre pro vincie.

38. Questio: An ieiunum sancti Augustini debet ita stricte observari sicut vigilia uniis apostoli.

Responsio: Creditur, quod sic, usque quo regula de per se fuerit confirmata in tempore a Deo cognito et preordinato.

39. Questio: Utrum persona <post> consensum admissionis potest stare ad extra, etc.

Responsio: Est in suo beneplacito.

40. Item, cum regula dicit: ‘Revertere.’

Responsio: ‘Revertere’, scilicet infra tempus determinatum ad locutorium ad dandum responsum de proposito, si perseverat in bono incepto.

Answer: This seems to concern the confessor only and be part of his office.\footnote{The *Revelaciones Extravagantes*, on which the question and answer are based, actually say that the matter is in the power of the abbess and the confessor.}

36. Question: Whether we should refrain from meat if the feast of the Nativity takes place on a Wednesday or Saturday.

Answer: We adhere to the Rule, which forbids us to eat meat during these days.\footnote{Regarding Birgitine regulations on fasting, see Lindblom (1973), pp. 89–90.}

37. There is a question about the feast of St Mark.

Answer: If it occurs in Holy Week, it must always be transferred to the following week together with the fasting. This is the custom in our whole province.

38. Question: Whether the fasting of St Augustine’s vigil should be as strictly observed as those of an Apostle.

Answer: We believe so, until the Rule itself is confirmed at a time known and preconceived by God.\footnote{The Rule was confirmed in 1378 by Pope Urban VI as constitutions (per modum constitutionum) subordinate to the Rule of St Augustine, not as an independent rule in its own right (per modum regulæ). Höjer (1905), p. 67; 165; Eklund (1975), pp. 141–173.}

39. Question: Whether a person can remain outside (ad extra) after the agreement to admit him or her (has been met).\footnote{This may refer to the brothers and sisters ad extra (outside the clausura), see Resp. I, 4 above.}

Answer: They may decide for themselves.

40. What does it mean when the Rule says: ‘Return’?

Answer: ‘Return’, that is, within the time determined to the locutory to give an answer about his or her intentions, if he or she persists in her good undertaking.
41. Questio: Si illud propositum potest scripto fieri vel nuncio.

Responsio: Fiat scripto in signum testimonii facte ad cautelam renunciacionis.

42. Questio: Utrum in recepione sororum et fratrum utraque pars debet consentire.

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Responsio: Creditur, quod sic, sicut in declaracionibus regule continetur.

43. Questio: Utrum votivus vel professus in alia religione possit profleri et recipi in ista.

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Responsio: Si est votivus vel professus in strictiori, non potest, nisi petita et obtenta licencia. Si autem in leviors, petita licencia sui superioris potest, licet non obtenta. Et sic patet, quid intendit regula, que inquiri precipit in facie ecclesie: ‘Es tu libera et ab omni vino ecclesie immuni, scilicet coniugii, voti etc.’, / quia tunc non dicitur quis ‘vino astrictus’, cum sit a vino absolutus secundum iura vel speciale privilegium.

44. Questio: Utrum soreores possunt secundum regule mentem annulos de auro vel argento portare.

Responsio: Pie creditur, quod sic, dumtaxat consecratos, cum moderamine et sine superfluitate, per misterium quod in materia, scilicet auro, et forma anuli figuratur.

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5 declaracionibus ... continetur] cfr Decl., A 11 39c: ‘Sororum eciam interest, qualis pro eis assumatur in patrem spirituallem, vel in confessorem, vel in fratem ipsius monasterii. Unde videtur, quod uterque conventus debeat consentire.’
6 Utrum ... 13 privilegium] cfr LU cap. 17, § 145–147.
11 Es ... voti] RS § 104.
12 quia ... 13 privilegium] cfr LU § 145.

etc] post verbum etc verbe hic non est defectus aliquis, sed sequitur secundus quinternus de cadem materia, qui incipit ‘quia tunc non dicitur quis vinculo astrictus et cetera’ add. cod. (cfr supra cap. 51.1), et post verbum quia verbum non scr. sed postea ex pel. del.; deinde sequitur una pagina vacua (136f).
41. Question: Whether this intention should be announced by a letter or by a messenger.

Answer: It should be written down, as a sign of evidence of his or her provisional renunciation (of the world).

42. Question: When we receive sisters or brothers, should both parts consent to this?

Answer: We believe so, just as it is described in the declarations of the Rule.

43. Question: Whether someone, who has been a votive member or professed in another order, can confess himself to and be received in this one.

Answer: If he is a votive member or professed person in a stricter order (than ours), he cannot do this, unless he has asked for and obtained permission. But if he belongs to a less strict order, he may do so, when he has asked for permission from his superior, even though he has not obtained it. And so it becomes clear what the Rule intends, when it commands us to ask in the face of the Church: ‘Are you free and exempt from every bond of the Church, that is, marriage and vows etc.’ Because then no one is said to be ‘bound by a bond’, when he is free from a bond, according to law or a special privilege.

44. Question: Whether the sisters, according to the sense of the Rule, may carry rings made of gold or silver.

Answer: We piously believe so, at least consecrated rings, with moderation and without vanity, through the mystery which takes place in this material, that is, in gold, and in the form of a ring.
45. Questio: Cum quot personis intrabit episcopus ad visitandum vel celebrandum?
Responsio: Cum duabus tantum. Sic hactenus servatum fuerat apud nos, nam in ore duorum vel trium sufficiens perhibetur testimonium.

46. Questio. ‘Debet statui iuxta sanctuarium.’ Queritur, quid sit ibi sanctuarium.

<Responsio: Id est iuxta sancta sanctorum, scilicet chorum sacerdotum. Mulieres in parte australi et viri fratres in parte australi debent ordinari.

47. Questio: Queritur, ubi et quando debent se discalciare.

Responsio: In loco ubi situuntur, scilicet circa sanctuarium, et quando a ministro vocantur ad altare Christi ad episcopum, in reditu oblatione facta discalcicet ab episcopo sanctificatis.

48. Questio: Si feretrum debet anteferri in ecclesia in introduccione fratrum sicut sororum.
45. Question: With how many persons may the bishop enter when he is to
perform a visitation or celebrate mass?

Answer: With two persons only. We have hitherto observed this practice,
because sufficient testimony is provided in the mouth of two or three witnesses.

46. Question: ‘The nun (who is to be introduced) should stand next to the
sanctuary’. It is asked what this sanctuary is that is mentioned here.

Answer: Next to the Holy of Holies, that is, the choir of the priests. The women
should be ordained in the north and the men in the south part.

47. Question: It is asked where and when they should take their shoes off.

Answer: In the place where they are placed, that is, around the sanctuary. And
when they are called by the minister to the altar of Christ to the bishop, on the
way back when offerings have been made, they should take their shoes off in
order to assume the habit prescribed by the Rule, that is, when the Offertory has
been said and the clothes prescribed by the Rule have been blessed by the
bishop.

48. Question: Whether a bier should be carried first into the church at the
introduction of brothers and sisters.
Responsio: Videtur, quod non, cum feretrum continue stat circa ostium, ubi sit ingressus fratrum in monasterium suum. Secus est de sororibus, quarum feretrum reponitur <ante> ingressum chori earum.

49. Questio: Quid vel quantum debet offerri?

Responsio: Arbitrium est.

50. Item queritur, utrum oblacio ad manus episcopi debeat tradi etc., et utrum accipiat episcopus ad proprios usus.

Responsio: Oblacio talis debet super sumnum altare fieri et in usus pauperum converti.

51. Questio: Quis clericorum vocabit famulam dei, etc.?

Responsio: Unus clericorum episcopi, qui ministrat loco dyaci. Et simili vocacione et solemnitate semper debet vocari, quociens secundum regulam est vocanda.

52. Questio: Utrum persona profitenda debet sibi procurare vestimenta regularia et lectisternia, vel ex sumptibus monasterii debeant procurari et maxime, si persona talis fuerit pauper et sibi ipsi providere non sufficeret.

Responsio: (…)

\[\text{feretrum … 3 earum]} \quad \text{cf} \ RS \ § 267; \text{‘Feretrum quoque, cui modicum terre superponitur, ante intressum ecclesie iugiter statuatur … vt videntes hoc memoriam mortis in mente habeant et cogitent in cordibus suis, quod terra sunt et in terram reuertentur.’} \quad 4 \quad \text{Quid … 5 est]} \quad \text{cf} \ LU \ cap. 19, § 16b; \text{‘…persone consecrando venientes ad altare ducantur … et offerant, sed quid vel quantum offerant, earum arbitrio relinquantur.’} \quad \text{cf} \ etiam RS \ § 214; \text{‘Oblacio autem illa non sit coacta nec a conuenu prefixa … sed in voluntate et beneplacito offerentis…’} \quad 10 \ Quad … dei]} \quad \text{cf} \ RS \ § 120; \text{‘Vestimentis ergo sanctificatis vnus clericorum vocabit famulam Dei ad altare ante episcopum.’} \quad 14 \ Utrum … 16 sufficeret]} \quad \text{cf} \ LU \ cap. 19, § 16b; \text{‘…vestimenta eorum, que regula iubet habere, sive persone recipiende pauperes fuerint sive divites, ex sumptibus monasterii eis procurantur et conferentur…’}

\[\text{3 reponitur]} \quad \text{litt. re supra lin. sec. et hic inscr. ind. cod. | ante supplevi} \quad 17 \text{ post verbum responsio spatum fere VI litt. præbét cod.} \]
Answer: We believe not, since a bier is constantly placed next to the door, where the brothers' entrance to the monastery is. Regarding the sisters, this is a different matter, as their bier stands before the entrance to their choir.

49. Question: What or how much should be offered?

Answer: They can decide for themselves.

50. It is asked whether the offerings should be delivered to the hands of the bishop etc., and whether the bishop should accept it for his own use.

Answer: This offering should take place at the high altar and be given to the poor.

51. Question: Which one of the priests should call forward the servant of God?

Answer: One of the bishop’s priests, who serves in the place of a deacon. And with a similar call and solemnity the servant of God is always to be called forward, as many times as she is required to be called, according to the Rule.

52. Whether someone who is going to be professed should procure the regular clothes and bedclothes by his or her own means, or if these things should be bought at the monastery’s expense. This is especially important if the person in question is poor and does not have the means to provide for himself/herself.

Answer: (...
53. Questio: Utrum pannus retro personae se coram episcopo exuentem tenendus est.

Responsio: Talis pannus relavitius non videtur multum necessarius, cum chorus ex utraque velamentis sit opertus, ne secularis populus curiose vide Velat, quae circa tales personae aguntur consecrandas. Ubi autem talia velamenta circa altaria non habentur, ibi hac necessitatis causa talis pannus intermedii videtur expedire.

54. Questio: Si contingat utrumque sexum uno die profiteri, quis debet precedere alium in professione et comunione?

<Responsio:> Racione situacionis potest admissi, quod soror sit prior in progressu seu accessu ad altare et statuaturo in sinistra parte ad aquilonem. Frater vero succedens et posterior veniens statuaturo a dextris. Et isto ordine debent concommunicari, consecrari et ad veniam proternum, silicet incipientio a dextris. Et eodem ordine observato / mortui debent sepeliri, silicet viri fratres in parte australi et sores in parte aquilonarii.

55. Questio: Queritur de letania cantando ante communioem.

Responsio: Non potest uniformis esse propter diversos patronos regnorum. Ideo quodlibet monasterium sequatur in hoc consuetudinem matricis ecclesie.

56. Questio: Queritur de modo et forma in cantando ymphanumeric Veni creator spiritus.

Responsio: Fratres processionaliter antecedent episcopum et personam in monasterium introducendam, canthorque ymphanumeric Veni creator incipiat chorusque prosequatur usque ad finem. Completis igitur omnibus regulariter faciendis

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1 Utrum ... expedire] cfr LU cap. 19, § 170. 10 soror ... 15 aquilonarii] cfr LU cap. 18, § 167. 13 dextris] Cfr autem LU cap. 18, § 167: ‘Et sit soror semper prior in progressu seu accessu ad altare, frater vero subequens a dextris’ 19 Veni ... spiritus] AH 2, 93. Cfr etiam RS § 143 et LU § 179.

6 hac (scil. causa) scripti, hoc cod. 10 Responsio supplevi
53. Question: Whether a cloth should be held out behind the persons undressing before the bishop.

Answer: We do not consider such a concealing cloth to be very necessary, since the choir is covered on both sides with screens in order to prevent secular people from curiously watching the actions around the persons that are going to be consecrated. But when there are no such screens by the altars, then this kind of cloth, placed in the middle, seems to be necessary.

54. If persons of both sexes are to be professed on the same day, who should come first as regards the profession and communion?

Answer: Depending on the situation, a sister can be allowed to go forward first and approach the altar, and she should stand on the left side to the north. Following her, a brother should stand on the right side. And in this order they should receive Communion together, be consecrated and prostrated in order to receive forgiveness, that is, beginning from the right side. And the dead should be buried in the same order, with the men and brothers on the south side and the sisters on the north side.

55. Question: It is asked about the litany to be sung before Communion.

Answer: This cannot always be the same, since our countries have different patrons. Therefore, every monastery should follow the custom of their cathedral church in this matter.35

56. Question: It is asked about the manner and custom when it comes to singing the hymn Veni creator spiritus.

Answer: The brothers are to go in procession before the bishop and the person who is to be introduced into the monastery. The cantor is to begin to sing the hymn Veni creator and the choir is to follow all the way to the end. When everything that is to be done according to the Rule has been finished, the

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35 See the comment on Reph. II, 66 below.
fratres episcopum usque ad egressionis ostium reverenter deducant et benedicione accepta ad chorum reedunt ibique nonam finiant et decantent.

57. Questio: De paritate consecracionis viduarum et virginum et corona.

Responsio: Disputare vel determinare de aureola non est nostre speculacionis, quia puteus altus est et hauritorium non habemus, iuxta illud altiora te non quesieris. Ista enim examini relinquimus peritorum et presertim cum regula nichil canit de huiusmodi aureola. Sed de corona loquitur in hec verba: 'Istam autem coronam tam vidue quam virgines portabunt in signum continencie et castitatis.'

58. Questio: Si plures persone fuerint simul professe, utrum omnes simul assignari debeant vel possint abbatisse que femine sunt et que visi confessori aut singillatim. Et quomodo variantur verba per totam professionem pro fratre? Et numquid debeat episcopus ante fores ecclesie interrogare eos singillatim: 'Es tu liber vel libera?’, vel possit hoc ad omnes insimul dicere.

Responsio: Interroget singillatim et similiter oraciones legat super unamqueque. Quando vero assignet sorores abbatisse vel fratres confessori dicit in plurali.

5 puteus ... habemus| cfr Io. 4, 11. Cfr etiam Aug. divers. quaeq. 64, 5. | altiora ... quesieris| cfr Sis. 3, 22. 7 Istam ... castitatis| RS § 64. 9 Si ... singillatim| cfr LU § 169. ‘Et si persone consecranda plures fuerint, nichilominus legat episcopus oraciones ad consecrandum easdem in singulari super unamqueque personam singillatim’ 10 assignari ... abbatisse| cfr RS § 143: ‘Deinde episcopus accedens ad eandem ianum subseuente fanula Dei ... assignabit eam abbatisse expectanti ad ianum cum comenta.’ 12 Es ... 12 liberat| cfr RS § 104: ‘Es tu libera et ab omni vinculo ecclesie inmunis, scilicet coniugii, voti et excommunicationis?’. Cfr supra, Resp. II, 43.

6 examini| examini cod. 10 que| scil. persone 12 post verbum episcopus litt. fr. scr. sed postea del. cod.
brothers are to lead the bishop reverently all the way to the exit door, and having been blessed they are to return to the choir and there finish and sing none.

57. Question: Regarding similar ways of consecrating widows and virgins and regarding the crown.

Answer: We are not going to discuss or determine anything regarding the celestial crown, since the well is deep and we have nothing to draw with, with this in mind: seek not the things that are too high. Thus we leave all these questions to be examined by more learned men, especially since the Rule does not mention anything about the celestial crown. But it speaks about the crown in these words: 'This crown is to be worn by widows and virgins alike as a sign of continence and chastity'.

58. Question: If many persons have been professed at the same time, (it is asked) whether they should be assigned at the same time, or whether the women should be assigned to the abbess, and the men to the confessor, or whether this should be done individually. Also, how should the wording be varied during a whole profession for a brother? And whether the bishop should ask them individually before the doors of the church: 'Are you free?', or if he can say this to them all at the same time.

Answer: He should ask them individually, and likewise he should read prayers for every single person. But when he assigns sisters to the abbess or brothers to the confessor, he can speak in the plural sense.
59. Item queritur, cum quo cantu, scilicet ympno, responsorio aut antiphona, ducitur persona professa ad capitulum et quales observancie ibidem tunc habentur.

Responsio: Fratres cantant *Veni creator spiritus*, sed sorores habent spiritualem cantum, scilicet *Sponse iungendo*. Finito ympno suscipiarus a confessore et fratribus in osculo pacis et assignet ei confessor unum ex fratribus pro directore, qui informet eum de moribus et observanciis regularibus, etc.

60. Item, quomodo tractanda est huiusmodi persona per octo dies et ubi stabit in choro? Et utrum erit in refectorio per illos dies commensalis vel extra, ut per instructioem alterius sancte et religiose vite prius addiscat observancias regulares quam coniungatur ceteris.

Responsio: Nos ponimus huiusmodi novicos ad mensam cum lectore mense per istos octo dies, nisi pro consolacione sua confessore velit eum habere secum in infirmitorio aliquot diebus. Et licet regula dicat, quod per octo dies inferius stabit in choro, tamen quia non habemus ibi stalla inferiorea, sicut in aliis ecclesiis, deputatur ei locus ad standum apud unum de altaribus iuxta / chorum.

61. Item, utrum talis persona completis viii diebus teneatur ad novam obedienciam faciendum in manus abbatisse suum confessoris, non obstante quod in professione sua canonicae et publicam in facie ecclesiae coram episcopo pluribus auditentibus exhibuit obedienciam, etc.

Responsio: Usus noster est, quod ympno cantato in capitulo, ut supra dictum est, confessore sedeat et dicto `Benedicite`, respondente `Dominus` dicat confessor: `Veni, frater. Oportet secundum consuetudinem ordinis nostri te renovare votum obediencie, quod nunc coram episcopo emisisti.` Et dato sibi libro legat

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4 Fratres ... spiritus| *cfr* RS § 143 & LU cap. 20, § 176; 178–179.  5 Sponse iungendo] *AH* 48, 417 & Cant. stor. p. 229; *cfr* eliam *Birg. Rev. Extrav.* 5, 2.  9 per³ ... 14 diebus] *cfr* LU, cap. 20, § 184.  14 per ... 15 choro] *RS* § 147.  21 Usus ... 136, 3 excant] *cfr* LU, cap. 20, § 179–181.  | ympno ... est³] *cfr* supra, Resp. II, 59.  24 dato ... libro] *cfr* LU § 180: `Et det ei librum, in quo hic forma professionis scripta sit...`

17 Item ... 136, 3 excant] *nota in marg. add. cod.*
59. There is a question regarding with what chant, that is, hymn, responsory or antiphon, the professed person is to be led to the chapter, and what (liturgical) customs are to be maintained then and there.

Answer: The brothers sing Veni creator Spiritus, but the sisters have a spiritual chant, namely Sponsa ungendero. When the hymn is finished, he is to be received by the confessor and brothers with the kiss of peace and the Confessor is to assign to him one of the brothers as a director, who is to inform him about the ways and regular customs prescribed in the Rule, etc.

60. How is such a person to be treated during the eight days and where is he/she to stand in the choir? And whether he/she can be in the Refectory during those days, seated at the table together with the others, or on the outside, so that, through the instruction from another person about the holy and religious life, he/she might learn about the regular customs before he/she joins the others.

Answer: We put the novices at the table with the lector during those eight days, unless the Confessor wants him to stay with him in the infirmary for a couple of days for the sake of consolation. And even though the Rule says that for eight days he must have the lowest place in the choir, he is to be given a place next to one of the altars by the choir, since we do not have any lower stalls there, as in other churches.

61. Whether such a person, when eight days have passed, should take new vows of obedience to the abbess or the confessor, regardless of the fact that at his profession he made canonical and public obedience in the face of the Church, before the bishop and a large audience.

Answer: It is our custom that when the hymn has been sung in the chapter, as mentioned above, the confessor is to sit down, and having said ‘Benedicite’, and receiving the answer ‘Dominus’, he is to say: ‘Come, brother. According to the custom of our order you must now renew the vow of obedience that you have just made before the bishop.’ And when the book has been given to him, he must genuflect and read the wording of the profession: ‘I, N, promise to obey

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59 The Syon Additions, composed some years later, make no mention of the precedent at Vadstena, stating that the renewal of the vows “is used amonge us of longe and laudable custom, and also ordeyned and streytly enioyed by our diocesan bishop of London”, Tait (1975), p. 230, n. 61; Aungier (1840), pp. 316–317.
flexis genibus formam huius professionis, dicens ‘Ego N promitto tibi obedienciam’, etc. Et dato sibi osculo pacis dicat: ‘Deus det tibi vitam eternam, amen.’ Et osculatis omnibus et dato directore, ut supra dictum est, excant.

62. Item, utrum soletis exaltare fratrem vel sororem aliquando postea propter aliquid causas, aut semper remaneant in ordine et loco quo profitentur.

Responsio: Semper teneant locum et ordinem suum in choro, capitulo et mensa regulari etc. Ad consultaciones vero et alia officia assumantur apiciores.

63. Item, an inter soreus litteratas et illiteratas sit aliquid differencia.

Responsio: Nulla.

64 Item, si aliqua persona apostataverit et veri similibus conjecturis de eius reditu minime speratur, aut si aliqua efficier leprosa seu propter animum obstinatum manciparetur perpetuis carceribus, utrum liceat tunc in aliquo casu istorum recipere alicem personam in loco talis.

Responsio: Per annum expectavimus pro uno apostata, quo finito recepinus loco ipsius. De leprosis autem et carceribus mancipatis etc: nulla persona admittatur, quamdiu vivunt.

65. Item, utrum soreus teneantur aut solent audire matutinas et officium fratum aut solummodo interesse suis propriis officis etc.

Responsio: Sorores non astringuntur interesse officis fratum, nisi cum velint et possint, nec omnes propriis officis nisi misse beate Virginis, a qua se nulla absentet absque licentia speciali.

3 dato ... est| cf supra, Resp. II, 59. 10 si ... 16 vivunt| cf LU § 156.

10 si aliqua| sialiqua ante cor. cod. 17 Item ... 21 speciali| digit. in marg. add. cod.
you’ etc. And when the kiss of peace has been given to him, the confessor is to say: ‘May God give you eternal life, amen.’ And when everyone has given the kiss of peace and a director has been assigned, as mentioned above, they are to leave.

62. Whether you are accustomed to promote a brother or sister afterwards for certain reasons, or whether they should always keep their rank and place in which they are professed.

Answer: They should always keep their place and rank in the choir, chapter-room and at the regular table, etc. When it comes to deliberations and other duties, the more suitable persons should be chosen.

63. Whether there is any difference between literate and illiterate sisters.

Answer: None.57

64. If someone illegally leaves the monastery and it is most probable that he/she will not return, or if someone becomes leprous or is perpetually imprisoned because of his/her obstinate disposition, whether it then, in some of the above-mentioned cases, is appropriate to receive someone else in such a person’s place.

Answer: We waited for a year for an apostate, and after that we received another person in his place.58 Regarding leprous and imprisoned persons etc: no one is to be admitted in their place for as long as they live.

65. Whether the sisters must hear or are accustomed to hearing matins and the office of the brothers, or if they should only take part in their own offices, etc.

Answer: The sisters are not obliged to take part in the offices of the brothers, unless they wish and can, nor are they all obliged to take part in their own offices, except for the mass of the Holy Virgin, from which no one may be absent, unless she has obtained special permission.

57 See further Hedström (2009), pp. 100–101, on this passage.
58 In all likelihood, this refers to lay brother Olof, who apostatized from Vadstena in August 1419, taking with him ‘a large number of things belonging to the monastery’. In May 1420, lay brother Ingolf was received in his place. DV § 302; 309.
66. Item, numquid fratres tenetur se conformare ecclesie cathedrali in officio
divino et servare festa, cerimonias et observancias, que ipsa ecclesia cathedralis
observat, etc.

Responsio: Fratres recipiant de ecclesia cathedrali antiphonarium, legendarium,
psalterium, ympnarium, graduale et cetera substantialia. Item observent festa
sanctorum sicut in dicta ecclesia. Ad observacionem autem processionum,
anniversariorum et celebraciones diversarum missarum fratres non tenentur.

67. Item, quare precedunt fratres in divino officio, cum soores sint principales?

Responsio: Forsitan quia fratres forciores sunt ad vigilias et labores. Et eciam
super hoc est spiritualis revelacio.

68. Item, an liceat recipere sacerdotem vel dyaconum in statum fratrum
laycorum.

Responsio: Hoc semel fecimus, sed multa inde sequebantur inconveniencia.
Propterca de cetero huiusmodi non admittamus.

69. Item, qui sunt illi labores in specie, de quibus tenentur fratres layci deservire
vel ministrare / ceteris fratribus suis?

Responsio: Ministrate in ecclesia, ad mensam in refectorio et in infirmitorio,
secare ligna, excollerex ortum, lodere sepulcra, accipere et rededere responsa in
locutorio, mundare vasa et scopare loca monasterii et cetera que preceperit
confessor.
66. Likewise, whether the brothers are obliged to follow the cathedral church when it comes to the divine office and to observe feasts, ceremonies and customs that the same cathedral church observes, etc.30

Answer: From the cathedral church, the brothers are to receive a book of antiphons, a collection of legends, a Psalter, a collection of hymns, a Gradual and other material things. Furthermore, they are to observe the feasts of the saints just as in the said church. The brothers are not obliged to observe the processions, the anniversaries and celebrations of different masses.

67. Why do the brothers precede (the sisters) in the divine office, although the sisters are more important?

Answer: Perhaps because the brothers are stronger when it comes to vigils and work. There is also a spiritual revelation regarding this matter.

68. Whether it may be allowed to receive a priest or deacon as a lay brother.

Answer: This we have done once, but it led to many problems.49 For this reason we should not admit them in the future.

69. What are in fact those tasks with which the lay brothers are obliged to serve or minister to the other brothers?

Answer: To minister in the church, at the table in the refectory and in the infirmary, to cut wood, take care of the garden, dig the graves, give and return responses in the locutory, wash the dishes, sweep the grounds of the monastery and other tasks prescribed by the confessor.

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30 As declared in the Regula Saluatoris (§ 150), the Birgitine brothers were to follow the local liturgy; thus, Vadstena adhered to the ordinal of Linköping, Syon to the Sarum (Salisbury) rite, observed in the diocese of London. See further Helander (1957), pp. 30–39; Tait (1975), p. 234, n. 107.

49 This might refer to Katiuus Thorbern, who entered Vadstena Abbey in 1392 as a secular priest and was made one of the lay brothers. He later became one of the deacons. Finally he was transferred to the status of priest ‘as was the custom at the time’; DV, § 71.2; 528.1. Furthermore, we have information on a dispute in Vadstena during the 1420s concerning the promotion of deacons to priests or generally receiving a higher rank in the monastery. See further Eriksson (2000).
70. Item, utrum propter missam de requiem pro funere presenti vel tricesima vel anniversario etc. liceat omittere missam de die, cum dicat regula: ‘qui quotidie de tempore missam et officium’, etc.

Responsio, quod quando talia occurrunt, legitimus missam de die vel festo.

71. Item, utrum missa de requiem soleat hic quotidie dici private per aliquem fratrem pro benefactoribus, etc.

72. Item, si ex aliqua consuetudine habetur, quod sacerdotes legant evangelium quando confessor exequitur officium aut in die professionum, vel si tantummodo hoc pertinet ad dyaconos.

Responsio: Hoc pertinet ad dyaconos, quando confessor tenet officium, sed in die professionum episcopus habet suos clericos ministrantes ei.

73. Item, utrum tanta solemnitas in ministri altaris – puta dyacono sed et subdyacono et huissmodi – haberi debeat quotidie in missa beate Virginis sicut in ipsa summa missa de die.

Responsio: Consuevimus contentari de uno ministrante ad altare beate Virginis, ex quo regula de his ministris nullam facit mencionem.

74. Item, numquid omni die debet ad minus <unum> sacrificium thurificari secundum mentem regule, cum ipsa contineat (sic in capitolo xviii) ‘tria thuribula’ etc., ‘quorum unum habendum est singulis diebus ferialibus’, etc.

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11 episcopus] episcopos col. 17 unum supplevi
70. Whether it may be allowed to omit the Mass of the day because of a Requiem mass for a funeral on the same day, or thirty days afterwards, or on the anniversary of a funeral, when the Rule says: ‘that every day they will chant Mass and Office according to the calendar’, etc.

Answer: When this happens, we read the Mass of the day or the feast.

71. Whether the Requiem Mass is usually performed here every day privately by a brother for the benefactors, etc.

72. Whether there is a rule that the priests read the Gospel when the confessor performs the Office or on the day of professions, or if this concerns the deacons only.

Answer: This concerns the deacons when the confessor performs the Office, but on the day of professions the bishop has his own clerics to minister to him.

73. Whether there has to be such great solemnity every day regarding the ministers at the altar – for instance, regarding the deacon, subdeacon and such – at the Mass for the Blessed Virgin, just as at the daily High Mass.

Answer: We have grown accustomed to be satisfied with one ministrant at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, since the Rule makes no mention of these ministrants.

74. Whether at least one offering of incense should be burned daily, according to the intention of the Rule, since it mentions (in chapter 18) ‘three censers’ etc., ‘of which one is to be used on every day of the week’, etc.
Respondio, quod sic, nisi in missa pro defunctis.

75. Item, utrum in diebus professionum vel eleccionis abbatisse aut confessoris possit cantus omitti et officium legi sine nota, cum de fratribus dicitur: ‘quotidie cantabunt officium cathedralis ecclesie’ et de sororibus, quod ‘cantabunt solemniter horas beate Virginis tam festis quam privatis diebus.’

Respondio: Nullo modo possunt omittere.

76. Item, de xi capitulo: Numquid camisie sororum et subtunalia fratum ad idem sonant in effectu, quantum ad rigorem observancie regularis. Et numquid iste pannis, id est burellum album, debeat aut possit esse subtilior quam illud burellum griseum.

Respondio: Caveatur nimia subtilitas aut preciositas.

77. Item, cum in ceteris religionibus – et specialiter inter Carthusienses, ubi summe viget religio – habeatur uniformitas in habitu (notanter in coloribus, ymmo pocius in forma, similiter in tonsura), cur in hac religione, que aliorum a Christo reformatrix est deputata, tanta est differmitas in huismodi? Et numquid fratres layci debeant habere tonsuram, cum dicat regula: ‘tonsuram eciam habeant fratres sicut in alis monasteriis’, etc.

Respondio: Quia non sumus enutriti vel instituti in una domo, nec vidimus nos invicem aliquando, ideo tanta est differmitas in huismodi. Fratres layci non possunt nec debent aliam tonsuram habere quam habent nunc de facto.

3 quotidie … 4 ecclesie] cfr RS § 150. Cfr supra, Resp. II, 70. 4 cantabunt ... 5 diebus] cfr RS § 67. 7 camisie ... 10 griseum] cfr RS § 58: ‘Indumenta vero sororum sunt due camisie de albo burello ... , vna tunica de burello griseo et vna cuculla...’; RS 156: ‘Sacerdotes omnes et fratres duo subtunalia alba de burello et vnam tunicam de griseo burello habere possunt...’ 16 tonsuram... 17 monasteriis] RS § 164.

Answer: Yes, with the exception of the Mass for the dead.

75. Whether the chant can be omitted and the office read without singing in
days of professions or the election of the abbess or confessor, although it is said
of the brothers: ‘they will sing the office of the cathedral church every day’, and
of the sisters: ‘they will solemnly\(^1\) sing the hours of the Blessed Virgin, on feast
days as well as weekdays.’

Answer: They cannot omit these things under any circumstances.

76. Regarding chapter 11: Whether the sisters’ shirts and the brothers’
undergarments really signify the same thing, as to the strict observance of the
Rule. And whether the cloth, that is, the white woollen cloth, should or may be
finer than the grey woollen cloth.

Answer: Excessive finery or extravagance should be avoided.

77. Since in other orders – and especially among the Carthusians\(^2\) where
devotion flourishes in the highest degree – there is uniformity in habit (notably in
colours, and all the more in form, likewise regarding the tonsure), then why is
there such great dissimilarity regarding these things in this order, which has been
destined by Christ to reform other orders? And whether the lay brothers should
wear a tonsure, since the Rule says: ‘The brothers are to wear a tonsure just as in
other monasteries’, etc.

Answer: Since we have not been brought up or educated in the same house, nor
ever met, such great dissimilarity regarding these things exists. The lay brothers
neither can nor should wear another tonsure than the one they now actually have.

\(^1\) See the comment on Reg. II, 16 a above.
\(^2\) The Carthusian priory of Sheen was situated very close to Syon (across the river
Thames) and the two houses were in close contact with each other; Knowles (1959), p.
212; Beckett (1993), p. 126.
78. Item, numquid liceat confessori de licencia dyocesani et assensu sororum et fratrum assumpto sibi uno confratre vel pluribus, si neccesitas / exigat, exire monasterium et clausuram pro edicacione novi monasterii, ut omnia ibi structura et edificia construenda debite et secundum mentem Revelationis consulte ordinentur, ne contingat in defectu supervisionis multa incomoda et erronea directe contra mentem regule et revelaciones militare. Et si liceat dictis confessori et fratribus in dictis supervisione et disposicione libere vel prandere, necnon pro constitucione regule et disciplinis regularibus instituendis aut pro illis negociis, que per procuratores expediri non poterunt, licitum sit exire etc.

Responsio: Secundum quandam revelacionem licet exire clausuram in causis premisis, sed utatur parcius.

79. Item, qui sunt illi casus in specie, qui dicuntur ‘inevitables’?

Responsio: Incendium ignis monasterium et omnia devorantis. Item insultus hostium, paganorum seu aliorum tyrannorum, sanguinem servorum Dei siciencium, vel negocia ordinis ad dominum papam, que per alios expediri minime poterunt, etc.

80. Item, de capitulo xii: Utrum abbatissa possit aut debet eligi tam a fratribus quam a sororibus. Pro parte autem negativa, ut videtur, ipsa regula in se, cum disponat cam eligendam esse solum ‘a conventu’. Et ipsa bulla Iohannis non patitur soreos et fratres unum efficere conventum, sed duos, etc.

Responsio: Superius tactum est.

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6 post contra verbum regulam. sed sed postea exp. et del. cod.
78. Whether the confessor may – with the permission of the diocesan bishop and by common assent of the brothers and sisters – leave the monastery and the clausura, having first chosen a brother to accompany him, or many, if necessary, in order to build a new monastery, so that all the structures and buildings that are to be built there are duly and considerately arranged according to the intention of the Revelation in order to avoid unfortunate and erroneous things that are directly contrary to the intention of the Rule and the Revelations, as a result of failing supervision. And (it is asked) whether the said confessor and these brothers are allowed to drink and eat during the said supervision and arrangement. Also, whether they may be allowed – in matters regarding the constitution of the Rule and the instruction of regular discipline, or in those cases that cannot be dealt with by the procurators – to leave, etc.

Answer: According to a certain Revelation it is allowed to leave the clausura in the above-mentioned cases, but this should not be done too often.

79. What are in fact those cases, that are called ‘inevitable’?

Answer: A fire devastating the monastery and all things, an enemy attack from pagans or tyrants, who thirst for the blood of the servants of God, or matters regarding the order that must be transmitted to the Pope because no other persons can take care of them, etc.\(^3\)

80. Regarding chapter 12: Whether the abbess can or should be chosen by the brothers as well as the sisters. It seems as though the Rule in itself argues for a negative answer as it settles that she is to be chosen ‘by the convent’ only. And the very bull by Pope John does not allow the sisters and brothers to constitute one convent, but two, etc.\(^4\)

Answer: This has been discussed above.

\(^3\) The *Declaraciones Dominorum* (see the apparatus of sources) lists a couple of necessary cases where it may be allowed to leave the monastery. The explanation given in the *Responsiones* is somewhat more detailed.

\(^4\) The question discussed in *Reg.* I, 2 and II, 21 is repeated. The English Birgittines do not, however, seem very interested in discussing the matter, as they have already answered the question themselves.
81. Item, utrum in eleccione confessoris debet prevalere mayor pars totius congreccucionis sororum et fratum coniunctim, seu sanior et maior numerus utriusque partis ad hoc requiri habeat singillatim.

Responsio: Maior numerus sororum et fratum coniunctim prevalet in eleccione.

82. Item, utrum potestas confessoris, scilicet ligandi et solvendi, corrigendi et reformandi, extendet se eciam super abbatissam et sorores extra forum anime, et si per hoc verbum ‘conservacionem ordinis’ habeat confessor intendere conservacioni ordinis inter sorores, et quomodo et in quibus. De hoc responsum petimus specialiter.

Responsio: Iste articulus declaratur in responcionibus Alphonsi et ceterorum super regula Salvatoris. Ibi ‘An auctoritas confessoris’, etc.

83. Item, utrum confessor debeat seu possit se intromittere de negociis exterioribus et bonis monasterii cum consilio et voluntate abbatisse, preter iudicia fratum et conservacionem ordinis et procuracionem necessariorum pro fratribus.

Responsio, quod sic, quia multa negocia sepius occurrunt tam a familia quam alio, que abbatissa honesto modo non potest tractare vel forsitan que capacitatem eius excedunt. Ergo oportet, quod per confessorem audiantur et determinentur, etc.

84. Item, de capitulo xiii: Ad que vacare debent dyaconi et fratres layci, cum de ipsis hic non fit mencio sicut de tredecim sacerdotibus?

81. Whether the majority of the whole congregation of sisters and brothers together has greater influence regarding the election of the confessor, or whether the wiser and greater number in each of the two parts separately is required.

Answer: The majority of sisters and brothers together decides the election.

82. Whether the power of the confessor, namely to bind and solve, correct and reform, concerns even the abbess and the sisters outside confession, and whether by this phrase ‘the conservation of the order’ it is implied that the confessor should maintain the conservation of the order among the sisters as well, and how and for what persons this should be done. We specifically ask for an answer regarding this matter.

Answer: This article is explained in the answers of Alfonso and others regarding the Rule of the Saviour. See ‘An auctoritas confessoris’, etc.

83. Whether the confessor, in addition to his jurisdiction over the brothers, the conservation of the order and his providing the brothers with necessary things, should or may concern himself with external matters and the property of the monastery after consultation with the abbess and with her permission.

Answer: Yes, since many matters often occur because of family or other persons that the abbess cannot deal with in an honourable way, or that exceed her capacity. Therefore it is appropriate that these matters are heard and determined by the confessor, etc.

84. Regarding chapter fourteen: With what are the deacons and lay brothers to work, since the Rule makes no mention of them as it does concerning the thirteen priests?
Responsio, quod exprimitur in declaracionibus Alphonsi, quas habetis, quid sit corum officium. De officiis fratrum laycorum et laboribus superius tactum est.

85. Item, cum regula obliget frates sacerdotes ad exponendum omni die / dominica evangeliunm illius diei, quid si in dominica aliquod festum contigerit, quo non obligantur predicare si extra dominicam eveniret, de quo eciat totum ipso die habetur officium et missa et nichil de dominica, utrum tunc tenentur exponere evangelium festi vel dominicale.

Responsio: Hoc habetur in predictis declaracionibus Alphonsi, quod non decki dimitti evangelium dominicale omnino, quin litteraliter exponatur.

86. Item, utrum exposicio evangelii in dominicis in ipsa missa – lecto evangelio et offertorio, ut moris est in alis ecclesiis – habeat fieri, vel alio tempore quo confessori visum fuerit et secundum temporis exigenciam.

Responsio, quod relinquatur discretioni confessoris generalis.

87. Item, si aliquod festum contigerit in dominica, de quo fieri debuerat sermo, si alio die evenerit, numquid tunc liceat publice predicare et omittere expositionem evangelii.

Responsio: De festo huiusmodi predicandum est, licet aliqui solet adaptare evangelium dominicale festo illius diei.

\[\textit{quod ... 2 officium]} \textit{cf. Decl., A i 6ivo: ‘De officiis quatuor diaconorum. Intendant ad divina officia et ad lecturam et ad omnia alia sibi inuengenda secundum discreciones et arbitrium confessoris generalis.’} \textit{2 De ... est]} \textit{cf supra, Resp. II, 6iv. 3 regula ... 4 diei]} \textit{cf RS § 174. 5 totum ... 6 dominica]} \textit{cf LU cap. 24, § 222: ‘Et si aliquod festum in dominicia occurrerit, sive frates ad predicandum in eo obligantur sive non (si extra dominicam evenerit), eciam si de eo totum officium et missa et nichil de dominica nisi sola memoria cantur, non debet omittiti evangelium dominicale, quin ad minus literaliter exponeatur’} \textit{8 non ... 9 exponeatur]} \textit{cf Decl., A i 6vo: ‘Videtur, quod non debet dimitti evangelium dominicale propter divinam constitutionem beate Birgitae revelatam et per papam confirmatam quin ad minus literaliter exponeatur’.} \textit{Cf etiam LU cap. 24, § 222.}
Answer: It is explained in the declarations of Alfonso, which you own, what their duties are. The duties and tasks of the lay brothers have been discussed above.

84. Since the Rule obliges the priests to expound the Gospel of that very day every Sunday, what happens if a feast takes place on a Sunday, a feast in which the priests would not have been obliged to preach had it occurred on a week-day, but for which there is even a whole Office on that very day, as well as a Mass, and nothing regarding Sunday – do the priests, in such cases, have to expound the Gospel of the feast or of the Sunday?

Answer: It is stated in the above-mentioned declarations of Alfonso, that the Gospel of the Sunday must not on any account be omitted, if not at least explained literally.\footnote{On this passage, see the Introduction, ch. 3.2.6. The exposicio literalis (as opposed to exposicio spiritualis, dealing with the mystical and allegorical interpretation) concerns ‘the grammatical and historical sense of the text and was fundamental to all study and interpretation of the Bible’; Andersson and Borgehammar (1997), p. 229.}

85. Whether the expounding of the Gospel on Sundays should take place at Mass – the Gospel and Offertory having been read, as is the custom in other churches – or at another time that seems appropriate to the confessor, and according to the time needed.

Answer: That is to be decided by the confessor general.

86. If a feast takes place on a Sunday, a feast for which a sermon should have been preached, had it occurred on another day, whether we then may preach in public and omit the exposition of the Gospel.

Answer: We are to preach about the feast, even though some people have the custom to adapt the Sunday Gospel to the feast of that day.
88. Item, quo tempore diei debet fieri publica predicacio, cum non habeat aliquod tempus explicite limitatum?

Responsio: Hoc sit in potestate confessoris, nam post missam beate Virginis semper consuevimus habere sermonem, sive in ecclesia sive extra in cimiterio.

89. Item, utrum revelacio de predicacione habeat intelligi tam de publica predicacione quam expositione evangeliaca.

Responsio, quod sic, secundum quod credimus.

90. Item, an predicandum sit in utroque festo sancti Iohannis evangeliste. Videtur enim ex verbis regule, quod sic, scilicet ‘cunctis solemnmitatibus, quarum vigilias seu profula sieuant in pane et aqua, atque aliis quibuscumque festis vigiliam habentibus debent publice predicare’.

<Responsio:> De festo eius in natali Domini non videtur dubium, quin predicacio fiat, sed communicandum non est, quia regula non precipit ieiunare in die Stephani. In alio autem festo eius, scilicet Ante portam Latinam, omnes communicabunt, sed propter raritatem audiencium sermonem pretermittimus, nisi cadat in dominica.

91. Item, numquid uterque chorus semper quiescere debet, dum expositione evangeli vel predicacio exercetur, ita quod omnes fratres et sorores, qui possunt, debeant interesse.

Responsio: Utique fiat silencium a cantu, si predicacio fiat in ecclesia.


8 sancti ... evangeliste] sancti evangeliste Iohannis ante corr. cod. 12 Responsio supplivi
18 post omnes litt. scr. sed postea del. cod.
88. At what time of the day should a public sermon be preached, since no explicit time has been settled?

Answer: This should be in the power of the confessor to decide, for we have grown accustomed to preaching a sermon after the Mass of the blessed Virgin, either in the church or outdoors in the cemetery.

89. Whether the revelation about preaching should be understood as regarding public preaching as well as the exposition of the Gospel.

Answer: Yes, we believe so.

90. Whether we are to preach at both feasts of Saint John the Evangelist. According to the wording of the Rule, this seems to be the case, namely ‘at all feasts, before which they fast on bread and water, and at all other feasts that have vigils, they are to preach in public’.

Answer: As to his feast at Christmas, there should undoubtedly be preaching, but there should be no communion, since the Rule does not instruct us to fast on the day of Saint Stephen. However, at another of his feasts, Before the Latin Gate, everyone shall receive communion, but, because of the scarce number of people listening, we omit the sermon, unless the feast falls upon a Sunday.

91. Whether both choirs have to be silent during the exposition of the Gospel and the sermon, since all brothers and sisters, who are able to, should be there.

Answer: Of course there should be no singing, if a sermon is taking place in the church.
92. Item, an liceat confessori limitare seu onerare duos fratres sacerdotes vel tres ad pronunciamum verbum Dei, si videatur sibi expediens, et alios exonerare, aut hoc habeat facere de consensu omnium sacerdotum vel sanioris partis corundem.

5 Responsio, quod fiat de assensu omnium, quia si illi duo vel tres infirmarentur vel subito morerentur, et nulli essent usitati facere sermones, cederet in dehonestacionem et ruborem conventus.

93. Item, utrum quando differtur festum aliquod, debeat et simul sermo differri.

Responsio, quod sic.

94. Item, utrum confessor habeat aliquam tempora sibi specialiter assignata pro generalibus confessionibus audiendis.

Responsio: In Adventu Domini et in Quadragesima et ante festum Sancti Petri ad vincula consuetit confessor conventum sororum confessare.

95. Item, numquid liceat confessori /generalib aut alicui alteri confessorum limitare certas horas in die ad confessiones audiendas, non obstante quod habetur in regula, quod omni die ad satisfaciendum de hoc sacramento unicuique confiteri volenti sint parati. Et utrum liceat absentari a choro pro confessionibus audiendis ad intra vel extra.

Responsio: Feria iii° et feria sexta solent confessores sororum exire de choro cantato Te Deum et legere primam et terciam et celebrare missas. Si volunt, sic

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1 an ... 7 conventus] cf R U cap. 24, § 224: ‘...non debet neque potest confessor eciam de consensu omnium limitare seu onerare duos vel tres fratres ad predicandum et alios exonerare, quia, si illi duo vel tres fratres subito infirmarentur, morerentur aut alia inhabiles redderentur et nulli alii essent usitati ad predicandum, cederet tali ordinacio in magnam dehonestacionem conventus et transgressionem regule.’
8 quando ... differri] cf R U cap. 24, § 223. 16 omni ... 17 parati] RS § 178. 19 Feria ... 154, 2 expedire] cf R U cap. 26, § 235–236.

1 Item ... 7 conventus] digit. in marg. add. cod. 7 dehonestacionem] dehonestatem, ut vid., ante corr. cod. 13 confessor in marg. sec. et hic inscr. ind. cod.
92. Whether the confessor may assign or burden two or three priest-brothers with the task of preaching the word of God, if he deems necessary, and unburden others, or if he may only do this with the consent of all the priests or the wiser part of them.

Answer: This has to be done with everyone’s consent, for if these two or three brothers fell ill or suddenly died, and no other brothers were accustomed to preaching, it would lead to disgrace and shame for the convent.

93. Whether, when a feast is moved, the sermon is also to be moved at the same time.

Answer: Yes.

94. Whether the confessor may have a certain time assigned to him in order to hear the general confessions.

Answer: The confessor has become accustomed to hearing the sisters’ confessions in Advent, Lent and before the feast of Saint Peter in Chains.

95. Whether the confessor general or other confessors may reserve certain hours of the day to hear confessions, regardless of the words of the Rule, that every day they should be prepared to administer this sacrament to those who wish to confess. And whether they may be absent from the choir in order to hear confessions of those inside or outside (the monastery).

Answer: On Tuesdays and Fridays, having sung the Te Deum, the sisters’ confessors usually leave the choir, in order to read the Prime and the Terce and celebrate Mass. If they wish, they go away to hear confessions and return for
vadunt ad confessiones audiendas et redeunt ad sextam vel summam missam de confessionibus audiendis. Ad extra ordinet confessor, ut noverit expedire.

96. Item, utrum aliqua soror vel frater potest assumere sibi aliquem fratrem sacerdotem in confessorem, nisi ipsum dumtaxat, quem confessor sibi assignat.

5 Responsio: Non potest ullo modo.

97. Item, an confessor generalis solet reservare sibi aliquos casus, de quibus non possunt absolvere alii confessores ab eo substituti. Et si sic, quomodo servatur illa clausula regule, scilicet ‘ad satisfaciendum de hoc sacramento’, etc.?

Responsio: Non obstante tali clausula potest sibi reservare, scilicet qui revelant secreta monasterii extraneis et alia gravia committunt, de quibus sepius ammoniti non curant abstinere. Videtur expediens, nec obstat regule, quod confessor generalis reservat sibi casus graves et arduos, nam in his satisfacit confessor confitenti et in aliis confessores substituti.

98. Item, utrum unquam solent soreores et fratres confiteri episcopo dyocesano vel alteri episcopo, cum vel sine licencia confessoris.

Responsio: Nullo modo.

99. Item, si autem supplicatur quedam instruccio specialis, quomodo et qua forma licenciantur seu deputentur isti confessores substituti? Et si liceat aut usitatur alicii alteri confiteri quam ipsis deputatis.

Responsio: Dicat confessor: ‘Auctoritate ordinaria mihi commissa substituo te ad confessiones audiendas sororum et fratrum nostrorum tibi assignatorum, conferens tibi potestatem eosdem confitentes absolvendi et penitenciam salutarem eisdem inuiungendi.’ Liceat eciam sororibus communicaturis recipere

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11 verba Vitudur ... in hiis in summa pag. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod; verba in hiis iteravit. 14 post episcopo litt. diose scr. sed postea exp. et del. cod. 17 si autem scripsi, fiat cod.
Sext or High Mass, having heard confessions. Regarding the outside confessions, the confessor may decide as seems suitable to him.

96. Whether a sister or brother can choose a priest-brother as her/his confessor, other than the one the confessor assigns to her/him.

Answer: Under no circumstances.

97. Whether the confessor general usually reserves some cases for himself from which the other confessors, appointed by him, cannot grant absolution. And if this is the case, how is that clause of the Rule preserved, namely ‘to administer this sacrament’, etc.?

Answer: Regardless of this clause he can reserve such cases for himself, concerning those people, who reveal the secrets of the monastery to strangers and commit other grave errors, from which they will not, albeit often admonished, refrain. It seems necessary, and it is not contrary to the Rule, that the confessor general reserves such grave and difficult cases for himself, for regarding these matters the confessor takes care of the confessant; in other matters this is done by the substitute confessors.

98. Whether the sisters and brothers sometimes confess to the diocesan bishop or another bishop, with or without the permission of the confessor.

Answer: Under no circumstances.

99. If a special instruction is asked for, how and in what form are those substitute confessors to be authorised or assigned? Also, whether it is permitted or common to confess to someone else than to those who have been assigned.

Answer: The confessor is to say: ‘With the regular authority entrusted to me, I appoint you to hear the confessions of those of our sisters and brothers who have been assigned to you. I bestow upon you the power to absolve those confessing to you, and to grant them salutary forgiveness.’ The sisters who are about to receive communion are also allowed to receive absolution from someone not
absolucionem a non sibi deputato – proprio suo confessore alias occupato – consensu confessoris generalis ad hoc accedente.

100. Item, de capitulo xiii: Quid si festum communionis eunetrum in dominica et differri oporteat in secundam feriam, sicut sepius contingit in Adventu et Quadragesima, numquid communio differri habeat vel valeat cum festo. Vel si huiusmodi festum in secunda contigerit, numquid poterunt sorores dominica precedente communicare.

Responsio: Possunt, debent in dominica communicare.

101. Item, quid faciendum est, si aliqua soror subtrahat aut ingerat se communioni contra consilium sui confessoris?

Responsio: Remittenda est ad confessorem generalem.

102. Item, utrum abbatissa debeat vel possit interponere seu de facto interponit se de communiione sororum. Et si sic, quomodo et in quibus?

Responsio: De rebelliis et manifeste inobedientibus potest se intromittere et confessori generali referre.

103. Item, utrum fratres layci teneantur / et possint tociens communicare sicut sorores.

Responsio: Possunt, si devote et humiliter petunt.

104. Item, utrum confessor de consuetudine solet communicare sorores, vel deputat aliquem in special ad hoc. Et, si deputat, numquid solum de substitutis vel non confessoribus. Et si datur ipsis calix cum vino de manu sacerdotis, vel ipse habeant ad intra tam calicem quam vinum in propria disposicione, et utrum debeat communicare.

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3 de ... 7 communicare] cfr RS § 179–182. 16 Item ... 17 sorores] cfr RS § 181–182. fratres ... 18 petunt] cfr LU cap. 35, § 303.
assigned to her, if her own confessor is otherwise occupied and if the confessor
general has consented to this.

100. Regarding chapter 14: If a feast with communion occurs on a Sunday and
ought to be transferred to Monday, as often happens in Advent and Lent,
whether the communion must or can be transferred as well with the feast. Or, if
such a feast occurs on a Monday, whether the sisters may receive communion on
the Sunday before that.

Answer: They can and should receive communion on Sundays.

101. What is to be done if a sister withdraws from or shows up for communion
contrary to the counsel of her confessor?

Answer: She must be referred to the confessor general.

102. Whether the abbess ought to or can interfere in the sisters' communion, or
whether she actually interferes. And, if so, how and for what persons?

Answer: She can interfere when it comes to rebellious and openly disobedient
sisters and tell the confessor general.

103. Whether the lay brothers must and can receive communion as often as the
sisters.\(^4\)

Answer: They can, if they ask for it in a pious and humble way.

104. Whether the confessor, according to custom, usually gives communion to
the sisters, or if he assigns someone in particular for this. And, if he assigns
someone, whether he could only be one of the substitute confessors, or not a
confessor at all. And (it is asked) if the chalice with wine is given to them from
the hand of the priest, or if the sisters may have a chalice and wine of their own,
and whether they may distribute communion (themselves).

\(^4\) According to the Rule (§ 181–182), the sisters were to receive communion on Saturdays
if they requested it, as well as on a great number of feasts.
Responsio: Confessor potest eas communicare, quandocumque voluerit, sed ipso impedito substituti hoc faciant vicissim. Calicem recipiant de manu sacerdotis secundum regulam. Et ad fenestram ad hoc deputatam debent communicare.

105. Item, de capitulo xv: Si licet dierre capitulum de quinta in aliam seu anteferre pro causis legitimis etc.

Responsio: Capitulum non potest variari nisi urgente necessitate, utputa si episcopus visitaret in quinta feria, vel si conventus staret in presencia domini regis et consimilibus casibus.

106. Item, a quo et qua auctoritate translatum seu mutatum est capitulum istud de una specie in aliam, scilicet de muliebri in virilem, magis quam tota regula?

Responsio: Cum in loco capitulari non legatur nisi illud solum ‘capitulum’, videretur quasi nichil tangeret fratern, si legeretur simpliciter in feminino. Nec tamen per hoc in aliquo violatur bulla pape seu libri quicunque regulam continentem, etc.

107. Item, quales locus est ille ‘ambitus’, in quo manere debet soror proprietaria sive frater?

Responsio: Ante fores ecclesie.

108. Item, utrum soror convicta per testes de proprietate, que omnia negat nec vult fateri se habuisse proprium, debeat vel possit absolvit.

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2 Calicem … 3 communicare] cf. RS § 247.  
4 de’ … in] cf. RS § 185; ‘Omni quinta feria habeatur capitulum, ubi, si quis deliquerit in aliquo, corrigatur.’  
10 de’ … aliam] cf. Thom. Aq. S.T I, 2, qu. 67, art. 3: ‘Et quia unum et idem numero manus non potest transferri de una specie in aliam…”  
15 ambitus … 17 ecclesie] cf. RS § 187; ‘Istis eciam duobus diebus non ingreditur ecclesiam …, in ambitu manens et nulli sororum aliquid loquens…”

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4 xv] 15 in marg. add. cod. | quinta] scil. feria  
6 post necessitate litter. vj, ut vid., sec. sed postea del. cod.  
10 una] cum signo abbr. superfuro ante corr. cod.
Answer: The confessor can give them communion whenever he wishes to, but when he is hindered, the substitute confessors may do this in turn. The sisters are to receive the chalice from the hand of the priest, according to the Rule. And they are to receive communion at the window intended for this matter.

105. Regarding chapter 15: Whether it is permitted to move the chapter from Thursday to another day, or anticipate it for good reasons, etc.

Answer: The chapter may not be moved unless there is an urgent need for it, for example, if a bishop visits on a Thursday, or if the convent happens to be visited by the king, and in other such cases.

106. By whom and with what authority is that chapter (15) transferred or changed from one form to another, namely from concerning women to concerning men, more than the whole Rule?\(^7\)

Answer: Since nothing else is read in the place of the chapter than the word ‘chapter’, it seems it would not concern the brothers if it simply were read in the feminine sense. However, the papal bull is not in any way violated by this, or any books that contain the Rule, etc.

107. What kind of place is that passage, where a sister or brother guilty of owning property is to stay?

Answer: Before the doors of the church.

108. Whether a sister, by witnesses proved guilty of owning property, who denies all this and does not want to confess to owning property, should or could be absolved.

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\(^7\) This question deals with a difference between the *Regula Salvatoris* and the *Addiciones*. Chapter 15 (the 1378 version) of the Rule concerns the weekly chapter where errant sisters are to be corrected and absolved. In an early version of the *Addiciones*, the text concerns the male convent, in later versions, the female; *Add.*, pp. 78–80.
Respnsio: Puniatur et absolvatur secundum xv capitulum regule.

109. Item, utrum absolucio illa de proprietariis convictis per confessorem facienda debeat esse publica vel solennis, vel privata et sacerdotalis.

Respnsio: Ad cratem debet absolv, quia publice culpe publica pena debet correspondere, secundum capitulum xv regule.

110. Item, utrum solet aut possit abbatissa seu confessor minuere, mutare aut de toto tollere penitenciam proprietarium expressam in regula ipsis ex debito infringendam.

Respnsio: Non possunt in publice convictis.

111. Item, ubi debet proprietaria mortua absolvi? Numquid debet ostium aperiri et corpus ante ostium statui, sicut verba regule sonare videntur, scilicet portetur ante fores ecclesie? Et sic per hoc videtur, quod illud habeat tunc bis aperiri, quia post absolucionem corpus eius statuendum est in medio chori sororum, et postea fratres ingredientur monasterium ad deferendum corpus ad sepulturam.

Respnsio: Sicut verba sonant censemus faciendum.

112. Item queritur: ‘Quomodo hic habitis in usu et quomodo facitis cum moriente habente proprium?’. Et de modo et forma absolvendi proprietarium.

Respnsio: Formam absolucionis habetis in xv capitulo regule. Usum vero huiusmodi absolucionis, preservante nos Dei gracia, nondum exercerimus.

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1 Puniatur ... regule| cfr RS § 103–104.  4 Ad ... 5 regule| cfr RS § 109; ‘Vbi absolucionis percepala a sacerdote extra ad cratem existente reuertatur ad ordinem suum.’
11 portetur ... 12 ecclesie| RS § 109.  13 post ... 14 sepulturam| cfr RS § 104.
18 Formam ... regule| cfr RS § 109–110.

12 Et sic| fort. Et <sici> sic scribendum, cfr quaeat, 97; 102; 153.
Answer: She is to be punished and absolved according to chapter 15 of the Rule.

109. Whether the absolution regarding persons proved guilty of owning things, an absolution which should be granted by the confessor, is to be public or solemn, or private and before priests.

Answer: The person in question is to be absolved at the grating, because a public punishment should correspond to sins committed in public, according to chapter 15 of the Rule.

110. Whether the abbess or the confessor has the custom or is allowed to diminish, change or altogether abolish the penitence that, according to the Rule, is to be imposed upon persons owning property.

Answer: They are not allowed to do so regarding those convicted in public.

111. Where should a dead sister, guilty of having owned property, be absolved? Is the door to be opened and the corpse to be placed before it, just as the wording of the Rule seems to tell us, namely, ‘her body is to be carried out before the doors of the church’? The consequence of this seems to be that the door must be opened twice, because after the absolution the body is to be placed in the middle of the choir, and after that the brothers are to enter the monastery to carry the body to the grave.

Answer: We believe that we should do as the words (of the Rule) tell us.

112. It is asked: ‘What custom do you follow here and how do you act when it comes to a dying person owning property?’ This question is also about the method and form of absolving someone owning property.

Answer: You will find the form of absolution in chapter 15 of the Rule. We have not hitherto – God’s grace save us – had to use this kind of absolution.48

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48 There is, however, one case where this type of absolution may have been used in Vadstena, recorded in the Memorial Book of Vadstena in the year 1422: *Eodem anno ... obiit soror Christina Imnodottir ... hec reliquit post se multa superflua – et utinam non propria! – scilicet foraturas et similia* (DV § 331).
113. Item, de capitulo xvi: utrum parva dona non possunt recipi / de licencia abbatisse et confessoris, que sunt ad usum necessaria, utputa cultelli et forpices, et huiusmodi que oportet eciam emi.

Responsio: Standum est regule in xvi capitulo.

114. Item, utrum licet abbatisse seu confessori aut alicui alteri sororum aut fratrum ex eorum permissione habere aliqua specialia seu localia licet non a parentibus seu amicis suis ipsis transmissa, sed forte secum ad monasterium asportata vel per abbatissam ipsis provisa et contradita.

Responsio: Omnia localia de auro et argento et omnia alia, que movent ad mentis levitatem et dissolucionem, in regula prohibita sunt. Sed dare alicui librum psalterii preciosum seu orationum pro quotidiano usu, vel alicquid huiusmodi necessarium, credimus licere.

115. Item de xvii capitulo, cum dicitur ‘Construenda est quippe primum ecclesia et monasterium sororum atque curia sacerdotum in suis locis, ut dictum est superius’, ubi est illud ‘superius’? Si dicatur, quod per illud ‘superius’ intelligitur revelacio, exhibcantur ille que sunt vere correcte, quia in omnibus illis, que apud nos sunt, magna patet discrepancia.

Responsio: Illud ‘superius’ refertur ad x capitulo, ubi agitur de monasterio sororum et curia fratrum ac de distincione ecclesie, in qua clerici habebunt chorum inferiorum et sores chorum suum superius sub tecto. Vel illud ‘superius’ intelligitur de alicubus revelacionibus beate Birgitte revelatis modum et formam structure exprimentibus.

116. Item queritur de adequata mensura situs et fundi sororum et fratrum et specialius fratrum, scilicet quantum spaciun infra clausuram habere possunt et ultra non, secundum mentem revelacionum.

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4 Standum ... capitulo] sft RS § 194–196. 5 utrum ... 10 sunt] sft RS § 192–196. 13 Construenda ... 15 superius] sft RS § 201. 18 de ... 20 tecto] sft RS § 151. 21 alicubus ... 22 exprimentibus] sft Bifg. Rev. Extrav., e.g. cap. 26–29.

1 xvi] 16 in marg. add. cod. | post recipi verbum cum scr. sed postea exp. et del. cod. 7 secum] secum forte ante corr. cod. 13 xvii] 17 in marg. add. cod. 15 per in marg. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod. 162
113. Regarding chapter 16: Whether small gifts might not be received with permission from the abbess or the confessor, things that are useful, such as knives, tongs and things that would have to be bought.

Answer: We must follow the Rule, chapter 16.49

114. Whether the abbess or the confessor, or a sister or brother with their permission, is allowed to own special or precious things, not sent to them by parents or friends, but taken to the monastery by themselves, or provided and given to them by the abbess.

Answer: All precious things made of gold and silver, and all other things that lead to levity and destruction of the mind, are prohibited in the Rule. However, we believe that it may be allowed to give someone a costly book of psalms or prayers for daily use, or something necessary of this kind.

115. Regarding chapter 17, when it is said: ‘First, the church and the monastery of the sisters and the house of the priests should be constructed in their places, as has been mentioned above’, what passage does the word ‘above’ refer to? If you say that by the word ‘above’ we are to understand a certain Revelation, then those which are truly correct should be presented, because all the Revelations that we own show a great discrepancy.

Answer: The word ‘above’ refers to chapter ten, which deals with the monastery of the sisters and the house of the brothers, as well as the division of the church, where the clerics are to have the lower choir and the sisters the upper choir under the roof. The word ‘above’ may also refer to some revelations of Saint Birgitta describing the method and form of the building.

116. There is a question about the correct measurements of the site and grounds of the sisters and brothers, and particularly of the brothers, namely how big the space can be inside the clausura and where the limit must be set, according to the intention of the Revelations.

49 The *Regula Saluatorii* declares that no gifts may be received once a sister or brother has been professed in the order. This standpoint is repeated in *Resh. II*, 120. See, however, *Resh. II*, 128 for another point of view.
Responsio: Mensuram illam et situm fratres vestri aspexerant et plenius dimensium sunt.

117. Item, numquid fratres licite habere possunt ambitus seu cla<u>strum in curia sua sicut et sorores in monasterio suo, cum dicat regula, quod nulla superflua edificari debeant.

Responsio: Ex quo regula aperte non prohibet, possunt ambitus predicti fieri. Si vero timetur, quod sunt superflui, dimittantur.

118. Item, cum non debeant introduci pauciores sorores et fratres in monasterium, quam ut sufficientes sint ad decantandum officium suum, quomodo possunt tot sorores et fratres congregari simul in principio alicuius novi monasterii?

Responsio: Introduci, id est regulam et ordinem profiteri, non debent, antequam in numero sufficientes sint et monasterium sit dotatum.

119. Item, numquid sit licitum fratribus exire suam clausuram et laborare ad principes et dominos pro constructione novi monasterii vel plurium, hac sola intencione, ut dilatent religionem istam, similiter in personis propriis supervidere structuras corundem, non obstante quod regula sonat, ut construccion monasterii pertineat solummodo ad fundatores vel fundatrices.

Responsio: Exire clausuram pro structure perspexione, ut debito modo fiat, videtur necessarium et licitum secundum quandam revelacionem, / sed circuire principes et dominos ad modum questionum non convenit professionis regulari.
Answer: These measurements and the site have been thoroughly examined by your brothers.39

117. Whether the brothers lawfully may have cloisters or an enclosed area in their court, just like the sisters in their monastery, even though the Rule says that no superfluous things should be built.

Answer: Since the Rule does not openly prohibit this, the above-mentioned cloisters may be built. But if you really fear that they are superfluous, they should be avoided.

118. Since not fewer sisters and brothers should be introduced in the monastery than is sufficient for the chanting of the office, how is it possible for so many sisters and brothers to gather at the same time at the foundation of a new monastery?

Answer: They should not be introduced, that is, confess themselves to the Rule and the order, before they are sufficient in number and the monastery has been endowed.

119. Whether it may be allowed for the brothers to leave the clausura and work for princes and lords in order to build one or many new monasteries, with the sole intention of extending this order. And similarly, whether it may be allowed for them to supervise personally the construction work of these monasteries, regardless of what the Rule says, namely that the construction of a monastery only concerns founders or foundresses.

Answer: To leave the clausura in order to inspect the construction work, so that it is done correctly, seems to be necessary and lawful according to a certain revelation, but to go around visiting princes and lords as money-collectors is not suitable for someone who has been professed in this order.

39 The words frater vestri should refer to Robert Bell and Thomas Sterington, who probably provided the English community with exact measurements of the sisters’ and brothers’ buildings in Vadstena. By the time the Responsiones was composed, Syon Abbey was in the process of moving from the original grounds at Twickenham to new buildings at Isleworth. It can be noted that the church at Syon was not completed until the 1480s; Tait (1975), p. 91, n. 121; p. 186, n. 79; Martyn (2010), pp. 14–17.
120. Item, utrum acceptatio munerum interdicitur sororibus et fratibus, priusquam monasterium sit sufficienter dotatum et constructum.

Responsio: Regula presupponit necessaria ante professionem, et professione facta obligat ad observanciam.

121. Item, cum dicitur: ‘Habeant redditus et proventus sufficienter et eciam ad supportacionem onerum prefatorum’, queritur, que sunt illa onera prefata.

Responsio: In declaracionibus Alphonsi prenominatis plenius continentur.

122. Item, utrum mortua aliqua sorore intrant fratres ad benedicendum funus vel devotas oraciones et supplicationes pro ipsa tunc solvere, quod moris est aliorum religiosorum facere, quasi in exitu anime, vel solummodo intrant, quando corpus deferi debeat ad sepulchrum, ut sonat regula, et si huiusmodi observare licet.

Responsio: Solummodo semel intrent ad legendum commendaciones animarum et corpus efferendum.

123. Item, ubi tempore misse corpus eius statui debeat. Videtur pluribus, quod statuendum sit in choro sororum. Agit fortiter pro hoc capitulum xv regule, ubi habetur, quod absolucione data super proprietarium corpus eius statuendum est in medio chori sororum.

Responsio: Consuetudo nobis est, quod statuitur in choro fratrum et post missam sepelitur.

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8 utrum in marg. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod.
120. Whether it is prohibited for the sisters and brothers to receive gifts before the monastery has been sufficiently endowed and built.

Answer: The Rule presupposes the necessary things before the profession and, when the profession has been carried out, it obliges us to observance.

121. When it is said: ‘They are to have sufficient revenue and income as financial support for the above-mentioned burdens’, it is asked what those above-mentioned burdens are.

Answer: This is fully explained in the above-mentioned declarations of Alfonso.

122. Whether, when a sister has died, the brothers are to enter to bless the corpse or read devout prayers for her at that time, which is the custom in other religious orders, just as when someone is dying, or whether they only enter when the body is to be carried outside for burial, as the Rule says, and if it should be observed like this.

Answer: They are only to enter once to read the commendation of the souls and to carry away the body.

123. Furthermore, where her body should be put at the time for Mass. Many people believe that it should be placed in the sisters’ choir. This is strongly stressed in chapter 15 of the Rule, where it is said that when the absolution has been given to someone guilty of owning property, her body should be placed in the middle of the sisters’ choir.

Answer: It is our custom that it should be placed in the brothers’ choir and buried after Mass.31

31 Tait (1975), p. 125, remarks that the answer ‘indicates openly that the practice of placing the dead sisters’ bodies in the brothers’ choir is a modification of [the Rule]; but the change is one of detail on grounds of practicality and could be said to be a breach of the Rule only on very legalistic grounds.’
124. Item, aliqua persona mortua dantur lectisternia eius pauperibus, cum dicat regula, quod vestimenta persone mortuæ erogentur pauperibus. Sed de vestimentis corporis nulla remanent ipsa sepulta, nisi mantellus vel saltum paucu, nisi duplicia habuerit, quod est contra regulam. Videtur ergo, quod illa debent elargiri pauperibus. 

Responsio: Omnia relictæ, tam lectisternia quam alia corporis indumenta, pauperibus erogentur. 

125. Item, si contingat spaciun trium vel quatuor annorum, antequam alia persona recipiatur in loco eius, numquid et danda sunt pauperibus vestimenta illa, que ipsa habuisset, si vixisset. 

Responsio: Regula iubet vestimenta relictæ post mortuam cum prebenda in cibo et potu pauperibus erogari, sed de vestimentis reciipiendis, si vixisset, erogandis regula non astringit. 

126. Item, utrum huiusmodi distribucio admissi et exequi debeat in effectu ante sufficientem dotacionem aut ante monasterii construccionem. 

Responsio: Credimus, quod ad omnimodam superfluorum distribucionem ante dotacionem et construccionem non astringantur. 

127. Item, utrum fratres possunt largiri amicis ipsos visitantibus minuscula aliqua, utputa cereas, species et huiusmodi, inconsulta abbatissa. 

Responsio: Fratres omnia faciant de licencia confessoris. 

128. Item, <utrum> fratres possint in necessitate constituti recipere dona aliqua ipsa eciam in<con>sulta. 

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1 aliqua ... 2 pauperibus | cf RS § 208. 11 Regula ... 12 erogari] cf RS § 208. 20 Fratres ... confessoris] cf LU cap. 21, § 107: ‘...confessor generalis seu fratres non debent nec tenentur facere obedientiam abbatisse sed omnes fratres faciant obedientiam confessori.’ 

12 erogandis in marg. sc. et hic inser. ind. cod. 21 utrum supplivi 22 in<con>sulta] insulta cod. 

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124. When someone has died her bedclothes are given to the poor, since the Rule says that the clothes of a dead person should be given to the poor. But when she has been buried, no clothes remain except for the cloak, or at least very few things, unless she owned two sets of clothes, which is against the Rule. Therefore it seems as though the bedclothes should be given to the poor.

Answer: All remains, the bedclothes as well as other clothing, are to be given to the poor.

125. If it happens that three or four years pass before another person is received in her place, whether the clothes that she would have received, had she been alive, should be given to the poor.

Answer: The Rule commands that the clothes that remain after a dead sister are to be given to the poor together with her allowance in food and drink, but it does not compel us to give away the clothes she would have received, had she been alive.

126. Whether this kind of distribution may be allowed and actually carried out before the monastery has been sufficiently endowed or before the construction of the monastery has been finished.

Answer: We believe that the monasteries are not bound to take care of every kind of distribution of superfluous things before the endowment and construction.

127. Whether the brothers can bestow small gifts upon friends visiting them, such as candles, spices and such things, without having first consulted the abbess.

Answer: The brothers may do anything with the confessor’s permission.

128. Whether brothers in need may receive gifts without having first consulted the abbess.
Responsio: De licencia confessoris, ut supra.

129. Item, utrum frates possunt facere elemosinam de vestimentis suis antiquis et huiusmodi, seu in pane et potu, sine consilio, scitu et assensu abbatissae.

Responsio: Vetera vestimenta reddimus vestiariis ex parte abbatisse receptis novis. Ergo petatur ab ipsis vel abbatissa. De pane et potu si quid super/fuerit de prebenda fratum, inferatur ad soreores et pauperibus fideliter erogetur.

130. Item, utrum post sufficientem dotacionem monasterii et construccioinem completam liceat recipere oblaciones factas in ecclesia tempore indulgenciarum aut peregrinacionum.

Responsio: Recipientur et pauperibus erogentur.

131. Item, an liceat post dotacionem et construccioinem monasterii acceptare et recipere libros ex donacione et oblacione, in quibus addiscendum est et studendum.

Responsio: Credimus, quod possunt, nisi abbatissa sufficiat eis providere etc.

132. Item, quomodo et quibus facere debet abbatissa, vel alie soreores nomine eius, computum de bonis monasterii

Responsio: Senioribus sororibus et confessori generali, qui assumat secum duos vel tres de senioribus fratribus.

133. Item queritur, quod sigilla hic habentur, et de eorum salva custodia et omnibus alis circa ea gerendis et disponendis.

Responsio: Abbatissa duo sigilla habeat. Minus sigillum semper habeat secum vel soror, cui commiserit. Maius vero sigillum sit in custodia sub tribus seris et

129. Whether the brothers can make alms out of their old clothes and such things, from of their bread and drink, without the consultation, knowledge and assent of the abbess.

Answer: When the abbess has given us new clothes, we return the old ones to the keepers of the vestry. Therefore you should ask them or the abbess. If bread and drink remain from the brothers’ allowance of food, this should be brought to the sisters and piously given to the poor.

130. Whether it may be allowed to receive offerings made in the church at the time for indulgences and peregrinations, when the monastery has been endowed and the construction completed.

Answer: They may be received and given to the poor.

131. Whether it may be allowed, when the monastery has been endowed and built, to receive books that have been given and offered, to learn and study from.  

Answer: We believe so, unless the abbess has sufficiently provided for them etc.

132. How and for whom should the abbess, or other sisters in her name, keep the accounts of monastery property?

Answer: For the older sisters and the confessor general, who chooses two or three of the older brothers to help him.

133. There is a question about the number of seals here, and how to protect them safely, and everything else regarding the handling of seals.

Answer: The abbess is to have two seals. She, or a sister to whom she has entrusted it, should always carry the smaller seal with her. The larger seal is to be guarded with three locks and keys, of which the abbess is to keep one, and

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52 A contradiction to what is said in Resp. II, 113 & 120; Tait (1975), p. 145, n. 169.
53 The Regula Saluatoris (§ 228) permits the brothers to have as many books as they need for studies. See further Gillespie (2000), p. 189.
clavibus, quorum unam servet abbatiissa, reliquas duas due sorores nomine conventus. Similiter confessor duo sigilla habeat sub consimili custodia, etc.

134. Item, quid senciendum est de hospitalitate parentum, amicorum monasterii seu aliarum personarum devotearum seu dominorum aut divitum? Et de construccione domorum pro huiusmodi, cum regula videatur prohibere omnia talia propter defraudacionem pauperum.

Responsio: Gravamina hospitalitatum regula interdicit. Propinqui vero et precipui benefactores qualicunque beneficio recreentur.

135. Item, de exequis sororum queritur, an sorores aut fratres debent exequi officium mortuorum cum nota, an fratres dumtaxat.

Responsio: Fratres solent cantare et sorores legere, etc.

136. Item, ubi debent sorores sepeliri et ubi fratres?

Responsio: Prius declaratum est.

137. Item, numquid oblaciones intrancium, de quibus agit capitulum xvii, possunt converti in utilitatem monasterii nondum sufficienter dotati aut nondum constructi et edificati.

<Responsio:> Ymmo possunt.

138. Item, utrum examinacio requisita in recepacione donorum et hic expressa habeat intelligi de omnibus donis, tam parvis quam magnis, et tam mobilibus quam immobiles, aut dumtaxat de redditibus et magnis oblationibus et donis.

7 Gravamina … interdicit cfr RS § 209; Ante festum omnium sanctorum annuatim computari et prescri debent victualia et necessaria … et omnia … pauperibus indigentibus largiantur et propter hoc non oportet monasterium aliqua hospitalitate grauari; cfr etiam RS § 212. 13 Prius … est cfr supra, Resp. II, 54. 14 oblaciones … t6 edificati cfr RS § 213–222. 15 in … monasterii cfr RS § 215; Porro, quicumque sic oblata fuerint, nullatenus in utilitatem monasterii couertantur… 18 examinacio … donorum cfr RS § 217–220.
two sisters in the name of the convent the other two. Likewise the confessor is to have two seals kept under similar custody, etc.

134. How are we to act regarding hospitality towards parents, friends of the monastery or other devout persons, lords or magnates? And what should be done regarding houses for them, since the Rule seems to prohibit all such things because of the risk of taking money from the needs of the poor?

Answer: The Rule forbids the inconvenience of hospitality. Relatives and special benefactors, however, may enjoy some kind of favour.

135. As to the obsequies of the sisters, it is asked whether the sisters or brothers, or the brothers only, should perform the office of the dead with singing.

Answer: The brothers usually sing and the sisters usually read, etc.

136. Where are the sisters and the brothers to be buried?

Answer: This has been explained above.

137. Whether the offerings of the entering persons, which chapter 17 speaks of, can be used to help a monastery that has not yet been sufficiently endowed or not yet constructed or built.

Answer: Indeed, they can.\textsuperscript{34}

138. Whether the required examination of received gifts that has been expressed here should be understood as concerning all kinds of gifts, small as well as large, movable and immovable property, or as concerning revenue and large offerings and gifts only. Also, how should this examination be done when it comes to

\textsuperscript{34} The \textit{Regula Saluatoris} (§ 213–215) encouraged those about to enter the order to offer a voluntary gift, which should be used to help the poor or churches in need.
Et quomodo potest hec examinacio haberi circa parva, utpota in minoribus oblationibus? Et tamen in revelacione ‘In domo mea debet esse omnis humilitas’ habetur sic: ‘Quicumque domum meam edificat, summus studio apponat curam, ut non veniat ibi ad edificium unus denarius, qui non sit bene et iustae acquisitus.’

Responsio: De minutis oblationibus positi ad altaria vel ante ymagines nulla potest fieri examinacio, sed de magnis donis et oblationibus, utpota si quis offerret magnam summam auri vel pecunie aut alia notabilia, de quibus surgere posset suspicio, an talia per furtum vel rapinam essent acquisita.

139. Item, de capitulo xviii: Cum nec in regula seu revelacionibus aut privilegiis ulla habeatur mencio de orna/mentis, vestimentis et calicibus pro altaribus beate Virginis, sancti Michaelis et beati Ioannis Baptiste, an licitum sit habere omnia predicta pro istis tribus altaribus sicut pro illis xiii, non obstante quod videatur prohibitus hic in regula, ubi dicitur: ‘Plura quoque numquam in possessione monasterii insimul habeantur de omnibus rebus suprascriptis.’ Et que sunt illa festa vel dies festivi, in quibus habenda sunt ornamenta et vestimenta festivalia?


140. Item, utrum vestimenta festivalia necnon et reliquie sanctorum sint aut esse debeant sub custodia fratrum aut sororum.

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2 In ... humilitas| Rev. Exem. 30, 1 & Rev. I, 18, 1. 3 Quicumque ... 4 acquisitus| cf. Bng. Rev. Exem. 30, 7 & Rev. I, 18, 4. 6 de ... 8 acquisita| cf. RS § 220: ‘Si autem dubium est, vtrum illa oblata bene acquisita sint an male, allis sencientibus sic, allis vero sic, nullatenus suspiciantur quantumcumque necessitate censure; tamen voluntate eius indicata comenuti orabunt omnes pro co propter caritatem.’ 12 illis xiii| cf. RS § 225: ‘Sciendum est eciem, quod tredecim esse debent altaria’ 13 Plura ... 14 suprascriptis| RS § 226. 14 que ... 15 festivalia| cf. RS § 226.

9 xviii| 18 in marg. add. cod. 10 in summa pag. verbum sit scr. sed postea del. cod. 11 post an verba licet habere omnia predicta scr. sed postea exp. et del. cod. 21 post vestimenta verbum ferialia scr. sed postea exp. et del. cod.

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small gifts, for example smaller offerings? And still, in the revelation saying: ‘There should be all that humility in my house’, we find this line: ‘Let whoever builds my house take the utmost care not to let a single penny that has not been rightly and justly acquired go to the building.’

Answer: Regarding very small offerings, placed before the altars or the images, no examination can take place, but regarding larger gifts and offerings (there must be an examination), for instance, if someone were to give a large sum of gold or money or other important things, of which people might suspect that they were acquired through theft or robbery.

139. Regarding chapter 18: Since there is no mention – neither in the Rule nor in the revelations or the privileges – of the ornaments, garments and chalices for the altars of the Blessed Virgin, Saint Michael and Saint John the Baptist, (it is asked) whether it may be allowed to have all those above-mentioned things for these three altars, just as for those other thirteen, regardless of what seems to be prohibited in the Rule, where it is said: ‘The monastery may never own more of all the above-mentioned things at the same time’. And what are those feasts or feast days, when the festive ornaments and garments are to be used?

Answer: Just as the above-mentioned altars are decreed, so are their paraments permitted. Nevertheless, there is a special privilege regarding these matters. The feast days are all double feasts as well as the festa terre, when the better paraments should be used. But on Sundays and single feasts cloths pertaining to weekdays are to be employed.

140. Whether the cloths used on feasts and, furthermore, the relics of the saints are or should be guarded by the brothers or the sisters.
Responsio: Conveniencius servavit apud fratres, qui illis uti habeant. Nicholominus omnia sunt in potestate abbatisse.

141. Item, utrum licet habere capellam seu altare in infirmaria cum omnibus pertinentibus altari appropriatis.

5 Responsio: Recipientur de uno altarium in ecclesia quod pro illa ebdomada vacat.

142. Item, an licet recipere seu habere omnia ornamenti pertinencia omnibus istis altariis ante constructionem monasterii et ipsorum altarium.

Responsio: Non obstat regule, quod sint parata.

143. Item, cum in regula limitatur una pixis de auro vel argento pro corpore Christi, numquid licet habere unum tabernaculum aureum, in quo reponi possit corpus Christi, ut ostendi, videri ac venerari a populo valeat, prout habetur in pluribus locis, et specialiter in regno nostro in Dominica in ramis Palmarium et festo corporis Christi, et an eciam licet habere puppim pro incenso, coclearia pro calicibus, textum pro osculo pacis de argento et auro necnon clapsula argentea vel aurea pro libris vel cuprea et deaurata.

Responsio: Pixidem unam habemus pro communicantibus et eciam tabernaculum seu monstranciam, que quotidie portatur ad altare ob devocationem intuencium. Puppim pro incenso, coclearia pro calicibus et clapsula argentea vel aurea regula non patitur, sed, si in dicto textu ponuntur reliquie sanctorum, potest haberi.

144. Item, numquid abbatissas tenetur providere nobis fratribus de libris, in quibus studendum et addiscendum est, secundum quod sonant verba regule.


13 ramis| male scr. cod.
Answer: It is more convenient to keep them by the brothers, who are the ones who have to use them. Nevertheless, everything is in the power of the abbess.

141. Whether it may be allowed to have a chapel or an altar in the infirmary, together with everything that pertains to the altar.

Answer: They are to be given things from one of the altars in the church that is free for that week.

142. Whether it is allowed to receive or own all the ornaments that belong to all those altars before the monastery and its altars have been constructed.

Answer: It is not contrary to the Rule that those things are ready.

143. Since the Rule determines that there may be only one casket made of gold or silver for the body of Christ, (it is asked) whether we may have one shrine made of gold, where the body of Christ may be put in order to be shown to and seen and venerated by the people. This is the custom in many places, and especially in our country on Palm Sunday and on the feast of Corpus Christi. And (it is asked) whether we also may have a casket for the incense, spoons for the chalices, a cloth made of gold or silver thread for the kiss of peace as well as clasps for the books, made of silver and gold, or made of copper and gilded.

Answer: We have one casket for those who are going to receive communion, and also a shrine or a monstrance, which is carried to the altar every day because of the devotion of those who look upon it. The Rule does not permit us to have a casket for the incense, spoons for the chalices and clasps made of silver or gold, but you may have the above-mentioned cloth, if the relics of the saints are put in it.

144. Whether the abbess has to provide us, the brothers, with books to study and learn from, according to the words of the Rule.
Responsio: Tenetur et in omnibus aliis necessariis iuxta facultatem monasterii.

145. Item, de capitulo xix: Numquid frater professionem emissurus possit nocte immediate precedente diem professionis intrare clausuram fratrum solummodo pro tonsura, secundum modum et formam ordinis, et presertim si nullus ad extra hoc facere sciverit.

Responsio: Prohibetur in eodem capitulo regule.

146. Item, de capitulo xxv: Quomodo, ubi et quid laborant sorores? Et numquid liceat eis laborare et occupari circa ea, que sunt sibi et fratibus necessaria, non obstante quod regula exprimit, quod earum labor non sit ad aliquid lucrum proprium. Et numquid la/borant in coquina, ut quid et quomodo et quo ordine ibi laborent.

Responsio: Sororum labor est operari in lana et lino, consuendo, lavando et preparando ea, que necessaria sunt pro se et fratribus in communi. Item in laboribus coquine modicum occupantur, quia focarie omnes graviores labores eisdem pro maior parte tollunt, scilicet inferendo ligna et aquam et omnia alia requirita. Extrauunt ignem et ad nutum cellerarie omnia preparantes igni applicant decoquenda. Finita autem missa beate Virginis vel facta elevacione in summa missa ebdomadarie coquine exutis cucullis suis intrant coquinam; et invenientes omnia quasi plene decocta ea que restant per condimentum salis et alio modo sibi supplenda assumunt. Adveniente autem hora prandii distribuenda in portiones dividunt. Post refectionem collectis scutellis et vasis reportant ea focarisi in coquinam abluenda. Et hic est modus laborandi sororibus in coquina.

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Answer: Yes, and in all other necessary matters she has to act according to the means of the monastery.\footnote{On the rich library at Syon, see further De Hamel (1991); Gillespie (2000); (2001).}

145. Regarding chapter 19: Whether a brother, who is going to be professed, can enter the brothers’ clausura the night before the day of his profession in order to be tonsured, the way it is done in our order, especially if no one outside the monastery knows how to do this.

Answer: This is prohibited in the same chapter of the Rule.\footnote{The \textit{Regula Saluatoris} (§ 231; chapter 19 in the 1578 version) mentions the sisters only: \textit{Nulla sororum ... ante consecrationem monasterium ingrediatur}. In accordance with what is said in \textit{Resp.} I, 2 and II, 21, Vaudena obviously interprets this as concerning the brothers as well.}

146. Regarding chapter 20: How, where and with what do the sisters work? And whether they are allowed to work and occupy themselves with things that are necessary for them and the brothers, regardless of the fact that the Rule states that their work may not lead to any personal profit. And whether they work in the kitchen, and with what, how and in what order they are to work there.

Answer: The labour of the sisters is to work with wool and linen, to sew, wash and prepare things that are necessary both for themselves and for the brothers. Furthermore, they should not be too occupied with kitchen-work, because the kitchen-maids take care of most of all the heavier duties for them, that is, by carrying wood, water and all other requested things. The sisters light the fire, and at the nod of the cellarer they prepare everything and put it on the fire to be cooked. When the Mass of the Blessed Virgin has been finished, or the elevation has been made in the High Mass, the sisters on kitchen-duty for the week enter the kitchen, having taken off their cowls, and when they find everything fully cooked, they rectify the seasoning with salt or something else. When the mealtime has come, they divide the food into portions. After the meal, they collect the bowls and vessels and carry these to the kitchen to be washed by the kitchen-maids. And this is how the sisters are to work in the kitchen.\footnote{The sisters’s manual labour as prescribed in the \textit{Addiciones} was a matter of discussion at Syon as early as 1416, see the Introduction, ch. 3.1.3. In the \textit{Revelaciones Extravagantes}, chapter 35, it is declared that the abbess may admit four kitchen-sisters (\textit{cocinar}) to take care of heavy duties, such as carrying wood and water, looking after the fire and disposing of \textit{inmundicias} (unclean things). See Höjer (1905), pp. 331–332; Lindblom (1973), p. 100; DV §§ 315 and 982.}
147. Item, de capitolo xxi: Numquid cum licencia aut sine licencia confessoris servant ex devocione fratres aliqui ieiunia particularia, que non servat communitas, aut alius quascumque abstinencias vel rigores.

Responsio: Confessor non faciliter admitterat tali, et tales non sedeant illo die ad mensam regularem sed seorsum vel in infirmitorio.

148. Item, quis fuit ille, qui novit mensurare quantitatem ciborum et ordinare? Et utrum hoc dictum fuit de aliquo specialiter vel generaliter de qualibet sic experto. Nam et difficile est hoc alicui specialiter facere pro qualibet regione, nisi talis fuerit, qui disposiciones omnium regnorum noverit.

Responsio: Prior Petrus, olim confessor beate Birgitte, fuit ille expertus in vita spirituali quot ad institucionem monasterii nostri. Sed persone ordinis aliarum regionum ad eandem quantitatem mensure ciborum credimus non astringi, etc.

149. Item, de capitolo xxii: Numquid aliquando solemant, vel iam de facto faciunt, plures quam confessior generalis cum alii quatuor fratribus suis sacerdotibus audire confessiones sororum. Et si ipsi quinque sufficiant satisfacere consciencis hæc sororum.

Responsio: Cantus in choro non patitur plures abesse propter sermonizantes aut infirmos.

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1 de ... xxi] s.v. RS § 230–243. 6 quis ... ordinare] s.v. Add. p. 91: ‘Unusquisque fratrum et sororum per se prebendam suam habeat in cibo et potu ... Constitutatur autem mensura victus et potus, ita tamen, quod sit in potestate abbatisse vel confessoris augere, si expedit, hoc attendentes, quod numquam subrepat crapula vel ebrietas, quia omnino contraria sunt saluti. Sufficit ergo fratribus in die, quo non ieiunant, dimidiam libra panis ad prandium et tercia pars libre ad cenam ... Die vero dominico sit brodium de carnibus vel leguminibus ... Secunda vero feria et tercia sint olera de herbis seu aliiis terre nascentiis et duo frusta de carnibus magis convenientibus valitudinii corum. ... Sorores vero et maxime adolescenciores recipiant aliquantulum minus, si tamen abbatisse sic videatur expedire.’ 

13 de ... xxii] s.v. RS § 244–252. 14 plures ... hæc] s.v. RS § 178.

147. Regarding chapter 21: Whether some brothers may observe particular fasts out of devotion that the community does not observe, or other kinds of fasts or hardships, with or without permission from the confessor.

Answer: The confessor may not easily allow such things, and such persons are not to be seated at the regular table on that day, but by themselves or in the infirmary.58

148. Who was the man who knew how to measure and regulate the quantity of food?59 And (it is asked) whether this was said specifically about a certain person, or generally about any experienced person. For it is difficult for someone to do this specifically for any region, unless this was a man who knew the customs of all countries.60

Answer: Prior Petrus, who once was confessor of the blessed Birgitta, was that expert in spiritual life regarding the instruction of our monastery. We do not, however, believe that persons of the order who live in other regions are bound to the same quantity of food, etc.

149. Regarding chapter 22: Whether more persons than the confessor general and his other four priest-brothers have sometimes heard the sisters’ confessions, or actually hear them now. And (it is asked) whether these five persons are enough to unburden the consciences of the sixty sisters.

Answer: The chant in the choir does not allow more persons to be absent, because of those preaching or those who are ill.

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58 In the Syon Additions, however, extra abstinence permitted by the confessor general is encouraged; Tait (1975), p. 172.

59 As can be seen from the reference quoted in the apparatus of sources, the Addiciones was very detailed on the subject.

60 According to Tait (1975), p. 124, a ‘downright rude’ question.
150. Item, si quilibet deputatus ad confessiones sororum habeat certum numerum earum sibi assignatum seu audit confessiones illarum omnium indifferenter sibi confiteri volencium.

Responsio: Quilibet habeat sibi specialiter deputatas.

151. Item, utrum confessor generalis assignet ipsas soreces parcialiter substitutis confessoribus, secundum quod sibi videtur expediens, aut ipse soreces eligant de illis substitutis, secundum quod ipsis placet.

Responsio: Confessor assignabit cuilibet substitutorum suorum certum numerum personarum. Quorum nomina scripta in cedula abbatissa legat in auditorio earum. Et si aliique non contentantur supplicantes confessori sibi de alio sive aliis provideri, condescendat illis, si viderit expedire. / 143v

152. Item, quid faciendum sit, si una soror non vult obedire assignacioni confessoris nec confiteri aliqui eorum, quos ipse assignavit. Et qua pena punienda sit, et utrum illam penam infliget abbatissa vel confessor.

153. Item, utrum ipsi deputati ad confessiones sororum excusan tur aliquociens propter hoc a choro. Et si sic, a quibus horis et temporibus?

Responsio: Ad interro gacionem istam respondum est prius.

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5 Item … 7 placet] nota in ras. in marg. add. cod.
150. Whether someone, deputed to hear the sisters’ confessions, may have a
certain number of them assigned to him, or may hear confessions from all those
who want to confess to him without distinction.

Answer: Everyone is to have a number of sisters specifically assigned to him.

151. Whether the confessor general assigns these sisters to the substitute
confessors as seems convenient to him, or the sisters themselves choose from
these substitute confessors as they like.

Answer: The confessor is to assign a certain number of persons to anyone of the
substitute confessors. The abbess is to read the names of these persons, written
on a paper, in their chapter room. And if some sisters are not satisfied and ask
the confessor to assign another person or persons to them, he may grant their
wish, if he thinks it necessary.

152. What is to be done if a sister does not want to adhere to the assignment of
the confessor, or confess to another of the confessors, that he has assigned to her.
How is she to be punished, and whether the abbess or the confessor are to
administer this punishment.

Answer: She should be admonished by the confessor three times to remain with
one of the substitute confessors, and if she stubbornly remains in her obduracy,
she is to be forbidden to enter the church for a couple of days. And if she even
then does not cease, she must be punished by the abbess as a person owning
property, etc.

153. May those who have been assigned to take care of the sisters’ confessions
because of this be excused sometimes from the choir, and, if so, at what Hours
and times?

Answer: This question has been answered above.
154. Item, numquid plures possunt esse rote in illo intersticio inter sorores et fratres, non obstante quod de una sola habetur mencio in regula. Et si licitum sit fratribus habere unam rotam in locutorio suo.

Responsio: Nos habemus duas, unam pro immundis, videlicet ollis et amphoris et huiusmodi, aliam minorem pro libris et ornamentis altarium etc. Potest eciam fieri una dupla, superior pars pro mundis et inferior, prout dictum est, pro immundis. Item in locutorio fratrum ad seculares utique rota habeatur.

155. Item, utrum confessor generalis ingrediens monasterium sororum pro sacramentis conferendis sumat semper secum aliquos de senioribus fratribus aut de confessoribus substitutis, vel de alii fratribus ad suum beneplacitum.

Responsio: Frequencius habeat secum aliquos de substitutis. Quibus impeditis assumat de senioribus vel assistentibus sibi quoscumque placuerit.

156. Item, numquid solus confessor audit confessiones infirmancium ad intra, vel alii confessores substituti de licencia eius.

Responsio: Regulare esse noscitur, quod confessor audiat infirmancium confessiones. Nam pastoris est oves proprias custodire, cognoscere et morbidis adhibere medelas.

157. Item, utrum liceat confessori cum fratribus suis, quando intrant monasterium sororum ad ministrandum infirmis sacraenta, divertere ob aliquam causam ad alia loca quam directe ad domum infirmancium.

Responsio: Licitum est confessori ad instanciam abbatisse ad alia loca divertere pro perspiciendis structuris ad dandum consilium debite domus situandi et fabricandi.

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2 una ... regula] cfr RS § 249. 18 liceat ... 19 sacramenta] cfr RS § 251: ‘Prohibeat eciam, ne vsquam confessor vel aliquis presbiterorum seu fratrum monasterium inmediatur, nisi quando infirmis donanda sunt sacramenta. ... Mortua vero aliqua sorore omnes presbiteri et fratres cum confessore inmediantur ... corpus ad sepulcrum deferendo.’
154. Whether there can be more turntables in that space between the sisters and the brothers, regardless of the fact that the Rule only mentions one. And whether it may be allowed for the brothers to have a turntable in their locutory.

Answer: We have two, one for unclean things, namely pots, vessels and such things, and a smaller one for books and ornaments for the altar etc. You can also have a double turntable, with an upper part for clean things and a lower part, as has been mentioned, for unclean things. In any case, a turntable may be put in the brothers’ locutory for their contact with the world.64

155. Whether the confessor general, when he enters the sisters’ monastery to bring the sacraments, is always to be accompanied by some of the older brothers or some of the substitute confessors, or other brothers as he wishes.

Answer: He should usually bring some of the substitute confessors with him. If they are prevented from coming, he is to choose some of the older ones or any one he wants of those brothers who assist him.

156. Whether only the confessor, or other substitute confessors with his permission, may hear the confessions of those sisters and brothers ad intra that are ill.

Answer: It is known to be in accordance with the Rule that the confessor is to hear the confessions of the ill. For it is the duty of the shepherd to guard and know his own sheep, and care for those that are ill.

157. Whether the confessor and his brothers are allowed, when they enter the sisters’ monastery to administer the sacraments to the sick, to turn to other places, for some reason, than directly to the house of the sick.

Answer: The confessor is allowed, if the abbess demands it, to go to other places to inspect the buildings, and give due counsel regarding the position and construction of the house.

64 See comment on Resp. II, 20. The practice of different turntables for clean and unclean things is in line with the fact that Vadstena Abbey took great care to keep smell, dirt and garbage under control; Regner (2010), pp. 118–119.
158. Item, de capitulo xxiii: Utrum sede vacante cathedralis ecclesie liceat archiepiscopo metropolitano in aliquo casu visitare monasteria nostri ordinis, cum tunc habeat magnum interesse xii, questio ii, ‘Non liceat.’ Et idem dubium habetur de capitulo cathedralis ecclesie, ut Extra, ‘De supplenda negligencia prelatorum: “Si episcopus”, et capitulo ‘Ecclesie’, liber vi. / 144r

159. Item, utrum illud, quod dicitur hic de regulis Benedicti vel Bernhardi, intelligi habeat de regulis factis per illos sanctos, vel de observanciis postea editis et traditis per monachos eiusdem ordinis.

Responsio: Videtur, quod intelligitur de utrisque.

160. Item queritur, an abbatissa seu confessore debeant semper interesse De profundis post terciam, cum hic habetur, quod abbatissa debet eicere modicum terre de fossa cum duobus digitis. Quod fieri videtur per verba regule omni die festivo et privato. Et si aliquis eorum tunc defuerit, quis vel que supplebit vicem absentis?

Responsio: Priorissa vel senior suppleat vices abbatisse et frater ebdomadarius vicem confessoris.

161. Item, si sorores et fratres tociens in cordibus suis cogitare debent, secundum mentem regule, quod terra sunt et in terram revertentur, quociens dictam fossam perspiciunt sive pertranscunt?


1 Item ... 5 vi] Responsio deest, ut vid. | xxiii] 25 in marg, add, cod.
158. Regarding chapter 23: If the cathedral see is vacant, whether in some cases the metropolitan archbishop is allowed to visit the monasteries of our order, since this would be very different from (what is said in) causa 12, question two, ‘Non liceat’. We also have the same doubts regarding the chapter about the cathedral church, as in Liber Extra, the chapter ‘De supplenda negligencia prelatorum: “Si episcopus”’ and the chapter ‘Ecclesie’, book six.\(^6\)

159. Whether that which is said here regarding the rules of Benedict or Bernard must be understood as being said about the rules made by these saints, or about observances afterwards edited and transmitted by monks of the same order.

Answer: It seems as though it can be understood as concerning both.

160. It is asked if the abbess or the confessor always must be present at De Profundis after the terce, when it is said here that the abbess is to throw some earth into the grave with two fingers. According to the words of the Rule, this should be done at every feast day and weekday. And if one of them is not there at that time, who will act as a substitute for the absent?

Answer: The prioress or an older sister may stand in for the abbess, and the brother on duty for the week for the confessor.

161. If the sisters and brothers so often are to consider in their hearts, according to the intentions of the Rule, that they are earth and shall return to earth, how often should they look upon or pass by this grave?

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\(^6\) The answer seems to be missing here.
Responsio: In hoc singuli faciant, prout cuique Deus inspiraverit.

162. Item, utrum constituio seu addicio illa de vii psalmis in sexta feria dicendis sit ex revelacione divina, ut quidam asserere nituntur. Et si non, nunquid sores et fratres obligantur ad psalmos illos.

Responsio: Sive sit revelacio sive non, observandi sunt, ex quo prior nobis constituit et tradidit eos decantandos.

163. Item, utrum numeros Pater noster et Ave Maria dicenda per fratres laycos taxatus et assignatus per priorem Petrum servetur ad hoc prescise, aut aliquid inde subtrahitur aut additur. Et eadem habetur questio de misis, psalterii et Pater noster et Ave Maria pro mortuis sororibus aut fratribus dicendis.

Responsio: Sicut scriptum est, sic observamus.

164. Item, nunquid liceat confessori generali loqui artificibus seu medicis ad intra per se nullo fratrum suorum audiente. Et si alter frater clericus vel laycus per ipsum confessorem deputatus ad supervidendum facta et gesta predictorum intrancium possit per se loqui et exprimere facienda. Et <si> huiusmodi intrantes solent bibere tunc ad intra.

Responsio: Possunt loqui et eciam bibere.

165. Item, de sumendo mixtum queritur de tempore, qualitate et quantitate, et si liceat tunc comedere broodium carneum seu aliud potagium.

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2 constituio ... 6 decantandos] cfr Rec. Exord. g: ‘Qualibet sexta feria debent sores circuire ambitus suos insimul legendo septem psalmos, quibus finitis intrabunt chorum suum et flexis genibus legant letanias. Similiter faciant fratres circuindo ambitus suos.’


7 utrum in marg. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod. 15 si supplevi

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Answer: In this matter, every one may do as God tells him/her.

162. Whether the constitution or addition regarding the seven psalms to be said on Fridays comes from a divine revelation, as some people are eager to assert. And if it does not, whether the sisters and brothers are obliged to sing those psalms.63

Answer: Revelation or not, the psalms are to be observed, because the prior decided this and gave them to us to be sung.

163. Whether the number of Pater Noster and Ave Maria that are to be sung by the lay brothers, which has been determined and assigned by prior Petrus, should be observed precisely to this extent, or if anything can be taken from or added to them? The same question is asked regarding the Masses, psalters, Pater Noster and Ave Maria to be sung for dead sisters and brothers.

Answer: As it is written, so we observe it.

164. Whether the confessor general may speak to craftsmen or doctors himself inside the monastery, when none of his brothers is listening. And whether another priest-brother or lay brother, deputed by the confessor general to supervise the doings of these entering persons, may by himself speak and explain what is to be done. And whether persons entering in this way may drink when they are inside the monastery.

Answer: They may speak and even drink.

165. Regarding the mixed meal,64 there is a question about the time this should be taken, as well as its quality and quantity, and if it may then be allowed to eat meat soup or some other kind of drink.

63 As is mentioned in the Introduction (ch. 3.1.2), the additions were revised on a few occasions. The Additiones passage referred to here is more or less the same as chapter 9 in the Revelaciones Extravagantes, as can be seen in the apparatus of sources. The question raised by Syon shows that there were doubts about the authority of Petrus Olavi in the English house. See above, n. 60.

64 On the ‘mixed meal’ (mixtum, ‘a fourth of bread, a fourth of the measure of beer or wine, a piece of fish and cheese and butter’), see Add. p. 96, admitting feeble or busy people to have their meal later.
Responsio: Post missam sumant mixtum, quartam partem panis etc., cum brodeo eciam carneo.

166. Item, utrum confessor possit coherecere vel astringere aliquem tredecim sacerdotum ad aliquem laborem corporalem, utputa ad fodendum seu secandum ligna et huiusmodi, et si sit obedientium ei in talibus, cum sic dicat regula capitulo xiii: ‘Isti tredecim sacerdotes tantummodo divino officio studioque et oracioni vacare debent.’

Responsio: Si necessitas exigeret talia faciendi, utique obedientium esset.

167. Item, utrum licat confessori et fratribus suis admittere aliquem secularem aut spiritualis ad sepulturam infra clausuram fratrum, utputa regem, principem, ducem, fundatoarem vel fundatricem, episcopum metropolitanum vel dyocesanum seu aliquem alium huiusmodi.

Responsio: Credimus, quod licite possunt admittere.

168. Item, utrum non sacerdos, utputa dyaconus, possit in statu sacerdocii aut subdyaconus in statu dyconi / profiteri in ista religione ullo modo.

Responsio: Subdyaconus non potest recipi in locum dyconi nec dyaconus in locum presbiteri, quia non possunt exequi officia, ad que taliter assumuntur.

169. Item, quot custodes aut scrutatores ex parte fratrum haberi debeant in quolibet monasterio, qui diligenter inspicere habant modos et mores fratrum, et quomodo se habent in observancis regularibus, et proclamare defectuosos in capitulo? Et quod est officium eorum? Et si innovantur quolibet anno vel permanent in officio suo quam diu confessori visum fuerit expediens.

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6 Isti ... 7 debent [RS § 173]. 18 quot ... 22 expediens: [cf. Add. p. 75]: ‘Omni anno duo fraters sacerdotes ordinentur vicissim a confessore, qui diligenter advertant, quomodo servetur ordo et silentium, et proclament in capitulo delinquentes. Similiter et sorores.’

17 post exequi liti. off. sec. sed postea exp. et del. cod.
Answer: After Mass they may eat the mixed meal, a quarter of bread etc., with meat soup as well.

166. Whether the confessor may compel or force some of the thirteen priests to perform manual labour, for example, to dig, or cut wood and such things, and whether he must be obeyed in such cases, even though the Rule says in chapter 13: ‘These thirteen priests may only devote themselves to the Divine office, studies and prayer.’

Answer: If it were necessary to do such things, they would certainly have to obey him.

167. Whether the confessor and his brothers may admit a secular or ecclesiastical person to be buried within the brothers’ clausura, for example, a king, lord, duke, founder or foundress, a metropolitan or diocesan bishop, or another person of this kind.

Answer: We believe that they may lawfully admit them.

168. Whether someone not being a priest, for example a deacon, may in any way be professed in this order as a priest, or a subdeacon as a deacon.

Answer: A subdeacon cannot be received in a deacon’s place, nor a deacon in a priest’s place, because they cannot perform the offices for which such persons are chosen.

169. How many wardens or inspectors as regards the brothers should there be in any monastery, who are to carefully inspect the ways and customs of the brothers and their actions as to the observances prescribed in the Rule, and pronounce them as errant persons before the chapter? Also, what is their duty? And whether they are to be replaced every year, or remain in office as long as the confessor finds it convenient.
Responsio: Duo fratres eligantur per confessorem omni anno. Videatis in addicionibus prioris, qui proclamant in capitulo.

170. Item, si dyaconus ministraturus ad missam beate Virginis vel frater ille lecturus ad mensam excusetur ab aliqua hora a choro et ab aliqua observancia regulari. Et signentur nobis, que sunt in specie.

Responsio: Ministraturus ad altare beate Virginis liber est a prima et tercia, si tamen missam celebrat alia non. Lector mense exit post Pater noster in summa missa et redit ad completorium.

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3 Item ... 8 completorium] verum vacat in marg. add. cod.
Answer: Two brothers are to be elected by the confessor every year. You can find in the Prior’s additions those who are to pronounce others at the chapter.

170. Whether a deacon, who is about to serve at the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, or the brother, who is to read at the table, may be excused from serving in the choir for some of the Hours and from some other observance prescribed in the Rule. Please tell us, what in fact these observances are.

Answer: A person who is about to serve at the altar of the blessed Virgin is free from the prime and the terce, but not if there is a mass to be celebrated elsewhere. The reader at the table leaves after Pater noster at High Mass and returns at the completorium.
Collatio: Vide, Domine, et considera
Collacio proposta coram collegio Brigittini ordinis in Svecia per generalem et primum confessorum de sancta Syon in Anglia.

1 Vide, Domine, et considera, quoniam facta sunt vilis. Trenorium primo et pro huius brevissime propugnacionis aliquam exordio.

2 Venerabiles domini, confratres et coamici!

In novissimis Dominus reminiscens temporibus, quomodo non ex operibus justicie, que fecimus nos, set secundum suam misericordiam perquantu mundo haberet succurrere et nos lavare ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus (2ο ad Corinthios 7ο), lavacrum regeneracionis et renovacionis (secundum Apostolum tercio ad Titum), sacrosanctam videlecit institutum ecclesiam, quod ex se in suis suffecter ad propria in se servandum mundicium, ut sui in illa congrua invenirem remedias, quibus mundare possent singula genera viciorum.

3 Nam ut taceamus de remediis, per quæ sacramenta intelligimus, et divertamus stylum ad ministros, quosdam, testes apostolos ad Ephesios 4ο, dedit in ea Dominus apostolos, ideo scilicet ut considerarent transgressus crimine corrigere, quosdam doctores, ut viderent errores scelerum et instruere, et tercio quosdam prophetae (supel: 'religiosos contemplantes'), ut sub habitu vili et abiecta veste tamquam lux lucerent in tenebris et lucerne fierent similes, que lucet in loco caliginis et obscuritatis. Quoniam sicut lumen in testa, deitas est in carmini, iuxta Gregorium in Omelia (Omelia 34ο), sic religiositas in habitu vili et abiecta veste lux est lucens in tenebris et sol radians sub nube, prout sentenciavit Batoniensis in suis epistolis (epistola 99ο).
A *collacio* before the community of the Birgittine order in Sweden, by the first confessor general of Saint Syon in England.

1 See, *O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile*, from the first chapter of the Lamentations as a kind of exordium to this very short subject.

2 Venerable sirs, brothers and friends!

Recently the Lord, remembering how he – *not because of the works of justice, which we have done, but in His mercy* – had to help the perishing world and *clean us from all defilement of the flesh and of the spirit* (second letter to the Corinthians, chapter seven), founded, as a *layer of regeneration and renovation* (according to the third chapter of the letter from the apostle to Titus), the holy Church, who, by herself would suffice to preserve her own cleanliness in her followers, so that they would find in her suitable remedies, with which they would be able to cleanse every single kind of vice.

3 But let us not speak about the remedies, by which we understand the sacraments, and instead turn to those ministers, with the fourth chapter of the Ephesians as witness: the Lord *gave some as apostles* to the world, so that these would consider and correct faults of sin, *he gave some as teachers*, so that these would see the errors of crime and instruct (others), and third, *he gave some as prophets* (add: ‘religious thinkers’), so that these, in vile habit and humble clothing, would shine as a light in the shadows and be like a lamp, shining in darkness and obscurity. For like light in a jug there is divinity in the flesh, according to Gregory in his Homilies (Homely 34), and in the same way religiosity, in a vile habit and humble clothing, is a *light shining in the darkness* and a sun gleaming behind the clouds, just as the archdeacon of Bath decrees in his letters (letter 99).
4 Set, carissimi, cum tot habeat, quot iam diximus, ecclesia ministros ad ipsam
purgandam, periciendam et illuminandam, ut verbis utamur Dionisi, in
operibus mundicie, iusticie et pietatis, quid est hoc, querimus, quam idam de
vilitate contracta querelat ad Dominum dicens *Vide, Domine, et considera, quoniam
facta sum vilis?*

5 Numquid vox ista hos culpata, quos Dominus in ea dedit apostolos nostros,
pontifices videlicet et prelatos, qui confluentes de singulis mundi confinibus cito
per graciam concursus sunt in unum, ut de his tractent qui fiunt in ecclesia
excessibus, et tractantes corrigent ac reforment canonice iuxta vires? // Minime,
quia qui parati sunt corrigi et corrigere, prout reperit, est eis Dominus
miserico<51>s, nec contra tales ecclesia movet querelas, prout sentencialiter
decretatur in (...) Canone, distincione (...).

6 An non, 2°, clamor ille doctores evigilat aut magistros accusat, qui multis
vigiiis assiduis laboribus codices condunt, tractatus componunt, diffiniunt
leges interpretanturque sermones – ideo videlicet ut ortodoxam fortificent
ecclesiam et eam preservent iugiter ab errore? Nequaquam! Nam qui docet
hominem in terra scienciame, habet in celo cathedram collocatam, iuxta beatam
Augustinum in libro quem edidit de officio magistrorum.

7 Quos ergo, querimus, reos incusat vox ista ecclesie querentis: *Vide, Domine, et
considera, quoniam facta sum vilis? Re vera, cum non recte ambulamus in lege, quam
dedit nobis Dominus, ymmo, quia nunc glolas extraordinarias legitimus, nunc
dispensaciones discipulatorias petimus, nunc eiam, quia interpretamus legem et
non in spiritu legislatoris, cum non aliter sentenciat suppremum Iudex in eam

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2 purgandum ... illuminandam] *cfr. Inh. Scot. int. Dion. 3, 315; 'Purgatores*
vero magnitudine purgationis alii tradere propria castitate; *illuminatores* autem ut
luculentiores animos et ad participationem lumiinis et distributionem proprie habentes,
et ditissime saepe repleti claritatis omnino suum superexcellens lumen in eos qui digni sunt
lumine superhevere; *perfectiores* vero tanquam preceptores perfactive traditionis
perficiendo in sacratissima doctrina per inspexerum sacrorum scientiam [sicel.
opertet].'] *Cfr. etiam Dion., tom. 2, p. 795–797. 11 prout ... 12 distincione* *Locum non inveni.*
16 qui ... 17 collocatam] *cfr. Aug. in epist. l.oh. 3, 13, PL. 35 col. 2004; 'Cathedram in coelo
habet, qui corda docet.'

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6 verbum vox in marg. scriptit et hic inser. ind. cod. 11 miserico<51>s] misericors cod. 12 post
in litt. fere II in ras. | post distincione litt. fere XIII in ras.
4 But, dearest brothers, when the church, as we just said, has so many ministers to cleanse, perfect and illuminate her; if we may use the words of Dionysius, to work for cleanliness, justice and piety, then why, we ask, does she, compressed by vileness, complain to God, saying: *See, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile?*

5 Does this voice blame those, who the Lord gave as apostles to this world, that is, bishops and prelates, who, coming from all parts of the world, quickly will come together by grace into one to discuss the excesses that occur in the Church, and discussing these things to correct and reform them according to canon law as well as they can? By no means, for God is merciful to those who are ready to be corrected and to correct, as it is written, nor does the Church complain about such people, as is decreed in canon law (...), the distinction (...).

6 Secondly, does not that call awaken the doctors and accuse the masters, who under many vigils and continuous labour write books, compose treatises, define laws and interpret sermons – of course in order to fortify the orthodox church and continually preserve her from every kind of error? Not at all! For he who teaches science to man on earth will have a seat in heaven, according to what the blessed Augustine says in the book he wrote about the office of the magistrates.

7 Who then, we ask, does the voice of the complaining Church blame as guilty, when she says: *See, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile?* Indeed, since we do not rightly follow the rule that the Lord has given us, but now read extraordinary glosses, now ask for dispersing dispensations and now even interpret the Law, and that not in the spirit of the law-giver¹ – as the supreme Judge does not judge it in another way than how the witnesses (that is, our way of life and our own

¹ That is, the author implies that the Birgittines do not follow the original principles of the order as dictated by Christ through Birgitta.
quam coram eo deponent testes, forma scilicet conversacionis et consciencia nostra, formidamus nimium, quod harum accusacione veridica et testificacione contraria tandem contra nos in scriptis feret ludec sentenciam et sub hac forma: ‘Quia aversione aversi estis a me non me sequentes nec custodientes mandata et ceremonias, quas dedi vobis, afferam vos de superficie terre, et templum (supel: “quod vilefecistis”), proiciam a conspectu meo, eritique in proverbium et fabulam cunctis populis’ (3o Regum 9o).

8 Cuius sententie formidantes, fratres, gravamen ac eciam aggravamen abhorrente, quo fertur: Si quis templum Domini violaverit disperdet illum Deus (Prima ad Corinthios 3'), ea conversione convertamur ad Dominum, quatenus pro nobis advocante nostre mentis mundicia ad nos ipse conversus dicat seorsum cum propheta: Si converteris, convertam te et ante faciam meam stabis; et si separaveris preciosum a vili, quasi os meum eris, quia ego tecum sum, ut eram te de manu pessimorum et redimam te de manu forciem (Iere. 15). Ut ergo ita convertaris, frater, ac eciam ut cum sacerdotibus sine macula ascendas in montem Syon ad renovandum altare, quod prophanatum est, et ad mund sancta (primo Machaboeorum 4o), in principio huius collacionis brevis, immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde, etc.

/ 9 Vide, Domine, et considera, quoniam facta sum vilis. Ubi prius. In quibus verbis luctus lugens filie Syon et questus querentis civitatis Ierusalem palam se offerunt oculo advertentis. Nam luctus lugens filie Syon ibi exprimitur, cum dicitur Vide, Domine, et considera. Et questus civitatis Ierusalem statim subsequitur, cum subditur quoniam facta sum vilis. Luget denique filia Syon, claustriali scilicet perfeccion, quoniam eructus est inimicus, ut eam lingua percuciat et effodiat foveam anime succ (Ieremie 18). Set queritur et conqueritur civitas Ierusalem, privata videlicet religio, quia porte eius in terra defixe sunt et vectes illius in perdicione (Trenorum 2').
conscience) have put it before him – we are now very afraid that, since their accusation is truthful and the testimony is not in our favour, the Judge will cast a sentence upon us in his writings, and in this form: ‘Since you revolting shall turn away from me, and not keep my commandments and my ceremonies, which I have given you, I will take you away from the face of the land, and the temple (add: “which you have vilified”) I will cast you out of my sight and you shall be a proverb and a byword among all people’ (Third Book of Kings, chapter nine).

8 Brothers, fearing the accusation of this judgement, and even shuddering at its grievance, which says: If any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy (First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter three), let us through this conversion turn to God, so that, as far as the cleanliness of our mind can speak for us, he himself, turned to us, may say for himself together with the prophet: If you will be converted, I will convert you, and you shall stand before my face, and if you separate the precious from the vile, you shall be as my mouth, for I am with you to deliver you out of the hand of the wicked, and I will redeem you out of the hand of the mighty (Jeremias, 15). So that you therefore may return, brother, and together with the priests unstained go up onto mount Sion to repair the altar, which has been profaned, and cleanse the holy places (First of the Machabees, chapter four), first and foremost in this short collatio, offer to God the sacrifice of praise and pay (your vows), etc.

9 See, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile. As referred to above.3
By these words the sorrow of the mourning daughter of Syon and the complaint of the lamenting city of Jerusalem are clearly shown to the eye of the beholder. For the sorrow of the mourning daughter of Syon is expressed in the words See, O Lord, and consider. And the complaint of the lamenting city of Jerusalem immediately follows, when these words are added: For I am become vile. Indeed, the daughter of Syon – that is, cloistral perfection – mourns because her enemy is lifted up, so that he may strike her with the tongue and dig a pit for her soul. But the city of Jerusalem – that is, private religion4 – complains and laments because her gates are sunk into the ground and her bars destroyed (Lamentations, chapter two).

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3 On the phrase In principio huius collationis brevis as a set phrase in this kind of text; see Wenzel (2005), p. 15.
4 On the expression ubi prius, here used to mark the reiteration of the theme (recapitulatio thematis), see Akac (2007), pp. 17–18.
5 Privata religio is an expression frequently used by the Lollards, signifying the monastical system they objected to. See e.g Hudson (1988), pp. 347–351. On John Whethamstede’s critical attitude towards Lollardy, see Knowles (1955), p. 194; Carlson (2003).
Dico ergo primo, quod ideo luget filia Syon, claustrialis scilicet nostra perfeccio, quia *recess est inimicius* ut *eam lingua percusiat et effodiat forceam anime sue* [Ieremia 8], cum, ut in multis, adeo humana perfeccio sit mutabilis, ut hii, quos adversa non corripiunt, statim corrupuntur prosperis et cito a via perfeccionis recedunt. Proinde summi conditoris innensa decravit benignitas, ut quandiu viator peregrinaretur versus patriam, adversantes in intinere carmem haberet, mundum et demonem, qui sibi per vexacionem darent intellectum, quomodo per pugnam dicitur ad coronam et post multas tribulaciones tandem pervenitur.

Istud satis advertit Iob, vir iustus, dum vitam hominis super terram vocavit miliciam. Et in idipsum bene consensit doctissimus Augustinus, dum, quia superbiam sanat, quia pacienciam probat, quia lavat culpae maculam et hominem cogit ponere in Domino spem suam, sibi necessarium dixerat esse tribulacionem.

Cum hiis hostibus in temptacione pugnavit Abraham, *et reputatum est ei ad iusticiam* (Genesis 15?). Cum hiis eciam certavit Ioseph in tribulacione et factus est dominus per to tum Egyptum (Genesis 41). Cum hiis insuper dudum congressa fuerat nostra filia Syon, dum contra se inimicum erectum despexerat. Set quia lingua percuientem fortiter cum Domino non sustinuit, ideo huncusque ad coronam victrix meritorie non pervenit. Et bene, quia non regnabit nisi militet, nec coronabitur nisi legitime pugnet, iuxta Apostolum (2o ad Thimotheum 2o).

Igitur, fratres, si nostra claustrialis perfeccio, que miliciam paciencie professa est et ideo linguas detrachencium, iuxta Gregorium, tollare habeat, ut inde sibi merium crescat, si gladio // lingue percussa statim eedit victa aut fragitum impaciens in pugna tam parva, quid est nostra filia Syon nisi vidua lugens in

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1 ante verbum dico signum paragraphi scr. cod. 2 perciusiat i.e. percutiat (-ciat) 8 post] *lett. ost supra lin. scr. et hic inser. ind. cod. 9 in secundum Act. 14, 21 supplivi
10 First, then, I say that the daughter of Syon – that is, our cloistral perfection – mourns because her enemy is lifted up, so that he may strike her with the tongue and dig a pit for her soul (Jeremias, 8), since human perfection is so changeable, as in so many people, that those, who are not corrupted by misfortunes, immediately are corrupted by fortune and quickly waver from the way of perfection. 11 Therefore the immense mercy of the highest creator has decreed that as long as the wayfarer is travelling towards his homeland, he has opponents along the way: the flesh, the world and the devil, who through vexation make him understand, how he is led to the crown through fighting and after many tribulations finally arrives in the kingdom (of heaven).

12 This was clear enough to Job, the righteous man, when he called the life of man upon earth a warfare. And the most learned Augustine very much agreed to this, when he said that tribulation was necessary for man since it cures pride, tries patience, cleanses the stain of sin and forces him to put his faith in God.

13 Abraham fought with these enemies in his temptation, and it was reputed to him unto justice (Genesis, chapter 15). Joseph, too, fought with them in his tribulation and he was made lord over all Egypt (Genesis, chapter 41). Furthermore, our daughter of Syon has for a long time fought with them, when she has looked down to see her enemy magnified against her. 14 But since she did not endure bravely with God the one striking with his tongue, she has hitherto not merited to arrive at the crown as a conqueress. And rightly so, since she will not reign unless she fights, nor be crowned unless she strives lawfully, according to the Apostle (second epistle to Timothy, chapter two).

15 Therefore, brothers, if our cloistral perfection, which is professed as the warfare of patience, and therefore has to tolerate the tongues of detractors (according to Gregory) so as to augment her merit – if she, struck by the sword of the tongue is immediately conquered and withdraws, or in her impatience is broken into pieces in such a small fight, then what is our daughter of Syon if not
maxillis gerens lacrimas? Et quid nos sumus nisi vitro similes, quod ictu lenissimo
se dissipat et transit membratim in minutas partes?

16 Set abst, fratres, ut in ea vocacione, qua nos vocati stamus, diceremur viri
tam fragiles aut illa momentanea flagella, per que vitare poterimus perpetua,
tam impacifice tolleremus. Tunc quippe quasi a vera perfezione degeneres nec
iarem cum apostolis gaudentes a constpectu consili, quoniam digni habuit sumus pro
nomine Ihesu contumeliam pati, nec de tribulacione magna cum discipulis veniremus
lavantes stolas nostras in sanguine agni.

17 Igitur, patres, etsi omni leone crudelior in nos mundi malicia iam deseviat, si
serpente in sinu periculosior familiaris amicus nobis invideat, si hic triplex hostis,
caro scilicet, mundus et adversarius simul in unum conspirantes mollantur
scandala, ymagninentur obprobria subvertereque conantur et finaliter destruere
nos et loca nostra, nos semper anchoram spei nostre fiducialiter figamus in
Domino, et ipse psalmiste testimonio salvam faciet Syon et cam proteget in
tabernaculo suo a contradiczione linguarum (Ps. 30 et 68).

18 Insuper, si letatus erat propheta pro diebus quibus cum Dominus humiliaverat
et pro annis quibus viderat mala, non alia utique dispensacione hoc fieri poterat, ut
supra dorum nostrum gaudentes peccatores et prolongarent iniquitatem suam, nisi ut
post naufragium portus, post laborem requies, dulsceo post amaritudinem et
gaudium arridere gracios post merorem.

19 Igitur inter cetera considerantes attentius cum premissis, quomodo, dum
quadratur lapis, templum Domini erigitur, dum movetur turbo, Helias in celum
rapitur, et dum turbatur Paulus, tunc fit forcior et potens et libenter

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6 iremus ... 7 pati] Act. 5, 41. 7 de ... 8 agni] cfr. Apc. 7, 14. 14 salvam ... Syon] Ps. 68,
36. 16 letatus ... 17 mala] cfr. Ps. 89, 15.
18 supra ... suam] cfr Ps. 126, 3. 19 ut ... 20 merorem] cfr Pet. Bles. comp., PL 207, col. 823
20 B: ‘Ex magna nimium divinae gratiae dispensatione praecessit afflictio, ut post
moerorem gaudium, post naufragium portus, post laborem requies, dulceo post
amaritudinem, post persecutiones prosperitas gratios aridert.’ 21 dum ... 22 erigitur]
cfr III Rg 5, 17. 22 dum ... 23 rapitur] cfr IV Rg 2, 11. 23 dum ... 206, 1 suis] cfr II Cor.
12, 9–10.

11 molliantur i.e. mollantur
a mourning widow with tears on her cheeks? And what are we, if not just like
glass, which dissolves by the merest blow and breaks into tiny pieces?

16 But, brothers, it must be avoided that we, in this vocation we have been
called to serve, be called such fragile men, or that we so badly stand up to the
momentary lashes, by which we will be able to avoid the perpetual ones. For
then, as it were wandering far from true perfection, we would neither go rejoicing
with the apostles from the presence of the council because we were accounted worthy to suffer
reproach for the name of Jesus, nor come out of great tribulation together with the
disciples to wash our robes in the blood of the Lamb.

17 Therefore, fathers, even though the evil of the world rages against us, more
cruel than any lion, if a close friend, more dangerous than a snake in one’s arms,
envies us, if this threefold enemy – that is, the flesh, the world and the devil –
simultaneously conspire against us, strive to slander us, make up disgraceful
things and try to overthrow us and finally destroy us and our places, then let us
always put the anchor of our hope in God and He will, with the psalmist as
witness, save Synn and protect her in His tabernacle from the slandering tongues
(Psalms 30 and 68).

18 Furthermore, if the prophet rejoiced for the days in which God had humbled
him and for the years in which he had seen evils, this could not have been done in
any other way – even though the wicked have worked upon our back and
lengthened their iniquity – than to make him laugh in a more graceful way; like
the harbour after the shipwreck, rest after work, sweetness after bitterness and
joy after sorrow.

19 Therefore, when you among other things more attentively consider, together
with the above-mentioned things, how, while the stones are squared, the temple
of God is built, while the whirlwind is moving, Elias is taken up to heaven, and
gloria[ba]tur infirmitatibus suis cum apostolo Iacobo: omne gaudium existimate, fratres, de cetero, cum in temptationes varias incideritis, scientes, quia, quemadmodum iuxta Gregorium hunc pater filium libenter corrigit, quem vult sibi heredem fieri, sic secundum Apostolum Deus quos diliget castigat et temporaliter punit, ut faciat eternaliter coheredes Ihesu Christi.

Quod si replicantes obiciis: ‘Si ita se res habeat, quod adversitas Catonem confriget, tribulacio Boecium proscrispit, malicia crucifixit Christum / et perseccuo beatos extinxit apostolos, Petrum scilicet et beatum Paulum, quomodo poterimus nos, qui in latitudine perfectionis infimum gradum tenemus, aut mentaliter gaudere aut corporaliter non turbare, qui cum in tribulacione nostra iam diu ad Dominum clamavimus, ut liberet animas nostras a labis iniquis? Ipsa aurem suam avertit a clamore nostro, nec nos actens exauditi sumus’, 21 vobis replicantibus respondet Ieronimus super Abacuc ita scribens: ‘Si Dominus, qui mensuras et pondera sue clemencie novit, interdum orantem non exaudit, hoc facit ut eum probet et quasi per ignem excoctum iustiorem reddat et magis provocet ad rogandum.’ Quam responsum confirmat Augustinus super Psalmum 45 sic annectens: ‘Ne deficias in oracione petere quod pium est, quia, quamvis Dominus differt, non tamen auertit.’ Ymmo fixum est: fallere quemque mus quam potest.

22 Considerantes ergo, patres, cum iam dictis, qualiter non minus sensui quam racioni sit consonum, ut a servo dominus, ab egroto medicus et a discipulo magister prestoletur, eciam quamvis differat suos gressus, et si deorum Dominus moram fecerit, non id vos fastidiat set iuxta Psalmiste consilium exspectetis cum,

1 omne ... 2 fratres] *loc. i., 2. 2* cum ... scientes] *cfr. loc. i., 2–3. 3* iuxta Gregorium*Locum non inveni.* 4 hunc ... 4 castigat] *cfr. Hsbr. 12, 6–7. 10* in ... 12 iniquis] *cfr. Ps. 119, 1–2.* 11 aurem ... 13 sumus] *cfr. Ps. 21, 25. 14* Si ... 16 rogandum] *cfr. Hsbr. in Hsbr. 1, i., 2, 3.* ‘Ita et Dominus Deus noster scens elementiae suae pondera atque mensuras, interdum non exaudit clamantem, ut eum probet, et magis provocet ad rogandum et quasi igne excoctum iustiorem et puriorem faciat.’ *17* Ne ... 18 auertit] *cfr. Aug. in psalm. 45, 24.* ‘Ergo non deficiamus in oratione. Ille quod concessurus est, esti differt, non auertit.’

6 Quod ... 13 Ieronimus] *construe.* Quod si replicantes obicitis ... vobis replicantibus respondet Ieronimus.

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while Paulus is troubled, he becomes stronger and powerful and gladly takes
delight in his infirmities, together with the apostle James: *count it all joy, my
brethren*, and furthermore, *when you shall fall into divers temptations, you must know that*
just as, according to Gregory, the father willingly corrects the son that he wants
to make his heir, so, according to the Apostle, God chastises and temporarily
punishes those he loves in order to make them fellow heirs to Jesus Christ in
eternity.

20 If you answer us like this: ‘If it is a fact that misfortune destroyed Cato,
tribulation proscribed Boethius, evil crucified Christ and persecution killed the
blessed apostles, that is, Peter and the blessed Paul, then how will we, who put
our very small steps in the breadth of perfection, be able either to rejoice
mentally or not be corporally agitated, we, who already for a long time have
cried to God in our distress that he might deliver our souls *from wicked lips;*
however, he has turned his ear away from our cries, and we have hitherto not
been heard’, 21 then Jerome answers this to your reply, when he writes about
Habakkuk: ‘If God, who knows the measures and weights of his mercy, now and
then does not hear the praying man, he does this in order to try him and make
him, as it were, boiled over fire, more righteous and incite him more to pray.’
Augustine confirms this answer in his writings about Psalm 45, adding: ‘Do not
cease to ask for that which is pious in your prayers, for, even though God delays,
he does not take it away.’ No, this stands fixed: He cannot let anyone down in
anything.

22 Considering then, fathers, together with what has already been said, how it is
not less in harmony with sense than with reason that a slave waits for his master,
a pupil for his teacher, a sick person for his doctor, even though he may delay his
steps, and if the Lord of gods makes you wait, you must not be offended by this,
but await Him, according to the counsel of the psalmist: *Act manfully, and let your
viriliter agile et confortetur cor vestrum ac sustineatis Dominum. Exspectetis, inquam, per longanimitatem iusticie, quia non vidimus iustum derelictum nec semen eius querns panem (in psalmo). Viriliter agile per fortitudinem anime, quia, qui fortes sunt in bello, testimonio fidei probati sunt in Christo (Ad Hebraeos 11). 23 Et tercio, confortetur cor vestrum et sustineatis Dominum per fiduciam consolutionis et pacienciam in adversis, quoniam qui seminant in lacrimis in gaudio metent (Ps. 125). Et qui persecutionem paciuntur propter iusticiam, ipsi regnum celorum possidebunt (Math. 5).

24 Consolare igitur, filia Syon, que erectum huges inimicum. Consolare, consolare, consurge, consurge et induere fortitudinem, quia, si in adversis fortis fueris, iam completa est malicia (suple: ‘detractoris.’ Ysa. 40). Et si letieris in contumeliis, potaberis a Salvatoris lacte saciaberisque ab uberibus consolacionis eius (Ysa. 11).

25 Igitur cum contra te erectus inimicus, non sit Cato neque Marius, Scipio sive Lelius, set hic dumtaxat, cui non pro veritate set pro consuetudine – ut verbis utamur Senece – innatum est, ut latret velut canis, noli amplius in tua tribulacione lacescre Dominum his querelis: Vide etc. //

26 Dico secundo et finaliter, quod ideo queritur at conqueritur civitas sancta Jerusalem, nostra scilicet privata religio, quia porte eius in terra defixe sunt et vectes in perdiciunc (Threnorum 2).

27 De Egipto mundi huius nos noster Moyses mitissimus in terram conducens sanctam, in qua nunc stamus [ideo huius sanctissime religionis Jerusalem, que edificat ut civitas], in sortem nobis concesserat, quatinus triplicem illius murum,

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heart be strengthened and wait for the Lord. Wait for him, I say, with the patience of justice, for we have not seen the just forsaken, nor his seed seeking bread (in psalm 36). Act manfully through the strength of the soul, for those who are valiant in battle, are approved in Christ by the testimony of faith (To the Hebrews, chapter 11). 23 And third, let your heart be strengthened and wait for the Lord with the confidence of consolation and the patience in hardships, for they that sow in tears shall reap in joy (Psalms, chapter 126). And they that suffer prosecution for justice’s sake, they will own the kingdom of heaven.

24 Therefore be comforted, daughter of Syon, you who mourn that the enemy is lifted up. Be comforted, be comforted, arise, arise and put on strength, for if you can be strong in hardships, evil (add: of the detractor) is come to an end (Isaiah, chapter 40). And if you rejoice in hardships, you will drink from the milk of the Saviour and be satisfied from the breasts of His consolation (Isaiah, chapter 11).

25 So, when the enemy is lifted up against you – it may not be Cato or Marius, nor Scipio or Laelius, to use the words of Seneca, but simply he, who is born to bark like a dog, not for a true reason but out of habit – then do not further annoy the Lord in your tribulation with these words: See etc.

26 Second and finally I tell you that the holy city of Jerusalem – that is, our private religion – complains and laments because her gates are sunk into the ground and her bars destroyed (Lamentations, chapter two).

27 Moses, mildly leading us from the Egypt of this world to the Holy Land, where we now stand (the Jerusalem of our most holy religion, which is built as a city),
continenciam scilicet, obedienciam et paupertatem, tueremur strenuiter et portas eius ac vectes, afflicationes videlicet cordis et intenciones mentis, clauderemus viriliter, ne ullus per eas pateret aditus discursibus transgressoris. Nam hi sunt muri illius Ierusalem, de qua scribitur: Lapides preciosi omnes muri tui (Apoc. 21\textsuperscript{mno}). Et iste sunt \textit{porte Sion}, quas \textit{Dominus diligit super omnia tabernacula Iacob} (Ps. 86). Set o dolor, o gemitus, iam nostre tuicionis necligencia causante subintronantes \textit{Caldeorum exercitus muros Ierusalem destruxerunt per circuitum}, et ulterior pre defectu clausure debite eciam \textit{porte in terra defixe sunt ac vectes} eius in perdicione (Ieremie 52 et Threnorum \textit{2}).

\textbf{28} Quid, fratres, quesumus, congruencius queat concipi per ‘Caldeorum exercitus’, qui nostre civitatis \textit{Ierusalem} muros destruunt \textit{per circuitum}, quam concessarum a sede apostolica graciarii exorbitans ille numeros, qui nostram nostro iudicio religionem et regulam subvertunt ac ad finalem eius destrueionem iter parant? Et quid per ‘terrnam’, in quo \textit{porte} huius nostre civitatis \textit{infixe sunt et vectes} in perdicione, quam viilis sensualiter in nobis adhuc minime extinctus appetitus, quo iam in nostris affeccione ac intencione virtus fere desit et tota pene submergitur vis racionis? \textbf{29} An non exercitus ille Caldeorum, numerus videlicet declaracionum, interpretacionum, dispensacionum etc.? Hos nostre civitatis muros iam destruunt per circuitum, dum hinc inde ad inobiedienciam et proprietatem parantes sparsim viam cum uno contra apostolum dispensat, ut de vocacione in vocacionem se transferat et transeat ad ordinem alienum, cum altero licencialiter indulget, ut de curia fratrum contra regulam exeat et acceptet beneficium, et ita utroque in utroque ad fragilis animi inconstancial materiam evagandi non parvam prestat.

\textsuperscript{1} continenciam … paupertatem\textsuperscript{cfr RS § 50: ‘Principium itaque huius religionis ... est vera humilias et pura castitas et voluntaria paupertas.’} \textsuperscript{4} Lapides … tuil\textsuperscript{cfr Apoc. 21, 19.} \textsuperscript{5} porte … Iacob\textsuperscript{Ps. 86, 2.} \textsuperscript{6} o' … gemitus\textsuperscript{cfr AIMS I, pag. 157: ‘Sed O dolor! O gemitus! O lacryma, suspiria et singultus!’}, \textsuperscript{& II, pag. 212: ‘O dolor, o gemitus, o planctus, lacryma, lucus!’} \textsuperscript{7} Caldeorum … circuitum\textsuperscript{cfr Iex. 52, 14.} \textsuperscript{22} curia fratrum\textsuperscript{cfr RS § 151; 164; 201.}

\textsuperscript{1} verbum strenuiter in marg. scet. et hic inser. ind. cod. \textsuperscript{14} per terram\textsuperscript{scil. congruencius queat concipi}

\textsuperscript{12} numeros … 13 subvertunt\textsuperscript{constructio ad sensum} \textsuperscript{21} dispensat\textsuperscript{constructio ad sensum}
decided that we would diligently guard its threefold wall, that is, continence, obedience and poverty, and firmly shut her gates and bars, that is, the feelings of the heart and the intentions of the mind, so that no entry would be open through them to be used by transgressors, running on and off. For these are the walls of the city Jerusalem, of which it is written: All your walls are like precious stones (Apocalypse, chapter 21). And these are the gates of Zion that the Lord loves above all the tabernacles of Jacob (Psalms, chapter 86). But O sorrow, O mourning, as a result of our negligence in guarding her, the armies of the Chaldeans have already broken down the walls of Jerusalem round about, and further away, as a result of her not being duly closed, her gates are sunk into the ground and her bars destroyed (Jeremias, chapter 52 and Lamentations, chapter two).

28 Brothers, we ask you: what could be better understood as ‘the armies of the Chaldeans’, who break down the walls of our city of Jerusalem round about, than that excessive number of indulgences, granted by the Holy See, which, according to us, overthrow our order and our Rule and prepare a road to her final destruction? And what could be better understood as ‘the ground’, in which the gates of our city are sunken down and her bars destroyed, than the vile desire, which we by no means have extinguished in a sensual way, because of which virtue is almost extinct in our followers as regards feelings and intentions, and the whole force of the mind almost submerged? 29 Is it not the army of the Chaldeans, that is, the number of declarations, interpretations, dispensations etc.? They are now destroying the walls of our city round about, as they, preparing from different directions a road to disobedience and egotism in order to scatter us all, grant one person licence – contrary to what the Apostle says – to change from one vocation to another and enter into another order, and allow another person – contrary to the Rule – to leave the brothers’ house and accept a position? Thus, in order to weaken a feeble soul, it offers for both parts no small means to wander off.

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3 I have not found the expression indulgere cum aliquo elsewhere. The matter of accepting a position (beneficium) is repeated in § 36 below. It might refer to a specific person or event. One example is the case of Vadstena brother Johannes Haquini, who left the monastery in 1421 to become archbishop of Uppsala; DV § 334.
30 Verum, fratres, si volvamus et revolvamus, que sit anguis latens sub hiis herbis, / claro contemplacionis oculo videbimus, quod in concessis nobis indulgentiis hiis dantur ac demonstrantur non paucu media, quibus primum pactum nostrum reducamus in irrigum et hos, quos in nostra conversione subvertimus, de novo construamus muros Iherico, et ita addamus pactum super pactum.

31 Numquid eciam, 2°, porte et vectes nostrarum affectionum et intentionum in terra lutosa illiciti appetitus infixe sunt et quasi totaliter in perdicione, dum contra ac ultra regulam – nec sine ambicionis aut indignacionis nota – per nos imperatrum existit, ut in unius fundacionis domunculo, in singularis dotacionis collegio, in private religionis habitaculo sint et intelligentur, ubicumque existunt, duo conventus, duo monasteria et duo capita corundem?

32 Sane si suggestionis huius bene causa rimetur interius, palam patebit rimantis intellectui, quod ordut ac originem habuit aut ab infelici motore, qui in spiritu ambicionis dixit: ‘Ponam sedem meam ad aquilonem et ero Altissimo similis’ [Ysa. 12], aut ab illo vulgo permobili, qui cum indignacionis stomacho intulit: ‘Nolumus hanc regnare super nos’ [Luce 19].

33 Quoniam, fratres, non sine alto racionis consilio iussaret vir sapiens, ut homo, qui sepius per transit in imagnine, poneret pedem suum in compedibus et non acciadiaretur in vinculis eius [Ecclesiastici 6th]. Nec absque similis discretionis iudicio subdit apostolus: ‘Opera deis, ut quieti sitis et stables semper in opere Dei vestrum negocium peragatis’ [Ad Thessalonisenenses 4 et prima ad Corinthios 10].

34 Ne nos igitur, fratres nostri ordinis primiceri et primicie, anathema futuris fiamus fratribus et pro Jerusalem Iherico dicamur erigere aut edificare domum Domini in Iehenna, huiusmodi evagacionis, ambicionis indignacionisque

\[\text{\footnotesize1 anguis … 2 herbis} \text{ cfr Verg. E. 3, 93: ‘frigidus, o pueri, fugite hic: latet anguis in herba’} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize4 quos … 5 Iherico} \text{ cfr Rev. Ex. cap. 27: ‘Christus declarat sancte Brigite, quare eiuitas illa Iherico destructa futi, faciendo quodam simuladinem de loco monasterii sui Watzlena et inhabitatoribus eius.’} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize13 bene} \text{ cfr I Cor. 15, 58.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize18 homo … 19 imagnine} \text{ cfr Ps. 38, 7.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize19 poneret … 20 eius} \text{ cfr Sir. 6, 25–26.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize21 Opera … 22 peragatis} \text{ cfr I Th. 4, 11.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize25 evagacionis} \text{ post ltt. g ltt. fere II in ms.} \]
30 Indeed, brothers, if we consider and reconsider what kind of a snake it is who lies hidden in this grass, we shall see with the clear eye of contemplation that in these indulgences, which have been given to us, many means are given with which we may make our first pact invalid and construct anew the walls of Jericho which we threw down in our conversion. And in this way we may put one pact upon another.

31 Second, is it not so that the gates and bars of our affections and intentions are sunk into the muddy ground of illicit desire and as it were completely destroyed, when beyond and contrary to the Rule (not without a mark of vanity and indignation) it has been obtained by us that in the house of a single foundation, in the community of a single endowment, in the dwelling of private religion there are and are understood, wherever they exist, two convents and two leaders thereof?

32 Truly, if the reason for this suggestion might be further examined, it will become clear to the examiner that it has its origin either from that unhappy mover who in an ambitious mood said: ‘I will put my seat to the north and be like the most High’ (Isaías, chapter 12) or from that fickle crowd who said with angry indignation: ‘We will not have this man to reign over us’ (Luké, chapter 19).

33 For, brothers, not without profound counsel a wise man had declared that man, who often passes as an image, should put his foot in fetters and not be grieved with its bonds. With the same kind of distinguished judgement the Apostle adds: ‘Use your endeavour to be quiet and always do your business steadfast in the work of God’ (To the Thessalonians, chapter four and the first letter to the Corinthians, chapter ten).

34 Lest we, the very first and foremost brothers of our order, become a curse to future brothers and are said to erect Jericho instead of Jerusalem or construct the house of the Lord in Hell, let us cut off these means of straying, vanity and
35 Alioquin de verisimili, prout conicum, porte nostre civitatis pro nunc paulisper in terra defixe absorbebuntur funditus, dabimurque nos in sensum reprobum et opprobrium dicemur habundantibus et descepi superbis (Ps. 122).

36 Quod si ad excusandas excusaciones in peccatis ita nobis responderitis: // Ad arciorem vitam nos libertat spiritus Domini, quia ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (2° ad Corinthios 10). Ad beneficium acceptandum nos ortatur et licenciat perfectione caritatis, quia alias quod pro caritate instituitur contra caritatem militaret. Et tercio, ad distinguendum capita et collegia in uno loco nobis suggestit illa apostoli auctoritas, qua furtur: “Docere mulieri non permitto neque viro dominari set esse in silicio [prima ad Thimotheum 2°]” contra primum vobis, fratres, obicimus quod scribit Ieronimus in epistulis (epistula 66°). ”Periculosem”, inquit, “est transire de una religione in alteram, eciam quamvis perfectionem, quia etsi simile sanctitatis ypocrisyis liberos in ea parte religiosos efficiat, non tamen ea libertate, quae vos Christus liberavit.”

37 Contra 2° apportionum cum Gregorio in Pastoralibus et cum Petro archidiacono in Epistulis, quomodo in minoribus sanctior erat David ante regnum quam posterus. Et celebror eciam exstitiit Martinus in miraculis, antequam cathedram ascendisset eminencia pastoralis.

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6 verbum dicemur in marg. scv. et hic insec. ind. cod. 16 quia etsi] etsi quia ante corr. cod.
indignation! Let us repeal what is superfluous in the privileges given to us, if these are not strengthened by a reasonable cause and universal utility. Let us, with reasonable and religious counsel, invent others, more suitable and opportune to the Rule. 35 Otherwise we truly believe that the gates of our city, which now for a short time are fixed in the ground, will sink further down, and we will give ourselves to a reprobate sense and be called a reproach to the rich and a contempt for the proud (Psalms, 122).

36 If you, as if to make excuses in sins, answer us in this way: ‘The Spirit of the Lord grants us a narrower life, for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty’ (second letter to the Corinthians, chapter ten). Perfect love urges and allows us to accept a position, because otherwise that which has been founded for the sake of love would fight (against) love. And third, concerning the distinction of heads and colleges in one place, the authority of the Apostle has suggested it, in these words: “I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to use authority over the man, but to be in silence” (first letter to Timothy, second chapter) – then contrary to the first point we present to you what Jerome has written in his letters (letter 66). He says: ‘It is dangerous to pass over from one religion to another, even though it might be more perfect, because even though the hypocrisy of false holiness may make the religious free in this respect, it does not happen with the freedom wherewith Christ has made them free.’

37 Contrary to the second point, we add with Gregory in his Regula Pastoralis and Peter the archdeacon in his letters that David was more holy in lesser matters before he acquired power than afterwards, and Saint Martin was more famous for his miracles before he acquired the bishopric (than afterwards).
Contra vero tercium per viam conclusionis inferimus, quod hec distinctio caput non monstruosum scisma renovat in ecclesia sive sotium, ymno victimam supra observationem appræciat, ac, quod punit historia et culpam auctoritas, legis tradicioni irrevocabili contradicere non formidat.

Si vultis auctoritates super unitate capitis, ecce scribit Philosophus malam esse pluralitatem principatum; et propter ea unum decret esse principem (Metaphysica 12). Scribit eciam Prophetae et inquit: Unus erit rex omnibus imperans et pastor omnium illorum (Ezechielis 37). Scribunt insuper canonese et diffinient, ut tantum sit unus in congregacione prelatus, qui dispensare habet unicoque prout opus erit (22, questio prima: ‘Quia tua fraternitas’).

Si petitis historiae de obediencia, ecce referat vobis A. Gellius, qualiter pontifex Crassus, cum cuidam subditis scriberet, ut pro aide te siendo de duobus malis maioribus sibi mitteret, quia non misit prout mandaverat set alium, qui bono iudicio aprior erat, cum ad se vocatum denudari et virgis cedisse iussit. Aurelius eciam Augustus filium suum, quia patris preceptum non servaverat, inter pedites ire coegit, prout referat Valerius libro 2o. Et tercio, rex quidam filium contra suum preceptum pro patria fortiter pugnantem ideo occidit, ne plus mali esset in exemplo contempti imperii quam boni in gloria hostis occisi, iuxta quod narrat Augustinus 5o De civilitate, capitulo 18o.

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5 Unus ... 8 illorum| cf Ecce. 37, 22 & 24.
10 Aurelius ... 2o| cf T. Max. 2, 7, 4. Rex ... 18 occisi| cf Aug. civ. 5, 18.

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illegible
38 Contrary to the third point, we proceed along the road of conclusion and say that this distinction of heads not only renews a monstrous schism in the Church, a schism that now is at rest, it also estimates victimization more highly than obedience, and it does not shun to irreverently contradicting the tradition of the Law, which history punishes and authority reproaches.

39 If you seek authorities concerning the unity of heads, see what the Philosopher writes: ‘Plurality is harmful wherefore there should be only one leader’ (Metaphysics, book 12). 40 The Prophet also writes and says: One king shall be king over them all and they shall have one shepherd (Ezekiel, chapter 37).

41 Furthermore, canon law writes and explains that there should only be one prelate in a congregation whose duty it is to distribute to every one according to need (causa 22, the first question, ‘Quia tua fraternitas’).

42 If you demand stories about obedience, Aulus Gellius tells you how the pontiff Crassus wrote to a subject and asked him to send the larger of two masts to him in order to construct a battering ram. Since this man did not send the one Crassus had ordered, but another one which he himself considered more suitable, Crassus summoned him and ordered him to be stripped and whipped.

43 Likewise Aurelius Augustus made his son serve in the infantry because he had not obeyed his father’s orders, as Valerius tells us in his second book. 44 Third, a certain king7 slew his son, who bravely fought for his country albeit contrary to orders, lest there be more harm in the example of contempt for an order rather than good in the glory of having killed the enemy, as Augustine tells us (the fifth book of The City of God, chapter 18).

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6 The author of the Collacio has confused the names here. Valerius Maximus tells us about the consul C. Cotta who punished his relative P. Aurelius Pecuniola for disobedience.
7 Titus Manlius ‘Imperiosus’ Torquatus, consul 347; 344; 349 BC.
45 Ecce, fratres, hic si advertitis, pluralitati capitum in uno regimine contradicit Philosophus, contradicit Prophetæ, contradicunt et canones. Ecce hic eciam si perpenditis, contravenienti superioris mandato — quamquam utiliter et cum racione — contradicit A. Gellius, contradicit Valerius, contradicuntque Crassus et Aurelius ac alie historie plures.

46 Rememorantes igitur, qualiter in lege, quam dedit nobis Dominus utrobiique, ubi de monasterio fit mense, unum in singulari ponitur, cui iubetur abbatissa precesse et esse caput eiusdem, prout liuet ex multis suis capitulis et precipue ex 11 et 12 in cadem, ut digne ambuletis in ea vocacione qua vocati estis, sitis cum Philosopho polliciti ad expellendam pluralitatem capitalem in regimine. 47 Sitis cum propheta benevoli ad appreciandum obedienciam supra victimam in professo ordine. Sitis et tercio cum apostolo solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, quatenus, cum unus sit Dominus, una fides, unum baptismum, unusque Deus et pater omnium, qui est benedictus in secula, vos sub uno et illo, quod preexposuimus, capite efficiamini anus corpus unusque spiritus, sicut vocati estis in sbe vocacionis vestre (Ad Ephesios iii10).

48 Nec moneamini in aliquo super illo, quod scribit Apostolus: Vir caput est mulieris sicut et Christus ecclesie (Ad Ephesios 510), quia hoc exposicionem habet in religione Christiana communi et connubio carnali, prout palam colligitur ex textu ibidem, neque terreamini in minimo super isto, quod querit Sapiens: Mulierem fortis quis inveniet? Procul etc., 49 quia, si fide habueritis ut granam synapis, potens est Dominus de lapidibus istis suscitate vobis Deboram et de propinquis finibus post Judith Hester traducere ac vacillantibus discipulis iterum per alterum triduum ecclesiam regere permaximam.

50 Igitur et iterum cum apostolo: In omni humilitate et mansuetudine cum paciencia supportantes invicem in caritate (Ad Ephesios iii10).

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10 polliciti fort. perseveram pro solliciti 17 moneamini] fort. moveamini leg.
45 So, brothers, if you now give heed to this, (you will observe that) the Philosopher, the Prophet and canon law all speak against the plurality of heads in one community. And if you consider it, Aulus Gellius, Valerius, Crassus, Aurelius and many other stories object to someone who defies the order of a superior, albeit effectively and rationally.

46 Remembering again how in the Law, which the Lord has given us on both sides, a monastery is mentioned, one monastery, in the singular sense, is assumed, which the abbess is ordered to preside over and be head of – as is clearly shown in many of its chapters and especially in chapter 11 and 12 – so that you walk worthy in the vocation in which you are called, may you with the Philosopher promise to abolish plurality of heads in the community. 47 May you with the Prophet be willing to prefer obedience to victimization in the order in which you have been professed. Third, may you with the Apostle be careful to keep the unity of Spirit in the bond of peace so that you, since there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism and one Father of all who is forever blessed, under one head, as mentioned above, will become one body and one spirit as you are called in the hope of your calling (To the Ephesians, chapter four).

48 May you not at all take heed to what the Apostle writes: The husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the church (To Ephesians, chapter five), because these words have their explanation in the universal Christian religion and in the carnal union, as is clearly concluded from that same text. 8 Nor should you be in the least frightened about that which the wise man asks about: Who shall find a valiant woman? For etc. 49 For if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, God is able to raise up Deborah from these stones for you and from the neighbouring lands lead Esther after Judith and, even though the disciples waver, rule a great Church after another three days.

50 Once again we quote the Apostle: With all humility and mildness, with patience, supporting one another in love (To the Ephesians, chapter four).

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8 In other words, it is better to have one woman as a leader than two leaders.
9 The book of Esther follows after Judith in the Bible. I have not found this expression elsewhere.
Portas et vectes nostre civitatis, que nunc servit cum filiis suis, ad ipsam dirigamus, que sursum est, Jerusalem, que libera est et mater nostra (Ad Galathas 4\textsuperscript{a}). Et tunc sopitis utrobusque lucibus et queralis super ipsam, que nunc quasi polluta est menstrua (Threnorum primo), scribetur nomen civitatis nove (Apocalypsi 3\textsuperscript{a}), nobisque ministrabitur introitus in regno Christi et Domini Salvatoris (2\textsuperscript{a} Petri primo).

Quod nomen scribi quemque introitum nobis ministerialiter concedi annuat nobilis ille sponsus et insignis, ad quem iam diuicus clamabat sponsa ecclesia: 

Vide, Domine etc. / /

\footnotesize

1 nunc ... 2 nostra [cfr Gal. 4, 25–26. 3 quasi ... 4 menstruis] [cfr: Lam. 1, 17. 4 scribetur ... nove] [cfr Apc. 3, 12. 5 nobisque ... Salvatoris] [cfr II Pt. 1, 11.

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51 The gates and bars of our city, which now is in bondage with her children, we should direct to that Jerusalem above, which is free and our mother (Galatians, chapter four). And then, when the mourning and weeping for her that now is defiled like a menstruous woman has calmed on both sides (Lamentations, chapter one), the name of the new city will be written (Apocalypse, chapter three), and unto us an entrance shall be ministered into the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Saviour (second letter of Peter, chapter one).

52 May that noble and glorious spouse as a servant of God grant us that this name be written for us and that entrance be opened to us; the spouse, to whom now for a long time the bride, that is, the Church, has called: See, O Lord etc.
Glossary

The glossary is intended as a service to the reader. With a few exceptions, only words and meanings not included in C.T. Lewis and C.A. Short, A Latin Dictionary will be listed. The glossary is mainly based on GMLS = Glossarium medii et infimae latinitatis Sueciae, eds E. Odelman and U. Westerbergh (Stockholm, 1968–2009). For words not mentioned in GMLS, the dictionaries consulted are listed below and have been noted in each case.


On a few occasions, the glossaries to the Regula Salutaris (RS/Ekhund, 1975), the Diarium Vosstenense (IV/Gejrot, 1988), the Liber usuum (LU/Risberg, 2003) and Johannes Hildebrands Liber Epistularis (Stähl, 1998) have been used. Words marked with an asterisk (*) have neither been found in dictionaries nor in other texts than those edited in the present work.

**ab (ad) extra**, adv. (frater, soror etc.) outside the clausura

| Resh. I | 4 |
| Resh. II | 22; 39 |

**ab (ad) intra**, adv. (frater, soror etc.) inside the clausura

| Resh. II | 22; 95; 104; 156; 164 |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Article/Note</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acedior -ari</td>
<td>to be morose (L&amp;S)</td>
<td>Coll. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad minus, adv.</td>
<td>at least</td>
<td>Resp. II, 19; II, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggravamen -inis n.</td>
<td>grievance; oppression (Latham)</td>
<td>Coll. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambitus -us m.</td>
<td>cloister; passage around the inner part of the church in a Birgittine monastery (Sw. ‘Korsgång’)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 107; 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anathema -atis n.</td>
<td>curse (Blaise patr.; L&amp;S); banning</td>
<td>Coll. 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apostato -are</td>
<td>leave the monastery without permission (apostatize)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>archa</td>
<td>i.e. arca</td>
<td>Resp. I, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auditorium -i n.</td>
<td>chapter-room? (Risberg, 2003)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aureola -ae f.</td>
<td>celestial crown; aura of sanctity, halo</td>
<td>Resp. II, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beanus -i, m.</td>
<td>new student (DuC; Blaise med.)</td>
<td>Resp. I, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brodeum</td>
<td>(i.e. brodium) (meat) soup; the juice of meat</td>
<td>Resp. II, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burellum -i n.</td>
<td>coarse wool; burel</td>
<td>Resp. II, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cautela -ae f.</td>
<td><em>ad cautelam</em>, temporary (Latham; Ståhl 1998)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedula</td>
<td><em>see</em> schedula</td>
<td>Resp. II, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celleraria -ae f.</td>
<td>cellaress (Latham)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crapsula -ae f.</td>
<td>clasps for books (Latham)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* clapsulum - i n.</td>
<td><em>see</em> crapsula</td>
<td>Resp. II, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>claus trium -i n.</td>
<td>cloister (<em>see</em> ambitus)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clausura -ae f.</td>
<td>restricted area in the monastery into which only consecrated members were allowed to enter; enclosure</td>
<td>Resp. II, 78; 116; 119; 145; 167; Resp. I, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co clear -aris n.</td>
<td>spoon used for receiving the host from the chalices at Communion (DuC)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commensalis -is adj.</td>
<td>commensal; sharing the same table</td>
<td>Resp. II, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conservativus -a um</td>
<td>protective</td>
<td>Resp. II, 5 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contento -are</td>
<td>to satisfy; to be satisfied</td>
<td>Resp. II, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conversacio -onis f.</td>
<td>way of life</td>
<td>Coll. 7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
coopericio -onis f. concealment, cover etc. Resp. II, 7
(Latham)
deauratus -a -um gilded (Latham) Resp. II, 143
de cetero adv. henceforth; in the future; further Resp. II, 68 Coll. 19
de per se by itself; by themselves Resp. I, 2; Resp. II, 38
de tempore according to the (liturgical) calendar¹ Resp. II, 70
defectuosus -a -um full of faults; errant Resp. II, 169
detractor -oris m. detractor (L&S); slanderer Coll. 24
detrahens -entis m./f. see detractor Coll. 15
dies privatus weekday Resp. II, 75; 160
dies ferialis weekday Resp. II, 30; 74
dies feriatus holiday (Blaise patr.) Resp. II, 28
diffinio i.e. definio Coll. 6; 41
discipatorius see dissipatorius Coll. 7
dispenso -are allow by special dispensation; w. cum in ref. to a person (Latham Dict.) Coll. 29
*dissipatorius -a -um dispersing, shattering
domunculum -i n. small house (LN) Coll. 31
dotacio -onis f. endowment Coll. 31

ebdomadarius see hebdomadarius Resp. II, 160
eripio -ere snatch away; here: set free Resp. I, 1
exequor i.e. exsequor Resp. II, 72; 126; 135; 168
i.e. Resp. I, 1; 14; 73; 117; 162
ex quo since; because

familiaritas -atis f. fellowship; being a member of a spiritual community Resp. I, 3

¹ See Eklund (1975), p. 233 for a discussion about the usage of this term in the Regula Salvatoris.
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>femoralia -ium npl.</td>
<td>trousers; drawers (Latham)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferialis -e adj.</td>
<td>pertaining to a weekday</td>
<td>Resp. II, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feriatus -a -um</td>
<td>free from work; see <em>dies feriatus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| festum duplex          | double feast (a feast of high rank)
|                      |                                                                         | Resp. II, 139 |
| festum simplex         | single feast (a feast of low rank)
|                      |                                                                         | Resp. II, 139 |
| festum terr(a)e        | ‘feast of the country’
|                      |                                                                         | Resp. II, 139 |
| focaria -ae f.          | kitchen-maid; cook; a sister with kitchen-duty                             | Resp. II, 146 |
| forum anime              | ‘penitential jurisdiction’ (Latham), *i.e.* confession                    | Resp. II, 82 |
| gravamen -inis n.       | trouble; grief; accusation (Blaise med.)                                   | Coll. 8    |
| hebdomadarius -i m.    | hebdomadarian, *i.e.* a priest on duty for the week                        |            |
| hebdomadarius -a -um   | pertaining to the week (on duty for the week)                              | Resp. II, 146 |
| huiusmodi               | of this kind; this; that (often used as a definite article)                | Resp.: passim |
| impacifice adv.         | turbulently (Latham)                                                        | Coll. 16   |
| importune adv.          | violently, brutally; here: insolently                                      | Resp. I, prologue; I, 4; II, 30 |
| in facie ecclesi(a)e    | ‘in the face (presence) of the Church’ (Latham)                            | Resp. I, 2; II, 5 a; II, 43; II, 61 |
| infirmaria -ae f.       | infirmary                                                                  | Resp. II, 18; 141 |
| infirmitorium -i n.     | infirmary                                                                  | Resp. II, 60; 69; 147 |
| iocale -is n.           | precious thing                                                              | Resp. II, 114 |
| ius ad rem              | right to something (Dict. Ecc.)                                             | Resp. I, 2 |

* See further KL, *s.a.* ‘Festigrader’.

† *Ibid.*

† Certain feasts unique to Sweden; see further KL, *s.a.* ‘Festum terrae’; Lindberg (1937), pp. 328–335.
<table>
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>lacesco</td>
<td>i.e. lacco</td>
<td>Coll. 25</td>
</tr>
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<td>laicus -i m.</td>
<td>lay brother; ordinary people</td>
<td>Coll. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>latitudo -inis f.</td>
<td>breadth; region (Latham Dict.)</td>
<td>Resp. I, 4; II, 27; 68; 69; 77; 84; 103; 163; 164</td>
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<tr>
<td>laycus</td>
<td>see laicus</td>
<td>Coll. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberto -are</td>
<td>warrant; permit (Blaise med., Latham)</td>
<td>Coll. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licencialiter</td>
<td>by license (Blaise med., Firm. Verr.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>meritorie adv.</td>
<td>with merit; deserving</td>
<td>Coll. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ministerialiter adv.</td>
<td>like a servant (of God) (LN)</td>
<td>Coll. 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixtum -i n.</td>
<td>‘mixed meal’; meal consisting of different elements, in general bread with wine (LN); breakfast (Latham, Blaise med.)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monstrancia -ae f.</td>
<td>monstancce, a vessel to display the host</td>
<td>Resp. II, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nota -ae f.</td>
<td>music; singing</td>
<td>Resp. II, 75; 135</td>
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<tr>
<td>ordinarius -i m.</td>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>Resp. I, 1; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramentum -i n.</td>
<td>parament; decoration; cloth (for the altar)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 139</td>
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<tr>
<td>pontifex -icis m.</td>
<td>bishop; pontiff</td>
<td>Coll. 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>pr(a)ebenda -ae f.</td>
<td>allowance of food (in a monastery)</td>
<td>Resp. II, 125; 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr(a)exxpono -ere</td>
<td>mention before (LN)</td>
<td>Coll. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr(a)esuppono -ere</td>
<td>presuppose, assume in the first place</td>
<td>Resp. I, 2; II, 52; 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primici(a)e -arum f.</td>
<td>the first (mostly of fruits)</td>
<td>Coll. 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profestum -i n.</td>
<td>vigil, eve of a feast</td>
<td>Resp. II, 90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pro tempore adv. for the time being

proprietary -a -um someone (illegally) in possession of something; egoistic

proventus -us m. income

pictus see pyxis

puppis -is f. i.e. pyxis (LN)

pyxis -idis f. casket for the host

redditus -us m. revenue

rota -ae f. 'turntable' (Eklund, 1975); wheel placed in the wall between the convents, used for speaking with those on the other side, or for sending out small objects

sanus -a -um '(maior et) sanior numerus (pars)', the wiser majority

schedules -ae f. sheet of paper; document

sentencio -are to decree, judge

sermonizo -are to preach (Latham)

sindicus see sindicus

singular -is n. singular

solemnis -e solemn; important; pertaining to a feast

solemnitas -atis f. solemnity; feast, festival

species -ei f. spices

strenuiter adv. actively, strongly (Firm. Verr.)

subdeaconus -i m. subdeacon

substantificus -a -um substantial, essential (LN); *subst. -um: a large part (?)

subtunicale -is n. undergarment; shirt

successive adv. successively

syndicus -i m. a representative

Resp. I, 3; 4; II, 13
Resp. II, 107; 109–112; 123; 152
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II, 90
Resp. II, 127
Coll. 27
Resp. II, 73; 168
Resp. I, 2
Resp. II, 76
Resp. I, prologue
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<tr>
<td>tricesima (dies)-ae f.</td>
<td>the thirtieth day (after a death; DuC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>utpote</td>
<td>see utputa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utputa adv.</td>
<td>for example; namely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utpute</td>
<td>see utputa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaco -are</td>
<td>be free;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devote oneself to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velativus -a -um</td>
<td>concealing (LU, § 170)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vesper(a) -arum f.</td>
<td>vespers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vespere -orum m.</td>
<td>vespers (DV 485.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vestiarius -i m.</td>
<td>keeper of the vestry (Latham)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilefacio -ere</td>
<td>vilify; make worthless (Blaise patr.)</td>
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  Resp. I, 2; II, 3; 21; 82; 84; 85; 121
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  Resp. II, 14
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   Resp. II, 2

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Laelius 'Sapiens', C., Roman statesman, b. c. 188 BC
  Coll. 25
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  Resp. II, 27
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*Corpus Christi*, movable feast, first Sunday after Whitsun
  *Resp.* II, 143

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  *Resp.* II, 90

*Dominica in vanis Palmarum* (Palm Sunday), Sunday before Easter Sunday
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  *Resp.* II, 90

*Festum terrae* (‘Feast of the country’)
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  *Resp.* II, 90
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Resp. II, 36; 90

Quadragesima (Lent)
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SDHK = Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven:

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Listed here are the references found in the apparatus of sources in the editions as well as secondary literature used in the Introduction, Glossary and comments on the translation. Biblical books (not listed here) are abbreviated in accordance with the principles found in the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate (see Välg).


ACV  Acta Capituli Vadstensensis, A 537 fols 93–116; C 46 fols 160r–165r; Clm 27117 fols 97–105.


AH  Analecta Hymnica, ed. G. M. Drevès, C. Blume, and H. M. Bannister (Frankfurt am Main, 1961 [Leipzig, 1899–1922]).


AMSA See Riley (1870–1871).


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Plates

1. MS C 74, fol. 132r. Photo: Uppsala University Library.

2. MS C 363, fol. 43v. Photo: Uppsala University Library.

3. MS Arundel 11, fol. 177r. © British Library Board.
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