

THE CONVENT OF JERICHO IN BRUSSELS
AND ITS LITERARY NETWORK

EL CONVENTO DE JERICÓ EN BRUSELAS Y SU RED LITERARIA

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Abstract: The Augustinian convent of Jericho in Brussels was one of the main centres of textual, literary, and spiritual culture in the late medieval Low Countries. In addition to the large collection of manuscripts which the canonesses wrote for themselves, the sisters produced several books for people and institutions outside the convent walls. Thus the sisters were both important recipients as well as significant producers of texts. This article will focus on the question of the origin of the texts and books that the sisters used to build their library. Additionally, attention will be paid to the external recipients of the books that the Jericho scribes made, in order to shed light on the as yet understudied exchange of texts and books to and from (female) convents and the literary networks in which these religious institutions functioned.

Keywords: nuns' literacies; textual networks; book exchange; Jericho; female religious institutions; Low Countries; late Middle Ages.

Resumen: El convento de las agustinas Jericó en Bruselas fue uno de los centros más importantes de la cultura textual, literaria, y espiritual en los Países Bajos durante la Baja Edad Media. Además de la amplia colección de manuscritos que las canonessas escribieron para sí mismas, produjeron varios libros para personas e instituciones externas al convento. Las religiosas no solo eran receptoras importantes, sino también significativas productoras de textos. El artículo se concentra en la cuestión de la proveniencia de los textos y libros que servían para crear su biblioteca. Se prestará asimismo atención a los destinatarios externos a los que se dirigieron las copistas de Jericó con el fin de arrojar luz sobre la hasta ahora poco estudiada dinámica de intercambio de textos y libros entre conventos (de mujeres) y el exterior y las redes literarias en el marco de las cuales esas instituciones religiosas funcionaron.

Palabras clave: cultura letrada conventual de religiosas; redes textuales; intercambio de libros; Jericó; instituciones religiosas de mujeres; Países Bajos; Baja Edad Media.

SUMARIO

1. Jericho and the founders of its literary culture.– 2. Building the book collection.– 3. Writing for third parties.– 4. Conclusion: Jericho and its literary network. – 5. Bibliography.

Women religious participated largely in the literary and spiritual culture of the late medieval Low Countries as readers, commissioners, copyists, and writers of both texts and manuscripts¹. To what extent they had access to Latin books is not known, but the majority of Middle Dutch manuscripts from religious institutions until 1550 stems from female establishments (some two-thirds of about five hundred codices)². Judging from the extant manuscripts, the Augustinian convent of Onze Lieve Vrouw ter Rosen gheplant in Jericho (Our Lady of the Rose planted in Jericho) in Brussels must have been one of the main centres of book production in the Low Countries: of the *zeer groote quantiteit boeken* (*very large quantity of books*) which the convent must have had at its dissolution by Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) on 17 March 1783, twenty-nine Middle Dutch and one Latin manuscript from the period before 1520, and six later manuscripts still exist³. Additionally we know of three manuscripts from Jericho, which were lost or destroyed since then⁴. Except for three manuscripts, all books were copied within the convent

¹ Abbreviations used: AEB = Archives ecclésiastiques du Brabant = Ecclesiastical Archives of Brabant; KB = Koninklijke Bibliotheek = Royal Library; ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek = National Library of Austria; UB = Universiteitsbibliotheek = University Library.

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² The exact number is not known, but Karl Stooker and Theo Verbeij mention some 330 manuscripts from female convents. See K. Stooker, Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde*.

³ C. Theys, *Afschaffing*, p. 75. We also know of two incunables which probably must have belonged to the sisters' library: the first contains the *Vita Christi* of Ludolf von Sachsen (Antwerpen: Geraert Leeu, 1487), and the other contains the *Wech der sielen salicheit* and the Middle Dutch translation of *Der goldene Thron der minnenden Seele* of Otto von Passau (both Utrecht, 1480). Both incunables are currently in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (shelfmarks D-671-674 (?) and D-2797 (1 and 2)). See A. Derolez, V. Benjamin, W. Bracke (eds), *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. VII, nos 625-626. Detailed descriptions of the preserved manuscripts can be found in P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 366-426, and on the website *Convent Sermons in the Low Countries, 1450-1600* (www.conventsermons.org). These manuscript descriptions are part of the monograph on the sisters of Jericho and the sermons they wrote, which has been published in June 2013.

⁴ The convent owned two codices with sermons by canon regular Paul van Someren (MSS Brussels, KB, 4287 and 15130), but must have possessed a third collection with his sermons (Olim MS Du Bois de Schoondorp, 8 nr. 473). The last traces of this manuscript lead us back to an auction catalogue from 1800 (*Catalogue d'une belle et riche collection de livres*, p. 64, 8° no. 473). Two other manuscripts – a seventeenth-century psalter (Olim MS Leuven, UB, 37), and a fifteenth-century manuscript with among other texts Gerard van Vliederhoven's treatise *Van den IV uystersten* (*Cordiale de quatuor novissimis*; Olim MS Leuven, UB, 87) – were lost at the large fire in the library of the University of Louvain at 25-26 August 1914, which was the result of hostilities by the German troops at the beginning of World War I. Possibly the sisters of Jericho copied *Van den IV uystersten*, a compilation of Bible texts and citations of the Church fathers, from a manuscript which belonged to the Augustinian male convent of Bethlehem in Herent near Louvain (MS Brussels, KB, 1171-72), since it also contains a part of the Middle Dutch translation of the *Malogranatum*, a fourteenth-century treatise of Gallus of Königsaal,

walls⁵. This makes Jericho the second largest female monastic producer of manuscripts in the Low Countries. Only the canonesses regular of Sint-Agnes in Maaseik were more productive: they must have written about fifty manuscripts⁶.

Obviously, the rich textual culture in Jericho –as in any convent– does not exist in isolation. For the building of their book collection, the sisters were dependent on the manuscripts and texts that were placed at their disposal and/or on which they could lay their hands. Even for the fascinating and unique collections of convent sermons which the sisters wrote based on the sermons of the convent's own confessors, and which therefore can be considered 'original' texts, already existing texts are crucial. As in all religious medieval writings the argumentations in the convent sermons strongly rest on quotations from the Bible and other *auctoritates*⁷. However, book production in Jericho was

which was probably the exemplar for the copy the Jericho scribes made (MS Brussels, KB, 15156; see p. 397).

⁵ MS Ghent, UB, 1016, and MSS Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 11.898 and Cod. Series nova 12.753, were copied outside the convent walls. In other convents women religious also mainly wrote for themselves: over eighty-six percent of the manuscripts produced in women's houses were written for the community itself (K. Stoker, Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde*, vol. I, p. 164, and table 14). Carine Lingier draws the same conclusion based on narrative sources from female convents which were under the influence of the Chapter of Windesheim: above all books were written for liturgical use, but many codices were also written for the refectory and the library. See C. Lingier, *Boekengebruik in vrouwenkloosters*, p. 289-290. For the use of books in convents, see also W. Scheepma, *Medieval Religious Women*, p. 65-70.

⁶ In table 5 in K. Stoker, Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde*, vol. I, p. 341, forty-nine manuscripts from Sint-Agnes in Maaseik are mentioned. For their inventory Karl Stoker and Theo Verbeij used scholarly publications and existing databases (e.g. the renowned *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta*, which originally was a huge card catalogue built by the philologist and librarian Willem De Vreese (1869-1938), but fortunately nowadays is available online at bnm.leidenuniv.nl). Although their inventory of book collections from (semi-)religious institutions in the Low Countries is indispensable, it is to be handled with care. The numbers of manuscripts are not always correct (or differ in different lists), and much codicological and palaeographical research on book collections remains to be done.

⁷ In the period between 1459 and 1718 the sisters of Jericho wrote down hundreds of sermons which they had heard their confessors deliver in the convent's church. On 8 December 1459, Maria van Pee, canoness regular and later prioress of the convent, laid the foundation for this long and carefully maintained tradition, which had its peak in the second half of the fifteenth century. The sermons have been preserved in eight collections (in ten manuscripts). Three medieval and one early modern collections are preceded by extensive prologues in which the sermon-writing sisters give detailed accounts of their contribution to the writing and editing of the sermons and the composition of the manuscripts. See for the medieval sermon collections, P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, and –in English– P. Stoop, *Writing Sisters of Jericho*; P. Stoop, *Nuns as Writers*; P. Stoop, *Sermon Writing Women*. In addition to these convent sermon collections which have their origins in the convent itself, the sisters owned five sizeable sermon collections which originally were written elsewhere. Four collections contain translations of Latin sermons: 40 *Homiliae in Evangelia* of Gregory the Great (MS Brussels, KB, 15071), 16 *Sermones super Qui habitat* of Bernard de Clairvaux (MS Brussels, KB, 2555-58), and 138 sermons from the *Opus postillarum et sermonum de tempore* of Jordan von Quedlinburg (MSS Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 11.898 and Cod. Series nova 12.753; it is unknown where these

not limited to the codices the sister scribes wrote for themselves. The account books kept by the convent's prioresses Maria van Pee († 31 December 1511), Elisabeth van Poyle († 1499), Janne Colijns († 30 April 1491), and –to a lesser extent– Janne van den Velde († 1509) in the period between November 1465 and March 1491 show that the Jericho scribes also produced –for pay (*pro pretio*)– several books for individual, prosperous laity as well as for (semi-) religious persons and institutions, generally during the daily time allotted for handicrafts⁸. Thus Jericho was not only a recipient, but also a distributor of texts and manuscripts. This provides a great opportunity to study the role of a female convent in the exchange and circulation of texts and manuscripts, and to shed light on the textual network in which such a women's convent functioned. Before discussing these aspects, I will offer a brief introduction to the Brussels convent and to the people who made Jericho such an important centre of textual culture in the Southern Low Countries from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards.

manuscripts were made). The fifth is an originally Middle Dutch collection: MS Brussels, KB, 1678 contains 134 so-called Epistle and Gospel Sermons, possibly composed by Geert Grote, one of the founding fathers of the *Devotio moderna*, the late medieval Netherlandish reform movement (G. Zielemans, *Verfasser der sog. Zwoller Predigten*). Additionally, five other manuscripts contain only a number of sermons, including two *Limburg sermons* (nos 8 and 47; MS Brussels, KB, 11146-48), and translations of Ekbert von Schönau's *Sermo de vita et passione Jesu Christi*, and Nikolaus von Straßburg's *Predigt über den Goldenen Berg* (both in MS Brussels, KB, IV 296). Twenty manuscripts from Jericho in total contain one or more sermons, and fourteen of these codices contain only sermons. From no other religious institution so many vernacular sermons have been preserved.

⁸ Twenty-nine account books have been preserved from the period between 1453 and 1510 (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.778-12.807). They can be divided in two groups: the account books of the procuratrices mostly relate to the economic and material affairs of the convent (the yearly payments for the sisters' subsistence, food, etcetera). The prioresses mainly registered the income from and the expenses for the maintenance and furnishing of the church and the other convent buildings, and the sisters' personal supplies (like clothing and medicines). Most importantly in the context of this essay, however, are the entries with regard to the handicrafts –both needlework (like spinning, embroidering, and sewing) and writing. Three account books by Maria van Pee have been preserved. The oldest document (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.779) relates to 1464/1465, and therefore was written shortly before Maria was elected prioress. Maria's second account book (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 101r-161r) deals with the period between her election at 21 November 1465 and 1 November 1478) and her third account (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.781, ff. 40r-190r) relates to the period between 1478 and 1481/1482). The account book of Maria's successor Prioress Elisabeth van Poyle deals with the period between 15 June 1482 and 24 June 1486 (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.784), and Janne Colijns's account concerns the period between her election as prioress at 26 June 1486 and March 1490 (n.s. 1491). Most probably all account books are autographs. For more information on the account books, see P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 56-61 and 443-446.

1. JERICHO AND THE FOUNDERS OF ITS LITERARY CULTURE

Jericho was founded on 10 May 1456 through the direct intervention of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip III the Good (1396-1467), and his wife, Isabella of Portugal (1397-1472)⁹. In fact, the convent was the result of the merger of two communities: St Catherine's convent of the Witte Vrouwen van St Victor (White Sisters of the Order of St Victor), which since about 1235 had been situated just outside the first city walls at the Old Corn Market in Brussels, and the Augustinian convent of Onze Lieve Vrouw Ter Cluysen (Our Lady of the Hermitage), which since 1399 had been located in Braine-l'Alleud, some eighteen miles south of Brussels in the Forêt de Soignes. When the latter convent was destroyed in a fire as a result of a stroke of lightning on 5 April 1456 (only the chapel survived), a new residence was needed for the homeless sisters. St Catherine's convent was chosen, possibly in an attempt to restore the impoverished monastic discipline in the Brussels convent¹⁰. On 17 September 1456 the sisters were officially installed, and at 4 May 1457 the new founding received its new name: *Monasterium Rose Beate Marie plantata in Jericho*.

As (virtually) all convents of canonesses regular in the Netherlands Jericho was within the direct sphere of influence of the Chapter of Windesheim, the monastic branch of the *Devotio moderna*, the influential reform movement in the late medieval Low Countries¹¹. Formally the convent was not a member of this umbrella organization of convents regular. After 1437 the Chapter no longer accepted female communities: due to the massive increase of women religious the organization did not have enough priests to provide pastoral care for the sisters. Nevertheless, Jericho inherited from its predecessor Ter Cluysen all the privileges, permissions, and favours that were, or ever would be, adjudged to the Windesheim Chapter *ac si capitulo generali de Vindeshem incorporate essent* (as if they had been incorporated in the General Chapter of Windesheim)¹². In this way, Jericho was able to adopt the Chapter's way of living, without belonging to it in the legal sense. In practice this meant that

⁹ A detailed account of the history of the convent and its inhabitants can be found in P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 43-110.

¹⁰ F. Prims, *Drie Ascetische schrijvers*, pp. 266-267; C. Lemaire, M. Henry, A. Rouzet, *Isabella van Portugal*, p. 71.

¹¹ For a short introduction in English to the Chapter of Windesheim, see W. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, pp. 2-16. For a brief and recent survey of the *Devotio moderna* and the various branches within this movement, see also K. Goudriaan, *Een beweging met allure*, pp. 53-77.

¹² On 14 April 1447, Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) confirmed the decision of his predecessor Eugenius IV (1431-1447) to give Ter Cluysen permission to accede to the Chapter of Windesheim. Although an actual entry was no longer possible at that time, Nicholas of Cusa

the convent was supervised by the commissioners of the Chapter, who in the second half of the fifteenth century were usually the priors of Onze Lieve Vrouw Ten Troon (Our Lady of the Throne) in Grobbendonk, located about twenty miles east of Antwerp. The rectors and inspecting priests (*visitatores*) also belonged to various male convents of Windesheim (for example, Groenendaal and Rooklooster –both situated in the Fôret de Soignes near Brussels–, Ten Troon, and Bethlehem in Herent near Louvain).

Shortly after the foundation of Jericho in 1457, the talented canon regular Jan Storm was appointed rector and confessor. He was in charge of Jericho for no less than thirty-two years, until his death on 3 May 1488. This priest was held in high regard by the sisters and his influence on the spiritual course of the new institution was enormous, as is apparent from the fact that they preserved no fewer than 121 of his sermons. Undoubtedly, Jan Storm also had a great impact on the literary course of the convent. He must have supported –if not instigated– the thriving manuscript production, driven by his personal interest in books. Indeed, in his own convent of Ten Troon Storm was highly regarded for his capacities as prior as well as for his abilities as an illuminator of manuscripts:

D. ac p. Joannes Storm, de Bruxellis, quondam prior, oeconomicus dexterrimus ac artis illuminatoriae pictor egregius, summo pontifici librum elegantissime depictum obtulit, ab eo que canonicatum in ecclesia Beatae Mariae Antverpiae obtinuit, quem sponte recusavit. Obiit 3 Maij 1488 (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 15.017)¹³.

[Reverend and father Johannes Storm, of Brussels, the former prior, who was a very competent governor and a excellent painter of the kind that is called illuminator, sent a very elegantly decorated book to the highest papal authority. As a result he obtained a canonical position in the church of Our Lady in Antwerp, which he declined of his own accord. He died at 3 May 1488].

The election of Maria van Pee as prioress in November 1465 was also of major importance for the literary course of the convent. Maria was probably born in or shortly before 1435 as an illegitimate daughter of the

(1401-1464), cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome and delegate of the pope, granted the convent the same rights and privileges as the Chapter of Windesheim had.

¹³ A comparable reference to Jan Storm's illumination skills can be found in Jacobus Thomas Bosmans, *Chronicon Throno-Martinianum* (MS Brugge, Groot Seminarie, without shelfmark), p. 139.

knight Aert van Pee. In 1450 she took her vows in Ter Cluysen¹⁴. After this convent was closed, she was one of the sisters who came to Jericho. In 1459 she started recording sermons she had heard Jan Storm deliver and she continued doing so until 1464¹⁵. Her way of writing –according to the prologue which precedes her sermon collection, she wrote the sermons from memory– shows her significant intellectual capacities¹⁶. That she must have written the sermons in her leisure time testifies to a considerable spiritual diligence. Probably these very qualities made her the perfect prioress. Maria was installed in this function on 22 November 1465 (the election took place one day earlier), and governed the convent for fifteen years, until about 1482¹⁷. Shortly after her election as prioress, Maria gave an important impulse for writing within the convent walls: in the autumn of 1466 she had the convent's *writing chamber (scrijfcamere)* thoroughly renovated¹⁸. She also spent money on the armamentarium (including writing tables and writing chairs), so as to make the room fit for the writing activities of five or six copyists at the same time. From that moment on, the scriptorium was intensively used by small teams of copyists, which were replaced completely every five or six years¹⁹.

¹⁴ The dates of Maria's birth and profession can be deduced from the date of her election as prioress. In order to be professed in convents that were related to the Chapter of Windesheim, a girl had to be at least fourteen years old. Prioresses were chosen from the group of canonesses older than thirty. See W. Scheepsmas, *Medieval Religious Women*, pp. 34 and 38.

¹⁵ Maria recorded seventy-seven sermons by Jan Storm. They have been preserved in two manuscripts: MSS Brussels, KB, 4367-68 (copied before 10 August 1466, and supplemented by eight sermons by other priests before 6 September 1467), and IV 402 (24 May 1486 (ff. 1r-319v); c. 1486 (ff. 320r-352r)). Storm's second collection was mainly redacted by Janne Colijns. It contains 44 sermons and two letters by the priest dating from between 1468 and 1474. The manuscript, Brussels, KB, II 298 was finished on 9 May 1507.

¹⁶ Maria's fascinating prologue has been published in P. Stoop, *Uit het geheugen*, pp. 157-159, and P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 446-448.

¹⁷ At the beginning of the 1480s (the exact date is unknown), Maria van Pee was elected prioress of the newly founded convent Vredenberg (Mons Pacis) in Princenhage near Breda, which currently is located in the southern part of the Netherlands. In this convent, which was founded by the count Jan IV van Nassau (1410-1474) and his wife Maria van Heinsberg, countess of Loon (1426-1502) for their daughter Odilia, Maria celebrated her fiftieth year in the order, in 1500. Undoubtedly as a result of her impressive record of service –Maria had been in charge of a convent for over forty years– she was buried in front of the high altar in the choir of Vredenberg. For more information on this convent, see H. Brinkman, *Composition of a Fifteenth-Century Aristocratic Library*, pp. 182-183.

¹⁸ The scriptorium is mentioned for the first time in 1464/1465 –just nine years after the convent's foundation: the convent paid sixpence in order to install a (stained-glass?) window (“raem van enen glase”) in it (account of Maria van Pee; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.779, f. 4r). For the refurbishing of the scriptorium in Jericho, see P. Stoop, *Dits scrifte*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁹ See *ibidem*, pp. 118-122. The reasons for these replacements are not clear, although writing must have been tough work. In her prologue to the seventeenth-century convent sermon collection MS Vienna, ÖNB, 13.690, Sister Maria A. de la Folije (1622-1695) states how some of her sermon writing colleagues had to stop their task due to physical problems. Sister Catharina Breckpot “heeft 7 sermonen gheschreven maer en konden in het schrijven niet

The rich writing culture in Jericho remained intact until about 1490. During the mandates of Maria's successors, Elisabeth van Poyle –prioress between 15 June 1482 and June 1486 –and Janne Colijns –prioress from 26 June 1486 until her death on 30 April 1491 –the sisters continued to write manuscripts for the convent itself as well as books and texts for external people and institutions. After the deaths of Rector Jan Storm and Prioress Janne Colijns however, the writing activities (or at least the traces we find of them based on the transmission of manuscripts or in the archival sources) decreased considerably²⁰. The new leaders of the convent, Philips Niclaes († 1506) and Janne van den Velde, seem to have had an other, less literary orientation, although Prioress Van den Velde's account books contain some items with regard to writing²¹.

voelherden om dat sij met pijnen in het hoofd ghequelt wiert" ("copied out seven sermons, but plagued as she was by headaches, she was unable to stick with the task"; prologue Maria A. de la Folije, ll. 95-97). Sister Maria Bosmans, who capably noted down eight sermons, "en konden oock niet volherden doordien sij door pijnen in den maghe, graviel ende stien beledt wiert" ("also was not able to persist, as she suffered from stomach ache and kidney stones"; prologue Maria A. de la Folije, ll. 101-103). Maria adds that Sister Bosmans had been writing from the age of twenty-four until the age of twenty-eight, therefore about four years. Subsequently she taught music and after that became the convent's teacher. The prologue is published in P. Stoop, *Writing Sisters of Jericho*, pp. 291-307 (preceded by a summary in English on pp. 288-290).

²⁰ The seven account books (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.792-798) concerning the period between 1488 and 1500 –the latter years of Janne Colijns's mandate and the complete period in which Janne van den Velde was prioress– contain only twenty-two items concerning writing.

²¹ This observation is quite striking, as Philips Niclaes is the only priest who is known to have been involved in copying. He is one of the twelve scribes who copied the *Expositio in regulam sancti Augustini*, Hugh de St Victor's commentary on the Rule of St Augustine in MS Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis European, 213: "Dit sijn der gheender namen die dit boexken ghescreven hebben uut caritaten. Ons eerweerdighe pater heer Philips Nycholaes –god sij sijn loen–, suster Beatrix Noeys, suster Margarete Bont, suster Janne van den Velde, suster Marie van Hansbeke, suster Katherie Tymmermans, suster Maria Meerts, suster Margarete Joerdaens, suster Janne Colijns, suster Anne Joerdaens, suster Rijckmoet van Zellien, suster Maergarete van den Rade. Int boeck des levens sij haerder alder name" ("These are the names of the people who wrote this little book out of charity. Our venerable father Philips Nycholaes –may God be his reward– Sister Beatrix Noeys, Sister Margarete Bont, Sister Janne van den Velde, Sister Marie van Hansbeke, Sister Katherie Tymmermans, Sister Maria Meerts, Sister Margarete Joerdaens, Sister Janne Colijns, Sister Anne Joerdaens, Sister Rijckmoet van Zellien, Sister Maergarete van den Rade. May all their names be in the Book of Life"; colophon on f. 118r). Moreover, Janne van den Velde herself was also involved in writing, both for Jericho itself and for other people, and she seems to have been the convent's most talented illuminator. In several places it is mentioned that she illuminated books with gold leaf and bright blue azure, and flourished them with penwork. She illuminated, for instance, a book of hours for Janne Colijns's sister Lady Van der Beke: "item ontfanen van mijnder suster Van der Beke voer een ghetijtde dat suster Janne van den Velde haer scref ende verlijchte met gouwe ende lazuer tsame der aen verdient ende van te floreren 1 pond 17 schellingen" ("item received from my sister Van der Beke for a book of hours which Sister Janne van den Velde wrote and illuminated with gold leaf and blue azure, 1 pound, 17 shillings for both tasks together"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 14r).

2. BUILDING THE BOOK COLLECTION

The fact that shortly after the foundation of Jericho much attention is paid to the building of the convent library is not really surprising. Several scholars have indicated that manuscripts –and sermon collections in particular– were used to establish the orientation and identity of convents²². In the previous section it was mentioned that the Jericho scribes copied the greater part of their book collection themselves. It also has been stated that most of the manuscripts were produced within forty years after the convent's re-foundation (about seventy-five per cent of the extant collection). But where did the other books and the exemplars of the texts the sisters copied come from? In most cases we do not know. Supposedly books were brought by women who entered the convent, or were donated by parents. Unfortunately, the Jericho manuscripts show no indications of donation by family members. The account books of Prioress Maria van Pee on the other hand, tell us that some people had manuscripts written for their close relatives in the convent [see illustration 1].

Peter Gijsbrecht, for instance, gave the convent one pound and fifteen shillings for a psalter for his daughter Catharina († 1525) in 1479/1480²³. This book was written by Sister Maria van den Brugghe († 1483), who apparently was a talented copyist of liturgical books: in addition to the psalter for Catharina she copied a book of hours and diurnals for at least three other sisters, Barbara Waelbeerts († 1508), Katheline Timmermans († 1513), and Janne Colijns²⁴. A few years later, in 1475/1476, lady Margarete Jordaens paid for a diurnal for her

²² Most of this research has been done for the German speaking area. See, for example, J. Conzelmann, *Die Johannes-Devotion*; M. Costard, *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe*, p. 243; E. Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*; B. Nemes, *Dis buch ist iohannes schedelin*, pp. 157-159; C. Proksch, *Klosterreform und Geschichtsschreibung*; E. Schlotheuber, *Letters of the Benedictine Nuns in Liine*; N. Palmer, *Münchener Perikopenhandschrift Cgm 157*; R. Schiewer, H. Schiewer, *Predigt im Spätmittelalter*, pp. 746-754; D. Schmidtke, *Geschichte der Kölner Predigt*, p. 340; H. Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*; W. Williams-Krapp, *Observanzbewegungen*; W. Williams-Krapp, *Ordensreform und Literatur*; W. Williams-Krapp, *Dise ding sint dennoch nit ware zeichen*. Little is known, however, about the correlation between reform and the production of literature in the Low Countries.

²³ Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 113r: "item ontfaen van Peeter Ghijsbrecht van sijne dochter souter die suster Brugghe screef 1 pond 15 schellingen" ("item received from Peter Gijsbrecht for his daughter's psalter which Sister Brugghe wrote 1 pound 15 shillings"). In the Birgittine abbey Vadstena in Sweden, members of the community also received money from family members and acquaintances, which was subsequently used for book production. Sister Margareta Nilsson († 1524) for instance, wrote a manuscript which had been paid for by her friends. See I. Hedström, *Hand in Hand*, p. 162.

²⁴ Whether the diurnal for Janne Colijns was paid for by her family is not clear. Maria van Pee did not write down the payee's name: "item van suster Jannen Colijns diernael die suster Brugge screef 2 pond 10 schellingen" ("item for Sister Janne Colijns's diurnal which Sister Brugghe wrote 2 pounds 10 shillings"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 127r).

daughter Anne († 1495): *item van vrouwen Jordaens tot suster Annekens diurnael 1 pond 5 schellingen (item from Lady Jordaens for Sister Anneken's diurnal 1 pound 5 shillings; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 152r)*²⁵.

The account of Maria van Pee also interestingly shows that vowed canonses sometimes bought books. In the period between 15 June 1482 and 1 November 1483, Prioress Elisabeth van Poyle registered two payments for two books which Anne Jordaens and her sister Griete († 1519) bought from their brother Adam (1449-1494), who was canon regular in Sint-Maartensdal in Louvain. Griete bought a *studeerboeck* and Anne *een dietsch boeck geheeten den guldenen throen (a Middle Dutch book called the golden throne)*²⁶. This book must have been a vernacular translation of Otto von Passau's *Der goldene Thron der minnenden Seele* or *Die vierundzwanzig Alten*. Most probably Elisabeth refers to the incunable which nowadays is kept in the Bibliothèque National de France in Paris, with the shelfmark D-2797 (1 and 2)²⁷. This unique case in which an entry in the convent's account books can actually be linked to a book which still exists shows us how family ties were maintained over the walls of two convents.

Other benefactors also gave books. According to Albert Derolez, a large part of the book collection of Conrad Wijlants, *alias* Van Leuven, the chaplain of the collegiate church of St Michiel and St Goedele in Brussels, was bequeathed to Jericho after his death on 19 December 1486²⁸. Whether Wijlants' books have been preserved is unknown, but some other donated books have been saved for posterity. The first codex which is relevant at this point

²⁵ Lady Margarete Jordaens gave the convent financial support on a regular basis, most probably because three of her daughters lived in the convent. These girls entered the convent as school children in the period between 12 April 1458 and 25 April 1463, and all three became canonesses. Griete took her vows in 1469/1470; Lijskin († 1533) was professed in 1472/1473, and Anne most probably at some time in the period between All Saints' Day 1470 and 1 November 1472. See P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 107-108.

²⁶ "Item voir een dietsch boeck geheeten den guldenen throen dat suster Anna Yordaens aen haeren broeder Adam cochte te Loven woenende 10 schellingen" ("item for a Middle Dutch book called the golden throne which Sister Anna Jordaens bought from her brother Adam who lived in Louvain 10 shillings"), and "item om een studeerboeck dat zuster Grietken Jordaens cochte aen haren brueder Adam 4 schellingen 3 denieren" ("item for a study book which Sister Griete Jordaens bought from her brother Adam, 4 shillings 3 pennies"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.784, ff. 8v and 17r).

²⁷ See nt. 3. According to Albert Derolez this convolute, which contains both the *Wech der sielen salicheit* and a Middle Dutch translation of *Der goldene Thron der minnenden Seele* of Otto von Passau (both Utrecht, 1480), was donated to the convent by Sister Jordaens (see. A. Derolez, V. Benjamin, W. Bracke (eds), *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. VII, n. 626). It is unknown whether *Der goldene Thron* was bound together with the *Wech der sielen salicheit* at the moment that Anne bought it. In my recent book I did not link the item in the account to the incunable yet. See P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 108 and 148.

²⁸ A. Derolez, V. Benjamin, W. Bracke (eds), *Corpus catalogorum Belgii*, vol. IV, p. 100.

is MS Brussels, KB, 2555-58. The first codicological unit of the manuscript contains two short texts on Christ's Passion and a larger treatise about the Lord's Prayer (ff. 1r-63r). According to a (later?) note on the verso of the first flyleaf, the treatise would have been written by *pater* Bellens, who probably can be identified as the canon regular Johannes Bellens († 9 May 1483), who was prior of the male Windesheim convent, Bois-Seigneur-Isaac in Ophain, located in the Fôret de Soignes, between 1450 and 1458, and later on rector of the canonesses regular of St Agnes in Ghent (from 1458 to 1464, and from 1469 to 1474), and Ten Elzen in Zichem (1483), located twenty miles north of Louvain²⁹. He would have written the exposition at the request of Katheline van Limborch († 1497), who was procuratrix of Jericho in the period between 1447 and All Saints' Day 1461, and sub-prioress in 1486/1487:

item desen pater noster heeft ghemaect, ghescreven ende ons ghegheven die eerwerdeghe pater Bellens, ter beden van suster van Limborch. Een weerdich vader van onser ordenen. Bidt ghetrouwelijc voer sijn ziele.

[item, this Pater noster was made, written, and given to us by the venerable pater Bellens, at the request of Sister Van Limborch. He is a worthy father of our Order. Pray faithfully for his soul]³⁰.

Whether the treatise was meant to stay in Jericho is not clear: shortly after October 1474, *conversa* Liesbeth Vlieghe copied the text into MS Brussels, KB, 15139 (ff. 76r-158r), and why would she do that if the original copy of Johannes Bellens was the convent's property?³¹ After all, it is highly uncommon that a text is preserved in more than one codex³².

Another book from outside Jericho is MS Ghent, UB, 1016. The canonesses received it from Thomas Monincx, who was the prior of Groenendaal between 1467 and 1483:

²⁹ W. Kohl, E. Persoons, A. Weiler *Monasticon Windeshemense*, vol I, pp. 38 and 44; U. Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, vol. IV, pp. 1051-1052 and 1277, and vol. VII, pp. 799, 810 and 812.

³⁰ At a later stage, Bellens' texts was bound together with two other codicological units, which contain a treatise *Van der oetmoedicheit ende grootmoedicheit* (part II, ff. 72r-110r), as well as some points from a sermon which was delivered in Jericho (ff. 110r-111v), and sixteen *Sermones super Qui habitat* by Bernard de Clairvaux (part III, ff. 117r-193v; see nt. 7).

³¹ A *conversa* was a lay sister who took her vows but did not participate in the prayers in the choir. See W. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, pp. 32-33.

³² The exceptions to this rule are the copies of the first collection of sermons by Jan Storm, and Paul van Someren's sermon collection. The first was indeed copied in Jericho, but probably for use in another convent (see nt. 15, and below on p. 402). Why the sisters made a copy of Van Someren's collection is less obvious: both manuscripts (see nt. 4) stayed in Jericho as is clear from the later changes at some point in both codices.

Dit boeck hoert toe den cloester van Jherico bij Sinte Katherinen.
Dwelc ons es bleven van prior van Gruenendale her Thoemaes
Moenens zalegher ghedachten. Bidt voer hem om gode (f. 216v).

[This book belongs to the convent of Jericho near St Catherine's
church. It is given to us by the prior of Groenendaal, the late rever-
end Thomas Moninx. Pray to God for him f. 216v].

The codex contains the Passion narrative, based on the four Gospels
and followed by a commentary. A short note on f. 1r explains that this comment
was written by a canon regular from Groenendaal itself:

Dit es den text der passien ons heeren Jhesu Christi ghetrocken
uut den vier ewangelisten. Ende desen text hebbic ghevolcht in
der exposicien van der passien ons heren hier na volghende.

[This is the text of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, taken
from the four evangelists. And I have added the following exposi-
tion of the Passion of our Lord].

Whether Thomas Moninx himself was the copyist of the codex,
or even the writer of the commentary, is open to discussion.³³ It is even
questionable whether he was the previous owner of the codex, as it is quite
conceivable that the priest had the manuscript copied for the Jericho sisters
from the very beginning. The fact that he donated a book to Jericho is not
really surprising: as *visitor* he had to inspect the observance in Jericho and
therefore was responsible for the spiritual well-being of the sisters. That a
Passion narrative was a suitable tool to support the devotion of women
religious is beyond any doubt.

The question about where the sisters got the actual texts they copied
is in most cases not so easy to answer. In some cases, however, the provenance
seems quite obvious. The sisters owned a few texts from the famous fourteenth-
century mystic Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381), who was one of the founding
fathers of Groenendaal (e.g. *Van den gheesteliken tabernakel* in MS Brussels,
KB, 15136; an excerpt from *Van den kerstenen ghelove* in MS London,
British Library, Egerton, 677). That the exchange of books between those two
convents was very much possible has been demonstrated sufficiently by now.

An equally direct link can be found between the Boetendaal, the
convent of Friars Minor of the Observance, and Jericho: around the middle of
the 1470s, the three subsequent guardians, Michael van Lyra, Dionysius van

³³ J. Deschamps, *Middel nederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken*, pp. 241-242; G. Warnar, *Ridderboec*, pp. 15-16.

Holland, and Hendrik Berrinck, and some others came to preach in the convent church of Jericho. Barbara Cuyermans († 1507) and Elisabeth van Poyle wrote down no less than twenty-two of their sermons. These have been copied into MS Ghent, UB, 902 by *conversa* Mergriete van Steenberghe († 1504), who also added a fascinating prologue to her collection in which she explained her motivation for her writing activities³⁴. One of the founders of Boetendaal (in 1467) was the well-known mystical author Hendrik Herp (c. 1410-1477)³⁵. His most famous mystical handbook *Dat spiegel der volcomenheit* must have found its way to Jericho through this connection, and is it mere coincidence that Elisabeth van Poyle was the copyist of this manuscript (Brussels, KB, 2136): *Dit boec hoert toe den cloester van Jericho binnen Bruesel bij Sinte Katherinen ende het hevet ghescreven suster Lijsbeth van Poelc (This book belongs to the convent of Jericho in Brussels near St Catherine's and Sister Elisabeth van Poyle wrote it; f. 155v.*

A final codex which should be discussed here is MS Brussels, KB, 15156, which contains the Middle Dutch translation of the first book of the fourteenth-century treatise *Malogranatum* by Gallus, the abbot of the Cistercian abbey Königsaal near Prague³⁶. Although the treatise about the threefold way to perfection is one of the most widespread reformatory writings from the modern devout circles –over one hundred-fifty Latin copies are known– the text seems to have had a very limited distribution in the Dutch vernacular. In the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* six complete manuscripts and two excerpts are mentioned, including our codex from Jericho and three copies from Bethlehem³⁷. As far as we know, only this latter convent of canons regular owned a copy of book I in Middle Dutch (MS Vienna, ÖNB, 15417)³⁸.

³⁴ Mergriete van Steenberghe's prologue has been published (with a translation in English) in Th. Mertens, *Ghostwriting Sisters*, pp. 138-140.

³⁵ For more information on these friars and the sermons they preached in Jericho, see P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 271-300 and 340-345.

³⁶ The manuscript was copied by several sisters and was finished by Catharina van Molenbeke on 14 December 1485: "Hier ynt dat yerste boeck gheheeten Malogranatum. Dat volscreven wert op Sinte Nychasius dach int jaer ons heeren 1485 van suster Katherinen van Molenbeke als si out was XLIII jaer. Dit heeft sij om die minne gods ghedaen ende tot ghemeynder stichtinghen. Waer af ons heere haer loen wil sijn in der ewicheit. Amen" ("Here ends the first book called Malogranatum. It was fully transcribed at St Nicholas' Day in the year 1485 by Sister Catharina van Molenbeke when she was forty-four years old. She has done this for the love of God and the edification of everybody. May our Lord be her reward in eternity. Amen"; f. 284v).

³⁷ The three codices from Bethlehem are MSS Brussels, KB, 1171-72, Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 8212, and Vienna, ÖNB, 15417. The two other complete manuscripts are Brussels, KB, 3948-49 (provenance unknown) and Maastricht, Bonnefontenmuseum, LGOG z.nr. (2). The shelfmarks of the excerpts are Ghent, UB, 1305 and The Hague, KB, 73 F 24. See K. Stoker, Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde*, vol. II, nos 570, 594, 609, 613, 812, and 890.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 101.

Therefore it seems likely that the Jericho scribes turned to this priory to get hold of an exemplar which they could copy. This assumption is all the more plausible if we keep in mind that Bethlehem was one of the convents which was responsible for the *cura monialium* in Jericho. Besides, Jan Storm's brother Willem –who preached to the sisters in 1475/1476 and most probably was their confessor in that period– was canon regular in that priory, and thus had easy access to Bethlehem's library³⁹.

3. WRITING FOR THIRD PARTIES

Having charted from where the sisters of Jericho received their books for the library, or which served as exemplars for the copying of the texts, it is time to shed some light on the manuscripts and texts the sisters wrote for people and (semi-)religious institutions outside the convent walls. In the following paragraph I will focus on the products the sisters wrote for pay, and especially on the recipients for whom these texts and manuscripts were written, as this will provide an insight into the textual network in which Jericho functioned. Additionally I will pay some attention to a few extant manuscripts which were (partly) created in Jericho, but which most certainly were used in other institutions. Whether Jericho received money for the production of these manuscripts is not certain.

The unprecedentedly concrete and detailed account books of the Prioresses Maria van Pee, Elisabeth van Poyle, Janne Colijns, and Janne van den Velde show that a small group of sisters was occupied with writing *pro pretio* over a period of about twenty-five years, namely between All Saints' Day 1464 and March 1491⁴⁰. Even though the prioresses generally provided insignificant designations of the writing products in their account books such as *book* (*boec*), *little book* (*boexken*), *some writing* (*wat scrifs*) or *quires* (*quaternen*), it is possible to gain some insight in the kind of texts the Jericho copyists produced. Most of them were liturgical books: breviaries, psalters, antiphonaries, missals, diurnals, et cetera. But for whom were they produced?

³⁹ For Willem Storm, see P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 84-85. Three sermons by Willem have been preserved (MSS Ghent, UB, 902, ff. 240v-254v and Brussels, KB, 1683-87, ff. 129r-133r).

⁴⁰ More information on the writing activities for third parties can be found in P. Stoop, *Schrijven pro pretio*; P. Stoop, *Dits scrifte*. See also P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 153-168. Whether the sisters actually made a profit on writing for other people, or that they merely received the money as an expense allowance is beyond the scope of this article. I am going to pursue this question for the collection of essays *Commercial Book Production*, which I am currently editing.

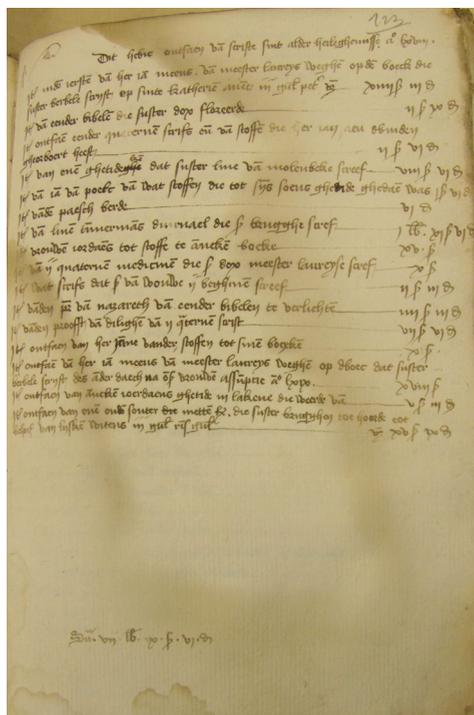


Fig. 1. Account by Maria van Pee: list of income from writing in 1468/1469 (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 123r)

I already noted that the Jericho scribes wrote liturgical books for the convent's own sisters, for which had been paid for by family members. The other books were obtained by a heterogeneous public. Some were purchased by prosperous laypersons, who can not be identified exactly, such as master Pauwels, who, amongst other things, bought books of hours for his children, and lady Saverijns who ordered a book (for eighteen shillings) for her son: *item van meester Pauwels van sijnre kinder ghetiden 15 schellingen (item from master Pauwels for his children's books of hours 15 shillings)*, and *item ontfayen (...) van joffrouw Saverijns weghen op haer soens boec die men haer scrijft (...) 18 schellingen (item received (...) from lady Saverijns for her son's book which is written for her (...) 18 shillings)*⁴¹.

⁴¹ Respectively Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 137v and 108r. Sometimes lay people made an appeal to the sister's writing skills, probably because they were not able to write themselves. Lady Van der Noot, for instance, paid ten shillings for writing ("van scriven"; An-

On other occasions the Jericho copyists wrote for clerics, such as the parish priests of Jette (nowadays a suburb of Brussels) and Werchter (located about twenty-five miles north-east of Brussels)⁴². They also copied books for inhabitants of (semi-)religious communities. As early as 1466/1467 Maria van Pee registered payment for a book of hours which Sister Catharina van Molenbeke (1441-1529) had written for an anonymous lady's daughter, who lived in the (Brussels?) beguinage, and two years later, in 1468/1469, she noted down two shillings and three pennies for *wat scrifs* (*some writing work*) which Margaretha van Wouwe († 1473) executed for two anonymous beguines⁴³. In 1486, Janne Colijns also listed some entries related to beguines in her account. At that time she received one shilling for four quires which Sister Elisabeth Duvaels († 1509) had written for a beguine, and three shillings and sixpence for fourteen quires written by Sister Beatrix Noeys († 1497): *in den iersten ontfaen van IIII quaerternen die suster Lijsken Duvaels scref eender beghine 1 schelling*, and *item ontfaen van XIV quaterne die suster Noeys scref eender beghine 14 stuvers 3 schellingen 6 denieren* (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 4r). Whether Sister Duvaels and Sister Noeys wrote for the same beguine is not certain. However, it seems likely, as both sisters in the same year jointly wrote ten large quires for Jannes van den Dijke, a clergyman who lived at St Clare's, which most probably is the convent of the Rich Clares (Urbanist sisters) which was located within a stone's throw of Jericho⁴⁴.

derlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 152r). On one occasion, the sisters even received money for checking a document ("scouwen van scrifte"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 149r).

⁴² "Item van her Goeric prochiaen van Yet op den boec die suster Van Wou screef 15 schellingen 11 denieren" ("item received from reverend Goeric, parish priest of Jette for the book that Sister Van Wou wrote 15 shillings and 11 pennies"), and "item ontfaen van den prochiaen van Werchten op die stoffe tot 2 missale die men hem scriven soude 3 pond" ("item received from the parish priest of Werchter for the materials for two missals which would be written for him 3 pounds"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 108r and 113r).

⁴³ Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 108r and 123r: "item van der joffrouwe voer dbeghijnhof voer harer dochter ghetide dat suster Kathline van Molenbeke screef 30 stuvers. Valent 7 schellingen 6 denieren" ("item from the lady for the beguinage for her daughter's book of hours which Sister Katline van Molenbeke wrote 30 stivers, with a value of 7 shillings and sixpence"), and "item wat scrifs dat suster Van Wouwe II beghinen screef 2 schellingen 3 denieren" ("item some writing which Sister Van Wouwe wrote for two beguines, 2 shillings 3 pennies"). The distance between the entrance of the convent of Jericho and the beguinage was less than 400 meters. The women from both communities were literally neighbours. The beguines were not the only semi-religious women for whom the Jericho scribes wrote: in 1469/1470 Maria van Pee received two shillings and eleven pennies from the grey sisters of the Franciscan Third Order for "writing" ("scrifs") (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, f. 127r).

⁴⁴ Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 4r: "item ontfaen van Jannes van Sint Clare van X groete quaterne daer suster Noeys de VI af scref ende suster Duvaels IIII, te 4 stuvers de quaterne, 10 schellingen" ("item received from Jannes van St Clare for ten large quires, of which six have been written by Sister Noeys and four by Sister Duvaels, for 4 stivers for each quire, 10 shillings").

Moreover, it was not uncommon for customers of Jericho's scriptorium to pay in installments⁴⁵.

Now and then, the sisters wrote for other women's convents. The cantrix (*canteresse*) of the Benedictine nuns of Vorst (located about four miles from the city centre of Brussels) ordered an unspecified book, which might have been an antiphony or a gradual⁴⁶. The copyists of Jericho were able to produce these technically more demanding books, as is obvious from MS Tournai, Séminarie de Tournai, LM 9 which will be discussed later on, and from the payments made by the precatrix of the Norbertine convent of Leliëndaal at Hombeek near Mechelen: in the period 1466-1468, Maria van Pee registered four substantial amounts *op den antiphoneer van Liliëndale die suster Dox schrijft* (for the antiphony of Leliëndaal which Sister Dox writes; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 108r)⁴⁷. The last women's convent which can be identified in the archival accounts is Vredenberg. Prioress Janne Colijns registered that she received a considerable amount of money for a psalter and a book of hours which she sold to the convent near Breda: *item van onsen souter die ic vercochte int cloester te Vredenberghe bij Breda 7 rinsgulden ende een ghetijtde 30 stuvers. Loep te same 2 pond 2 schellingen 6 denieren* (item for our psalter which I sold to the convent of Vredenberg near Breda 7 guilders and a book of hours 30 stivers. This comes to 2 pounds, 2 shillings, and sixpence; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 3v). Exactly ten years later, in 1496/1497, Prioress Janne van den Velde noted down three payments for –most likely– one book written by Sister Barbara Cuyermans. The book was produced at the request of the *mater* of the convent in Princenhage near Breda, namely Maria van Pee: *item van mater van Fredenberch 4 peeters op rekeninge van den boeck die suster Cuyermans*

⁴⁵ See below and nn. 47 and 59.

⁴⁶ "Item ontfaen van der canteressen van Vorst opten boec diemen haer scrijven soude (...). Valent 1 pond 5 schellingen 10 denieren 1 obool" ("item received from the cantrix of Vorst for the book which would be written for her, with a value of 1 pound 5 shillings, 10 and a half penny"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 108r). The fact that it is explicitly stated that the book was ordered by the cantrix of Leliëndaal makes it likely that the book would contain musical notations.

⁴⁷ The phrasing of the earnings is very noteworthy. In the first item, concerning the antiphony, the prioress noted down that she had received four shillings and sixpence for a book which the convent "would write" ("scriven soude") for the cantrix of Leliëndaal (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 108r). On the other three occasions the writing had been done by Sister Dox. Her first two items have been formulated in the present tense: "ontfaen opden antiphoneer van Liliëndale die suster Dox schrijft"; the last in the past tense ("screef"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 108r and 113r). Maria van Pee seems to have chosen her wording carefully, which probably implies that the formulation in the first item ("scriven soude") points to a deposit for an assignment which Sister Dox executed later on. Other examples of paying in installments can be found in P. Stoop, *Dits scrifte*, pp. 131-133.

*scrijft. Valet 18 schellingen (item by the mater of Vredenberg 4 peters [= a golden coin of unknown value] for the book Sister Cuyermans writes. For the value of 18 shillings; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.794, f. 101r)*⁴⁸. It is probably no coincidence that Barbara Cuyermans wrote this book for her former prioress: both she and Maria were involved in the writing of convent sermons in Jericho⁴⁹. It is quite conceivable that the prioress of Vredenberg wished to have a manuscript written by a well-respected sister, and an exquisite scribe –she was after all Jericho’s writing mistress–, with whom she worked closely in the past.

The Jericho scribes possibly wrote another manuscript for Vredenberg. Thom Mertens convincingly suggests that the exact copy of Maria van Pee’s collection of sermons by Jan Storm (MS Brussels, KB, IV 402; see nt. 15) was made for Vredenberg⁵⁰. It is fairly reasonable to suppose that the prioress held the sermons of her former confessor in such high esteem or considered them so important for the support of the spiritual life of her new community, that she asked the sisters in Jericho to make a copy for her and send that to Princenhage. Whether this assumption is right or not, the fact that several books were sent from Jericho to Vredenberg shows in any case that both convents were closely tied, through Maria van Pee, but probably also through Ten Troon, from where Jan Storm came. This convent, as a rule, was responsible for the spiritual care of the sisters in both convents and also provided the rectors⁵¹.

Very surprising at first sight is the fact that the Jericho scribes relatively often carried out work for men’s convents of miscellaneous orders. In 1486/1487, Maria van Hansbeke († 1530) wrote ten quires for the procurator of the Dominicans⁵². A few years earlier, in 1481/1482, her colleague Janne Colijns, the later prioress, had written a book for *brueder Dyonys (brother*

⁴⁸ The other two entries are: “item suster Cuyermans ghescreven eenen boeck te Breda daer op ontfaen 18 schellingen” (“item received for a book for Breda which Sister Cuyermans has written 18 shillings”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.794, f. 104r), and “item ontfaen van mater van Breda 8 stivers van den boeck dat suster Cuyermans int voerleeden jaer heeft gescreven 2 schellingen” (“item received from the *mater* of Breda 8 stivers for the book which Sister Cuyermans wrote in the past year”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.795, f. 77r).

⁴⁹ Barbara recorded three sermons by her confessor Jan Storm and one by the provincial of the Order of Friars minor (Michael van Lyra?). The sermons have been preserved in MSS Brussels, KB, II 298 and Ghent, UB, 902. See P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 261-267 and 276-279.

⁵⁰ Th. Mertens, *Ghostwriting Sisters*, p. 127.

⁵¹ G. Juten, *Parochiën in het bisdom Breda*, p. 58; F. Prims, *Campinia Sacra II*, pp. 114-125.

⁵² “Item ontfaen van X quaerterne die suster Marie van Hansbeke screef den procuratur van den predicaren 6 schellingen 6 denieren” (“item received for ten quires which Sister Maria van Hansbeke wrote for the procurator of the Dominicans 6 shillings and sixpence”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 4r).

Dyonys). The price of fifteen shillings was paid in two parts: in the same year the convent had received two thirds of the sum; at the beginning of the next financial year, the brother paid the remaining amount⁵³. Supposedly, both men were members of the Brussels community of friars, with whom Jericho stood in close contact. In the period between 5 June 1466 and 8 September 1467, the Dominican friars brother Petrus, brother Egidius, brother Arnoldus, and one or two anonymous friars regularly came to preach in the convent church⁵⁴. Even the founder and first prior of the Brussels Dominican convent, Johannes van Namen († c. 1475), came to Jericho: he preached there at least three times, at 12 July 1466, 13 June 1471, and 25 January 1474. Twelve of their sermons, all redacted by Elisabeth van Poyle considerable time before she was elected prioress, have been preserved in MS Ghent, UB, 902, the manuscript copied by Mergriete van Steenberghe.

Most products by the Jericho scribes have been purchased by canons regular of the Order of St Augustine and the Order of Prémontré (Norbertines). The provost of the Norbertine abbey Dielegem in Jette purchased *II quaternen script* (*two quires of writing*), and Janne Colijns wrote a book for Mark van der Straeten, prior of the abbey of Grimbergen, located some seven miles north of Brussels, between 1477 and 1489⁵⁵. However, the Norbertines seemed especially interested in bringing manuscripts already written to Jericho in order to have them corrected or illuminated. The abbot of (possibly) the Cornelius abbey in Ninove, located sixteen miles west of Brussels, had at least one book illuminated in 1474/1475⁵⁶. The abbot of the Parkabdij (Abbey of the Park) at Heverlee near Louvain in 1475/1476 paid ten shillings *van verlichten ende floreren* (*for illuminating and flourishing*; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 152r). Additionally, in 1477/1478

⁵³ “Item brueder Dyonys te predekeheren ons sculdich van dat men hem scrieft 15 schellingen. Hier op ontfaen 10 schellingen” (“item, brother Dyonys of the Dominicans owes us 15 shillings for what is written for him. Received from this 10 shillings”), and “item ontfaen van dat suster Janneken Colijns screef brueder Dyonijs 5 schellingen” (“item received from what Sister Janneken Colijns wrote for brother Dyonijs 5 shillings”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.785, ff. 11r and 27r).

⁵⁴ Jericho also had contacts with the Dominicans in Antwerp. Their prior (“prier der predickheren tAntwerpen”) had some writing work done in the scriptorium of Jericho in 1476/1477 (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 155v).

⁵⁵ “Item van den proofst van Dilighem van II quaternen script 7 schellingen 6 denieren” (“item from the prior of Dilighem for two quires of writing 7 shillings and sixpence”), and “item van eenen boecken van Grimberghen dat den prier toehoerde dat oeck suster Janneken Colijns screef 1 pond 10 schellingen” (“item for the book of Grimberghen which belonged to the prior and also was written by Sister Janneken Colijns, 1 pound 10 shillings”; Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 123r and 12.781, f. 132v).

⁵⁶ “Item van den abt van Nyeneve van floracien ende verlichten 11 schellingen” (“item from the abbot of Ninove for flourishing and illumination 11 shillings”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 149r).

he had two missals corrected: *item ontfaen van den abt van Perck van twe missael te corrigeren ende te beteren 15 schellingen (item received from the abbot of the Parkabdij for correcting and revising two missals; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB 12.780, f. 158v)*⁵⁷. Very exceptional is the fact that in 1480/1481 a collection of sermons was written for the abbot. It was produced by Barbara Cuyermans: *item noch die selve heeft den abdt van Perck ghescreven een boeck van sermoenen die quaterne te 12 stuvers: 2 pond 10 schellingen (the same sister has written a book of sermons for the abbot of the Parkabdij, which costs 12 stivers for each quire: 2 pounds 10 shillings; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.781, f. 132v)*⁵⁸. Although it is unknown whether this manuscript has been preserved, the item in Maria van Pee's account shows that the sermon writing practices of the Jericho sisters were known and appreciated outside the convent walls.

The canons regular of the Order of St Augustine were mainly interested in writing. The brothers of Rooklooster, which like the other male convents which will be mentioned in this paragraph was located in the Forêt de Soignes, ordered *some writing (wat scrifs)*, and a book written by Sister Margaretha van Wouwe, who also produced the texts for the beguines mentioned above⁵⁹. The canons of Zevenborren and Bois-Seigneur-Isaac paid

⁵⁷ The sisters of Jericho also made corrections in texts on some other occasions. They corrected for instance a new and an old gradual ("eenen nyewen ende out gredael") for "Sinter Claes" (it is unclear who or what was meant by this) for the price of nine shillings and ten pennies (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 158v). They also repaired and added texts to existing manuscripts (Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 113r and 158v).

⁵⁸ The fact that Barbara Cuyermans was the scribe of the sermon collection can be deduced from the preceding item (which concerns the writing of some music) in the list of receipts.

⁵⁹ Maria van Pee noted down four payments by the canons of Rooklooster for work by Margaretha van Wouwe. The first two amounts –both related to a book– were paid in 1469/1470: "item ontfaen van den procurator van Roedenclouster op dboec dat suster Van Wouwe dien van Ouderghem scrijft 2 pond" ("item received from the procurator of Rooklooster for the book which Sister Van Wouwe wrote for those of Oudergem 2 pounds"), and "item ontfaen bi handen des biechtvaders van Oudergem op dboec dat suster Van Wou scrijft op sente Augustinus octave 2 pond Brabants" ("item received by hands of the confessor of Oudergem for the book which Sister Van Wouwe writes, at the octave of St Augustine, 2 Brabantine pounds"; both entries can be found at Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 127r). The other two amounts –again for a book– are paid one year later: "item van den boeke van Ouderghem Wouwe 3 pond" ("item for the book for Oudergem 3 pounds"), and "item ontfaen van den boeck van Ouderghem bij handen her Jans Spijckinx. Wouwe, 2 pond 1 stuver 6 denieren" ("item received for the book for Oudergem by hands of reverend Jan Spijckinx. Wouwe, 2 pounds, 1 stiver and sixpence"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 131r). Most probably this is one of the cases in which was paid in installments, although some customers may have been interested in several manuscripts written by one and the same copyist, for example, because they were contented by the work the sister did, or because they strove as much as possible for uniformity in their collection of books.

both for one book. The conventuals of Groenendaal purchased two books⁶⁰. The first was registered in the accounts in 1476/1477 without the mention of a specific purchaser⁶¹. The latter, however, written about five years later by Janne Colijns, was intended for brother Thomas, a canon regular from Groenendaal: *item van eenen boexken dat brueder Thomaes van Gruenendale toehoerde dat suster Janneken Colijns ghescreven heeft 4 schellingen 9 denieren* (item for a little book which belonged to brother Thomas of Groenendaal which Sister Janneken Colijns had written; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.781, f. 132v). This man possibly can be identified as Thomas Monincx. As prior of a convent which was responsible for the visitation of the Brussels canonesses, he obviously had the opportunity to order or buy books in Jericho, and –as we have seen– on one occasion he gave the sisters a glossed harmony of the Passion stories (MS Ghent, UB, 1016)⁶².

Until now, it has not been possible to link extant manuscripts to the entries in the account books, nor do the records reveal anything about the quality of the books which the women wrote for pay. However, from the convent’s own manuscripts it can be deduced that the sisters were trained to produce carefully written books and to work in a collective style: the manuscripts were usually written in a neat *littera hybrida*, and although individual differences are never completely absent, the handwriting of most sisters is strikingly similar in form. In illuminating, the sisters also clearly strived for uniformity, even though some development of style can be found⁶³.

⁶⁰ “Item van den boec van Sevenborren 11 schellingen” (“item for the boek of Zevenborren 11 shillings”), and “item van den supprioer van Bosch Ysaac van den boec die suster Dox screef dien van Sinte Agneten toe hoorende 1 pond 5 schellingen 9 denieren” (“item from the subprior of Bois-Seigneur-Isaac for the book which Sister Dox wrote for the sisters (?) who belonged to St Agnes”; respectively Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, ff. 113r and 108r).

⁶¹ “Item van eenen boexken van Gruenendale 4 schellingen 9 denieren” (“item for a little book for Groenendaal”; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.780, f. 155v).

⁶² A counter-argument against this identification is the fact that the man is called “brueder” (“brother”) Thomaes. This is quite remarkable when the book Janne Colijns wrote was actually written for the prior of Groenendaal.

⁶³ See P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 124–126.

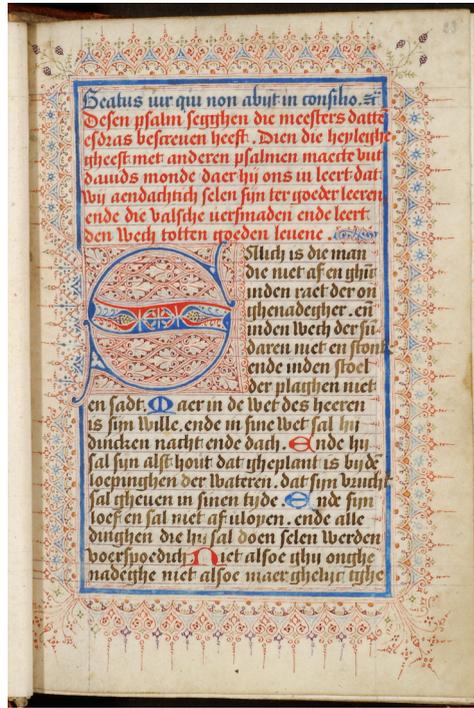


Fig. 2. Beginning of the Middle Dutch translation of the Psalms and Song of Songs (MS Brussels, KB, II 293, f. 23r)

In all probability, the sisters designed the manuscripts they sold in a similar way. Therefore, palaeographical research and especially the study of illumination may assign manuscripts which have been preserved in other convents to the scriptorium of Jericho, as can be illustrated by the following two examples.

The first codex is nowadays kept in the library of the seminary in Tournai (MS Tournai, Séminarie de Tournai, LM 9)⁶⁴. The two owners' marks at f. 1r show that the voluminous liturgical manuscript – in the library catalogue it is described as a *collectionnaire*– belonged at some point in time to the Cistercian convent in Muizen near Mechelen⁶⁵. Sister Margareta van

⁶⁴ A very detailed description of the manuscript, made by J.-B. Lebigue and D. Vanwijnsberghe, can be found in M. Maillard-Luybaert, *Séminaire de Tournai*, pp. 117-121.

⁶⁵ Like the antiphonaria which were written for Leliëndaal and –probably– the Benedictine abbey of Vorst, this manuscript contains liturgical songs accompanied by musical notes.

den Broecke marked the book as her own at the top of the page: *Margareta van den Broecke int cloester van Muysen* (*Margareta van den Broecke in the convent of Muizen*). Halfway through the seventeenth century, the manuscript was handed over to Sister Maria Robertina de Subia († 1676), who was the convent's fourteenth prioress⁶⁶. She stroke out the former owner's mark and replaced it with her own name and device: *Suster Maria Robertina de Subia. Vive et vivas. 1647*. Although we do not know when Sister Margareta van den Broecke lived, it is clear from the content that the manuscript belonged to the Cistercian sisters of Muizen from the very beginning: the calendar (ff. 4r-9v), which indicates that the manuscript was written after 1476, as well as the sanctorale (ff. 215r-219v) and the Office of the death (ff. 147v-151v) point to use in a Cistercian female convent, and the manuscript contains prayers written from a female perspective. It even holds a prayer about sisters who left or entered the kitchen (ff. 17r-17v). A reference to the feast of St Rumoldus on 19 October puts the codex in the environment of Mechelen, as he was the patron of this town.

Yet the codex is not written by the Cistercian sisters themselves. Jean-Baptiste Lebigue and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe are absolutely right when they state that the decoration of the manuscript (which is entirely written by one person) shows huge resemblances to manuscripts from Jericho⁶⁷. The penwork of the initials points towards Jericho, more specifically to manuscripts which have been written there in the late 1470s and 1480s, like MS Ghent, UB, 902 (dated c. 1479), MS Brussels, KB, 4287 (dated between 1480 and 1495, but probably shortly after 1481), and –in particular– MS Brussels, KB, II 293⁶⁸. The similarities between the Tournai manuscript and this last Jericho codex are striking. The penwork on some pages is nearly identical [see illustrations 2 and 3]. Additionally, both manuscripts contain a calendar, which almost certainly was copied by the same scribe, and the script of f. 23r in the Jericho manuscript which marks the beginning of a Middle Dutch translation of the Psalms and the Songs of Songs is also written by this woman⁶⁹. Although the name of the scribe unfortunately remains unknown, the manuscript most certainly was produced in the Brussels Augustinian convent.

⁶⁶ J. Cuypers van Alsinghen, R. van den Eynde, *Provincie, stad, ende district van Mechelen*, vol. 2, p. 181; C. van Gestel, *Historia Sacra et Profana*, p. 82.

⁶⁷ M. Maillard-Luypaert, *Séminaire de Tournai*, p. 120. The beautiful miniatures in the Tournai codex were made on loose sheets and added to the manuscript afterwards.

⁶⁸ This manuscript contains an obituary which was written shortly after 1480 and before 1487 (ff. 15r-20r). However, this part of the manuscript is written by another scribe, so we cannot extend his date to the rest of the codex, which was written by several sisters, and –for now– is roughly dated between 1475 and 1500. See P. Stoop, *Schrijven in commissie*, pp. 407-409.

⁶⁹ The calendar in MS Brussels, KB, II 293 can be found on ff. 9r-14r.



Fig. 3. MS Tournai, Séminair de Tournai, LM 9, f. 22r

The other manuscript which can be linked to Jericho at the moment is preserved in the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague under shelfmark 70 E 6⁷⁰. This Latin convolute contains a collection of sermons with glosses (ff. 1r-445v) and a world chronicle (ff. 459r-558v). Based on the heading of the prologue to the world chronicle, the manuscript is dated in 1487 and located in Tienen (Tirlemont), located about eleven miles east from Louvain:

Prologus in cronicam sive historiam generalem de gestis in universo orbe ab inicio mundi usque ad hunc annum domini M CCCC LXXXVII noviter editam in opido thenensi ducatus brabantie.

[This is the prologue to the chronicle or general history about the deeds in the whole world, from the beginning of the world until this year of the Lord 1487, newly edited in the town of Tienen in the duchy of Brabant].

⁷⁰ A description of this manuscript can be found on the website *Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* (MMDC): www.mmdc.nl [accessed: 30/09/2013].

It is not known who copied the parts of this enormous codex of 585 folios (284×207 mm), or whether it belonged to a religious house or not. However, the person who was involved in the production of the part containing the world chronicle, decided to bring the text to Jericho to have it illuminated (like the abbots of the Cornelius abbey and the Parkabdij did a decade earlier): as is obvious from illustration 4, the initial O is very similar to the initials we have previously seen in manuscripts made in the Brussels convent of Augustinian canons⁷¹. Apparently their illuminating skills were even known in Tienen. It is possible however, that the manuscript can be linked to Jericho through the convent of canons regular *Barberendal* (Domus Vallis sanctae Barbarae in Thenis), where Godevaert Kemp (1370-1449) was rector between 1425 and (probably) 1433 before he was appointed rector of the sisters in Jericho's predecessor Ter Cluysen⁷².



Fig. 4. Beginning of the World Chronicle from Tienen (MS The Hague, KB, 70 E 6, f. 459r)

⁷¹ Small guide-letters can be found in the margins, albeit –in some cases– slightly covered by the penwork.

⁷² W. Kohl, E. Persoons, A. Weiler *Monasticon Windeshemense*, vol II, pp. 31 and 33; for the dates of his birth and death, see *Thomas a Kempis*, p. xi.

4. CONCLUSION: JERICHO AND ITS LITERARY NETWORK

Now that we have mapped the origins of some of the books which Jericho owned and of the texts the sister scribes copied for their own library, and shed light on the external recipients of the manuscripts they produced, we can draw the following conclusions about the textual network in which the Brussels convent of canonesses regular functioned. The first observation that needs to be made is that the convent's network was strongly regional. All texts circulated within the southern part of the duchy of Brabant, which in 1430 –during the reign of Philip III the Good– became part of the mighty duchy of Burgundy [see map 1]. Although Jericho informally belonged to the Chapter of Windesheim, the convent seems to have had little contact with the more northern monasteries which belonged to this influential religious reform movement (including Diepenveen which functioned as the model convent for the female branch). The Brussels convent had much stronger connections with the Southern Netherlandish priories which had been founded in the fourteenth century and since then had acquired an influential position in the religious, literary, and cultural landscape of the Southern Low Countries (e.g. Groenendaal, Rooklooster, Zevenborren, and Bethlehem)⁷³.

Another important conclusion is that the literary network of Jericho was not limited to Southern Netherlandish convents that belonged to the Windesheim chapter, not even to the Order of St Augustine. Jericho not only maintained a relationship with the adjacent semi-religious houses of the Brussels beguines and Rich Clares, but they also produced books for the male Norbertine abbeys of Grimbergen, Jette, Ninove, Heverlee near Louvain, the female Benedictine abbeys of Vorst and Leliëndaal in Hombeek, and the female Cistercian abbey of Muizen. Apparently, proximity prevailed over religious denomination.

Personal contacts seem to have been a major factor in the exchange of manuscripts and texts. With regard to the individual lay people who acquired products from Jericho, we may conclude that they were members of the (local) nobility (like many of the Jericho sisters themselves)⁷⁴. Some of them, like Lady Saverijns, Lady Elselare, and Master Pauwels, we cannot identify precisely, but we may assume that they were personal acquaintances

⁷³ This fits in with the observations Bas Diemel made in the introduction to his doctoral dissertation in 2011: B. Diemel, *Daer es leven sonder sterven*, pp. 21-51. At the present moment it is not known whether this means that the Chapter of Windesheim did not provide the possibilities for literary exchange or that other convents –in the Northern parts of the Low Countries?– actually did profit from Windesheim in this respect.

⁷⁴ This can be concluded from the fact that the title “juffrouw” (“Lady”) in the Middle Ages was reserved for a noble woman without a specified rank.

of the sisters (or of their supervising priests). In a number of cases they were family members. We have seen how some parents paid the convent in order to have liturgical books written for their daughters, but the Jericho scribes also made books for their siblings, such as Lady Van der Beke, who most probably was Janne Colijns's sister (see nt 21), and Lady Van den Heetvelde, who was the sister of Sister Mergriete van Steenberghe⁷⁵.

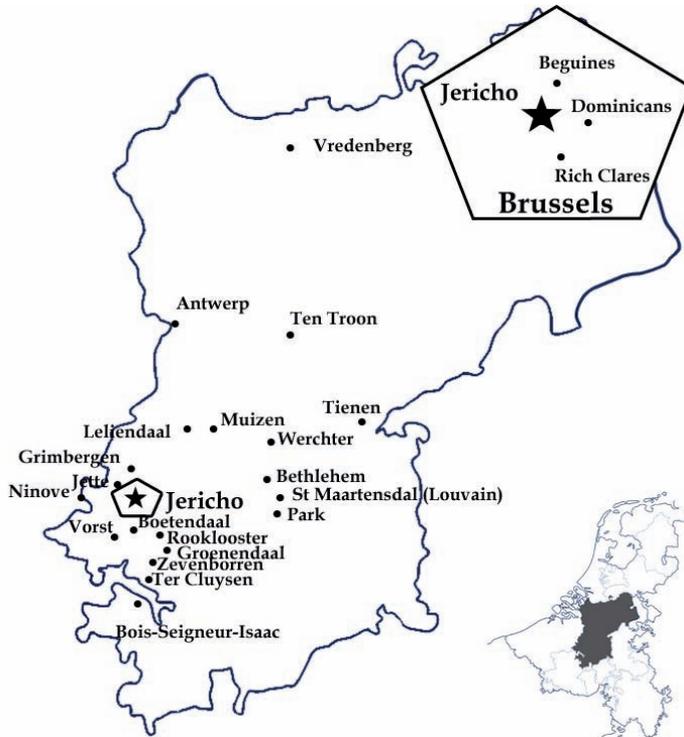
As to be expected, however, the exchange of books and texts mainly took place in the monastic setting (the secular clergy in Brussels or its close surroundings seem to have been a minor player in the literary network). Several scholars have stated how convents were dependent on their contacts with other communities for building and expanding their book collections⁷⁶. Of major importance in this literary exchange is the role of the spiritual caretakers (who were all related to the *Devotio moderna*): priors and rectors, confessors, *visitatores* (such as Thomas Monincx from Groenendaal), as well as priests who came to preach (for example, the Brussels Dominicans and the Friars minor of Boetendaal) all brought books to Jericho, or –and this is important to note, as it is less obvious at first sight–took them from there to their own convents⁷⁷. The circulation of books to Vredenberg, where Maria van Pee was elected prioress after she had been leading Jericho for over fifteen years, and from Sint-Maartensdal in Louvain where Adam Jordaens, brother of three sisters in Jericho, lived in the Brussels convent, shows us however that other personal (family or friendly) contacts between religious houses were important as well.

In sum, as the many examples of book production and purchases listed in this essay have demonstrated the convent of Augustinian canonesses Jericho in Brussels played a very significant part as a literary hub in the Low Countries in the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus far, the literary production in this convent seems to be exceptionally large and therefore extraordinary in the Low Countries. The account books kept in this period by nuns such as Maria van Pee, Elisabeth van Poylc, and Janne Colijns, together with the description of the literary and liturgical works they and their fellow sisters produced, provide unique testimony to the scribal abilities of the Jericho sisters, and, in their writings, the extensive care they took for the spiritual welfare of female and male religious in the region.

⁷⁵ In 1488 Janne Colijns registers 1 shilling income from a (short?) text which Mergriete van Steenberghe, the copyist of MS Ghent, UB, 902, wrote for her sister: "item van juffrouw Van den Heetvelde van dat haer suster Griete Steenberghe haer scref. 1 schellinc" ("item from Lady Van den Heetvelde for what her sister Mergriete van Steenberghe wrote for her, 1 shilling"; Anderlecht, Rijksarchief, AEB, 12.788, f. 13v).

⁷⁶ B. Diemel, *Daer es leven sonder sterven*, p. 39; E. Kwakkel, *Die Dietsche boeke*, p. 44; Th. Kock, *Die Buchkultur*, pp. 69-70.

⁷⁷ K. Stooker, Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde*, vol. I, p. 304.



Map 1. Jericho and its literary network

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